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LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND INCLUSION: WHO'S IN AND WHO'S OUT?

Suzanne Fiona Louise Jefferies

A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (Public Policy), School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand.

DECLARATION

I, Suzanne Fiona Louise Jefferies, declare that this is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Management (Public Policy) at the School of Public and Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_____

Suzanne Fiona Louise Jefferies

ABSTRACT

Language, Education and Inclusion: Who's In and Who's Out? The South African Language in Education Policy was formulated in response to the inequalities of the Apartheid regime. However, this policy, in respect to mother tongue education, has not yet been implemented. By comparing the Language in Education Policy to the UK's National Languages Strategy, this research examines the public policy process, including the intended as well as unintended consequences of policy implementation, the various policy interventions that have been implemented, as well as identifying and sketching the stakeholder environment of these policy interventions. In addition, the research looks at the phenomenon of social inclusion/exclusion, particularly with regard to the relationship between language and education and South Africa University students' attitudes to language choices.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION **3**

ABSTRACT **4**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **5**

TABLE OF ACRONYMS **10**

TABLE OF FIGURES **11**

CHAPTER ONE **12**

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND INCLUSION 12

1 Introduction 12

1.1 The Question of Language 12

1.2 The Meaning of Language 14

1.3 Language in Education Policy 15

1.4 Language in South Africa 18

1.5 Language in the U.K. 20

1.6 The Problem for Students 22

1.7 The Research Objectives 23

1.7.1 Mapping the Environment 24

1.7.2 The Policy Process 24

1.7.3 Social Inclusion/Exclusion 25

1.8 Conclusion 25

CHAPTER TWO **26**

LITERATURE SURVEY 26

2.1 Introduction 26

2.2 Language as a Political Tool 26

2.3 Language in Education Policy 28

2.4 Comparative Studies 31

2.5 Language Policy and Social Integration 32
2.6 Conclusion 33
CHAPTER THREE 34
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 34
3.1 Introduction 34
3.2 Political Environment 35
3.3 Power 36
3.4 The Public Policy Process 38
3.5 The Policy Process 40
3.6 Social Inclusion/Exclusion 44
3.7 Knowledge Economy 47
3.8 Social Capital 47
3.9 Conclusion 48
CHAPTER FOUR 50
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 50
4.1 Introduction 50
4.2 Research Approach 50
4.2.1 Explanatory Research 50
4.3 Research Method 51
4.3.1 Comparison 51
4.4 Data Collection 52
4.4.1 Desk-Top Study 52
4.4.2 Interviews 53
4.5 Data Analysis 53
4.5.1 Themes 54
4.5.2 Coding 55
4.5.3 Conceptualisation 56
4.5.4 Elaboration 56

4.6 Validity and Reliability 56
4.7 Limitations 58
CHAPTER FIVE 59
THE POLICY PROCESS – South Africa 59
5.1 Language in Education Policy - An Introduction 59
5.2 The Legislative & Policy Framework 60
5.3 Mapping the Environment 61
5.4 Public Policy 65
5.5 Policy Formation 67
5.6 Policy Analysis 70
5.7 Policy Implementation 73
5.8 Conclusion 80
CHAPTER SIX 82
THE POLICY PROCESS – England 82
6.1 Introduction 82
6.2 Public Policy Process 83
6.3 The Legislative and Policy Framework 85
6.4 Mapping the Environment 85
6.5 Policy Formation 87
6.6 Policy Implementation 89
6.7 Strategy Review 91
6.8 Conclusion 92
CHAPTER SEVEN 93
SOCIAL INCLUSION/SOCIAL EXCLUSION 93
7.1 Introduction 93
7.2 The South African Perspective 93
7.2.1 Universities and language policy 94
7.3 Discrimination 96

7.4 Assimilation 99
7.5 The Perception in England 100
7.6 Discrimination 101
7.7 Assimilation 102
7.8 Conclusion 103
CHAPTER EIGHT 105
LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY – TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN 105
8.1 Introduction 105
8.1.1 Language in Education Policy 105
8.1.2 The National Languages Strategy 106
8.2 The Similarities 106
8.3 The Differences 107
8.3.1 The role of partnership 107
8.3.2 The Medium of Instruction 107
8.3.3 The Need for Government Support 108
8.3.4 The question of relevance 108
8.3.5 The need for effective monitoring and evaluation 109
8.4 Conclusion 109
CHAPTER NINE 110
CONCLUSION 110
9.1 Introduction 110
9.2 Summary of Findings 110
9.3 Suggestions for further research 111
9.4 Conclusion 111
APPENDICES 113
APPENDIX I: TERTIARY STUDENTS' FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE 113
APPENDIX II: PANSALB QUESTIONNAIRE 114
REFERENCE LIST 115

TABLE OF ACRONYMS

CCSC	Co-Ordinating Committee for School Curriculum
CILT	National Centre for Language
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DoE	Department of Education
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
HLP	Home Language Project
LANGTAG	Language Plan Task Group
LEA	Local Education Authority
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LPEC	Language Policy in Education Committee
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NLS	National Languages Strategy
PANSALB	Pan South African Languages Board
SGB	School Governing Body
SMME	Small and Medium Enterprises
UK	United Kingdom

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Percentage of Speakers per Language in South Africa (1996 and 2001)
Figure 2	Number of Speakers per Language in South Africa (1980,1991, 1996, 1998 and 2001)
Figure 3	GSCE Exam JSQ Exam Entries Data
Figure 4	Timeline of the Legislative and Policy Framework of Multilingual Education
Figure 5	Stakeholder Environment – Language in Education Policy
Figure 6	Timeline of the Policy Framework of Language Education – U.K.
Figure 7	Stakeholder Environment – National Languages Strategy

CHAPTER ONE

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND INCLUSION

1 Introduction

Language is a powerful medium of expression; it conveys meaning, denotes understanding and is the building block of communication. An ability to communicate effectively enables individuals to interact socially, both within social and economic environments. Therefore, it would seem logical that in multi-lingual countries, education systems need to be mindful of the importance of language with its relationship to both access and inclusion.

Language in education policies provide the necessary structure to address this issue of language, particularly with reference to mother tongue instruction. The premise is simple; mother tongue instruction is easier to grasp, and provides a framework for further language development. Yet, these policies are not always easily interpreted in terms of practical implementation constraints.

Both South Africa and England have developed language in education policies that seek to address the needs of their multi-lingual populations. However, whereas England's motivations for policy development are to include the burgeoning migrant population, South Africa's policy development is in response to language equality as outlined in the Constitution. The contexts for each country's policy development and subsequent implementation reveal gaps in the policies, which are as a result of attitude, resource based limitations or political support.

1.1 The Question of Language

Whether by force or choice, populations within countries are more likely to be multi-cultural rather than homogenous. Yet, within the current penchant for human-rights steeped democracy, these multi-cultural populations create a need for policy solutions particular to the broad population as a whole, that doesn't prejudice against any sub-section of that population as a specific. Although policy solutions may seem to be ideologically sound, in reality they may be no more than political constructs that hope to appease most of the people most of the time, but actually have little effect.

Policy with regards to the language in which learners are taught, from primary through to tertiary education, is such a seemingly idealised policy solution. In 1997, South Africa penned its Language in Education Policy (LiEP). This policy represents a specific area of the broader language policy of the country, which is underpinned by the recognition and rights to language in the Constitution. However, although Language in Education policy would seem to broadly encompass the rights of language choice in learning, in practise, this has not been the case.

Despite the best intentions of this policy, the reality remains that implementation is not as successful as hoped for a number of interlinked reasons. However, what then is the reality for the thousands of Matriculants whose education has been in a language that was probably a second or third language competency? In a developing country such as South Africa, the demographics point to a need to develop a knowledge economy that will sustain the economic growth of the country, but to what extent does the reliance on teaching in English or Afrikaans hamper this expansion?

Similarly, the United Kingdom (U.K.) is as multi-cultural a country as South Africa, and as a result of human-rights focused policy decisions by government, attempts have been made to acknowledge all minority groups within the education system. In England, with the rapid increase of immigrants from both Asia and Eastern Europe, the National Languages Strategy (NLS) outlines the provision for learners to have access to their home language in terms of subject. Yet, there are suggestions that home language should not only be as a subject, but also that of learning medium, hence current movements by government to review policy in terms of language medium in education.

However, resources in terms of teachers and learning material are limited, not to mention the fact that certain languages seem to have more marketability in terms of future job prospects, whether at home or internationally, thereby compounding the problem of resources.

Although it would seem that the above-mentioned language in education policies are aimed at including all learners of various language backgrounds, in reality these policies are based in human-rights idealism, rather than practical solutions, suggesting that the policy is more a political construct rather than a viable proposal of action.

Indeed, should these policies be political constructs created to gain leverage in terms of mass popularity or appeasement, what then are the real implications for the parallel human rights agenda of social integration; “Policies and programmes which foster stable, safe and just societies and protect disadvantaged, vulnerable groups and people with special needs”

(UN, 1995, p.1), in which all citizens would seem to have the right to equal access to opportunities in a democracy. Placed in their political context, these language in education policies would attempt to make way for social integration, yet, ironically, the broader context of the policies suggests that multilingualism makes way for single language hegemony.

1.2 The Meaning of Language

Prior to continuation, it is important to clarify what language itself, is. Wilson (1972) defines language as "an artificial and consciously-organised method of control by the use of symbols or conventions, which involves the notion of meaning" (Wilson, 1972, p.1). 'Method of control' suggests that in addition to being a social construct, language is about power. This notion of power argues that those with language dexterity and fluency can directly influence their authority over those whose language comprehension is lacking, and thereby pursue their respective political agendas. In addition, the 'symbols or conventions' used are specific to certain cultures, reflecting the accumulative political and economical history of that culture.

Although 'the notion of meaning' can be conveyed by communication in its wider sense to include the non-verbal, language is about the verbal, the means of "mutual intelligibility" (Skutnall-Kangas, 2000). This 'intelligibility' is affected by many aspects such as exposure to the language, formal schooling, learning styles and motivation (Skutnall-Kangas, 2000), and as such, implies that there are various levels of 'intelligibility' that can be acquired. In South Africa, there are eleven official languages each enjoying equal parity in terms of the LiEP. However, despite this, 'mutual intelligibility' is compromised between not only learners and teachers, but also amongst learners within different socio-economic backgrounds, as well as cultural backgrounds. In England 'mutual intelligibility' is similarly compromised between the various minority culture learners and their school environment, as well as their greater environment.

Therefore language in education policy is imperative in terms of providing learners from different home-language backgrounds with equal opportunities in terms of learning, and thereby in terms of future social, political and economical participation. Yet in both countries these equal opportunities are not always so, and the policies themselves appear a product of their respective political environments; as defined by McLean (1996), politics are centrally concerned with "1) government, the state and public affairs, 2) human conflict and its resolution, or 3) the sources and exercise of power" (p.389). 'Politics' broadly encompasses all three subtexts in a 'political environment', and the relationship between them.

By drawing on an understanding of these two countries, this allows for a greater understanding of these political environments in which the various language in education policies were both created and implemented.

1.3 Language in Education Policy

Language in Education Policy is defined as policy outlining the procedures for the medium of learning, as well as language subject learning in order to promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education (Language in Education Policy, 1997;CILT b, 2007). The notions of “equitable” and “meaningful access” relate to the potential inclusivity to which these policies allude. However, these basic premises are not as easy to quantify; and as constructs they are similarly complex as “equitable” is understood differently, depending on the subjectivity of the participant. Yet the understanding of “full participation” is similarly subjective, and open to interpretation.

An overview of the LiEP in South Africa, and the NLS in England, indicate the basic problems that have developed contrary to the intentions of these policies.

South Africa

In 1995, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology established an advisory panel LANGTAG (Language Plan Task Group) to devise a national language policy that redressed the inequities of language in the previous apartheid government. Constitutionally, “all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably” (Constitution, Section32[c]), and in 1996, LANGTAG submitted a document entitled, *Towards a National Plan for South Africa* (Desai, 2001;Taylor, 2002; Mda, 1997).

The result was the Language in Education Policy in terms of Section 3(4) (m) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996), to be read in conjunction with the Norms and Standards regarding Language Policy Published in terms of Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996.

The purposes of the Language in Education Policy are as follows:

1. To promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;

2. To pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
3. To promote and develop all the official languages;
4. To support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication;
5. To counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching
6. To develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages.

(Language in Education Policy, 1997, p.2)

Yet, in a survey undertaken in 2002 by PANSALB, the following transpired; Language of tuition in a wider educational setting – 80% English, 16% Afrikaans, 6% isiZulu (Olivier, 2006, p.1). Despite the policy, learners were being offered chiefly either English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

"Despite what the Constitution says about the principle of language equity, language practices in education clearly attest that English is assigned more value than any other official language" (Kamwangamalu, 2000, p.131). Certainly, the statistics reveal this trend. Needless to say, language disparity is reminiscent of the Apartheid government's entrenchment of Afrikaans – in this context language was used as a tool for exclusion. Similarly, the unofficial elevation of English, suggests that language equality is merely a Constitutional right, rather than a 'real' right that has workable benefits. Equality for all is the basic premise of the Constitution. Indeed, there could be suggestion that the LiEP seems similar in construction to the Bantu Education Act in which mother-tongue education was promoted, with the intention of disempowering the non-white majority. "The apartheid system saw to it that every ethnic group was educated in its own mother tongue. So, language became a yardstick for segregated education" (Kamwangamula, 2000, p.124).

English standards in terms of teaching and learning are not as effective as they could be; teachers whose third language is English are teaching in English. How can this not perpetuate inequality in terms of future social and economic opportunities? If English is seen to be as the language of choice, surely this would pertain to a fluency in English, rather than a rudimentary grasp?

Yet, the fact remains in that academic achievement is more of a realistic goal when instruction and assessment is in a learner's home language. Nevertheless, English is still the chosen favourite as method of instruction as "the Bantu Education Act, permanently stigmatised mother tongue education" (Taylor, 2002, p.319).

England

Policy with regards to language in education is different concerning each authority, although all fall under the broad U.K. ambit[1].

The Languages for All: Languages for Life, National Languages Strategy for England (hereafter shortened and referred to as NLS) makes provision for the learning of an additional language from primary school level, up to and including tertiary level. The 'additional' language though can either be a community language such as Urdu or Arabic, or it can be one of the modern European languages such as French or Spanish. A strategy which the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) hopes to have implemented by 2010. (The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) was a government department from 2001 – 2007. However, in June 2007, the department was split into two others, namely The Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department for Innovations, Universities and Skills).

A framework for the implementation of the strategy is outlined to include such things as teacher training, as well as producing promotional material. However, there is suggestion

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[1] **Language in Education Policy - Wales**
Welsh is considered a minority language in the UK, and yet is a compulsory school subject for those attending primary school in Wales. Sutherland (2000) found that parents of children who compulsorily attend both Welsh and English classes, "resent" (p.202) the amount of time spent, which could be better utilised on a modern European languages. In addition, Sutherland (2000) found that Welsh schools frequently were understaffed in Welsh teachers, and lacked sufficient resource capacity for the teaching of this language. Likewise, Sutherland (2000) explains that the creation of Welsh-medium tertiary education was counter-productive as ultimately it would fail to attract international students for whom Welsh is not a language.

Language in Education Policy Scotland
In Scotland there is provision for Gaelic, and there is "strong demand for Gaelic medium education" (CILT b, 2007, p.7), and Gaelic medium teaching was only introduced in the 1980s. The Standards in Scotland's Schools etc Act 2000 outlines the provision for Gaelic medium education. However, the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 outlines the need for more Gaelic teachers, as there is a problem regarding supply to meet the demand for Gaelic.

Language in Education Policy Northern Ireland
The Education Act (1998) makes provision for the promotion of Irish medium education in the Irish speaking areas of Ireland, namely Gaeltacht areas. Yet, although this provision is made, schools are becoming more bilingual and Irish is losing its dominance (Mercator-Education, 2001)

that accommodation of non-English speakers should involve being “able to access knowledge in both languages” (CILT b, 2007, p.4)

Within the policy context of social cohesion, plurilinguism within schools is encouraged. Yet, specific language policy is still in the planning stages, and organisations such as The National Centre for Languages (CILT) hope to influence further policy surrounding plurilinguism. CILT is a government funded National Centre for Languages, and is recognised as the centre of expertise on languages. The purpose of CILT is to promote a greater capability in languages.

1.4 Language in South Africa

Policy in current day South Africa has, by and large, been formulated in response to the apartheid policies of the previous National Party government.

Language under the Apartheid government was used as a means of control and exclusion. Afrikaans was used to exclude the wider indigenous population from public services, including education and work opportunities. Likewise, this use of Afrikaans as the sole medium of instruction was evident in the Bantu Education system – learners were taught in Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, a language which was synonymous with the Afrikaner nation, and as such with oppression, exclusion and segregation. The Soweto uprisings in 1976 were as a direct result of the insistence of the government to offer Bantu Education in Afrikaans, rather than English, which was the preferred language of instruction. The youth of the day protested against this oppression, which resulted in violence between police and the scholars.

Language was control. Therefore post-1994 policy has seen to redress these inequalities, and more importantly, allow the freedom of option, rather than force. As such, broader language policy has been in response to the provision and promotion of the multi-cultural and multilingual landscape that is South Africa.South Africa has eleven official languages – Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, isiNorthern Sotho, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. In order to promote the country’s multilingualism, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) was formed in 1995. Amongst the key focus areas of the board is to “develop the eleven official languages” (PANSALB, 1995) thereby creating “development and use of the official languages” (PANSALB, 1995).

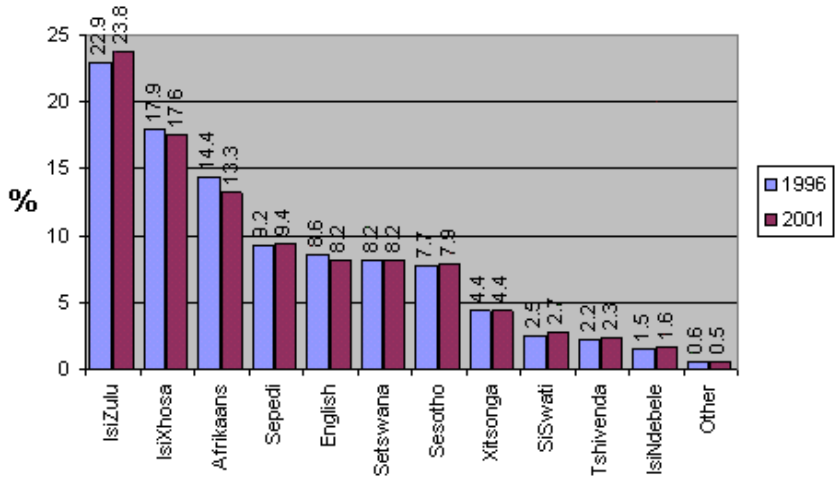


Figure 1: Percentage of speakers per language in South Africa (1996 and 2001)
(Statistics South Africa, as cited by South African Languages.com, 2007)

LANGUAGE	1980	1991 (a)	1996	1998 (b)	2001 (c)
isiZulu	6 064 480	8 343 587	9 200 144	10 194 787	10 677 305
isiXhosa	2 879 360	6 729 281	7 196 118	7 610 435	7 907 153
Afrikaans	4 925 760	5 685 403	5 811 547	5 945 805	5 983 426
Sepedi	2 431 760	n/a	3 695 846	3 832 645	4 208 980
English	2 815 640	3 422 503	3 457 467	3 692 157	3 673 203
Setswana	1 444 908	3 368 544	3 301 774	3 613 925	3 677 016
Sesotho	1 877 840	n/a	3 104 197	3 539 261	3 555 186
Xitsonga	888 140	1 439 809	1 756 105	1 776 505	1 992 207
siSwati	650 600	952 478	1 013 193	1 068 733	1 194 430
Tshivenda	169 740	673 538	876 409	1 227 824	1 021 757
isiNdebele	459 880	n/a	586 961	654 304	711 821
Other	292 360	640 277	228 275	157 767	217 293
Unspecified	n/a	n/a	355 538	10 868	n/a
TOTAL:	**26 271 060**	**31 255 420**	**40 583 574**	**43 325 017**	**44 819 778**

Figure 2: Number of speakers per language in South Africa (1980, 1991, 1996, 1998 and 2001) (Statistics South Africa, as cited by South African Languages.com, 2007)

From the above statistics, it is evident that the dominant language in South Africa is isiZulu, then followed by isiXhosa. Afrikaans is the third most widely spoken language with English coming in at a rather modest fifth place. Despite these statistics, which point to a predominance of isiZulu speakers, the majority of government communication is in English. "English serves as a lingua fraca in interethnic communication; it is the language of the elite, power and privilege" (Kamwangamula, 2000, p.121).

Likewise, national media is predominantly English. Communications from both private organisations as well as state-owned parastasals are in English. In addition, Kamwangamula (2000) asserts that for one who has English acquisition, he/she "can achieve unlimited vertical social mobility" (p.121). So too, the majority of learners in South Africa are taught in English, suggesting that although national language policies promote equality amongst the eleven official languages, English is enjoying dominance in terms of promotion and provision.

1.5 Language in the U.K.

There is no disputing the fact that English is the official language of England[2], and is spoken by approximately fifty-five million people. However, unlike South Africa in which English is assigned as the dominant language, in England this position of English domination is being challenged as the number of minority languages increase as a result of mass immigration.

In the year span 2005-2006, 55% of the increase in the population was because of migration (National Statistics b, 2007). Migration figures have been steadily growing, with an acceleration seen in the 1990's, and carried over till the present day (National Statistics b, 2007), suggesting that the U.K. will continue to attract immigrants in the future, a premise further echoed in a study by Rees et al (1996).

According to the 2001 Census, 15% of the overall population was made up of those population groups who classify themselves other than White British (National Statistics b, 2007). Although there are no formal statistics [at the time of writing this proposal] as to the language fabric of the U.K., from a survey of schools undertaken by the DfES (Department for Education and Skills), 13,5% of primary, 10,5% from secondary and 9,9% from special needs schools have a first language that is not English (DfES, 2007).

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[2] Although England houses the U.K. government, Scotland and Wales have their own devolved parliaments or assemblies. Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales are not separate countries, yet these separate authorities have separate policies with regards to broader language policy.

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	*2007*
French	341,604	331,890	318,963	272,167	236,427	*216,718*
German	130,976	125,851	122,161	105,259	90,345	*81,061*
Spanish	58,271	61,490	64,167	62,489	62,163	*63,978*
Welsh L2	11,719	11,793	12,193	9,801	*9,571*	*9,631*
Urdu	6,986	6,602	6,914	6,373	6,076	*5,954*
Italian	5,597	5,542	6,049	5,494	5,245	*5,490*
Welsh	4,492	4,899	5,015	5,101	*5,212*	*5,183*
Chinese	2,635	2,675	3,141	3,098	3,034	*3,007*
Irish / Gaelige	2,825	2,886	2,708	2,507	*2,560*	*2,749*
Arabic	1,775	1,831	1,854	2,194	2,419	*2,606*
Bengali	2,174	2,266	1,927	1,867	1,792	*1,702*
Russian	1,640	1,585	1,704	1,738	1,775	*1,897*
Turkish	1,209	1,189	1,384	1,337	1,519	*1,476*
Panjabi	1,436	1,477	1,453	1,340	1,248	*1,197*
Japanese	780	803	978	1,120	1,197	*1,184*
Portuguese	707	784	938	1,029	1,174	*1,430*
Gujarati	1,319	1,216	1,156	1,104	1,064	*1,007*
Polish	290	268	323	405	833	*1,908*
Modern Greek	704	593	575	608	549	*521*
Dutch	291	295	310	383	459	*504*
Persian	322	376	436	442	443	*444*
Modern Hebrew	399	456	406	442	400	*467*
Total ML	**578,151**	**566,767**	**554,755**	**486,298**	**435,505**	***410,114***
ALL ENTRIES	5,692,414	5,755,870	5,887,860	5,745,405	*5,752,152*	*5,827,319*

Figure 3: GSCE Exam JSQ Exam Entries Data (CILT a, 2007)

Although the results are inconclusive, from the above table of GSCE exam entries, the different ranges of language can be seen, as well as for example, the significant leap in entries from 2006 to present in Polish. Other data collected regarding language use is specific to community languages e.g. Urdu is spoken in more than 69 local authorities (CILT

b, 2007, p.7). In Wales, 21% spoke Welsh as per the 2001 Census (National Statistics a, 2007)[3].Tellingly, the 2001 National Census, although not containing specific language questions, was translated into 24 languages in order to address the needs of the diverse population (CILT b, 2007).

1.6 The Problem for Students

Both England and South Africa are essentially multicultural, as well as multilinguistic countries. In both countries, an inability to successfully and fluently grasp English can lead to reduced economic, political and social interaction, as a result of being unable to effectively express oneself. Where English is the majority spoken language "not only does it hinder communication with majority individuals, but with other minorities" (Dustmann and Fabri, 2000, p.715).

Desai (2001) suggests that in South Africa there is "growing trend towards English, and towards official monolingualism in practice" (p.326). Certainly from the above statistics, it is evident that the majority of learners in both England and South Africa are taught in English, which is not always the home-language of the learner, despite any policy to the contrary. Yet it seems that language in education policy is more of an ideological policy construct rather than a valid solution to accommodating multilingualism. This consequently poses the question as to what the broader political motivations of constructing the policy were if the policy itself is lacking in implementation and seems to be contrary to the language messages of the respective governments.

According to a Financial Mail report, the number of graduates in key professions such as engineering, medicine and accounting, has remained static between 2000 and 2005 (Financial Mail, 2008). A developing country such as South Africa is in need of graduates who are able to grow the knowledge economy that is becoming the new mode of trade within the developed world. Simple infrastructure and services need skilled graduates to help propel development. No graduates results in stalled growth and a reliance on a shrinking skills pool, therefore there can be no question that an effective and inefficient education system that develops and retains skilled youngsters is needed. Yet, there seems to be a basic misconnection between these needs and how to most effectively meet them.

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[3] In addition to the rising challenge of migrant influx, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales promote bilingualism, as part of cultural pride and heritage.

The results of social exclusion can be economic. Dustmann and Fabri (2000) found that there was a correlation between lower working wages and language proficiency, amongst immigrant workers in the UK. Most workplaces in both South Africa and the U.K. rely on English. Yet exclusion is not confined to implications for an emerging workforce. Politically, social divisions may be created between 'us' and 'them', creating gulfs between those who have the linguistic advantage and those who do not, thereby perpetuating the fiction of the 'other'.

Should the language in education policies merely have been a tool to provide political leverage, what then is the implication for broader social integration of a multi-cultural population within a human rights promoting framework? Certainly the language in education policies seem to foster inclusion on paper, yet in reality, social exclusion is the possible result of a linguistically disadvantaged education.

How the lack of implementation of the language in education policies are playing out in terms of secondary school children whose first language is not the medium of instruction, has potentially wider social ramifications. This form of social exclusion in terms of a lack of access to the current development and emphasis of the knowledge economy, as well as a lack of access to tertiary education and subsequent employment opportunities are both of concern to the individual as well as the country.

1.7 The Research Objectives

The objective of the research is to determine how the LiEP in South Africa, and, to a lesser extent, the NLS in England, have played out in terms of social inclusion/exclusion, particularly with regard to higher education and economic prospects.

The purpose of the research is to examine the potential gaps in policy implementation. Policy is merely a roadmap of an intended course of action, and yet the reality in terms of implementation may reveal an underlying territory that bares little or no resemblance to the original policy documents. By reviewing the policy processes, from construction to attempts at realisation, not only can understanding and reasoning of the policy itself be understood, but also the practical implications of the policy. As the research is social in nature, the gaps may be because of attitude – past and present perceptions of language and its relationship to economic and social mobility – resource based or even political.

In addition, the research aims to compare the two policies in order to obtain insight into potential solutions with regards to implementation. Underpinning the research is the broader

ramifications for inclusion. If inclusion means “equitability” and “access” how are these policies developing and nurturing these concepts in their implementation?

1.7.1 Mapping the Environment

The environment will be identified primarily through identification of the various stakeholders within the industry and the accompanying processes that affect the concerned policies. This environment will consist of not only the broader context of the policy and government, but also the more specific narrower context between school governing bodies and the learners themselves in South Africa, and the local authorities and learners in the England as well as the wider globalised context, such as the E.U.

In order to establish various policy and political interventions, the various power plays between the stakeholders will be examined in order to make meaning of subsequent behaviour, as well as to establish agendas. Power plays (McLean (1996) suggests that power can be taken in five forms, “force, persuasion, authority, coercion and manipulation” (p398-399) refer to the various forms of influence, authority, coercion or force that punctuated the relationships between the various stakeholders. Galbraith (1983) suggests that the pursuit of power is linked to groups or individuals “wanting to further their own interests, possibly to extend their personal, religious or social values and to win support for their economic or other social perception of the public good.”

1.7.2 The Policy Process

The objective of this part of the research is to establish the policy process (the process of development of a strategy for achieving government goals) of LiEP and NLS. As such, the policy process will be inclusive of all of the policy interventions that have been both produced and implemented (such as the policies themselves as well as any other legislation or strategic plans), as well as the limitations experienced with these interventions.

In addition, the policy process will also answer the question as to how ‘public’ the process in fact was. “Public policy can be understood as the public solutions that are implemented in an effort to solve public problems. Policy actors, or players, are those individuals and groups, both formal and informal, that seek to influence the creation and implementation of these public solutions” (Cahn, 1995, p.201).

In this instance, public refers to the process of consultation of all relevant stakeholders. By determining who was consulted, and who was left out of the decision making process, one

can determine which of the stakeholders were able to effectively influence the policy decision-making process.

Further the LiEP will be analysed to determine where in the policy process the current issues have emanated from. The research will examine how the various language policies are being implemented/ or not, within the secondary education sector, and what the broader implications are of these policy implications.

The approach will be the same for both England and South Africa.

1.7.3 Social Inclusion/Exclusion

The objective of this part of the research is to ascertain how LiEP and NLS play out in response to the conundrum that is social inclusion/exclusion, with regard to the perceived ease of economic inclusion vis-à-vis incorporation in the knowledge economy via tertiary institutions and economic employment opportunities. Social Exclusion is "a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown." (Social Exclusion Unit, 1997,p.1)

1.8 Conclusion

Ultimately, the research looks at the relationship between language, education and inclusion. The Literature Survey examines previous research on language in education policy, both specific to the two countries as well as general research in terms of language policy; as well as language in terms of its political and social constructs. Following from the Literature Survey, a broad theoretical based framework outlines the theories of policy and policy processes, as well as social integration. The results and findings are then split between policy and integration (for ease of reading); although these two themes overlap, and provide the conclusion of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE SURVEY

2.1 Introduction

The Literature Survey is divided into those sections of research that complement and overlap with the objectives of the research topic. Firstly research into the use of language as a political tool has been included, though this research tends more towards the use of language as a tool to keep groups politically inactive. Although this pertains to the research broadly speaking, language is not language *policy* per se, and therefore the scope of the gathered research on this topic is somewhat broader.

The broad field of language in education policy has been reviewed to ascertain previous research findings within this field. As yet, there is no similar study to the proposed research topic, and therefore, studies that are within the same broad ambit have been included. Unfortunately, research regarding the U.K. language in education policies is sparse.

Likewise, the field of comparative studies in terms of language research has been encompassed, including a comparison of South Africa and the U.K. in terms of language in tertiary education. These comparative studies help to further the cause for the comparative study, as countries and/or policies when viewed from more than one perspective help illuminate areas of weakness and strength, perhaps not uncovered with a single case study. Once again, comparative research concerning South Africa in terms of language is under-represented.

The last field of research concentrates on language policy and its relationship to social integration. This field relates to language in a broader sense, yet the underlying theory complements the proposed research objectives in that it explores the relationships between multilingualism and multi-ethnicities.

2.2 Language as a Political Tool

“Political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness” (Orwell, 1946, p.3). Research regarding the use of language as a political tool, tends to revolve around this central theme of comprehension, the rationale being that an inability to detect subtlety because of language constraints disempowers people politically. “Since you don't know what Fascism is, how can you struggle against Fascism?” (Orwell,

1946, p.4). Theory concentrates on the lexical make-up of language, and the subtle use of language for political gain by manipulating these lexical constructions.

Patten (2001) further contends that lack of access to language weakens democracy as "deliberation and discussion" (p. 701) is not possible when civil society is unable to communicate effectively with one another as a result of dissipated language communications. In agreement, Desai (2001) argues that language can play a "central role" in enabling citizens to "participate in the political, educational, social and economic life of that country" (p.325).

Weinstein (1990) suggests that "a study of language choice or policy and its implementation or planning can shed light on important political processes and political change" (p.1) In his study, Weinstein explores the use of language policy within selected countries, as tools for transformation, reformation and retaining the status quo. He remarks that governments, in the language policies they chose to implement need to determine what it is they may lose in terms of 'legitimacy' (p.19), should they chose a hegemonous path, the implication being that culture is ultimately marginalized, and therefore an infringement of human rights.

Pool (1990), "political power can be used to bring about language change, while language change can be used to redistribute political power" (p.13). Pool implies that language and politics are interdependent, and therefore a number of suppositions about the role of language can be made such as the nature of the political regime and its corresponding language regime. In addition, Pool comments that not only are the two regimes interconnected, but also serve to constrain each other.

Other studies such as Wiley and Wright (2004) address the politics underpinning the policies of minority language education in the USA, suggesting that language diversity needs to be established as a "national resource" (p.163)

"The codification of language has invariably been entwined with demands for political rights on behalf of communities" (Pupavac, 2006, p.61). Pupavac (2006) explores the relationship between language and rights, particularly those rights of minority groups. She argues that linguistic identity is part of cultural and political identity, and forms part of language communities. Yet, she points out that current international policies that promote "difference" (p.75), may well serve to undermine various minority language communities.

Pupavac (2006) asserts that emphasis on different language communities as an identity right may well result in a lack of communication and comprehension between groups, rather than promoting any forms of cultural assimilation.

From a similar standpoint, Patten (2001) states that the two most contended issues regarding language policy are "public recognition and individual linguistic autonomy" (p.692). Patten (2001) argues that this public recognition means the ability to conduct business in that language, and the offering of public services in that language. Patten (2001) suggests that multilingual approaches to policy are more about liberal politics, rather than practicality. Recognition of a language translates into recognition of a particular community or group, no-recognition implying subjugation or malignment. However, he attests that multilingualism does not necessarily equal social or economic equality, nor should language necessarily equal identity. Yet, Desai (2001) suggests that part of the problem has to do with the concept of 'multilinguism' and the difference between a student learning a language for enrichment, rather than for economic and social mobility.

Thomas (1996) provides a critique of the divisive nature of language, and language used as subjugation in the USA. He argues that language plays a role in national unity building in that "administrative aspects require strong communication among members of the government as well as in governmental interactions with the members of the nation" (p.131). Therefore those who do not speak English are less democratically disposed than those who do. As such, policy or legislation written to cement English as the official language of the USA, would not necessarily have the effect of 'unification', in fact, "restricting language rights creates divisiveness, not unity" (p.132) as suggested by Pupavac (2006).

Judd (1987) in his study of the proposed amendment of English as the language of the USA, states that such a proposal "served as a device for raising anti-foreign feelings in this country and appeals to people who either fear or detest foreign languages and culture" (p. 130).

2.3 Language in Education Policy

Concentrating on language policy as a whole in South Africa, Webb (1999) states that the inclining figures of learners selecting English as a first language over and above the indigenous language, is indicative of a mismatch between progressive LiEP and the underpinnings of the Constitution. Part of her suggestions for successful implementation of the policy would be that policy should be dependent on the situation, rather than one policy broadly encompassing 'education' as a whole.

Further, Webb (1999) makes criticism of the 'policy' of language in education, suggesting that in the areas of school governing bodies, language of teaching and learning as well as languages of study, the underlying policy is either unclear or contradictory in nature, thereby dissipating any clear objectives to implementation.

Likewise, as suggested by Webb (1999), as well as Granville et al. (1997) reflect that the inability for LiEP to explicitly direct the actions of schools and institutions has resulted in the current ambivalent situation.

The majority of studies regarding LiEP highlight implementation challenges, of which there have been many, and certain suggestions and recommendations are made as to how best to approach further implementation strategies.

Attitude as an inhibiting factor is frequently cited. "Many African language-speaking parents view the African languages in which much of their schooling was mandated during apartheid as part-and-parcel of the reasons for their disadvantagement" (Mda, 1997, p.372). The role of an individual's attitude towards a language in the success of implementing LiEP was further echoed in a number of other studies (Taylor, 2002; De Bot, 2007; Sutherland, 2002). "Attitude and motivation are everything in language learning" (De Bot, 2007, p.276).

However, Barkhuizen (2002) focuses on the learners themselves, and their perceptions and attitudes towards being taught Xhosa as a first language, and English as a second. Barkhuizen (2002) stresses that learner participation in further policy creation might be more influential considering the attitudes they themselves have towards mother-tongue education.

Suggestions as to why these attitudes persist are explored in a comparative study by Taylor (2002) who concurs that English is still the chosen favourite as method of instruction as "the Bantu Education Act, permanently stigmatised mother tongue education" (p.319).

Teachers are indicative of successful language acquisition whether it is as a result of their attitude towards the language, or the way they present the material (De Bot, 2007). The role of the teacher in terms of his/her own ability to speak and reflect and consequently, teach, in English was explored in a study by Reed (2002). Reed (2002) found that the dominance of English in teaching created a double bind in terms of other language promotion, and, unintentionally perpetuated indigenous language marginalisation.

Alexander (2003) asserts that the issue of tertiary education, with its emphasis on critical thinking, and hallowed halls of learning, needs to be addressed to reinstate mother-tongue

learning. In fact he states emphatically “we are dooming countless generations of South Africans, especially black South African youth, to a destiny of mediocrity and failure” (p.184). Alexander (2003) argues that the role of universities is crucial to perpetuating the current inequities by proffering the elitist role, and the nature of thinking in the language of which one is taught. As such the writer feels that universities can play a significant role in usurping this current position, to one that creates ample breeding opportunities for indigenous language learning.

Politically, Mda (1997) addresses the key historical issues around the formation of the LiEP, and in addition, predicts the subsequent stumbling blocks in effective LiEP implementation, as a result of the dichotomy of human rights promotion, yet also, economic participation. Similarly, Kamwangamalu (2000) attempts to find causality as to why LiEP has been largely unsuccessful in implementation, the reason for which is attributed to, in part, past apartheid policies.

However, perhaps most importantly, Webb (1999) confronts the issue that the policy is not politically promoted. As she wryly points out “promotion of Afrikaans did not begin with socio-linguistic fact-finding” (p.364). In addition, Granville et al. (1997) recommend that the learning of an African language be made compulsory, much similar as the emphasis on Afrikaans during the National Party’s government.

Further studies emphasise greater political, social and economical buy-in. Hornberger (2002) likens the implementation of education language policies to that of ecological systems, in which “language evolution, environment and endangerment”(p. 35), are all inter-dependent.

In response, Kamwangamula (2000) addresses the failings of LiEP towards a more ‘market-oriented’ approach, with language as a commodity that needs to be highly prized and incentivised in order for any real change to take place. In her study, De Wet (2002) acknowledges that although English is chosen as the preferential language of learning, indigenous languages, regardless of their position within the global community, may enjoy as much success as English, if emphasis is placed on their “economic, political, cultural and educational value” (p.122).

A study by Desai (2001) illustrates the reality of education in a language that is not mother tongue, and the limited reply of students to a task when challenged to do so in English. The suggestion is that part of the solution to the problem may be to give greater value to African languages within political and economical spheres. Yet it is acknowledged that in order for this to happen, indigenous language speakers need to uphold their own rights.

However, De Bot (2007) suggests that not only is the position of English shifting from that of dominance, but also what "constitutes learning" (p.274), suggesting that perhaps the entire education system needs reconceptualising. In addition, De Bot (2007) points out that necessity to learn a language is most successful when it results in increased ability for job success, rather than any attempts to integrate interculturally. In addition De Bot (2007) considers the role of traditional educational institutions in language acquisition, when studies (Bonnet et al, 2002, as cited in De Bot, 2007) indicate the role of the media as becoming increasingly significant.

Granville et al (1997) approach LiEP from the unique perspective of the writers being English teachers. Their concern is of the relative hegemony of English in South Africa, and both its "symbolic and economic power" (p.8). A number of recommendations were made including the increasing of the availability of English in order to disestablish the language as 'elitist" (p.15), not necessarily with English as the medium of instruction, but certainly as a language subject.

As LiEP is not a national policy per se in the U.K., research in this area tends to be sparse. Sutherland (2000) uncovers the various policies towards indigenous language teaching in the UK, in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. "The problem arises when educational systems have to decide whether to devote resources to the continued teaching to the home language of the minority or move children's learning to a language widely used in the community and the wider world" (Sutherland, 2000, p.207). In this study, LiEP is up to the local authority in each case.

From the above review of the research of LiEP it is clear that there are hurdles with regards to implementation, and that this aspect of research has been well-covered. Therefore, the proposed research will help to fill research gaps on the political aspect of the policy.

2.4 Comparative Studies

Brock-Utne (2004) examines the similarities between the language in education policies of Tanzania and South Africa. She argues that both are similarly placed in that both are former colonies, whose marginalisation of the indigenous culture resulted in language subjugation. Part of her debate is that English should not be the medium of instruction as the teachers are not fluent in the language, and therefore instruction is confused. Yet, there is reluctance for schools to adopt Kiswahili as a language of instruction.

Brock-Utne (2004) raises the issue of code-switching, i.e. switching from language to language in order to make yourself understood. “Thus when teachers see that their students do not understand because they are using a language that is unfamiliar to the students, they perform what is known as code-switching” (Brock-Utne, 2004, p.69). This method of teaching was found to be prevalent in both Tanzania and South Africa in order to help deliver the curriculum to the learners. Likewise, there is further comment on the superiority of a foreign language (English or French), in these two countries.

Further comment suggests that Britain (by way of donor) continues to apply ‘colonial’ pressure onto these countries by determining their language of economics, politics and education.

Balfour (2007) compares the university language policies of both South Africa and the U.K. arguing that the two countries have similar outlooks with regards to multiliguism and language policy responses. However he notes that while ideological language policies are in place, the so-called ‘minority languages’ are, as a result of university as well as globalisation pressures, being maligned. He also suggests that perhaps the reason these policies fail is that people “vote with their feet” (p.43) and chose the language that “ensures upward mobility” (p.43). Likewise he notes that governments’ lack of visible commitment to promoting minority languages helps compound the hegemony of English.

2.5 Language Policy and Social Integration

Konig (1999) concludes that multilingualism is successful in terms of social integration in countries that are multi-ethnic. Konig (1999) also examines the relationship between multilingualism within a democratic state, which traditionally espouses homogeny in language. Within the ambit of international human rights, Konig discusses the issues of creating multi-lingual public spheres in order for a multi-ethnic population to interact with the political democratic structure.

Konig (1999) suggests that language typically represents a “shared world view” (p.401)Tantamount to this argument is that language represents not only the culture, but also its history, political affiliations, opinions and customs.

Kriel (2003) questions if “economic paradigms shape culture, at least to a certain extent, how do they impact on language?” (p.2). In particular, Kriel (2003) focuses on the identity of white Afrikaans speakers in the post-apartheid South Africa. “Certainly multilingualism in the domain of economic activity is achievable if individuals are fluent in two or more languages,

or, more accurately, are able to take part in context free communication in these languages" (p.19). Kriel criticises the role to which economic viability is concurrent with "semantic" work, and therefore a need for multilingualism. In addition, Kriel (2003) concurs that language is symbolic of identity, that despite the current economic push for homogenisation, sees a resurgence of pride within the Afrikaners, not only for identity but "social power" (p.19).

In general, the relationship between social integration and language policy is a relatively new field, and most studies available concentrate on the debate of multi-cultural versus homogeny, such as the American 'melting-pot' concept.

2.6 Conclusion

From the Literature Survey certain themes begin to develop from the various literature and previous research in order to formulate concepts. Although the literature has been well-explored it is by no means exhaustive, as only those aspects most relevant to the proposed research topic have been selected. Certainly from the Literature Survey it can be ascertained that there is scope to explore the wider environment of the language in education policies, and its implication in terms of social integration, as it is an angle not as yet fully developed by any previous researchers. Indeed the suggestion that these policies might be political constructs rather than concrete policy options seems to have been occasionally hinted at, yet not explored.

Likewise, from Balfour (2007) it is evident that there are more similarities between the U.K. and South Africa's position of language in education policies, thereby providing further impetus to the comparative nature of the proposed study.

The Literature Survey has explored the various research that has been undertaken in terms of the importance of language and its relationship to effective social integration. The Theoretical Framework (Chapter 3) seeks to further explore and expand the concepts of social integration in terms of the theoretical constructs of social inclusion/exclusion. In addition, the underlying theory regarding the policy process, policy analysis and policy implementation will be examined to provide a framework for the research results.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

As can be drawn from the Literature Survey (Chapter 2), research into language in education policies has been focussed on aspects of implementation. Likewise, research on language as a powerful tool for social integration has been hinted at, rather than fully developed. Nevertheless from the Literature Survey, the basic themes of political environment and social integration can be seen as arising. In addition, the research draws on a number of pre-existing theories regarding social inclusion and social exclusion, political environment, and the public policy process. These theories are not exclusively related to language or language policy itself, yet, where applicable, the relationship to language or language policy has been explained. However, despite their generalisation, these theories are relevant to the objectives of the proposed research.

The proposed framework first seeks to establish what is understood by the political environment of the relevant language in education policies. From the theory, the political environment broadly encompasses the identifying of the relationships between various stakeholders. These relationships, in turn, are then placed in terms of influence or ability to influence. This influence or authority, is largely explained within the multiple theories of power. Establishing the political environment aids in establishing the use of policy as a potential political tool to gain leverage amongst the various stakeholders.

Theories of power, outlined below highlight the complexity of establishing power, as well as providing definitions as to what power is. The relationship between political environment and power will help to identify the power relationships in establishing the language in education policies as political tools.

Further to the political relationships, the policy process of language in education policies itself will be explored to provide information regarding the establishment of both the political environment, as well as the power plays between stakeholders within this process. Therefore, the theory of what constitutes public policy is complementary to these overlapping theories.

Lastly, the concept of social inclusion/exclusion is explained in order to establish the criteria for its theoretical outcome - that of social integration. Social integration is as such, less of an

unwieldy lexical construct than social inclusion/exclusion; therefore it has been used in constructing the objectives of this proposed research. The theory of social inclusion/exclusion will provide the framework for providing the answers to the language in education policies implications for social integration, and as such explores the arguments presented by researchers around this social conundrum.

Not only does the following theoretical framework provide the necessary theory in which this proposal is couched, but also helps to determine preliminary themes and concepts for the research analysis stage.

3.2 Political Environment

Dahl (1961) examines the explanations given to the question, “who governs?” a suggestion of which is that neither individuals nor political parties run government, but interest groups, which “asserts that beneath the façade of democratic politics, a social and economic elite will usually be found actually running things” (p.6). Although the statement is meant to be sardonic, the acknowledgement that ‘politics’ is more than the political party in power is the crux of determining the political environment.

Broadly speaking, Anderson (1997) states “policymaking cannot adequately be studied apart from the environment or context in which it occurs” (p.51). The environment determines the behaviour or politics of the various stakeholders in the policy process.

However, ‘environment’ in this case does not refer solely to those individuals and organisations surrounding an issue, but also to the relationships of power and authority exercised to influence a situation. As defined by McLean (1996), politics are centrally concerned with “1) government, the state and public affairs, 2) human conflict and its resolution, or 3) the sources and exercise of power” (p.389). Yet, although this definition suggests politics in context is concerned with either option 1, 2 or 3, ‘politics’ broadly encompasses all three subtexts in a ‘political environment’, and the relationship between them.

Dahl (as cited by Ham and Hill, 1993) argues that power relationships constitute of actors having different preferences in a context. Again, the emphasis is on the context to determine the nature of power relationships.

When formulating or implementing language in education policy, various stakeholders will be involved in varying degrees to influence decision-making, and ultimately, each stakeholder

has their own agenda. As such, policies cannot be reviewed in isolation, but within the political environment they were created.

3.3 Power

Dahl (as cited by Lukes, 1986) describes power as an abstract concept in that "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do" (p.2). Power, it can be argued, is multi-layered; taking into account that power is embedded in historical and social structures (Arts and Van Tatenhove, 2004). Likewise, there are different types of power, such as dispositional and/or relational. McLean (1996) suggests that power can be taken in five forms, "force, persuasion, authority, coercion and manipulation" (p398-399).

Arts and van Tatenhove (2004) suggest that "politics and (policy) is often portrayed as being situated between 'power' and 'rationality'" (p.339). Arts and van Tatenhove (2004) proposed a multi-layered concept of power, namely relational, dispositional and structural power linked to agencies, resources and legitimisation respectively. Galtung (as cited by Skutnall-Kangas, 2000) differentiated between three types of power; innate power, resource power and structural power (p.403), further echoed by Galbraith (1983).

Power can also often be confused with authority and influence, which although are similar and can be interconnected, are not exactly the same concept (Bell, 1977). However, Bell (1977) reminds that power and its various forms are "relational" in that they can only exist in a setting where there are two of more actors interacting (p.17).

- **Power and influence**

Dahl (1963) speaks of influence in relation to power, i.e. how "A gets B to do something B would not otherwise do" (p.41). Yet determining how much influence political actors have is entirely another matter. As Dahl (1963) sardonically notes part of the art of politics is being able to ascertain other actors' hidden agendas, and thereby bargain accordingly, not to mention conceal your own position. Therefore ascribing intention is a complex issue, and hence, determining what behaviours will be most influential perhaps even more so.

Dahl (1963) suggests that in order to determine the relative influence of political actors perhaps it would be prudent to denote said influence "specifically" in relation to each issue, the rationale being that each actor influences to a lesser or greater degree depending on both the issue and the measure used. Bell (1977) suggests that in order to be influential, in

order to use power, success relies on a "variety of bases" (p.26), such as the actor's position, or to what extent other actors owe him 'favours'.

However, Dahl (1963) lists three reasons as to why some actors are more influential than others, namely the amount of political resources available to the actor, how many of them are used to gain influence, and whether or not these resources are "skilfully and effectively" (p.41) applied.

The concept of influence is crucial to the objective of establishing the 'publicness' of language in education policies. Likewise, influence is also relevant to establishing which of the various stakeholders have greater or lesser influence, and for what reasons.

- **Power and authority**

Bell (1977) defines authority as "a relationship between a superordinate and one or more subordinates which, when activated by communication, leads to compliance with 'orders' or 'commands' issued from above" (p.18). The nature of the 'communication' gives direction as to the underlying intent of the message. Authority is more to do with one who commands, rather than influences a situation.

Certainly the relationship between authority and the various policies implementation gaps is worth considering. Language in education policy that has been generated by government could be stamped with the necessary authority, rather than allowing spaces within the policy itself for manoeuvring towards alternative agendas.

- **Power relationships**

The one dimension of power as purported by Dahl, suggested that observing decisions made, and verifiable, observable behaviour constituted the full picture of power relationships. This view was criticised by Barach and Baratz, who suggested that non-decision making with the intention of suppressing political conflicts was as important as decision making (as cited by Ham and Hill, 1993). Lukes (1993) further argues that Dahl's theory rather details the 'diversity' of decision making, rather than explaining the reasons behind it.

Dahl (1967) remarks that should a citizen suspect that he is in a minority position; he or she will be more likely to be unhappy with the majority win rule. Democratically speaking the majority holds the most influence, and therefore wins. However, if you are one of the minorities in a situation, how does the holder of the greater power affect you, and

subsequently, how do you go about developing your own power in order to make your voice heard?

Although the language in education policies seem to be 'listening' to those in both a literal and figurative minority position, the overriding picture is that of a majority rule. A situation that is awkward in that both the U.K. and South Africa define democracy as embracing the concept of human rights, which would seem to negate the concept of majority rule.

Galbraith (1983) argues that in modern times, more people have access to power, or "the illusion of its exercise" (p.170), and therefore, a greater diffusion of power amongst societies. Whereas in the past, power was yielded by a select few who controlled the masses, those against power structures can now resist depending on the political regime they find themselves within.

- **Why power?**

Lukes (1986) suggests that "the outcomes of power must serve the interests of the powerful" (p.5). Yet the discussion remains on how to determine those interests, as more often than not, these interests will not be for public consumption, and therefore inference will have to be made in order to make sense of behaviour. Lukes (1986) third dimension of power "allows that power may operate to shape and modify desires and beliefs in a manner contrary to people's interests" (p.10). By implication, Lukes examines the relationship between power and freedom, and thereby, the relationship between intention and affect.

Galbraith (1983) suggests that the pursuit of power is linked to groups or individuals "wanting to further their own interests, possibly to extend their personal, religious or social values and to win support for their economic or other social perception of the public good." (p.25). However, Galbraith (1983) too notes that those in pursuit of power have a tendency to mask this objective, hence the linking of power with 'hidden agendas'.

3.4 The Public Policy Process

John (1998) defines public policy research as determining "how the machinery of the state and political actors interact to produce public actions" (p.1). By use of the word 'machinery', there is an implication that there is a standard procedure to policy, a cookie-cutter effect as such, that suggests policy is both predictable and easy-to-manufacture with readily determined solutions. The factory analogy is limited in that although John acknowledges that

there is ‘interaction’ amongst actors, it is this interaction, which forms the basis of public policy. And these interactions are far from predictable.

Perhaps before defining what public policy is specifically, it would be prudent to begin with what policy is. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) suggest an array of features that characterise ‘policy’.

At first glance, it would be excusable to think of policy as one key decision pertaining to an issue, but, in fact, policy is comprised of a series of decisions. Language in education policies are made up of various decisions related to teacher development, curriculum development, the obligations and rights of schools, as well as those of individuals within the school system. From these inter-dependent decisions, goals can be set. “Policy is rooted in the assumption that political behaviour is goal-oriented or purposeful”, (Salisbury, 1968, p.34). The keyword here is ‘assumption’. As Hill and Ham (1993) warn, “policies may be more effective in giving the impression that government is taking action, and therefore in maintaining political support, than in tackling social problems” (p.15). Certainly, the policy is goal oriented, but the opaqueness on how to successfully implement these goals, and the perceived loopholes in how to avoid implementation, imply that policy may be a means to a political end rather than a bona fide solution.

Policy can be referred to as a ‘statement of intent’ (De Coning, 2006, p.3), yet this does not encompass the behaviour of actors involved in the policy process, those ‘interactions’ as mentioned by John. As Colebatch (1998) notes, “responsibility for policy in any given area will be claimed by some functionally defined groups of experts” (p.19). Yet each representative would have brought pre-conceived values, ideas and beliefs to the policy process that in turn, would have shaped ‘interactions’ with the other representatives.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) continue that sometimes policies denote both action and inaction; the purposes of policy may be redefined retrospectively during the implementation process, a suggestion supported by Parsons (1995) who recognises that policy may have ‘unintended’ action that takes place, and therefore needs to be revised. Policy takes time to unfold; policy is subjectively interpreted, evaluated and formulated; and lastly, policy focuses on the relationships both between and within organisations and/or institutions. Although the authors contain the key elements of what makes up ‘policy’, they have not as yet mentioned the state in which the policy is created, nor these governmental influences.

Salisbury (1968) echoes the suggestion of Hogwood and Gunn, that policies are goal-driven. Yet, Salisbury suggests that policy can be defined as that of ‘authoritative and sanctioned

decisions by government actors' (p.34) and the broad scope of authoritative rules that are not applicable to government. Salisbury, like John, sees policy as ultimately controlling 'public actions' (the product of his policy factory). However, I think Hogwood and Gunn's acknowledgement of the dynamism of policies, and their changing goals is more expressive, and certainly more realistic of the policy process.

Salisbury though, touches on the crux of policy that is somewhat glossed over by Hogwood and Gunn, in that it reminds us that government has the necessary authority to push through policy as and when it wants to. Ultimately, the final authoritative say is that of the government, who can enforce policy through legislation. Or not. Which asks then just how 'public' can policy be, when government as the most concentrated source of power and influence, can enforce its will?

"Public policy can be understood as the public solutions that are implemented in an effort to solve public problems. Policy actors, or players, are those individuals and groups, both formal and informal, that seek to influence the creation and implementation of these public solutions" (Cahn, 1995, p.201). Unlike, John's analogy of the factory issuing policy to determine 'public actions', Cahn, highlights the public as being more than the reason policy is needed, but part and parcel of the policy creation itself – 'public solutions'.

3.5 The Policy Process

John (1984), in his machinist definition of policy, is reminiscent of the seemingly agreed, structural, logical framework of the policy process itself. Theodoulou (1995) outlines the commonly understood stages of the policy process – problem recognition and issue identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, policy analysis and evaluation.

Although this process seems linear, in reality it is more of a symbiotic framework of inter-related steps.

Policy Models

- Pluralist theory

"Pluralist theory is based on the assumption that the struggle between groups, in which the state acts as a neutral referee, constitutes the essence of political life", (Booysen, p.170). Language is indicative of a collective social group. In this country, the language you speak is, relatively speaking, the language of your political party, certainly it is the language of your

region – isiZulu in kwa-Zulu Natal, Northern Sotho in Limpopo Province. On the surface, the LiEP would seem to be a 'win-win' solution in that all languages are seen as equal. But, how 'neutral' is the government 'referee'?

One of the critiques of the pluralist theory is that of the role of government. How much say and influence do they have in a truly pluralist setting? Dahl (as cited by Ham and Hill, 1993), interprets that government pursues its own agendas within the demands of those coming from outside government. The LiEP would be seen by the majority as an antidote to the ills of the apartheid language regime. And, indeed, even though the policy was formulated by a select representative group of the public, the government was part of the committee, and ultimately, had the influence to pass the policy through parliament. Therefore, it was less of the 'neutral' referee than intended. However, such is the nature of this policy that the majority of the population probably wouldn't argue with its recognition of mother-tongue education. That's not to say that they would conform with it either.

Pluralism, to a certain extent, implies that citizens' behaviour is indicative of their beliefs. What you see is what you get, with no underhanded power plays or agendas. Yet, when it comes to mother tongue education, in principle, it is agreed that it is the 'right' thing to do, and yet, when given the choice, parents and learners reach for instruction in English or Afrikaans. Behaviours and attitudes are clearly mis-matched.

Pluralism sees democracy as a representative system. Despite the policy process and the resulting representative policy, the current status quo suggests there is less than democratic representation. "Pluralist theory argues that sources of power are unequally though widely distributed among individuals and groups within society". (Hill, 1993, p.29). The idea is that no one group is more dominant than the other, though we know this not to be the case, power is 'unequally distributed'. As previously mentioned, English seems to be the chosen language in terms of instruction in education, in terms of government, in terms of business, even in terms of national radio stations, TV viewing and national signage. So for all intents and purposes, English seem to be the dominant language. Where does that leave the other ten? Afrikaans nationalists passionately defend their language and culture, despite having seen their language topple from that of the dominant to the dominated (Mooney, 1998). In fact, it needs to be reminded that the reason Afrikaans became as dominant as it did was sheer political will (Granville, Janks, et al, 1998) – so much for the 'neutral government referee'. Likewise, their language retains a high profile in consumer literature– most official forms or department store information is still translated into English or Afrikaans. So far, only Absa ATMs offer instructions in other indigenous languages, which seems to make a

mockery of government speeches in which Mbeki (1999) proudly announced that “we are actively doing all we can to promote the free and creative expression of all our languages”(p.26).

Perhaps the actor exerting the most social pressure is that of globalism? Granville et al (1998) acknowledge that “English may have had a colonial past, but it has a global future” (p.255). Already there is an ‘Americanisation’ of the African youth who listen to mainstream American hip-hop, and take their cue from American black youth culture. Which is in English. Yet, despite this influence, the rise of Kwaito has resulted in the use of both indigenous language, and, ironically, Afrikaans, effectively dispensing with English, thereby purposefully forcing any English speaker to have to know an indigenous language in order to be considered ‘cool’. (Swartz, 2003)

Dahl (1967), argues that this notion of ‘democratic’ majority, majority rule, slyly purports to be the will of the masses. However, he remarks that should a citizen suspect that he is in a minority position, he or she will be more likely to be unhappy with the majority win rule. But will they? Are current stigmas against indigenous language resulting in the majority preferring education in English as a first language, and indigenous languages as a literally an ‘at-home’ language? “Many African language-speaking parents view the African languages in which much of their schooling was mandated during apartheid as part-and-parcel of the reasons for their disadvantagement” (Mda, 1997, p.372).

- Institutional theory

Institutional theory raises questions as to the extent to which behaviour is governed by institutions (Hill, 1993). Government continues to address its people in English. Speeches are in English. Policy and government documents are in English. The State of the Nation address is in English. The Budget Speech is in English. Government institutions are sending a clear message as to which language they perceive to be of the most importance. The object of the Pan South African Language Board is “to provide for the recognition, implementation and furtherance of multilingualism in the RSA”, (PANSALB, 2007, p.1). PANSALB encourages educator’s forums in order to debate the teething problems regarded with the LiEP, and carries out research regarding the effects on language on education and academic performance (PANSALB, 2007). From the point of view of institutions, each have to adopt a multilingual approach; otherwise implementation solely in the education sector will raise eyebrows as to ‘why bother?’ if no one else in the country is doing so?

Dye (1995) suggests that there are three characteristics that government institutions give to public policy – “legitimacy, universality, and coercion” (p.19). Therefore, according to Dye’s theory, the government is presently telling learners to do as they say, not as they do. Government institutions, though, paradoxically, are in the best position to exercise ‘coercion’, to gently force learners to choose indigenous language tuition with English as a second language, as per the suggested ‘additive’ approach.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) understand institutional theory to be made up of the interactions between various players and organisations, various stages and the larger environment. Institutions are integral to the implementation of the LiEP. The state school system should be an institution which exerts the most influence. However, this is not always the case, as the school governing bodies at present, have the right to determine the language policy for a school. These ‘interactions’ made up of parent-teacher representatives in the governing body, interpret the ‘larger environment’ and therefore, taking their cues from the not-so-subtle messages around them, continue to opt for the English or Afrikaans methods of instruction. This covert form of discrimination is further compounded by its interpretation of the LiEP for its own exclusionist ends.

“Institutions and elite values structure the constraints and opportunities of decision makers and affect, but do not determine, how a policy sector operates” (John, 1998, p.43). Perhaps the ‘elite values’ of the LiEP LPEC did ‘constrain’ the decisions made in that by promoting inclusive language policy, they failed to acknowledge the effect that institutions and their capacity for change, would have on these ‘ideological’ premises. Hence, the ‘policy sector’ in this case, would deem to be the schools themselves, working within the auspices of the Department of Education. Unfortunately, the ‘policy sector’ has continued much as it did before the policy was passed, probably because the ‘policy sector’ does not exist in a vacuum, and is influenced by its relationship with other policy sectors, namely that of the business sphere. One of the purposes of the LiEP is “to promote full participation in economy” (Language in Education Policy, 1997, p.2), language proficiency in English is therefore implied

Possibly one of the most apt critiques of institutionalist theory is that institutions are not dynamic in themselves, the people inside them are, likewise they are not the reason for policy change (John, 1998). Institutions are static, it’s the people that make them dynamic, returning once more to the need to redress attitudes and beliefs within the system itself. Already there is a shortage of teachers, now there is an emphasis on indigenous language education, which means an extra resource that teachers will have to take on. Teachers

themselves are subject to the same stigma of mother-tongue education as some parents and learners. Likewise, their learning materials are predominantly in English so mother-tongue education will incorporate parts of English regardless. Changing attitudes and beliefs, as well as value systems regarding indigenous languages are what are needed for implementation. Effective institutions need to adopt these values if there is going to be any real change.

3.6 Social Inclusion/Exclusion

The Social Exclusion Unit (S.E.U.) was established by New Labour government "primarily to coordinate policy interventions across government departments, between statutory and other agencies, and to produce 'joined-up' solutions to complex problems" (Davies, 2005, p.4). The S.E.U. (1997) defined social exclusion as "a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown." (p.1).

Although the definition provided seems to be an adequate encompassment of the issue of an individual's inability to fully integrate within a society, further understanding and interpretation of the definition are far from 'integrated'.

Davies (2005) suggests that far from being "socialist or social democratic" (p.4), the New Labour government's response to this issue of social integration has more to do with economics. Indeed the U.K.'s answer to social exclusion is to promote employment. "The belief [that] employment equals social inclusion and unemployment equates with social exclusion" (Cook et al, 2001, p.13). U.K. Government's answer is to encourage individuals to work their way into 'inclusion' by means of "employment-centred social policy" (Cook et al, 2001, p.14)

Yet this economically parcelled solution implies that poverty is one of the main determinants of social exclusion, and that, should the 'impoverished' become economically active, they will automatically become 'included' in the broader social sphere. Yet by the very definition alone, exclusion is supposedly 'linked' to other 'misfortunes', and not poverty alone. For example, Beall (2002) suggests that exclusion may be "on the basis of identity" (p.45). Certainly, the inability to converse fluently in the dominant language of the country could be included under these 'misfortunes', as economic, social and political interaction becomes reduced or even non-existent.

Edwards et al. (2001) contend that social exclusion “offends against human dignity, denies people their fundamental human rights and leads,…, to marginalisation and deepening inequalities, which threaten the stability of democracy” (p.418). Yet, is this threatening of democracy concerned with those ‘included’ who hold the political cards, or with those excluded whose rights are being denied?

Likewise, Davies (2005) raises a number of pertinent questions that not only ask how relevant is the term ‘social exclusion’, but also whether or not it is such a bad thing to be ‘excluded’. Indeed Labonte (2004) asks, “to what degree might we consider wilful social exclusion by groups an important moment of conflict, an empowered act of resistance to socio-economic systems” (p.117). Underpinning Labonte’s theory is that voluntary exclusion may well serve to provide opportunities for a revolution of thinking counter to currently socially and economically accepted spheres.

A revolution that Labonte (2004) suggests is being kept stifled by those who are ‘included’ to keep the political and economical status quo. “Every example of contemporary social exclusion based on gendered or racialised difference will also have a material and class-based component, with some people deriving benefit from it” (Labonte, 2004, p.118). Perhaps the perpetuation of the use of English, above other languages, is a subtle ruse to keep the U.K. as a dominant world player in the globalisation game. The assumption being that the learning of English is alongside the learning of the English way of thinking.

One definition suggests that social exclusion “provides us with a useful heuristic tool for understanding both persistent and mutating patterns of social disadvantage” (Beall, 2002, p.50). The use of the word ‘persistent’ indicates that the cycle of social exclusion is perpetual, and suggests that an alternative solution may not be found at all. Certainly the recognition that social exclusion is subject to mutation is reflective of the multi-faceted, evolving environment in which modern individuals find themselves. And, indeed, this ‘mutation’ implies that one-size-fits-all solutions are doomed to failure, as with each ‘linked’ problem, a new problem emerges.

Keating (2003) describes joined-up policy making as “various powers and resources brought to bear on a problem from different angles” (p.429). Even with this multi-variate problem-solving approach, clearly social exclusion is more than an economic problem. Which then leads to the question of what then would be an ideal situation for the excluded – social inclusion, or social integration?

Gray (as cited by Davies, 2005) suggests that social inclusion is when “no one is denied access to activities and practices that are central in the life of society. An inclusionary society is a cohesive society” (p.23). A definition that may well challenge just what constitutes ‘activities’ and ‘practices’. Surely, a modern democratic state would ensure equal access and availability to all?

“Social inclusion or social integration tends to adapt people to the needs of markets, rather than regulate markets to the needs of the people” (Labonte, 2004, p.119). Labonte (2004) is suggesting that any efforts by government to successfully ‘integrate’ those who are excluded will be in line with whatever it is that current economic markets need. Therefore, not only must individuals find themselves work (in a competitive, globalised, capitalist market), but also conform to those other standards by which ‘others’ will deem him/her socially acceptable.

This inclusion equals conformity debate is further alluded to by Edwards et al (2001) - “inclusion is primarily positioned within a philosophy of identity that denies difference” (p.423). If social inclusion means homogenisation, wherein lies cultural identity in a multi-cultural country such as the U.K. or South Africa? Therefore should the solution to exclusion lie somewhere within the spheres of social capital or social cohesion?

The concept of ‘cohesion’ is certainly broader than that of inclusion, which requires individuals to classify themselves possibly unfavourably, and perpetuate out-group prejudice. Keating (2006) argues that policy can be seen as a “contribution to strengthening the social fabric” (p.431).

“Social cohesion became the unstated aim of diminishing state programs and services, to patch back together communities unravelling with digitised, marketized and globalised inequalities” (Labonte, 2004, p.116). In his definition, Labonte attempts to peel back the layers of debate surrounding social exclusion to the root cause of disintegrating social fabric, which he sees as the emergent modern dependency on technology with its isolating implications. Yet social cohesion implies the gelling of individuals together in order to fulfil a common goal or with common values, rather than any attempts at social participation.

As for social capital, such a concept harks back to the economic link. “Social capital builds a linguistic bridge between those in the market and those in civil society” (Labonte, 2004, p.117). People as capital within a free market economy.

Solutions to the problems of social integration are complex, and seem to be in need of wider policy responses to that of social exclusion/inclusion. Yet, countries such as South Africa and the U.K., are multi-cultural, multi-lingual, and promote human rights within a democratic, political framework suggesting that although current debates around social inclusion/exclusion seem to be cyclical, the concepts themselves are relevant in a modern pluralist setting.

3.7 Knowledge Economy

A knowledge economy is an economy based on the commodity of knowledge rather than a tangible object. Over the past decade, with the increase in ICT related functionality, the move from resource based economies to knowledge economies has begun.

3.8 Social Capital

Although the concept tends to be vague and somewhat lacking in consensus, there is some suggestion that social capital relies upon the interlinking of social networks in order to promote development. ”Social capital is generally understood to mean the social structures and networks necessary for sustaining collective action” (Prakash and Selle, 2004, p.18). The understanding of ‘action’ links to the notion of members of a society being active participants of that society - the notion of civic engagement. However the nature of this engagement tends to be viewed differently depending on whether political or purely social.

Other definitions view social capital as “variety of different entities with two things in common: i) they consist of some aspects of the social structure, and ii) they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure” (Coleman, as cited by Torsvik, 2004, p.259). Coleman’s definition relies upon the notion of an underlying structural form to the notion of social capital, delineating the need for appropriate institutions for engagement. Those institutions tend to be governments, political systems and aspects of civil society.

There is even suggestion that social capital, can as such, be bridged, in that those organisations with stronger social capital can elevate the social capital of weaker organisations (Prakash and Selle, 2004). Therefore, capital, much like its economic counterpart is not necessarily a fixed entity but expansive and contractive in response to external or internal stimuli.

However, unlike economic definitions of capital, the ultimate commodity seems to be that of goodwill, or some other form of altruism. Dekker (2004) suggests that social capital is a

"collective or public good" (p.88). This definition is underlined by the notion of trust and reciprocity between individuals that makes up the collective 'good'. The question then is that of connectedness, and how comfortable individuals feel with other individuals to form groups and interact with each other for the 'common good', whatever that might be. Essentially social capital is about the forming of human relationships that provide platforms for growth, whether that is economical, social or political in nature.

However, central to the theory of connectedness is the issue of engagement or participation within an organisation or association. There needs to be a certain level of involvement. And to that extent there needs to be a certain level of effectiveness/influence in both an individual and collective capacity in order for that engagement to be both meaningful and worthwhile.

3.9 Conclusion

Theoretically, language policy and its relationship to the social, tends to be studied from a linguistic point of view, reviewing and researching the actual political discourse. This concentration on syntax, although relevant to political theorists, does not concentrate on the broader field of social integration as such. Therefore in order to effectively answer the question of inclusion, the above theories of power, pertaining to broader political constructs have had to be drawn on, rather than other theories regarding language and its relationship to power.

In a similar way, the theory of social inclusion/exclusion started as a policy response to various social and economic misfortunes of citizens. The term social inclusion/exclusion is broad, yet it acknowledges that problems which disallow for full enjoyment of citizenship tend to be linked. In addition, the social inclusion/exclusion debate is further confounded by the transient understanding of social capital, and how this socialist theory will continue to develop within a global perspective. Language, although not expressly mentioned, certainly underpins the references to different cultures, and the inability to integrate successfully.

Theory pertaining to the public policy process provides pointers as to what the role of policy is, what makes it public, and how the policy cycle works. These pointers, although generic, translate to language in education policies, and help to provide the necessary angles to research further.

The theoretical framework outlines the theory underpinning the proposed research. As such, the relevant 'voices' of each theory have been explored in order to firmly place the proposed research within current theoretical constructs.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The field of research that this study hopes to explore is that of the intended and unintended consequences of policy and the broader implications for social integration. Indeed, such a study could say to overlap within the rather broad ambits of policy, language, education and cultural studies.

Therefore, in order to sufficiently address the research problem within its broad inter-connected parameters, the research approach detailed below has been selected. The use of qualitative research will help to provide in-depth answers to the questions posed, rather than establishing figures as per a quantitative approach.

Foremost, the study has a comparative nature, allowing the researcher an opportunity to draw parallels between the two countries. Comparative studies help to provide further explanations to phenomena that may not be apparent in singular case studies.

4.2 Research Approach

4.2.1 Explanatory Research

Using qualitative methods “can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon” (Corbin, 1990, p.19). This need to ‘uncover’ and ‘understand’ lies behind the premises of explanatory research, which “aims to provide causal explanations of phenomena” (Durrheim, 1999, p.40). Indeed the primary research question asks how language in education policy has revealed consequences and therefore, what then are the implications for social integration. Although this research is not intending to uncover ‘causality’, these ‘causal explanations’ should help to answer the secondary questions regarding social integration.

However, unlike traditional explanatory research that relies on predominantly quantitative data, this research has been undertaken with data that is qualitative in nature.

Qualitative research can “refer to research about persons’ lives, stories, behaviour, but also about organisational functioning, social movements or interactional relationships” (Corbin, 1990, p.17). This definition contributes to the determination of ‘how’ the languages in

education policies have been formulated and implemented. However, Ritchie and Spencer (1994) argue that the increase in qualitative research is "underpinned by the persistent requirement in social policy fields to understand complex behaviours, needs, systems and cultures" (p.171). In order to 'understand' the complex social and political structures surrounding the language in education policies, qualitative research provides a more rich and detailed reason as to 'how', as well as provide possible explanations as to 'why'.

4.3 Research Method

4.3.1 Comparison

Foremost, this study takes the form of comparison.

Keman (1999) agrees that the method of comparison is not merely about the comparative process itself as a means of an analytical tool. The writer suggests that the use of comparative "is capable of explaining and interpreting multi-level variations of the core subject" (p.22). Indeed, one of the key questions when undertaking a comparative study is to determine how the two subjects are similar to or how they are different from each other, or in this case, countries and their particular language in education policies. Yet, the core subject of language in education policy is contextually different depending on the country in which it is formulated and implemented. The study is about establishing both the literal and metaphorical relationships that make up the environment of the language in education policy and its relevant stakeholders, and thereby determining how these policies have been formulated. Therefore by making use of a comparative between the U.K. and South Africa, these 'multi-level variations' should help to reveal common and uncommon patterns, and thereby present new ideas towards theory building.

"The comparative study immediately suggests the laboratory of a scientist" (Macridis, as cited by Keman, 1999, p.24). Such a definition highlights the uniqueness of comparison in that numerous 'variables', such as political, social, historical or economical backgrounds can be brought to bear on a research problem, thereby providing different outcomes, and opportunities for comparison.

However, much like a traditional scientific experiment, "what the researcher is attempting, is to identify the necessary and sufficient conditions under which the relationship occurs in reality" (Keman, 1999, p.32). So not only is the comparative study suited to providing information as to what the variables are, but also how these variables have differing levels of impact. In addition, the use of comparison helps to clarify the position of 'reality' and provide

causal explanations for this 'reality', thereby providing a potential advance in theoretical knowledge bases.

Essentially, the LiEP and the NLS are fundamentally different – each was constructed in different contexts, with seemingly different approaches to implementation. However, the purpose of each policy is similar – social and subsequently, economic inclusion. Therefore comparison is as if looking at two sides of the same coin. Nevertheless, potential differences in policy implementation may provide alternate implementation solutions for each country.

4.4 Data Collection

"Data gathering in interpretive research,…, involves development of ideas and theories about the phenomenon being studied, even as the researcher makes contact with gatekeepers and sets up interviews" (Terreblance and Kelly, 1999, p.143). The writer's suggestion is that in undertaking qualitative research, the shape of the data collection process can be moulded by the data itself as the process unfolds.

That said, the data collection process can be broadly placed within two categories:

4.4.1 Desk-Top Study

In order to answer the research questions, the study primarily takes the form of a desktop approach.

Primarily the data has been drawn from the 'written word', to include newspaper articles, public statements, press releases and speeches made by the key stakeholders or their representatives. In addition, various policy documents as well as legislation have been examined. Likewise, items from various TV and radio media have been considered.

Making use of media reports for document analysis is known as "secondary observation", meaning, "the observation of the researched is twice removed from the source" (Rosnow and Rosenthal, 1996, p.81). Therefore, primary observation of data pertains to the policy documents, legislation, as well as public statements or speeches.

This approach is best suited to the proposed research as, as noted in the relevant theories of power as outlined in the Theoretical Framework, motivation tends to be covert and 'hidden'. Although interviews were to be used, and filled in any gaps apparent in the data collection, the use of multi-variate data in a desktop study helps provide multiple angles, as

well as provide the necessary hindsight to read between the lines, and establish these various motivations.

4.4.2 Interviews

In order to complement the information gleaned from the desktop study, certain key individuals were interviewed. These interviewees consist of representatives of key stakeholder organisations such as PANSALB, as well as representatives of the Department of Education.

Further, tertiary students in Gauteng were identified in order to gather further information. The sampling strategy was based on convenience simple random sampling and focus groups of twenty students were interviewed.

Although questions had been formulated prior to the interview, it is the interviewee's prerogative to amend or add questions as the interview unfolded, depending on the course of the interview.

Dingwall (1997) suggests that an interview is not like a conversation in that it is a "deliberately created opportunity to talk" (p.59). Yet although an interview is a 'planned conversation', part of the advantage of an interview is that is allows flexibility in terms of following-up, probing and investigating (Bell, 1999, p.135). Therefore rich, in-depth, open-ended interviews can help to answer further questions, propose a different angle to the problem, or shed light on a murky area, that opportunity for which might not otherwise have arisen, say if using a survey format.

Currer (as cited by Bowler, 1997) stresses that it is the relationship, or rapport between the interviewer and the respondent that will indicate success, implying that through this form of data collection, previously uncovered insights may reveal themselves as a result of the rapport between the interviewer and interviewee.

4.5 Data Analysis

There seem to be two inherent approaches to analysis, the first based on the actual language itself (discourse analysis), and the second that is more "descriptive or interpretive", content analysis (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p.6). For the purpose of this research I have made use of both types of analysis.

Jupp (2006) defines document analysis as " the detailed examination of documents produced across a wide range of social practices, taking a variety of forms from the written word to the visual image" (p.79). This second form of analysis shall form the basis of my research in order to 'read between the lines' of data, and not merely provide a detailed analysis of the data itself.

Different authors cite different processes, and a certain unique preference in terms of qualitative data analysis. However, all seem to acknowledge the propensity of data to become unwieldy and cumbersome in volume (Bryman and Burgess, 1994).

Accordingly, the five key stages to analysis as identified by Ritchie and Spencer (1994) are familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting and mapping and interpretation (p.178). Berenson (as cited by Rosnow and Rosenthal, 1996) suggests that there are three guidelines to be adhered to when undertaking content analysis. The first guideline is to ensure that the analyses are reliable, i.e. that each unit of analysis is carefully defined, therefore ensuring that different tests would reveal the same results. Secondly, 'themes' chosen should be relevant to the questions asked, otherwise the research question will remain unanswered, or insufficiently answered to draw conclusions.

Yet, Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) suggest that themes naturally arise from the data, and therefore, not prior to data collection. Okely (1994) too stresses that "classification is made after, not before fieldwork" (p.20), likewise Hughes (1994). Some theorists suggest a 'framework' approach to data analysis, in that "the approach involves a systematic process of sifting, charting and sorting material according to key issues and themes" (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994, p.177). An explanation that suggests that themes are established prior to analysis.

For the purposes of this study, the following approach to data content analysis has been utilised, based on the recommendations of fellow scholars. It does have to be noted that although the process is presented as linear, the steps 'themes', 'coding' and 'conceptualisation' were more circular in reality, and subject to inter-influence.

4.5.1 Themes

'Themes' chosen were relevant to the questions asked, otherwise the research question will remain unanswered, or insufficiently answered to draw conclusions.

4.5.1.1 Mapping the Environment

- Key stakeholders
- Government Authority

4.5.1.1 The Policy Process

- Legislative and Policy Framework
- Public Policy
- Public Policy Process
- Policy Formation
- Policy Analysis
- Policy Implementation

Themes pertaining to the policy process can be around the formulation, or the issue of consultation.

4.5.1.2 Social Integration

- Social inclusion
- Social exclusion
- Marginalisation
- Discrimination
- Assimilation
- Cultural homogeny

Themes emanating from the concepts pertaining to social integration are economic disadvantagement, and social prejudice.

4.5.2 Coding

“Coding represents the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualised, and put back together in new ways” (Corbin, 1990, p.57). Or as Bryman and Burgess (1994) state “coding provides the link between data and the conceptualisation” (p.5). Therefore the coding process is perhaps the most integral part of the content analysis.

What coding entails is the physical discovery of “patterns (repeated relationships between properties and dimensions of categories)” (Corbin, 1990, p.130) within the data. The coding process is further broken down into two subsections, namely open coding, and then axial coding (Bryman and Burgess, 1994).

Open coding relies upon the “gradual building up of categories out of the data” (Bryman and Burgess, 1994, p.5). Therefore, it could be argued that the coding process gives rise to the ‘themes’ or ‘categories’ that are encountered in the data, and therefore this step should be first. Yet, for ease of analysis, pre-determining expected themes helped to provide an analytical framework of reference. However, where the need arose during the coding of the data for the pre-determined themes to be augmented or adapted, the process remained flexible.

Therefore data collected will be ‘coded’ to slot within the various determined themes (and any further added themes). From there, connections are made between the categories of data, also known as axial coding.

4.5.3 Conceptualisation

From this process of coding, concepts arising from the associated data can be derived. Please see Section 5 for examples of conceptualisation as drawn from the Literature Survey and the Theoretical Framework.

4.5.4 Elaboration

The purpose of elaboration is to “capture the finer nuances of meaning not captured by your original, possibly quite crude, coding system” (Terreblanche and Kelly, 1999, p.144). Once the data had been sorted and coded, with connections established across the data, and concepts defined, the data had to be ‘elaborated’ upon.

Inferences were made from the data itself, as well as by what was not read – reading between the lines, as it were. From this juncture, possible explanations and conclusions could be drawn.

4.6 Validity and Reliability

Did the instrument measure what it was supposed to? “Validity is concerned with the soundness, the effectiveness of the measuring instrument” (Leedy, 1985, p.24). Validation is concerned with determining whether or not the method used for research was in fact sound. However, within qualitative research, validation “cannot occur through subsequent replication, since identical social circumstances cannot be re-created outside the laboratory” (Bloor, 1997, p.37).

In addition, “interview data are fraught with problems because of the activity of the interviewer in producing them” (Dingwall, 1997, p.60). Dingwall (1997) contends that interviews can be misleading in that the respondent suits their answers based on the non-verbal as well as verbal cues of the interviewer. Therefore, even with relatively innocuous or non-political questions, the data gleaned may be biased as a result of the respondent’s unconscious body language.

Reliability, the extent to which the study can be replicated, is more of a complex issue when applied to qualitative research, for the same reason as validity. Social phenomena are ultimately unpredictable, and the same study may invariably reflect different results as human behaviour is not scientifically consistent. Certainly in the case of language in education policies, both politics and policy are social constructs, therefore the proposed research may well require effort to determine validity.

Two methods that can be used in order to determine validity.

The matter of triangulation is “the wider the variety of evidence you can bring to bear, the smaller the area of doubt about your position” (Porter, 1994, p.70). In other words, triangulation is when research findings may be deemed valid “when different and contrasting methods of data collection yield identical findings” (Bloor, 1997, p.38).

However, there are some concerns that triangulation may be limiting in that results may be consistent or inconsistent depending on the research methodology applied. The question then is which method yields the most accurate result, and, what are the implications for multi-methodological research?

Another technique of validation is member validation – findings are validated on the premise that they correspond with “members’ descriptions of their social world” (Bloor, 1997, p.41). However corroboration is subject to change, and dependent on members’ interpretation.

Bloor (1997) suggests that neither triangulation nor member validation can successfully validate findings, yet they do contribute to validity in that they may provide alternative data or an alternative standpoint.

In order to establish validity, I made use of the method of triangulation rather than member validation. However, I proceeded with measuring validity on the advice of Dingwall (1997) who suggests two relevant tests for addressing problems of validity. First, is there a clear

distinction between data and analysis, and secondly, has the study looked for contradictory or negative evidence (p.62).

By approaching the issue of triangulation from these two ‘tests’, I could be assured of covering all possible alternative explanations for my research findings.

4.7 Limitations

In order to determine relationships that are political and social in nature, there is a certain amount of room for subjective, rather than objective interpretation, as by and large, such phenomena are unpredictable in response.

In addition, the proposed research is relatively abstract, which although contributes to knowledge, does not necessarily provide generalisations about the issue, nor does it proclaim to provide solutions. However, it does hope to begin research into this area of a more specific nature, and provide some suggestions for further research endeavours.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE POLICY PROCESS – South Africa

5.1 Language in Education Policy - An Introduction

In 1995, a discussion document “Towards a Language Policy in Education” was released by the Department of Education. The document outlined the need to redress the imbalances of the past and provided a platform for discussion as to the best way forward.

One of the primary recommendations listed in the document was the need to develop policy in such a way as to acknowledge its inter-connectedness with teacher development, materials development, syllabus change and assessment practices, human and material resource provision and democratic governance (Department of Education, 1995, p.15). In fact, this attention to the inter-relatedness and web of potential policy stakeholders and need for integrated solutions was seen to be at the heart of this basis document.

In this document the necessity to have more than one language of instruction was strongly stressed. There was even suggestion that schools would easily be able to remedy this situation as “the multilingual capabilities among teachers are closely matched with those of the learners” (p.26). However, in practice this would soon become apparent that attitudes towards indigenous languages were shared as much by the teachers as the parents, and the move towards multilingual instruction by the teachers was neither enforced nor encouraged.

Further, the preferred form of language acquisition is stated as additive bilingualism -additive bilingualism is when the learning of a second language does not interfere with the learning of a first language, and both languages are equally developed - which would speak to the need for the development of language above all as the end goal, rather than seeking any specific parameters as to which language. Although it was, as such, a discussion document, this need to specifically identify languages was not indicated, leading to the development of the current state of implementation in which English or Afrikaans is chosen as the primary language, with a home language not always the second language option. Further the teaching in English or Afrikaans is still not necessarily undertaken by a native speaker, leading to a perpetuation of poor language acquisition (Desai, 2001).

Interestingly one of the immediate issues stated was that “schools should be strongly encouraged to offer at least two languages of learning and instruction from Grade One, at least one of which should be a home language among significant numbers of learners in the

school" (p.18). This wording was later revised to the current LiEP which is not as inclusive as originally envisaged in this document. What is also of note is the fact that, depending on interpretation, two languages of instruction could be read from this issue. At present, one language of instruction is presented in the majority of schools, and it is predominantly English or Afrikaans, and in some cases, isiZulu.

Further to the issues outlined , "how learners whose home language differ from the available languages of learning may be identified and supported as decisively as possible; with due care to avoid stigmatising them in any way" (p.20). This need for support, although addressed in the eventual LiEP, does not state specific interventions or programmes that might provide said support. And surprisingly, although the initial fear was towards 'stigmatisation', the result has appeared to be exactly that with attitudes towards indigenous languages being perceived as 'less than', and Afrikaans still symbolic of a national party oppressive past.

One of the long term issues raised was that of "to investigate in depth,…, the introduction of incentives for educational institutions, including higher educational institutions, to adopt multilingual policies" (p.17). Sadly, the need for multilingual policies at tertiary education level still exists with the major universities medium of instruction either English or Afrikaans.

In the conclusion the discussion document states" one of the mistakes of the past has been to impose language policy from closeted bureaucratic quarters on the general public, and on the educational community in particular,….., and shows scant regard for the language realities of the country, and the needs and aspirations of its citizens" (p.31). Perhaps one of the key points in this statement is the 'language realities of the country'. If the LiEP were to reflect the realities of the modern South African landscape, English should be given the official nod as the language of government, economics and education. And surely if the policy were to reflect these 'realities' then mother-tongue education would be a reality, as it would reflect the vast number of indigenous language speakers in the country. Either way, a more decisive approach to 'all languages as equal' would need to be revised, and 'some languages as more equal than others' would have to be not only acknowledged, but formally and publicly stated.

5.2 The Legislative & Policy Framework

1995	The LANGTAG Report
1996	The South African Constitution, Act 108 of 1996

1996	The National Education Policy Act, Act 27 of 1996
1996	The South African Schools Act, Act 84 of 1996
1997	Language in Education Policy (1997)
2001	The Revised National Curriculum (2001)
2003	The Draft Implementation Plan: National Language Framework (2003)

Figure 4: Timeline of the Legislative and Policy Framework of multilingual education

Provision for multilingualism in education has been well-contained within a number of policy interventions. The over-arching legislation is contained within the Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution, namely that "Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable", Section 29(2).

Within the provisions laid out in the South African Constitution is the National Education Policy Act. Section 4 deals with language in education specifically as follows: "the right of every student to be instructed in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable", and "the right of every person to use the language and participate in the cultural life of his or her choice within an educational institution" Sections 4 a (v and vii).

The rights and duties of School Governing Bodies (SGB's) are expressly stated within the South African Schools Act. The SGB is responsible for determining the language policy of the school, and is governable therefore by both the Constitution and the National Education Policy Act.

5.3 Mapping the Environment

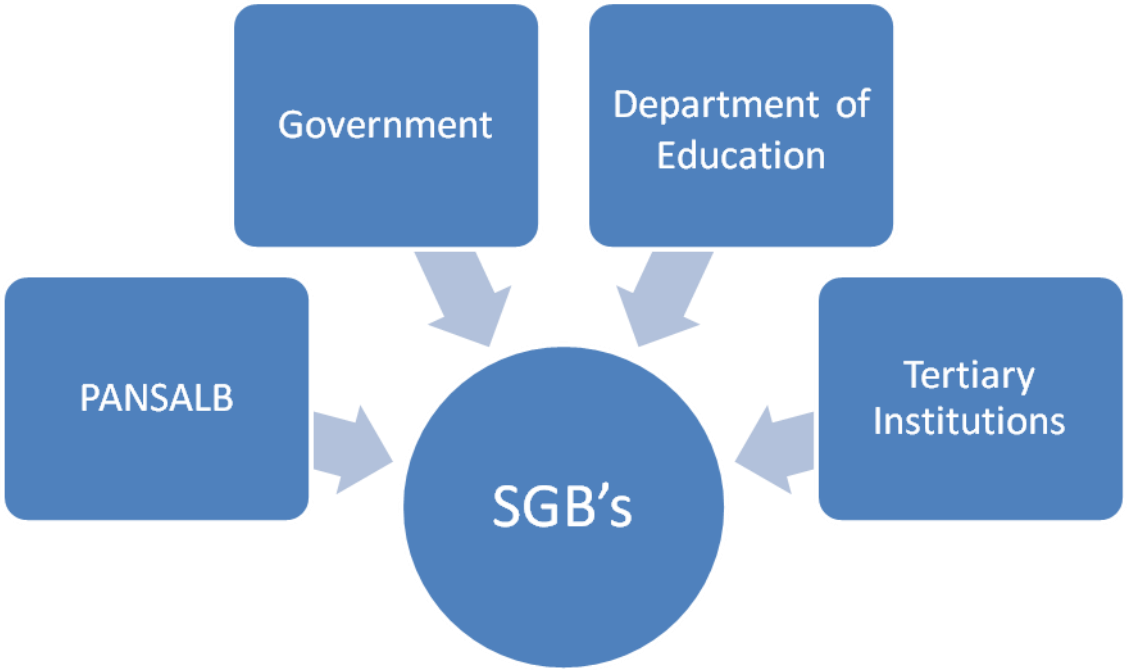


Figure 5: Stakeholder Environment – Language in Education Policy

In 1995, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, established an advisory panel LANGTAG (Language Plan Task Group) to devise a national language policy that redressed the inequities of language in the previous apartheid government. Constitutionally, "all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably" (Constitution, Section32[c]), and in 1996, LANGTAG submitted a document entitled, *Towards a National Plan for South Africa* (Desai, 2001;Taylor, 2002; Mda, 1997).

Making up LANGTAG were various sub-committees. To address the issues of language in the field of education specifically, a Language Policy in Education Committee (LPEC) was formed. LPEC consisted of the Coordinating Committee for School Curriculum (CCSC), South African teacher organisations, provincial language representatives, and the Department of Education (Mda, 1997). Decisions were made from ideas and formulations of examining international policies as well as constitutions.

The result was the Language in Education Policy in terms of Section 3(4) (m) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996 (Act 27 of 1996), to be read in conjunction with the Norms and Standards regarding Language Policy Published in terms of Section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996. The public, which included interested learners as well as school governing bodies, was invited to respond to the draft policy document.

The purposes of the Language in Education Policy are as follows:

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

(Language in Education Policy, 1997, p.2)

Despite this inclusive policy, implementation in mother-tongue instruction has been slow, and not enthusiastically received with 'full participation' from society (PRAESA, 2007).

Perhaps the most pertinent factor of the LiEP is the fact that it is "continuous" (p.1). The acknowledgement of the compilers of this policy, from the outset, of the transient nature of this policy is both comforting and slightly disillusioning. Indeed the suggestion that the policy, in line with the national plan, is to "encompass al sectors of society, including the deaf community" (p.1.). Needless to say it is this need to encompass that is providing the hurdles towards effective implementation.

The paradigm in which the policy operates is clear about its grounding in inclusionary precepts. "Recognising cultural diversity" (p.1) is one of the statements as is "respect for all languages" (p.1). In addition, this paradigm understands the complexities of language inherited from the apartheid system, and alludes to the potential difficulties ahead in terms of attitude towards the various languages and their relative historical 'rank' and symbolic meaning. And further to that the paradigm states that these historic policies, "have affected either the access of the learners to the education system or their success within it" (p.1).

Further, this policy respects the need for a multilinguistic society within an increasingly multilingual global context, encouraging language acquisition as a norm to be encouraged throughout schooling. Indeed a unique point about South Africans is their ability to be multi-lingual and as such should be seen as a marketable strength. The reasoning is simple; "to

counter any particularistic ethnic chauvinism or separatism through mutual understanding" (p.1).

As for the preferred method of language instruction, the policy paradigm highlights the dual-medium programme. However, it is understood, and clearly stated that the underlying principle is "to maintain home language while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language" (p.2). This veers somewhat from the popularly held view that language should be in the home language, but how does that contribute towards "promote full participation in society and the economy" (p.2) if that home language is other than English or Afrikaans? Further what is meant by 'effective'? Does effective mean ability to converse in basic terms, or does it mean acquisition of academic language? In order to participate 'fully' surely the need to have an 'effective' grasp of English, as chief unofficial language, would suggest more than an ability to understand basic English, and stress the need to grasp complex ideology and concepts in a more academically based English. Government departments such as Theta state that in order for those SMMEs involved in the 2010 World Cup, proficiency in English is a must.

Which brings to the next aim of the LiEP, namely that the language policy must be pursued that is "most supportive of general conceptual growth amongst learners" (p.2). 'Conceptual growth' requires more than a basic grasp of the language in which the concept is being taught. 'Growth' also suggests that in addition to grasping concepts, the application and analysis of these concepts in order to acquire greater conceptual knowledge will be necessary.

If the statistics show that the number of learners whose home language is not Afrikaans or English is accurate, then why is the vast number of learners being taught in a language that is not 'supportive'?

Yet, the policy continues to state that one of the aims is to "counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching" (p.2). Sadly, in the ten years since the inception of this policy, precious little in real terms has been done to correct this 'mismatch' and it is therefore perpetuated.

Perhaps one of the more distressing aims is to "redress the neglect of the historically disadvantaged languages in school education" (p.2). This neglect would appear to be continuing, and in part, thus perpetuation is as a result of the responsibility for language in education decisions being devolved to the parents.

Hence parents' attitudes towards language are more important than perhaps originally considered. What is of interest though is the clause which states that "where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a medium of learning and teaching, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language" (p.3.) So the question begs, since the inception of the policy, how many requests has the education department received, and for which languages?

Yet, this statement is almost immediately qualified by the following clause that states that "where there are less than 40 requests in Grades 1 to 6, or less than 35 requests in Grades 7 to 12 for instruction in a language in a given grade not already offered by a school in a particular school district" (p.4), thereby devolving the decision to the provincial department. However, 40 requests would in most cases mean the entire class. In all likelihood an entire class parent body would be unlikely to concur on the language choice. In addition, the provincial department on receiving such a request would have to have the necessary resources in terms of skilled teachers and textbooks, and schools are already under resourced.

5.4 Public Policy

At first glance, it would be excusable to think of policy as one key decision pertaining to an issue, but, in fact, policy is comprised of a series of decisions. LiEP is made up of various decisions related to teacher development, curriculum development, the obligations and rights of schools, as well as those of individuals within the school system. From these inter-dependent decisions, goals can be set. "Policy is rooted in the assumption that political behaviour is goal-oriented or purposeful", (Salisbury, 1968, p.34). The keyword here is 'assumption'. As Hill and Ham (1993) warn, "policies may be more effective in giving the impression that government is taking action, and therefore in maintaining political support, than in tackling social problems" (p.15). Certainly, the LiEP is goal oriented, but the opaqueness on how to successfully implement these goals, and the perceived loopholes in how to avoid implementation, imply that the policy may be a means to a political end rather than a bona fide solution.

In the case of the formation of the LiEP, the actors exerting influence were representatives of the larger South African education sector. Certainly these actors provided necessary authority to the proceedings and a certain amount of knowledge, by virtue of their position and expertise. As Colebatch (1998) notes, "responsibility for policy in any given area will be claimed by some functionally defined groups of experts" (p.19). Yet each representative would have brought pre-conceived values, ideas and beliefs to the policy process that in

turn, would have shaped ‘interactions’ with the other representatives. As Mda (1997) observes, many of the initial discussions took the “form of territorial defence” and in some instances, “demonstrated the divisive impact of racial/ethnic chauvinism” (p.370).

Salisbury, like John, sees policy as ultimately controlling ‘public actions’ (the product of his policy factory). The desired ‘public actions’ of the LiEP being of embracing multilingualism that encourages language equality in education, from being taught in your mother tongue, to being offered this choice in the first place. However, I think Hogwood and Gunn’s acknowledgement of the dynamism of policies, and their changing goals is more expressive, and certainly more realistic of the policy process.

Salisbury though, touches on the crux of policy that is somewhat glossed over by Hogwood and Gunn, in that it reminds us that government has the necessary authority to push through policy as and when it wants to. Ultimately, the final authoritative say is that of the government, who can enforce policy through legislation. Or not. Which asks then just how ‘public’ can policy be, when government as the most concentrated source of power and influence, can enforce its will?

“Public policy can be understood as the public solutions that are implemented in an effort to solve public problems. Policy actors, or players, are those individuals and groups, both formal and informal, that seek to influence the creation and implementation of these public solutions” (Cahn, 1995, p.201).

Using Cahn’s definition, a ‘public problem’ had been identified. Method of instruction in schools is either English or Afrikaans. Two languages which account for a minimal percentage of the population’s mother tongue. Therefore numerous learners continue to be disadvantaged in that they are taught in a language that is not their home language, and therefore can have a devastating effect on their future economic viability. The ‘public solution’ was made up of members of various representative committees of the ‘public’, as well as the government, who were essential to the drawing up of the policy. Although these representatives were ‘formal’, there were opportunities provided for ‘informal groups’ and ‘individuals’ to respond to the policy. However, it does have to be mentioned, that these notices were published in English. And as Mda (1997) wryly notes, the discussion forum of the LPEC was conducted in English, thus demonstrating part of the ‘public problem’.

Public policy, as defined by Hogwood and Gunn (1984) “comprises a series of patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group and organisational influences have contributed” (p.23-24). Perhaps this definition of public policy as a series of

co-related events and decisions is best suited to the South African context. A 'series of patterns' was realised by the re-structuring of policy by the first government of national unity. These re-structuring were in direct response to the previous apartheid government, and policy was re-written in collaboration with the human rights as set out in the Constitution. 'Related decisions' saw the formation of LANGTAG, as well as the PANSALB (Pan South African Language Board), in order to create an overall national language policy for this country that sought to recognise its' multilingual nature. Yet, as for 'personal, group and organisational' influences, in this case, only 'organisational' influences have, on the surface, been apparent in the policymaking process. However, each representative has their own 'personal' knowledge, values, and opinion that they submit in addition to the group they represent. Likewise, those groups aggregately represent the values and behaviours of individuals collectively.

5.5 Policy Formation

John (1984), in his machinist definition of policy, is reminiscent of the seemingly agreed, structural, logical framework of the policy process itself. Theodoulou (1995) outlines the commonly understood stages of the policy process – problem recognition and issue identification, agenda setting, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, policy analysis and evaluation.

- Problem Recognition

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 "saw to it that every ethnic group was educated in its own mother tongue. So, language became a yardstick for segregated education" (Kamwangamalu, 2000, p.124). The result of the Bantu Education Act's policy on mother-tongue education resulted in recognising and elevating English to a position of superiority, and indigenous languages to that of inferiority. The forcing of black learners to accept Afrikaans as their main method of instruction language resulted in the Soweto 1976 uprisings, and subsequently, English was allowed as the alternative to Afrikaans instruction. Unfortunately, this resulted in English taking on a superior position – one that has, over time, been augmented, and is now perceived to be the language of economics, education and of universal comprehension.

The problem now is that attitudes persist. English is still the chosen favourite as method of instruction as "the Bantu Education Act, permanently stigmatised mother tongue education" (Taylor, 2002, p.319). Yet, the fact remains in that academic achievement is more of a realistic goal when instruction and assessment is in a learner's home language.

- Agenda Setting

The agenda? To formulate a Language in Education Policy that promotes the use of mother-tongue instruction in schools, and therefore, in addition, encompasses such additional resources such as multilingual learner educational material, fully trained and qualified teachers, as well as an enabling school curriculum and environment.

- Policy formulation

The method of formulation has already been discussed above. But now, here is where adopting the stages model of policy processing falls short. The next two stages are policy adoption and policy implementation. How is the LiEP supposed to work? On paper, it makes provision for the promotion of multilingualism, for learners to be taught in their home languages, at least until Grade 4, and for the learners to request tuition in a language as a subject, should more than 35 learners request such. However, thus far, implementation has been almost non-existent requiring that further analysis be done in order to establish alternatives that might be more practical and viable than those originally suggested.

Although the theoretical model of the policy process seems to summarise categorically the various stages within the policy process, it is foolish to think that this is how policy works. Policy processes tend to be viewed in stages as linear, logical steps that follow on from each other. However, the reality is that policy processes are dynamic, and at any time, including implementation, policy can be revised, reviewed and re-structured in light of new information that may be at hand that was not present at the time of the initial policy drafting, and therefore effect the decision making process.

“Policy will often continue to evolve in what is conventionally described as the implementation phase rather than the policy-making phase of the policy process” (Ham and Hill, 1993, p.12). Certainly, in terms of the LiEP, the implementation phase is where the basic flaws of the decision-making employed in the formation of the policy have been evident, and therefore have sparked a need to re-visit the original decision making process.

Social scientists suggest that there are two types of decision making, namely rational and incremental, and that each uniquely effects the policy making process.

- Rational Decision Making

Rational decision-making pertains that “a problem can clearly be defined and separated from other problems” (Booysen, 2006, p.168). This type of decision-making is dependent on

having all available information needed to make a decision, implies there are no time constricts, and negates the subjective views of the decision makers. Therefore, although rational in this context purports to be 'right' rather than solely logical, policy does not conform to this bureaucratic way of thinking. Lindblom (1959), suggests that policy can only be deemed 'rational' 'good' or right if "it can be shown to attain some specified objective, where the objective can be specified without simply describing the decision itself" (p.119). Alas, the LiEP has fallen short of attaining its 'specified objectives'.

Further critiques of rational decision making are that it is impossible to be in possession of all available knowledge, and it makes unreasonable, weighty demands on the decision maker (Hill, 1997). It took two years for the LPEC to devise the LiEP. Was that time enough? Did they have all of the information available to them on how to implement such a plan? How much of the decision regarding the policy was influenced by the values of the decision makers? LiEP is politically correct, but not altogether practical. On the education website itself, the majority of key policy documents, bar one, are in English. If there is no mass-media campaign generated and practised by government to recognise and de-stigmatise African languages, then LiEP will remain a nice to have policy that lacks teeth.

As for 'separated from other problems', such a concept is virtually impossible, as policies overlap each other, as do human issues. The LiEP confounds a problem in teacher training in that, "shortages are being experienced in scarce skills areas such as Languages", (Department of Education b, 2006, p.11), and in addition, to teacher subject scarcity, "Of the 6000 new teachers likely to graduate in 2006, fewer than 500 will be competent to teach in African languages in the Foundation Phase" (Department of Education b, 2006, p.12). In addition, the policy is wrapped amongst a social blanket of stigmatism that will be hard to emerge from, without major social attitude adjustments towards mother-tongue instruction.

- Incrementalism

In theory, decision-making is more likely to be incremental, i.e. policy is based on past decisions, and tweaked and amended according to the arrival of new information (Hill, 1997). Yet, incrementalism "appears to be more appropriate to policy-making in periods of policy succession that to times of policy innovation or termination" (Lane 1990, as cited in Booysen, 2006).

On the surface, LiEP cannot be seen as an example of incrementalism, in that there was no previously inclusive policy regarding indigenous language use as a means of instruction. And yet what about the Bantu Education Act? I think it has been recognised for what it was –

"one of the strategies used by the apartheid government to deny the blacks access to higher education and thus restrict their social and economic mobility" (Kamwangamalu, 2000, p.126). However, the two documents look as though they are handling the situation in the same way, even though the LiEP aims to redress the imbalances caused by the Bantu Education Act, and is steeped in constitutional constructs that shape the nature of the policy. However, it has to be noted, that the LiEP's resemblance to the Bantu Education Act, is probably one of its major reasons for slow actor buy-in, and thus, implementation.

Lindblom (1959) suggests a method of "successive limited comparisons" (p.115). As I will discuss later, the Department of Education is currently revising the LiEP, by making slight changes from the original policy in order to make implementation more effective. Although these changes are both 'successive and limited', it is the 'comparison' part that is perhaps counter-productive. In the original drawing up of the LiEP, comparisons were made with other countries policies regarding language in education (Mda, 1997). However, we have a total of eleven official languages, not including sign language, as well as a number of other language communities, such as Portuguese. There is no specification of one dominant language such as English, as the language of economics - there is an implication in that it is the language currently used, but no expressed statement. In this way, we differ significantly from most other countries with a multi-linguistic citizenship, in that by attempting to be all-inclusive, perhaps we are over-reaching our available resources, hence the difficulties with capacity?

There is much criticism of the incremental approach to decision making, in that sometimes tweaking a policy that is not working or no longer relevant is a pointless exercise. Also, past experience might not reveal how to proceed in the future, and sometimes it may be more important to seek new opportunities to change things. (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Certainly, perhaps the biggest problem with the LiEP is its resemblance to the Bantu Education Act, and maybe re-thinking the entire policy would be better than editing and amending.

5.6 Policy Analysis

"An understanding of language ideology, vital to interpreting a new national language policy, must take into account both the rhetorical use of a particular ideology and the ideology that arises by default as a result of ineffective implementation" (Taylor, 2002, p. 334). Analysis of the LiEP has revealed its 'ideological' nature that has thus resulted in 'ineffective implementation'. In fact, LiEP is based on one ideology, of all languages as equal, while conflicting with another ideology, that of English as a 'world language'.

“Analysis is important primarily for its effect on the beliefs, or the belief systems, of political elites within policy subsystems” (Jenkins-Smith, 1990, p.89). Values were integral in the formation of the LiEP. It was formulated on the basis of human rights. Yet, it is these values that are challenging the belief structures of the current Department of Education, in that, much to their seemed amazement, learners themselves are less than keen to receive indigenous language method of instruction. “My colleagues miss the avalanche of rejections that land on Education Minister Naledi Pandor’s lap each time she mentions mother tongue instruction”, (Gqola, 2007, p.26)

“Our understanding of a policy and its outcomes cannot be separated from the ideas, theories, and criteria by which the policy is analysed and evaluated”, (Majone, 1989, p.147). Much like the stages or ‘theories’ suggested in the processing of policy, simple analysis paradigms follow the same linear procedure, and much like the decision making process integral to policy creation, the analysis process is not as straight forward, as it is shaped by the analysts ‘ideas and theories’.

The general ‘criteria’ for policy analysis are as follows:

1. Verify, define and detail the problem
2. Establish evaluation criteria
3. Identify alternative policies
4. Evaluate alternative policies
5. Display and distinguish among alternative policies
6. Monitor the implemented policy

(Sawicki and Patton, 1993)

Ironically, to ‘define’ the problem is that there is no mother-tongue instruction in South African schools - the same problem that resulted in the drawing up of the LiEP. Likewise, Mgqwashu (2004) notes that along with the problem of mother-tongue instruction not happening as desired, a further problem is that teachers are being expected to teach in English when it is not their first language. Reed (2002) suggests that teacher education programmes help to support teaching students in developing an academic literacy in English in order to allow them to better express themselves.

Therefore, the problem of adequate teacher training in basic and advanced English, is an additional problem, not necessarily taken into account with the original policy drafting.

In order to evaluate the policy, Moharir (2002) suggests six criteria a public policy must fulfil in order to be deemed successful – effectiveness, efficiency, responsiveness, innovation, political feasibility, and administrative feasibility. The LiEP has not been successful according to Moharir's criteria, namely in the criteria of administrative feasibility and responsiveness. There is both a lack of capacity and state schools have not responded as enthusiastically as policy makers would have envisaged. There are a number of reasons as to why this should be so, namely:

1) Attitudes towards indigenous languages, excluding Afrikaans. English is seen as the language of choice by a large number of the public, as English is the language of 'business'. During the years of apartheid, English was seen as a preferable alternative to Afrikaans. English still has some of this 'purity' rubbed off on it.
2) Instruction in an indigenous language is synonymous with Bantu Education, and therefore perceived to be inferior in standard.
3) Most textbooks, and other learning material such as DVD's or CD-ROMs are in English or Afrikaans.
4) Teacher scarcity – lack of human resources. There are already problems with teacher shortages, a problem that is being confounded with the HIV/Aids epidemic.
5) Tertiary Education is only offered in the mediums of English and Afrikaans, meaning that some level of instruction in either of these two languages would be necessary, otherwise career options would be severely limited.

Implementation of the LiEP has been slow, it lacks 'responsiveness' – it's been nearly ten years since the policy was passed. Therefore, after analysis, the Department of Education has proposed the following interventions:

1) A National six-year mother tongue education programme, aimed at using learner's home languages as a means of instruction in the foundation and intermediate phase
2) A national further and general education second language programme
3) A national indigenous language learning programme that will focus on the compulsory achievement of communicative competence in an indigenous language by all learners.
4) A national programme to make available to learners all external assessment tools in the national Senior Certificate
5) A national programme to revitalise the teaching and learning of indigenous languages in higher education institutions

6) Launching a vigorous information and advocacy aimed at assisting parents and learners to make informed language decisions
7) Development of capacity at all levels of the system to implement all aspects of the LiEP

(Department of Education a, 2006)

"Policy analysis is thus a systematic evaluation of the technical and economic feasibility and political viability of alternative policies" (Patton and Sawicki, p.24). Alternative policies have not been put forward, but alternative interventions have. Yet, these interventions will need to be analysed and 'evaluated' for their 'technical and economical' feasibility at various intervals. According to these authors, good policy analysis approaches the problem from various perspectives, integrates qualitative and quantitative information, and uses appropriate methods to test the feasibility of the proposed options. (p.24-25).

Van Tonder (1999) suggested the following initiatives to be undertaken for implementation – research on the current situation in SA schools, echoing the need for quantitative and qualitative data as per Patton and Sawicki's suggestion. Likewise he suggests a redress and development of previously marginalized language; development of a longer-term advocacy strategy; languages integrated curriculum development; materials development strategy; INSET strategy.

The Department of Education's 'interventions' perhaps are merely further quick-fix solutions to a bigger problem. Perhaps a more optimal solution to the LiEP would be that each of Van Tonder's proposed 'strategies' be policies in and of themselves that coherently work with the LiEP, as they aim to redress the issues of capacity that are underlying the implementation of the policy. And, hopefully, these will go some way to changing underlying belief structures.

5.7 Policy Implementation

- **PANSALB**

The Pan South African Languages Board (PANSALB) oversees the promotion of multilingualism in South Africa. Language in Education is one of the arms of the so-called

Chapter Nine[4] institutions in that it provides rights to language. One of the key objectives to language in education is to create a climate conducive to the Language in Education Policy and the Higher Education Policies in provinces. Ultimately, therefore, the onus is on each province to unroll the necessary mechanisms to create awareness of language in education.

To a certain extent the question has to be why the need to create an environment – the subtext suggesting that the rights of language enshrined in the Constitution are more about lip service than an actual reflection of the attitudes of the public. The outcomes that have been identified are "parent involvement" (PANSALB, 2007, p.61) and "project initiated awareness of the value of mother tongue education created through liaison with the national and provincial departments of education" (p.61).

Currently, PANSALB are initiating workshops around the country, rendered by the Language in Education Focus Area, which focus on School Governing Bodies (SGB's), in order to 'sensitise' Language in Education policies to parents (Mphela, 2008). Such initiatives provide a vital link in providing parents with optimal information about the choices of language for their children. The performance identified as 'measurable' was the sensitisation of parents. Perhaps this has to be noted that quantification of sensitivity is not as measurable as thought. Subjectivity as a measuring tool is not particularly effective. Certainly should those parents be 'sensitised', what then is the outcome? An environment that can now effectively instigate language in education, or an environment that has now attended a discussion on

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[4] Chapter Nine Institutions are (amongst others), Public Protector, South African Human Rights Commission, Commission for the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Cultural, religious, and Linguistic Communities, Commission for Gender Equality, Auditor-General, Electoral Commission and Youth Commission. "These institutions are of fundamental importance to democracy exactly because they have been empowered to act on behalf of those who would not otherwise gain access to courts or other mechanisms for enforcing their rights" (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2007).

"They collectively have the potential to act as a check on the abuse of power, to hold government accountable for financial and administrative decisions, and also to ensure that human rights are respected and promoted." (IDASA, 2007, p.1).

Overall, these institutions are in place to provide South Africa with a robust democracy. However, these institutions have been accused of providing overlapping functions, limited resources and lack of public awareness (IDASA, 2007, p.1). Some further suggestion that these institutions were set up to ensure Constitutional rights, and therefore, now in our more politically stable and mature atmosphere could require something more efficient. Hence in 2006, the Review of Institutions Supporting Constitutional Democracy was formed to make recommendations (IDASA, 2007). The review, headed by Kader Asmal, was non-political.

language in education and is more adamant than ever that mother tongue is fine for those who want to be so educated, but English is the desired choice for their own.

Nevertheless adequate dissemination of information to adults may well prove the turning point.

Further, PANSALB maintains that as language itself is not static, nor can any policy pertaining to language be perceived as such. Therefore there is the suggestion that this policy will be subject to review at an indeterminate time in the future (Mphela, 2008)[5]

An additional complexity that has arisen in implementing the policy, is that surrounding quality. An African language should be offered as a potential second language to the same high standard of an Afrikaans or English second language. In a recent ruling by the Equality Court, a Durban High School was found to be teaching sub-standard isiZulu as a second language to both indigenous and non-indigenous isiZulu speakers. The complainant argued that her mother-tongue Zulu speaking son was enduring third language teaching of isiZulu in the classroom, which was a marked difference in standard to that of the school's Afrikaans and English as subject's teaching (PANSALB, 2008).

Although this case highlights the need for School Governing Bodies to take the requirements of the policy seriously, it has to be noted that this particular case came to light as the complainant was the Chief Executive of PANSALB. As such, although this case was brought to the attention of the courts and dealt with, not all parents would be as aware of this right to recourse, nor be aware of the differences in the standards in the first place.

- **Department of Education**

The issue of LiEP and its implementation is frequently debated within both the National Assembly as well as the Media. However, the official position of the Department of Education reverts to the objectives of the LiEP.

[5] Of further interest, PANSALB are involved in projects with institutions of higher learning from both within South Africa as well as Namibia, Zimbabwe and the DRC to discuss topics regarding to the Standardization of Terminologies. Topics included cross border familiarization of African languages, such as isiNdebele which is also spoken in Zimbabwe; translation and interpreting notions from an academic point of view; as well as further debate on whether or not African languages should be developed or raised up to the standards of other languages (Mphela, 2008).

"Everyone has the right to be taught in the official language of their choice at a public educational institution "where this is reasonably practicable". The Language in Education Policy (1997) specifies that it is "reasonably practicable" to teach in a preferred language if there are at least 40 primary or 35 secondary learners in a particular grade who request it at a particular school." (Department of Education, 2008).

Further, the Department of Education reiterates the position of the School Governing Bodies in determining individual school language options rather than the local education authorities.

> *"Schools offer the 11 official and 14 other languages as subjects at three different levels: home language, first additional language and second additional language. With the agreement of the provincial department of education, schools determine what languages should be offered at what level, based on demand from parents. Again, parents must ensure that their preferences are made known to the school through the governing body. I encourage all schools to offer at least one African language as part of their curriculum. In fact, most schools in South Africa offer an African language as a subject in both the GET and FET phases, but it is not as yet a compulsory requirement." (Department of Education, 2008)*

The Department of Education's devolution of responsibility of language instruction choices to School Governing Bodies, and ultimately, the parents of learners has resulted in a position that the Department is not committed to enforcing the objectives of the LiEP. However, in a parliamentary briefing Mr Ntuli of the ANC acknowledged that the Department faced potential resistance from parents if mother tongue instruction was made compulsory, such was the insistence for English instruction (PMG, 2006).

However, adequate information dissemination to parents was of concern. Parents needed to be aware of the advantages of mother tongue education in order to make informed decisions. By extension thereof, the School Governing Bodies were also in need of training in terms of both the policy and its wider implications.

As it currently stands, the Department of Education supports mother tongue education for the first six years of education, therefore primarily within the Foundation Phase. However, a potential drawback is the spread of resources in terms of teachers within the

provinces. It was noted that in terms of mother tongue Foundation Phase instruction, the Western Cape was better resourced, thereby streamlining the process (PMG, 2006).

In an address by Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, she stated that the LiEP had not been 'convincingly' implemented, referring to the limited resources that have been allocated thus far (Pandor, 2006). However, in the *2008-2012 Department of Education Strategic Plan*, no reference was made to LiEP, suggesting that other matters are more pressing. Likewise, within the Department's structure, there is no one office dedicated to Language in Education, nor is there one person dedicated to this policy. As such, attempts to secure interviews with member of the Department provide futile as although related offices were familiar with the policy, those responsible for its implementation were unknown. Yet, it has been noted from above, that PANSALB, in conjunction with the DoE has been responsible for continued implementation of the policy.

- **NGOs**

The Home Language Project (HLP)

The Home Language Project (HLP)[6] is an NGO run in Johannesburg. The creation of this NGO by Margaret Owen-Smith, was in response to observations of the system that "blatantly disadvantaged" the majority of learners. Owen-Smith (2008) argues that the basic tool for learning is language, and that the lack of sufficient grounding in home language was a waste of a potential learning resource, if not the most important learning resource.

That the Constitution demands equal language rights, and yet all schools seem to ignore the implementation of the policy makes no sense to her. "The problem for those learners in the former Model C schools is that they have to suffer the indignity of being placed in a second

[6] The HLP currently has programmes at Greenside High, Parkview Primary and Roseneath Primary. Grades 1-3 are taught to learn how to read in their own language. Learners are split into languages, and teachers are assigned a language group in accordance with their home languages. There are two classes, for half an hour, in this parallel language medium.

Although these programmes have shown signs of success, frequent problems are experienced with the publishing of textbooks, as publishers deem multi-lingual books as being expensive, with no viable market.

In addition, the HLP has set up a library in a number of schools, which stock books in a number of the official languages.

The HLP is a registered NGO, and has PBO status, and is reliant upon donor funding.

language class for their mother tongue language, with the result that they frequently loathe these classes and are full of scorn for the treatment of the language". Yet in addition is the problem that "an African language" translates, more often than not, into Zulu with scant regard for Xhosa, Venda or any other of the official languages that may represent the learner's mother tongue language.

Firstly, language needs to be shown as respected and supported. The HLP currently has 2 ½ hour sessions of dual language learning. She feels that this ½ an hour is to an extent a language "self-image prop", almost to appease, rather than serious commitment from the Department of Education, or the schools themselves to redress this linguistic imbalance. Currently, the HLP operates more as a maintenance programme at present, allowing learners the opportunity to maintain and develop their home language. She also stresses that being able to understand and grasp concepts in your home language, has the additional benefit of providing an adequate conceptual framework, on which other concepts can build.

The HLP recognises that it is in fact possible to recognise all languages in one classroom. Owen-Smith argues that the "impossibility'' of the situation has been perpetuated by the teacher myth, i.e. that the teacher need be fluent in all eleven official languages in order to negotiate a multi-lingual classroom. The other option of separating schools based on language medium, is "right back to apartheid times".

The programme that has been developed is that of parallel language development.

The parallel language system relies upon textbooks, printed matter that is in both the child's home language, as well as English. The lesson is formatted that half of the lesson makes use of a language buddy system wherein the class is split into the various home languages. The maths problems are then discussed within this language buddy groups in their home language, with emphasis on understanding and explaining the concept in the home language. For the remainder half of the class, the buddies then repeat back the concept, to the class, in English. Therefore minimising the reliance on the teacher.

The HLP is engaged with promoting teacher training to introduce and explain this concept of learning. The benefit for the children is evident – numerous studies have proven that additional language acquisition is facilitated if one's home language has a sound base, and secondly, the element of peer knowledge transferral has also been proven as more efficient in learning than any other method, and forms part of the current OBE system.

The missing denominator of teacher-child interaction can be regained by determining a common denominator language i.e. English or Afrikaans. This way the introduction of mother tongue language teaching negates the possibility of a return to apartheid style learning institutions in which the languages were separated. In this manner, all eleven languages can be accommodated, with rather less outlays in terms of re-figuring policy or entire school management systems.

However, as Owen-Smith points out, the amount allocated by the Department of Education for the development of textbooks is around 2% of the total. A positively underwhelming figure by anyone's standards. Needless to say, publishers have also been hard to convince of the financial viability of printing textbooks in the official languages.

Further, Owen-Smith argues that the problem with the current parental preference for English is that they have been given a 'choice' in their child's medium of instruction. The underlying assumption being that should their child attend an English medium school, how can their English be anything but proficient? Yet, the proficient English will only result should the learner be able to read and write in their home language. Further, Owen-Smith suggests that what is needed in addition, is strong English as a subject teaching. As a subject, everything else is in the learner's environment to complement their English language learning e.g. TV, papers, etc.

Ironically, Owen-Smith states the former apartheid government were correct in their insistence that black pupils had eight years of foundation phase mother tongue learning. This basis, ensured that literacy rates were reasonably acceptable. Nowadays, the literacy rate is appallingly low. According to a Department of Education 2007 survey that measured both literacy and numeracy rates, which particularly looked at Grade 3 children, the overall literacy score obtained was 36%. A statement by Naledi Pandor noted that the literacy levels varied in relation to the language of instruction. English and Afrikaans speaking literacy scores were at 48%, whereas African language mother tongue speakers were at 20% for Siswati and Xitsonga learners. For Siswati and Tshivenda speakers the score was 26%. (Mail and Guardian online, 2008).

Owen-Smith feels that the government has "copped-out'' of verifiable policy implementation programmes as it is ''easier and cheaper'' to use English.

Owen is passionate about the fact that it is a lack of information that misguides parents into choosing English medium schools above all else for their children. "If they were aware of the disadvantages they were placing their children under, they wouldn't be doing it". She

suggests that the parallel language system works towards these attitudes as English would still be present as a parallel language, and therefore easier to accept home language learning.

5.8 Conclusion

Hill (1997) suggests that policy must be clear, with clear implementation structures, control of the implementing actors, and the prevention of outside interference. The issue of 'control' seems to be in play, as the Department of Education is now flexing its authoritative muscles, and deeming that is will be compulsory for every learner to learn an indigenous language (excluding Afrikaans). Perhaps this 'control' needs to extend to amending the Schools Act that outlines the language policy for schools, in order to remove the 'control' of governing bodies in selecting a school language policy.

Maybe this is the only way to ensure that indigenous language education becomes the norm. Perhaps by spelling policy out, by being 'clear' rather than cloaking it in terms such as "pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth" (Department of Education, 1996, p.3), in which the interpretation can be entirely subjective, but not exactly what the government had in mind, the education sector will have to pay attention.

Further Moyane (2000) contests that the LiEP is only a vehicle , those responsible for actually implementing the policy are linguists, teachers, parents and speakers of indigenous languages.

In terms of implementation, Moyane (2000) suggests that the following needs to be addressed: monitoring, current research on the demographics of South African schools, development of a long-term advocacy strategy, language-integrated curriculum development, a strategy for materials development, as well as a teacher development strategy (p.55-56).

Taylor (2002) suggests that the reason for poor implementation is non-coherence. I have to agree. If the rest of the country shies away from being truly multi-lingual, then efforts to change the way language is perceived in education will remain fruitless. And, ultimately, the problems regarding the successful implementation of the LiEP are social ones.

Desai (2001) argues that in order for African languages to be accepted in the classroom they have to be used in the business world as well. Despite the ideological intentions of government, the reality remains in that English is seen as the language of choice. This

‘outside interference’ of this dominant language may prove too insurmountable to overcome, especially for as long as tertiary education relies on fluency in English. Ultimately, although the LiEP is a politically valuable tool, its implementation may have to make way for the realisation that one language is already dominant, and efforts to change that will take a lot more than changing the education system.

CHAPTER SIX

THE POLICY PROCESS – England

6.1 Introduction

Although English is a widely spoken language within the Western world, there was an underlying need for the UK to re-introduce a need for foreign language learning within its institutions of learning. The UK government responded to both the increased globalisation of the marketplace as well as the changing landscape of the UK itself, by evaluating responses towards foreign languages as well as becoming aware of the need for immigrants to be able to converse and learn their own community languages.

There are no official language statistics available from sources in England, and attempts to gather statistics have only recently been addressed, with language criteria to now form part of the 2011 government census.

The UK is a well-established, Western democracy, whose policy strategies are laid out in extreme detail as to the planned implementation. Rather than merely outlining action points, these policies tend to be specific of the building blocks as to how to best implement. In addition, the NLS has a monitoring unit that tracks relevant indicators in order to determine implementation efficacy.

The National Languages Strategy changed the curriculum to introduce additional language learning at the primary school level, rather than at the secondary school level. The option to drop the language once the child reached secondary school level was then built-in. In 2002, this special report entitled “Language Learning” issued by the Department for Education and Skills, gave seven year old children the ‘entitlement’ to study an additional language of their choice, for which the school must make adequate provision, even if they do not offer the language (Smithers, 2002).

As a result of the English hegemony within the UK, there was a lack of interest in foreign languages amongst learners with most opting for other courses for GCSE’s. To counteract this within the National Languages Strategy, targeted primarily at primary school children, an integrated series of interventions were developed to ensure that language acquisition was introduced at a younger age to ensure that language learning was successful.

Part of the strategy was to link primary schools with specialised language schools, in order to best represent the language requests of their learners.

The reason for the policy was to prevent an over-reliance of English as an international language, and therefore an indifference to learning other languages. Further this language teaching is not compulsory, but rather creates a flexible environment in which languages are seen as a viable option.

6.2 Public Policy Process

The languages strategy document entitled, "Languages for all: Languages for Life, Strategy for England" was drawn up in 2002 in response to two previous documents; the Nuffield report "Languages: The Next Generation", published in 2000, and the Department for Education and Skills' "Language Learning", published in 2002.

The Nuffield Inquiry, undertaken in 2000, consisted of ten members appointed by Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation and represented language, education and business. The Inquiry was asked to consider the following questions and to make recommendations.

- What capability in languages will this country need in the next twenty years if it is to fulfil its economic, strategic, social and cultural responsibilities and aims and the aspirations of its citizens?
- To what extent do present policies and arrangements meet these needs?
- What strategic planning and initiatives will be required in the light of the present position? (NLI, 2000, p.10)

Within the inquiry report was a review of the policy[7] for languages in education. Some of the strengths were listed as the new Labour government's interest in early language learning, support by CILT for the teaching and learning of languages and the establishment of the Languages National Training Organisation to promote occupational language standards. However, there were also notable weaknesses, namely, a lack of strategic management of languages in education, no rational and consistent path of learning from primary through to higher education and beyond, as well as a lack of integration between one sector and another (NLI, 2000, p.39).

Emanating from the report were the following recommendations:

[7] There has been a history of uneven policy direction in the UK, particularly in the region of early foreign language learning. In the late 1980s and 1990s, there was an increase in public interest in languages, but without government commitment, except in Scotland. In 1999 in England, the

Foremost, the government needed to drive both policy initiatives as well as policy direction. Language development, by and large, was seen as a matter of political will, which thereby devolved to the media, schools, and other institutions. Likewise, a need for consultation in devising policy needed to be addressed, particularly with those stakeholders with social and economic interests. Overall, the inquiry recommended a strategy to serve as a policy framework, which would adequately incorporate and integrate these diverse sectoral interests. In addition to these interested stakeholders, special provision was made for the role of employers, who could assist in emphasising the importance of language capability within the workplace (NLI, 2000, p.66).

Overseeing the stakeholder environment is the EEC, and the need for the UK to adequately and efficiently perform economically and socially with its European counterparts. Emphasis is placed on the surety that the future of language, nor power structures is certain, and therefore flexibility and openness to cultural differences is an economic advantage.(NLI, 2000, p.68)

Lastly, any policy initiatives that would be drawn up needed to be done so on the basis of both sound and reliable information. As such, statistics gathered could provide a basis for effective monitoring of policy interventions.

In 2001, the Languages National Steering Group was set up to develop a strategy to "change perceptions and raise awareness amongst young people and the wider public of language competence as a key contemporary life skill" (NLS, 2002, p.2). This was in response to the Nuffield Inquiry which explicitly stated the importance of languages and the necessity of government to drive any policy response with dedication and commitment in order to positively frame language learning to an uninterested public.

The Languages National Steering Group was made up of a number of experts in language, education and policy.

Primarily the NLS takes its cue from the objectives as laid out in "Language Learning". The underlying motivation for this document being the inadequate attention to language education at that time. Indeed the Linguistics Association of Great Britain (LAGB) suggested that prior to the drawing up of the NLS, there were three problems that the UK faced.

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government announced the allocation of funding to support existing teaching and to committed to undertake feasibility studies with a view to a future policy initiatives. (NLI, 2000, p.40).

Firstly, most of the UK's population was monolingual, which is less desirable when considering that at least half of the world's population is at the least bilingual. Further, language learning is not an academic subject per se but a gateway to communication and therefore, understanding. This sterilisation of foreign languages had led to their becoming less attractive to people. Secondly the growing minority of immigrants within the UK do not benefit from their bilingualism as community languages were not recognised. This problem was further compounded by those whose first language was not English, thereby disadvantaging them when it came to school or work opportunities (LAGB, 2002, p. 1-3).

Therefore the NLS was devised to provide an effective strategy framework which holistically considered all possible stakeholders in implementation. Likewise, the aims and intentions of the strategy in terms of inclusiveness and language appreciation, underpinned the final document.

6.3 The Legislative and Policy Framework

2000	Languages: The Next Generation
2002	Language Learning
2002	Languages For All: Languages for Life, A Strategy for England

Figure 6: Timeline of the Policy Framework of Language Education – UK

6.4 Mapping the Environment



Figure 7: Stakeholder Environment – National Languages Strategy

The NLS, 'Languages for All' means exactly that, and the various role-players and stakeholders within the NLS environment have been considered. Central to the NLS is the theme of 'partnership' which underpins the entire strategy.

"Careful and thoughtful stakeholder analysis should inform identification of primary intended users, taking into account the varied and multiple interests" (Patton, 1999, p.10). In Figure 7, the primary stakeholders in the NLS have not only been identified, but also placed within the political and social environment, which influence the structure and purpose of the strategy.

Stakeholders who have been identified are primary and secondary schools, Specialist Language Colleges (SLCs), ICT public and private sector, Further Education and Higher Education Institutions, native foreign language speakers within communities and employers, working together with skills councils as well as Sector Skills Development Agencies (NLS, 2002, p.8).

Potentially it is this idea of partnership that has contributed to the successes of the strategy. As all stakeholders feel both responsible as well as contributory to the advancement of

language development, there is an increase in stakeholder investment and therefore desire to see the strategy succeed. Also, by shouldering the responsibility of the effective roll-out of the strategy, there is more room for collaboration on those parts of the strategy that are deemed less effective. However, integral to the success of these partnerships is the oversight role played by government in driving these policies from the top-down. Without sufficient government buy-in and will, the strategy would be unable to gain the necessary momentum to see languages for 'all'.

6.5 Policy Formation

There are three key objectives to the strategy, namely:

"a. To improve teaching and learning of languages, including delivering an entitlement to language learning for pupils at Key Stage 2[8], making the most of e-learning and ensuring that opportunity to learn languages has a key place in the transformed secondary school of the future.
b. To introduce a recognition system to complement existing qualification frameworks and give people credit for their language skills.
c. To increase the number of people studying languages in further and higher education and in work-based training by stimulating demand for language learning, developing Virtual Language Communities and encouraging employers to play their part in supporting language learning".

(NLS, 2002, p.6)

The reason behind the development of strategy links to the increase in a global marketplace and with it an emphasis on the need for cultural awareness and sensitivity. Likewise the overall implication of the strategy is the need for more adequate communication in more than one language that can thereby ease business transactions.

In fact, the link between schooling and the creation of a workforce seems to be inherent within the thinking behind the strategy. The provisions for e-learning and ICT are particularly well-constructed, suggesting that not only are additional resources being considered, but also the further acquisition of ICT skills by learners. Likewise as this is a strategy for 'all', rather than merely school children, the role of employers in training and retaining staff and skills is also outlined.

However, this strategy is hampered by a teacher shortage, particularly within the primary school phase. Likewise, there is an acknowledgement within the strategy that there is insufficient additional assistance in terms of learning opportunities.

The strategy also outlines the fact that in order for language acquisition to be successful it needs to be relevant. For many, working in the UK, there is little to no apparent need to acquire an additional language as English is the dominant language. However, as the strategy states, language acquisition is an '"entitlement", suggesting that the UK government itself would be at fault should adequate exposure to foreign languages not be made a top priority.

In addition, there is an incentivisation outlined in the strategy to link language to the qualifications framework. These 'credits' are to be developed as part of the strategy so that not only those within school or university but also those involved in adult education or on-the-job language training, benefit from official recognition (NLS, 2002). This system will also recognise community languages and bilingualism. These proposed credits will also complement existing qualifications so that attainment is easily identifiable. Lastly, the strategy acknowledges the role of ICT in enabling individuals to "assess and record their achievements" (NLS, 2002, p.8). The underlying purpose for this part of the strategy is to raise the profile of language learning to something that is more covetable and worthwhile in pursuing.

Central to this theory is the holistic environment in which the strategy finds itself playing out. The recognition of employers, both in the private and public sector as integral to the process of language development is outlined in the third objective of the strategy. The suggestion is that should sufficient emphasis be placed on the responsibility of employers, then the need for language will automatically trickle down to the potential workforce coming up through the education system.

Likewise the integration of cyber-technology to help support language development provides a virtual network of assistance that might otherwise have not been available in a traditional learning setting.

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[8] Key Stage 2 is the second of three stages of schooling, and encompasses Year 3,4,5 and 6 for children between the ages of 7 and 11.

6.6 Policy Implementation

NLS implementation strategy has three underlying principles, namely:

1. To learn from what works.
2. To build capacity throughout the system.
3. To work with professionals to introduce and improve language learning.

(NLS, 2002, p.9.)

Central to the implementation is the structural support to be provided by the school framework. Therefore Head teachers have the overall responsibility for determining how best to introduce and strengthen language teaching in their school. This process will be in conjunction with consultation with the school language co-ordinator and Local Education Authority (LEA). Therefore implementation tends to be technocratic with specialists in language and education giving direction. Also, each school has the flexibility to adapt language needs to their pupils needs.

Primary school teachers will be supported by either specialist language teachers, existing primary teachers with either an interest or background in languages, outreach workers, language assistants, and organisations such as CILT (NLS, 2002, p.9). The suggestion of "learning from what works" implies a robust feedback evaluation[9] mechanism within the relevant institutional frameworks. As such, replicating what works in a system can be far more effective and less costly than revising policy and heading back to the planning phases of policy.

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[9] An evaluation does not exist in a vacuum, and needs to be flexible to the context surrounding it - namely that of the social, political and technical (Herman et al, 1987, p.12). Therefore, there are three key issues to be determined prior to beginning any type of evaluation. Who is initiating the evaluation? Who is the end-user of the evaluation? And how is the information obtained in the evaluation going to be used?

Evaluation needs to be focussed. There are many stakeholders, with varying interests, who may require different aspects of the programme to be evaluated. After establishing what part(s) of the programme need to be evaluated, it is then necessary to determine what the priority of the evaluation is. From determining this priority, objectives then need to be articulated, finalised and agreed upon (Herman et al, 1987; Champion, 2005).

"Depending on the judgement decisions may be reached to continue or alter existing policies and/or to continue, eliminate, expand or modify current operating practices" (Herman et al, 1987, p.11). In other words, an evaluation should be both meaningful and purposeful, if it is to have any relevance.

Also, the method of consulting experts within the language field can help provide a wider response field of potential variable that may hamper or delay progress in implementation. Professionals, as specialists, help to curtail potential problems through adequate strategy plans and forethought.

The role of Pathfinders

Pathfinders, working together with LEAs, are piloting new ways of language learning delivery in schools. These Pathfinders are looking at how languages can fit into the curriculum, the training and development needs of staff as well as how the transition between primary to secondary education can best be managed (DFES, 2005, p.6). The 19 pathfinders include: 888 primary schools, over 35,000 Key Stage 2 pupils, 179 secondary schools, and 31 Specialist Language Colleges. All are teaching French, 18 are teaching Spanish, 14 are teaching German, 6 are teaching Italian, and a small number of LEAs are teaching community languages (DfES, 2005, p.6.)

The NLS has been met with some success in its implementation, and certainly in the short time that it has been in operation, a number of changes have been effected. Perhaps this is in response to the fact that, as part of the strategy, the monitoring and evaluation thereof was well-documented. As such, the NLS outlines a number of measurable outcomes to enhance the monitoring and subsequent evaluation of the NLS. Some of these outcomes include:

“Primary children at Key Stage 2 should have an entitlement to high quality teaching and learning that instils enthusiasm in learning languages, is based on flexible experience which makes the most of ICT and sets a foundation for future learning and success” (NLS, 2002, p.10); and

“Businesses should be able to recruit employees with a wider range of language skills to better meet their business needs” (NLS, 2002, p.10).

Admittedly, outcomes such as “enthusiasm” are subjective rather than infinitely measurable and require additional indicators[10] to adequately measure an increase in interest in

[10] Indicators are “the variables used to measure progress towards goals” (Prennushi et al, 2002, p.108) As such, indicators need to be ‘sound’ or ‘good’, and therefore, should have the following criteria: Representative - an indicator should be a representation of what it purports to measure. From establishing what needs to be measured, the type of indicator can be chosen accordingly, e.g. output indicator, input indicator, outcome indicator or an impact indicator. Valid and Reliable - any researcher should be able to repeat the monitoring process and yield the same results from the chosen

languages, such as language course enrolment. However, although these are outcomes rather than outputs, development of a monitoring system is less onerous than if there were no outcomes at all.

Further, the strategy acknowledges that there is a need for language learning to be "at the heart of initiatives and activities to further the wider social, economic and political agenda" (p.10). Therefore the NLS understands and addresses the need for both national and local buy-in of the strategy in order for outcomes to be successful. As such there is a need to expand potential language opportunities for national media broadcasts and communications.

6.7 Strategy Review

Since 2002, £22 million has been invested in modern foreign languages education in England. Over 1000 primary schools in 19 local Pathfinder authorities have been trialling approaches to teaching languages. Pathfinder schools explore new ways to make use of resources and workforce so that teachers can spend more time teaching, thereby raising standards. Pathfinder schools are offered packages that include laptops for every teacher, additional teaching assistants, administrative support staff as well as extra training.

Over 1200 new primary teacher trainees have trained with an additional specialisation in languages teaching. More than 700 existing primary school teachers have been trained and a teaching course has been developed for teaching assistants with language skills. CILT has launched a National Advisory Centre (nacell.org.uk) to provide resources and advice for teachers. The initial target of 200 Specialist Language Colleges has been reached.

Targets that have been identified for 2010 include:

1) All 7-11 year olds will have the opportunity to learn a language in their primary schools.
2) We will have funded 6000 trainees to follow a primary teacher training course which also develops their language teaching skills.
3) We will have provided access to training for 18,000 existing primary teachers.

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indicators; Feasible - A question that needs to be asked before determining indicators is, 'is what is needing to be measured in fact measurable?' ; Stable - Indicators need to be stable enough to withstand pressure from changing environments and timespans, yet need to remain flexible and/or sensitive enough to detect changes in the underlying programme or policy; Simple - Indicators need to be simple, and less open to interpretation in order to be more effective measures; Trackable - An indicator needs to be easy to track, and easily available.

4) We will have provided funding for training for 9000 teaching assistants with language skills.
5) 400 Specialist Languages Colleges (including schools with a dual or second specialism with languages) will be working with other local schools.
6) Regional and local learning networks will support languages across the country.
7) Schools will be providing new and innovative languages courses which will encourage pupils to continue with their language studies.
8) A national recognition scheme – the Languages Ladder – will be well-established, allowing all learners to have their achievements in a wide range of languages recognised and celebrated.

(Modern Foreign Languages Team, 2005, p 4-6)

The Languages Ladder is divided up into 17 rungs or steps, and into 6 stages, namely; Breakthrough (Grades 1-3), the Preliminary Stage (Grades 4-6), the Intermediate Stage (Grades 7-9), the Advanced Stage (Grades 10-12), the Proficiency Stage (Grades 13-15) and the Mastery Stage (Grades 16-17).

The revision of the outcomes of the strategy has resulted in a development of further targets for 2010. Already there has been significant progress with the implementation of the strategy, and as such the DfES looks on target to continue with this progress.

6.8 Conclusion

The National Languages Strategy may, at first glance appear an ambitious undertaking in language 'PR'. However, the strategy seems to have been welcomed by the public and heavily endorsed by government, thereby easing the implementation.

The NLS has well met its original goals and continues to revise those goals and strive forward to meet its next targets. This is both commendable and encouraging, and the role of partnerships in meeting these targets cannot be underemphasised.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL INCLUSION/SOCIAL EXCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

Inclusion can take a number of forms – it can be social, economic or even purely statistical. Yet, humans as predominantly social beings respond and react to either their inclusion, or perceived exclusion or even lack of inclusion within social networks.

Determining social inclusion is more reliant on person's perceptions of inclusion, or indeed exclusion, rather than concrete evidence. Furthermore, inclusion as a degree of perception is therefore flexible and subject to change. Therefore, within a continuum, members of a community can move along an axis between inclusiveness and exclusion.

LiEP is itself not exclusive; in fact it makes provision for inclusion of all learners in the educational setting. Likewise, the NLS has been created partially in response to the needs of its increasingly multi-lingual population. However, depending on how the policies have been implemented, perceived inclusiveness has not always been the result.

7.2 The South African Perspective

In 1994, South Africa was re-positioned along the trajectory of inclusion, predominantly in terms of race. However, with the development and implementation of the Constitution, the meaning of 'inclusion' extended to the right of the individual to participate fully in society, as well as to be provided the necessary access to that participation.

Language is a social tool that enables communication between individuals, communities, countries. An ability to converse fluently and garner understanding is what can make the difference for students embarking on their working careers. Yet, if we know that there is inadequate teaching infrastructure from materials to teacher-pupil communication in both primary and secondary schools, this disadvantage can only hinder those in their higher education pursuits, and then within the job-seeker environment.

The LIEP suggests access to education – access to education by virtue of your mother tongue. Access cannot be talked of, should information and knowledge be withheld from students. Yet expecting learners to access information in languages they are not competent or familiar with is synonymous with withholding information (Moyane, 2000, p.54). Surely barriers to inclusion therefore include language? The question of policy implementation and

the relationship to integration and thereby, inclusion is precarious, and has given rise to unintended consequences within school systems. As demonstrated by the legal battle of the CEO of PANSALB against a Durban High School, revealed that the classes had been split along racial lines, thereby going against the ethos of integration that is underpinned by the LiEP.

Tertiary institutions within South Africa offer tuition in English or Afrikaans with the exception of a few that offer education in isiZulu. For all intents and purposes, until this situation is redressed, primary and certainly secondary schools would be disadvantaging learners if they were not to offer English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, for the simple reason that academic language would not be possible in an indigenous language.

Furthermore, if 'access' to tertiary education programmes is reliant upon proficiency in either English or Afrikaans, surely that access is then limited if there has been insufficient mother tongue instruction, particularly in the primary school phases, and therefore less of a basis for additional language acquisition? The problem of inclusiveness and access to higher learning stems from the basic conundrum that LiEP generates – all languages are offered as mother tongue, except that parents prefer English, which is compounded by a lack of adequate resources in both teachers and books, leading to not only poor additional language acquisition but poor mother tongue language acquisition as well, which leads to less understanding of academic material in either language, and a perpetual cycle of a system that disadvantages large numbers of learners, and less learners equipped to enter the workforce as their knowledge of English is not what's required by employers.

Therefore, effectively, LiEP although seemingly inclusive is in fact perpetuating the system that was previously installed under Apartheid – some learners are advantaged by the system whereas others are disadvantaged, but now along language rather than race lines.

7.2.1 Universities and language policy

The University of the Witwatersrand has developed a language policy that is informed by the broad intentions of the Constitution. Within this policy are such initiatives as the development of the Sesotho language, the reason being that universities in KwaZulu-Natal will naturally provide isiZulu as an alternative language medium. Further, the policy outlines the support of multilingualism by providing university documentation such as rules, applications and registration forms in all of the official eleven languages.

In addition, an outline is drawn regarding addressing the linguistic abilities of the staff, for example those without an African language capability, will be required to become conversationally competent in Sesotho or isiZulu.

The linguistic abilities are also to be expanded by providing support for academic literacy in English within the first year of study, as well as to provide those who are not competent in an African language to be communicatively competent in either Sesotho or isiZulu.

Perhaps what is most important to note about this policy is that it does not merely address the issue of those who are indigenous language speakers, but those who are also English first language speakers. Surely the aim of an inclusive policy is also to address those who are perceived as being included, but who may not always enjoy the benefits of so-called automatic inclusion.

Certainly in today's climate, failure to converse in an African language can be perceived as a liability rather than an asset, particularly in those job sectors that require interaction with a diverse cross-section of the population, for example social workers and healthcare professionals. Within the second decade of democracy, there seems to be a reluctance to meet indigenous language speakers 'halfway', with the onus on them to make themselves comprehendible, rather than on non-indigenous speakers.

Similarly the University of Johannesburg in its language policy has outlined English, Afrikaans, Sepedi and isiZulu as languages that need to be developed and used in terms of administration, as well as teaching. The language policy further highlights the onus on the university to provide such support mechanisms as may be necessary in the teaching and learning within these languages. Further this onus encompasses fulfilment of the move towards inclusive and functional multilingualism, which includes both the need for monitoring and evaluation of these initiatives to determine both efficacy and relevancy. Similarly to the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Johannesburg has devised a Language Unit to provide the necessary language training programmes for those requiring language skill development that will increase the chances of their higher education success. However, there are also outlines to improve the underlying attitudes and perceptions of language, with their language awareness initiatives.

Language awareness and particularly language-cultural sensitivity highlights the importance of all languages rather than the marginalisation of other languages at the expense of other more widely-spoken languages.

Statistics revealed by the Department of Education state that as many of 30% of first year students and 20% of second and third year students drop out of higher education (Pandor, 2008). Part of the reason for this was cited as poor infrastructure and inadequate teaching resources. Although the issue of language was not expressly stated, it can be seen as a potential barrier to both higher education access, as well as completion of higher education courses. An inability to fully comprehend course material, or respond in an academically expected way does not aid those learners within those courses that are predominantly reliant on argument or understanding of texts, such as law or psychology.

Although further English or Afrikaans competence training is commendable by the Universities to ensure that students can cope with the language requirements, it is regrettable that the onus is placed on tertiary education units to redress the shortfall experienced by the schooling system. That said, there is a need to offer course material in at least one indigenous language, so that not only can students better comprehend and respond to their course, there is also room made for development of African academia, rather than solely Euro-centric academia.

7.3 Discrimination

The question of parallel-medium language policy

There is a disadvantage, however, to offering an indigenous language separately as a medium of instruction.

The University of the Free State has instigated a system that has separate English and Afrikaans lectures. However, this system has 'derailed' efforts towards a non-racial institution. The language policy has had an "unforeseen negative influence on the recruitment, integration and retention of black academics and the racial divisions among students, socially and in residences" (Pretorius, 2008).

Dual medium highlights exclusionism and certainly separatism, by effectively segregating groups, based on language, which too often in South Africa is indicative of Apartheid. Certainly in a Parliamentary Committee Meeting, recounting the developments of policy implementation, there was comment that dual-medium learning within one learning institution was like two separate schools were being run under one roof.

Evidence of the failure of the University of the Free State to successfully integrate was provided by the infamous Reitz videotape incident in early 2008. By perpetuating the myth of

difference, and then enforcing it is segregation along language, rather than colour lines, the same prejudices and stereotypes of Apartheid have been allowed to flourish.

The perception of English

The majority of respondents[11] highlighted the importance of English as the language of international and business communication. Fluency in English was regarded by some as a 'prized asset' that would see them at an advantage when entering the workplace. As one respondent termed it "a workable asset".

This perception of English was enforced by the environment – television, advertising, government, schools and even families, reinforced the notion that English is superior, with other languages decidedly 'less than'. One even described English as a "convenient and concise language", suggesting that the supportive environment for English as well as the plethora of available material in English makes it simpler to use and learn than any other language. 'Concise' also implies that English, with its vast vocabulary and colloquialisms is easier to articulate than other languages.

As one respondent answered, "the way one speaks English determines/affects the way people perceive you". English is seen as upward mobilisation, and a passport to greater opportunity within not only South African employment markets, but internationally, abroad, particularly within Europe, the UK and the US.

In addition, attitudes towards work in general, and the student's future goals/career paths had interesting parallels with their attitudes towards English, viewing language fluency and acquisition as 'preparation' and 'an excellent attribute for any member of the workforce'. A respondent stated that "most countries were colonised by English speakers. Especially those countries I would like to establish my career in".

Likewise, descriptions of English tended towards absolutes, "everyone speaks English", "anywhere in the world they speak English", "with English you can speak with all people", "English is a must do subject" and "English is the only language that anyone around the

.[11] It is worth noting that in addition to the indigenous South African languages, a number of respondents' home languages included Mandarin Chinese, Gujarati, Polish and Portuguese, amongst others. Therefore, the universality of English as a common language, is the deciding factor in the majority of these respondent's choice of university. Respondents formed part of a focus group that discussed questions about language in South Africa, particularly with regards to language in education and language of instruction.

world can manage to speak". These firm convictions reinforced that English acquisition was both covetable and well-conditioned by their environment.

This perception is potentially destructive from two points of view. One, that those who attain their qualifications in South Africa are then keen to leave to exercise these skills elsewhere, and secondly, that the emphasis on English has created a skewed world reality of which languages are in fact most widely spoken, namely Chinese and Spanish.

Attitudes towards indigenous languages

> *"When a French woman walks into the room staggering and stumbling over English words, her heavy accent making it near impossible to decipher what she is saying, we find ourselves captivated. When a Zulu woman walks into the room knocking herself on English words, bumping and smashing terms in her way, her heavy accent making it difficult to discern what she is up to, we find ourselves concerned.*
>
> *When a Russian accent walks into the lecture theatre and puts up its slides, conversations abruptly cease, pens and highlighters are held ready because what is to come is surely founded on intellect and years of research and study. But when a Tswana accent walks into the lecture theatre and sets up its slides, conversations pause to check out the curious form, note pads are forgotten in bags and pens are only used to take down the references to be checked after the lecture has ended"*
> (Matlwa, 2007, p.29)

The above quotation speaks volumes. Continued degradation of indigenous languages, as well as indigenous culture, by the Apartheid government has resulted in the perception not only that English is superior, but that indigenous languages are, in turn, decidedly inferior. Yes, they might be acceptable as languages of family, socialisation and recreation, but the message is clear. Business, academia and prized intellectual advancement are only possible in English.

Further, reasons as to why English should be highly prized, reflects the broad internalisation of not only English language, but also English custom, habits and lifestyle. It's not so much an attainment of English, but an attainment of access to a lifestyle that English, as an integral stepping stone, will provide.

There is also a general perception of English as the 'international communication' language. A further explanation is that English is the language of business. One respondent stated that

“most of the terms of all the subjects I did were in the English language”, suggesting that English’s dominance in all sectors overshadows other, less developed languages.

Yet, not all respondents were as keen to abandon their indigenous languages. Even if in principle only.

One of the respondents, a BJournalism Honours student pinpointed the problem that indigenous languages have not been allowed to develop. To the suggestion that English has become the language of business and international communication, he stated that should indigenous languages have been allowed, the necessary jargon could have developed over time, much like English has derived and developed from other languages over time. Further, he suggested that by offering tertiary education in more than two of the official languages, the message will be that the languages are being allowed to ‘live and breathe and grow’ and could themselves become languages of business. He cited French as an example.

This point speaks to the held perception that English is the only language of business. A fact that is clearly untrue, yet has been allowed to perpetuate. A few respondents did not entirely agree that English was the language of business and communication, with comments such as “Mozambique and Portugal use Portuguese as their official national language”. In fact, there was discussion on how the parochial nature of South Africa could lead to incorrect thinking that English was the only language of business, even when evidence to the contrary was presented, for example in France business is conducted in French, in Switzerland, German, Italian and French.

7.4 Assimilation

There appeared to be lethargy in the answering of some of the respondents, they ‘supposed’ it was a good thing that English was the medium of instruction. For some students, all education had been in English, regardless of their mother tongue, and as such did not seem to pose a problem. As such, it hadn’t been the subject of much thought either, the underlying assumption being that school is in English or Afrikaans – there is no other choice.

Yet, for others “I think I better understand anything if it is explained in my home language”, which echoes the thoughts of Owen-Smith who argues that concepts are always easier to grasp when explained in home language.

Further in determination of degree courses chosen, those who embarked on a Bachelor of Science (BSc) degree were less concerned with their ability to understand English as “mathematical ideals transcend language and words”. For another respondent, whose

choice was BA Dramatic Art, she felt that “you can express your feelings without using a language, even using gibberish in my first year of acting”. However for those who are studying Journalism, the need for English proficiency was a deciding factor.

Suggestions for dual-medium tertiary instruction had a more lukewarm reception. Some respondents replied that “other official languages can be added as extra-curricular so that people, even those who don’t know English, can learn it”. This echoes the policy of the University of the Witwatersrand which addresses the need for non-indigenous language speakers to make some effort in acquiring an indigenous language. Further, the thought of English plus another language was seen as potentially exclusivist, “rather all the South African languages, because we all want our languages to be used (what about sign language?)”, which leads back to the problem of implementation – eleven official languages, one lecturer, and therefore the need to make a decision to use one language. It is also ironic in that the use of English above the other ten languages was seen as quite acceptable.

Overall the teaching in English or Afrikaans was seen as an advantage in that they were able ‘to become fluent [in English] which otherwise would not have happened”. The underlying meaning being that not being fluent in English would have disadvantaged them. However, one student did say it would be nice to be given “extra time” to complete examinations because of the difficulties in expressing herself in another language.

There was also agreement that one dominant language helped open the gateways of communication rather than seeing it as a narrowing factor, “it’s more important that we can all converse in the same language”. Further, a respondent stated that she can now “easily communicate with a wide range of different people”. Other responses, “We can, all South Africans, understand each other”, and “at tertiary, we meet different people speaking different languages and English is the only language that accommodate (sic) anyone when it comes for communication”.

7.5 The Perception in England

The NLS is clear about its reasons for addressing language opportunities in England, namely that “language competence and intellectual understanding are not optional extras, they are an essential part of being a citizen” (NLS, 2002, p.14). Implied is also the notion that an increase in language ability increases understanding and therefore eliminates ‘suspicion’ (p.14) of other cultures. Likewise the NLS speaks to the fact that the NLS “promotes citizenship and complements the Government’s broader work on the promotion of social cohesion” (p.14).

This need to integrate the population is backed by statistics that concur with this government-held belief that language skills equal economic opportunities. Businesses need people with language skills.[12]According to a study 45% of international businesses surveyed experienced language and cultural issues as barriers to international business. Further the study noted that of 45,000 jobs posted on www.reed.co.uk, 4.4% required a second language speaker, and that 30% of British companies had over 20% of their customer base outside the U.K., and that over 70% conduct their business in other countries (Connell, 2000/2001).

As there is a lack of data, policy development for those whose first language is not English, has been based on other indicators such as country of birth. However, it is estimated that 1.5 million people living in England, have been unable to access employment as a result of a lack of English (Schellekens, 2001)

7.6 Discrimination

A large number of the immigrant population speaks languages such as Urdu and Polish. These are not traditionally the languages that educational institutions within the U.K. offered. Rather there was an emphasis on languages such as French and Spanish.

Within the various additional languages that are offered, there would seem to be a 'hierarchy' of sorts of acceptability. For example, French is an admired language, and enjoys a high status. However, the value of French is perhaps not as it were. Languages that are emerging as of commercial importance include Russian, Chinese, Arabic and Spanish.

The LAGB suggest that this need to 'rank' languages in terms of status and relevant importance is somewhat absurd considering that languages and their accompanying language structure are all equally complex, with no language being relatively easier over another. In fact, the potential pitfall of the NLS is that that alternative language to be offered will be French, thereby becoming the "default foreign language" (LAGB, 2002, p.2). The suggestion is that a language that is being used by communities in the UK such as Urdu, Gujarati or Welsh should be a language option, rather than one that is automatically Western European in origin.

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[12] In a study, language graduates in the UK had lower unemployment rates than a number of other subject areas, including Engineering/Technology, Computing and Media Studies. The top five areas that language graduates work in are Property, Business and Research Activities, Health and Social Work, Education, Wholesale/Retail and Manufacturing (Connell, 2000/2001).

The debate here then is towards desirability. Community languages are not seen as desirable in that they are indicative of immigrants, who are seen as less desirable and potential competition for resources on a base level.

Another factor is that community languages are not seen as relevant to future work opportunities, and therefore there would appear to be less authoritative support behind these languages (CILT b, 2005). In a study by CILT b (2005) it was found that some mainstream school staff as well as local authority representatives did not see community language learning as valuable, and therefore didn't feel the need to make provision for these languages.

One of the reasons given was that there was a waste in resources expended on those learners whose mother tongue language was a community language, as they would find it easy, and are naturally good at it. It was duly noted that the same attitude was not expressed for the need to study English as a language subject when mother tongue was English. Implicit is the notion of 'easiness' which is neither true for English mother tongue speakers nor community language speakers.

Further rationale for the lack of provision for community languages was the reciprocal need for additional English lessons for second or third language English speakers. However this rationale did not take into account those community language speakers who might well be fluent in English.

7.7 Assimilation

The Languages Trends Survey on languages in English secondary schools showed that 39% of English secondary schools surveyed had used CILT's Languages Work materials to help increase an interest in languages by learners, and of the schools that had used Languages Work materials, 28% noticed an improved attitude towards languages amongst pupils as a result (CILT, 2009). Languages Work materials include posters, activity postcards, fact sheets, and PowerPoint presentations, demonstrating how languages can be used to improve careers prospects. Their website includes case studies of young people using their languages in interesting jobs, and links to over 160 two-minute videos made by young people about the importance of languages as entries to the Languages and Film Talent Awards 2008 (LAFTAs). (CILT, 2009, p.1)

Such a result indicates the impact of positive association between languages and individual potential results. Likewise, the indication is that through these materials and partnership with

schools, learners are interested enough to engage further with what the Languages Work have to offer i.e. actually read the documentation.

Interestingly, it is this precept, literally that 'languages work' that seems to make the difference. As the strategy suggests, languages are for all, and this does not mean that one language should be regarded as superior to another, and that all languages are included under this banner. However, it is how this has been presented that makes the difference in attitudes. Relevance, in terms of work opportunities, has created the space for interest that goes beyond cultural or social understanding. To students, who are gifted at languages, career opportunities open up that might not otherwise have been available. Likewise, for those students who speak a community language as mother tongue and English as a second or third language, there are options in which this is an advantage within the workforce and economic opportunities, rather than seen as something that is cumbersome or a 'less-than' skill.

Indeed one of the main reasons behind the NLS was to create this flourishing of economic activity as a result of increased understanding of communication, and through projects such as Languages Work, the value of language itself has been highlighted and raised.

7.8 Conclusion

"Social inclusion or social integration tends to adapt people to the needs of markets, rather than regulate markets to the needs of the people" (Labonte, 2004, p.119). Certainly in the case of the LiEP the implicit understanding that social and economic mobilisation is as a result of English fluency acquisition, adequately describes this adaption by indigenous language speakers to the social, economic and political environment around them.

If, as suggested, that social exclusion is merely a matter of perception, as logically no person would willingly wish to consider themselves excluded from a system that has a broad human rights framework, then the current homogeny of English would be considered not only acceptable but absolutely necessary. Yet, the lack of significant information or statistics that would support the value of mother tongue language learning in acquiring this coveted skill, that of learning English, continues to allow this situation to perpetuate. Therefore the vision of creating a viable knowledge economy for South Africa becomes something less tangible, as learning in a second or third language disadvantages and creates a situation of under-performance that cannot be redressed with tertiary education year long bridging programmes.

Further still, the denigration of indigenous languages is being allowed to continue. As such, these languages will become social and recreational languages, rather than languages that can be adequately absorbed by a workforce. Certainly they will not be recognised as academically viable.

The issue of public affairs or public relations is at the heart of the NLS's attempts to change attitudes. Instead of stressing the virtues of integrated communities, or social consciousness and human rights bonding, there is instead an emphasis on job creation, job opportunities, economic expansion, and economic participation. The message is clear that although English has enjoyed a monolingual dominance in the UK, that is neither something to be proud of nor is it something to be perpetuated. Rather the emphasis is on language acquisition as providing flexibility in future career prospects, and indeed the information dissemination to the public has been concentrated on this objective of the NLS. The strategy then becomes relevant to the average citizen who can understand and fully comprehend attaining a workable skill that increases their take home pay.

The issue of social inclusion/exclusion is at best a conundrum, yet it is clear that attempts to work complementary policy around the political, economic and social environment around them is fraught with potential attitudes that can derail these policies. Perhaps, as with the NLS, it is about reframing policy implementation with issues that are both accessible and relevant to all that determines social inclusion as an indirect result, rather than inclusion as a direct result which may in turn result in prejudices and the need to segregate and quantify.

CHAPTER EIGHT

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION POLICY – TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

8.1 Introduction

At first glance, South Africa and the UK might not appear to be similar in their need to redress language issues vis-a-vis language in education policy. However, each policy is essentially looking at the problem of inclusiveness from two ends of the same microscope.

8.1.1 Language in Education Policy

It is interesting to note that the biggest drawback to implementing the Language in Education policy is the devolution of power to the parent's to make the decision of which language their child will be taught in. Residual attitudes of parent's towards their indigenous languages, thereby provide the barrier to what would undoubtedly be a better educational grounding for their children. However, there is also the underlying suggestion that this devolution was devised in order to prevent potential recourse from these same parents, should mother tongue instruction be enforced.

In the attempts for parents to ensure their child's inclusion academically and economically in their own futures, their long-held attitudes are keeping their child excluded from those very systems. There is no doubt learning in mother tongue makes all the difference, and not just in primary school, but throughout education. Concepts in secondary school build from previously learnt theory and become decidedly more complex – the need for adequate concept understanding in mother tongue is paramount.

Yet, the Government, if it indeed takes indigenous languages seriously, needs to make greater changes in its attitudes towards language usage. Eleven official languages, with one unofficially enjoying parity above the others, have tacitly been understood by the country's citizens. Therefore the thinking is, if English is the language of access to opportunity then surely flooding the child with English as a language for learning is the answer. Sadly, not.

Although those who have not benefitted from mother tongue instruction do not seem to be aware of the inequality in the situation, safe in the perpetuation of attitudes towards indigenous language, there can be no question that there would have been an educational advantage.

The Department of Education, as well as Parliament are aware of these problems, and certainly policy implementation problems tend to arise only after a number of years. The question is, how much longer is the government going to continue with the onus placed on School Governing Bodies and parents to make these decisions? Particularly when the consequences are so detrimental to a developing South Africa on a global economic stage?

Government commitment looks decidedly sketchy. With the onus placed on the schools themselves and their administrators, the Department of Education's Strategic Plan 2008 – 2012, makes no express reference to the policy. Likewise, responsibility is diffused with PANSALB left to initiate programmes.

The policy is in dire need of review, and, taking its cue from the NLS, requires measurable and relevant targets with reliable indicators in order to begin an evaluation process.

Regrettably, the Language in Education Policy is therefore, while ideologically sound, not a viable 'course of action'. Perhaps it has served its purpose in providing an appeasement of sorts to those indigenous speakers in that it provides choice. However, in real terms, the policy lacks political will for implementation, and in the current economic climate, looks set to remain so.

8.1.2 The National Languages Strategy

Unlike the LiEP the National Languages Strategy is an example of a seemingly ideological policy solution that even if the intention seems insurmountable, certainly sufficient attention and commitment has been placed behind its implementation.

Admittedly, the UK has significant funds as well as a well-established institutional network that can provide resources and assistance in rolling out the strategy. Nevertheless, the strategy has been subject to review, has met its listed targets, and even in some cases surpassed them. Perhaps the strategy might seem like an inclusive policy that is appeasing human rights factions, the reality is that Government is truly committed to this project and really believes in the need for language learning to strengthen the British economy. For this reason, and the reliance on partnership, this policy would seem to be 'working'.

8.2 The Similarities

Both policies are underpinned by a need to accommodate a multi-lingual and multi-cultural population base. Both policies have clear objectives as to how they propose to make these changes. And, both policies have the [supposed] full support of government.

Likewise, each policy takes cognisance of the fact that the most important phases are in the primary or foundation phases of education, prior to the subject selection process in secondary school. Central to each policy is the role of the teacher in providing the direction for language instruction.

Sadly, with both policies the dwindling interest in the teaching profession is a challenge for both countries. In the U.K. various incentive schemes have been introduced to attract and retain teaching staff, and similar actions are going to have to be taken by the South African government. Skills, particularly in language instruction, are scarce and a real threat to the success of these policies.

8.3 The Differences

8.3.1 The role of partnership

Comparing Figures 5 and 7 reveals a telling situation. The NLS is backed by government who has clearly demarcated a number of responsible and technically skilled professionals, from both language and education to implement the strategy. Each stakeholder forms an integral role in implementation, and helps to discover the 'what works' implementation philosophy. Such a pooling of diverse skills can only hope to both initiate and sustain momentum in policy implementation and indeed, policy revision.

The LiEP, however, has a rather less supportive framework. With the responsibility for language choice firmly resting on the parents, the government has tacitly stepped back from the process. Likewise, there seems to be a lack of integration or teamwork between the relevant players, not to mention a lack of capacity within those responsible organisations such as PANSALB to work with each school individually.

A further drawback experienced is the lack of specialist language institutions within South Africa who could partner with provincial education departments to provide direction or programmes. Teaching assistants are also virtually unheard of within the South African schooling system, with one teacher being responsible for as many as 45 learners per class.

8.3.2 The Medium of Instruction

The UK has less need to engage in alternate language for educational instruction, and therefore emphasis is on additional language acquisition.

The problem with South Africa's LiEP is that the scope seems overwhelming. In any one classroom there can be as many as eleven different home language speakers, all of which, constitutionally, they have a right to be taught in. Hence the return to dual-medium schooling in some cases, with unfortunate results in terms of social development (see Chapter 8). Which begs the question, how do you even begin to implement a policy that seems impossible, even with capacity and resource constraints minimised? Owen-Smith, with her HLP has an alternate view that could well work, however there is a lack of government interest in even contemplating a teaching method that is less than orthodox, yet effective.

8.3.3 The Need for Government Support

The fact that the DoE's Strategic Plan for the next five years does not contain any reference to LiEP is unfortunate. Government commentary on LiEP tends to be sparse and surrounds the fact that implementation has been slow. However, rather than demand or even change the wording of the policy, government has left the decision making to the parents.

The U.K. government has chosen to fully back its languages strategy, to the extent that it acknowledges that some media communications need to be in other community languages to include the wider immigrant population. Children will learn an additional language, they will be given the resources to do this and they will be given credit for language courses they choose to take later on in life.

8.3.4 The question of relevance

Ironically the need for South African students to learn English in order for them to participate economically abroad, is exactly the same reason the English are being encouraged to learn an alternative language. The underlying message is clear – languages and language learning are important and can only assist in personal development, whether it is socially or economically.

The NLS recognises this fact by being a strategy for 'all', i.e. it acknowledges that language acquisition does not take place in a vacuum. Language learning is relevant, and is something that can be immediately practised with results, and as such, should be encouraged to form part of 'lifelong learning'.

The nature of the LiEP is such that it fails to respond to the landscape that is South Africa, or for that matter, the rest of the world. In the ten years since its inception, trends have changed and levels of ICT communication increased. Learning isiZulu is as relevant now as

it has ever been. Yet, the LiEP in its failure to promote language as something that is covetable, the denigration of indigenous languages is being allowed to continue. If the Department of Education or PANSALB collaborated to truly make South African languages for 'all', and by that meaning all education material, supplements, popular media and government speeches, maybe then the value of languages could be recognised, rather than be seen as an inferior skill.

8.3.5 The need for effective monitoring and evaluation

The overriding difference between the NLS and the LiEP is the monitoring and evaluation process. Since its introduction in 2002, the NLS has already been reviewed in 2005, and there are plans to review prior to 2010. The LiEP was introduced in 1997 and has been subject to one review.

Not only is reviewing essential to determining efficacy, the nature of governments and political and social change can have otherwise non-intended effects on policy.

Likewise, the NLS has both vague, ideological objectives, as well as very definite targets which are infinitely easier to measure. The LiEP has no such targets, and remains steeped in ideological language.

Admittedly, this could be as a result of a lack of policy planning knowledge when the original document was being drawn up, but there has been a sophistication of policy writing since that seems to have eluded this policy. Measurable targets that speak to each of the relevant stakeholder groups are essential for the LiEP to ever emerge from its ideological impasse.

8.4 Conclusion

Although policy can be interpreted as a plan or course of action, it is clear from reviewing the two policies, LiEP and the NLS, that 'action' is not always possible without both clear route markers as well as an enabling framework. Certainly, PANSALB and the Department of Education can look to the separating out of the NLS into achievable targets as a step forward in implementation of the LiEP.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

The objective of the research was to determine how the LiEP in South Africa, and, to a lesser extent, the NLS in England, have played out in terms of social inclusion/exclusion, particularly with regard to higher education and economic prospects. In order to sufficiently answer the question the underlying policy process, in terms of formulation and implementation was examined for both policies. The purpose of the research was to determine the potential gaps in policy implementation, and therefore its potential ramifications for social integration.

In order to determine this, research in the form of interviews, focus groups and document analysis was undertaken. The data was then analysed, with the use of themes and coding to elaborate meaning. In addition, the study took the form of a comparative analysis to look for similarities and differences.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The findings were as follows:

1) The LiEP, although providing a policy framework for inclusive education in terms of language, is unsuccessful in its implementation as a result of a dominant attitude that English acquisition equals social and economic mobility.
2) It is the devolution of the choice of language instruction to the decision-making of the parent that has caused this emphasis on English. The context of post-Apartheid attitudes towards indigenous languages and English has been central to this situation. Ironically, in the attempts for parents to ensure their child's inclusion academically and economically in their own futures, their long-held attitudes are keeping their child excluded from those very systems.
3) The South African Government needs to be more overt in its use of other official languages in government communications.
4) In general, South African Government needs to resume responsibility for the effective implementation of LiEP – lack of buy-in and support, and an emphasis on the SGB's

as decision-making, has resulted in a diffusion of stakeholder responsibility and accountability.

5) LiEP is in need of review, as well as an establishment of measurable and relevant targets.
6) The NLS has been more successful in its implementation as the objectives of the policy have been embraced by the various stakeholders responsible for its implementation.
7) The existence of a well-established institutional framework is central to the success of the NLS.
8) The NLS enjoys success as the government rationale has linked language acquisition to economic mobility.

9.3 Suggestions for further research

The research above is merely a snapshot of the language and education landscape. As such, most of the emphasis was on the Language in Education Policy and its implementation, rather than on the other aspects of the research. In addition, the hope for this research was that it made apparent other potential research objectives.

Certainly there is scope to conduct attitudinal studies on language as well as culture, and how this plays out in terms of inclusion/exclusion. Likewise, there is scope for South African policy research on teacher education and training policy, as there seems to be a lack of 'joined-up 'thinking' between the various education policies. In addition, the LiEP seems to suffer from a significant lack of integration within government institutions, and therefore the institutional frameworks of this policy need to be reviewed in detail to determine how and where institutions can facilitate the implementation process.

Indeed, where possible, other comparisons with other countries language in education policies are worth considering. Taking a cue from the NLS and building on 'what works' can prove invaluable in future policy review and re-evaluation.

9.4 Conclusion

Without a doubt both England and South Africa are multicultural and multilinguistic countries that, for differing reasons, seek to include all members of their population in terms of language and education policy. Indeed, in both countries, an inability to successfully and fluently grasp English can lead to reduced economic, political and social interaction, as a result of being unable to effectively express oneself.

What is of concern however, is the perpetuation of the ‘us’ and ‘them’ mentality in terms of the languages themselves as well as the dangers of dual-medium education. These gulfs created in terms of perceived value of language continue to flourish despite efforts to the contrary. Likewise, efforts to challenge these attitudes seem inconsistent at best, particularly with regards to the Language in Education Policy.

However, it is clear from the above research that such a policy need not be an ideological policy construct rather than a valid solution to accommodating multilingualism. Depending on both broader political and government motivations as well as a sound institutional framework consisting of committed stakeholders, such a policy can be implemented with success, thereby disproving its ideological aspirations as unrealistic.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: TERTIARY STUDENTS' FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

1) What course are you studying at university, and what year of study are you in?

2) What is your home language?

3) Which language were you taught in at high school?

4) Was learning in a language, other than your home language, a good thing? Please give a reason.

5) English is the language of business and international communication. Do you agree or disagree with this statement. Why?

6) Was language a determining factor in your choice of university degree? For what reason?

7) Do you think university education needs to be offered in more than two official languages? Please provide a reason for your answer?

APPENDIX II: PANSALB QUESTIONNAIRE

1) How long is this process going to continue, considering that learners are continuing to be taught in languages other than their mother tongue language? Is it a long-term strategy?

2) How do you go about making the environment more conducive? What does the process actually entail - is it about sitting down and explaining the benefits?

3) Are any processes being developed to addressing potential mother tongue education in tertiary institutions, or would this be an eventual development?

4) In your experience, have you found the teachers themselves, of SGB's resistant to the idea of mother tongue education?

5) As tertiary institutions offer a limited LIE policy, is there any suggestion of potential 'bridging' mechanisms to ensure that learners have equal opportunity to gain sufficient language skills?

6) How does PANSALB support these endeavours to integrate mother-tongue education - what happens?

7) Are there any future programmes that PANSALB is hoping to introduce to address LIE in tertiary institutions?

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