

***What are the factors and Contexts preventing isiZulu First
Additional Language from having an influence in private
schools?***

By Simanga Nhlapo

319816

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Supervisor: Mr. I. Maseko

University of Witwatersrand

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Declaration

Student No 319816

I, Simanga Nhlapo declare, that **an investigation into factors and context preventing isiZulu First Additional Language from having an influence in private schools** is my work and that the sources that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged using complete reference.

SimangaN

Signature

Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to thank God for giving me the strength to complete this project during the difficult times of Covid 19. It is with God's grace that I was able to complete this project. This study materialised because of the hard work that I had to put in. Reading up for this project gave me a lot of motivation because I am passionate about the language question. To my supervisor, Mr Innocent Maseko, I owe you a debt of gratitude. Your prompt responses assisted me in completing this project, your communication was excellent. A special thanks to my partner Lindiwe Ngobese for taking care of me during long hours of being inundated with academic texts, she made sure that I always got food and she provided support by listening to my frustrations due to workload. Lastly, I would like to thank my colleague Faith for the technological support that she gave me.

Abstract

The study aims to investigate factors and contexts influencing Black parents' first additional language choice in private schools. South Africa is a diverse country with diverse cultures. South Africa was a colonised country, and the colonisers came with their culture and indoctrination. The study intends to investigate the influence of historical, political, and cultural factors pertaining to the use of isiZulu in private schools. The literature review shows that historical, political, and cultural factors have an influence, however, the behaviour and actions taken by the language users are not given a lot of attention. This study intends to fill this gap. This study uses political economy as a guiding theory to explore all factors which create hindrances for isiZulu in private schools. Data was collected from ten participants who are parents at Curro Waterfall. This was analysed using discourse analysis to make sense of the data collected. The findings in this research suggest that parents love their indigenous languages. However, they are not prepared to take actions in support of these languages to ensure that African first additional language has an influence in private schools. In other words, parents are the main hindrance preventing isiZulu from having an influence in private schools. Based on the data collected, the study concludes by providing recommendations.

Terminology

FAL

First additional language. The education policy requires that the learner must study at least two languages, home language and first additional language, which is added after home language.

Indigenous language

There is a debate pertaining to what an indigenous language is. For the purpose of this research, please note that indigenous language refers to the South African native languages. These languages are South African official languages that were not derived from other European languages. A language like Afrikaans is a South African official language, however, this language was derived from Dutch. This means that Afrikaans is not regarded as an indigenous language in this research study.

African language

An African language is defined as an indigenous language.

Private school

A private school adheres to South African education policies, i.e. the South African Schools' Act of 1996, but it is not owned by the state. It is supported by the private payment of fees, and education is provided independently from the state.

Former Model C school

A fee-paying school owned by the state. These are well-resourced schools which rely both on the private payment of fees and support from the state. Teachers are paid by the government; in other words, they are government employees.

LoTL

Language of teaching and learning

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Opening statement

South Africa has many indigenous languages, most of which are used by Black people in their communities or places of work. In South Africa, Black people are in the majority, hence most indigenous languages are used by Black people. These languages form part of their culture and identity. It is fascinating to see people using their indigenous languages. However, these languages do not have an influence in schools, universities, and businesses. Indigenous languages are spoken by the majority; they ought to be used in schools, universities, and in business.

Indeed, in South Africa, indigenous languages continue to be marginalised, which renders them useless in schools, universities, and businesses. As a result, a language like Afrikaans has more influence in schools. Therefore, the aim of this research project is to investigate the factors and context preventing isiZulu, as one of the indigenous languages of South Africa, from having an influence in private schools. The less influence of African languages, the more influence for Afrikaans. This chapter introduces the study, followed by the background of the study, research problem, aims and objectives, significance, and limitations of the study. Lastly, the structural outline will be given, which will provide a synopsis of all the chapters in this research project.

1.2. Background of the study

Afrikaans is a language that is spoken by a minority group in South Africa. Under democratic laws, it is a given that the minority shall not rule or govern. If the opposite is true, it comes as a shock. Ngcobo (2014) highlights the 2011 census data, provided by Statistics South Africa, which indicates that isiZulu speakers are above 20% (11.5-million). The author further reveals that 81% of isiZulu speakers are based in Kwazulu-Natal (KZN). This is because KZN is the home ground for the AmaZulu, hence the numbers are high. Ngcobo (2014) further reveals that 50% of the South African population can understand and communicate in isiZulu. This shows a clear picture of isiZulu having more speakers in South Africa. The author argues that the number of isiZulu speakers in South Africa is followed by other African languages, excluding English and Afrikaans. English is spoken by 8.2% of the population. Louw (2004) reveals that

Afrikaans is the home language of 5.9 million people. Looking at the high number of isiZulu speakers in South Africa, isiZulu should have high enrolment numbers in private schools without competition. If there is competition, it should be other African languages.

In this case, 'private schools' refers to registered schools with an EMIS number and qualified teachers who are recognised by the South African Council for Educators (SACE). These are schools that offer education for middle-class individuals who can pay a fee every month. Most of them are well-resourced and they offer English as a home language. In most private schools, the dominant racial grouping is Black people, however, they do not choose isiZulu as a first additional language. Irrespective of the dominance in numbers, most learners do not take isiZulu. The above statistic reveals that the minority group (white people) do not have enough numbers to have more influence. However, the sad truth is that the minority group has a lot of influence in private schools when it comes to languages. Afrikaans was used as the language of oppression hence the student uprising in 1976 which fought against the use of Afrikaans in schools. The reason behind fighting against Afrikaans was the fact that the population that was forced to use Afrikaans outnumbered the minority that was enforcing the use of Afrikaans. If unfair influence was clear as far back as 1976, it raises a question: what causes the influence of Afrikaans in a democratic South Africa? In some instances, learners who take isiZulu as a first additional language in the earlier grades change to Afrikaans in the senior grades. Some of the learners will do isiZulu in term one and change to Afrikaans in term two. There is no consistency when it comes to isiZulu or any other indigenous languages. This is a sad reality taking place in private schools. It is therefore clear that an investigation into the instability of isiZulu in private schools is necessary. The number of learners taking isiZulu in private schools decreases all the time.

The introduction of isiZulu in private schools was done in a proper way, and most of the private schools take pride in what they provide in terms of quality education. Every subject that they introduce is subject to proper recruitment. They do this so that they can use it as bragging rights since indigenous languages were suffering under apartheid. This challenge resulted in indigenous languages being less developed. These schools make sure that they hire well-qualified teachers who have experience in the field. The normal requirements are proper qualifications with experience that is not less than five years. Looking at the history of

indigenous languages, such requirements make sense. This is because most private schools are aware that indigenous languages have been suffering and are less developed compared to Afrikaans. This is the reason why they always make sure that they get well-experienced candidates. It is more difficult to get an isiZulu post in a private school than it is in a public school, as public schools do not follow strict requirements when hiring isiZulu teachers. This speaks to the quality of isiZulu teachers that most private schools employ. The challenge of isiZulu failing to have a fair share in private schools does not emanate from the lack of quality educators. I am an experienced teacher who has been teaching isiZulu in private schools. I can attest that the interview process for isiZulu in private schools is very demanding, therefore, as a result, they have quality educators. However, very few learners are enrolling for isiZulu.

1.3. Research problem

The dawn of democracy came with a lot of interesting ideas which sought to unite South Africa and correct the immoral apartheid regime laws. In line with uniting South Africans, most former Model C schools and private schools introduced indigenous languages. IsiZulu is the leading indigenous language in most private schools. However, it seems like the honeymoon was short-lived as indigenous languages (with a special focus on isiZulu) have been experiencing challenges in terms of making a mark in private schools. The interesting factor is that both Afrikaans and isiZulu are the first additional languages in private schools. However, isiZulu does not have influence compared to Afrikaans. It must be stated that Afrikaans and isiZulu are both treated with less importance when compared to English, which is offered as a home language. Irrespective of the fact that isiZulu is the most spoken language in South Africa, as a first additional language it is still failing to compete with Afrikaans first additional language, which is spoken by the minority group. Afrikaans and isiZulu are treated as less important subjects, yet Afrikaans still enjoys greater influence when compared to isiZulu. This shows that the failure of isiZulu to have an influence in private schools is motivated by context and factors that ought to be investigated.

1.4. Aim, research questions, and objectives.

Research aim

The aim is to investigate the contexts and factors preventing isiZulu first additional language from having an influence in South African private schools.

Research questions

What are the contexts and factors preventing isiZulu first additional language from having an influence in private schools?

- What are the socio-cultural and economic factors that make parents not choose isiZulu for their children?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of isiZulu and Afrikaans in private schools?
- What are the reasons for some private schools to still offer Afrikaans as the only FAL instead of adding African languages?

Objective

To achieve the aim, the objective is to identify all factors that constrain the growth of isiZulu in private schools, to compare these factors, and to scrutinize their influence. This will be elaborated on in the literature review chapter. The information collected will assist in providing workshops for schools and teachers.

1.5 Significance of the study

Private schools used to offer only Afrikaans as the first additional language, neglecting all indigenous languages. The implementation of new laws and policies saw most private schools introducing isiZulu and other indigenous languages. The sad reality is that policymakers or researchers in this field have focused on standardising isiZulu as a language. This was to ensure that a structured language is offered in private schools. The contribution of standardising and offering isiZulu in most South African private schools is a huge contribution towards change and appreciation of indigenous languages. This contribution is valued; however, it does not provide answers pertaining to understanding why isiZulu fails to have an influence as a first additional language in private schools, since most of the learners are Black. Researchers who have cited abandoning culture as one of the reasons why isiZulu is failing to have an influence in private schools have been challenged by recent studies. Posel et al. (2020) argue that African people have not abandoned their culture or languages. The author's

research reveals statistics that indicate that isiZulu is the most spoken language by indigenous people in South Africa. This research will bring something new; as we live in an evolving world, things are changing. The reasons why indigenous people are failing to choose indigenous languages as the first additional languages in schools change with time. It is therefore fitting to embark on an investigation to determine the reasons why most Black learners do not take isiZulu. Most of the studies and research in this field do not focus on the reasons why isiZulu is not a preferred language as FAL. Most researchers talk about the influence of English and how learners perceive indigenous languages when they are compared with English. This research is therefore vital. This is because it will attempt to provide answers pertaining to the reasons why most learners in private schools do not take isiZulu as their first additional language. The focus won't be on the number of private schools that offer isiZulu, but will provide an understanding pertaining to how the speakers of the language, namely parents and pupils, perceive isiZulu and its importance in society. It will look at their perceptions of isiZulu in relation to the perception they have of Afrikaans. This study will be looking at the influence of a first additional language when compared to another first additional language. This is different from what most researchers in this field have done.

In other words, this research will investigate socio-cultural contexts and other factors that result in some hindrances, which means less growth of isiZulu in private schools. These factors change as time evolves. The focus will be on grade 4-6, and this research will look at people's perceptions and attitudes towards the language. The above-mentioned contexts and factors will assist in providing an understanding concerning the reasons why isiZulu is viewed as a less important subject in most private schools. This is the focus of this study. Most researchers tend to omit the reasons which influence Black parents' decisions to enrol their kids in Afrikaans. Most parents do not understand Afrikaans, and some are isiZulu home language speakers, yet they prefer to enrol their kids in Afrikaans. It is this gap that makes this research important and relevant. I believe that the findings will clarify the obstacle(s) that prevents isiZulu from flourishing compared to Afrikaans. In short, the study will be looking at isiZulu as a language that is marginalised in most South African private schools. The study will reveal the factors and contexts which lead to such marginalisation. The work that has been done by most researchers in this field will be vital. However, this research will challenge some of the

factors that were perceived to be common amongst researchers and will contribute something new into the pool of knowledge pertaining to indigenous languages.

1.6 Limitations

The study focuses on one private school, and the views of parents from this school cannot therefore be regarded as the general view of all private school parents. Since most researchers in this field give us a general idea of what is or might be happening in all South African private schools, this does not give us conclusive evidence to unequivocally support the idea that isiZulu is experiencing challenges in all private schools. The scope is too narrow to generalise. This research is qualitative research. Qualitative research might be seen as subjective, even though a literature review gives us a picture of what is common amongst researchers in this field. Analyses and interpretations in qualitative research might be viewed as subjective.

1.7. Structural outline of chapters

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 provides an overview. It provides the synopsis of the background of the study, which gives an idea of what this study is about, namely the major challenge of isiZulu as a language in private schools. The South African phenomenon is very interesting, in that the languages of the majority are not the languages that are popular in schools, universities, and businesses. This led to a research problem being formulated; the research aim, which is the backbone of investigating this challenge, is clearly outlined in this chapter. In every study, there are challenges and limitations and, as well as the significance of the study, all these aspects are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2

This chapter looks at the work and contribution of other authors, i.e. the work and research that has been published which relates to the research that I will be conducting. The work of other authors was used to analyse and to show the gap that has not been given attention when it comes to the challenge of isiZulu in private schools. This literature review is divided into six themes namely: History of isiZulu and Afrikaans as languages that are used in South Africa; Attitude of language users of isiZulu and Afrikaans; Economic and political influence;

Language as culture; Middle class in South Africa; and Multiculturalism and tribalism. The work reviewed under these themes will give a clear picture of the problem that is being studied.

Chapter 3

This chapter outlines the methods used in this research study. This research is qualitative in nature and the research method or instrument that is used is interviews. The reasons for choosing this method, and its significance, will be elaborated on in this chapter. The place where data was collected, the procedure of collecting data, and the ethical considerations, are clearly outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 4

This chapter covers the presentation and analysis of findings. Discourse analysis was used as the tool used to analyse data and to make sense of findings. Political economy is the theoretical framework used in this study. Findings in this chapter will be analysed by looking at power relations, economic factors, social relations, and attitudes. Findings will be presented looking at themes that were discussed in chapter two.

Chapter 5

This chapter provides the conclusion which summarises the work done in this research study. References and all appendices will be found in this chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter looks at the literature, work and research that has been published which relates to this research. The work of other authors is analysed and used to show the gap that has not been given attention. The reviewed literature is engaged with and scrutinised. This is done to show the gap between what is known and what is not known. Reviewing other authors' work contributes in terms of determining the factors and context that prevent the growth of isiZulu in South African private schools.

I begin by discussing political economy theory as the theoretical framework used in this research. I then move on to discuss six themes. The first two themes are (i) history of isiZulu and Afrikaans as languages that are used in South Africa, and (ii) attitude of language users of isiZulu and Afrikaans. These themes are carefully selected because they will provide an understanding pertaining to the historical usage of these languages to better understand their legacy. Put differently, hindsight is the best teacher; it allows us to understand the current situation pertaining to languages. The connection between the interview questions and the literature review will be drawn. The first three questions from the interview will relate to the first theme, and the next two questions will relate to the second theme.

The two themes that will follow thereafter are (iii) language as culture and (iv) economic and political influence, and the interview questions which follow those listed above will relate to themes (iii) and (iv). This review will use literature and questions from the interview to make sense of the problem that is being studied. The last two themes are (v) middle class in South Africa and (vi) multiculturalism; these will provide a general understanding of the challenges faced by African languages in schools.

2.2. Theory

In this study, political economy will be used as the theoretical framework. Carnoy (1985) analyses the political economy of education as a theoretical framework that treats education as a factor that is shaped by the relations of power between different economic, political, and social groups. The political economy looks at any given study in relation to the influential factors mentioned above. In other words, it looks at all factors that might lead to understanding the given study. Political economy studies the social relation and the influence of power, by looking at the influential aspects at all levels. This research is a study that seeks to understand the contexts and factors that create hindrances for isiZulu in private schools. The political economy provides a solid analysis pertaining to the aim of this research.

This research is more interested in sociocultural/social groups aspects, which better explain the economic and political factors. The problem in this research is analysed better by using this theoretical framework. This is because socio-cultural factors, historical factors, economic factors, political factors, and power relations have an influence in limiting the growth of isiZulu in private schools, and further propel Afrikaans. The power relation that is at play

cannot be easily avoided. Tomaselli (1997) argues that indigenous languages were oppressed by the previous Apartheid regime. The government in power at the time ensured that indigenous languages were not given priority compared to English and Afrikaans.

The emphasis in this study will be given to socio-cultural factors, which will be focused on to attempt to answer the fundamental question of the study. Looking at issues of language requires one to look at cultural aspects of the language users; indeed language is part of culture. Ando (1995) highlights that language is spoken by people; the author argues that we cannot discuss language change without discussing the change of people. This tells us that the attitude of the people towards languages will determine the growth or failure of the language. If we agree that the change in language is influenced by the changes in the interaction and attitude of people, it means that positive or negative changes amongst the language users will have a huge impact on language.

Educational issues are influenced by many factors. Parents choosing a language for their children are influenced by economic and other factors. In other words, parents look at the benefits that will come with the choice of a language in relation to the economy. As we have seen, most parents choose English as the language of teaching and learning. Some parents are immensely influenced by socio-cultural factors. The difference in culture comes with different attitudes towards a language. In this case, political economy is a conducive theoretical framework that looks at the problem in a holistic way. Even though the political economy framework will be used holistically, the emphasis will be on the socio-cultural aspects and attitudes amongst social groups. This study is not quantitative in nature. An understanding of socio-cultural, political, and economic factors provides solid data in terms of understanding the problem that is being studied. There is a perception that isiZulu is not economically viable, and it is not well funded. Most people who are consumed by the metropolitan language have perceptions and beliefs concerning indigenous languages. Understanding the history, socio-cultural aspects and social relations is a better approach. Lastly, political figures might have an influence in ensuring that indigenous languages do not thrive in schools.

2.3. History of Afrikaans and isiZulu as languages used in South Africa

2.3.1 Afrikaans development and influence

The issue of language and the language question in South Africa can be understood better by taking a glance at the history of languages. The apartheid regime used political power and languages as a tool to gain control and ensure that remained in charge. They also made sure that their culture dominated at the expense of indigenous languages and cultures. As a result, the democratic government elected in 1994 compiled a language policy to correct the wrongs of the past. The Language in Education Policy of 1997, in terms of section 3(4) of the National Education Policy Act of 1996, provides and encourages the use of all official languages in South Africa. In other words, it recognizes that different cultures in South Africa are important in building one nation, hence the policy promotes multilingualism. The aim of the policy is to maintain home language while providing access to the acquisition of additional language. In other words, it embraces the additive approach to bilingualism. This is an ideal that is still to be realized. The source of the challenge which led to the creation of the Language in Education policy must be understood.

The policy states that the learner must have at least one language that is approved as a subject in grades 1-2. From grade 3 (previously Std 1) onwards, all learners are expected to be taught their language of teaching and learning and one additional language. From grade 5, one language must be passed, however, from grades 10 to 12, two languages must be passed, one as a first language and the other as the additional language. Counter-intuitively, as it pertains to promoting multilingualism, the policy is failing. In South Africa, the issue of home language is problematic because English has become the home language to many learners, which renders additive bilingualism not conducive to promoting multilingualism.

Nzuza, (as cited in Khwela, 2003), argues that the language challenge started in the 19th century when English and Dutch were used as official languages. This was the time when the colonising forces gained power over the indigenous people of South Africa. Indigenous languages at the time were used by indigenous people as a tool of communication, however they had no power in the economy. Khwela (2003) reveals that a problem that started in the 19th century came with a lot of foreign language indoctrination. As a result, a lot of African people had to learn English and Dutch, which later developed into Afrikaans. De Kadt (2005) highlights that the colonial government of 1924 developed a young language called Afrikaans.

Afrikaans was a mixture of languages spoken in the Cape at the time. These languages included French, German and Dutch. In earlier centuries, Afrikaans had no power; it only gained power in the 19th century. Many years of African people using a foreign language has had a negative impact pertaining to how they use their own indigenous languages. African languages did not disappear in South Africa, but their influence was and still is limited when it comes to education.

Khwela (2003) highlights that when the Dutch settled in South Africa, the Afrikaans language, which is a language that was derived from Dutch, gained more power and replaced Dutch. The author further reveals that in 1925 Afrikaans was recognised by parliament as an official language. The power that English and Dutch had at the time worked to their advantage, English and Afrikaans having an influence. Khwela (2003) highlights that in 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed. This Act ensured that English and Afrikaans would be languages used as mediums of instruction. This policy was intended to reduce the influence of English in African schools and promote the use of Afrikaans as the LoTL in South African schools. This led to the Soweto uprising, as the student protest that took place in 1976. The students were fighting the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. If you look at the influence of English and Afrikaans from as early as the 19th century, this gives an indication of development pertaining to languages. Indeed, the development of Afrikaans happened at the expense of African languages.

Such biased development of Afrikaans had a negative impact on African languages. Beukes (2009) argues that economic and educational inequalities have not changed. An effort has been made to redress and attempt to eliminate colonial developmental bias. It must be stated that the situation today is indeed not the same as it was under colonial rule, but a lot still needs to be done. The process of developing Afrikaans, from the 19th century, and ensuring that it remains a well-recognised language, happened at the expense of indigenous languages. Taking a glance at the past gives an indication that Afrikaans had an unfair advantage and influence compared to the African languages. This historical synopsis of Afrikaans and its influence during colonial rule, which formed the biased government of 1924, shows that a language can easily develop. It can be popular due to unfair indoctrination and forced use. The implementation of Bantu education, as is revealed by Khwela (2003), provides the

foundation of Afrikaans stability and outlines steps that were taken to ensure that Afrikaans became an influential language.

Questions such as 'what influences parents' decisions in choosing isiZulu /Afrikaans' might be addressed by historical facts. Colonial influence and devaluing of indigenous languages resulted in the direct or indirect promotion of Afrikaans. Parents are influenced by what is offered as part of the curriculum. This might result in a lack of scrutiny to ensure that the curriculum reflects parents' realities when it comes to languages. De Kadt (2005) argues that most African countries keep colonial languages for homogenisation. This means that they do not keep these languages for a noble reason, or to encourage multilingualism. Beukes (2009) argued that economic and educational cleavages have not changed, meaning that a lot of inequalities have not been redressed thus far. This further supports the view that parents might be choosing Afrikaans as their FAL of choice for their children because it is what the curriculum is offering them. In other words, the status quo has been kept hence the parents are still doing things the way they have been done in the past. However, it must be noted that the answers provided by these authors for this question have some limitations, namely that this regards parents as individuals who are not critical. It regards them as a group of people who are passive and who fail to engage with what is happening in their surroundings.

As much as historical influences have an impact on what we are experiencing today, historical factors cannot be treated as the true gospel which explains the influence of Afrikaans from the 1924 government to date. The contribution of these authors is vital and conducive; however, it is limited to understanding the roots of the problem. The major challenge is that, if we treat parents as rational and critical individuals, historical factors can not infringe on steps that parents can take to ensure that isiZulu, or any other indigenous language, develops and gains an influence. The study done by Posel et al. (2020) revealed that African languages are still widely used as *lingua franca*. This is an indication of a people or of communities who still use their languages with pride. Limiting the challenge of indigenous languages failing to have an influence in private schools to a historical bias and lack of development does not do justice to the millions of people who are still using indigenous language, as highlighted by Posel et al. (2020). Therefore, embarking on a journey of studying and understanding the source of the challenge is important. Things are evolving - what made sense then does not carry the same weight today.

On the question of which language is used at home, De Wet et al. (2009) indicate the influence of English. It is revealed that in 1978, 96% of Black learners were taught in English. This shows the influence of English and parents' preference when it comes to the LoTL. This also makes sense in the South African context; in South Africa, English has been the most influential language, hence it is the language of business. If it is found that parents are communicating in English at home, this will be in support of what De Wet et al. (2009) observed. The fact that English is the language of business is not ideal, but it makes sense why parents would prefer to communicate in English with their kids. Everyone wants to be part of the economy. If most parents are using isiZulu or any other indigenous languages at home, this further supports Posel et al. (2020). The author's study reveals that most African languages have not died as they are still widely used as *lingua franca* irrespective of the influence of English. Counterintuitively, the same cannot be said about Afrikaans. It would be a shock to learn that most African parents use Afrikaans in their homes.

Furthermore, Louw (2004) highlights the decline of Afrikaans in terms of influence; it is argued that this was because of English gaining more influence. This means that the language that parents use at home has no connection with the language that parents choose at school as the first additional language. Parents might be using English at home but choose isiZulu as the FAL, or they might choose Afrikaans as the FAL for their children. This indicates that the influence of Afrikaans as the first additional language in private schools does not mean most Black parents are using Afrikaans at home. Choosing isiZulu as the first additional language does not mean parents use isiZulu as a language of communication at home. Most researchers in this field look at the influence of English when compared to indigenous languages. They do not zoom into the first additional language in relation to another FAL. . Therefore, it is important to zoom into the first additional languages that are competing

2.3.2 The fight for indigenous languages

Bunyi (1999) highlights how African languages have suffered delegitimization and devaluation in the education system. The author used a Kenyan case study to research the struggle of indigenous languages. Bunyi (1999) reveals that Western education was brought to Africa by the European colonial powers, and as a result, eurocentrism was part of its baggage. This resulted in less self-esteem amongst Africans, seeing that there is a huge problem pertaining to African languages. Calls have been made to ensure that African education is grounded on

the indigenous cultures since language is part of the culture and a medium through which culture is transmitted. This simply means that language must be given priority to ensure that change is possible. The author further notes that development in any country has to do with the improvement in the social, cultural, economic, and political lives of the people. This is a solid observation because it gives an understanding of the many issues that might be a hindrance to improvement. Bunyi also assists us in thinking about the challenges of isiZulu by looking at the different factors. It is a good contribution, but it does not answer the question of additional languages that are competing. It is surprising to still observe the success of the language of the minority in private schools.

The historical synopsis highlighted above indicates the influence of Afrikaans and how Afrikaans was used as a language of influence. It must be noted that the development of Afrikaans happened at the detriment of indigenous languages. The plans and execution of the plans that ensured the enrichment of English and Afrikaans had a direct, negative impact on the indigenous languages of South Africa. However, it must be clearly stated that irrespective of African languages being marginalised and not used in formal public spaces like schools, there was no period in history where the indigenous languages of South Africa died and were not in use. The study of Posel et al. (2020) indicates that South African indigenous languages are still being used by the majority of South Africans. If the use of these languages had died at some point in history, we could be talking about the nonexistence of African languages in 2021.

The fact that African languages are still in existence, irrespective of English and Afrikaans influence, shows how deeply rooted these languages are to their users. De Kadt (2005) highlights that in 1993, when the new ANC government was preparing plans for new South Africa, the rights that were taken away from people had to be given back. In the context of this research, the most important right was the right to be educated in the language of your choice. The economic and political power of indigenous languages was non-existent, however, their power on the ground was huge. The 1976 uprising was also part of the fight for indigenous languages. The fight for the removal of Afrikaans, which was not the language of the masses, meant that the masses were fighting to be recognised as a people, and to have their languages recognised as well.

The idea that South African Black people have abandoned their culture, hence why African languages are not having an influence in private schools, will be challenged in the cultural theme. As has been discussed above, South Africans have been fighting for their identity and culture pertaining to languages. Again, the failure of isiZulu or any other African language to have an influence in private schools cannot be solely attributed to the historical lack of development of indigenous languages. Even though it's not enough, African people have been standing up and fighting for their languages. The fight that took place in 1976 is an example of the will to fight for indigenous languages. As I have discussed earlier, there is no connection between the language spoken at home and the language that parents choose as FAL. I also argue that there is no connection between isiZulu failure in private schools and the lack of enthusiasm from Black parents for their indigenous languages.

This lack of connection makes this research project necessary and important. This is because the challenges of isiZulu in private schools can be understood better as time evolves. Posel et al. (2019) argue that people change languages all the time. The author further states that language shift, has to do with people changing from using one language to the other. This shift can be motivated by many things, as seen in this literature review thus far. It has been established that history provides a historical background to this language challenge. Unlike most authors, I argue that the historical background does not fully explain the challenge of isiZulu in these schools. This problem is maintained, but history can be changed by implementing changes. Something outside historical legacy is ensuring that African languages remain marginalised. We would be fooling ourselves if we believe that history cannot be changed, and that historical legacy on its own explains the continuation of the marginalisation of African languages in private schools. The question that was asked to seek understanding was the following: which language do they speak at home? The answer to this question may be motivated by the historical background of the people, however I strongly argue that history cannot be used as the reason for the continuation of Eurocentric languages in schools.

2.3.3 The rise and collapse of Afrikaans and the continuation of marginalising African languages

This review of literature will show how languages are not treated the same, which results in English and Afrikaans benefiting and enjoying influence. Irrespective of the fact that they are languages spoken by the minority, and the collapse of Afrikaans influence, they still enjoy the

influence. Afrikaans, as a struggling language with its own issues, tends to be more influential compared to isiZulu in private schools.

Louw (2004) highlights that Afrikaans is the home language of 5.9 million people. Around 1980 this language was very dominant and a widely used *lingua franca* in South Africa and Namibia. The end of the 20th century saw the beginning of the decline of Afrikaans, and at this stage English started to be influential. The Afrikaans language enjoyed a lot of influence during the apartheid regime because everyone was encouraged to learn it; in most cases, it was forced on people in terms of communicating in Afrikaans. The decline that is highlighted by the author comes as no surprise because the growth of the language was achieved in an unjust and unfair way. Looking at the numbers of Afrikaans-speaking people, the growth of Afrikaans in schools is surprising. Louw (2004) argues that any language that is associated with nation-building, or a language that forms part of a government project, will always benefit from political patronage. The author then poses an interesting question: what happens when those who have political power lose it? What will happen to the pride of the users of the language? These are fascinating questions because they talk about what influenced Afrikaans growth and what influences the struggle of indigenous languages.

Afrikaans enjoyed growth because the apartheid rulers ensured that it was the language of business, and it was used as an influential language in schools. This was political interference to ensure that Afrikaans prospered. Counter-intuitively, it seems like the Black government is not interested in ensuring that indigenous languages prosper by using their political advantage, like the apartheid government did. This will be further elaborated on in the economic and political theme. In the 20th century, when Afrikaans started to show a decline, the fascinating thing that the Afrikaans community did was to take their kids out of public schools and enrol them in Afrikaans schools that they started. These schools were started by the apartheid system to ensure that Afrikaans flourished. The understanding of Afrikaans and its challenges, as highlighted by the author, reveals that Afrikaans is a language that is facing its own struggle. However, it does not give us an answer to the question: what makes Black parents continue to choose Afrikaans instead of isiZulu or any other indigenous languages in most private schools, even with the benefit of hindsight, which ought to inform parents' decisions pertaining to language choice? seems to be nothing interesting or extra special about Afrikaans as a language yet Black parents are in favour of it. The question of the first

additional choice has not yet been fully answered by most researchers in this field. Looking at the decline of Afrikaans influence, the high Afrikaans enrolment in predominantly Black private schools still perplexes.

Van der Walt et al. (2016) highlights that English has become very influential irrespective of the policy that recognizes all eleven official languages in South Africa. The authors further observed that Afrikaans as a language of the minority failed to compete with English, even though the constitution provides and promotes Afrikaans as well as other official languages. This further tells us that Afrikaans has lost the struggle when competing with English. Indeed, most of the African languages have also failed to compete with English as a language. This contribution makes my study more interesting, because it further emphasises that Afrikaans as a language has nothing special compared to isiZulu or any other indigenous language. Afrikaans experienced challenges in terms of competing with English and failed. This contribution, by this author, further proves that it seems like there is really nothing extra special about Afrikaans, while it does not say anything about the failure of indigenous languages. As I stated earlier, parents still choose Afrikaans as the first additional language for their children. Therefore, it is interesting and important to study the reasons why parents continue to support the growth of Afrikaans over indigenous language. This support has been identified by most researchers in this field and economic and historical reasons have been cited. The question is why is it continuing in modern times where knowledge pertaining to the language question is available in abundance.

De Wet et al. (2009) indicate that in 1978 statistics indicated that 96% of Black learners were taught through the medium of English. This speaks to the influence of English which started a long time ago. A language that runs so deep and is used as the language of business and administration, and which is a popular language globally, is very difficult to eliminate. The promotion of multilingualism by the current government favours the languages that were well established, like English and Afrikaans. This is because they won't be starting from the bottom compared to indigenous languages. In other words, embracing multilingualism simply means all languages can be used by the speakers. This puts English and Afrikaans in the front row, while languages that still need corpus planning are left behind. This ensures the influence of English and Afrikaans in schools. However, given the fact that isiZulu is now well resourced in most private schools, the question of why most Black parents fail to choose isiZulu as their

preferred first additional language, in a country where English is the only influential and preferred LoTL in schools, is still not sufficiently answered.

Louw (2004) argues that another contributing factor towards the decline of Afrikaans was when the new political powers started changing state-owned enterprises. The SABC, which was broadcasting 50% of its content in Afrikaans, had to change and equally distribute broadcasting percentages across all official languages. SAUK changed to SABC, SAL to SAA, YSKOR to ISCOR. These examples provide a solid background pertaining to a decline of the Afrikaans language in general. It must be said that language is not only used in schools but also used in cultural activities. Everything we do is done through language. The author correctly notes that removing the language in all these platforms leads to a decline in the use of the language, hence the Afrikaans community embarked on the journey of starting their own Afrikaans schools and radio stations.

According to Posel et al. (2019), Afrikaans experienced a language shift. According to the author, language shift is when speakers of one language abandon their language and start to use another language. This language shift was detrimental to Afrikaans as a language, as this resulted in English having more influence in society. As I highlighted earlier, this is not an investigation into the influence of English over indigenous languages, rather the influence of Afrikaans over indigenous languages with isiZulu as the main subject. So far, the decline of Afrikaans as the language of influence does not have a direct benefit for isiZulu as one of the indigenous languages. I argue that the conducive historical background does not fully explain the current situation of indigenous languages. If it did, the decline of Afrikaans as the language of influence should have benefited isiZulu or other indigenous languages in private schools.

Every society uses the law to ensure the smooth flow of day-to-day activities, and laws can be formal or informal. Most informal law is found in the rural areas where the chief is usually the judge in most conflicts. In formal terms, the law is the written set of guiding principles or laws which ensure that order is maintained. The government of oppression used a set of laws to enforce its unjust and racialised laws. The law has the power to maintain or change things when it is applied and enforced, as we have seen in the historical synopsis that has been revealed thus far. Pre-1994, the law was used to oppress indigenous languages. The power and the will of the oppressive government used the law to their advantage. The same cannot be said about the democratic government. Indeed, while there are good things that the

democratic government has done in terms of creating laws that attempt to redress the imbalances of the past, compared to the government of oppression, the democratic government is found wanting. This is because good laws are not properly implemented.

It is evident that the injustices of the past are still not eliminated, irrespective of the effort put in by the democratic government. Mpfu (2021) captures the words of former Justice Dikgang Moseneke in a way that shows a better picture of how the law can fail us if it is ambiguous or not used properly:

In a historically unequal society with such severe cleavages of class, gender, and race..... private parties and associations continue to wield enormous social and financial power, which will be immunised from constitutional scrutiny at the expense of those disadvantaged and marginalised by colonialisation and apartheid.

Historically, the apartheid government used laws to implement unjust systems. In education, for example, they used the Bantu Education Act of 1953 to oppress Black people and their languages. It was therefore inevitable for the democratic government to come up with new democratic laws with the aim of reversing the imbalance and unjust system of the past. Mpfu (2021) argues that the formation of the constitution of South Africa is seen as the blueprint of a South Africa that represents dignity, freedom, and equality for all. When the Dutch landed in South Africa in 1652, their government failed to recognise South Africa pertaining to its linguistic diversity. The formation of the Language in Education Policy of 1997, and the National Language Policy of 2003, seek to promote all official languages, protect them, and encourage their use. This is in line with the constitutional vision of South Africa. The National Language Policy framework (2003) highlights the important sections in the constitution concerning languages. Section 6 of the constitution promotes multilingualism, tolerance, and respect for all languages. Beckmann (2016) further supports the creation of policies and laws post-1994 intended to reduce or fight inequalities in education. The author highlights that White Paper 1 was the first policy to deal with education and training. The policies that the post-apartheid government created form part of the law.

There are challenges with the way the law is currently used compared to how the law was used during the apartheid regime. Mpfu (2021) argues that it is difficult to successfully implement the law because there are underlying tensions between the law and the

constitution. The author argues that the constitution recognises the injustices of the past without a clear and unambiguous plan to address them. The Language in Education policy recognises the injustice of the past and the biased promotion of Afrikaans. However, the ambition of such a policy is not achieved because the constitution does not have a clear-cut plan to address the imbalanced system of the past. In most cases, constitutional law assists in maintaining unjust laws. Mpofu (2021) argues that the reason why the constitution is ambiguous is because of the challenge of the balancing act. Trying to make peace without cutting to the chase results in too many constitutional compromises.

To further elaborate on the failure of the constitution in terms of supporting education policies, Mpofu (2021) looks at the issue of private contract or private law. The author highlights the difference between private law, which governs individuals, and public law, which relates to individuals and the state. For clarity, a brief synopsis of private law and public law is needed. Private law is a branch of law that deals with relations of individuals or institutions. These relations have nothing to do with the state. In public law the opposite is true. It has to do with the relations between individuals and the state. The major challenge with this in relation to this research study is that individuals can set up their own private schools, as it is permitted. However, they can create their private laws using the law of contract or private law. This can exclude them from public scrutiny because private law is opaque when compared to public law. Of course, this must not be understood as a way of doing illegal things simply because public law seems to have less power in dealing with private law. However, this gives private institutions room to manipulate the system to their advantage. Private schools can keep their founding principles, which promote Afrikaans; this can be done implicitly, even if they give room to indigenous languages. Mpofu (2021) further highlights that our law does not recognise the right of a court to release a party from a contractual agreement based on the contract being unreasonable. Therefore, the law of contract or private laws give private schools more power. Most private schools that still exist today were established pre-1994. Most of them were founded on the language policy that promoted Afrikaans and English. These foundational private laws of these schools cannot be changed by the language policy that embraces multilingualism without being supported by the constitution. The argument against the constitution failing to support good policies like language policy is based on the premise that the constitution does not challenge private laws.

This makes it difficult for the language policy to be effective when it is applied in private schools which are grounded in private law.

Mpofu (2021) further elaborates on the phenomenon of private vs public law by looking at land reform. Mpofu argues that the constitution recognises the dispossession of land that was done in the past. However, the expropriation of land is not successful because the constitution does not have the power to challenge the right to private property. Therefore, there are tensions between private and public law. The same thing is happening in private schools. Private language policies cannot be fully challenged. If they are, the ethos of their foundational language policies is carried out implicitly. The contribution of Mpofu assists us in understanding some of the reasons why Afrikaans as the first additional language continues to have an influence in private schools. However, this does not mean that the question of why Black parents continue to support the influence of Afrikaans is sufficiently answered. This is because indigenous languages are now available in most private schools, and these schools are predominantly Black.

Most private schools have introduced indigenous languages, however, the culture and traditions from the initial private contract or private law cannot be changed. What often happens is that most private schools align themselves with the democratic laws and policies and abandon some of the unjust policies and laws of the past. Mpofu (2021) argues that public laws predominantly affect Blacks while private laws affect Whites in South Africa.

Historically speaking, the laws and policies of the past did not support indigenous languages in schools. Post-1994, policies and laws still struggle to support indigenous languages in schools. Mkhize et al. (2017) argue that, contrary to the first world countries where language policies and laws are intended to promote the language of minorities, in South Africa they are intended to promote the language of the majority. This paints a picture of what is happening in South Africa due to the historically unjust laws of the past. Lewis et al. (2004) highlights the function of the School Governing Body (SGB) which is provided for in the South African Schools Act of 1996. The SGB is a body of parents in the community who are given powers to have a say in language policy, school fees, decision making, teaching and non-teaching appointments, etc.

In private schools the SGB is a structure that does not exist, and if it does, it has no power at all. In former model C schools, which are public schools but well-resourced and run like most private schools, the SGB is a very important structure. The SGB has been using this structure, which is recognised in law, to marginalise indigenous languages. They have been supporting Afrikaans as a language of influence compared to indigenous languages. It is difficult to challenge such parents because they use the SGB structure as private law that is untouchable. In cases where the SGB of the former Model C schools have introduced indigenous languages, those languages are just introduced for the reason of looking good in a country that promotes the idea of a 'rainbow nation'; they are not given much attention.

History is a good teacher, with regards to the law; history is indeed not in favour of indigenous language, due to the tension between private and public law that has been discussed. It must be stated that, post-1994, laws are also not conducive in terms of addressing the challenges facing isiZulu or any other indigenous languages in private schools.

2.4 The attitude of language users of Afrikaans and isiZulu

2.4.1 Attitude towards isiZulu

Attitude is one of the fascinating aspects in studying the challenge of marginalised languages. This is because it allows us to take a glance at how the speakers of isiZulu or Afrikaans think of their languages. The attitude of the users is a very important contributor to this study because it talks about the people who are being studied. Ngcobo (2001) argues that language attitude refers to language-related matters, and how people view or relate to their language. The author further argues that attitude refers to the beliefs that people hold in relation to an issue before them. Attitude could include positive or negative feelings towards something. Ngcobo (2001) argues that sometimes there is no rational explanation for these feelings and beliefs. In other words, people may provide rational reasons towards an attitude for something, however, this is not the case with everyone. You can have the feeling of dislike without a supporting reason.

De Klerk (2002), in the paper titled 'Language issues in schools: whose voice counts?' reveals parents' debates around the question of the use of indigenous languages in schools. It is revealed that African parents were objecting to indigenous languages, asking what good they would provide. In this case, it is important to note that parents were rejecting the use of

indigenous languages as the language of teaching and learning (LOLT). However, the spirit of rejection is telling a story. Even though the reasons are not yet clear, hence the interest in this study. It is possible that the reason why isiZulu and other indigenous languages are experiencing a decline in private schools is due to parents' misconceptions about indigenous languages. To ask what good an African language will provide is shocking. The author further argues that, irrespective of the effort and policies, it seems there is a challenge with marginalised languages.

De Klerk's 2002 study reveals what Ngcobo (2001) talks about in relation to attitude. Parents were expressing a negative attitude towards indigenous languages; their negative attitude towards isiZulu is deep, hence the use of phrases like 'what good will they provide?' Parents can be pardoned for such utterances when we look at the unfortunate influence of English when compared to isiZulu, or any of indigenous languages.

The rejection and attitude in this regard might provide us with an idea of how indigenous languages are viewed. However, it does not explain less interest in indigenous languages in schools, because parents were expressing an attitude towards indigenous languages in relation to English, which is the most influential language. In other words, this attitude does not fully explain the influence of Afrikaans over isiZulu in private schools. The question 'do you think there is something special about Afrikaans or isiZulu?' is one of the questions asked in theme 2 of the interview (Appendix A). De Klerk's study attempts to address this question: the negative attitudes of parents were mainly because they do not want indigenous languages as LoTL. However, it does not talk about the general attitude of parents towards indigenous languages when they are used as FAL. When the school system provides a curriculum that is in favour of English, having a negative attitude towards indigenous languages comes as no surprise. Indeed, the negative attitude is a rational response in this case.

Parents' attitudes, in this case, can be viewed as a rational negative attitude. At first glance it might sound shocking to see parents expressing a negative attitude. However, looking at the comparison between English and indigenous languages, the parent's attitude is rational. This means that it is difficult to raise the issue of attitude as the reason which results in African languages' failure to have an influence in private schools. This is because most authors do not look at the challenges of the choice of a first additional language vs another first additional language, one that does not carry the same influence as English. Posel et al. (2020) provide a

study that shows an immense use of indigenous languages as *lingua franca* in South Africa. This challenges the belief that attitudes towards indigenous languages result in isiZulu being less used in schools. African languages are still used, most African people still use African languages outside schools. Therefore, it is important to study the attitudes and reasoning of parents when they choose their first additional language for their children.

This contribution concerning the issue of attitude plays an important role, but the argument raised in this research is that the issue of attitude is limiting and does not tell the whole story.

Even though the promotion of indigenous languages is encouraged, it seems that they are not given the same status as Afrikaans and English. It must be clear that the required status can be given to a language on paper, however that does not mean it will be the case in actuality. Unfortunately, it seems like what is given on paper is totally different from what is happening on the ground pertaining to the language status. This dissertation is interested in finding out why parents allow this to continue from one generation to another. Rudwick, (as cited in Bhengu, 2015), reveals the study that was conducted concerning isiZulu perception. This study consisted of isiZulu youth in Umlazi township. It was found that most of the youth showed a link between isiZulu and their culture. They viewed speaking isiZulu as being loyal to their culture. In the study by de Klerk (2002), learners preferred English over indigenous languages. This raises a question of class that ought to be investigated.

It must also be noted that the attitude towards isiZulu or English depends on the circumstances. Umlazi learners had a positive attitude towards isiZulu. This indicates that attitudes cannot be used as a way of generalising and concluding that Black people have a negative attitude towards indigenous languages and hence indigenous languages are failing in private schools. In de Klerk's study, parents' negative attitudes towards isiZulu were based on isiZulu as the LoTL. This is contrary to the Umlazi learners, who are doing isiZulu as their home language and English as their first additional language. Their attitude towards isiZulu was positive, indeed showing that attitudes toward isiZulu depend on the context, as discussed above. This means that the question of attitude pertaining to the lack of isiZulu influence in private schools, where English is the home language and isiZulu is the FAL, needs to be addressed to answer the question of attitude. In this case, the answer to the question: 'do you think there is something special about isiZulu/Afrikaans' can be better answered by a study like this one. This study looks at both languages, isiZulu and Afrikaans, as the first

additional languages in schools. This will provide a true reflection of attitudes towards languages.

2.4.2 Attitude towards Afrikaans

The attitude towards Afrikaans seems to be in support of empowering Afrikaans as a language. Looking at the history of Afrikaans and the time when it was developed, a positive attitude towards Afrikaans is expected. Evans et al. (2014), in the paper titled 'Parental perceptions: A case study of school choice amidst language waves', highlights that most parents in former Afrikaans schools prefer English as a LoLT. The study involves 600 parents, further revealing that most Afrikaans parents do not prefer Afrikaans as a LoLT. However, they value Afrikaans as a FAL, which shows a positive attitude towards Afrikaans as a language by those whose home language it is. This seems to be the opposite amongst Black parents as they prefer Afrikaans as FAL instead of indigenous languages.

Evans' study still fails to address the issue of isiZulu being overpowered by Afrikaans as the FAL language. The study only addresses the influence of English in schools as parents view English as the language of business. There is consensus between Black and white parents concerning the preferred LoLT, in that all parents prefer English. It has been established that the attitude of parents towards first additional languages depends on what the FAL is being compared to. If a first additional language is compared with English, the first additional language does not have power. However, in the case of Black parents, it seems like there is a negative attitude towards isiZulu, while Afrikaans parents still appreciate Afrikaans even in cases where English is the language of influence.

Turner (2008), in the study, "Legal intervention and language policy in schools: the case of isiZulu second additional language", reveals that there was a decline in the number of learners taking isiZulu compared to Afrikaans at Durban High School in KwaZulu Natal. It was found that the reason for this decline was that isiZulu was being offered as a third additional language. This resulted in isiZulu being offered as a substandard language, to which parents complained, and hence most opted for Afrikaans which is offered as a first additional language. In this case, the motivation for parents to refrain from enrolling their kids in isiZulu was all about low standards. Keeping indigenous languages as substandard languages ensures that Afrikaans continues to overpower African languages. However, this does not give us

answers pertaining to the reasons why parents fail to enrol their kids when isiZulu is offered as the FAL, not as substandard as was the case in Turner's study. Again, this continues to support my argument which is against what most researchers believe in respect of attitude. South Africa is a multilingual country with many indigenous languages. Multilingualism is not only limited to South African official languages. However, there is also a relatively high number of foreign learners in most private schools. Some are not familiar with the linguistic diversity of South Africa. The fact is that most if not all South African private schools have Afrikaans as one of the first additional languages on offer. This might give a good impression or represent a positive attitude towards Afrikaans; foreign parents might look at the popularity of Afrikaans and choose it based on popularity. In this case, their attitude towards Afrikaans is positive, however, there are no ground-breaking reasons as to why they select Afrikaans apart from the fact that it is popular.

To restate the question: is there anything special about Afrikaans/isiZulu? raised in theme two of the interview (see appendix A); the attitude to this question will not mean that there is a link between the attitude and the failure of isiZulu in private schools. Parents might have a negative attitude towards isiZulu and still enrol their kids for isiZulu. Parents might have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans and still enrol their kids for Afrikaans. There is a positive attitude towards Afrikaans, and this comes as no shock if you look at history. Khwela (2003) argues that learners' attitude favours English, and as they grow, they are less likely to read and write fluently in their mother tongue. Most private schools are in favour of English hence they are called English-medium schools. This affects the role and importance of Afrikaans and isiZulu, but surprisingly, Afrikaans is not affected a lot. Irrespective of the influence of English, it is still more influential when compared to isiZulu.

This phenomenon is not making sense, as discussed in the history theme. Afrikaans experienced a drop in influence in the 20th century.

2.4.3 Different approaches of assessing language attitude

The review provided thus far pertaining to language attitude suggests that attitude does not provide sufficient reasoning for the lack of influence of indigenous languages. Liebscher (2009) argues that a language attitude that takes a qualitative approach instead of a quantitative approach is more likely to provide conducive results. The results derived from

the qualitative approach will assist in terms of understanding the core of the problem that is being studied. The author argues that a quantitative approach, such as that used by most researchers, tends to neglect the reasoning that is usually provided by the qualitative approach. This is not a case of dismissing the importance of statistics that are provided by the quantitative research concerning language attitude. However, it is an argument that emphasises that statistics do not provide reasons, they simply show what the general practice is.

In trying to further elaborate the above argument, Liebscher (2009), highlights different approaches that have been used in the past when it comes to the study of attitude. The first approach is a content-based approach that focuses on analysing directly expressed attitudes towards language. Data is collected where language attitude is expressed. In most cases the data is quantitative in nature, and this is where the researchers look at the number of people showing either positive or negative attitudes towards a language. The second approach is the internal semantic and pragmatic approach. In this approach, the researcher uses the same data that is collected in the first approach. However, in this stage, the data is being analysed by providing specifics of linguistic features used in the expression of individuals. In other words, it investigates and analyses the words used in expressing positive or negative attitudes.

Liebscher (2009) argues that the two approaches are better understood in the third approach, which is the interactional approach. This approach considers the use of attitude interaction more as subjective reasoning. This approach is in favour of context rather than abstract. A good understanding of these three approaches leads to a better understanding of attitude, properly captured by Liebscher as:

A semantic and pragmatic analysis without a simultaneous content-based analysis will be nonsensical, and an interactional analysis with no reference to the linguistic details in individual speakers will be fruitless (Liebscher, 2009).

A deeper understanding of language attitudes as explained in the above-mentioned approaches clearly shows that more emphasis should be put on the interactional approach. Posel et al. (2020) agrees with Liebscher (2009). Posel et al. revealed that, irrespective of attitude having been quoted as the reason why indigenous languages have been experiencing

challenges, indigenous languages continue to be widely used by people. Both authors understand that an attitude that is not interactionally based does not reflect the absolute reality of the people. Analysing attitude using the interactional approach shows that attitude can be negative or positive depending on the context or interaction.

In the study of De Klerk (2002), parents expressed negative attitudes towards isiZulu based on context and interaction. Their refusal of indigenous languages was in favour of English as the LoLT. Analysing this negative attitude of parents without applying Liebscher's interactional approach will result in false reasoning towards language attitude. This is because it will appear as if most Black parents have a negative attitude towards indigenous languages, hence these languages are not doing well in private schools. This is the reason why statistic-based, or content-based approaches have limitations in analysing attitudes.

A question like "Do you think it is important for learners to do a first additional language? Do you think there is something special about Afrikaans or isiZulu?" can be answered by the attitude that the users have towards their language. However, as it has been argued by Liebscher (2009), such attitudes must be seen in context. This author has a better attempt in terms of understanding the language attitude challenges. The only problem is that attitude is not always supported by the behaviour. In other words, a positive attitude towards isiZulu does not mean that parents will enrol their children in isiZulu FAL. Llamas et al. (2006) argue that the danger of attitude is that people may provide what they think is generally acceptable, not necessarily what they hold or believe in.

This creates challenges and problems in the study of attitude, for example, because people can choose A instead of B knowing very well that they are in love with B. This will then result in false results, especially if the interactional approach to attitude is taken for granted.

In this literature review, it is very interesting to observe that in all the studies that most researchers have conducted, a negative or positive attitude pertaining to Afrikaans is not expressed that much. The only major reference of negative attitude towards Afrikaans was in 1976 during the Soweto uprising; this is indicative of less influence than Afrikaans has. However, this study is important because the less influential Afrikaans is, the more Black parents favour it as the first additional language. Historically speaking, the negative attitude towards Afrikaans was from 1976 onwards. However, it seems like this has not changed the

attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans. Perhaps it is the case of parents voicing views they feel will be generally accepted as opposed to views they hold personally, as argued by Lamas et al. (2006).

The study conducted by Bangeni et al. (2007), looked at students who come from poor schools which offer indigenous languages as their home language, and English as their FAL. The attitude of these students towards English was negative because they felt that it put their indigenous languages under pressure, resulting in their languages being treated with less importance. It was found that most of these students were proud of their indigenous languages, which made them have a negative attitude towards English. However, these students shifted towards English when they progressed in their academic years at the University of Cape Town. The interesting thing that was observed about these students is that they shifted towards English for economic reasons, but they still maintained the importance of indigenous languages and the need to preserve them. Their attitude towards languages is interactional, as it was argued in Liebscher (2009).

There is consensus pertaining to the influence of English as the language of business. Afrikaans students, as well as indigenous languages students, understand that their languages are treated as FAL. The only puzzling thing is when Afrikaans as a first additional language is given special treatment compared to indigenous languages. The reasoning behind this behaviour is puzzling. The study of attitude does not really give us a full picture to better understand this challenge. This further emphasises that there is no relationship between attitude and behaviour. This means that it is difficult to rely on the attitude towards languages as the reason for the failure of African languages in private schools. Perhaps the belief that Afrikaans can provide better opportunities is the driving force behind parents' reason for enrolling their kids in Afrikaans rather than the attitude they have towards indigenous languages.

In conclusion, argues that there is no relationship between attitude and behaviour, as people can have a negative attitude towards something and still choose it. This is a convincing argument compared to how some researchers have used attitude as the reason which led to the failure of indigenous languages in private schools. The literature review in the study of attitude shows that people may hold an attitude depending on the context. Attitude cannot be used to generalise without thinking about the interactional approach, which provides a

broader understanding of attitude. Limiting attitude to the content-based approach and focusing on collecting data for statistics does not assist in terms of understanding the problem.

Dyers, (as cited in Llamas, 2006), argues that attitude can indicate group identity. This means that a positive attitude about indigenous languages can indicate pride and identity of a particular group. At first glance, this looks like a contradiction of the argument that views attitude as something that is not generic, something that ought to be assessed on a case-by-case basis. In support of Dyer's argument that views attitude as something that is not generic, I argue that indeed attitude can indicate group identity in a specific way. In most cases, AmaZulu have a negative attitude towards the use of English when it comes to communicating with elders or celebrating traditional ceremonies. In this case, attitude is generic because it represents the culture and founding belief of AmaZulu; however, this does not mean that people are not permitted to deviate from such belief. It must be stated that however, those who deviate and feel that it's ok to use English to communicate with an elder, or observe traditional ceremonies, will fall outside of the common norms of AmaZulu.

Even though the convincing argument for attitude favours a case-by-case scenario, attitude can be generic in things that have to do with culture. Anyone who deviates from that is allowed but considered as an outsider that has deviated from the norms of AmaZulu. Indeed, attitude can be generic, but it does not dismiss the interactional approach which defines attitude as something that is considered on a case-by-case scenario.

2.5 Economic and political influence

2.5.1. Politics and policy influence

Economic factors have an influence in respect of who gets to enjoy privileges that have been provided by the post-apartheid laws. The cleavages between the rich and poor in South Africa are huge. Such cleavages determine who gets to benefit from the economy, and politicians have been given the power to choose which policies to implement and which direction should be taken to improve the lives of the masses. This means that good policies that have been created by politicians can open the economy for everyone if they are implemented correctly. If good policies are not properly implemented, the masses will not benefit. In this theme, it will be argued that in as much as politicians and their failure to implement policies is a

concern, it is not a good enough reason to explain the failure of indigenous languages. However, the economic division between the rich and the poor, and the failure to implement policies, does delay the growth of African languages.

De Klerk (2002) highlights challenges pertaining to corpus, status, and prestige in education, commerce, science, and technology. In other words, these areas of the economy favour well-developed, tried and tested languages. As was highlighted in the history theme, the apartheid government developed and financed Afrikaans at the expense of indigenous languages. Therefore, corpus planning of African languages, which refers to planning and developing the language in terms of grammar and new vocabulary, cannot be compared with English or Afrikaans. De Klerk (2002) raises valid political and economic challenges. Afrikaans is a well-developed language from primary to tertiary levels, but it is not influential compared to English. isiZulu is not that well developed from primary to tertiary levels, and parents are therefore choosing a language that is well developed up to tertiary level, instead of their own, indigenous language. They choose Afrikaans knowing that their kids are not going to use this language at tertiary level because they prefer to use English as an influential language.

Back to my question, why do Black parents continue to choose Afrikaans knowing that their children won't be using it in tertiary education? In other words, Afrikaans preference as the FAL by Black parents cannot be motivated by how well-developed Afrikaans is. This research is attempting to fill this gap and get a deeper understanding of such behaviour from Black parents. Awobuluyi (2013) highlights that as a way of indoctrinating foreign languages in Africa, kids were punished if they were found to be using their indigenous languages in schools. There is an interesting observation in Awobuluyi's study. It was found that Africans do not choose their indigenous languages, due to years of colonisation and indoctrination of a mindset that makes everything African look inferior. This is what is happening in South Africa. However, Posel (2020) revealed that many South African people are still using African languages, irrespective of the political segregation of the past. This shows that the political influence of apartheid policies affected the growth of indigenous languages, but this does not mean that the masses have abandoned their languages. The post-apartheid policymakers are failing to improve indigenous languages in schools, but on the ground, these languages are the most used languages, with isiZulu as the leading indigenous language.

The study conducted by Awubuluyi (2013) shows that the language choices of people from the North of Africa and South Asia, who were also colonised and brainwashed, did not reflect the mistakes of language choices made in the sub-Saharan region, which favours the colonial languages. It is also revealed that the South of Asia went with Hindi to avoid the challenges of linguistic diversity. Indeed, in South Africa we have a lot of challenges concerning linguistic diversity, however, the Nguni languages have four languages that are common. The person who understands isiZulu won't have difficulties with isiXhosa, isiNdebele, and siSwati. We also have Sesotho languages, and someone who understands Sesotho won't have difficulties with Tswana, and Pedi. It is interesting to check if the choice of parents is influenced or not influenced by looking at which language groups they lean towards if a private school does not offer their home language. The sad reality is that Sesotho or isiZulu does not have an influence in most private schools.

Mpofu (2021) argues that good policies that have been created to assist the previously marginalised are not well implemented because of the separation between private and public law. Private law has more power, which delays the change and implementation of good policies. The Language in Education policy of 1996 recognises all eleven official languages and promotes their use. As has been argued by Mpofu, this political effort for change is not producing good results due to private law that is protecting former apartheid Afrikaans policymakers. The current government has tried to reduce the use of Afrikaans, they have been successful in ensuring that Afrikaans has less power compared to what it used to have. However, this was done with a lot of push back from the Afrikaans community. They used the law to ensure that things remain unchanged. Private schools can use an unfair language policy that excludes others and claim that they are an Afrikaans school, and they have the right to use the language of their choice. The ambiguous policy and the protection that most people enjoy from private law is delaying the growth of indigenous languages. The following question is raised in theme three of the interview, "Do you think African languages are treated as equal/not equal compared to well-developed languages?" The authors that I have reviewed above attempt to answer this question by showing the political influence which led to the marginalisation of African languages and the failure of the new policies pertaining to enforcing change.

The answer still lacks some substance to make it satisfactory. This is because political and economic failure does not mean that African languages are not available in private schools. Posel et al. (2021) argue that these languages are widely used in South Africa. De Klerk (2002) reveals that parents only have an attitude towards isiZulu when compared with the most influential language, English, not with Afrikaans. The background is good, but it does not provide a solid answer concerning the Afrikaans preference compared to indigenous languages which are offered in private schools. Lodhi (1993) agrees with the notion that multilingualism sometimes affects language development. This is because provision for all the official languages can sometimes be an impossible task to achieve. In the case of South African private schools, it is impossible for them to provide for all indigenous languages.

The best attempt to address this challenge is the one highlighted in Awubuluyi's (2013) study, where groups try to standardise and choose the African language that is closest to their language. At the same time, this could be one of the reasons why parents are not choosing isiZulu, as they might feel it's not their home language. Prah (2007) argues that language is culture and running away from it is allowing it to die. The question is, are the parents running away from their culture? Especially if we look at language as culture and a tool through which culture is transmitted.

2.5.2 Politics, policy, and what is happening on the ground.

Coffi (2007) further emphasises that parents are driven by the language that is useful and used as the language of business. The author argues that the spread of English was based on the extension of the British Empire; the British sustained their rule through English. It is also revealed that English is a very strong language in schools. Coffi agrees with many researchers in this field, therefore there is an agreement concerning the influence of English. As stated, this does not deal with the issue of African languages in relation to the influence of English. Therefore, there is a clear disconnect between the intention of the policy and what parents want for their kids. Parents always want to ensure that their kids are not disadvantaged, and they can be absorbed by the economy. What seems not to be clear is whether they know and understand that first additional languages have no economic power. This might be the reason why they keep choosing Afrikaans. Beukes (2009) supports this view by arguing that the

failure of indigenous languages is because of a bad relationship between the policy and the language attitude on the ground.

Heugh, (as cited in Beukes, 2009), argues that economic and educational inequalities have not changed, and as a result, there is disregard of the relationship between language and literacy of indigenous languages. The author further argues that those who are rich and educated are proficient in Afrikaans and English. When it comes to economic challenges, it must be stated that private schools are well-resourced with isiZulu teachers and study materials. This leaves the question of less interest in isiZulu still open; resources are not an issue in private schools and the economic division is not a major challenge. isiZulu is used as a language that is offered as FAL just like Afrikaans; this is enshrined in the policy. However, what the policy is striving to achieve seems to be the opposite of what is happening on the ground. There is still no connection between the language policy and parents' choices on the ground. If we accept that economic cleavages resulted in developing Afrikaans, why is this trend not stopping in places where resources are not the major concern?

Mncwango (2009) argues that management of linguistic diversity post-apartheid is problematic due to the lack of a clearly defined language policy. The author argues that this results in the use of English and Afrikaans as the most influential languages in the socio-economic and political domain of society. Mncwango reveals that the language policy in education of (2004) encourages the use of learner's first language and English as a medium of instruction. This is a way of promoting the previously marginalised languages. Counterintuitively, the author argues that what is happening on the ground is against the ideal of the policy. The evidence provided by the author in support of the above statement is that linguistic diversity is not embraced in private schools and former Model C schools. This is because in schools with cultural diversity there is absence of African culture. This promotes English culture and other cultures that benefited during apartheid.

Mncwango's research contributes immensely towards this study, the issue of culture that is raised by Mncwango has a source. It will be interesting to know why this issue is persisting irrespective of the changes that are experienced in the societies. What makes parents, learners, and communities at large continue to conform to the foreign culture that is promoted by private schools. This talks to the continuous use of English and Afrikaans in former model C and private schools. Mncwango (2009) further argues that a lot of literature

is available in English and Afrikaans, and these languages have been, and are still, languages that are used in courts, hospitals, and clinics.

It must be stated that in this case an effort has been made to ensure that African languages are used more in the above-mentioned institutions. However, the power that they possess is very limited compared to English and Afrikaans. This raises a fascinating question pertaining to African languages: are these languages made available in private schools and public places for the sake of creating an image of a rainbow nation that is built on a fallacy of pretending to adhere to what the policy requires? This is the reason why Mncwango argues that there is no clarity pertaining to language in education policy. This is because it seems like there is a contradiction between what the policy says and what is enforced on the ground.

Most researchers are highlighting the influence of English and Afrikaans. However, the influence of Afrikaans over African languages in Black-dominated schools continues to discombobulate. The influence of English makes sense if you look at the corporate world in South Africa. However, the benefits that come with Afrikaans are not revealed by most researchers apart from the fact that it is a language that was well developed and made into the scientific language that it is today. Afrikaans is no longer as powerful in South Africa as it was during apartheid days. English took over; hence these private schools are offering Afrikaans as FAL not as a home language. The argument that is provided by most researchers pertaining to the influence of Afrikaans over African languages is not plausible at all. Hence an investigation of parents' thinking about indigenous languages is still important. It must be conducted continuously as things change from generation to generation.

Sepota, (as cited in Sithole, 2012), quotes Moyo as follows: "Those proficient in English had access to better education, economic opportunities, and other prestigious positions while those who are not proficient in it, were relegated to a status of fewer opportunities and lower position in the society." Racism is one thing that creates hindrances pertaining to the development and uplifting of the previously marginalised groups. Ntshoe's (2009) research that was published in the *South African Review of Education* argues that explicit discrimination is easy to see and identify. However, hidden, or subtle, discrimination is hard to detect and eradicate. This is very important to observe. Private schools have inherited a lot of racial division, as some of them were formed before democracy, with no Black learners in mind.

Carrim, (as cited in Ntshoe, 2009), reveals the conditions under which Model C schools/private schools operated. These schools had to maintain a 51% white majority in their school. The opening of new schools had to ensure that the hiring of white teachers was maintained. Looking at the founding statement and policy of these private and former Model C schools, racism was and still is the source of the problem. Taylor, (as cited in Ntshoe, 2009), captures the nonsensical racial foundation of these schools. The author argues that former Model C schools/private schools promote advances for Blacks only if they promote white interest. African languages are offered as FAL, as is Afrikaans. But Afrikaans has an advantage over indigenous languages because it promotes white interest. There is nothing that the policy can do if something is not supported by the parents on the ground. Failure to align with the policy and what people do on the ground results in a continuation of the struggle for African languages.

Mkhize et al. (2017) argue that institutions do not adhere to the policy. The author notes that irrespective of the fact that people communicate in other languages apart from English and Afrikaans, English and Afrikaans undermine the rights of other languages and the rights of all languages as enshrined in the constitution. The power of these languages indirectly takes away the rights of other languages, and slowly kills the additive bilingualism which aims to promote indigenous languages. Barnes, (as cited in Mkhize, 2017), argues that the education system has never provided opportunities to the majority in more than one language. The reason provided is that the training that teachers go through, trains and prepares them in English. These are the teachers who are expected to adhere to the policy and ensure that they promote multilingualism.

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 section 29 (2), states that everyone has the right to be educated in the language of their choice provided that such education is reasonably practical. This creates hindrances and renders such laws difficult to implement, hence institutions that ought to enforce the policy of multilingualism can easily claim that it is not reasonably practical for them to offer education in indigenous languages. I, therefore, suspect that schools that offer African languages are just offering them as a way of appearing to be adhering to the policy. They do this knowing very well that their stance supports the implausible reasoning of claiming that it is difficult to promote multilingualism. Mkhize et al. (2017) highlight the phenomenon of monolingual ideology, which embraces one language

and one nation. The author claims that the National Party used this ideology when it took power in 1948. The policy of separate development that was implemented by the National Party ensured that languages were attached to ethnic groups, and the power relation was not the same. This is the same power that was transferred to following generations.

Alexandra (1989) further emphasises the point that modern nations are not monolingual. Different languages can be learnt by anyone, and languages are not used as a tool of exclusion as was the case during apartheid. Alexandra looks at the issue of language in a critical way, necessary if we are to deal with the challenges of racism and inequality. We must look at inequality and racism in the communities as the source of the language barrier. The missionaries came to South Africa and provided education to a few Blacks. This education system did not favour or consider indigenous languages as something that ought to be prioritised. Alexandra argues that, because of this, teaching Black people English created the Black elite who glorified English and perceived it to be better than indigenous languages. This might be the reason why we observe the same phenomenon in South Africa today - most Black people use all kinds of reasons to run away from their indigenous languages. However, Posel et al. (2020) challenge this thinking of generalising and believing that most Blacks have abandoned their languages. The perception we have about educated people is that they have good reasoning, and they are critical thinkers. However, it is surprising to see Black parents not ensuring that, when Afrikaans as FAL is offered along with isiZulu as FAL, an African language wins. We continue to see Afrikaans as FAL having more Black learners compared to isiZulu as FAL. Indeed, it seems like anything indigenous is rejected irrespective of what kind of competition it is facing. African languages are failing to win as LoLT, and shockingly, they also fail to have an influence as FAL. That is why Abdurahman, (as cited in Mkhize, 2017), was perplexed by a group of English-speaking people conversing in the Cape Dutch language. This is because he observed English speaking people conversing in a foreign language amongst themselves. In South Africa, it is a norm to see isiZulu home language speakers having a conversation in a foreign language. Looking at Africa at large, Alexandra (1989) highlights a good idea of a language policy aiming to unite Africa, which was going to see Swahili being the common and unifying language across Africa. However, this great idea was sabotaged by failure to implement. Poor implementation and planning ensured that this idea did not see

the light of day. I argue that the major contributing factor to this failure is the language users themselves.

De Kadt (2005) argues that the development of a language requires a political will, using the South African example. It appears that the apartheid government had the political will to develop the Afrikaans language, but it appears that this is indeed not the case with the current government. However, as it has been argued in this literature review, political failure does not necessarily mean that indigenous languages have been destroyed on the ground. The apartheid government used different ethnicity to delegitimise African languages in a political tactic to ensure that African languages struggled. Ngcobo (2014) in his research study: "Written mixed language variety in multilingual South African media", argues that African languages develop better when used side by side with English. The author investigates code-switching and its benefits. De Kadt (2005) provides us with political factors that contribute towards the slow growth of African languages, and Ngcobo (2014) attempts to provide the solution by looking at using isiZulu side by side with English. The previous oppressive government played a big role in the underdevelopment of isiZulu. The suggestions provided by Ngcobo will not ensure that isiZulu is independent and respected as a language that carries the culture of South Africans.

It is fascinating to observe the issue of political will as highlighted by De Kadt. Indigenous languages are not treated with the respect that they deserve, irrespective of the fact that they are spoken by the majority in South Africa. The political will that is lacking plays a role in undermining African languages. The example of Afrikaans is a clear lesson of a people who are determined to implement change. The lack of political will to change the status of indigenous languages, in terms of how they are perceived and treated, resulted in some of the difficulties that indigenous languages are facing. Irrespective of the indoctrination, eurocentric influence, and political failure, South Africans still love and appreciate indigenous languages. This is not reflected in schools; this speaks to issues beyond those which De Kadt (2005) has observed. In the same breath, political and economic issues must not be treated lightly or taken for granted. However, they fail to provide reasons why the situation does not change even when resources and qualified teachers are available. In the attitude theme, it was clear that most African people have a positive attitude when it comes to indigenous languages, they only have a negative attitude when indigenous languages are being compared

with English. This shows that the political advantage that Afrikaans had does not have an impact pertaining to the failure of African languages in private schools. Clearly Black and Afrikaner parents favour English as the medium of instruction. The decline of Afrikaans influence, as highlighted in the historical theme, ought to have given indigenous languages an advantage. Indeed, this is not the case.

2.6 Language as culture

2.6.1. Culture

Lazear (1995) defines culture as shared values, customs, beliefs, and expectations. Individuals who come from the same culture share the above mentioned with pride. Prah (2006) points out that diversity, lifestyle, and belief systems are part of culture, and the success of culture requires language use. Prah argues that language and literacy are important for social development. The author claims that colonial influence made African languages be viewed as less important, and they were not given literacy development. Lazear (1995) argues that language is a set of common sounds or symbols which individuals use to communicate. This shows the importance of language in culture, and the importance of culture in language. It is important to understand the relationship between culture and language because the promotion of each results in the direct promotion of the other. Prah (2006) highlights that the fight against the use of Afrikaans as a language/culture in 1976 resulted in the promotion of English. This is because Africans view everything that is done using indigenous language as Bantu education, or backward thinking.

This shows that culture can be easily indoctrinated using language, as it was attempted in 1976 during the Soweto uprising. The apartheid government understood the connection between culture and language, hence the attempt to indoctrinate Afrikaans as a way of promoting Afrikaans culture. Prah (2006) agrees by pointing out that diversity, lifestyle, and belief systems are part of the culture, and the success of culture requires language use. Prah argues that language and literacy are important for social development. The author claims that colonial influence made African languages be viewed as less important. They were not given literacy development, as it was argued in the history theme. Most countries that are rooted in their indigenous ways of doing things are well-grounded in language. Countries like China believe in doing things the Chinese way. They manage to do this through language. Language was the central tool that ensured that China is exclusive. The fact that their

language is difficult, pertaining to semantics and sounds, made them to be exclusive and culturally different from other nations.

Donato et al. (1994) argue that socio-cultural theory maintains that social interaction and cultural institutions, such as schools, play an important role in individuals' cognition. It is further argued that the central goal of socio-cultural theory is to show that individuals' psychological phenomena and concept formation depend on the specific cultural system. Indeed, cultural relations go very deep. Stroud (2010) argues that the main challenge facing indigenous languages, whether in schools or society, is the institutional structures that continue to marginalise indigenous languages. The author highlights the most important point, which talks to the attitude that individuals in different institutional structures have towards indigenous languages.

2.6.2 Language and culture in society and schools

Ando (1995) assists us in understanding the context that results in the death or lesser influence of a language in schools. The author looks at language death without language shift, and language death with language shift. The situation where language dies without a shift has to do with language death that is influenced by genocide. It can also happen due to the language being oppressed by political oppression. A community can be destroyed due to war as we have seen with African countries that were oppressed under colonial rule. Mozambique is one of the countries that use Portuguese as their official language. This country was oppressed, and people died fighting colonial rule. Many years later the Portuguese won the fight against the indigenous people of Mozambique. As a result of this, the indigenous people lost their own language and sense of being. This is the death of language due to war.

Looking at the legacy of schools, indigenous languages were neglected. In the hope that they would die out, many schools promoted Afrikaans and English, as was argued in the history theme. This resulted in the current cultural legacy, i.e. that schools have an English culture with a lot of Afrikaans influence which does not make sense. This legacy comes from the colonial and apartheid rulers who ensured that African languages are not taken seriously. The war of Isandlwana in 1879, and the student resistance in 1976, led to a lot of people dying. This did not necessarily result in what Ando (1995) calls language death without language shift. Indeed, a lot of AmaZulu in 1879 and students from different indigenous languages died.

However, this did not result in the death of South African indigenous languages as was the case in Mozambique. Indigenous languages died because of the Portuguese who killed many Mozambicans while indoctrinating them with their culture in the process.

The South African case is slightly different. Irrespective of masses being eroded in wars and fights, the South African languages are still being largely used by indigenous people. Indigenous languages are still leading, this speaks to a culture that South African people are preserving. If we understand that culture and language are inseparable, as argued earlier, the use of South African languages is indicative of cultural preservation. This means that the challenges faced by isiZulu in private schools cannot be entirely attributed to a cultural shift. Even the cultural legacy of private schools is not enough to explain the struggle that isiZulu faces in private schools. This is because it is difficult to argue, as most researchers have been arguing, that the failure of African languages in school is due to a cultural shift which favours Western culture at the expense of African languages. Indeed, Western-style is being used and immensely favoured by parents, as we have seen in De Klerk (2002), however, this does not mean that Africans have abandoned their culture. The debate is even worse when we talk about Afrikaans, if we agree to attribute the failure of isiZulu or any other African languages in private schools to cultural shift. The argument will make sense for English as it has been argued in this review that parents prefer English because it is the language of business. Afrikaans is not the language of business, and as it has been argued in the history theme, Afrikaans has been declining and it is no longer influential.

Ando (1995) highlights the second aspect that results in the death of a language, namely the death of a language with language shift. This is a situation where the speakers of a language may disperse and take up another language. The growth of the other language unconsciously or consciously suppresses a language that was used before. As was stated, South Africa was not immensely affected by language death without language shift (war). It must be stated that language death with language shift affected, and is still affecting indigenous languages badly. The foreign cultural influence that was indoctrinated by the colonisers using political power is still a problem. This second part is a major problem as most Black learners do not choose isiZulu as a first additional language. There is a language death due to the shift from African languages to Afrikaans. This challenge is at the centre of this study, namely that private school culture favours English culture. Afrikaans culture does not have an influence in

English-medium schools, yet Black parents continue to choose Afrikaans as their first additional language.

The study of Posel et al. (2019), reveals that, in the 46 mothers who are Afrikaans home language speakers who are well-grounded in Afrikaans culture, 33 were raising their kids in English. The shift from Afrikaans to English is now a popular thing amongst Afrikaners. However, this shift does not affect their culture and their Afrikaner pride and heritage. The author further shows the shift from Afrikaans to English by the coloured communities in the Western Cape. This is very important because it shows that the home language speakers of Afrikaans acknowledge the influence of English. This is the opposite when it comes to indigenous people.

People also respect and still use their language and culture, but in schools, they choose Afrikaans as the first additional language for their kids instead of African languages. Lazear (1995) argues that when a society has a large group of individuals from one culture, individuals from minority cultures will assimilate. In South Africa the opposite is true; the majority assimilates to the minority. The questions posed in the interview, such as: "Does it matter if your child is not fluent in isiZulu or any other indigenous language?" seek to understand the culture of the people and how they see themselves through the lens of culture.

The authors attempt to answer this question; indeed, culture and language are inseparable. People, particularly parents, are more influenced by culture. In the case of schools, English culture is the most influential. Posel et al. (2020) inform us that Black people have preserved their culture by continuing to use indigenous languages with pride. Jiang (2000) argues that without language, culture will not be possible because language reflects culture. Inasmuch as the above mentioned is true, it contributes towards the problem that is being studied. This does not explain the contradiction between the use of African languages in large numbers in communities and informal gatherings of Black people in businesses and the lack of growth of isiZulu in private schools.

The culture of the masses in terms of language use should be reflected in schools, particularly since there is a consensus that English is the most supreme language. It does not make sense why Black people are assimilating towards the less influential language of the minority. This

is the important gap that is not properly explored. The cultural assimilation from African culture to English does not explain the reason for assimilation from isiZulu to Afrikaans in private schools. As we have seen that the negative attitude of African parents towards isiZulu is context-based, they only have a negative attitude towards isiZulu when it is compared with English. Their attitude was not a reflection of disrespect for indigenous culture.

2.6.3 Land and culture

Walker (2005) argues that dispossession of land is one of the top challenges that indigenous people complain about. Ngcukaitobi (2018) highlights the process which led to the dispossession of land, starting with the fact that Sir George Grey landed in Cape Town in December 1854. His mandate was to come and civilise the uncivilised Africans. He was sent to South Africa to impose the will of the Empire. This meant that South Africans had to be subjected to the burden of clothing which had to be European, and, in the process which followed, abandoned their indigenous ways of doing things. He created schools and offered training under missionaries. Ngcukaitobi (2018) argues that this was the plan to dispossess the land of indigenous people and ensure that their culture was treated as substandard when compared to European indoctrination.

Parrett (2000) argues that the dispossession of land resulted in the disruption of indigenous culture. This makes perfect sense because the success of culture is based on ownership. If you do not own land or assets, it becomes difficult to implement change and enforce culture. Businesses in South Africa have the power because they own the land hence it is easy to enforce the culture of their choice. It is difficult to argue against or resist the culture that is promoted by businesses if you do not have the power of the land. The author further argues that land rights enable physical survival and the promotion of cultural pride. Given historical misfortune, the Black community in South Africa does not own the land which means they do not have the power and space to practice their culture because the owners of land can easily dismiss the intentions of indigenous people.

Culture is not practiced in a vacuum; culture is practiced using space. Understanding culture as the shared customs, beliefs, norms, and practice was argued by Lazear (1995). This further supports the view that space or land is vital pertaining to practicing culture. Ngcukaitobi (2018) argues that the arrival of the Dutch in 1652 led to the dispossession of land. The land

of the Khoi and the San was taken which led to restriction of their movement. In later years, the Xhosa people were dispossessed of their livestock and later forced to work for the Dutch. White people took 87% of indigenous land and left 13 percent of land for the majority Black people. The Native Land Act of 1913 ensured that Black people were restricted pertaining to areas where they were allowed to own land.

When the land and livestock of the Xhosa people were taken, this meant that their cultural practice was affected, hence they could not use the space to practice their tradition. It is difficult to separate language and culture, as was argued earlier, and the introduction of land also plays a key role which ought to be viewed as part of culture. To be given the freedom to express your culture but given limited land or space to do that does not benefit indigenous people. This shows that culture can easily grow and be respected if it is endorsed and given space. To endorse something without giving it space will not enhance its existence. Looking at the division of land in South Africa, which favours white ownership, and looking at the way space is being used, the most developed land is populated by those who can afford, and the less developed land is populated by those who cannot afford.

Most South African private schools are built on land that is populated by those who can afford. The private school that is used in this study is in Midrand Waterfall. This area is not under the ownership of the majority, it is under the ownership of the minority. Traditionally, most private schools which have been built in these areas favour White culture. This is because the landowners come from the white culture. This includes old and new schools. Ownership of land allows the people who establish schools to impose their culture without any push back. This gives them the advantage to promote their culture and language policy of their choice. They do this knowing that Black parents will enroll their kids in these schools because the less developed land is populated with poor and less-resourced schools. In other words, irrespective of cultural promotion that favours White culture in the private schools, parents will send their kids to these schools.

The land issue that has been highlighted by Walker and Ngcukaitobi is vital in understanding the importance of owning land to preserve culture and African languages. Even though most parents love their indigenous culture and oppose the English culture that is being promoted in most South African private schools, they find themselves having no choice. In the past, South African private schools did not offer indigenous languages. They used to offer English

and Afrikaans only. This means that, for years, indigenous people were subjected to Afrikaans which is a language which descended from the Dutch language. The Dutch came and dispossessed the land, the Afrikaner fought them and took over the ownership of the land. The larger part of the land is in the hands of Whites or Afrikaners, and the well-resourced schools are built on the white land. Therefore, culturally speaking, it makes sense why most private schools on well-developed land are grounded in Afrikaans as a first additional language. It is their land, and they make the rules. Black people cannot practice their culture in the land that they do not own, they cannot slaughter the goat in remembrance of their ancestors. They are struggling to change the rules of the land. Not having power over land is indeed a hindrance pertaining to practicing culture. The contribution of these authors is immensely important as it provides a solid premise that better explains the lack of indigenous languages in well-developed areas. However, the fact that isiZulu and other indigenous languages have been introduced in most private schools ought to show positive changes concerning the growth of isiZulu as the first additional language in private schools.

Irrespective of how indigenous languages are being regarded in these schools, there should be a positive change. Black parents are the ones who are choosing Afrikaans over isiZulu. As both are offered at the same level, this is still puzzling. isiZulu is the leading language spoken in South Africa, followed by other indigenous languages. There is no connection between what we know about indigenous languages and what is happening in most private schools. This is the gap that makes this study important and relevant. Sometimes the reason why parents choose Afrikaans is that they want to ensure that learners who have enrolled in Afrikaans before indigenous languages were introduced finish Matric without disturbance. This makes sense. The challenge is that new learners in lower grades are still enrolling for Afrikaans which makes the cycle continue.

Hiding behind the less plausible reasoning that Black people have abandoned their language and culture is not satisfactory. I argue that this reasoning has limitations. Some limitations have been revealed by Posel et al. (2020). Of course, the influence of English culture is there, however, the influence of Afrikaans culture is non-existent. The second most influential culture amongst Black people, after English, is indigenous culture, however, this is not visible in private schools.

isiZulu and other African languages continue to be marginalised. As it has been revealed above, this led to the privatisation of African languages or African culture. Privatisation of African languages and African culture refers to the private use of African languages and culture. White ownership of land resulted in Western cultural influence. This means that African culture and languages are only used in private spaces or African homes. Most Africans are using indigenous languages in their homes, but they do not use or choose them in schools. This means that African languages are used in private spaces, not in public and formal spaces. Again, the historical context and reasons provided by many authors who are quoted in this review fail to provide reasons why there is no connection between what is happening at home and what is happening at school.

At home and in the communities, African languages are still used widely. Of course, culture, history of dispossession, and Western influence play a big role. However, the introduction of these languages in private schools and the availability of resources and indigenous language teachers are still not being utilised by Black parents to their advantage. This gap that has not been properly explored is the major problem that continues to influence the privatisation of African languages. Parents seem to be playing a big role in perpetuating the marginalisation of African languages, as they continue to choose Afrikaans over isiZulu.

The generation that was previously oppressed by the apartheid regime was a generation that used indigenous languages. The generation that came after also used the indigenous language. The generation of parents who are current parents of grades 4-6 are also grounded in African languages. This means that the majority of African parents are fluent in their mother tongue. The question remains, why are they failing to give their kids the opportunity to learn African languages?

2.7 Middle class in South Africa

It is important to look at the South African middle class. The South African middle class is important because most parents who enroll their kids in private schools come from the middle class. The focus will be on the Black middle class since this study is focusing on isiZulu in private schools. The historical development of this class will provide enlightenment in respect of the reasons why the current middle class is influenced by beliefs, culture, and norms that are eurocentric. This is not to say cultural adoption is bad, but overemphasis on

foreign culture has a detrimental effect on indigenous culture. In this section I will provide the historical development of the Black middle class. The historical review will better define the Black middle class, and the link between beliefs of the Black middle class, and its negative effects on African languages in private schools, will be discussed

2.7.1 The foundation of a Black middle class

Mabandla (2013) argues that the foundation of the problem emanates from the presence of the British colonisers and their political institutions. Their culture and norms led to a massive social change in South African societies. It is argued that, in African tradition, the leadership in the communities was in the hands of traditional leaders. The social formation of communities in the village was in the hands of the kingship prior to the British invasion. The land that the kingship was tasked to oversee, and the livestock, played a vital role in the economy. During this period, livestock was a symbol of individual ownership, however, this was not the case when it came to land. In other words, ownership of livestock did not necessarily mean ownership of land. The land was not owned by individuals. The chief had powers over land, and he was tasked to share the land amongst members of the community in the village.

The Western way of ownership of land was completely different from the way Africans shared the land; the Western style is title deeds based. Since the land was not in the hands of individuals, land could not be sold for personal benefit. Mabandla (2013) argues that this was a major hindrance for the British, as they knew that for them to have full control they must take control of the land. A strategy that they used to gain control and overpower the chiefs and take control of land was to introduce technologies. They introduced ploughing technology, stores that sold clothes, and instruments for agriculture.

Mabandla (2013) argues that this is what trapped Africans into the colonial economic system. This system resulted in a consumerist lifestyle for Africans. This ensured that Africans were consumers who bought excessively and supported the capitalistic system that benefited the British, who were the suppliers of goods sold in the market. Ndletyana (2008) highlights that the colonial state and missionaries had a common goal of ensuring that an indigenous middle class was created, and that it must follow the values and interests of the colonial power. The missionary education and new technologies ensured that a portion of Africans were educated

and skilled. This was the first post-traditional class that was in support of the colonial power. Budy, (as cited in Mabandla, 2013), suggests that 70 000 title deeds were given to the missionaries by 1848. This resulted in missionaries having much power which they used to convert indigenous people, especially the Black middle class that they educated through missionary schools.

The first Blacks whom they converted into Christians were given the necessary skills needed in the market. They had good jobs like teaching, interpreting, and farming using advanced technologies. The good salaries that they got gave them the advantage to access economic resources. This was the Black middle class which had money, good education, access to economic resources, and power over the poor working class who were not educated by the missionary. In other words, the Black middle class is a group of Black people who have the opportunities to gain access to economic resources. They are educated and possess power when compared to poor working-class Blacks. Mabandla (2013) suggests that this Black middle class started in the mid-nineteenth century. They benefited from missionary education, but all the benefits that teachers, priests, and farmers enjoyed did not benefit Blacks as a people. Ndletyana (2008) captures the reasons and formation of the Black middle class in an interesting way:

The colonial state and the missionary enterprise shared a common objective: to create an indigenous middle class that would share similar value systems and economic interests to the settler community. This middle class would, in turn, be protective of the colonial civilisation (Ndletyana, 2008, p 4.).

In 1850 the Black middle class was able to buy land - they could own private land. This made the kingship powerless, which is what the British intended to do. It was difficult for chiefs to object to colonial rule because they were dispossessed of their land. The purchase of land by the Black middle class was cut short when the colonisers introduced the Glen Grey Act of 1894. This act ensured that the Black middle class could only purchase a limited amount of land. The limited access to land ensured that both the Black middle and Black working classes seek employment in white-owned land. This sad oppression continues to date.

2.7.2. Black middle class from apartheid years to date

Frazier, (as cited in Mabandla, 2017), argues that in the year 1957, the historical marginalisation of the Black middle class resulted in a sad phenomenon of the Black middle class being obsessed with status. The Black middle class used their access to economic resources for excessive consumption of expensive clothes and cars. This was done to distinguish themselves from the Black working class. In the process, civilisation was perceived as values, norms, and a style of living that is eurocentric. Indigenous ways of doing things were regarded as barbaric and backward. Ndletyana (2008) further supports this by arguing that the Black middle class was established to propel the foreign culture.

Black people conformed to and competed with the white culture that was available in the market. They were enjoying the lifestyle and sending their kids to missionary schools. Missionary schools were more like private schools in the language of today. Sadly, this was carried on to post-apartheid South Africa. The ideology and lifestyle that was observed in the mid-nineteenth century is still present in the year 2021. The historical development of the Black middle class did not change in terms of ideologies and beliefs carried by the Black middle class. Most Black parents from the middle class are sending their kids to private schools. These private schools still directly or indirectly promote the eurocentric lifestyle that was observed in the earlier days of Black middle-class establishment.

Inasmuch as the modern middle class did not entirely lose their language and culture, eurocentric lifestyles contributed to reducing indigenous lifestyles. Posel et al. (2020) highlighted that the most used languages in South Africa are indigenous languages. This shows that the Black middle class are still using African languages. The only challenge is that they are using them in private spaces, not public spaces, as I argued earlier.

Black middle-class parents do not favour African languages as FAL. Looking at the establishment of the Black middle class, it makes sense why African languages are not supported by the Black middle class. Enrolling kids in African languages in public spaces goes against the traditional beliefs of the Black middle class. As it was argued earlier, Black middle class conforms to whiteness. This idea of conforming to whiteness should not be conflated with abandoning African languages. They use African languages; however, it seems like the Black middle class does not see the value of African languages in public spaces. They only

value African languages in private spaces, hence the statistics of language use in South Africa in private spaces will always favour African languages.

Meghji (2017) suggests that schooling and accent are desired things to distinguish the Black middle class from the working class, or to be accepted in eurocentric culture. It is believed that using English and African languages in school will delay being fluent in English, and result in losing the desired English accent. This is problematic because even if we were to accept this less plausible argument, parents are still enrolling their kids in Afrikaans, which is a language that is offered at the same level as isiZulu. In most private schools, Afrikaans is offered as FAL, but the same argument is not used. Afrikaans is not seen as a language that will delay and affect kids from having a good English accent. The development of the middle class and the establishment of private schools which promote eurocentric ways of doing things is good for understanding what is happening currently. This is not plausible enough, in modern times, with more development of African languages and less Afrikaans influence. It is still perplexing to see more Black parents avoiding enrolling their kids in isiZulu or any other African language.

The historical development of the middle class does not reveal a period where Blacks were in favour of Afrikaans as a language. The Soweto uprising is one example; learners who did Afrikaans as FAL at school are not even fluent in Afrikaans. Some can't even communicate in Afrikaans after completing matric. This further emphasises what was discussed in the historical theme where I highlighted the demise of Afrikaans in terms of a language of influence as the British were taking over South Africa. Studying the factors that influence the choice of modern parents is important. This is vital because most researchers in this literature review are important contributors, but they do not explain why the failure of isiZulu is continuing in the modern day.

Meghji (2017) captures the continued efforts of the Black middle class to strive to fit into White culture.

Black people speak good English in their workplace, they speak *Black* English when they speak with each other. Dominant stereotypes of *Blackness* determine what the *Black* middle class cannot be seen doing in public (Meghji 2017).

The Black middle class assisted in relegating African languages to languages of no importance by ensuring that African languages are not used in strategic areas of the economy. Even though this ideology was indoctrinated, its continuity can be attributed to the development of the Black middle class in South Africa. Mpopu (2021) highlights the sad reality of Johannesburg. He argues that the City of Johannesburg lost its economic power because of being populated by indigenous languages and foreigners. Johannesburg City is now populated by indigenous languages which means it is predominantly Black. Mpopu (2021) argues that this resulted in the creation of a new city that will accommodate the Black middle class, hence Sandton City and Rosebank were established. Both cities are influenced by the eurocentric lifestyle.

The interesting observation about this shift of power from Johannesburg to Sandton reveals something about the Black middle class. There was no effort made to use the influence of African languages to turn the city into an economic hub driven by the popularity of indigenous languages. Instead of using this positive change in terms of trend, the Black middle class moved to the Sandton area to fit into the eurocentric system that they prefer. This takes us back to the mid-nineteenth century when the Black middle class was created; indeed the norms and lifestyle of the Black middle class did not change to date. The Afrikaner fought to ensure that Afrikaans as a language and culture did not disappear because of English influence. Mpopu (2021) highlights the development of Orania which is a piece of land on the banks of the Orange River. He argues that it is more like a state within a state with its own radio, and currency.

The interesting thing about Orania is that it is a state that was created by Afrikaners to protect Afrikaans as a language. Of course, there is an element of racism. The good thing about it is that Afrikaners as a people were willing to protect their language at all costs. This is not usually the case with the Black community who always assimilate to other cultures at the expense of their own. Johannesburg would not have lost power if indigenous languages were taken seriously by their speakers.

Turner (2008) highlights some of the reasons affecting isiZulu in private schools. The author argues that some teachers and leaders in private schools believe that isiZulu gets more challenging in grades 10 to 12. Learners are fed this fallacy from grade 7. Turner (2008) reveals some of the utterances of principals from some of the top private schools and former Model

C schools. Parktown Boys principal Tom Clarke was once quoted claiming that “isiZulu is more difficult than Afrikaans.” Such belief is in line with the traditional belief that African languages are not to be used in public spaces. The Black middle class receives such fallacy with warm hands, but this does not mean that they do not value their languages. I argue that it also does not mean that they believe that Afrikaans is more difficult than isiZulu. They receive this fallacy with warm hands simply because they do not believe in utilising African languages in public spaces.

Curro Statistics for languages enrolment

Table 1: Primary (Curro Waterfall)

Grade	Afrikaans learners	isiZulu learners
4	40	21
5	33	18
6	24	10
7	16	6

This table depicts the number of learners who are doing isiZulu compared to those who are doing Afrikaans. The reason why I selected grades 4-6 is that learners choose between Afrikaans and isiZulu when they are doing grade 4. In the foundation phase, from grade R to grade 3, learners do both languages. It must be stated that in the foundation phase, the first additional language is not taken seriously pertaining to content. At this stage, learners are learning basic concepts. They start to learn serious content when they get to grade 4. The intermediate phase is an interesting phase, because it is during this time that parents change from isiZulu to Afrikaans or from Afrikaans to isiZulu. Table 1 shows that parents are less interested in enrolling their kids in isiZulu.

Table 2: Secondary (Curro Waterfall)

Grade	Afrikaans learners	isiZulu learners
8	30	6
9	17	14
10	30	6

11	24	9
12	21	3

Building from table 1, this table depicts a decrease in numbers for learners who enrol for isiZulu. The fact that parents are less interested in isiZulu from the lower grades affects the total number of learners who take isiZulu in matric. Looking at table 1, table 2 comes as no surprise. The statistics provided in table 1 and 2 are not national statistics, they are Curro Waterfall language statistics. While these numbers are not national numbers, they give a picture of what is happening in the country pertaining to African languages in private schools. The authors that I reviewed thus far provide a picture pertaining to the state of African languages in private schools. It has been widely argued that most of the Black middle class do not believe in utilising African languages in public spaces, as the state of the South African economy favours English. Afrikaans benefits because of being a language that was developed and used as an additional language after English.

In other words, these tables reveal a continuation of marginalisation of African languages, and this marginalisation is perpetuated by African parents. The authors in this review provide solid reasoning and a foundation that better explains the challenge of African languages in private schools. However, it must be noted that they do not provide reasons why Black parents are allowing and propelling the continuation of marginalisation of African languages in private schools. When the middle class was established, as highlighted earlier, it was during a period where African languages had not been introduced in private schools. This meant that the Black middle class wanted to be distinguished from the poor working class. They enrolled their learners in private schools which offered English and Afrikaans. The historical advantage of Afrikaans makes sense in this regard. However, it is difficult to continue to use the historical benefit of Afrikaans to explain the continuing phenomenon of African languages failing to have an influence as first additional languages in private schools. As was highlighted in the historical theme, Afrikaans had its own challenges which led to its decline as the language of influence. It is still perplexing to see African parents who continue to support Afrikaans, irrespective of a decline in influence when compared to English. The fact that most private schools in modern days offer one or two African languages makes it difficult to continue to

use historical marginalisation as the reason for failure. This means that most authors in this research only partially answer the questions pertaining to the challenge that is being studied.

Table 3: IEB language statistics 2021 (isiZulu and Afrikaans learners who sat for the 2021 matric examination)

	Number of learners who enrolled
Afrikaans	9152
isiZulu	1421

(National IEB language statistic 2021)

This table gives a summary of the national enrolment of isiZulu and Afrikaans in matric; this table certifies that even though table 1 and 2 depict what is happening at Curro Waterfall, this is a general phenomenon taking place in most private schools. In other words, the failure of African languages to have an influence in private schools is not up for debate. The most important thing is to understand the reason why this is continuing. What is happening in basic education is important because it influences what happens in higher education. Even in township schools, where African languages have more influence than Afrikaans, most parents still don't believe that African languages should be used in public spaces like universities. Table 4 gives a sample of languages of teaching and learning at South African Universities, as per the Department of Higher Education and Training 2015: 29 (as cited in Madadzhe, 2019. p 211).

Table 4: Universities language of teaching and learning (LoTL)

University of South Africa	English
University of Stellenbosch	Afrikaans and English
University of Limpopo	English
University of Pretoria	English and Afrikaans
University of Cape Town	English
University of Witwatersrand	English
University of Venda	English

North West University	English and Afrikaans (Setswana)
University of KwaZulu Natal	English
Tshwane University of Technology	English
Rhodes University	English

Table 4 indicates the tragic legacy of marginalisation of African languages in schools and in middle-class society. English is the most influential language as the LoTL in South Africa, and most Universities use English as the LoTL. As far as this is concerned, it is not a challenge in this research. This is because the main concern is to understand the reasons why African languages, as opposed to Afrikaans, are struggling to have an influence in public spaces. This table indicates that there is a need to understand the challenges facing African languages from the basic education level to avoid failures in higher education.

2.8 Multiculturalism and tribalism

2.8.1 Understanding multilingualism in South Africa

Kamwangamalu (2013) claims that there are two types of multilingualism, namely elite multilingualism, and natural multilingualism. The author argues that individuals who can speak two or more indigenous languages but who are also educated in English as a foreign language fall into the category of elite multilingualism. In other words, these individuals are highly educated in English, as it was argued in the middle-class theme. The establishment of the middle class revealed that only selected Black people were educated by missionaries which distinguished them from the poor Black working class. This means that elite multilingualism represents a minority, since the majority did not get a chance to be educated by the missionaries. This legacy continues to date: most elite multilingual people are in business, are government officials and academics.

Kamwangamalu (2013) distinguishes natural multilingualism from elite multilingualism. The author argues that natural multilingualism refers to people who are fluent in two or more African languages. They use these languages for everyday use, and they are not educated in a foreign language like the elite multilingual. In the South African context, these individuals

are in the majority. This makes sense because missionaries were selective pertaining to who received missionary education. Since the two varieties of multilingualism outlined by Kamwangamalu have been clarified, it is also important to understand multilingualism in a South African context.

Ribeiro, (as cited in Desai et al., 2010), highlights that Nguni languages, which include isiZulu, siSwati, isiNdebele, and isiXhosa, were languages treated as one language under the isiNguni umbrella. The author argues that, in the past, the division amongst Nguni languages was not allowed. The division came later as South African education was in the hands of the missionaries. IsiNdebele was once regarded as a dialect of isiZulu in the mid-twentieth century, siSwati was also regarded as a dialect of isiZulu. In 1960 the independent state of eSwatini decided to use siSwati as an independent language separate from isiZulu. Prior to the division, Nguni languages were treated as one language. Ribeiro argues that the same division happened in the Sotho languages, which include Setswana and Sepedi. African languages were researched by the French, who ensured that they imposed their isolating rules when they wrote African languages. This created divisions amongst African languages: Nguni languages were agglutinating, and Sotho languages were isolating. In other words, words that are supposed to be one were separated by the French influence, for example: I love you (Ngiyakuthanda) Zulu, (Ke ya go rata) Sotho. These divisions created separations and tribalism amongst African languages and Black South Africans. The divisions that were planted by the colonisers carried on into the apartheid government. They ensured that there is no unity amongst Black South Africans; the language issue was already won by the colonisers. Before apartheid, there were already divisions and tribalistic thinking amongst Black South Africans. All groups wanted to claim their languages and separate themselves as the people of eSwatini did. isiNguni was now a broad umbrella term, from being one language to four different languages, adding more unnecessary languages. The apartheid government made things worse when they introduced separate development. This nonsensical ideology ensured that all tribes are separated from each other. This resulted in the AmaZulu living in KwaZulu Natal, the Tswana people in Bophuthatswana, the Ndebele people in what is today known as Mpumalanga, and the Venda and Tsonga people in what is today known as Limpopo. Building from the unnecessary language division to territorial divisions, a strong culture of tribalism was born. Different African groups practicing the same culture and beliefs

started to regard themselves as better than the other groups; as a result, all groups wanted to hold on to their language and look down upon other African languages.

Desai et al. (2010) argue that multilingualism slows down the development of African languages. Dealing with many languages and tribalism is indeed not good for the development of African languages. Lodhi (1993) also argues that the abundance of languages in Africa results in huge challenges in education. In other words, having many languages is a contributing factor to the underdevelopment of African languages. The limited success towards developing and encouraging the use of African languages is affected by multilingualism and tribalism. This has a negative effect on African languages in private schools. Desai et al. (2010) correctly argues that multilingualism slows down development. Most private schools cannot afford to employ teachers who will teach all eleven official languages. Due to such constraints, they hire isiZulu or seSotho teachers. Understanding the background of the language issue in South Africa in terms of multilingualism, and division in language and territory, is important.

The use of many languages that must compete with English and Afrikaans poses challenges. African languages' failure in universities is indicative of a major failure in basic education. To seriously challenge the influence of Afrikaans in universities is a difficult task. This is because there is no unity amongst African languages. Promoting African languages in basic education, yet failing to ensure that the same is done in universities, poses challenges for African languages. The challenge of multilingualism, as argued by Kamwangamalu and Desai, explains the challenges in a South African context by providing historical facts which led to the challenge. The only problem or limitation with what the authors are arguing is that they do not tell us why the situation is continuing, as hindsight has taught us about how less influential Afrikaans is. Parents continue to choose Afrikaans instead of indigenous languages. In schools where isiZulu or seSotho is offered, numbers continue to be in favour of Afrikaans.

2.8.2 The state of African languages, Afrikaans, and English

Kamwangamalu (2013) argues that African languages are still associated with the Bantu Education Act. There is a belief that education in English and Afrikaans provides conducive opportunities for kids. Perhaps the English argument is more plausible. With hindsight, the Afrikaans argument is not plausible as I have highlighted the demise of Afrikaans. Associating

African languages with Bantu education could be the reason why fewer parents are choosing isiZulu. The following tables illustrate the decline of Afrikaans as the language of influence.

Table 5: Medium of instruction in higher education institutions in 1994

	Afrikaans	English	Bilingual	Total
University	5	13	3	21
Universities of Technology	0	8	7	15
Total	5	21	10	36

(Du Plessis, 2006, as cited in Kamwangamalu, 2013. p. 802)

Table 6: Medium of instruction in higher education institutions in 2004

	Afrikaans	English	Bilingual	Total
Universities	0	7	11	18
Universities of technology	0	5	5	10
Comprehensive Universities	0	3	6	9
Total	0	15	22	37

(Du Plessis, 2006 ,as cited in Kamwangamalu, 2013. p. 802)

Afrikaans has lost the status of influence, as in 1994 (Table 5) there were 5 monolingual Afrikaans medium institutions. In 2004 (Table 6) there were none. Even though Afrikaans has lost the status of influence, it is still a language that is mostly used in education as it is depicted in both tables under bilingual. The sad reality is that it is African languages which continue to struggle. The above tables illustrate Afrikaans and English as mediums of instruction. It must be noted that the results are no different when it comes to the first additional languages. It

must also be noted that most higher education institutions have recently improved in terms of introducing African languages in their institution.

2.8.3 Language choice

According to Maluleke, (as cited in Makwakwa, 2019), African languages are used as languages for ancestors. The users believe that their ancestors only understand their mother tongue as a tool for communication. Inasmuch as this is a positive thing, the sad part is that it perpetuates tribalism. Different tribes have an emotional attachment to their languages. This results in parents' refusing to teach their kids other African languages, since most private schools only offer isiZulu and Sesotho. Most parents have a fear that their kids might be fluent in an African language that is not their home language. I argue that it is difficult for Tswana and Venda families to choose between isiZulu and Sesotho. Their main fear is that English is the most influential language that their kids use on a daily basis. To teach them a FAL which is not their home language will result in their kids being good at reading and writing in isiZulu or Sesotho, yet knowing nothing about their home language, for instance, Venda. Therefore, tribalism plays a role in language choice, as having a Venda child who cannot write in Venda but is very good at writing in isiZulu does not bring joy to the Venda family. I argue that the division amongst Africans is a result of apartheid, tribalism, and multilingualism. These factors play a role in parents' choice for FAL in private schools. However, Black parents' choice of Afrikaans as FAL does not provide solutions, and this is because the same Venda family will still be faced with a situation of kids who can't write in Venda yet write well in Afrikaans. It seems like African parents feel that they are closer to Afrikaans than any other African language. This is because of tribalism.

Fasold, (as cited in Makwakwa, 2019), claims that language choice is divided into three categories, that is: code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing. Fasold defines code-switching as the ability to use two or more languages, alternating between them. Code mixing is defined as mixing languages together at the same time, and borrowing refers to speaking in one language yet using words of another language. Language choice in South Africa is a very difficult exercise because it is influenced by tribalism and multilingualism which comes with challenges. English is the most influential language in private schools, and there is code-switching to African languages. It must be stated that this code-switching happens in homes, not in schools. The same occurs with Afrikaans - most Afrikaans kids use English at school and

Afrikaans at home. The only thing that makes Afrikaans influential in private schools is the fact that most Black parents choose Afrikaans for their children as FAL.

This influence or power does not mean that learners are code-switching to Afrikaans at school. English is still the most influential language. Afrikaans has a perplexing power in private schools, this is because the power or influence that is associated with Afrikaans does not mean that Afrikaans is used in private school apart from being just a subject like isiZulu. Posel et al (2020) highlighted African languages as mostly used languages in homes. I argue that African languages are more influential than Afrikaans, this is because Black people are the dominating race in South Africa in terms of numbers. It is therefore puzzling to see the lack of influence in schools.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter started with the theoretical framework used in this research, namely political economy. Political economy was defined, and the connection between political economy and how it would assist in this research was clarified. The historical background of isiZulu and Afrikaans as languages that are used in South Africa was given and elaborated on. This background provided a historical sense pertaining to the reasons why African languages are not well developed. The theme on attitude was carefully selected, because it provides information about how people perceive or think about their language. This theme revealed that there is a positive attitude towards African languages. In the third theme, language as culture was discussed. Authors in this literature review argued that culture and language cannot be separated because they feed into one another.

The politics of the day determines the plan and vision for a country, and so the fourth theme that was discussed was the political theme. It was discussed that the apartheid government used language to gain power, and they developed Afrikaans at the expense of African languages. The political power that the government of today has is not being used with the same enthusiasm as the apartheid government did. All these themes were discussed in relation to the questions asked in the interview. The last two themes, which are middle class in South Africa and multiculturalism, were also discussed to get a general picture in terms of the language problem.

Chapter 3

3. Methodology

This chapter details the methods that were used to collect data. Firstly, it gives the synopsis of the qualitative method that was used. The phenomenological approach, which connects to the qualitative method, will be elaborated on. It will provide details pertaining to the population and non-probability sampling that was used in this research. This chapter details the research instrument and the procedure of data collection. In every research study, the data collected needs to be carefully analysed to make sense of the information collected, and thus the process of analysing data is provided. Lastly, ethical and quality assurance is provided to ensure the credibility of the data collected.

3.1 Research method

The methodology in this research is qualitative in nature. Smith (1999) argues that qualitative researchers collect information in the field, where the issue that is studied takes place. Qualitative research does not rely on an instrument to test, rather on the analysis and interpretation of the information collected by the researcher. The data that was collected has not been analysed in a quantitative way, however, percentages for participants' responses have been given. This does not mean that this research is a quantitative study. The responses from parents were analysed based on the reasons provided. This is conducive in terms of understanding the reasons why isiZulu is not growing in predominantly Black private schools. Quantitative research looks at numbers that inform the conclusion whereas qualitative research uses reasoning and analyses to inform the conclusion.

This method is conducive for this study because it does not limit reasoning to numbers. It seeks to analyse and provide details that assist in understanding the problem in detail.

3.2 Research design

This research took a phenomenological approach. Welma, (as cited in Groenewald, 2004), argues that the phenomenological approach is concerned with understanding social phenomena from the perspective of people who are involved. In other words, challenges are studied with a view of individuals as active beings in the environment. Greene, (as cited in Groenewald, 2004), further emphasises that the phenomenological approach is concerned

with lived experiences of individuals. This approach is conducive for this research because it looks at the problem from the perspective of those who are affected. Posing questions to parents and seeking to understand their reasons in choosing first additional languages, this approach speaks to understanding the problems from the perspective of those involved. This approach is linked with political economy, which is the theoretical framework that was used in this study. This ensured that relevant data was collected from the participants. This research took an ontological stance; this means that we have multiple realities. Knowledge and truth cannot be viewed from a single perspective, as experiences of parents, who were used as the sources of data, differ. Parents' realities are not the same.

3.3 Population

The parents were the source of data. Most parents are middle-class parents with a good education. Most of them live in the Waterfall area in Midrand. This area is an up-market suburb with many Black middle-class people. The focus was on Black parents who enrolled their learners in isiZulu and Afrikaans; this focus was conducive in terms of getting an understanding and attempting to answer the following question: what are the factors and context preventing isiZulu from having an influence in predominantly Black private schools? Parents who enrolled their kids in Afrikaans provided a perspective that was conducive to understanding the failure of isiZulu, and similarly, parents who enrolled in isiZulu also provided a perspective that assisted in terms of analysing and comparing reasons, in order to get to an answer to the problem that was studied.

The focus was on grade 4-6 parents only. This is because in most private schools, isiZulu and Afrikaans are both offered from grade 1-3. When learners get to grade 4, they choose a single FAL. Therefore, it is important to study the parents' decision making in the grades where they start to choose one of the two languages. It must be stated that from grade 4-6 parents are still allowed to change from isiZulu to Afrikaans or from Afrikaans to isiZulu. This intermediate phase group of parents is very important because language decisions are made in this phase. Participants were females and males, aged between 30-52. Ten parents participated, half of which enrolled their kids for isiZulu and the other half of which enrolled their kids for Afrikaans.

3.4 Sample size

Welma, (as cited in Groenewald, 2004), describes purposive sampling as an important kind of non-probability sampling, which is not representative of the whole population, but rather seeks to explain the phenomenon by analysing the small portion of participants who are selected. The participants were selected on the basis of what they could contribute to the study. In this study the participants were selected based on race (Black), being a parent of a grade 4-6 learner, and half of the participants had kids enrolled for isiZulu and the other half enrolled for Afrikaans. This selection was convenient and critical in assisting with conducive information. Boyd, (as cited in Groenewald, 2004), suggests that a maximum of ten participants in interviews is sufficient to reach saturation which is the point at which data no longer produces new information. Creswell, (as cited in Groenewald, 2004), supports the idea of having a maximum of ten participants in long interviews as sufficient to reach saturation. Dworkin (2012) argues that the emphasis is more on understanding the problem compared to quantity. The sample size is usually smaller in non-probability sampling. In this research twenty parents were selected; however, the sample size was determined by saturation. In this case, saturation was at 10 participants.

3.5 Interviews

Interviews were used as the research instrument. According to Webb, (as cited in Stoke et al., 2006), interviews can be structured, semi-structured, or unstructured questioning. Probing is used to get responses pertaining to feelings and beliefs about the subject that is studied. Structured interviews follow a set of prepared questions religiously without deviation. Semi-structured interviews use a set of prepared questions which will be used in an interview. However, the conversation is not limited to the set of questions that have been prepared. The engagement between the interviewer and interviewee can lead to follow-up questions based on the responses of the participant. This allows the engagement to not be restricted to the prepared questions.

Unstructured interviews do not follow a set of questions; the engagement is free flowing. In this research, a semi-structured interview was used. This method assisted in studying the problem as participants were allowed to share useful knowledge about the subject even if it was not planned for, which enriched the study. Open-ended questions are addressed better

in semi-structured face-to-face/online interviews. Honesty and attitude towards languages were easily detected. The following was considered:

- Covid-19 protocols were observed
- Microsoft Teams was used with live video to conduct interviews with parents who couldn't meet me at school.

3.6 Data collection

Data was collected from parents through face-to-face/online interviews. The selected grade 4-6 parents engaged with me in interviews to answer a series of questions. They provided additional input because the interviews were semi-structured. Interviews were scheduled at Curro Waterfall in the afternoon to accommodate parents who are working. The sessions were 30 minutes long. However, some interviews went beyond the allocated time due to participants' additional contributions.

- Notes were taken during interviews.
- Interview notes were differentiated using numbers e.g Interview 1, 2, 3 etc.
- Notes for each interview were summarised and typed up for record-keeping.
- Interviews were recorded using a voice recorder.

3.7 Data analysis

Wodak (2001) argues that critical discourse analysis is a problem-solving oriented approach that includes different approaches. These different approaches in problem-solving unite because they have the same goal and interest in the study of power, injustice, politics, and cultural changes in society. The primary data that was collected through interviews was analysed using critical discourse analysis. The data was analysed and interpreted on the basis of what it revealed. Data was divided into categories to make sense of it, and the categories assisted in creating themes to make sense of the data that was collected.

Critical discourse analysis takes interest in the relationship between language and power. The data that was collected was analysed looking at the power and influence of a language. Wodak (2001) further argues that critical discourse analysis is concerned with analysing transparent structural relations, dominance, power control, and discrimination. This means that critical discourse analysis provides a critical look at social inequalities as expressed by

language use. In relation to the problem that was studied here, the critical discourse was conducive for this study. This is because the study looks at factors and context that contribute to the failure of isiZulu to have power and influence in predominantly Black private schools. This provided a clear picture of how language is used, and assisted to analyse the relationship between language and power.

3.8 Data storage

Interviews were held at school. Each interview was dated and assigned a number to differentiate it from other interviews. Notes were taken during interviews using the field notebook to take notes. After every interview the notes were formally typed up and summarised. A number was used to label the interviews e.g. interview 1, 2 ,3 etc. Different folders were opened to store interview notes, summaries of interviews, analyses and categories. This data was saved in the researcher's computer. A voice recorder was also used to record and save the interviews digitally.

3.9 Quality assurance and ethical consideration

Before data was collected, an application was submitted to the Wits University ethics committee. A clearance certificate was obtained. Participants were given a participant information sheet which they had to read. It clearly states that their participation and private information will not be published. They were assured that their participation would be known by the researcher only. It was made clear that their participation would not benefit the researcher financially and they wouldn't benefit financially. The participants were allowed to withdraw if they wished to. Participants were given a consent form to sign. The availability of literature as it was discussed in the literature review assisted in respect of cross-checking the data received from participants. This assisted in scrutinising and ensuring the quality of data collected.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the method used to collect data, and the research method used was discussed. Important aspects like research design, population, sample size, interviews, data collection and data analysis were discussed in order to give a clear indication of the ethical process of data collection in this study. This chapter talks to the credibility of the study to ensure quality assurance.

Chapter 4

Presentation and analysis of data collected from parents

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the presentation and analysis of data collected from ten parents who participated in the study. The first part covers the biographical information of all participants. The aim was to investigate the context and factors preventing isiZulu first additional language from having an influence in South African private schools. In line with this aim, the second part covers the analysis of data collected from parents through interviews. The third part is the discussion of findings using critical discourse analysis. According to Wodak (2001), critical discourse analysis is concerned with analysing relations, dominance, and power. It must be noted that discourses have to do with thinking about the history of language, interactions of different groups pertaining to language, and different influential aspects which explain current language problems. The last part of the chapter covers the conclusion and references with all appendices.

4.2 Biographical information

Table 7 depicts the biographical information of all the participants in this research. It gives a sense of who the participants are, how old they are, the language that they use most of the time, etc. This is important in terms of getting an understanding of the age group to get a sense of historical influences that inform their responses. The first five participants are those who chose isiZulu as FAL, and participants six to ten are the participants who chose Afrikaans as FAL.

Table 7								
isiZulu enrolment								
Number	Gender	Age	Home language	First additional Language	Qualifications	Occupation	Number of kids	Place of residence
1	Female	41	Sesotho	English	BSc computers science	Head of digital solutions	1	Vorna Valley
2	Male	45	isiZulu	English	Degree in electrical engineering	Entrepreneur	3	Kyalami Estate
3	Male	36	isiNdebele	isiZulu	MBA	Project Manager	1	Sunninghill
4	Male	47	Swati	Setswana	None	Project Manager	2	Kyalami
5	Female	48	isiXhosa	English	CA	Director	1	Sunninghill
Afrikaans enrolment								
6	Female	33	isiZulu	English	Accounting Degree	Accountant	1	Claysville
7	Female	36	Shona	English	Honours in development	Teacher	2	Halfway Gardens
8	Female	44	isiZulu	English	Master's in engineering	Executive manager	3	Kyalami
9	Female	39	Sotho	English	MBA	Entrepreneur	1	Parkhurst
10	Male	52	isiZulu	English	BA Law	HOD at Vodacom	1	Kempton Park

The geographical information above represents parents who participated in this study. It can be noted from the data collected that there is a 50% split between participants who enrolled their children in isiZulu and those who enrolled their children in Afrikaans. More women were willing to participate compared to men: 60% women compared to 40% men participated in this study. 60% of participants were between the age range of 40-52 and 40% were between 33-39. All participants have African languages as their home language. The leading home language is isiZulu with 40%, followed by Sesotho with 20%. Lastly, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, siSwati, and Shona accounted for 10% each respectively. 90% of the participants received formal education, but 10% did not. The significance of understanding the parents' geographic information will be discussed in the discussion section.

4.3 Presentation of data collected from the interviews.

This section covers the data collected through interviews. The responses from parents will be presented together with the questions asked during interviews. Ten questions will be selected from a set of questions that were asked. To see all questions that were asked please see Appendix A.

From Theme 1 (Historical theme)

Table 8. Which language do you use the most at home?

Number	Home language	The language used mostly at home
1	Sesotho	Sesotho
2	isiZulu	isiZulu and isiXhosa
3	isiNdebele	English when I talk to my daughter
4	Swati	English
5	isiXhosa	isiXhosa
6	isiZulu	isiZulu
7	Shona	English
8	isiZulu	English
9	Sesotho	English
10	isiZulu	English

The data collected from this question shows that 60% of participants use English at home and 40% use an African language. However, it must be noted that Participant 3 emphasised that he uses English only when he is speaking to his daughter and uses isiZulu most of the time when he communicates with other family members. This means that there is a 50% split

between participants who use African languages at home and those who use English. It must also be noted that 100% of these participants have an African language as their home language, i.e. the language they grew up speaking. The influence of English resulted in parents using English more. This reveals that more parents are using African languages, the 50% split and the 100% African home language is consistent with what was discussed in the literature review. The study revealed that African languages are still widely used by Africans in their private homes or their private space.

Table 9: What made you choose isiZulu/Afrikaans for your child? What influenced your decision?

Participant Number	Answer
1	My child is Zulu, I wanted him to have a good understanding of isiZulu in terms of speaking and writing.
2	My family is from Umlazi, most members of my family and community do not understand English. I don't want my kids to visit Umlazi and fail to communicate with their elders.
3	I wanted her to learn African languages because we are Africans.
4	I wanted my children to embrace being African, hence I chose isiZulu.
5	My child must learn how to speak and write in an African language because we are Africans.
Parents who enrolled their kids in Afrikaans.	
6	Afrikaans was the most popular language in the foundation phase, it was difficult to find schools that offered isiZulu, some did but most did not.
7	Access to resources, it is easy to find Afrikaans apps and books which makes it easy to assist kids. It is not the same with African languages, you struggle to get resources.
8	My kids prefer Afrikaans because isiZulu is hard.
9	We are Sotho from the Free State, Afrikaans is mostly used in the Free State.
10	My child has been in private schools with no Zulu, unfortunately, we had to go with Afrikaans.

Even though there is a 50% split between isiZulu and Afrikaans enrolment, it must be noted that some participants did not want to choose Afrikaans. Participant 6 struggled to find a school that offered isiZulu during the foundation years of her child. The same challenge was experienced by participant 10 as he clearly indicates that all private schools close to him did not offer isiZulu, hence he had to go for Afrikaans. In this 50% percent split between isiZulu

and Afrikaans enrolment, 70% of participants embrace the use of African languages in schools, and they strongly feel that it is important to enrol for isiZulu. 30% of participants, including participants 7, 8 and 9, are comfortable with Afrikaans enrolment because it makes their lives much easier when it comes to assisting their kids with work and familiarity with the language. This is consistent with what was revealed in the literature review under the historical theme. Posel et al. (2020) argue that African languages are still preferred languages irrespective of the circumstances and the fact that Afrikaans is a language that is available in all private schools. Most parents still prefer African languages.

Table 10: When you were young, did you speak isiZulu (Or any other African language) at home? Do you think it is important to speak one’s mother tongue at home? Why

Participant Number	Answer
1	I spoke Sesotho, yes, it is important because it is part of who we are.
2	We spoke isiZulu, it is important because it is our language.
3	I spoke Setswana because of the area I grew up in, yes, it is important because it is part of our culture.
4	I spoke SiSwati, I don’t think it is important to speak it at home.
5	isiXhosa, it is important for kids to know our home language.
6	isiZulu, it is important because it is part of who we are as Black people.
7	50% home language 50% English, I guess it is important just to keep home language alive, but I am not bothered by that.
8	IsiXhosa all the time, it is important because it is part of who we are.
9	Sesotho, I think you should speak any language you are comfortable with irrespective of what it is, I am not fussy about that.
10	I grew up speaking a lot of Afrikaans, yes, it is important because it’s part of who we are.

80% of participants grew up speaking African languages with 10% who mixed English and Shona. The last 10% spoke a lot of Afrikaans growing up.

From Theme 2 (Attitude theme)

Table 11: If the school did not offer any African languages, do you think you could have enrolled your child at this school? Why?

Participant Number	Answer
1	No, I have a personal issue with Afrikaans, it is not an alternative at all.
2	No, I am a cultural person. It was not going to work for me.
3	No, quality education is important, but isiZulu was the priority for me.
4	Yes, African languages are important but quality education is more important for me
5	No, I was going to search for a school that offers an African language.
6	No, I was going to search for a school that offers isiZulu. If I failed, then I was going to enroll my child.
7	Yes, this is because there is no continuity for African languages. Not all schools offer isiZulu. If you take isiZulu, you might have challenges if you had to move to another place because you will struggle to find a school that offers isiZulu.
8	Yes, but it's a difficult one for me, I think I will be bothered by that and start to ask when they are going to introduce African languages.
9	Yes, I am responsible for teaching my child home language, it is not the school's responsibility.
10	No, not at all, the African languages are important to me.

The table above depicts 60 % of participants who are not willing to enroll their children in a school that does not offer African languages, while 40% are willing to enroll their kids. However, it must be noted that participant 8 would only enrol if she runs out of options. The participant is immensely bothered by private schools that do not offer African languages as part of their FAL languages. In the 40% of participants who will enrol their children, only 30% of them feel that they can enrol without having regrets. The participant that forms 10% is immensely bothered. This is consistent with what was revealed by De Klerk (2002), in the

paper titled “Language issues in schools: whose voice counts?” in the Attitude theme. The author revealed that most parents have a negative attitude and reject African languages only when they are being proposed as LoLT. Apart from that, parents had a positive attitude for African languages to be used as FAL, since they believe that English is the language of business. Even though the table shows 60% of participants who were willing to enroll their children, 70% believe in the importance and use of African languages. This percentage includes participant 8.

Table 12: Do you think there is something special about isiZulu/Afrikaans? Please explain what makes it special or not special.

Participant Number	Answer
1	<p>Afrikaans : No, it’s a mindset that is bad that associates Afrikaans with better opportunities.</p> <p>isiZulu : Yes, it is part of our culture.</p>
2	<p>Afrikaans : No, Afrikaans has bad history as a language that was used to oppress people.</p> <p>isiZulu : Yes, it is connected to who we are.</p>
3	<p>Afrikaans : No, it’s confusing, maybe parents are fluent in Afrikaans.</p> <p>isiZulu : Yes, to me subjectively it is important but I do not want to generalise.</p>
4	<p>Afrikaans : Not special at all, this is a language that was forced down on us.</p> <p>isiZulu : Not special, it is the popular language that’s all.</p>
5	<p>Afrikaans : No, people are undermining their own languages due to apartheid.</p> <p>isiZulu : Yes, this is because the South African population is predominantly Black hence I believe it’s a special language.</p>
6	<p>Afrikaans : No, I chose it based on its availability in schools.</p> <p>isiZulu : Yes, it’s part of our culture, it is the language of the</p>

		people.
7	Afrikaans	: Not at all, it is well developed that's why it is popular.
	isiZulu	: Yes, it is an African language.
8	Afrikaans	: No, not at all, Afrikaans is being used in the workplace as a language of dividing people, especially in engineering.
	isiZulu	: It's part of who we are.
9	Afrikaans	: No, it's all about convenience .
	isiZulu	: Home language is always special.
10	Afrikaans	: No, I took it because it is available
	isiZulu	: It's part of who we are.

100 % of the participants, which includes parents who enrolled their children in Afrikaans, believe that there is nothing special about Afrikaans. 90% of participants feel that African languages are special. Only 10% (namely participant 4) does not feel that there is anything special about a language because it is a tool used for communication. This is still consistent with Posel (2020) and De Klerk (2002) from the literature review. Both authors reveal that African languages are the most used languages. Most Black parents do not have a negative attitude towards African languages; they are pushed to the corner due to the lack of availability of African languages in some private schools. The positive attitude depicted in this table is consistent with Rudwick, (as cited in Bhengu, 2015). Bhengu's study revealed a positive attitude towards isiZulu by Umlazi township students. This indicates that both the working class and middle class have a positive attitude towards isiZulu.

From Theme 3 (Economic and political influence)

Table 13: Do you think African languages are treated equal/not equal compared to well-developed languages like Afrikaans? Why?

Participant Number	Answer
1	No, African languages are perceived to be inferior. It is worse because amongst African languages isiZulu is the only popular language in schools. Sesotho, Setswana, etc are not treated the same as isiZulu. This is double oppression.
2	No, in terms of resources they are not the same as Afrikaans and English. There is no serious development, if you can't communicate in English you are perceived as a person who is not smart.
3	They are not, all government departments still have Afrikaans. Of course, something has been done to promote change, in my view, it is not enough.
4	No, it is still difficult to get African languages books compared to Afrikaans books.
5	No, they are undermined, Sesotho and isiXhosa are still not available in most private schools.
6	No, they are treated as by the way hence we chose Afrikaans.
7	No, they are made to be inferior, and they are not taken seriously.
8	Not at all, Afrikaans is advanced because it was forced on us.
9	No, African languages are not used in formal spaces, but Afrikaans is still being used in formal spaces.
10	No, it is more English than any African language. The workplace is dominated by English.

Table 14: Do you think your child will have more benefit/no benefits in any way or form if he/she took isiZulu or Afrikaans as a first additional language in formal spaces?

Participant Number	Answers
1	<p>isiZulu : Yes, it makes it easier to interact with colleagues at work, many people who come from the working class do not understand English. My child will have an advantage in terms of interacting with everyone.</p> <p>Afrikaans: No, Afrikaans is not popular in the workplace, maybe it is still on paper. Most Black people are interacting in African languages or English.</p>
2	<p>isiZulu : Yes, isiZulu is the most spoken language in different places, isiZulu will help my kids to relate to other people.</p> <p>Afrikaans : Not for a Black child, in the workplace, they use Afrikaans to hide Information.</p>
3	<p>isiZulu : Yes, it will be beneficial for the workplace and diversity.</p> <p>Afrikaans :Yes, but not as much as isiZulu.</p>
4	<p>isiZulu :No, institutions do not take African languages seriously.</p> <p>Afrikaans : Yes, most formal spaces like universities and workplaces still use Afrikaans.</p>
5	<p>isiZulu : Yes, the workplace is predominantly Black irrespective of the fact Blacks do not have economic power; it will help my child to interact with people.</p> <p>Afrikaans : No, Afrikaans has lost its influence.</p>
6	<p>isiZulu : Yes, my child can interact with colleagues.</p> <p>Afrikaans : No, we hardly use Afrikaans at work, he won't benefit at all.</p>
7	<p>isiZulu : Yes, in the workplace they will be able to interact with diverse groups.</p> <p>Afrikaans :Yes, a lot of companies still use Afrikaans in a racial way. I guess knowing Afrikaans will help my child in some way.</p>
8	<p>isiZulu : Yes, I am a project manager, at work they ask me to address people in African languages so that they can understand. African languages will benefit my kids.</p> <p>Afrikaans : Not really, Afrikaans has lost its influence.</p>
9	<p>isiZulu : I don't see any benefit in formal spaces.</p> <p>Afrikaans : I don't see any benefit in formal spaces</p>
10	<p>isiZulu : Not at all, we use English at work, universities, etc. English is still influential, in Tanzania they use Swahili irrespective of race, for me that is powerful and South Africa is not there yet.</p> <p>Afrikaans : Not at all, our era used a lot of Afrikaans, not this generation.</p>

Data in Table 13 indicates that 100% of participants believe that African languages are not treated equally when compared with other languages. Participants are immensely concerned with the lack of effort from the government in terms of trying to improve African languages. They believe that African languages are treated as inferior. Participant 2 talks about the sad reality of negative perceptions and stereotypes attached to African languages. The participant stated that failure to communicate in English is associated with stupidity. Participants 3 and 4 highlighted the sad reality of the continuation of the marginalisation of African languages. Participant 3 argues that most government departments still use a lot of Afrikaans irrespective of the efforts to promote change. Participant 4 talks about the lack of African languages books in most bookshops as the major challenge that propels African languages challenges. The lack of resources is consistent with what was argued by Mncwangu (2009) . Mncwangu argued that a lot of literature is still available in English and Afrikaans.

Participant 6 argues that African languages are treated as an addition to subjects that learners must do. But they are not given respect; the participant argues that the stigma attached to African languages is the reason why she chose Afrikaans. The lack of resources, the influence of African languages, and the not convincing presence of African languages in formal documents in government departments are all issues raised by participants that are consistent with what Mpofu (2021) argued in the literature review. The author argues that good policies that have been created to assist the previously marginalized are not being implemented.

In Table 14, 70% of participants believe that having isiZulu will benefit their children in the workplace in terms of interaction with diverse groups. There is consensus that the corporate world is predominantly Black. Taking Posel et al. 's (2020) study, African languages are still widely used. They believe that it is better to know African languages than Afrikaans, irrespective of the fact that African languages do not have an influence in the business world i.e. not being used for things like documents. 70% of participants do not think Afrikaans has benefits. This is not consistent with what Heugh, (as cited in Beukes, 2009), argues; that inequality has not changed, as a result, rich people are in favour of English and Afrikaans. According to Table 15, it looks like parents enrolled for Afrikaans, but they are not in favour of it. They do not believe that there are benefits that come with Afrikaans.

From Theme 4

Table 15: Do you think there is a connection between choosing First Additional Language and your culture, or is it just adding a subject? Why?

Participant number	Answer
1	Yes, language is part of our culture.
2	Yes, there is a connection.
3	Yes, for me culture is everything and language is part of the culture.
4	No, I don't think there is a connection. I am just happy because the school offers isiZulu but I do not see any cultural connection.
5	Yes, our languages are part of our culture.
6	Yes, language is part of who we are.
7	I think it is just adding a subject.
8	No, I don't think so, it is all about communicating and being able to interact with diverse groups.
9	It is part of culture; however, schools are not about that. School just adds African languages as subjects.
10	Language is our culture; you can't separate the two.

The table above reveals that 70% of participants believe that language is part of who we are, and that it cannot be separated from culture. This is consistent with what Prah (2006) argued in the literature review; the author emphasised that culture requires language use. In other words, the success of culture requires language use. However, the majority support for language as part of culture is inconsistent with the lesser popularity of African languages in private schools. Tables 1, 2 and 3 depict the overwhelming support of Afrikaans from primary school to secondary school. Table 3 depicts the national numbers of IEB learners who enrolled for Afrikaans and isiZulu in matric 2021. The overwhelming support of 9152 learners for Afrikaans against 1421 for isiZulu is shocking. Only 30% of the participants believe that language is not connected to culture; for them a home language in a school setting is all about adding a subject, it has no cultural significance.

Table 16: Does it matter if your child is fluent/not fluent in Afrikaans or isiZulu? Please explain why you support this view.

Participant number	Answers
1	isiZulu : Yes it is important, kids need to communicate well with elders, you understand better when something is properly articulated. Afrikaans : No, Afrikaans is a language that should not be used by Africans.
2	isiZulu : It does matter, it is a sign of respect and it is important for understanding. Remember that language has a cultural connection. Afrikaans : Yes if you are learning a language you must perfect it.
3	isiZulu : No, basic communication is what is important. Afrikaans : No, basic communication is what is important.
4	isiZulu : Not important, Gauteng is a diverse province, being able to communicate is what matters. Afrikaans : Same as above.
5	isiZulu : Yes it does, if not, it will be part of identity crisis. The child must not feel isolated when he or she is with our people in the rural areas. Afrikaans : No it does not matter, there is no use for Afrikaans.
6	isiZulu : Yes it does, that is everything for me. If you mispronounce it is a sign of disrespect. Afrikaans : No it does not matter, I did not choose it by choice so it really does not matter.
7	isiZulu : It is very important if you can't pronounce it's a big problem for me. Afrikaans : Same as above.
8	isiZulu : It does matter, when kids interact with other kids in the rural they must not feel isolated, they must be able to fit in. Afrikaans : No, it is not important for Afrikaans.
9	isiZulu : Yes it does, it's all about respect for the language and identity. Afrikaans : No, it is a matter of communicating.
10	isiZulu : It is important for him to be fluent, fluency makes him to connect with his people. Afrikaans : No, Afrikaans days are over, it's all about English and African Languages.

80% percent of participants believe that it is important to be fluent in isiZulu or any other African language because it forms part of Black people's identity and who they are. Only 20% of the participants do not think fluency is important when it comes to languages. They regard languages as a tool of communicating. 70% of the participants do not see the importance of

being fluent in Afrikaans, they argue that Afrikaans has no place in our society especially Black society. 30% of participants believe that it is important to be fluent in any language that you learn, irrespective of the fact that it is an African language or not. They believe that mispronouncing is a sign of disrespect. More participants believe in the connection between culture and the way languages are being used: Participant 5 puts it nicely by stating that mispronouncing will lead to identity crisis. Participant 8 stated that kids must not feel isolated when they are with their people in the rural area, they must connect and fit in with their people. This speaks to the cultural connection that the language brings.

Table 17: In your opinion, why is Afrikaans more popular to parents as a FAL than isiZulu?

This question sums up the reasons given by parents pertaining to why they choose Afrikaans instead of isiZulu.

Participant Number	Answers
1	It's oppression that led to not realising the importance of preserving African languages. Mixed marriages resulted in choosing Afrikaans as FAL, the economy is in the hands of Afrikaners hence we think that Afrikaans will help us to get into the system.
2	Parents differ, some parents do not follow up on their children's education. They just choose and leave it at that; the younger parents don't care about our history. For them it makes no difference, they are consumed by the white culture.
3	I really don't get it; I am also confused too.
4	I don't have knowledge concerning that.
5	Apartheid indoctrinated negativity concerning our African languages, this is the reason why we perceive African languages to be inferior.
6	It's the lack of resources for African languages and the fact that Afrikaans is available in all private schools.
7	Convenience and availability of resources, African languages have no continuity in schools. Most private schools do not have African languages.
8	Afrikaans was forced down on us, history and economy favours Afrikaans.

9	People have misconceptions about being hired, there is a perception that you will struggle in the corporate world if you do not have Afrikaans.
10	We have no option, there are no diverse languages in private schools hence we are obliged to take Afrikaans.

Most participants had different reasons; some talked about apartheid as the source of the challenge. They believe that apartheid indoctrinated the culture of whiteness which made African languages suffer. Anything indigenous was regarded as less important. Afrikaans was developed and forced down on Black people. According to most participants, Afrikaans was developed and made available throughout the country at the expense of African languages. This forced parents to choose Afrikaans if they want their children to have a private education. This table is testimony to the fact that most parents choose Afrikaans because they had no choice, it has nothing to do with the lack of love for their indigenous languages or hate for their culture.

4.4 Discussion of results

This section will start by discussing Themes 5 and 6. It will start by discussing the development and influence of the middle class on the language problems in private schools. Multilingualism and its influence will be the second aspect to be discussed. Critical discourse analysis will be used to discuss the economic, socio-cultural relations, politics, and relationship between language and power.

4.4.1 Middle class in South Africa.

As was highlighted in the geographic information, 60% of participants are between the age range of 40-52 and 40% are between the age range of 33-39. This indicates a generation that was affected by the apartheid oppression. Even though some did not experience the direct effects of apartheid, the legacy of apartheid affected them as the first generation to taste freedom. It appears that the responses of the participants were immensely influenced by their past.

Most of them have a good education and they hold a position of influence in their workplace: they are directors, HOD's, etc. 90% live in the Midrand suburbs. Looking at the geographic

information of the participants, they are the Black middle class. In the literature review, Mabandla (2013) argues that the West introduced their own culture through indoctrination. They came with advanced technologies so that they could overpower indigenous people and ensure that they served under them. Ndletyana (2008) further supports this notion by emphasising that the missionaries' mandate was to create a Black middle class and ensure that it followed and supported its interest. Ndletyana argues that in 1848 the missionaries were given 70 thousand title deeds. They used them to convert the Black middle class to follow the Western culture. The Blacks who were educated by the missionaries got good jobs with good salaries and this separated them from the working-class Blacks.

The data from the middle-class Blacks who participated in this study show aspects and continuation of what Ndletyana revealed. Looking at the responses in Table 8, most of the participants use English as the main language for communication. Some participants still preserve their languages by using them when they talk to each other, however, when they talk to their kids, they use English. This is consistent with what Ndletyana (2008) highlighted. This is one of the reasons why isiZulu is not having an impact in private schools. The middle-class parents are conforming to the norms and values of the West. It has been discussed that the creation of the Black middle class was to ensure that they subscribe to Western values which disregard anything indigenous. The fact that the Black middle class conforms to Western values does not mean that they have abandoned their languages, which is an interesting dilemma. It appears that on one hand, they are conforming, but on the other hand, they are in favour of African languages. This is supported by their responses in Table 9.

Participants were asked what influenced their FAL choice. 50% of participants responded in favour of African languages, citing the connection between African languages and their culture. Interestingly, the other 50% of participants, who chose Afrikaans, cited reasons such as it was the only language in the foundation phase. Afrikaans resources are available, and most private schools did not have African languages. This means that most participants do not like Afrikaans, but they chose it due to prevailing circumstances; in other words, they love African languages even though 50% chose Afrikaans. The challenge is that the Midrand area where most participants live is white-owned land, therefore, the values and norms in this area do not favour African people. The Black middle class, therefore, decided to conform rather than to fight the system. The fact that they value their African languages yet still conform to

the Western norms does not and will not improve the influence of African languages in private schools. In contrast, the study conducted by De Klerk (2002) highlighted a group of Afrikaans parents who decided to take their children out of a school that had English influence which was a threat to Afrikaans. This was a white, middle-class group who took actions in support of their language. This means that the Black middle class does not put actions to what they believe in. This is another challenge that drags down African languages, the reason for the formation of this middle class continues. The people who are allowing it are the Black middle class. This sad phenomenon continues even outside schools. Mpofu (2011) argues that the Black middle class contributed to the disregard of African languages when the City of Johannesburg lost its power due to the popularity of African languages.

4.4.2 Multilingualism and tribalism

South Africa is a multilingual country. We have eleven official languages which means that we are enriched with diverse cultures. However, this cultural diversity can be seen as one of the hindrances affecting African languages' progress in private schools. In Table 13, 100% of participants feel that African languages are not treated equally compared to well-developed languages like Afrikaans. Participants 1 and 5 indicated that isiZulu is the popular language in private schools, and Sesotho, Setswana, isiXhosa, and all other African languages are not offered by most private schools. Most participants go with Afrikaans because all private schools offer Afrikaans; they are not bothered to take isiZulu because it is not their language. An example is Participant 9 in Table 9 who is a Sesotho speaker and from the Free State. The participant is not bothered by not enrolling for isiZulu because isiZulu is an African language that does not add any value in her life.

It seems like participants who are Tswana or Sotho are not bothered by not enrolling their kids in isiZulu since they are not part of the Nguni languages community. Counterintuitively, participants who speak Nguni languages like Xhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele all regard isiZulu as part of their languages. In the geographic table, the first five participants, who enrolled their children in isiZulu, represent four Nguni languages, which include isiZulu, siSwati, isiXhosa and isiNdebele. They are all in support of isiZulu because it is part of the Nguni languages. isiNguni is part of their tribe. The same group could have difficulties enrolling their children in one of the Sotho languages like Setswana or Sepedi. This is because Sesotho languages are different when compared to Nguni languages and the culture is not the same.

The other Nguni speaking participants only chose Afrikaans due to the challenges of isiZulu not being popular in private schools when their kids were young. In Table 16, 70% believe that language is part of who they are, in other words, it is part of their culture. The challenge with this is that the Sesotho group is culturally different from the Nguni group, and this is one of the factors influencing parents' choice of FAL. The legacy of the historical division between the Sesotho and the Nguni group is still alive. This is consistent with what was highlighted in the literature review. Ribeiro, (as cited in Desai et al., 2010), argued that Nguni languages were once treated as one, and the missionaries' created divisions which resulted in separating Africans into tribal groups.

Separate development, which was one of the policies that was implemented by the apartheid government, ensured that Black people are separated using language and territory. Desai et al. (2010) argue that multilingualism slows down the development of African languages. Lodhi (1993) further emphasises that many languages create challenges in schools. This is consistent with what was found in this research. Participants are not happy with the fact that only isiZulu is popular in private schools. This means that if the situation continues like this, more and more parents will continue to choose Afrikaans. Kamwangamalu (2013) argued that elite multilingualism has to do with those who are multilingual but are educated in English. This poses another challenge, as parents who are multilingual but educated in English are part of the middle class as was discussed earlier.

The problem is that most Black middle-class parents lean more towards eurocentric views, in other words, they support English culture. At the school level, English culture is associated with English and Afrikaans. Even though parents are multilingual, and they value their languages and culture, they still conform to English culture. As a result, they choose Afrikaans as FAL for their kids.

4.4.3 Historical theme

The challenges of language in South Africa led to the creation of the Language in Education policy, the aim which is to promote multilingualism. It was created after language oppression at the hands of the apartheid government. This policy supports multilingualism hence we currently have many private schools introducing indigenous languages. Of course, private schools can do more, however, more private schools have introduced African languages. The

policy cannot be blamed for the limitations of African languages in private schools; this is because the aim of this policy is to promote multilingualism. Human beings are responsible for the implementation. In this case, implementation lies in the hands of parents. In the literature review, De Kadt (2005) argues that most African countries keep colonial languages for homogenisation, not for anything noble. In Table 9, 30% of the participants chose Afrikaans because it was convenient. They said it was easy to find resources and the schools around had no isiZulu offered.

This shows that parents keep Afrikaans or colonial languages alive because it makes things easier for them. In contrast, the parents in the De Klerk study removed their kids from a school that was having more English influence. They did not use convenience as a reason for doing something that they did not want. The policy cannot be blamed because the parents are the ones who are not contributing their part in the fight against marginalisation of African languages. Beukes (2009) argues that economic and educational challenges have not changed, i.e. parents are still influenced by what happened in the past. Inasmuch as they oppose the use of Afrikaans, they are the ones supporting it. Table 3, which depicts the number of enrolments for isiZulu and Afrikaans in IEB matric, shows overwhelming support for Afrikaans compared to isiZulu. Curro Waterfall language enrolment is in support of what is happening in matric nationally.

Historical factors provide a solid understanding of the source of the problem. This must not be mistaken for treating historical factors as useless or unimportant, but the continuation of history cannot be solely blamed on history. Parents play a major role in the continuation when compared to historical factors. Posel et al. (2019) revealed that English is the most influential language, therefore in the fight between isiZulu FAL and Afrikaans FAL, Afrikaans wins because Black parents are allowing it to win.

4.4.4 Attitude

Ngcobo (2001) argues that language attitude refers to how people view their language. This refers to their belief pertaining to language. De Klerk (2002) conducted a study of African parents' attitudes. This study revealed that African parents have a positive attitude towards their languages. The result from this study affirms what was found in De Klerk's study. In Table 12, 90% of parents believe that African languages are special, and they respect and love to

use them. However, the misconception that African parents are expressing hate towards their languages still exists. African parents do not have hate for their home languages as was discussed in the attitude theme. However, despite most parents having a positive attitude towards African languages, their positive attitude does not help or contribute towards growing indigenous language in private schools. Parents' positive attitude is not supported by their decision making, as parents continue to enrol for Afrikaans for reasons that have already been mentioned in the historical discussion. In other words, a positive attitude is not as important as a negative attitude with positive actions. If parents had a negative attitude towards their indigenous language but enrolled their children in isiZulu, this would grow indigenous languages in private schools.

4.5 Politics, power relations, and culture

Louw (2004) argues that any language that is associated with government activities will always benefit. This was clear during the political apartheid regime. Afrikaans was made the language of power by the politicians who were ruling during apartheid. This power was achieved through marginalisation of indigenous languages. The power that Afrikaans and English enjoy started in 1925. Khwela (2003) revealed that Bantu education was introduced in 1953. This further reduced the power of African languages; this was the strategy of gaining language power while dispossessing African languages of their power. In Table 13, 100% of parents believe that African languages are not treated equally. The dispossession of power meant that African languages are less developed, and fewer or no resources were allocated to African languages. This is the reason why African languages are less developed. Table 14 shows that while most participants believe that having isiZulu will benefit their children, 30% believe there is still no room for African languages in the workplace or any other public space. The demise of Afrikaans, which was discussed in the history theme, shows that Afrikaans may be still visible in the workplace, but it does not have the influence and power that it used to have. The participants who are in majority, who favour isiZulu, do not seem to be the norm in South Africa. Table 3, which depicts IEB results for 2021, shows that a lot of power is still given to Afrikaans as FAL. However, it appears that this does not have benefits in the workplace. The parents who do not support African languages do not enrol their kids in African languages, and those who support African language enrol their children in Afrikaans. This is the major problem with isiZulu in private schools. Mpofo (2021) argues that it is difficult

to bring change due to the limitations of the constitution. The author argues that it is difficult to implement change due to tensions between private laws and the constitution. Political challenges of the past are acknowledged without a clear plan to address and implement the new.

I argue that, irrespective of the limitations of the constitution, isiZulu is already available in most private schools. The growth of these languages should be started by parents. Therefore, it will be easy for the policy to be changed to enforce that all private schools must have isiZulu or any other African language. The failure of the policy does not mean that parents should fail to express who they are, that is to love and appreciate indigenous languages in their homes and in public spaces. As it was discussed earlier, parents are the main hindrance preventing African languages from having an influence in private schools.

The private law vs public law that was discussed by Mpofu (2021) gives more power to Afrikaans. Private schools have the power of land and money to start good and well-resourced schools. In the process, they can manipulate things and use the rights to private law to ensure that eurocentric values are kept which support English and Afrikaans. The parents' fight that we saw in the De Klerk study is something that is not seen in most Black parents. Private schools operate as businesses. If Black parents stop everything and fight for African languages, all private schools will provide indigenous languages. This further shows that the language problem is propelled by parents, however this is not to disregard other factors that have been discussed. Heugh, (as cited in Beukes, 2009), argues that those who are rich are educated in English and Afrikaans. The biographical information of the middle class in this research shows that the majority is educated in English and Afrikaans. The participants' push back against Afrikaans is not yielding any positive results.

Language and culture cannot be separated, as was discussed in the culture theme. The apartheid government understood the relationship between language and culture. They intended to turn South Africa into an Afrikaans state hence the indoctrination of Afrikaans in 1976. The cultural representation is good in South Africa, the diverse tribes of South Africa love their culture and who they are. This is very good compared to countries like Cameroon, where French is their number one language, since English is an influential language in South Africa. Most South Africans do not use English in their private spaces, they do not use English to observe cultural activities. It was depicted that participants in this study value their

language and culture, but they do not show the same passion in schools, as African languages are not used in public spaces. This is the decision made by Africans themselves without being forced to do so. This does not mean they do not love their culture; it simply means that they do not want to fight for African languages to have influence in public spaces like private schools. African languages have been privatised which propels Afrikaans in public spaces.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter the geographical information of the participants was given, and the importance of this geographical information was discussed when data was analysed using discourse analysis. The result of the data collected was depicted in table form, and the information in each table was briefly discussed to establish what each table was telling us. Having gathered the data from the participants, the data was analysed using discourse analysis, and the discussion of results was informed by the contribution of participants and the literature review.

4.7 Recommendations

It has been discovered that the challenge of African languages in private schools lies in the hands of parents who make decisions pertaining to FAL. Parents are influenced by many factors that have been discussed, both historical and political. Based on the information that was collected in this research, the following recommendations are made:

- Before a private school is given a license to operate, it must offer at least two African languages. The choice of African languages to be offered should be determined by the population in the geographic location of the school.
- Old or traditional private schools should adhere to the requirements of two African languages and adjust their language policy accordingly.
- Standardisation of African languages should be made a norm and parents must be given workshops so that they can understand the importance of standardising. Nguni languages should be grouped as one language, represented by isiZulu, and Sesotho should represent Pedi and Tswana. Venda and Tsonga must be offered in areas where they are popular. This will address the challenge of tribalism amongst African languages which enhances the influence of Afrikaans.

- The government should provide financial assistance for the third language that must be offered as FAL in private schools. The government should provide tax relief which will amount to a teacher's salary. In other words, the state will be paying for the teacher who will be teaching the third FAL, which will be an African language, through tax reduction. This will ensure that the challenge that comes with multilingualism is addressed, and the process is not stopped by private schools claiming that they can't afford to pay for two African languages. A situation of having Afrikaans, isiZulu, and Sesotho or Venda should be a norm. All three languages should be offered as FAL, nothing less.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

This research was based on understanding the sad phenomenon of marginalisation of African languages. The aim was to investigate the factors and contexts influencing the choice for first additional languages in schools. This aim was posed as the main research question. In line with this aim, the following subsidiary questions were asked.

- What are the socio-cultural and economic factors that make parents not choose isiZulu for their children?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of isiZulu and Afrikaans in private schools?
- What are the reasons for some private schools to still offer Afrikaans as the only FAL instead of African languages?

Data was collected from Curro Waterfall parents. The information collected was analysed using discourse analysis. The interview questions are in line with the above-mentioned subsidiary questions. It was found that the cultural aspect is one thing that Black parents still respect to date. They value their languages as part of their culture. The economic and political influence contributes towards marginalisation of African languages, however, the major contributors to the failure of African languages in private schools are parents. It was found that there is no connection between parents' love for their African languages and the decisions they make when it comes to FAL. They love their African languages, but they do not contribute to ensuring that they are used in public spaces like schools.

It was found that Afrikaans continues to have more power compared to African languages because it is well developed. Most people who were educated in private schools were educated in English and Afrikaans. Afrikaans continues to gain strength and popularity in private schools at the expense of African languages. This means that African languages have no strength or power in private schools because they are not well developed when compared to Afrikaans. However, the availability of African languages in most private schools is indicative that the challenge of isiZulu not being well developed is not a major contributor to its failure. The failure lies in the hands of parents who still refuse to use the limited resources available for isiZulu to their advantage. Some private schools still offer only Afrikaans as FAL because they still want to preserve eurocentric values. Racism also plays a huge role. This is

because some private schools still use racism to ensure that African culture does not thrive in private schools. Those that pretend to have African languages offer them as a third additional language as was shown in De Klerk's study. Having said that, most private schools have one African language that is offered at the same level as Afrikaans. This is a conducive contribution that is not supported by Black parents. In the 19th century, Afrikaans was not as well developed as it is today, they had to start somewhere. Black parents are not willing to start with what is offered and grow with it. They reject African languages, which is the main difference between failure and success of African languages in private schools.

Based on data collected, the recommendations were offered in the discussion of results. The recommendations will assist in growing isiZulu or other African languages in private schools. If parents work together in ensuring that more than one African language is offered in private schools, the policy can easily support the movement, not the other way around.

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APPENDIX A

Interview questions

isiZulu/Afrikaans _____

Semi-structured, participants will not be restricted to the set of questions, they will be allowed to provide any productive information regarding the study.

In this research interview, please note that African languages refer to South African native languages. These languages are South African official languages that were not derived from other European languages. A language like Afrikaans is a South African official language, however, this language was derived from Dutch. This means that Afrikaans is not regarded as an African language.

Theme 1 Historical

1. Which language do you use the most at home?

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2. What made you to choose isiZulu/Afrikaans for your child? What influenced your decision?

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3. When you were young, did you speak isiZulu (or any other language) at home, excluding Afrikaans?

If yes, do you think it is important to speak one's mother tongue at home? Why?

--

Theme 2 Attitude

4. If the school did not offer any of African languages, do you think you could have enrolled your child at this school? Why.

--

5. Do you think there is something special about Afrikaans? Please explain what makes it special/ Not special.

--

--

6. Do you think there is something special about isiZulu? Please explain what makes it special/Not special.

--

Theme 3 Economic and political

7. Do you think African languages are treated equal/not equal compared to well-developed languages like Afrikaans? Why?

--

8. Do you think your child will have more benefits/ no benefits in any way or form if he/she took isiZulu as a first additional language? Why?

--

9 Do you think your child will have more benefits/ no benefits in any way or form if he/she took Afrikaans as a first additional language? Why?

--

Theme 4 Culture

10. Do you think there is a connection between choosing First Additional Language and your culture, or it is just adding a subject? Why?

--

11. Does it matter if your child is fluent /not fluent in Afrikaans? isiZulu? Please explain why you support this view.

--

12. In your opinion, why is Afrikaans more popular to parents as a FAL than isiZulu.

--

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire, your assistance is appreciated.

APPENDIX B



PARTICIPANT CONSENT SHEET

What are the contexts and factors preventing isiZulu First Additional Language from having an influence in private school?

Name of the Researcher: Simanga Nhlapo

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

(Please circle the relevant option below)

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous. YES NO

I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes YES NO
in his/her research report.

I agree that the interview may be audio recorded. YES NO

I agree that the information I provide may be used YES NO
anonymously after this project has ended, for
academic purposes by other researchers, subject
to their own ethics clearance being obtained.

.....(signature)

.....(name of participant)

.....(date)

.....(signature)

.....(name of the person seeking consent)

.....(date)

APPENDIX C



PARTICIPANTS INFORMATION SHEET

What are the contexts and factors preventing isiZulu First Additional Language from having an influence in private school?

Good day Sir/ Madam

My name is Simanga Nhlapo, I am a master's student in the School of Language Literature and Media Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I am a teacher at Curro Waterfall Primary School. As part of my studies, I must undertake a research project. I am investigating the context and factors influencing parents' choice for first additional language in private schools, this will be done under the supervision of Mr Innocent Maseko. The aim of this research project is to investigate context and factors that influence parents' choice when it comes to the first additional language for their kids. This research will contribute to developing the marginalised languages in schools.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. This will be an engagement between the interviewer and the interviewee. The researcher will ask questions to all parents who will be participating. The interview will take around 30 to 40 minutes, with your permission, I would also like to audio record the interview using a digital device. This recording will be stored in a secured researcher's computer and only the researcher will have access to this recording. It will be deleted after a year.

There will be no personal cost to you if you participate in this project, you will not receive any direct benefit from participation and there are no disadvantages or penalties if you do not choose to participate or if you withdraw from the study. Your participation will not affect the academics of your child. My position of power as a teacher at the school will not be used to threaten participants. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any questions if you do not want to. The interview about factors influencing your choice for the first additional language will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be linking the information given to your name. The information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else.

The summary of results will be shared with the participants, this is to ensure that the information provided is objectively analysed and biases are avoided. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11717 1408, email

Shaun.Schoeman@wits.ac.za OR telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Details of the interview

- The interview will take place at Curro Waterfall room number 29
- The interview will be a face-to-face interview, participants must wear a mask and ensure that they get screened at the entrance and use the sanitizer before entering room 29.
- The interview will take place from 16:00 to accommodate parents who are working.
- The interview will be thirty minutes long, however, because it is semi-structured interview, the interview might be forty minutes long.

If you have any queries regarding this research project, you are welcome to contact the above-mentioned people.

Thanks for reading

Yours Sincerely

Simanga Nhlapo

Researcher

Simanga Nhlapo, 319816@students.wits.ac.za, 0766378829

Supervisor

Mr. Innocent Maseko, innocent.maseko@wits.ac.za, 0790835591

APPENDIX D



Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Nhlape

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: H21/10/37

PROJECT TITLE

What are the factors and contexts preventing isiZulu first additional language from having an influence in private schools

INVESTIGATOR(S)

Mr S Nhlape

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT

School of Literature, Language and Media

DATE CONSIDERED

22 October 2021

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved
Risk Level: Minimal

EXPIRY DATE

12 December 2024

DATE 13 December 2021

CHAIRPERSON


(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor: Professor I Maseko

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

We fully understand the conditions under which I am/are authorized to carry out the abovesetioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to submit an amendment of the protocol to the Committee. I agree to completion of a regular progress report. For Minimal and Low studies, this is due annually on 31 December. For Medium and High Risk studies, this is due twice annually on 30 June and 31 December.


Signature

15, 03, 2022
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES