



**Language in South Africa's Higher Education Transformation: A Study of
Language Policies at Four Universities**

CRAIG NUDELMAN

NDLCRA002

A minor dissertation submitted in *fulfillment* of the requirements for the award
of the degree of a Master of Philosophy in Justice and Transformation

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2015

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I thank my supervisor, Dr Tessa Dowling, who has guided me through the maze of my masters. Whenever I had questions she was there to answer them, even through the darkness of load-shedding, armed with only a candle and dongle. I am deeply grateful.

My thanks also go to Prof Andre du Toit. His knowledge on transformation is incomparable, and it was a privilege to have him as my co-supervisor.

Thank you to my friends and especially my family (too numerous to list individually), who encouraged me, one way or another.

Lastly, I thank my incredible wife, Gabi Nudelman, for everything she did with this dissertation. I cannot describe my gratitude to you. Your encouragement, patience, knowledge and care are why I have handed this in.

Abstract

The advancement of African languages following South Africa's transition to a constitutional democracy was important not only for societal transformation but also to enable previously disadvantaged South Africans proper access to education. In order to achieve this end policies had to be developed by government and by the institutions involved. In this dissertation I provide an analysis of the language policies developed by four South African universities¹ (the University of the Witwatersrand, the University of Cape Town, Rhodes University and North-West University) in order to provide insight into, and a critique of, how the role of African languages in education and in societal transformation is interpreted and implemented. The analysis of the language policies is preceded by an overview of the link between conflict and language in South Africa and a discussion on the manner in which the post-conflict South African state has attempted use language as a key player in transformation, particularly with regard to education.

The dissertation draws on data collected from the policies to qualitatively determine a number of issues relating to transformation, being: the rationale for becoming a multilingual university; their choice for their languages of instruction; how universities try to achieve academic development through language interventions; how they attempt to develop their staff and students; and how actual implementation is achieved or projected.

The analysis makes use of Bacchi's (2009) 'what the problem is represented to be' (WPR) approach to understanding exactly what the policies are attempting to address and what the silences in the policies are.

The study concludes that the policies are merely symbolic documents which avoid answering difficult questions about the role played by African languages in higher education and which are largely silent around the issue of their intellectualisation and how they would function in transforming society.

¹ I use lower case when referring to a university or universities generally, but use upper case when the term is reproduced from actual documents or referring to it by name. A similar convention applies to the term 'centre'.

Contents

COMPULSORY DECLARATION.....	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	3
ABSTRACT	4
ACRONYMS	8
1. INTRODUCTION	9
1.1 Subject of the study	9
1.2 Background to the study	10
1.3 Objective of study	11
1.4 Research question and sub-questions.....	12
1.4.1 Main research question.....	12
1.4.2 Sub-questions.....	12
1.5 Significance of study	12
1.6 Chapter outlines.....	13
2. LANGUAGE AND CONFLICT.....	14
2.1 The language of the ‘other’	15
2.2 Ethnic and language division.....	17
2.3 Which language comes first?	19
3. THE TRANSFORMATION PROJECT.....	23
3.1 Societal transformation in post-conflict South Africa.....	24
3.2 Language and transformation.....	26
3.3 Education and transformation.....	29
3.4 Higher education and transformation	33
4. RESEARCH METHOD.....	36
4.1. Qualitative policy research	36
4.2. Researcher reflexivity.....	38

4.3. Data collection	39
4.4. Data analysis.....	40
4.5. Validity of the study	43
5. OVERVIEW OF POLICIES	44
5.1 University of the Witwatersrand.....	44
5.1.1 Introduction to Wits' language policy.....	44
5.1.2 Rationale for multilingualism	45
5.1.3 Languages of instruction.....	46
5.1.4 Academic development	48
5.1.5 Student and staff development.....	48
5.1.6 Implementation	49
5.1.7 Implementation responsibilities	50
5.2 University of Cape Town	50
5.2.1 Introduction to the University of Cape Town's language policy	50
5.2.2 Rationale for multilingualism	51
5.2.3 Languages of instruction.....	53
5.2.4 Academic development	54
5.2.5 Student and staff development.....	55
5.2.6 Implementation	57
5.2.7 Implementation responsibilities and governance	58
5.3 Rhodes University.....	58
5.3.1 Introduction to Rhodes University's Language Policy	58
5.3.2 Rationale for multilingualism	60
5.3.3 Languages of instruction.....	60
5.3.4 Academic development	61
5.3.5 Student and staff development.....	62
5.3.6 Implementation	63
5.3.7 Implementation responsibilities and governance	64
5.4 North-West University	65
5.4.1 Introduction to North-West University's language policy.....	65
5.4.2 Rationale for multilingualism	68
5.4.3 Languages of instruction.....	69
5.4.4 Academic development	69
5.4.5 Student and staff development.....	70
5.4.6 Implementation and governance.....	72
6. SUMMARY OF POLICIES	73
Table 1: Background to Policies	73
Table 2: Content of Policies	74
7. ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR UNIVERSITIES' LANGUAGE POLICIES	76

7.1 Introduction.....	76
7.2 Multilingualism vs monolingualism as strategies for societal transformation..	77
7.2.1 A multilingual framework	77
7.2.2 Maintaining the hegemony of English	79
7.3 The university's role in societal transformation	81
7.3.1 Seeing the university as a tool for societal transformation.....	81
7.3.2 The university as a platform for success	86
7.3.3 Redress of the past versus addressing future challenges	88
8. CONCLUSION.....	93
8.1 Language has played a role in South African conflict.....	94
8.2 Language has an important role to play in post-conflict South Africa's transformation.....	95
8.3 HEIs have a unique potential for societal transformation but only if access is equal	95
8.4 HEIs language policy documents are problematic.....	96
8.4.1 The policies lack coherency	96
8.4.2 Some of the documents are outdated	96
8.4.3 Lack of easy access to documents	97
8.4.4 The documents are epistemologically unstable	97
8.5 Conclusion	98
REFERENCES	99
LIST OF FIGURES	
Figure 1: Location of Wits University campus.....	44
Figure 2: Johannesburg language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011).....	45
Figure 3: Location of UCT campus (Google Maps, 2015).....	50
Figure 4: City of Cape Town language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)	50
Figure 5:Location of Rhodes University campus (Google Maps, 2015).....	58
Figure 6: Grahamstown language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011).....	59
Figure 7: Location of NWU's three campuses (Google Maps, 2015).....	65
Figure 8: Mafikeng language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)	66
Figure 9: Potchefstroom language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011).....	66
Figure 10: Vaal Triangle language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011).....	67

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
DoE	Department of Education
GNU	Government of National Unity
HEI	Higher Education Institution
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ILD	Institutional Language Directorate
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LDG	Language Development Group
LoLT	Language of Learning and Teaching
NWU	North-West University
PanSALB	Pan South African Language Board
Rhodes	Rhodes University
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UCT	University of Cape Town
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand

1. Introduction

1.1 Subject of the study

Language has often been a contentious issue in South Africa, from the early days of colonialism, where English and Dutch were at odds with each other, until today's issues regarding the promotion of African languages, especially in basic and higher education (Kamwangamalu, 2001; Alexander, 1999; Balfour, 2007). Since 1994, South Africa has had one of the most progressive language policies – in theory, at least – with the Constitution giving official status to eleven languages: English; Afrikaans; isiZulu; isiXhosa; isiNdebele; Setswana, Sesotho; Sepedi²; Xitsonga; siSwati; and Tshivenda.

African languages were perceived as having being disadvantaged during apartheid, and as per the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996,

“Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages” (The Constitution, 1996, Chapter 1, section 6 [2]).

To assist the constitutional demand to elevate these language, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was formed to, “promote and create conditions for the development and use of these (African) and other languages” (The Constitution, 1996, Chapter 1, section 6 [5a]). This was to foster transformation within society, stimulating the ideals of multiculturalism through the promotion of equity and supporting diversity of language (Beukes, 2009: 35).

The existence of PanSALB has not, however, led to any meaningful development of African languages and criticism has been levelled against it and the National Language Service (NLS) of the Department of Arts and Culture for the “convoluted institutional and interest arrangements between these two pivotal language policy and planning agencies, which have

² Also known as Northern Sotho or Sesotho sa Leboa.

given rise to a plethora of contradictory and counter-productive (power) structures paralysing the delivery of language development and promotion” (Beukes 2009: 44).

Posel and Casale (2011) argue that the non-prescriptive nature of various policy documents, such as the Constitution, the South African Schools Act of 1996 and South Africa’s Language-in-Education Policy of 1997, instead of guiding the country to become more multilingual, has resulted in “the South African educational landscape ... becom(ing) more monolingual in the post-apartheid era, with English the main language of teaching and learning” (2011: 450). Not only is this the case with basic education, but, as this dissertation will demonstrate, the case with higher education as well.

1.2 Background to the study

As part of my Master’s in Justice and Transformation, I was exposed to different models of political transformation. One of the larger sections studied was that of the South African model of transitional justice and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). This aspect of reconciliation, which was part of South Africa’s transition into a ‘new’ South Africa, led to different ideas of how people can reconcile the past (Nagy, 2002; Posel, 1999). The coursework I was exposed to was of an interdisciplinary nature and this gave me many diverse understandings of transformation, not just from a political interpretation, but also of a sociological and conflict resolution interpretation.

However, it was during the various discussions about the TRC, in most of my courses, that I saw the importance of language. The Latin American model of Truth Commissions and the Rwandan Gacaca trials were conducted in the first languages of those involved. The TRC, however, was conducted in English, with participants speaking languages other than English having access to interpreters, as well as being able to speak in their first language, with their testimony being translated as well (Ross, 2003). Hearing the different languages in which grief and outrage were expressed brought home to me the need for a real acknowledgement of the implications of multilingualism in a transformed South Africa.

But it was not only from the sources in my lectures that I understood how necessary language is in terms of transformation. My experience of being a student at UCT also made evident the

challenges faced by my peers whose first language is not English, in terms of reading, writing and participating at graduate level. Their struggles in accessing academic discourses because their first languages were not English demonstrated to me that 20 years after the advent of democracy in South Africa, there are still significant tensions around language in society and, specifically, in HEIs. Given the key role afforded to education in a developing country such as South Africa, the relationship between societal transformation and language in education seemed a vital one to probe. It is this idea that I focus on in this study.

1.3 Objective of study

The objective of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge around societal transformation by focussing specifically on the language policies of South African HEIs. In doing so, I hope to synthesise local and global thinking around issues of language and education, language and transformation, education and transformation, and HEIs and transformation in order to develop a specialised response to the current political and social context in South Africa.

The universities included in this study have all stated (on their websites and general policies) that they are committed to transformation and ensuring that they make their respective institutions accessible, respectful of all cultures and supportive of all students. This study aims to critically analyse the ways in which these values are (or are not) embodied in their language policies and to what extent the documents contribute to (or have contributed to) a transformed understanding of language in education. By detailing the symbolic and pragmatic steps taken by the universities towards the promotion of multilingualism, I hope to provide a valuable resource for policy makers, educators and fellow researchers in the fields of higher education studies, as well as for politics and transformation studies in the future.

1.4 Research question and sub-questions

1.4.1 Main research question

How do the language policies of four South African universities contribute to societal transformation in post-conflict South Africa?

1.4.2 Sub-questions

- In what ways does language create conflict?
- Does education, and specifically higher education, promote transformation in South Africa?
- How does contemporary thinking around post-conflict transformation relate to strategies adopted in the language policies?

1.5 Significance of study

Language and transformation in South African education, both basic and higher, has been widely researched, and the body of work is broad (Alexander, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2007; Beukes, 2006; Desai, 2001; Kamwangamalu, 2000, 2001). However, not many have taken the policy documents that the universities themselves have produced to interrogate whether they have a strategy which supports the aims of the Constitution with regards to language and transformation.

The policies which this dissertation analyses are not coherent documents and are not easy to understand at first glance. Some are outdated (Wits and UCT), and most are not rigorously structured as legal documents but present more as disorderly wish lists which makes them difficult to interpret. By discussing the documents under key themes and organising tropes it is hoped that this dissertation will allow policy-makers, educators and students the opportunity to view the documents in an accessible manner, so that they can utilise them for future research and policy-making.

1.6 Chapter outlines

The dissertation begins with an introduction to this study, dealing with the subject matter, research questions and why it is significant (Chapter 1). Chapter 2 proceeds to look at language and conflict in South Africa, its historical relevance and how it translates into the 'post-conflict' country in which we live today. The broad topic of transformation is dealt with in Chapter 3, and covers societal transformation in post-conflict South Africa, the relationship between language and transformation, and the relationship between education and transformation (both basic and higher). In Chapter 4 there is an explanation of the research methodology and details of how the study was conducted. Chapter 5 presents the data, that is the policies, and Chapter 6 includes a table summarising key features of the documents. Most importantly in Chapter 7, the dissertation analyses the policy documents through the lenses of: multilingualism versus monolingualism; the university's role in societal transformation; and redressing the past versus addressing future issues of language and education. In Chapter 8 I present a concluding argument based on the research and detail the problems of the universities' policy documents and the implications thereof.

2. Language and Conflict

Language has historically been a breeding ground for conflict, but can also, paradoxically, play a role in its resolution. Colonisers impose their languages on the peoples they subjugate, sometimes new languages are created through the dissolution of empires but these new codes can themselves lead to further conflict and increased marginalisation (The Economist, 2012). It has also been observed that countries in which more than one language are used are frequently witness to negative encounters between people, and the link between the number of languages in a particular society and the amount of conflict that society experiences seems inescapable - “wherever more than one language is used, conflict of some kind is inevitable” (The Economist, 2012).

Today we can see language conflicts throughout the world, especially in the former Soviet States, where the use of Russian as an official language continues to dominate educational and governmental discourse (The Economist, 2012). Balfour (2007) states that the use of English, especially in the context of the colonial state, can be understood as ‘symbolic violence’. He uses Bourdieu and Passeron’s definition of symbolic violence as “the process of which the ultimate aim is to bring one subordinated group to a state where it will accept as normal the hegemony of another group” (2007: 8).

Oakes, Townley and Cooper (1998), in their article about language and control in business planning, see Bourdieu’s (1977) symbolic violence to be the hidden form of violence when “overt violence is impossible” (1998: 271). The authors understand that the impact that this has is even more damaging than when the process of violence is overt, explaining that “it is sometimes more substantial than when direction and impetus to change is completely recognised and consciously planned and directed” (1998: 271). They also see covert political changes, that may seem purely technical, to be misrecognised as inconsequential (1998: 271). Although we can see the effect of an overt reconstruction of language in South Africa, and how it created conflict in the past, one must understand the symbolism, and potential for conflict that it still has in this society. To demonstrate the effect language has on society, I will

look at South Africa's own history and its impact on contemporary understandings of the role played by language in our communities.

The diversity of languages in South Africa continues to present challenges, whether they are educational, in legal society, medicine or the media. South Africa's current language situation, that of 11 official languages, indicates the government's determination to uplift the status of the previously marginalised African languages that nevertheless dominated particular regions of the country during apartheid. Many years before apartheid, however, the concept of language as a weapon had already been instilled into our society. To demonstrate the point of conflict in South Africa due to language, I shall make use of the historic discord between Afrikaans and English.

2.1 The language of the 'other'

After their arrival in South Africa in the late 18th century, the British imposed Anglicisation policies in all spheres of life, replacing Dutch as the language of operation (Kamwangamalu, 2001). Boers were excluded from official offices, while their children had to learn in English, not Dutch, or its later offspring, Afrikaans (2001: 365). Lord Somerset was of the opinion that it was ludicrous for the Boers to have their own culture, explaining that, "it seemed absurd that such a small body of people should be permitted to perpetuate ideas and customs that were not English in a country that had become part of the British Empire" (2001: 366).

The Boers viewed Anglicisation as a threat to their "language, culture and identity", with the maintenance of Dutch "essential to preserve their national identity" (2001: 366). Although the Boers were defeated in the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) they received compensation in 1910 with the founding of the Union of South Africa, where Dutch became a co-official language (Kamwangamalu, 2001). English speakers still maintained dominance, however, but the lobby for equal use of Afrikaans and English was finally successfully realised in 1948, with the election of the National Party. With the introduction of apartheid, the government was able to invest heavily into developing Afrikaans and its status. Kamwangamalu states, using van Rensburg (1999) that:

“Afrikaans enjoyed more privileges than other language in the land. It was used extensively in all the higher domains including the media, government and administration, the army, education, economy, science, to list a few. It was a compulsory subject for high school matriculation throughout the country. Knowledge of Afrikaans was a prerequisite for employment and proficiency in the language was required for positions in the civil service, teaching, the media, and in positions dealing with the public, such as that of receptionist” (2001: 370).

Besides encouraging the development of Afrikaans, the apartheid government and its policy of segregation further separated African ethnic groups, together with their languages and cultures. South Africa had 12 different departments for Black education, which included one department for each of the African languages and “the so-called ‘ethnic homelands’” (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 389). Each department had their own policy and was responsible for coming up with the curriculum, from grades 1 to 12 (2001: 389). Unlike white schools, which were divided in English medium- and Afrikaans medium-instruction, with the respective demographic having either English taught as a home language and Afrikaans as a second, or vice versa, it was different for black schools (2001: 390).

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was based on using mother-tongue education in the classroom, and was introduced to ensure that white interests were promoted (2001: 391). This was done through the medium of instruction in black schools: in primary school (grades 1 – 4) this was the ‘mother-tongue’, with English and Afrikaans introduced from grade 2 onwards. (2010: 390). In grade 5, the medium of instruction switched to English, “result(ing) in high rates of failure and extensive drop-out...” (2001: 390). This was due to largely to the inability of the pupils to adequately switch to English, but also partly because their teachers were not equipped to teach students the curriculum. Kamwangamalu also suggests “the policy of separate development made it very difficult for black pupils to have contact with mother-tongue speakers to practice their English” (2001: 390). Thus language played a crucial role in excluding black South Africans from participating in society, and was also instrumental in dividing blacks into different national or ethnic groups which further solidified their marginalised status in South Africa.

2.2 Ethnic and language division

The sociologist and anthropologist Pierre van den Berghe, a leading expert on ethnic relations, does not consider the language policy of the apartheid government as violence from one ethnic national group towards another, as was the method used by the British over the Afrikaans *volk*. Van den Berghe (1966) understands that language is directly related to nationalism and is the paramount criteria when defining ethnicity. He explains, “when one speaks of German or Italian nationalism, one means primarily the growth of political consciousness by people sharing the same language” (1966: 408). He does not, however, consider African languages, in the then contemporary South Africa, as instruments that inspired a ‘nationalist’ feeling. Instead during apartheid, Black nationalism or “African Nationalism” represented by political movements at the time were not related to their language:

“Generally, the ideology of the African political movements has stressed equality regardless of race or ethnicity, and, although tolerant of cultural pluralism, it has never based its appeal on ethnic distinctions. Faced with an acutely racist dominant group, African political movements have sometimes made a racially-based appeal to Africans or to all non-whites, but scarcely ever to specific cultural groups” (1966: 416).

The apartheid regime attempted to ‘divide and conquer’, by splitting up Africans into their ethnic groups based on their languages. Those speaking isiZulu were restricted to KwaZulu-Natal, isiXhosa to Transkei (Eastern Cape), and so on. Van den Berghe terms this move as the ‘retribalisation’ of African groups, which was the government’s method of isolating each ethnic group in “a cultural and political desert” (1966: 417). However, this attempt to encourage indigenous peoples to maintain their own ethnic identities and to remain isolated from African nationalism was unsuccessful. Instead, African political movements, especially those whose members were part of the African ‘intellegentsia’ showed, according the van den Berghe, “a considerable drive toward westernisation, and attitudes of "cultural shame" toward indigenous cultures” (1966: 416). Here, one can see that language was used as a tactic to create division, where culture and ethnic differences discouraged universal African nationalism, creating further conflict within African society as a whole.

Division is still significant within South Africa today, and conflict has continued, even since the Constitutional recognition of nine African languages, guaranteeing them equal status along with English and Afrikaans. This division due to language is evident in the *Mail & Guardian's* (2013) series of editorials on South African languages in honour of Youth Day, and the discourse used by those who wrote, and whose mother tongue is not English, is a combination of pride, inflicted inferiority and anger. Kwanele Sosibo, in his article "Blackness has hit me in the face", understood that as an African child in a former Model-C school, one needed to understand English to be classified as intelligent.

"We emerged from the false assimilation of our education experiment with truncated souls, having, on the one hand, imbibed an English colonial culture so sure of itself and, on the other, going home to an environment further compromised by another manifestation of that culture, Christianity" (Sosibo, 2013).

This kind of discrimination has extended itself to today's learners, where they are also subject to learning in English, a practice which has been widely criticised by educationalists and linguists (Desai, 2001; Brock-Utne, 2001; Heugh, 1999) whose research clearly shows the link between learning in one's mother tongue and cognitive development.

There has also been public and civic protest against the way in which African languages are taught as second additional languages rather than as first additional languages in South African schools. The South African Language Rights Monitor (Kriel, 2010) reported that in 2008 the then CEO of PanSALB, Ntombenhle Nkosi, took Durban High School to the Equality Court, claiming that her son had been discriminated against by the school's language policy. This was due to the fact that "he had been taught (sub-standard) Zulu (sic) as a second additional language..." (2010: 38), as the school's policy obliged him to learn English as a first language and Afrikaans as a first additional language. Due to his lack of knowledge of Afrikaans, he had performed badly in his Afrikaans examinations, affecting his dignity (2010: 38). Nkosi argued that, "the school's language policy was promoting the subjugation of African languages while elevating English and Afrikaans" (2010: 38). The court ruled that the school had indeed offered Afrikaans on a higher level than Zulu, and constituted that as unfair discrimination.

2.3 Which language comes first?

As has already been mentioned, the critical importance of mother-tongue education in South Africa is not a new phenomenon, and many have accepted the necessity of children learning in their first languages. The Limpopo Education Department recognised this in 2006, and “decided to implement a policy in terms of which learners had to take their home language (...) as a first language and their school’s medium of instruction as a first additional language up to Grade 10” (2010: 38). It spent R10 million developing textbooks and other materials for learner support, and deployed 143 “qualified African language teachers in former Model C schools” (2010: 38). However, while children, and their parents, were given the right to decide to learn in their mother tongue they were also given the right to decide to have all education in the medium of English (Kriel, 2010). The Limpopo MEC of Education decided that children could not be forced to take a particular language, and it was up to their parents to make that decision (2010: 39).

The idea of a home language imposed on children now creates conflict, according to media reports in the South African Language Rights Monitor. Kriel quotes the *Sowetan*, in which one student, during a protest, exclaimed, “We don’t know that language. We don’t want Sepedi here” (Kriel, 2010: 39). In another article in the *Mail & Guardian*, “Oh youth, don’t forsake isiNdebele” (2013) Vusi Skosana speaks about his background as a Southern isiNdebele speaker, and his passion for his language and culture. He saw 1976 as a year that the youth fought for language rights, but admitted that these values have now been forsaken (Skosana, 2013). Skosana argues that instead of the youth developing the isiNdebele language and producing material in it, many young people do not, in fact, know the isiNdebele language or its phonology, and some have even changed their names into isiZulu or isiXhosa names. Ntsako Shivambu, in her piece entitled “Xitsonga: How can a marginalised language thrive?” (2013), writes about the marginalisation of Xitsonga and the Tsonga people³, claiming that they are humiliated and are often the victims of xenophobic attacks. With this social discrimination meted out by other African groups, parents are discouraging their children from speaking in their home language of Xitsonga, and encouraging them rather to learn another African language or, better still, English (Shivambu, 2013).

³ The Vatsonga are differentiated from the Mutsonga, whereby the Vatsonga are those Xitsonga speakers in South Africa, and the Mutsonga in Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Oliver, 2009).

isiZulu has the dominant position among South African languages due to its numerical strength⁴ and Zulu nationalism has been a cause of violence in the past. Finchilescu and Nyawose (1998) link the rise of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to the increase in power and influence of the Zulu culture and language. The IFP originated in the 1970s as a Zulu movement that saw itself as the owner of Zulu culture and its language, and historically had nationalistic tendencies (Finchilescu & Nyawose, 1998). Although originally associating itself with all Africans, it began to consolidate power in the region (KwaZulu-Natal), “mobilising its basis on a certain Zulu identity” (1998). It also did not support the ANC-aligned political movements opposing apartheid, and in 1990, with the unbanning of political movement, did not support political change at a national level (1998). In 1991, “the IFP initially refused to take part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa unless there was acceptance of the special status of the Zulu nation” (1998). There was also bloodshed in the early 1990s, with intra-racial violence, that is Xhosas versus Zulus, hindering South Africa’s progress towards national restructuring (1998). However, the IFP was a late addition to the ballot sheet in 1994, and won KwaZulu-Natal’s provincial elections.

Unlike the first two national elections in 1994 and 1999, the ANC became the dominant party in KwaZulu-Natal in the following two elections of 2004 and 2009. Zulu nationalists began to become part of the ANC, especially after the election of Jacob Zuma (a Zulu himself) in 2007 as President of the ANC, and subsequently as President of South Africa in 2009. Centre for Politics and Research chairman, Prince Mashele, wrote in the Sunday Independent in 2012 that since the election of Zuma as President of South Africa, “Xhosas have been displaced. Most heads of our security agencies are also from KZN. Important international events are increasingly held in KZN” (Mashele, 2012). This ‘displacement’ of one African language because of the power and status of the other, would suggest that a tension exists among the official African languages, a tension that is fuelled by the on-going growth of the Zulu language and the steady decline in speaker numbers of most of the others (Statistics South Africa, 2012).

⁴ According to the Census conducted in 2011, 22.7% of the population are isiZulu speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2012 : 23).

Mashele (2013) believes that attempts to promote Zulu at the University of KwaZulu-Natal for reasons of 'nation-building' is 'bizarre'. The latest statistical evidence backs this up from Census 2011, which indicates that a number of African languages, including isiXhosa and isiZulu, have seen a drop in speakers, with a decline of 1.6% and 1.1% respectively between 2001 and 2011. He asks, "What makes the university believe nation building depends on the Zulu-isation of the country's population? What has happened to 'unity in diversity'?" (Mashele, 2013).

William Gumede, author of *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*, suggests that after the dominance of Xhosa leaders in the persons of Mandela and Mbeki, "Zuma's election may represent the tribalisation of the ANC: it has been said that he is Zulufying the party" (Molefe, 2013). It could be argued that in contemporary South Africa the numerical dominance of isiZulu, and the fact that it is spoken by key leadership figures in the ANC, has helped it become another language of power, and one which South Africans feel they must be proficient in in order gain access to the most influential segments of South African society. No matter how much Zulu has gained popularity, influence and media exposure, such as the highly successful isiZulu newspaper *Isolezwe*, the language that unequivocally ensures upward mobility is still English: "English is a powerful language – it has enormous prestige and status and has a central place in public life" (Webb, 2002: 83). African languages (particularly minority ones such as Xitsonga, Tshivenda and isiNdebele) are mainly used in private places (De Klerk, 2002) and have no influence in public spaces, leading to exclusion and continued discrimination against those who cannot speak the majority language or languages which one must learn and understand to assimilate. Even isiZulu, which has by far the most number of first-language speakers in South Africa, is undermined in public, political and economic domains which are becoming increasingly monolingual English.

Piller (2012: 284) offers a refreshing counter-argument to the one that states that in order to assimilate one must learn the dominant language of a society and questions the common idea that countries that are monolingual are less likely to experience civil unrest (2012: 284). Piller refers to Pool's (1990) study of linguistic assimilation in the United States (US), where the "large-scale shift to English produced little if any inclusion benefits for African Americans or Native Americans" (2012: 284). In fact, it sustained the disadvantage African Americans felt, with research showing that school children struggled to shift from 'Black English' (the term in

use at the time) to the institutional language of success and power (2012: 285). It could thus be argued that the theory that English lends itself to social inclusion, and therefore halts social unrest, is not suitable for linguistically diverse countries such as South Africa.

From the discussion above I have attempted to highlight the fact South Africa has been faced with conflict due to language since colonial times, both in public and private domains. With the Constitution now protecting and promoting African languages as a way of offering their speakers redress due to their inferior status during apartheid, language nevertheless remains a contentious issue in this country. The Constitution was designed to transform South Africa from a state governed by a minority to a multicultural, equal and inclusive society. In the next chapter, the transformative aspects of language will be analysed. I will also discuss whether South Africa has fully acknowledged language as a key piece of the transformation puzzle after 20 years of democracy.

3. The Transformation Project

South Africa's regime change in 1994 led to the transformation of the country. From a minority-ruled, racist government, South Africa now had a constitutional democracy. Every aspect of South African society was affected, and education was no exception. It was one of the keystones of apartheid South Africa's means of disempowering black and coloured people, and it was the transformation of the education system which had to be addressed urgently.

De Wet and Wolhuter (2009) use Duvenhage's (2006: 125) understanding of how imperative it was to change the structure of education, "Education not only had to be transformed, it had also to play a key role in the transformation of the South African community" (2009: 359). They maintain that this transformation was the critical issue for the Department of Education, in both 1995 and 2001, with the department committing itself to providing "a system of education that builds democracy, human dignity, equality and social justice" (2009: 360). The role of language in social and educational transformation was championed by Neville Alexander (1999, 2003, 2005, 2007) who argued that unless mother tongue education were embraced, there would be no improvement in the quality of education for the majority of South Africans:

"Unless the educational systems on the continent are based on the mother tongues of the people of Africa instead of on foreign languages as most of them are at present, all attempts at establishing a platform for improving the quality of education will in the final analysis benefit only the elite and its progeny" (2005: 3).

Before interrogating whether education and language in education are critical to transforming society, it is necessary to clarify what transformation actually is, and how it is understood in South Africa.

3.1 Societal transformation in post-conflict South Africa

Henrard (2003), when speaking about the Constitutional negotiations which took place in the 1990s, says that throughout the negotiations there was “extensive emphasis on equality, the need to redress previous disadvantages, democracy, and nation building” (2003: 41). She also mentions that the ideals of equality lie at the centre of the Constitution (2003). Hudson (2000) uses South Africa’s reconciliation process to deal with the concept, underlying how our ‘transformation project’ was criticised immensely in the aftermath of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s (TRC) report. Hudson suggests some were concerned about the nature of the new South African state, and how it was, and is, expressed. He notes that there is a distinct difference between the concepts of a ‘liberation democracy’ and ‘liberal democracy’, “with the former involving the permanent capture of state power and resources in the name of the ‘people’, and the latter, neutrality, tolerance and pluralism” (2000: 93).

These concepts are critical to understanding how South Africa’s ‘transformation project’ was conceived, and how this translates into contemporary understandings of meaningful societal change. Hudson goes into depth about the concept of liberalism and how the liberal state is one that is “individual, negative and pluralist” (2000: 94). In an extreme liberal democracy (Hudson: 2000) personal freedom is not violated, and sacrificing individualism for the sake of the greater good is not tolerated: society is most organised when people are allowed to make their own choices and practice “their own conceptions of the good” (2000: 95).

However, when one looks at the transformation of South Africa and the constitutional democracy we live in, the transformation policies of the government are “quite plainly unacceptable” (2000: 95) for those who endorse the above concept of a liberal democracy.

“From their point of view, its redistributive programmes and special programmes and special opportunities for the previously disadvantaged black citizens constitutes a flagrant violation of the neutrality required from the state of individuals are to be respected as moral persons” (2000: 95).

The objective of South Africa’s transformation was to create an equal society, where all citizens, regardless of their national group, race, and its sectors, classes and status orders

within them were to be the same. Stacey (2003) reiterates the point that each person “is formally given the same space and opportunity as everyone else to make what she/he will of her life” (133).

To actually implement equal opportunity presupposed the “transform(ation of) the entire fabric of social life in South Africa, and requires – under current circumstances – the policies of preferential treatment for black citizens...” (Hudson, 2000: 96). This is necessary to create a South African national character, and that all ‘sub-national’ groups will become equal to co-exist peacefully and maintain an “ethically satisfactory social order” (2000: 96). Although this is a stated aim, Hudson asks the question, “How, once this transformation is achieved, such a mode of co-existence is to be maintained is not clear” (2000: 96). Stacey argues that the transformation project, and the ANC’s concomitant concept of affirmative action, certain individuals in society cannot pursue their life goals due to a different group of persons (those who were previously disadvantaged) now being entitled to the freedom which they might otherwise not have had (2003: 134). He goes so far as to say, “(t)he transformation project and affirmative action therefore represent a violation of the Constitutional right to equality and equal liberty” (2003: 134).

Henrard speaks about the concept of ‘substantive equality’, and that the Constitution subscribes to this vision of equality, instead of the formal equality that is described above (2003: 6). Substantive equality, he says, views equality through a different lens which requires remedial measures to address individual and collective oppression and discrimination by the apartheid government (2003: 41). In South Africa, an example of this is the concept of affirmative action, which became a highly problematic semantic issue during the negotiation for the 1996 Constitution, with contention arising around the exact wording of the clause, but not the actual concept of affirmative action (2003: 41). The eventual wording of the clause for affirmative action was agreed to as follows:

“Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.” (2003: 41)

As mentioned before, the transformation project that South Africa embarked upon, and is still trying to achieve, is a mixture of liberal and liberation democracy. Our constitution protects our individual rights of “freedoms of thought, expression, association and political participation, for example...” (Hudson, 2000: 99). However, the transformation of education, housing, language and other issues, which was created to redistribute the resources of the state and the people, takes away the ‘individual’s’ rights, with affirmative action creating a system where those previously disadvantaged are given more protection than those who had (and perhaps still) benefitted from apartheid. Although individuals and collectives were the main thrust of affirmative action, language was thought of as being previously disadvantaged too. Afrikaans and English were the two official languages of the apartheid state, with the rest relegated to the rural areas and informal spaces. I will now show how language was critical to the ‘transformation project’, and what the implications of this were.

3.2 Language and transformation

Kamwangamalu (2001) discusses South Africa’s language transformation project, where the new language policy gave 11 languages official status. He states that “the official languages of the Republic (of South Africa) are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu” (2001: 409). Kamwangamalu further quotes the Department of Education’s 1994 “South Africa’s New Language Policy”, addressing why all 11 languages were chosen, instead of English:

- “a) (T)o ensure and guarantee the freedom and human dignity of all South Africans under a new dispensation,
- b) to recognise the country’s linguistic diversity as well as the fact that the majority of South Africans – probably 98 per cent – use one of these languages as their home or first language, and
- c) to ensure that the process of democratisation is extended to language related issues as well” (2001: 409).

By according official status to all 11 languages, the Constitution embodied the transformation project that the government embarked upon, by:

“recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages” (2001: 410).

The choice of 11 official languages speaks to South Africa’s policy makers’ view that multilingualism was no longer a threat or challenge to transformation, but could actually assist in achieving that goal. What follows are some examples of language being seen to aid transformation, and a discussion as to whether a multilingual language policy was the best option for South Africa.

In Ndhlovu’s “The Politics of Language and Nation Building in Zimbabwe” (2009), the author demonstrates how nation-building⁵ seeks to create a single identity for a culturally diverse people “within the boundaries of a specific nation-state” (2009: 3). This identity is defined by numerous categories, including “religious, ecological, ethnic, biological, linguistic, geographical and historical terms” (2009: 3). Utilising the arguments put forward by Zeleza (2006), Ndhlovu discusses the difficulty in creating a single African identity (2009: 3) claiming that any notion of African culture, identity or nationality has been constructed:

“(I)t is a construct whose boundaries – geographical, historical, cultural and representational – have shifted according to the prevailing conceptions and configurations of global racial identities and power, and African nationalism” (2009: 4).

Ndhlovu asserts that social constructs often become real because of the continuation of polarisation: “the construction of stable national identities in most postcolonial African countries has proved to be a very difficult task because of the presence of multiple language varieties and ethnic groups.” (2009: 4).

This is in line with many Western governments who, according to Melanie Cooke and James Simpson (2012), see that linguistic diversity is not something that should be tolerated, and that a national identity should be one that is homogenous – one nation, one language. Although Cooke and Simpson point out that language differences do not define country

⁵ I will be using nation building and transformation interchangeably.

borders, the idea persists, “underpinned by a belief that in order for societies to be strong, stable and ‘cohesive’ their populations must share a common language” (2012: 120).

The term *linguistic nationalism*, used to describe one’s membership to a certain national community due to a common language, contributed to the rise of nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (2012: 120). This idea is still popular, and is one of the most prominent ideologies that dominate national identity and nation building (2012: 121). According to Cooke and Simpson, monolingualism is promoted in many parts of the world, “in the interests of nation-building and central power” (2012: 121). One such example of this is in France, where French has been a symbol of national unity since the French revolution. They quote Joseph (2006: 45) to demonstrate how states deem monolingualism so necessary that they will marginalise those who do not fall into the linguistic framework. Monolingualism demands “the marginalisation or outright ignoring of anyone who speaks something other than the majority language, or speaks the majority language in a way that diverges from the general norm, or both” (2012: 121). To understand *linguistic nationalism* in a practical sense, I will look to India and Malaysia as examples of the relationship between nation building and monolingualism.

India and Malaysia are examples of how multilingualism can be incorporated into a state’s concept of nation building. In post-independence India, the state made Hindi a national language in order to promote nation building in a country where there were over 800 languages, while in Malaysia Malay was deemed the national language, with English used for a certain time for official purposes (1964). In Malaysia parents had the choice of language for their children’s education, Malay, Mandarin, Tamil or English, with Malay being taught in a subject in all schools (Le Page, 1964). Therefore, the inclusion of additional languages was seen as a foundation for nation building for the former Federation Government (Le Page, 1964).

These different approaches to a national language/s are pertinent to South Africa’s constitutionally mandated inclusion of 11 official languages to advance nation building. Sheila Mmusi, a Professor at the University of Limpopo, acknowledges that the Government of National Unity (GNU), looking back at apartheid language policies, decided to embrace the diversity of languages in South Africa, and “ushered in a brand new multilingual language

policy” (1998: 225). The policy, unlike those of India and Malaysia, sought to redress the social ills of pre-democratic South Africa imposed on black South Africans. She understands the policy to be “a reversal of previously oppressive language policies which were tantamount to one ethnic group dominating others” (1998: 227). Using Cluver (1993), Mmusi sees policy as being more political than linguistic, attempting to unite the different racial groups through all 11 languages being equal. The policy aimed to elevate the indigenous languages, which had previously been accorded a lower status, to the same level as English and Afrikaans.

Like Le Page, Vic Webb understands that a national language is similar to a national flag, culture or dress, in that it is a symbol of the nation (2002: 147). He comments that a national language can assist in the integration of different groups of peoples, by “breaking down the barriers which keep these entities apart” (2002: 147). Webb discusses how language plays a role in nation building, and lists six basic issues upon which it can improve. These are: “the enhancement of ethno-linguistic self-esteem and equity; national communication; a culture of democracy; the meaningful recognition of language rights; the management of the country’s conflict potential; and the protection of linguistic diversity” (2002: 151). His conclusion on the influence that language has on nation building within South Africa is that it is not clear that the inclusion of all African languages into the official discourse of South Africa will “contribute to meaningful socio-political change” (2002: 167). He intimates that a fine balance must be drawn between the government’s aim of national unity and diversity, “to rid itself of its deep spiritual and intellectual colonialisation...” (2002: 167). Therefore it is not clear whether the inclusion of those languages, which were discriminated against during apartheid, will contribute to nation building, as defined by Ndhlovu.

3.3 Education and transformation

Since the beginning of colonisation in the region that is now South Africa, there was no system to provide education to either settler’s children or to the children of indigenous Africans (Johnson, 1982). However, with power changing hands to the British and the advent of industrialisation and urbanisation, the struggle for jobs, wealth and economic opportunity between poor whites and Africans became the basis for certain decisions in education (Johnson: 1982). Whites began to demand segregated education that was passed into law, with education institutionalising a new order (Johnson, 1982). Discrimination, segregation and

subordination of black South Africans were part and parcel of apartheid ideology (Hofmeyr & Buckland, 1992).

The National Party's education objectives were to have "segregated, differentiated education for all different racial and cultural groups" (Hofmeyr & Buckland, 1992: 20) and have "state control over all education in the interests of Afrikanerdom" (1992: 20). Apartheid education created a system of gross inequalities, schooling systems having a "racial hierarchy of unequal provision" (Hofmeyr & Buckland, 1992: 21). In 1990, capital expenditure for white students per capita was R3082, compared to R764 for black students (1992: 22). This led to poor results across the board: black students were thus disadvantaged whether they fell under the Department of Education and Training (DET) or the different departments in the homelands (Hofmeyr & Buckland, 1992). However, when President de Klerk accelerated the momentum towards a democratic state by unbanning political parties in 1990, there was a rush to develop education policies, all sectors anticipating the formal and legal termination of apartheid (Jansen, 2000). Private and public, non-governmental organisations and international aid organisations, as well as trade unions, all "jostled for position as they prepared to develop signal policy positions 'for a democratic South Africa'" (2000: 242). A race began in earnest for creating a policy framework, which would change how education was to be conducted in the new democracy (Jansen, 2000).

The new dispensation had to bring nineteen racially divided education departments into one unified, non-racial department, as well as replace legislation that governed teachers, learners, governance and curriculum (Jansen, 2000). Jansen believes that the period between the first and second election (1994-1999), "was limited to the *symbolism of policy production* rather than the details of policy implementation" (2000: 43), and that the South African education system was not reformed, but merely maintained the core curricula, only removing sections that showed explicit racism and sexism. In 1994, the syllabus that was revised was seen as an attempt to remove only the most provocative content. All that was glaringly racist, sexist and outdated that was inherited from the apartheid syllabi was removed, but much of the former educational material was still used after the first democratic election (2000: 43).

The Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bengu, was tasked with revising the national syllabus amidst many political tensions which would shape curriculum policy of the new government.

These included the tension between preserving the core of the inherited syllabi but removing offensive content, and a fundamental restructure of the entire “epistemological and value edifice of the apartheid curriculum” (2000: 43); as well as the tension between a rapid change to the policy which would build short-term legitimacy for the state, and the need to construct a new curriculum through a thorough and informed process for the long term (2000: 43). Instead of an overhaul of the curriculum, the syllabus revision process led to a “minimalist, superficial reform of state syllabi, with a few substantive changes to either the content or pedagogy of the ‘cleansed’ syllabus” (2000: 43). Symbolism of policy production reflected the ideological ideals of the ANC-driven national democratic revolution that was promoted through the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training (de Wet, 2009). It stated:

“It should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land, on the basis that all South Africans without exception share the same inalienable rights, equal citizenship, and common national destiny, and that all forms of bias (especially racial, ethnic and gender) are dehumanising” (DoE, 1995: 4).

Therefore, as shown above, education was one of the key factors which the post-apartheid government saw as being able to transform South African society. From 1976 and the Soweto uprising until 1994, the concept of ‘Liberation before Education’ was common among black students who rejected the inferior education they had inherited (Maxwell, Enslin & Maxwell, 2004: 106). This liberation struggle within student bodies was marked by violence, vandalism, boycotts and protests, which significantly affected the quality, and actual amount, of education received (2004: 106).

Maxwell *et al* speak about ‘peace education’, and how this concept is difficult to implement in South Africa, with its history of violence and authoritarianism (2004: 107). I would argue that because it does not problematise the issue of language and multilingual classrooms, the concept of peace education, which employs experiential learning, mutual respect, and the teaching of critical thinking to encourage inclusive decision making (2004: 107) can never really get to the core issues affecting inequality in education. Utilising Harris’ (1996: 387) argument, Maxwell *et al* state:

“School personnel following the principles of peace education reform teach content and skills, respond to feelings, use a peaceful pedagogy, discipline in a non-punitive manner, motivate students to pursue peace, and administer schools democratically” (2004: 107).

Daniel Bar-Tal, from the Tel-Aviv University School of Education, speaks at length about peace education, and how education is one of the most powerful methods of transforming society but he too ignores the critical issue of unequal access to knowledge due to language barriers. The statement that Ministries of Education should “delineate the contents of the textbooks and instructional materials” (2002:27) seems not to anticipate how this is achieved for learners who come from linguistically diverse backgrounds.

Peace education has been carried out in different ways across the globe, with some examples being Australia, focusing on “challenging ethnocentrism, cultural chauvinism, and violence” (2002: 28), Japan underlining the issues of “nuclear disarmament, militarism, and the nature of responsibility for acts of violence committed in the past” (2002: 28), and the United States, where programmes look at “prejudice, violence, and environmental issues” (2002: 28). While the lofty ideals and genuine achievements of these programmes cannot be ignored since their main aim is to make the world a “better, more humane place” (2002: 28) what is missing in their agenda is reference to how the very real and pragmatic issue of language diversity and unequal access to education because of the language one speaks is to be resolved in order to achieve such a goal.

Harris (2004) discusses human rights education, which is particularly relevant to post-apartheid South Africa but again does not focus on the role language has to play in such a transformed system. Nevertheless linguistic tolerance is clearly assumed in this kind of curriculum which is taught to “address civil, domestic, cultural and ethnic forms of violence, trying to heal some of the wounds of citizens who have been raised in violent cultures” (2004: 10). With South Africa’s past of violence and degradation of certain sectors of the population, this kind of education seeks to pursue values which promote, and will hopefully achieve, social, political and economic justice (Harris, 2004). The multicultural values (which would include tolerance to speakers of diverse languages) that South Africa attempts to espouse are a part of the human rights education facet of peace education, as it honours the dignity of all peoples, something which is enshrined in the Constitution. Harris comments “this aspect of

peace education has for a goal multicultural understanding aimed at reducing stereotypes and hostilities between groups” (2004: 11). The goal is to respect the humanity that is a part of all humans, accept the ‘other’ and promote caring for others who belong in different social groups (Harris, 2004). This is particularly needed in South Africa today, especially if one considers the xenophobic attacks which began in 2008, and have been sporadic throughout South Africa, the latest taking place in Soweto in January 2015. Educating the youth has the potential to halt the violent nature that has been demonstrated by South African students since the 1980s, and reignite a passion for the multicultural values South Africa advocates. However, how does this kind of educational transformation, and especially one that encourages debate of multiculturalism, fall into higher education?

3.4 Higher education and transformation

Jansen (2004) discusses how South African higher education transformed between 1994 and 2004, and identifies why these changes are significant for South Africa’s transformation project. The first significant change was the reduction of HEIs, which the Minister of Education at the time, Kader Asmal, introduced in 1999:

“The shape and size of the higher education system cannot be left to chance if we are to realise the vision of a rational, seamless higher education system ... The institutional landscape of higher education will be reviewed as a matter of urgency in collaboration with the Council on Higher Education. *This landscape was largely dictated by the geo-political imagination of apartheid planners*” (emphasis added) (2004: 294).

The rationalisation of training colleges was key, as one aspect was the incorporation of technikons, colleges and universities which were in close proximity to each other. Such mergers included “the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville; the University of the North-West and Potchefstroom University; Technikon Pretoria, Technikon Northern Gauteng and Technikon North-West; The University of Fort Hare and the East London Campus of Rhodes University ...” (2004: 296). These mergers symbolised, according to Jansen, a new method in which the post-apartheid government was dealing with the legacy of white hegemony in higher education, that of limiting the autonomy of universities (Jansen, 2004). This interventionist policy, from self-rule to a ‘new managerialism’, showed that the

government saw appropriate academic and political behaviour on the part of the faculty as being key to ensuring good relations, budgetary allocation and research funds (2004: 298).

The transformation of South Africa can also be seen through access to higher education for black South Africans. As Akoojee and Nkomo (2007) state, “(a)ccess is a political imperative in present-day South Africa” (2007: 389). The Education White Paper of 1997 sets the tone for the transformation of higher education, by stating that the challenge today is for South Africa to “serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs and to respond to new realities and opportunities” (2007: 390). Akoojee and Nkomo address two different ways of understanding access in South African education policy since 1994. The first relates to numbers of students, specifically, the increasing of black students at HEIs. Black participation at historically white universities has gone up dramatically, with their figures suggesting that from 13 per cent in 1993, it grew to 39 per cent in 1999, and 46 per cent in 2000 (2007: 390). Figures released by the Council on Higher Education in August 2013 states that black students in 2010 represented 79 per cent of the South African student population (Smith, 2013).

This rapid deracialisation of universities was the priority of the new dispensation but the concomitant linguistic diversification of the academies and the challenges that would necessarily arise, was not an initial concern for education authorities. Although student numbers have increased, in terms of race, the success of black students at universities remains a contested issue. According to Smith, in his article “South Africa's universities 'racially skewed', claims watchdog” (2013), only 1 in 20 black South Africans succeed in higher education, with more than half dropping out before completing their degree. This failure to succeed at HEIs damages the chance for a fully transformative South Africa and surely raises issues of unfair access to knowledge because of many black students’ lack of fluency in English.

Akoojee and Nkomo’s second understanding of access sees quality as being the critical issue when discussing transformation and higher education: “quality in South African higher education should be understood within a context of redress, equity and access, which has as its objective the transformation of society” (2007: 394). Real access to education, they suggest, cannot be achieved without quality education. They utilise Bergquist’s (1995: 25-26) three premises through which access to quality education can be achieved. First, there is a

requirement for a “reconsideration of basic purposes and functions of institutions that require a reconsideration of issues of quality and access” (Akoojee & Nkomo, 2007: 394). Next, that access is necessary to achieve quality and that “... the more diversified the people and resources of an educational institution are... the greater is the potential quality of education, research, scholarship and community service at the institution” (2007: 394). Finally, the access, and through that the quality, needs adequate resources to be achieved (2007: 394). These three premises have their own unspoken premise, and that is that access cannot be achieved without an understanding of the linguistic codes that dominate academic discourses.

The way in which Akoojee and Nkomo understand the relationship between quality and access is that they are inseparable, and the transformation of society cannot occur without recognising that through HEIs achieving quality, diversity and access will follow. Policies from HEIs show that they have attempted to strengthen the quality of education, demonstrating (at least on paper) that they are committed to transformation. In Chapter 7, Section 7.3 of my analysis of the language policies of four universities, I will demonstrate this coming together of both physical access to education and access to quality education. This will allow me to show how HEIs have acknowledged how language and education are critical to transforming South Africa, and how they envisage creating the multicultural society that post-apartheid South Africa was supposed to be.

4. Research Method

4.1. Qualitative policy research

In this dissertation I have utilised a qualitative approach in my research of the different policies from the four universities which I have chosen. David and Sutton (2011) explain that qualitative research utilises the induction of words, and attempt to “build accounts of what is going on from the data collected” (2011: 84). This approach is also based on theoretical and methodological principles, without any quantitative techniques, and provides data which expresses “information about feelings, values and attitudes” (2011: 82), usually in words. The quantitative approach, on the other hand, utilises numbers to deduce the hypothesis, through which the researcher can be empirically proved. Unlike qualitative research, it is objectivist, and utilises quantitative techniques and methodologies, as well as statistics (2011: 82). Qualitative observations are usually recorded in numerical or another standardised coding format, and the data from the research can be expressed in a numerical format, utilising “numbers, percentages and tables” (David and Sutton, 2011: 82).

Although the above differentiation seems simplistic, it does lend itself to an understanding of the use of the qualitative methodologies for this dissertation. The issues in question, those of language policies and their role in transformation in post-conflict South African HEIs, cannot be easily represented in an empirical way. One cannot numerically attain how language has been utilised in the transformation of South African society, or examine South Africa’s transformation goals of language in higher education in numerical tables. Therefore, to analyse the policies, I chose a qualitative method to understand what the words within the documents were saying, and what one could deduce from the language in the documents themselves. I also saw the theoretical bases of the different questions around language, conflict, and education as ill-fitting for a quantitative framework. The majority of the studies conducted in this area are qualitative, and it would be difficult to form an argument based on a quantitative analysis as no statistical research studies on the role of language in higher education have been conducted. Although there are numbers involved, such as the percentage of how many students are isiXhosa or isiZulu speaking, these are not the focus of

this particular study. I also did not conduct human sampling such as a Likert-scale questionnaire, which would have enabled me to apply some quantitative methodology to this study. However, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative is not as simple as number-crunching versus word-induction.

As some who are more inclined to quantitative methodology may argue, qualitative analysis does not yield scientifically proven analyses. Yanow (2007), however, argues that qualitative methods do indeed have procedures and standards which are regularised to create empirical evidence. She therefore highlights the “shift in many circles from talking about “qualitative” methods to a discourse of ‘interpretive’ methods” (2007: 405). She sees the distinction between qualitative and quantitative as “erroneous and misleading” (2007: 406), explaining that it sets up a false dichotomy. This is further supported by Denzin (2009) who says “because the qualitative research community is not a single entity, guidelines and criteria of quality need to be fitted to specific paradigmatic and genre-driven concerns” (2009: 140). Yanow favours the term “interpretive” methods to describe how she approaches policy research. “...they (interpretive methods) are word-based, from data “collection” instruments to data analysis tools to research report formats and contents... researchers use those words as their data in seeing meanings and sources of meanings” (2007: 407). This study is guided by such an interpretive approach to policy research.

Thus one can understand that although there are guidelines for policy analysis, an interpretive approach to policy research still allows, or rather acknowledges, that researchers’ own backgrounds may affect the analysis of the data they have collected. Yanow states that, “interpretive researchers are attuned to the ways in which their own presence might, in many ways, potentially affect what they are learning in their research” (2007: 408). Maxwell similarly explains (1992: 283) “As observers and interpreters of the world, we are inextricable part of it; we cannot step outside our own experience to obtain some observer-independent account of what we experience” (1992: 283).

Malterud (2001) takes the idea of the researcher not being objective and utilises the term ‘reflexivity’, to explain how the researcher must understand that s/he is not objective, but must understand how his/her background will inform the analysis. She states “the question is neither whether the researcher affects the process nor whether such an effect can be

prevented. This methodological point has been turned into a commitment to reflexivity” (2001: 483). This means that the researcher needs to probe his/her own identity and motivation for doing the study and be transparent for the reader. This follows in the next section.

4.2. Researcher reflexivity

Malterud (2001: 484) defines reflexivity as “the knower’s mirror”, explaining that it is “an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, especially to the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process”. She goes on to explain that in order to show reflexivity in a study, the researcher’s “motives, background, perspectives and preliminary hypotheses” (2001: 485) need to be clear. This section aims to present an overview of how my background could affect the research.

As a reflexive researcher, it is important to note what background I am bringing into this analysis, in order to be transparent. I am a white, middle class male, who went to a private school from Grade 1 to Matric. I speak English fluently, can speak and understand basic Afrikaans, and, from my Jewish background, I can read and write basic Hebrew. However, I have no proficiency in any African language. I am writing my thesis on African language intellectualisation in English, I have conducted all my research in English, and I am writing my thesis through an English-medium university, UCT. From the facts above, it could seem as a researcher I am implicit in the very system of English hegemony that this dissertation is attempting to examine. However, I feel very passionately about home language education and the intellectualisation of African languages.

I became interested in this topic while studying for my BA Honours at Wits, where one of my courses was an introduction to Public Policy. The matter of home language education arose, and how, although there was policy allowing for children to learn in their home languages, many parents were reluctant to follow this path, nor was there any real push by politicians. Due to the problematic education system we have today, where many learners struggle receive a decent education, I saw this as something to learn more about. My Honours long essay was on home language instruction and why it has not been implemented in South Africa. My research led to a concern about the lack of acknowledgment from those in power

of how critical it is to support and promote the development of African languages in South Africa. Whereas South Africa has 11 official languages, the languages which are spoken in the legislature, courts, schools and universities are still, in most cases, English or Afrikaans. This demonstrated the lack of redress that South African institutions showed towards African languages, which were discriminated against during apartheid. As I enrolled for a Master's in Justice and Reconciliation, I aimed to see how language played a role in transforming South African society and based on my previous research, I sought to understand this from the point of view of HEIs. This enquiry has formed the springboard for this study.

4.3. Data collection

In any research study, the researcher needs to make careful decisions around what material to draw on in his/her data collection. Sadovnik (2007) provides an overview of some of the methodological approaches that may be used in qualitative research, including ethnography, action research, case study and/or grounded research. For the purposes of this study, I chose to focus on policy from four South African universities, and more specifically, the language policies. The focus on the language policies as data sources was deliberate and is partly located in the role that policy plays in a society. Srivastava and Thomson (2009: 73) explain that all organisations, whether private or public, for-profit or not-for profit, are governed by a set of policies, and that in order to ensure optimal functionality, these must be periodically reviewed. Universities, whether in South Africa or abroad, are no different. This is part of the reason why it is vital to analyse policy critically, and it is my hope that this study will contribute to an informed understanding of the state of the chosen universities' language policies in a post-conflict South Africa.

However, Prior (2008) highlights that the importance of the use of documents in sociological research moves beyond an understanding of documentation as "receptacles of inert content" (2008: 821). This challenges the researcher not only to analyse the words that the document (in this case the language policies) contains, but to consider how the documents "can influence episodes of social interaction, and schemes of social organisation, and how they might enter into the analysis of such interactions and organisation" (2008: 822). It is here that the potential for policy research becomes clear. By studying policy, researchers are able to move beyond a discussion of the meaning of words on paper in a bid to start developing a

broader understanding of society. In a study such as mine, which considers societal transformation, policy documents provide an important lens through which to view the political and social landscape of South Africa. This is further discussed in section 4.4. which deals with Data Analysis.

The intellectualisation of language has long been stated as being critical to transforming education in general (Alexander, 1991; Heugh, 1999; Buckland, 1992). Education in itself is considered essential to transforming society; Bacchi explains that education is often seen as a “solution to a ‘swathe’ of social ‘problems’” (2009: 206). It can help in promoting public health, in preventing a host of social problems including crime (Bacchi, 2009). However, education can also be said to be a solution for those who have been disadvantaged in the past, which is indeed the case in South Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2001). Bacchi goes into detail about the use of higher education, and how ‘useful’ education can be, with skill development being an important part of boosting the economy and becoming internationally competitive (2009: 209). But language policies directly influence how the skills will be taught to the various students in the different institutions. If a student does not have the linguistic capacity to understand the concepts being taught to him/her, how can s/he acquire the necessary skills to boost the economy, and become upwardly mobile him/herself? Therefore it is necessary to understand the language policies in depth to show how HEIs are aiding transformation.

I chose to look at four historically white universities, who were pressed in a new South Africa to transform. From my preliminary research, I also decided to choose two universities whose progress in their implementation of their language policies I perceived to be lacking (Wits and UCT), and another two who seemed to be more progressive in their implementation (Rhodes and NWU). Perhaps a noticeable absence is my omitting the University of KwaZulu-Natal, which has been prominent in the news for having implemented a radical language policy. However, I chose to leave it out as there has been research on its language policy, and it would not have been useful in the final analysis of the policies.

4.4. Data analysis

Through a thorough review of relevant literature and a number of relevant policy examples, Mayer, van Daalen and Bots (2004) developed a conceptual model to encompass the

understanding and design of policy analysis. They explain that because the discipline of policy analysis consists of “many different schools, approaches, roles and methods” (2004: 170), any comprehensive model needs to incorporate a variety of different activities, styles and underlying values. In terms of activities, they specify: research and analyse; design and recommend; clarify arguments and values; provide strategic advice; democratise; and mediate (2004: 173). For different styles, they highlight: rational; argumentative; client advice; participatory; process; and interactive (2004: 180). Finally, the focus on values ranges from “what is good knowledge?” to “what is good for the debate?” and “what is good for the client/problem owner?” (2004: 184).

A model such as the one described above not only lays out the landscape of a particular focus area (in this case, policy analysis), but can serve to ground a specific study. In terms of Mayer, van Daalen and Bots’s model, the analysis of the policies in my studies is focused on clarifying values and arguments through the use of an argumentative style, with a particular focus on the value of strong debate. In order to do this, it utilises Carol Bacchi’s (2009) “What’s the problem represented to be?” (WPR) approach, which aims to move beyond the widespread notion of policy as an institution’s best attempts to deal with particular “problems”. Rather, it sees within policy a clear reflection of an institution’s understanding of what sort of “problem” a particular “problem” may be. Bacchi argues that by seeing how a policy proposes to deal with a problem, the researcher is able to develop an understanding of how the “problem” is represented. For example, if a policy on improving student access to higher education were to focus on new scholarship models, it would be clear that the “problem” around access was being represented as a financial one. This would disregard other potential interpretations of the problem, for example issues around gender or the Basic Education system. Policy analysis then becomes an examination of “how society is managed, and with what repercussions for different groups of people” (25) and is thus a vital tool in the study of politics, particularly in a post-conflict, transforming society where issue of power and government remain key.

Bacchi’s method of understanding what the problem is represented to be is to ask six questions, each pertaining to certain players within the policy-making process. These are:

1. What’s the problem (...) represented to be in a specific policy?

2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in the problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (2009: 2).

She uses these questions to move beyond a simple reading of the policy to understanding how the "problem" is *represented*. Bacchi argues that through looking at problems, we problematise issues and so, instead of being governed by policies, we are "governed through problematisations" (2009: xi). Referencing Osborne (1997) she explains that problematising issues in policy reduces the complexity of the 'problem' and simplifies factors, and as such only part of the story is told (2009: xii). Instead of simply looking at the simple explanation of why the policy is formed, which is good for the popularity of the policy maker (Benson and Snow 2000), there needs to be further examination of the problem.

"We need to examine the problem representations that lodge within policies and policy proposals. Rather than accepting the designation of some issue as a 'problem' or a 'social problem'⁶ we need to interrogate the kinds of 'problems' that are presumed to exist and how these are thought about. In this way we gain important insights into the thought (the 'thinking') that informs governing practices" (2009: xiii).

Bacchi (2009) states that although the questions can be answered chronologically, from question 1 through 6, it is more common to use the questions in order to "form part of an integrated analysis, with specific questions applied where the analysis occasions their use" (2009: 233). This dissertation adopts the second approach. To deal separately with all the policies by answering the questions chronologically for each one would have limited the scope

⁶ Bacchi says there are two common usages for the word 'problem'. It's either used to define something that is difficult to deal with or something which is a challenge that needs to be solved (2009: x). Sometimes these two are combined, according to Bacchi, and often take the form in solving 'social problems' (2009: x).

for comparison and contrast between the different policies. Also, many of the answers for the questions overlap, and so it seemed to be the ideal method in which to analyse the policies.

4.5. Validity of the study

Validity in an academic study refers to the consideration of the various ways that the researcher might be wrong in his/her conclusions. Whittemore, Chase and Mandle (2001) discuss that the quality of research is “dependent on honest and forthright investigations” (534). It is always important to seek alternative explanations and it is critical to have a “self-critical attitude” (2001: 534).

There are several validity challenges to my research. Some of these have already been touched on above. Firstly, I looked only at policy and didn't carry out empirical research via interviews or site visits. Secondly, I have chosen to look at only four universities out of South Africa's 23 total universities. In addition, the fact that I am only looking at universities and not at other institutions of higher learning (such as Universities of Technology or private colleges) could challenge the validity of the study. Thirdly, my identity as a white, English-speaking male means that I am bringing certain suppositions to the study. Finally, the findings have not been triangulated by any external sources.

Despite these challenges, I believe that my study is valid and makes a useful contribution to the body of knowledge regarding language and transformation in South Africa. It is beyond the scope of this study to produce a full investigation into the landscape of the subject. Instead, it presents a “snapshot” of how institutions are responding to the governmental mandate to incorporate African languages into their institutions. In doing so, it will hopefully serve as a basis for further study. Some specific recommendations for this are set out in the Conclusion section.

5. Overview of Policies

5.1 University of the Witwatersrand

5.1.1 Introduction to Wits' language policy

The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) is in Johannesburg, its location shown in Figure 1 below. Johannesburg is multilingual (see Figure 2), with isiZulu the most spoken language (23.1%), English at second position (19.8%) and Sesotho third (9.5%). The university adopted its language policy in March 2003. The document highlights the need for multilingualism within South African society and links this to transformation. The policy states that, “(it) is framed by the recognition that it is important for South Africa to maintain and develop all of its official languages” (Wits, 2003: 1). Resources have to be set aside for the university to be able to develop and enhance the multilingual competency of its students and staff, as well as to develop African languages themselves. The policy recognizes Johannesburg as being the most linguistically diverse city in South Africa (2003:1) and claims that this makes it difficult to choose which language to develop, as no single language will be satisfactory to all of its students and staff.

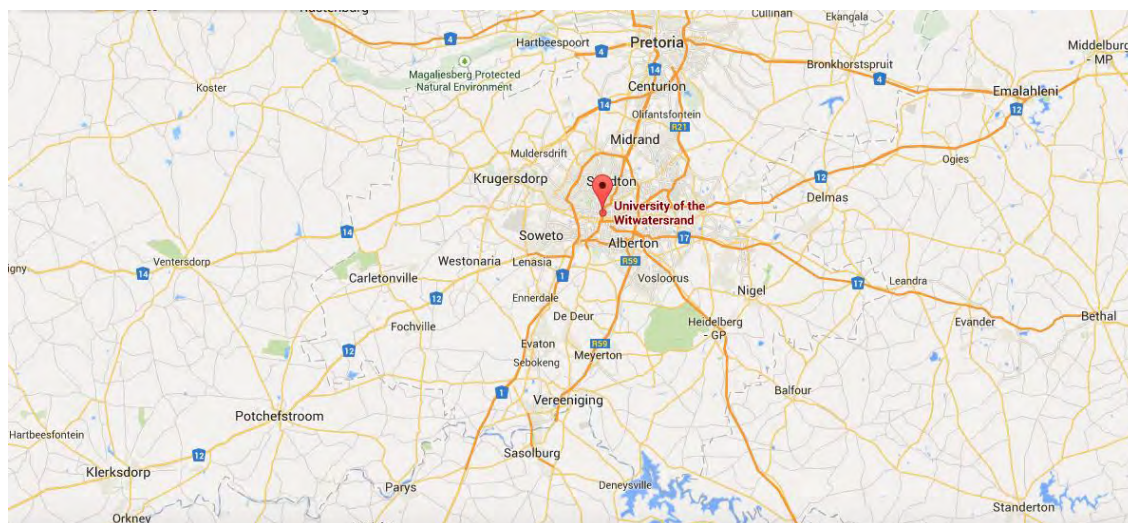


Figure 1: Location of Wits University campus (Google Maps, 2015)

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	7,2%
English	19,8%
IsiNdebele	2,9%
IsiXhosa	6,7%
IsiZulu	23,1%
Sepedi	7,2%
Sesotho	9,5%
Setswana	7,6%
Sign Language	0,4%
SiSwati	0,8%
Tshivenda	3,2%
Xitsonga	6,5%
Other	3,8%
Not Applicable	1,5%

Figure 2: Johannesburg language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

The policy document then reasons that African language development programmes at the university would need to focus on isiZulu and Sesotho since these are the most widely spoken African languages in the region. The policy then backtracks somewhat, stating that limited financial resources would require isiZulu to be excluded and the motivation for its elimination being that the University of KwaZulu-Natal is “more suited to the development of isiZulu” (2003: 1).

5.1.2 Rationale for multilingualism

Wits’ language policy rationalises the case for multilingualism based on South Africa’s language policy of 1926, which it argues, “ensured that all educated South Africans are at least bilingual” (Wits; 2003: 2).⁷ Citing the racial and cultural divide in South Africa, Wits’ policy seeks to encourage all graduates to be able to communicate in another language. This would ensure that in addition to the official status African languages enjoy in South Africa, they

⁷ This is not an official South African language policy. In fact, Kamwangamalu (2001) states that “it was the change over from Dutch to Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in school and colleges... in 1925” (388) which changed South Africa’s language policy. South African language policy had been dual medium since the form of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (2001).

would be given social status, which the policy document, and most research, shows they do not have (2003).

The policy states that, “no language should be excluded from the university campus as the university seeks to support the progressive elimination of the language barriers to participation in the educational, cultural, social and economic life of the institution” (2003: 2). According to the policy document, the institution acknowledges that language is a barrier to learning, with many not completing schooling “partly because they are taught and assessed through the medium of English or Afrikaans and have no access to concepts in a language that they understand” (2003: 4).

The policy document refers to the multilingual nature of the Wits campus⁸, and therefore it makes it a university undertaking to assist all foreign language speakers, not only South Africans who speak African languages. French is seen as a focus for the university, as it is an official language of the African Union but the policy resorts to advising bilingual medium of instruction in English and Sesotho in the long term.

Wits, in its policy document, says it will support multilingualism by allowing the use of all of South Africa’s official languages for interaction on its campus (2003: 2). It also states that it will ensure the translation of key documents into the official languages of the province, “such as contracts, rules, application and registration forms” (2003: 2). When it comes to internal matters, such as disciplinary hearings, the university states it will provide interpreting services where necessary (2003: 2). Wits’ support of multilingualism sees it including the use of multicultural and multilingual practices at graduations, inaugurations, or other such ceremonial gatherings (2003: 2).

5.1.3 Languages of instruction

The policy states that English was, and is, the language of instruction at Wits, and remains the only available medium until the university can use it with Sesotho. Until such time, all staff, that is academic, administrative and support, and students will receive support in “acquiring

⁸ Acknowledging that there are (as of 2003) 76 languages spoken on campus.

the level of English competence they need to succeed in their studies and the world of work” (Wits; 2003: 1).

The policy document refers to university-conducted research⁹ which established that apart from English, a variety of other languages are used in educational contexts on the campus, specifically in tutorials and practicals. The research also ascertained that support and administrative staff use English and other African languages when communicating with students and in so-called ‘social contexts’ (2003: 2). The policy notes the university’s support of these multilingual practices, and its intention to encourage them to continue.

5.1.3.1 Rationale for English as medium of instruction

Wits sees itself as a centre of excellence, and would like to have the reputation of producing graduates with a “full command of the English language” (2003: 3). The university regards English as having prestige in the economic and academic world, as the policy states, “English language skills are essential for a successful career in South Africa and internationally” (2003: 3). The university itself is concerned that their graduates do not have the capacity to fully communicate in the English language, and research conducted by the university indicates that there is “overwhelming support by all students for improving their English language skills so that they attain a mastery of oral and written competence” (2003: 3-4).

5.1.3.2 Rationale for developing Sesotho at the university

Sesotho’s place as the African language at Wits is rationalised accordingly. As the university does not have the resources to offer all 9 African languages an equal platform for academic development, it can only develop one sufficiently (2003: 3). Sesotho was chosen strategically for various reasons. The university researched which languages would be most welcome as the language of instruction at the institution. It compared the Nguni language family with the Sotho language family, and the languages that fall under those families respectively. Although the Nguni languages received higher support (64.6%), with support for isiZulu being the highest at 49.7%, the university found that isiZulu is “the dominant African language in the

⁹ When I asked for the Appendices of their Language Policy, there was no record of them from the Wits Registrar. I therefore cannot provide the reference for this.

country and needs to be promoted less than the other languages” (2003: 3). The next most popular non-Nguni language was Sesotho, with 28.7% support amongst those asked. Sesotho, the policy states, “is the home language of 11.3%¹⁰ of the student population with 32.1% speaking a language from the Sotho language family” (2003: 3). With the universities of the Free State and Lesotho both geographically close to Wits, the university is not only a middle man for “inter-institutional cooperation” (2003: 3) between the universities, but is also “uniquely placed to ensure that urban forms of the language are taken into consideration when the language is further developed” (2003: 3).

5.1.4 Academic development

Wits states that Sesotho is used in a limited number of domains, as is the case with most other historically disadvantaged languages (2003: 4). The policy nevertheless stresses that it is imperative to address the lack of academic development of Sesotho, saying, “it is important that the under-development and marginalisation of African languages is redressed” (2003: 4). It adds that, “the University should be a centre for the development of at least one African language” (2003: 4). Thus, students and staff must be able to communicate effectively in Sesotho, as the chosen African language of the university.

5.1.5 Student and staff development

Wits intends to develop the linguistic abilities of both staff and students, in English and an African language. With regards to English, all academic staff must have ‘full competence’ in English by the end of their probation period (2003: 2). All students also have to have ‘full competence’ in English, both written and spoken, “by the end of the first degree by providing the necessary support for academic literacy in English within the disciplines and in credit-bearing courses in English language and literacy” (2003: 2). Foreign staff and students must have competence in English too, with the university providing courses in English as a foreign language to staff, and requiring students to complete non-credit-bearing courses in English as a foreign language, “appropriate to their level of study” (2003: 2).

¹⁰ As opposed to isiZulu speakers being 11.1% of the student population.

According to the policy document the university commits itself to providing the necessary Sesotho and isiZulu courses for academic, administrative and support staff, and before 2011, it committed itself to funding such courses, with no reference made to after 2011 (2003: 2). The policy claims that the university would also pay for staff who would like to take a course in another African language, but adds the caveat that these need to be “approved in terms of the skills development levy” (2003: 2).

For students, the approach is radically different: those who are not competent in speaking an African language are required to “complete two credit-bearing modules in basic communicative competence in Sesotho or isiZulu” (2003: 2), with the modules being a requirement from 2011. According to the policy students were also to be provided with a major, which they could study in either Sesotho or isiZulu, using the newly researched materials developed at Wits (2003: 2).

5.1.6 Implementation

The development of Wits’ language policy is divided into 4 phases. Phase 1 focuses on “developing the materials and resources needed for the teaching of Sesotho as a subject at all levels of education” (2003: 1). Phase 2 focuses on developing Wits’ students’ and staffs’ linguistic abilities. The policy document states that, “Staff and students who do not speak any African language will be required to become communicatively competent in Sesotho” (2003: 1). Those staff and students who speak African languages or foreign languages will have courses provided for them, in order for their competence in English to improve. Students who are bilingual in English and an African language “will be required to study another language of their choice” (2003: 1). Phase 3 of the policy is dedicated to the university developing the Sesotho language to be used as a language of instruction for Higher Education (2003: 1). Once it has been developed, states the policy, the university will initiate Phase 4, whereby staff and students will be prepared “for the introduction of English and Sesotho as a bilingual medium of instruction. Students and staff should be able to switch between these languages” (2003: 1).

5.1.7 Implementation responsibilities

No specific bodies, departments or schools are given the responsibility of implementing and monitoring the objectives set out in the document.

5.2 University of Cape Town

5.2.1 Introduction to the University of Cape Town's language policy

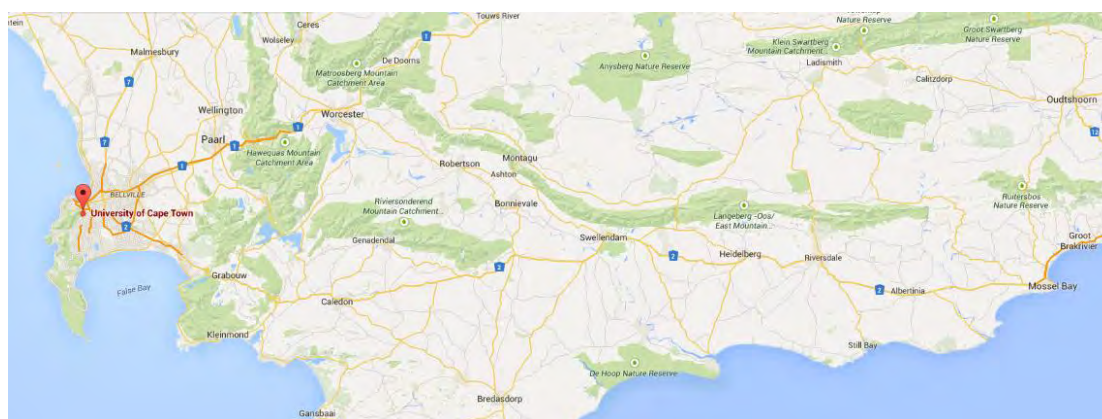


Figure 3: Location of UCT campus (Google Maps, 2015)

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	34,9%
English	27,8%
IsiNdebele	0,3%
IsiXhosa	29,2%
IsiZulu	0,5%
Sepedi	0,2%
Sesotho	1%
Setswana	0,4%
Sign Language	0,4%
SiSwati	0,1%
Tshivenda	0,1%
Xitsonga	0,2%
Other	2,8%
Not Applicable	2,1%

Figure 4: City of Cape Town language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

The University of Cape Town (UCT), a historically English-medium university, is located in the City of Cape Town in the Western Cape (see Figure 1). The most spoken language in Cape

Town is Afrikaans (34.9%) followed by isiXhosa (29.2%) with English the third most spoken language (27.8%) (see Figure 4). The university began developing its Language Policy in 1999, with revisions taking place in 2003. The Centre for Higher Education Development (CHED), in its document *“Towards a Language Plan for the University of Cape Town: 2005-2010”* (2003) further details the purpose of the policy and examines the university’s understanding and promotion of multilingualism in its institutional practices, as well as how it enables all students’ access to English.

CHED’s language plan recognises that “linguistic diversity (be seen) as a resource, rather than a problem which resides in individuals” (2003: 1) and notes that UCT has a very diverse linguistic population, with “65% of the overall UCT student population declar(ing) English as their first language” (2003: 2). The other 35% have home languages which vary, but Afrikaans and isiXhosa are the two more widely spoken. The plan states that the university wishes to promote multilingualism across the board, but admits that with its limited resources, its aims must be confined to promoting the three languages in the region of the Western Cape, and more specifically, “to increasing the contexts in which isiXhosa is used” (2003: 2).

5.2.2 Rationale for multilingualism

The 2003 revision of the language policy was aimed at preparing “students to participate fully in a multi-lingual society, where multi-lingual proficiency and awareness are essential” (University of Cape Town; 1999 (revised 2003): 1). The policy document is unequivocal about the language of teaching and learning at the university, stating, “English is the medium of instruction at UCT” (1999 (revised 2003): 1) and elaborates on its importance thus:

“English is the medium of instruction and administration. English is an international language of communication in science and business, but it is not the primary language for many of our students and staff. A major objective is, therefore, to ensure that our students acquire effective literacy in English, by which we understand the ability to communicate through the spoken and written word in a variety of contexts: academic, social, and in their future careers” (1999 (revised 2003): 1).

According to the language plan, it seems as though UCT believes that nation-building and transformation are not possible without all citizens learning a second language, and without a positive attitude towards multilingualism. UCT sees that without taking into account the multilingual environment in which we live, it is not possible to achieve the university's mission, that of being "an outstanding teaching and research university, educating for life and addressing the challenges facing our society" (2003: 8). In this regard the plan refers to the university's mission statement, which claims that students need to be equipped with "'life-long skills' for the workplace in a democratic South Africa" (2003: 8). These skills involve the learning of at least one African language, which the university says will become a requirement in some professions (2003). A lack of cultural awareness and the inability to converse in regional languages is a concern to the university, especially for those who are monolingual English speakers.

The plan states that the university acknowledges apparent perceptions by its staff that there is a resistance to the learning of an African language by students. However, it dismisses these claims, with the proposals of a multilingual university receiving the "full support from the Student Faculty Councils and the SRC" (2003: 8). It states that where isiXhosa and Afrikaans are compulsory languages, such as in the Health Sciences, the evaluations completed by students have been very positive, with the only complaint being the workload. The language training that the students receive, states the university, "includes direct contact in small groups (...) and self-access multimedia materials" (2003: 8). The plan refers to interest by other faculties in including the learning of an African language in the curriculum, and cites Law, Education and Social Work programmes as "ready to pursue this route and to make the necessary curriculum space available" (2003: 8). The language plan shows its general support saying, "We hope that Humanities, Science and Commerce will give consideration as to how to introduce multilingualism and multilingual awareness onto the curricula of students in general degrees" (2003: 8).

The plan views the community aspect of the university being critical, acknowledging the fact that students realise the value of multilingualism. Financial and curricula constraints, however, continue to militate against wide-spread multilingual development on campus. Although isiXhosa is the dominant African language of the Western Cape, the plan nevertheless suggests that the university could provide the necessary courses to make

students proficient in isiXhosa, even if they have not been educated in isiXhosa in school. The plan recognises that actual multilingualism in all of South Africa's African languages would require cooperation between universities in the country:

“As other universities in South Africa develop courses in other languages, the University will offer them. However, IsiXhosa, as part of the Nguni language family, can be understandable to other Nguni-family language speakers. The University suggests that “although there are important differences between the languages, Zulu, Swati, isiXhosa and Ndebele are all mutually intelligible, have the same structural bases and together make up 51% of speakers of African languages in this country” (2003: 9).

5.2.3 Languages of instruction

5.2.3.1 Rationale for English

The document states that the medium of instruction is English, as it is the international language of business and science (UCT Language Policy Document; 2003: 1). The university has also found that “65% of the UCT student population declared English as their home language” (2003:2). With the race profile being (in 2011) 36% white (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2013: 5) this would suggest that English is the first language of students whose grandparents might not have been first-language English speakers.

5.2.3.2 Rationale for Afrikaans/ isiXhosa

As English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa are the three most spoken languages in the Western Cape, it makes sense, according to the document, “to allocate resources towards the promotion of UCT staff and student proficiency in the three languages of the region (2003: 2). First-language speakers of these three languages make up 81% of the student body (2003:2). Although English is the common tongue throughout the university, it acknowledges that for many students English is a second or foreign language, the university's research showing, “In several programmes/ degrees, the discrepancy in throughput rate between English first-language and second language students is currently over 20%” (2003: 2).

CHED refers to research¹¹ which demonstrates that language and the ability to learn are closely linked, and as such the proficiency in one's home language must be focused on. To become efficient in English, second-language speakers must first be proficient in their home language, when the first language is acknowledged/accorded status in the immediate environment" (2003: 2).

5.2.4 Academic development

The language plan refers to the Academic Development Programme, which, through the Language Development Group¹², has introduced innovations to create materials in students' home languages (2003: 5). Most of the innovations are to provide a 'scaffold' in which the students can gain an understanding as to how to communicate in English, as well as making the students feel empowered. One of the points that is highlighted is the development of multilingual textbooks, as well as "allowing students to write in their home languages" (2003: 5).¹³

The language plan "envisages the development of multi-media, self-access multilingual materials for key first-year courses with the help of Educational Technology staff and African Language specialists" (2003: 5). The University of Stellenbosch and UCT have indicated a willingness to work together to develop a number of concept dictionaries in various departments, specifically focusing on Afrikaans and isiXhosa (2003: 5).

¹¹ In CHED's 2nd Appendix, they give an analysis of academic language proficiency, utilising the work of Cummins (1996) and other theorists (UCT Language Plan, 2003: 13).

¹² The Language Development Group is located in CHED, and is an inter-faculty unit in the Academic Development Programme. It has been in existence since the 1980s, focusing on "the role of English in academic literacy in a multilingual society. We promote and facilitate access to higher education within an ethos of social justice and national redress" (Language Development Group: 2014).

¹³ Although only as scaffolding to develop their English language skills.

5.2.5 Student and staff development

Due to UCT's language policy claiming that English is the sole medium of instruction at the university, it sees the development of students' and staff's English as being a priority. The policy states that it, and by extension its Faculties, is committed to "explicit teaching of the literacy and (English) language skills of the disciplines to all students, a complex task because UCT draws students from diverse language and schooling backgrounds" (2003: 3). UCT therefore draws on a student's education and home environment to understand the level of his/her English proficiency, as well as his/her proficiency in other African languages, in order to create programmes for different groups of students. The policy document goes into detail about the literacy needs of students "who are home language speakers of South African or foreign languages" (2003: 3).

The plan breaks down non-first language English speaking students into the following categories: English second-language speakers from English medium schools; students who have studied English as a second language; and students for whom English is a foreign language (2003). Those students coming from English medium schools are seen to have an advantage, with most having relative proficiency in English. However, research shows that although these students from former 'Model-C' schools can communicate effectively in English, they often struggle to grasp abstract concepts in their respective faculties (2003: 4). The plan sees the most appropriate method to assist these students is to initiate academic literacy courses in English, "which focus on the literacy requirements and discourse conventions of their discipline" (2003: 4). These 'interventions' are already in place in many faculties in one form or another, through tutorials and consultations with the Writing Centre.¹⁴ However, UCT acknowledges that these methods are more peripheral than it would like, with many tasks to assist in student development relegated to Academic Development staff or part-time tutors, and not receiving the investment from departments that is necessary for academic development (2003: 4). The plan lists training and development; integrating academic literacy into lectures; and ensuring skill reinforcement in different disciplines as necessary for various departments to lead, not just academic development staff (2003: 4).

¹⁴ In my experience as a tutor, a number of students to whom I recommended consultations with the Writing Centre saw this as an insult, rather than a practical or helpful intervention in their academic development.

UCT regards, through research conducted by Kapp (1998) and Bangeni (2001), those students who have studied English as a second language as being “well-disposed towards English as a medium of instruction in the institution” (2003: 4). However, because of their lack of academic proficiency, the university believes that it would be useful if these students could “access some materials through the medium of their home languages at entry level” (2003: 4). This would not only increase access to academic knowledge, but also serve as affirmation of their languages and cultures. The university would make this possible through the development of “multi-media, self-access multilingual materials for key first-year courses with the help of the Educational Technology staff and African language specialists” (2003: 5). Most of the process would be confined to Afrikaans and isiXhosa concept dictionaries. The language plan refers to UCT’s commitment to multilingualism through the use of peer tutoring where senior students are able to assist first-years in their home languages, thus creating a safe environment for knowledge transfer.

The plan acknowledges the fact that very few staff members are proficient in isiXhosa, and as such they understand the need to employ more staff who are speakers of African languages, and encourage those who are already employed “to acquire at least a working knowledge of an African language” (2003: 9). The university suggests self-access and multimedia materials can be used to achieve this. UCT also states that it is important to train staff to make use of multilingualism to assist their teaching. Administrative staff, the policy plan suggests, should also acquire conversational skills in isiXhosa (CHED’s Multimedia Education Project [MEP] is responsible for the Masithethe isiXhosa (Xhosa Communication) course for staff and students).

The plan also recognises that there are those in the administrative staff who are isiXhosa speakers with an oral proficiency in English, but not a written proficiency, a factor that can prevent them from ascending the administrative ladder (2003). Thus, where appropriate, the university will “facilitate courses and/or mentorship in written English proficiency for those who are African language speakers” (2003: 10).

5.2.6 Implementation

To facilitate the proposed plan to develop African languages, the university seeks to develop multilingual proficiency and awareness over the next six years (2003-2010). It recommends:

- “Programme/ degree committees give consideration to the introduction of a relevant Southern African language requirement (as a credit-bearing course). In some faculties this may take the form of a workplace-orientated, communicative course (as has been the case in Health Sciences).
- Academic and administrative staff be provided with appropriate language learning opportunities and training in ESL teaching and multilingual awareness.
- Human Resources give consideration to the notion that staff efforts to learn another South African language or to undergo training in ESL teaching be recognised for purposes of performance appraisal.
- Student Development and Services and the Residences sector be asked to develop appropriate informal opportunities for the promotion of multilingualism and for English first language speakers to hear and speak other South African languages with their peers.
- UCT promotes multilingualism in the environment by, for example, creating signage in public spaces in the three official languages of the province; producing some documentation in English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans and acknowledging and celebrating our multilingualism at official gatherings” (2003: 11).

UCT’s proposal for the improvement of academic literacy for second-language English speakers is as follows:

“We propose that the Faculties (in association with the Language Development Group in CHED, the School of Languages and Literatures and other appropriate structures) review their provision of language support, with a view to expansion. To facilitate this process, we recommend that, staged over a period of about six years:

- Degree/programme committees give thought to how to strengthen and expand their current provision of language and literacy support through adjunct tutorials and/or writing tasks, particularly at senior levels.

- Departments be encouraged to develop self-access, contextualised multilingual concept dictionaries in their first-year courses with the help of African Language specialists and Educational Technology staff in CHED” (2003: 7).

5.2.7 Implementation responsibilities and governance

The 2003 paper recommends that a Senate committee, chaired by an executive member, be responsible for the implementation and monitoring of multilingualism. The committee would be expected to work with the budgeting and planning process, and with the development office (2003: 11). The University also recommends the various projects to be located in one physical location, but drawing on different faculties’ expertise (2003: 11).

5.3 Rhodes University

5.3.1 Introduction to Rhodes University’s Language Policy



Figure 5: Location of Rhodes University campus (Google Maps, 2015)

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	13,8%
English	9,7%
IsiNdebele	0,2%
IsiXhosa	66,5%
IsiZulu	0,4%
Sepedi	0,2%
Sesotho	0,3%
Setswana	0,2%
Sign Language	0,6%
SiSwati	0%
Tshivenda	0%
Xitsonga	0,1%
Other	0,8%
Not Applicable	6,9%

Figure 6: Grahamstown language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

Rhodes University, is a historically English-medium university situated in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape (see Figure 5) where the dominant language is isiXhosa (see Figure 6). It approved its Language Policy in 2001, with revisions made in 2003, 2005, and most recently 2014. The document, in its preamble, states that the policy is based on “a campus-wide survey and the recommendations of the Language Committee in 2013” (2014: 1). The policy declares itself to be the university’s guide on how to develop and promote respect for all languages used by South Africans, particularly those languages within Grahamstown and its surroundings (2014). The Policy understands South Africa’s multilingualism positively, stating that, “language has the potential to contribute to transformation in various ways” (2014: 3). Therefore, this policy document aims to assist the university in investigating ways to ensure Rhodes reflects South Africa’s multilingual diversity, “through dynamic, collaborative partnerships and approaches to language use and the awareness of language issues in higher education” (2014: 3,4). The policy promotes multilingualism, but supports English as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT), which it acknowledges is a paradox that has to be managed carefully and considerately (2014: 2). The policy is committed to the “intellectualisation of African languages and creating the condition for the use of particularly isiXhosa as a language of learning and eventually also teaching” (2014: 4). Consistent with its

revisions up to now, it sees itself as a dynamic document which responds to the needs of the university.

5.3.2 Rationale for multilingualism

The university's rationale for multilingualism has many different components, as listed in their Policy Declaration which holds that it will ensure all official languages enjoy equal appreciation, and as such commits itself to developing and promoting all of the languages of the country. The university sees language as a barrier to equality, and one which excludes many South Africans from exercising their rights or from becoming successful. The policy commits the university to ensuring that it does not further the continuation of that obstacle that so many face and seeks to redress past inequalities by creating a "supportive, inclusive and non-discriminatory environment in which all members of the university can feel they belong" (2014: 4). Finally, the university seeks to redress the past marginalisation of African languages (2014).

5.3.3 Languages of instruction

5.3.3.1 Rationale for English

According to the policy, the LoLT and assessment will be English (2014: 5). The document does not go into further detail regarding English's use at the university, except to say that due to, "historical conditions and contemporary realities" (2014: 3) English will remain the LoLT as well as the language in which the university conducts its business, and the official language of record.

5.3.3.2 Rationale for isiXhosa/Afrikaans

The policy states that the university is committed to creating the conditions for the use of isiXhosa as a LoLT in the future, as well as the intellectualisation of African languages in general. As mentioned above, one of the reasons they give for this is the historical marginalisation of African languages in South Africa. The 2014 policy document does not

explicitly go into further detail as to how the intellectualisation of isiXhosa will be achieved, unlike the policy document of 2005, which stated that the university also maintains that isiXhosa is a useful medium of communication for all academic and support staff, as it is one of the Eastern Cape's dominant languages (Rhodes University Language Policy, 2005).

With regard to Afrikaans, the current policy document does not go into much detail other than suggesting that "selected signage on campus will be trilingual in English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa" (2014: 3). The previous policy of 2005 stated that the university's continued use of Afrikaans is largely due to the use of Afrikaans within the Eastern Cape. The policy does not problematise the political implications of the continued use of Afrikaans at the university, nor does it specify how it is to be used, and does not provide data on different student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, this language.

5.3.4 Academic development

One of the major goals of the university as articulated in the policy document is to promote the intellectualisation of African languages. The university "strive(s) to maintain academic programmes in various South African languages, specifically English and isiXhosa" (2014: 5). It also seeks to promote isiXhosa as a medium of communication between students and staff (2014: 5). At the same time, Rhodes requests its academic departments to improve students' academic literacy, due to its LoLT being English, and it not being feasible to fully commit itself to making isiXhosa a LoLT. It is, however, committed to developing new strategies, as well as maintaining old ones, to improve academic literacy (2014: 5). These include allocating first-year students to tutors who can assist those who need bilingual support, training tutors to facilitate the use of multiple languages in their "tutorials and other peer learning sessions" (2014: 5), increasing access to multiple appropriate dictionaries in the library, and where appropriate, providing "access to a wider range of dictionaries in examinations" (2014: 5).

The policy document states that academic Faculties, Schools and Departments will evaluate and monitor the appropriateness of the curricula and teaching-learning methods for those students whose first language is not English, recognising and understanding the extent to which they use English as a LoLT (2014: 7). The policy states that the use of African languages as resources of learning must be investigated by these parties, "(They must) explore ways in

which African languages can be used as resources in meaning-making in relation to disciplinary knowledge, for example through compiling multilingual glossaries” (2014: 7). Academic writing and examination of theses in languages other than English will be allowed and facilitated by these parties, “where appropriate and practical” (2014: 7).

According to the policy document, the Centre for Higher Education, Research, Teaching and Learning (CHERTL) has two roles when it comes to academic development, and which are both related to student and staff development. The Centre is tasked with offering support to staff in developing curricula, constructing personal teaching portfolios and identifying valid and reliable assessment strategies, “so as to ensure that literacy development is facilitated and that the assessment of language use is valid and appropriately weighted” (2014: 7). The promotion and support of new initiatives which support the development of academic literacy, as well as new materials to assist, must also be promoted and supported by the Centre (2014: 7).

5.3.5 Student and staff development

CHERTL is responsible for student and staff development which includes sensitising them as to the use of language in academic and everyday usage (2014: 6). Within this broad responsibility, the document states that CHERTL must educate staff and students “about the need to counteract possible sexism or racism employed in materials” (2014: 6). The Centre must also support programmes which encourage “interlingual contact, where appropriate” (2014: 6). The Centre already has such a programme in place, the Trojan Academic Initiative, a mentoring programme for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.¹⁵

Although the policy document does not explicitly refer to the attracting students whose first language is not English, the fact that it refers to alternatives to the National Benchmark Tests (where proficiency in English is assessed) suggests that the university understands that not having English as a first language is a serious barrier to gaining university acceptance. The policy refers to placing students in “appropriate academic programmes” (2014:6) and

¹⁵ The Trojan Academic Initiative (TAI) forms part of the Rhodes University Extended Studies programme which provides additional lectures, tutoring and support to these students, as well as an additional year of tuition to support them to succeed at tertiary level (Rhodes University, 2015).

ensuring that educators understand the complexities of language in education. The policy again tasks CHERTL with raising awareness of new teaching methods that “support students who speak different languages” (2014:6). The university requires the Centre to strategise other methods to attract potential students through alternatives to the National Benchmark Tests, and make it possible for those students to succeed with the academic potential they already have (2014). This includes placing the students in “appropriate academic programmes within the institution” (2014: 6). The Centre must also ensure new and old educators understand the complexity of language in education. Through the Post Graduate Diploma in Higher Education (PGDip (HE)) and the Assessor’s Course, CHERTL staff will be required to raise awareness of new methods of teaching “which support students who speak different languages” (2014: 6).

The policy document requires the HR division to enroll staff and students who are not first-language isiXhosa speakers in “short communicative courses in isiXhosa offered by the African Languages Studies Section of the School of Languages” (2014: 6).

5.3.6 Implementation

Rhodes does not set a timeline for itself regarding the implementation of its strategy. It regards the concepts noted above, that of academic development and student and staff development, as being part of its implementation strategy. The policy makes provision for an annual survey (to be conducted by the Registrar’s Division, Data management and the Rhodes University Language Committee) to provide necessary statistical data on the linguistic demography of the university’s student population (2014: 7).

The policy requires that infrastructure within the university campus should be replaced with appropriate multilingual signage, which should be overseen by the Infrastructure, Operations and Finance Division, RULC and Naming Committee (2014: 6). The Registrar’s Division, and the Communications and Marketing Division, must ensure that university branding as well as correspondence to potential and current students, staff and the general public is “available on request in at least two of the major provincial languages” (2014: 6). They are also requested, together with the Infrastructure and Operations and Finance Division, to “annotate key

documents (e.g. applications forms, bursary forms etc.) by providing addenda with explanatory notes in isiXhosa or Afrikaans” (2014: 7).

The Student Representative Council and the Communications and Marketing Division are requested to make use of interpreters and translators, where necessary and feasible, to verbalise certain policies or issues in the university. They must also investigate the use of isiXhosa and Afrikaans on the Rhodes website, newspaper, radio and other media to communicate to the student and staff body (2014: 6).

The policy stipulates that the Human Resources Division will, where appropriate, practice policies and strategies for staff employment, which guarantee that successful applicants have sufficient multilingual abilities, especially in the areas of “counseling and support” (2014: 6). To ensure this they must recommend that applicants for vacancies should be competent in more than one language (2014: 7). They are also required to identify where interpreters are needed in selection committees, and engage with unions “regarding the translations of selected policies” (2014: 6).

5.3.7 Implementation responsibilities and governance

The Rhodes University Language Committee (RULC) is the monitoring and reviewing body of the university tasked with ensuring that the implementation of the Language Policy is followed (2014: 5). It is also responsible for reviewing the policies and practices of the university, through surveys of the “Faculties, Academic Departments, School Centres, Institutes, Unites and Administration Divisions” (2014: 5). The policy envisages that these reviews will include discussion throughout the university on policies and practices regarding language. The RULC will “collate findings and recommendations and submit these to the Equity and Institutional Culture Committee, Senate and Council for consideration” (2014: 5).

5.4 North-West University

5.4.1 Introduction to North-West University's language policy

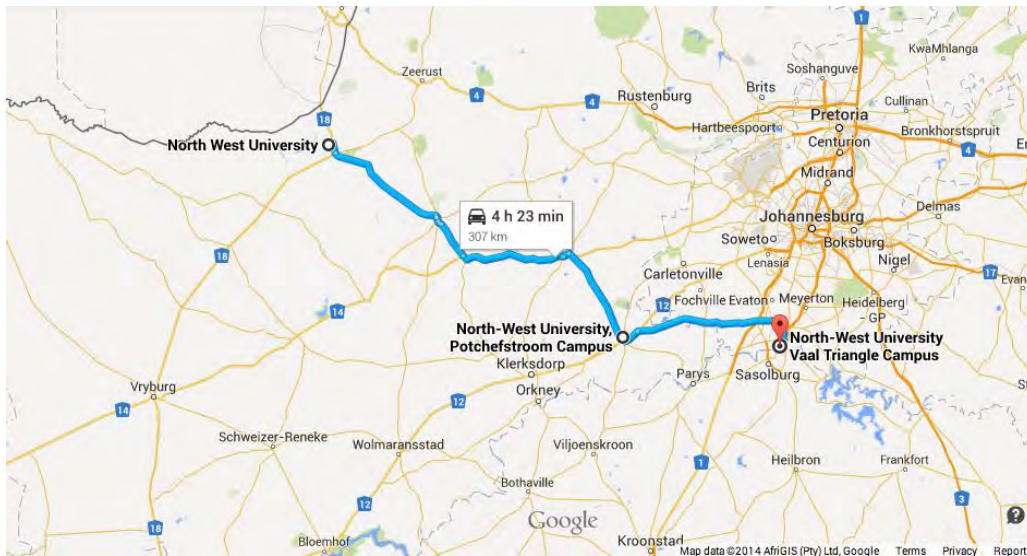


Figure 7: Location of NWU's three campuses (Google Maps, 2015)

The North-West University is an amalgamation of the former Potchefstroom University, the University of the North-West and, more recently, the Sebokeng Campus of the Vista University (see Figure 7). Being that the university is situated in three different areas, one has to take into account the variety of students they are catering for in each. With the Potchefstroom and Mafikeng campuses being in the North-West Province, and the Vaal Triangle campus being in Gauteng, the university had to take into account Setswana and Sesotho as provincial languages respectively.

According to the 2011 Census Mafikeng's population is predominantly Setswana speaking (see Figure 8), with 76.9% (Statistics SA Census, 2011) of people in the area being first-language speakers of that language. English is the second most spoken language at 4.5% of the population, while the other language of the University, Afrikaans, is spoken by 3.1% of the population. However, the 3rd most spoken language is isiXhosa, which is not provided for in the Mafikeng Campus' language policy.

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	3,1%
English	4,5%
IsiNdebele	1%
IsiXhosa	3,8%
IsiZulu	1,8%
Sepedi	0,5%
Sesotho	3,4%
Setswana	76,9%
Sign Language	0,4%
SiSwati	0,1%
Tshivenda	0,1%
Xitsonga	0,3%
Other	2,1%
Not Applicable	1,8%

Figure 8: Mafikeng language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	27,1%
English	4,5%
IsiNdebele	0,8%
IsiXhosa	9,5%
IsiZulu	1,9%
Sepedi	0,6%
Sesotho	11,7%
Setswana	40%
Sign Language	0,4%
SiSwati	0,2%
Tshivenda	0,2%
Xitsonga	0,6%
Other	1,2%
Not Applicable	1,4%

Figure 9: Potchefstroom language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

The Potchefstroom campus was predominantly Afrikaans speaking before the integration of the different universities, but the area is predominantly Setswana speaking with 40% (Stats SA: 2011) of the population speaking that language as a first language (see Figure 9). Afrikaans is the second most spoken language, with 27.1% of the population using it as a first language, and English is spoken by 4.5% of the population (Stats SA: 2011). English is not even the third most spoken language: Sesotho, at 11,7%, and isiXhosa, at 9,5%, are spoken in more homes

than English, yet they are not regarded as “regional languages” in NWU’s language policy (NWU, 2014: 1).

The Vaal Triangle Campus, which is located in the Emfuleni Municipality in Gauteng, specifically focuses on Sesotho as a working language (2014: 1). The municipality does indeed have a high proportion of Sesotho first-language speakers (52%) (see Figure 10). The third most spoken language is Afrikaans, another of the campus’ languages. IsiZulu and isiXhosa come in second and fourth respectively, with 13% and 7,8% of the population speaking these languages at home. However, English is spoken by only 4,4% of the population as a home language, but is placed higher than both isiZulu and isiXhosa, due to its official status at the university.

Language	Percentage
Afrikaans	12,4%
English	4,4%
IsiNdebele	0,5%
IsiXhosa	7,8%
IsiZulu	13%
Sepedi	1,6%
Sesotho	52%
Setswana	2,5%
Sign Language	1,1%
SiSwati	0,4%
Tshivenda	0,5%
Xitsonga	1,3%
Other	1,6%
Not Applicable	1,1%

Figure 10: Vaal Triangle language statistics (Statistics SA Census, 2011)

NWU introduced a language planning task team in 2004, “shortly after the formal restructuring of the NWU” (Verhoef and Venter, 2008: 379, 382).). The brief of the team was to develop an overarching language policy, “which, on the one hand, would take account of legislative and statutory stipulations regarding language planning for higher education purposes, and, on the other, would take cognisance of the vision and mission of the North-West University” (2008: 382). NWU adopted this language plan on 23 November 2012 “to pursue, accommodate and provide a fair and functionally multilingual language environment

across all business units at the University” (Language Policy of the North-West University, 2014: 1).

NWU’s policy seeks to provide and implement a language policy and plan that is functional and flexible; redresses previously disadvantaged languages; endorses multilingualism; and promotes “access, integration and a sense of belonging” (2014: 1).

5.4.2 Rationale for multilingualism

The strategy of NWU, that of implementing a functionally multilingual language policy, is part of its vision to “rethink, reposition and review itself” (2014: 2), which is linked to the on-going institutional change that the university is undertaking. The university acknowledges the difficulties that are posed when providing for the language needs and expectations of a multilingual society and university (2014: 2). Therefore, the approach they have taken provides sufficient space for different strategies and models for the “implementation of functional multilingualism¹⁶ within such an overarching multilingual context” (2014: 2). The principle of functional multilingualism determines which languages are used by NWU as official and working languages.

NWU’s policy’s principles are two-fold: improving access to knowledge; and the creation an environment which is tolerant of different cultures. Both principles determine how the university implements multilingualism in its teaching, learning and social environments on campus. NWU uses the following parameters to guide the language policy for tuition which it deems are “accounted for in a flexible and accommodating way in the language plan for tuition” (2014: 3). These parameters are:

- i) “Language distribution and language needs at the respective campuses,
- ii) Different niche markets served by the modes of delivery and/or teaching programmes,
and
- iii) Infrastructural capacity at the NWU” (2014: 3).

¹⁶ The University defines Functional Multilingualism to be the “choice of a particular language in a particular situation... determined by the situation/context in which it is used” (2014: 2). The variables can be the purpose of communication and the level of proficiency in the language that is being used.

5.4.3 Languages of instruction

The policy document states that the regional languages of the campuses of the NWU, that is Afrikaans, Setswana, Sesotho and English, “are regarded as national assets” (2014: 1). Using the principle of functional multilingualism, English, Afrikaans and Setswana are the official languages of the NWU, and “Sesotho has working-language status for use at the Vaal Triangle Campus” (2014: 1). According to the NWU’s language policy principles, the NWU “continuously accounts for the language demography and language preferences of a particular campus within an environment where the language rights of all people are respected” (2014: 3).

5.4.4 Academic development

The Language Directorate is the primary body which oversees the development of language across the university. It actively researches the “desirability and attainability of the intellectualisation of multilingualism” (2014:5). It attempts to consolidate information closely involved in the national debate on the matter and it also collaborates with language policy experts at different campuses across South Africa (2014:5).

The policy document does not specify exactly how the university is intellectualising multilingualism. On a macro level, the Council’s decision in 2010 has acknowledged the area as important to develop, but has not given it any explicit direction, and argues that the concept “needs to be developed in an organised and organic manner” (2014: 5) but no specific details are provided as to how this goal is achieved. As for post-graduate degrees, the “language choice for research outputs remains with the individual researchers” (2014: 5).

With regard to the language of research outputs, the NWU acknowledges it is an internationally recognised university and encourages researchers “to publish their research results in language(s) accessible to scholarly peers” (2014: 4). However, the policy stipulates that the variables within the research, such as the purpose of the report, the assumed readership and their language proficiency are taken into account when choosing the language (2014: 4).

5.3.5 Student and staff development

The application of the policy in terms of student and staff development includes:

- “Teaching-Learning and assessment
- Administrative and working environment, and the linguistic landscape
- Organised student life and language support for work preparation
- Language acquisition, language improvement and quality of language usage” (2014: 3).

As such, student and staff development in a multilingual environment is critical in the policy document, and is one of the university’s goals. Functional multilingualism and its implementation will take place in a “systematic and goal-orientated way” (2014: 4), for the purposes of working, administration and the linguistic landscape (2014: 4). The policy claims that the NWU workplace and its languages of operation will be implemented from consultative processes, accounting for stakeholders’ language rights and dynamic structures to determine the languages of choice (2014: 2). The Language Directorate is largely responsible for the effective implementation of all student and staff development to create a multilingual operational environment at the University (NWU Addendum to Language Policy, 2012: 4).

Students’ linguistic diversity at the university is regarded as an asset, and one which contributes towards “the establishment of an inclusive and accommodating student environment” (2014: 5). The university takes its task of equipping and enabling students to develop their individual multilingual skills seriously, as this will enable them to enter into professional careers, among other benefits (2014: 5). To do this, the university will offer opportunities to assist students in honing and improving their professional language skills (2014: 5). The difference with this university to the others is the fact that it is made up of three campuses, as mentioned before, those of Mafikeng, Potchefstroom and Vaal Triangle.

The majority of students at the Mafikeng and Vaal Triangle campuses are proficient in English but these sites have also been designated as ready to expand the use of Setswana or Sesotho for teaching-learning purposes. The policy suggests that code-switching into Setswana/

Sesotho could be utilised to “assist in enhancing understanding provided that lecturers see to reverting back to English so as to not exclude students who are not proficient in Setswana” (2012: 2). The policy on the Vaal Triangle campus states that on occasions where staff do not have proficiency in the languages that are preferred by students, the following provisions can be made between lecturers and students:

- “An agreement, per module, between class and lecturer, on how language will be dealt with in the relevant module;
- Finding a workable way for marking and assessment in order to allow students to complete assessments in the language of their choice (English/Afrikaans)¹⁷.” (2012: 2).

The Potchefstroom campus mainly uses Afrikaans for teaching-learning as well as assessment. However, there are provisions for those who have “other language preferences and needs” (2012: 2) including study guides with both English and Afrikaans; being able to answer questions in either language; and student participation in either language (2012: 2). To enhance understanding in multilingualism (a notion which is not specified or elaborated upon), key concepts of multilingualism are included in first-year study guides in the official languages of the University. Educational Interpreting services are offered in English, Afrikaans and Setswana (2012: 2).

The policy does not go into much detail about staff development but states that they need to be proficient in the language that is necessary in certain contexts of communication and to be aware of the purpose of the communication and its intended audience (2014: 4). As mentioned previously, structures will be put in place to implement functional multilingualism “as optimally as possible in the NWU workplace” (2014: 4).

¹⁷ Note: No Sesotho.

5.4.6 Implementation and governance

The 2012 addendum to the language policy has suggested procedures for the implementation of the language policy. These include the teaching-learning assessment; working environment, administration and linguistic landscape; research and development; organised student life; and language acquisition, language improvement and quality of language usage.

Although the NWU Council and Senate may have a governance role with regards to the language policy and its implementation, Institutional Management “remains responsible for the resourcing, coordination, implantation of the policy across all business units of the University, and for its monitoring” (2014: 3).

The Institutional Language Directorate is the structure which enables the University to conduct language management in a “pragmatic, systematic and sustainable way” (2014: 3), and is responsible for the coordination of all matters relating to the policy (2014: 3). The Director of the Institutional Language Directorate is the language ombud, and collaborates at campus level to resolve any language related enquiries and issues (2012: 3).

In summary: the Institutional Language Directorate is responsible for the implementation of the NWU language plan and policies. Various other organisations and bodies within the university (e.g. the Research Office, Corporate Communications) feature but they are not tasked with sanctioning implementation. Detailed “mind-maps” graphically represent the processes involved in settling language problems and instituting language change at the university.

6. Summary of Policies

Table 1: Background to Policies

	Wits	UCT	NWU	Rhodes
Name of Document	Language Policy	Language Policy	Institutional Language Policy of the North-West University	Language Policy
Date of commencement/Revisions	2003	1999 Revised in 2003	2012 Revised in 2014	2001 Revised in 2003, 2005, 2014
Compiling Committee	Not specified	Not specified	The Ad Hoc Language Senate Task Team ¹⁸	Not specified
Consultation Process	With student body 2002. Appendix with relevant information missing from policy document	Consultations with relevant bodies, ¹⁹ organisations and institutions	Not specified	Campus-wide survey; recommendations of the Language Committee in 2013
Administration of the policy	Not specified	HODs and Senate Committee	Institutional Management; HODs and ILD	RULC; Academic Departments; CHERTL
Review Procedure	Phases (resource and linguistic skills development) to be reviewed. Last review date 2011	Not specified	Every 5 years	Every 3 years
Budget	Details not supplied	Details not supplied	Details not supplied	Details not supplied

¹⁸ The Task Team consisted of the following members from the Institutional Office and the Different Campuses: The Institutional Language Directorate: Mr Johan Blaauw, Prof. Marlene Verhoef; Mafikeng Campus: Ms Mokgadi Molohe, Ms Eileen Pooe, Dr Sammy Thekiso; Prof. Wannie Carstens, Dr Jako Olivier, Prof Rigardt Pretorius; Vaal Triangle Campus: Prof Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy, Mr Johannes Mahlasela, Prof. Thapelo Selepe.

¹⁹ The bodies included: Academic Planning; Human Resources, the Discrimination and Harassment Office; School of Languages and Literatures; English Department; PRAESA; CALLSSA; School of Education and Schools Development Unit; CHED (Professional Staff Development and Language Development Group); Health Sciences; Dean's Advisory Committee for Commerce, Engineering, Humanities, Law and Science; SRC; Western Cape Education Department; Rhodes University; University of the Western Cape; University of the Witwatersrand; Stellenbosch University.

Table 2: Content of Policies

	Wits	UCT	NWU	Rhodes
Medium of Instruction	English, Sesotho	English	English	English
Development of African languages for teaching	Yes - Sesotho	Some - to access academic concepts at entry level (2003: 4).	Not specified	Yes - isiXhosa
Use of African language intellectual material	Not mentioned	Not mentioned apart from training tutors to “use multilingualism as a resource” (2003: 5)	Not specified apart from intellectualisation of multilingualism.	Not mentioned apart from encouraging debate among staff and students about “bilingualism, multilingualism and the role of language in learning” (2014: 5)
Staff and student development in terms of African languages	Yes – beginner Sesotho and isiZulu courses for staff	Yes – beginner isiXhosa courses for staff Profession specific language courses	University has structures in place “within the academic and administrative and student environments” (2014: 5) to enhance multilingualism. “Frontline staff at all service points should be functionally multilingual’ (2014: 5).	Tutor training in linguistic sensitivity Support programmes to promote interlingual contact where appropriate Programmes for lecturers teaching students with different languages (2014: 6)
Staff and student development in terms of English language development	Provision of courses for all administrative and support staff “to acquire the English competence needed to perform their jobs” (2003: 2) Provide academic literacy to students, in English	Conduct writing centre consultations for staff and students in their first languages Support use of first language in class “as a scaffolding tool to clarify ideas and concepts (2003: 5) Students to write in their first language “as a scaffolding tool”, “where appropriate” (2003: 5)	“Language editing and translation services are offered by the (ILD)” (2014: 5)	“Promote and support academic literacy and proficiency in English...” (2014: 4) Allow for translation and interpretation in isiXhosa and Afrikaans “where necessary and feasible” (2014: 4) Encourage the creation of materials which support the development of academic literacy (2014: 7)
Mention of research and African languages	Research and development of Sesotho for:	Not specified	Researchers are asked to publish their research results in	Allows for writing and examination of theses in language other than English,

	Wits	UCT	NWU	Rhodes
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students and Staff • Primary and Secondary Education 		languages which their peers will find accessible	where appropriate and practical
Symbolic support of African languages	<p>Allowing use of all official language for interaction on campus Translation of key documents into official language of the province</p> <p>Interpretation services “where necessary e.g. disciplinary hearings” (2003: 2).</p> <p>“Multilingual and multicultural practices at ceremonial gatherings” (2003: 2)</p>	<p>Allowing use of all official language for interaction on campus, appropriate documentation and public gatherings/events (2003: 10)</p> <p>Create signage in Afrikaans and isiXhosa</p> <p>Develop “in-house translation capacity” (2003: 10)</p> <p>Introduce multilingual and multicultural awareness in publications as well as web-based multimedia</p> <p>At graduation ceremonies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Incorporate regional languages in the programme (including the welcoming address and songs sung) ○ Appoint orators to pronounce students’ names correctly ○ Sing the National Anthem 	Not specified	<p>Organisation of “awareness campaigns, colloquia, conferences and other activities” by the RULC (2014: 4) Promote debate about multilingualism and the role of language in teaching among students and staff (2014: 5)</p> <p>Replacement of signage on campus (2014: 6)</p> <p>Ensure the university’s branding and correspondence “is available on request in at least two of the major provincial languages” (2014: 6)</p> <p>Explore use of African languages on the Rhodes website and student media</p> <p>Annotate key documents, e.g. application and bursary forms, “by providing addenda with explanatory notes in isiXhosa and/or Afrikaans (2014: 7)</p>

7. Analysis of the four universities' language policies

7.1 Introduction

The equalising of South African society to create a transformed South Africa, was in part a liberal and a liberation democratic process (Hudson 2001). With regard to language in education, language activists (Desai, 2001; Heugh, 1999; Alexander, 2001) argue that this liberal and liberation democratic process cannot be left to ordinary people to interpret since they are seduced by the assumption that economic success is linked to gaining access to, and mastering, English (de Klerk, 1997; de Wet, 2002). African languages on the other hand are not considered equally capable of leading their speakers to new epistemological discoveries, insights and innovations and as such still suffer from a lack of capacity and resource development (Finlayson & Madiba, 2002).

Government and educationalists had to be made aware of these assumptions and to make provisions for the defence and use of African languages through transformed national syllabi, curriculum changes and the creation of language policies (Jansen, 2000: 43). Policies were also created for HEIs. HEIs now had to incorporate African languages into their language policies, and ensure that they were part of the transformation project, giving access to all who were not able to be a part of the tertiary education system in the past. It was through the instruction from government (Madiba, 2010: 1), which can, on some levels, be viewed as a challenge to institutional autonomy, that these language policies came into existence. This chapter examines the tensions and potential conflicts created by these policies, and includes issues of transformation, multilingualism and redress that have emerged from this analysis.

7.2 Multilingualism vs monolingualism as strategies for societal transformation

The language policies of the various universities place different emphases on multilingualism and how critical it is for transformation in South Africa. One tool which could be useful for the success of the transformation project is the reconsideration of how language is integrated (Banda, 2000: 57). Through the promotion of multilingualism, universities can assist in transforming society in their institutional microcosms.

I will now analyse how the four different institutions view the importance of creating a multilingual, multicultural environment for the transformation of South African society.

7.2.1 A multilingual framework

Post-conflict South Africa's multicultural ideal includes multilingualism in all its institutions, including HEIs. Rhodes University's language policy views language as being a barrier to equality although its policy document states that language also has, "the potential to contribute to transformation in various ways" (2014: 3). Rhodes seeks to address these past inequalities by creating a "supportive, inclusive and non-discriminatory environment in which all members of the University can feel they belong (2014: 4). Wits also views the development of multilingualism as a national objective and argues that it is, "... important for South Africa to maintain and develop all of its official languages" (2003: 1). NWU regards all languages as national assets, and "continuously accounts for the language demography and language preferences of a particular campus within an environment where the language rights of all people are respected" (2014: 3).

Wits argues that multilingual policies can serve to enhance students' and staff participation in the socio-economic, cultural, and educational life of the institution

(2003: 2). The multilingual framework can aid interaction, creating a microcosm of an integrated South Africa. Tolerance is a theme that stretches across the four universities. NWU also acknowledges that multilingualism, through its ability to improve access to knowledge and the creation of an environment that is tolerant to different cultures, must necessarily be included and supported by its language policy.

It is not only tolerance that is important, it is also essential that members of the institution acknowledge and participate in a multilingual society, as stated by UCT (1999: 1). UCT's position is that nation building and transformation are not possible without a positive attitude towards multilingualism, and the university is concerned that there are students at the institution who lack cultural awareness and for whom the desire to learn an African language (2003: 8) would be critical. It is a concern for the university that there are students who lack cultural awareness and do not have the ability to converse in regional languages, particularly English speakers.

It is this idea of learning the 'others' language that is critical. Wits' policy states that learning other languages is "a means of enhancing understanding of one another and overcoming our differences" (2003: 1). This will allow students to interact differently with their fellow South Africans. In UCT's language plan, multilingualism allows others to "feel welcome and acknowledged" (2003: 10).

This feeling of being welcomed into the world of higher education, and providing access to these institutions, makes it necessary to foster an awareness that these universities are in fact multilingual. Rhodes' policy suggests that there is a lack of awareness on campus that there is such a policy, and thus the university commits itself to "foster and encourage an awareness of and sensitivity towards the multilingual nature of the institution..." (2014: 4). CHERTL staff are mandated, by the Rhodes policy, to raise awareness of new modes of teaching, "which support students who speak different languages" (2014: 6). According to the policy, new teaching staff will receive exposure to teach students who do not speak English, demonstrating the university's support for those who are linguistically disadvantaged.

Wits seems to be a leader in committing itself, through its policy, to developing its students and staff to the point that they are able to communicate effectively in an African language. The policy states that students who are not competent in speaking an African language are required to “complete two credit-bearing modules in basic communicative competence in Sesotho or isiZulu” (2003: 2). The policy also contains a statement to the effect that students must study one of their majors in Sesotho or isiZulu using the newly researched materials developed at Wits (2003: 2). This demonstrates that Wits policy makers believed so strongly in the transformative ability of language that they did not anticipate the problems and possible conflicts that might arise from requiring students to learn in a language that was foreign to them. Although this policy never took off, it is a radical demonstration of what the university expected from its students.

Notwithstanding their commitment to multilingualism it is clear that all of the universities still regard English with high esteem, and the academic development that is most entrenched in all of the policies is with regards to creating a strong proficiency in English.

7.2.2 Maintaining the hegemony of English

The major theme that all of the universities investigated discuss is the lack of proficiency in English and the need to increase or improve academic development. English is the medium of instruction at all the universities²⁰. Examinations and evaluations, teaching, learning and correspondence are all communicated through the medium of English. A distinctly jarring compromise is Rhodes’s acknowledgement that although it strives to be a multilingual university, English is still the LoLT (2014: 3). Its push for English is historical, as it states “(i)n light of historical conditions and contemporary realities” (2014: 3), English will be the LoLT, official business will be conducted in English and the official language of record will

²⁰ Except for the Potchefstroom Campus of NWU where Afrikaans is the medium of instruction.

be English (2014: 3). Therefore, to achieve excellence in their studies, students are required to be proficient in English.

At all of the universities under review, first-language English speakers are at an advantage from the start, with UCT's language plan stating the "the discrepancy in throughput rate between English first-language and second language students is currently over 20%" (2003: 2). This demonstrates that even though ESL speakers may be proficient in English, their lack of a background in the language severely affects their performance.

The development and promotion of communicative skills in African languages are seen mostly as an indirect way of increasing student and staff proficiency in English. UCT uses the word 'scaffold' to describe how African language development (in their case isiXhosa) can assist their students' academic development. UCT sees the ability to grasp difficult concepts in English by ESL students, even those who attended former 'Model-C' schools, as not being up to the standards of their respective faculties. It perceives academic literacy courses in English as the most appropriate method on which to build these skills, by "focus(ing) on the literacy requirements and discourse conventions of their discipline" (2003: 4). The UCT Writing Centre, tutorials and other methods of utilising peer-learning through the medium of African languages are all viewed as being able to help scaffold and build English proficiency. Multi-media, self-access materials would also be used, as well as dictionaries (which would be the primary material in which African languages would contribute to English proficiency).

Rhodes, too, sees dictionaries as being the most helpful tool for ESL students to develop their academic literacy and proficiency in English. It states that, where appropriate, it will "provide wider access to a wider range of dictionaries in examinations" as well as libraries (2014: 5). This type of academic development takes away the importance of the intellectualisation of African languages and tacitly suggests that the central role played by African languages is in maintaining the

hegemonic position enjoyed by English not only as the LoLT but also as the source of all knowledge and academic enquiry.

NWU's policy on intellectual material at a post-graduate level is vague and when it refers to the production of academic papers, one can infer that English is being maintained as the language of academia. The university states that it is internationally recognised and encourages its researchers "to publish their research results in language(s) accessible to scholarly peers" (2014: 4).

Across all of the universities, the most telling reference to the dominance and status of English is contained in UCT's policy document:

"English is the medium of instruction and administration. English is an international language of communication in science and business, but it is not the primary language for many of our students and staff. A major objective is, therefore, to ensure that our students acquire effective literacy in English, by which we understand the ability to communicate through the spoken and written word in a variety of contexts: academic, social, and in their future careers" (1999 (revised 2003): 1).

7.3 The university's role in societal transformation

All of the institutions analysed in this study regard themselves as leaders not only in the academic field within South Africa, but also in transforming society. They see it as their duty to create an environment in which everyone can thrive, from students to academic to administrative staff. Their policies on multilingualism relate back to multiculturalism, and this sets the tone for their interpretation of transformation in South Africa and how they view themselves as being a part of the transformation project.

7.3.1 Seeing the university as a tool for societal transformation

All four institutions are committed to developing African languages. Wits states that “(it) is framed by the recognition that it is important for South Africa to maintain and develop all of its official languages” (2003: 1). However, due to limited financial resources, Wits and the other three institutions only focus on one to two languages. These are shaped by the regional languages where the universities are located.

UCT aims “to increase(e) the contexts in which isiXhosa is used” (2003: 2); Wits decided to devote its finances to Sesotho²¹; and Rhodes also states it plans to develop isiXhosa due to it being the regional language of the Eastern Cape.

NWU, however, speaks about functional multilingualism, and as mentioned previously, regards the regional languages on its campuses, that is Afrikaans, English, Setswana and Sesotho, as national assets. When applying its resources to the development of African languages, one can assume it gives more energy to Setswana, as Sesotho has “working-language status” at the Vaal Triangle Campus, whereas Setswana is more visible in all the campuses, being Potchefstroom, Mafikeng and the Vaal Triangle. Although the development of African languages is critical for South Africa, as it will create a situation where these languages can become academic languages, not just languages in which one can learn English, none of the policies adequately address this issue.

Here one can see how central their transformative role is to each of these universities. Wits acknowledges it is a powerful player in South Africa, especially in linguistic development, and its resources must be directed towards the development of African languages. However, in a key statement referring to transformation, the university’s website fails to mention language at all:

“Wits, a world-class research university in Africa, is renowned for its commitment to academic and research excellence. It contributes to the global

²¹ Even though isiZulu is more widely spoken among staff and students, its decision to develop Sesotho instead of isiZulu is due to the University of KwaZulu-Natal being “more suited to the development of isiZulu” (2003: 1).

knowledge economy and local transformation through the generation of high level, scarce skills and innovative research. At the forefront of a changing society, Wits is an engaged institution, dedicated to advancing the public good. It promotes intellectual communities and attracts talented students, distinguished academics and thinkers from around the globe” (“The University of the Witwatersrand”, 2015).

This trend is common throughout the universities’ mission statements, where universities see themselves as agents of societal transformation but do not specifically refer to the role of language in that transformation. The issue of language is relegated to special committees and separate documents that are not integrated into the institutions’ general vision and goals. UCT understands it is not only academic excellence it pursues, but the creation of responsible citizens, but makes no mention of the linguistic abilities of these model graduates. It states:

“As a university we are committed to producing graduates who are not only well-educated, but also mindful of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship. This is important as higher education in general has a duty to develop an educated and thoughtful citizenry, which is a critical element of a successful democracy. This is the basis upon which UCT makes its most profound contribution to the development and transformation of our society” (The University of Cape Town, 2015).

One of the key documents that led to South Africa’s HEIs assuming their roles as agents of societal transformation was the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE). Reddy, in his 2004 paper on the role of Higher Education and Social Transformation, speaks about the establishment of the NCHE and how it could “produc(e) policy that broke with a tradition of key policy texts going back to those produced under the previous regime” (Reddy, 2004: 34). The commission had a central assumption that HEIs can be powerful agents in changing political, cultural and economic reconstruction and development in South Africa (2004: 35). Although there is no specific mention of language this kind of thinking ensures that individuals within the institutions are empowered “to assume the identities of active agents in a

democratic South Africa” (2004: 35) which could be interpreted as including language activists and campaigners for a radical new perspective on language in education.

The Commission saw the ‘building of a new citizenry’, whereby universities and technikons would be adequately capable to address the challenges which they, and the rest of South Africa had inherited, those “inherited inequalities, inefficiencies, ... (and) socio-economic and cultural challenges” (2004: 35). The fact that 40% of South Africa’s population does not understand English (PanSALB, 2001) is a major challenge and one that creates and feeds into socio-economic disparities that cannot be ignored: again this is not specifically stated but is definitely implied in the Commission’s discourse on ‘building a new citizenry’.

Thus, it is not only the university itself which is responsible for transformation, but the people within the institution, and by implication, their embracing of multilingualism or their tacit avoidance of it. Ward Jones (2004) of Rhodes University speaks about how academic staff are critical in the transferal of the ideals of the university to the students who they teach. He discusses the relationship of the academic to his/her academic community, and as such the material taught should be related to the academic community itself. What the student learns in university and how that knowledge is developed is dependent upon that relationship, as the student will not only understand what s/he is being taught, “but also *why they should accept* what they are being taught” (Jones, 2013: 81). Thus, this ensures that the student will understand his or her epistemic position, which “will contribute to the development of her intellectual virtues” (2013: 82). This epistemic position must necessarily be viewed together with the language that the student brings with him/her into the academy and the way it codifies the realities of its speakers.

The student’s first language, and the role it is to play in both access to knowledge and the creation of knowledge, is key, but again is not rigorously referred to by any of the policy documents. Statements rather refer loosely to the role played by academic staff of the university who are considered critical in ensuring the student

will accept the ideals of the languages policies the university has created. In all the policies, the universities discuss staff development, both among its academic and administrative staff but do not articulate how this development aligns with that of the student body.

Wits commits itself to providing the necessary Sesotho and isiZulu courses for academic, administrative and support staff (2003: 2) while UCT acknowledges that very few staff members are proficient in isiXhosa, and as such they understand the need to employ more staff who are speakers of Africans languages, and encourage those who are already employed “to acquire at least a working knowledge of an African language” (UCT Language Plan, 2003: 9).

UCT’s Language Plan also states that it is important to train staff to make use of multilingualism to assist their teaching, but is not explicit in how this will be conducted. Rhodes states that CHERTL is responsible for the sensitisation of staff and as to the use of language in academic and everyday usage (2014: 6). CHERTL will be required to raise awareness of new teaching methods for staff “which support students who speak different languages” (2014: 6). Rhodes’ Human Resources Division is also required to enroll staff “for short communicative courses in isiXhosa...” (2014: 6). NWU does not go into detail about staff development, but states they need to be proficient in the language for whichever audience they teach (2014: 4).

Evidently there is not much in the policies of any of the universities that practically ensures that the academic staff understand the importance of introducing and referring to multilingual primary resources (such as newspapers, early archived documents and manuscripts) nor are there any guidelines as to how they will translate multilingualism into meaningful educational interventions.

UCT’s Language Plan states “there appears to be a perception by staff in some faculties that students are resistant to the notion of learning other South African languages” (2003: 8). This could be understood that the staff themselves are

projecting their own resistance of learning other languages onto the students. Madiba's 2010 paper on UCT's development of its Language Policy shows that its academic staff were not too perturbed by English's dominance on campus, with only 26 per cent of staff seeing it as a problem, "17,6% regarded it as 'somewhat of a problem' and 8,4% as 'a major problem'" (2010: 9). This is indicative of the attitude of UCT's staff, albeit in 2003. Although this may be how the staff on UCT's campus view African languages, it is not uncommon for many to see English as an important language for the workplace, and the university as the conduit to ensure students' success in life.

7.3.2 The university as a platform for success

The university is not just a space for academia and knowledge development. It is also critical for the university to provide students with the skills they need to succeed in the workplace. This is shown in Barnett's (1990: 66) rejection of the notion of higher education as an ivory tower, removed from the concerns of daily life. He states that, "whether we like it or not, higher education is bound up in, and is a key player in, the formation of modern society" (1990: 68). So too, the South African government expects HEIs to provide skills, training, knowledge production and innovation so that the South African economy can compete globally (Reddy, 2004: 38). The Higher Education White Paper of 1997's aim was to completely restructure not only education, but "locates higher education in the "political, social and economic transition"" (2004: 38). The White Paper sees that empowering the people, freeing up the economy and increasing development lie at the heart of higher education. Reddy mentions these guidelines which HEIs should follow:

- a) Increase equity of access and "fair chance of success" while at the same time "eradicating all forms of unfair discrimination and advancing redress for past inequalities."
- b) Teaching, learning and research to meet "national development needs" including employment skills training for industry.

c) “Support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights by educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order.”

d) Support all forms of knowledge/scholarship and address problems/demands of “the local, national, southern African and African contexts, and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality” (2004: 38).

The need for HEIs to be access points for knowledge and a conduit for job creation is seen as a tool for transforming society, but at the same time, the only (indirect) reference to the critical role played by language in gaining this access is through the phrase ‘cultural tolerance’. One could however, argue that the first part of job creation is access to the university, which is seen by Akoojee and Nkomo as being “critically placed to achieve appropriate notions of equity and redress” (2007: 386) and that this must necessarily include linguistic access. Akoojee and Nkomo contend that by providing access, one can address the social inequalities of the past. However, once one has gained access to the university, it is the university’s function to make sure one’s access to the institution leads to one’s success in the future. With particular focus on language, students need to be prepared for work, and in the globalised society in which we live this language is seen to be English. UCT’s understanding of creating an institution which will ensure its students have access to the global marketplace is its insistence that English is the LoLT:

“English is an international language of communication in science and business, but is not the primary language for many of our students and staff. A major objective is, therefore, to ensure that our students acquire effective literacy in English, by which we understand the ability to communicate through the spoken and written word in a variety of contexts: academic, social, and in their future careers’ (UCT Language Policy: 2003: 1).

Wits sees retaining English as the LoLT as ensuring its academic reputation as well. It states:

“The university, as a centre of excellence, would like to be known as producing graduates with a full command of the English language. English language skills are essential for a successful career in South Africa and internationally” (Wits Language Policy, 2003: 3).

If the university’s graduates do not have full command of the English language, they will not be able to be included in the transformation project: a priority if one is to be a part of the local and global economy. However, it is apparently not only the university’s academics who are of this view. Wits’ Language Policy states:

“there is overwhelming support by all students for improving their English language skills so that they attain mastery of oral and written competence. A concerted effort in all faculties to prioritise oral and written competence skills in English will ensure that Wits graduates have an above average chance of attaining successful careers” (2003: 3-4).

Thus while the university sees itself as critical in the transformation project, as does the government, with its White and Green Papers on Education and Higher Education demonstrating HEIs importance, there is an unstated cynicism about the role African languages are to play in this transformation. It would appear sufficient merely to state that language is key in societal transformation and to show commitment to linguistic transformation via supportive language policies but to underscore all objectives with the caveat that equality can only be achieved through “a full command of the English language.” Bearing this in mind, the question now to ask is “Do the policies adequately attempt to address future challenges that South African society may face?”

7.3.3 Redress of the past versus addressing future challenges

As mentioned above, work-readiness, the transformation of education and language have all stemmed from the issues caused by apartheid. However, do the policies themselves address future challenges that South African education may be facing? There seems to be a tension between the two in some of the policies, which strike

an uncomfortable balance between strategies to redress past inequalities, and those that contribute to a re-envisioned idea of what South African higher education should like. While the difference between these are nuanced, they present two fundamentally different approaches to societal transformation.

On the one hand transformation can be understood as a reversal of policies that were aimed at subjugating different groups. Policies to improve students' academic development are examples of this line of thinking. At UCT, students for whom English is not their first language are provided with academic literacy programmes. This includes the development of glossaries and dictionaries for "difficult course-specific concepts with students" (UCT Language Plan, 2003: 5), translating essay topics, developing multilingual textbooks; as well as "allowing students to write in their home languages" (2003: 5). This is due to the fact that ESL students, who have been through a system which is disadvantaged scholastically, cannot function optimally in an English-only university. UCT states:

"(T)his makes their university careers difficult, with research at the university showing that for English Second Language (ESL) students, the discrepancy in throughput rate English first-language and second language students is currently at 20%" (2003: 2).

Rhodes also has a policy to enhance students' academic proficiency in English. It details strengthening the existing structures that the university has in place and "put(ting) in additional measure(s) into place to improve academic literacy in the LoLT" (Rhodes Language Policy, 2014: 4). The university sees that language is a "barrier to equity and access and success for students from different linguistic backgrounds" (2014: 4). Therefore, isiXhosa will be developed to support the LoLT, to provide students with an opportunity to gain proficiency in English.

There are also measures taken in the different policies to ensure the institutions are committed to a new South Africa, and to remove any vestiges of apartheid. Given all this reference to transformation and the eradication of apartheid, I would argue that

Wits, UCT and Rhodes have still only developed policies which symbolically support African languages and do not envisage integrating them in any meaningful way into the fabric of their academic discourses.

Practically and symbolically there are changes: Wits allows for the use of all official languages for interaction on campus; the translation of key documents into the official languages of the province, that is contracts, rules, application and registration forms; interpretation services “where necessary e.g. disciplinary hearings” (Wits Language Policy, 2003: 2); and “multicultural and multilingual practices at ceremonial gatherings” (2003: 2). UCT similarly states its allowance of all official languages for interaction on campus, as well as appropriate documentation and public gatherings (UCT Language Plan, 2003: 10). Ceremonial gatherings are also included, whereby UCT specifically speaks on its graduation ceremony, and makes allowances for orators to be appointed to pronounce students’ names correctly, and incorporate regional languages into the programme.

Some more pragmatic examples which UCT has committed itself to producing is the transformation of the university’s geosemiotic landscape: the creation of signage in Afrikaans and isiXhosa. This is similar to Rhodes, which also commits itself, where possible, to replacing signage on campus, and to ensuring that the university’s branding and correspondence with current and future students, staff and the public “is available on request in at least two of the major provincial languages (Rhodes Language Policy, 2014: 6).

On the other hand, however, transformation can be understood as fundamental change of society as we know it and of visioning another possible future and developing strategies to achieve this end. The four universities discussed in this dissertation intend developing African languages primarily to support access to knowledge imparted through the medium of English; only one (NWU) refers to the “intellectualisation of multilingualism” while the development of an African language for academic purposes is only mentioned by Wits whose policy refers to Sesotho as hitherto lacking “necessary lexicons and registers required for conceptual work

across the disciplines” (Wits Language Policy, 2003: 4). The university’s strategy to develop Sesotho as a language is radical, and seems to be, 11 years after the policy document was written, overly ambitious, since it is not clear that any of these objectives have been achieved. It is important however to recognise the sincerity of the plan to develop Sesotho, which included:

- “Research and develop language teaching resources, materials and courses in Sesotho for staff and students.
- Research and develop language teaching resources, materials and courses in Sesotho for primary and secondary education if this is financed by government.
- Play a role, alongside government, in the development of the Sesotho language for use as a medium of instruction in Higher Education” (Wits Language Policy, 2003: 2).

However, it is perhaps short-sighted to view these two as ideas as dichotomous. Akoojee & Nkomo (2007) mention an approach by Richardson and Fisk-Skinner (1991) which presents these various strategies that the universities employ for their transformation projects on a spectrum. Richardson and Fisk-Skinner provide this framework, which can be utilised for South Africa, to identify different plans “in terms of the institutional commitment to diversity and the achievement of these” (2007: 392). There are three stages which they identify, the first, stage 1, being the reactive stage, in which “they consider necessary for achieving the diversity objective, suggestive of ‘access as participation’” (2007: 392). This sees an increase in the diversity of students through student recruitment, financial aid, and increased admissions. The second stage is the strategic stage, and is connected with some of the tactics aimed at inclusion, such as outreach, transition, mentoring and advising (2007: 393).

All the universities employ stages 1 and 2 in one way or another. Respect for and acknowledgement of multilingualism, embodied in the Constitution and integrated into the universities’ policies, deals with including those who were originally

excluded from HEIs during apartheid. UCT's and Rhodes' use of peer mentorship with students who speak the same language to assist those ESL students who are not succeeding, is part of stage 2.

However, it is at the third stage, the adaptive stage, that "real institutional transformation is required" (2007: 392). Not only do institutions have to respond to diversity, but they also have to be reactive to the various communities to which they are accountable. It is at stage 3 that they begin to change from an institution which reflects their historic clientele to one which is dedicated to the students they actually serve (2007: 393). The adaptive stage, where one sees student assessment, learning assistance, curriculum content and pedagogical approaches change is where institutions can increase the success of their students, not just the increase of its student body.

8. Conclusion

The four language policies which have been analysed have sought to create a structure for the inclusion of African languages into their institutions. However, the multilingual environment that the universities supposedly encourage seems to be largely symbolic. They maintain that English (or in the case of NWU, Afrikaans and English) is the LoLT, and implicitly suggest that African languages do not carry intellectual gravitas. The policies do not address the epistemological issues associated with developing African languages, and have not demonstrated that they are, in fact, dedicated to advancing multilingual learning and teaching in any meaningful way in their institutions, thus maintaining the hegemony of English.

The universities' policy makers see themselves as societal change makers. They acknowledge that transformation is needed in South Africa due to the past inequalities imposed by the apartheid regime. Poor education maintains the poverty cycle in which so many South Africans find themselves. However, it is not only the universities which have deemed themselves as critical to the transformation project. The government, too, sees that higher education and access to higher education will give previously disadvantaged South Africans opportunities to become upwardly mobile. Therefore it is not surprising that the institutions wish to provide all South Africans with the opportunity to become university graduates. However, with only 15% of all university students graduating in 2011 (Smith, 2013), the question remains how (or even whether) these institutions can affect societal transformation in this post-conflict South Africa.

Finally, it seems as though the language policies of the universities keep on referring to the issues of the past, instead of addressing how they can change the future of language development in South Africa (with the exception of Wits). Although the different documents do speak to inculcating a culture of multiculturalism and ensuring that the members of the institutions acknowledge how South African society is diverse, they do not speak about the problems that education may face in

the future, particularly with regard to language; the problem of the advancement of African languages and what may happen if this does not occur is not addressed. Therefore, it seems as though the policies do not lay out explicit plans to create a new South Africa in which all languages become part of the fabric of intellectual engagement thus enabling universities to be agents of societal change at a national level. Rather, they focus on the past; their policy actions could be seen as analogous to adding a layer of paint to fix a cracked wall.

Based on the research undertaken in the study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

8.1 Language has played a role in South African conflict

In addition to its pragmatic function, language in South Africa also plays a symbolic role: it can bring people together as a nation, but also has the ability to drive them apart and create conflict (Webb, 2002). From the British conquest of the Cape, when English was forced on Afrikaans speaking people, thus threatening Afrikaans culture, to the Bantu Education Act of 1953, language has played a role in various conflicts in the country. Apartheid education created a system of gross inequalities, with schooling systems having a “racial hierarchy of unequal provision” (Hofmeyr & Buckland, 1992: 21). The year 1976 was a watershed year for South African education and language was the catalyst for radical student uprisings. Black students, having been forced to learn in Afrikaans, rose up against the education system and insisted on being taught in the medium of English; some subsequently claim that this was the beginning of apartheid’s end. Language continues to be evident in symbolic violence today, where English’s hegemony over African languages could be understood as Bourdieu’s idea of ‘symbolic violence’.

8.2 Language has an important role to play in post-conflict South Africa's transformation

South Africa's envisioned political transformation, manifested in the Freedom Charter of 1955, saw a South Africa in which "(a)ll people shall have equal right to use their own languages" (Congress of the People, 1955). This translated into the Constitution granting nine African languages, as well as English and Afrikaans, official language status in South Africa. Policy documents and institutions now created policies to guard against the hegemony of one language over another, and the status and importance of African languages, especially in education was highlighted. The extent of the role played by language in nation-building has not been empirically proven, however, and it is important for government to understand this and to make informed decisions on its function both in creating national unity and fostering discord and inequality (Webb, 2002).

8.3 HEIs have a unique potential for societal transformation but only if access is equal

Access became the critical issue for South African universities which saw a rise in the number of African students from 13% of the student population at historically white universities in 1994 to 79% in 2013 (Akoojee and Nkomo, 2007; Smith, 2013). This access to universities allows those previously disadvantaged to enter the job market and become upwardly mobile, exiting the sociological poverty circle in which they may find themselves. Language is, however, often a major stumbling block to success for many students from disadvantaged backgrounds, and universities have to both support their access to English as well as to motivate research into African language knowledge systems. This first point is clear in all of the policy documents, but the second is only vaguely referred to and is thus a general weakness in all of the policies under review in this dissertation. Societal transformation happens when success does not hinge only on fluency in English, but when African language speakers can contribute to academic debates and discourses in their home

languages, using primary resources in those languages. For access to be equitable universities need to question existing understandings of the link between language and knowledge, and to transform society by developing and motivating new thinking around the issue.

8.4 HEIs language policy documents are problematic

The positions in which the institutions focused on in this study found themselves after apartheid (besides for NWU which was created after 1994) were of historically white universities maintaining higher education's inaccessibility for those who were previously disadvantaged. With the Department of Education's National Education Plan of 2001, they realised the institutional imperative of developing their own language policies. However, this study finds that the policies which were created out of this are problematic for the following reasons:

8.4.1 The policies lack coherency

The policy documents are not coherent, and do not articulate what the universities actually think about African language development and its place in higher education. They lack clear arguments as to why they want to encourage multilingualism. For example, Wits states that due to South Africa's Language Policy of 1926, most South Africans are at least bilingual, which is an inaccurate and illogical reference for which they do not provide statistical evidence. Although all of the universities in this study explain in their policy documents why they think African language development is important, only Wits and NWU refer to the actual intellectualisation of African languages.

8.4.2 Some of the documents are outdated

Rhodes and NWU's policy documents have, to their credit, been reviewed recently and both have new policy documents for 2014. However, the same cannot be said of Wits' and UCT's documents. Wits' policy document was written in 2003, and has not

been reviewed since. At the time of writing this review, it is unclear whether the time frame to achieve its targets has been met or not. However, when I called the Registrar at Wits to enquire as to whether there was a new policy, as I could not find it on the website, I was told it was to be released soon: at the time of writing the new policy was still not available. UCT's policy document was conceived in 1999 and reviewed in 2003, with no review since. The policy plan, also from 2003, and laying out what it aimed to achieve from 2005-2010, has also not been updated.

8.4.3 Lack of easy access to documents

Access to the documents themselves is difficult, and if one did not actively search for them, one would not know that the policies exist. They are not widely publicised and/or distributed. The hardest policy to find was Wits', which I found originally on the University of the Free State's website, after having spent considerable time and effort trying to find it on Wits' own website. I could not even find it through its search engine, but had to locate it through the Institutional Culture Programme page, where the lack of information regarding the policy demonstrates its perceived importance (or lack thereof).

8.4.4 The documents are epistemologically unstable

The policies do not address knowledge production through African languages. The major theme throughout the universities' policy documents is that of developing African languages in order to allow those ESL speakers to understand English terms and phrases better. African language development is restricted to concept dictionaries or training staff and students to speak basic terms and phrases, instead of creating a new culture of language diversity within teaching programmes and resources in the university.

8.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, language is a major factor to consider when understanding South Africa's higher education system. From South Africa's historical conflicts, where language was employed to create division, language can now be seen as having the potential to resolve these conflicts by contributing to transformation. After apartheid, one of the methods in which to do this was through higher education, and HEIs were required to make changes which would aid the transformation of South African society. Universities' language policies were changed or specifically created, but it is this study's assertion that the changes were merely symbolic. The lack of engagement with African languages by many academic departments and sectors of society has shown that these policies are met with cynicism, with no critical mass acknowledging the importance of developing and utilising African languages. Although, as mentioned earlier, 79% of students in historically white universities are black, to really affect societal change the quality and linguistic fabric of education must change: this would entail a robust inclusion of African languages not only as essential to communicative skills, but also critical to epistemological discoveries. With these two developments in place graduates would be equipped to prosper and make a fundamental difference in a transformed South Africa.

References

- Akoojee, S. & Nkomo, M. 2007. Access and quality in South African higher education : the twin challenges of transformation. Available: http://reference.sabinet.co.za.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/sa_epublication_article/high_v21_n3_a2 [2015, January 24].
- Alexander, N. 1989. *Language policy and national unity in South Africa/Azania: an essay*. Cape Town: Buchu Books.
- Alexander, N. 2001. Language politics in South Africa. In *Shifting African identities*. S.B. Bekker, M. Dodds, & M.M. Khosa, Eds. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council. 141–152.
- Alexander, N. 2003. *The African Renaissance and the use of African languages in tertiary education*. Cape Town: PRAESA.
- Alexander, N. 2007a. After Apartheid: The Language Question. Available: <http://www.yale.edu/macmillan/apartheid/alexanderp2.pdf> [2011, June 27].
- Alexander, N. 2007b. Affirmative action and the perpetuation of racial identities in post-apartheid South Africa. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*. 63(1):92–108. DOI: 10.1353/trn.2007.0013.
- Alexander, N. 2007c. The Role of African Universities in the Intellectualisation of African Languages. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*. 5(1):29–44.
- Bacchi, C.L. 2009. *Analysing policy: what's the problem represented to be?*. Frenchs Forest, N.S.W: Pearson.
- Balfour, R.J. 2007. Mother-tongue education or bilingual education for South Africa: theories, pedagogies and sustainability. *Journal for Language and Teaching*. 41(2):1–14.
- Banda, F. 2000. The Dilemma of the Mother Tongue: Prospects for Bilingual Education in South Africa. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 13(1):51–66. DOI: 10.1080/07908310008666589.
- Barnett, R. 1990. *The idea of higher education*. Milton Keynes [England]; Philadelphia: Society for Research into Higher Education : Open University Press.
- Van den Berghe, P. 1966. Racial segregation in South Africa: Degrees and kinds. *Cahiers d'études africaines*. 23(6):408–418.

- Beukes, A.-M. 2009. Language policy incongruity and African languages in postapartheid South Africa. *Language Matters*. 40(1):35–55. DOI: 10.1080/10228190903055550.
- Brock-Utne, B. 2001. Education for all - in whose language? *Oxford Review of Education*. 27(1):115–134. DOI: 10.1080/03054980125577.
- Congress of the People. 1955. *The Freedom Charter*. Available: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/anc/1955/freedom-charter.htm>.
- Cooke, M. & Simpson, J. 2012. Discourses about linguistic diversity. In *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism*. M.M.- Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese, Eds. (Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics). London ; New York: Routledge. 116–130.
- David, M. & Sutton, C.D. 2011. *Social research: an introduction*. 2nd ed ed. London: SAGE.
- Denzin, N.K. 2009. The elephant in the living room: or extending the conversation about the politics of evidence. *Qualitative Research*. 9(2):139–160. DOI: 10.1177/1468794108098034.
- Department of Higher Education and Training. 2013. *Statistics on Post-School Education and Training in South Africa: 2011*. Pretoria. Available: <http://www.saqa.org.za/docs/papers/2013/stats2011.pdf> [2015, February 05].
- Desai, Z. 2001. Multilingualism in South Africa with particular reference to the role of African languages in education. *International Review of Education*. 47(3-4):323–339.
- Finchilescu, G. & Nyawose, G. 1998. Talking about language: Zulu student's views on language in the new South Africa. *South African Journal Of Psychology*. 53(2):53–61. Available: <http://web.b.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/ehost/detail/detail?sid=f9263d1a-5b7d-400c-add9-35b8ab67470e%40sessionmgr114&vid=0&hid=116&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWVhc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=aph&AN=952167> [2014, March 26].
- Finlayson, R. & Madiba, M. 2002. The Intellectualisation of the Indigenous Languages of South Africa: Challenges and Prospects. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 3(1):40–61. DOI: 10.1080/14664200208668036.

- Habib, A. 2013. Reflections of a university bureaucrat interested in advancing a progressive social agenda. In *The aims of higher education*. Council on Higher Education (South Africa), Ed. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education. 63–74.
- Harris, I. 2004. Peace education theory. *Journal of Peace Education*. 1(1):5–20. DOI: 10.1080/1740020032000178276.
- Henrard, K. 2003. Post-Apartheid South Africa: Transformation and Reconciliation. *World Affairs*. 166(1):37–55. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20672676> [2015, January 17].
- Heugh, K. 1999. Languages, development and reconstructing education in South Africa. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 19:303–313.
- Hofmeyr, J. & Buckland, P. 1992. Education system change in South Africa. In *McGregor's education alternatives*. R. McGregor & A. McGregor, Eds. Kenwyn: Juta. 15–59.
- Hudson, P. 2000. Liberalism, democracy and transformation in South Africa. *Politikon*. 27(1):93–102. DOI: 10.1080/02589340050004118.
- Jansen, J. 2000. Rethinking Education Policy Making in South Africa: Symbols of Change, Signals of Conflict. In *Education in retrospect: policy and implementation since 1990*. A. Kraak & M.F.D. Young, Eds. Pretoria : Johannesburg: Human Sciences Research Council in association with the Institute of Education, University of London ; Thorold's Africana Books [distributor]. 41–58.
- Jansen, J. 2004. Changes and continuities in South Africa's Higher Education system, 1994-2004. In *Changing class: education and social change in post-apartheid South Africa*. L. Chisholm & H. Bhorat, Eds. London ; New York : Cape Town : New York, NY: Zed Books ; HSRC Press ; Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan. 293–314.
- Johnson, W.R. 1982. Education: Keystone of Apartheid. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. 12(3):214–237. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3216635>.
- Jones, W. 2013. Academic Communities and their Students. In *The aims of higher education*. Council on Higher Education (South Africa), Ed. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education. 75–97.

- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2000. A new language policy, old language practices: status planning for African languages in a multilingual South Africa. *South African Journal of African Languages*. 20(1):50–60.
- Kamwangamalu, N.M. 2001. The Language Planning Situation in South Africa. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. 2(4):361–445. DOI: 10.1080/14664200108668031.
- De Klerk, V. 2002. Xhosa as a “home appliance”? A case study of language shift in Grahamstown. In *Opportunities and challenges of bilingualism*. L. Wei, J.-M. Dewaele, & A. Housen, Eds. (Contributions to the sociology of language no. 87). Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 221–248.
- Kriel, M. & Pan South African Language Board. 2010. *South African language rights monitor 2007: sixth report on the South African Language Rights Monitor Project, 1 January 2007 - 31 December 2007*. [Bloemfontein, South Africa]: SUN Press.
- Madiba, M. 2010. Towards multilingual higher education in South Africa: the University of Cape Town’s experience. *Language Learning Journal*. 38(3):327–346. DOI: 10.1080/09571736.2010.511776.
- Mashele, P. 2012. *Is Jacob Zuma a Zulu nationalist? - Sunday Independent*. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/is-jacob-zuma-a-zulu-nationalist-1.1315459#.VN32E1OUdfw> [2015, February 13].
- Mashele, P. 2013. *Blatant attempt at cultural invasion*. Available: <http://www.iol.co.za/sundayindependent/blatant-attempt-at-cultural-invasion-1.1525709#.VN33OIUdfy> [2015, February 13].
- Maxwell, J. 1992. Understanding and validity in qualitative research. *Harvard educational review*. 62(3):279–301.
- Maxwell, A.-M., Enslin, P. & Maxwell, T. 2004. Educating for peace in the midst of violence: a South African experience. *Journal of Peace Education*. 1(1):103–121. DOI: 10.1080/1740020032000178339.
- Mmusi, S. 1998. On the Eleven-Official Language Policy of the New South Africa. In *Language legislation and linguistic rights selected proceedings of the Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights Conference, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March 1996*. D.A. Kibbee, Ed. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamin Pub. Available:

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=405526> [2015, February 13].

Molefe, T.O. 2013. Beware the boy who cries “Zulufication” | Thought Leader. Available: <http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/tomolefe/2013/06/05/beware-the-boy-who-cries-zulufication/> [2015, February 13].

Multerud, K. 2001. Qualitative research: standards, challenges, and guidelines. *the Lancet*. 358:483–488.

Nagy, R. 2002. Reconciliation in Post-Commission South Africa: Thick and Thin Accounts of Solidarity. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 35(2):323–346. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3233430> [2013, March 28].

Ndhlovu, F. 2009. *The politics of language and nation building in Zimbabwe*. (Africa in development no. 2). New York: Peter Lang.

North-West University Institutional Office. 2012. Institutional Language Policy and Language Plan, and Operational Procedures.

http://www.nwu.ac.za/sites/www.nwu.ac.za/files/files/i-lad/documents/taalbeleid_implementeringsraamwerk_e.pdf.

North-West University Institutional Office. 2014. Institutional Language Policy of the North-West University. Available:

<http://www.nwu.ac.za/opencms/export/NWU/html/gov-man/policy/index.html>.

Oakes, L.S., Townley, B. & Cooper, D.J. 1998. Business Planning as Pedagogy: Language and Control in a Changing Institutional Field. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 43(2):257–292. Available: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2393853> [2015, February 13].

Oliver, J. 2009. Xitsonga. Available:

<http://www.salanguages.com/xitsonga/index.htm> [2015, May 12]

Le Page, R.B. 1964. *The national language question: Linguistic problems of newly independent states*. Oxford University Press.

Pan South African Language Board. 2001. *Language use and language interaction in South Africa: A national sociolinguistic survey*. (PanSALB Occasional Paper no. No. 1). Pretoria.

Piller, I. 2012. Multilingualism and social exclusion. In *The Routledge handbook of multilingualism*. M.M.- Jones, A. Blackledge, & A. Creese, Eds. (Routledge handbooks in applied linguistics). London ; New York: Routledge. 281–296.

Posel, D. 1999. The TRC Report: What Kind of History? What Kind of Truth?. Presented at Wits History Workshop "The TRC: Commissioning the Truth" at the University of the Witwatersrand

Posel, D. & Casale, D. 2011. Language proficiency and language policy in South Africa: Findings from new data. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 31(5):449–457. DOI: 10.1016/j.ijedudev.2010.09.003.

Reddy, T. 2004. *Higher Education and Social Transformation: A South African Case Study*. Pretoria: Council on Higher Education. Available: http://che.ac.za/sites/default/files/publications/HEandSocialTransformationReport_25Feb2004.pdf [2015, January 12].

Republic of South Africa. 1996. *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*. Available: <http://www.gov.za/documents/constitution-republic-south-africa-1996>.

Rhodes University. 2005. *Rhodes University Language Policy*. Available: www.ru.ac.za/static/policies/LanguagePolicy.doc [2013, December 28]

Rhodes University. 2014. *Revised Language Policy*. Available: https://www.google.com/url?q=http://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/multilingualism/documents/LANGUAGE%2520COMMITTEE%2520-%2520POLICY%2520-%252024%2520March2014-APPROVEDBYSENATEON4APRIL-FINAL.doc&sa=U&ei=W2NTVb_vGqGSsQThjoHACw&ved=OCA0QFjAE&client=internal-uds-cse&usq=AFQjCNF5zDIB2ziEMzCmnHmreDShvXIhtw [2014, October 18]

Rhodes University. 2015. *Rhodes University Centre for Education, Research, Teaching and Learning*. Available: <http://www.dgmt-community.co.za/organisations/rhodes-university-centre-education-research-teaching-and-learning> [2014, December 02].

Ross, F.C. 2003. On having Voice and Being Heard: Some after-Effects of Testifying Before the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Anthropological Theory*. 3(3):325–341. DOI: 10.1177/14634996030033005.

Shivambu, N. 2013. *Xitsonga: How can a marginalised language thrive?*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-14-00-xitsonga-how-can-a-marginalised-language-thrive/> [2015, February 13].

Skosana, V. 2013. *Oh youth, don't forsake isiNdebele*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-14-00-oh-youth-dont-forsake-isindebele/> [2015, February 13].

Smith, D. 2013. *South Africa's universities "racially skewed", claims watchdog*. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/aug/22/south-africa-universities-racially-skewed> [2015, January 24].

Sosibo, K. 2013. *Blackness has hit me in the face*. Available: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-06-14-00-blackness-has-hit-me-in-the-face/> [2014, March 16].

Stacey, R. 2003. "We the people": the relationship between the South African constitution and the ANC's transformation policies. *Politikon*. 30(1):133–148. DOI: 10.1080/0258934032000147264.

Statistics South Africa. 2012. *Census 2011: Census in Brief*. (03-01-41). Pretoria: Statistics South Africa. Available: http://www.statssa.gov.za/Census2011/Products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf

The Economist. 2012. Pulling no punches. *The Economist*. (May, 30). Available: <http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2012/05/language-conflicts> [2014, February 26].

University of Cape Town. 2003. Language Policy. Available: <https://www.uct.ac.za/downloads/uct.ac.za/.../policies/languagepolicy.doc> [2013, December 28].

University of Cape Town. 2003. Towards a Language Plan for the University of Cape Town: 2005-2010. Available: http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ched/adp/ldg/senate_multilingualism.pdf University of Cape Town [2013, December 28].

University of Cape Town. 2015. *Welcome Page*. Available: <http://www.uct.ac.za/about/welcome/english/> [2015, January 29].

University of the Witwatersrand. 2003. Language Policy. Available: http://humanities.ufs.ac.za/dl/userfiles/Documents/00001/764_eng.pdf [2013, December 28]

University of the Witwatersrand. 2015. *Home Page*. Available: www.wits.ac.za [2015, January 28].

Webb, V.N. 2002. *Language in South Africa: the role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development*. (Impact, studies in language and society no. 14). Philadelphia: J. Benjamins.

De Wet, C. & Wolhuter, C. 2009. A transitiological study of some South African educational issues. *South African Journal of Education*. 29:359–376.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S.K. & Mandle, C.L. 2001. Validity in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Health Research*. 11(4):522–537. DOI: 10.1177/104973201129119299.

Yanow, D. 2007. Qualitative-Interpretive Methods in Policy Research. In *Handbook of public policy analysis: theory, politics, and methods*. F. Fischer, G. Miller, & M.S. Sidney, Eds. (Public administration and public policy no. 125). Boca Raton: CRC/Taylor & Francis. 405–415.