Analysis of Language Policy Implementation in Basic Education: A Study

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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: Signed by candidate

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ABSTRACT

The South African society is plagued with a "complex and fascinating landscape of multilingualism that comprises of eleven official languages post the apartheid era" (Pluddeman et al, 2004: 13-14). The apartheid era saw only "English and Afrikaans recognised as languages of official status across the nation even though indigenous languages existed in the country" (Cakata & Segalo, 2017). The post-apartheid era which commenced in 1994 have been years in which extensive political negotiation and transition have been occurring which have encompassed establishing constitutional rights for indigenous languages in the South African dispensation. This included the choice for "indigenous languages to uses as languages of learning and teaching (LoLT) and being offered as subjects at schools" (Pluddeman et al, 2004: 13, 14). The aim of this study is to focus on language policy implementation practices in basic education with particular reference to a primary school in Western Cape, City of Cape Town as a case study. It seeks to observe the language practices within the school in order to assess the various patterns of implementation and contribute to scholarly debate pertaining to policy implementation across disciplines. The study will analyse the language policy planning in South Africa at large using Ruiz's (1984) three orientations to language planning: language as a problem, language as a resource and language as a right. It seeks to observe the language practices within the school in order to assess the various patterns of implementation and contribute to scholarly debate pertaining to policy implementation across disciplines. The findings of this study aim to assist language planners in developing a language policy framework in basic education which includes strong monitoring and evaluation systems to alleviate problems at the implementation stage of language policies.

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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

According to Cakata & Segalo (2017), "at the core of the quest of self-definition for Africans", there has always been language. It is evidenced that even in "early language battles, there was great resistance from black communities to allow their children to be taught Western education" (Cakata & Segalo: 2017) according to Biko (2004) as cited in (Cakata & Segalo: 2017), European cultures were deeply engrained at these schools "at the expense of African cultures and languages which were diminished and distorted" (Cakata & Segalo, 2017). The 1976 June uprising "against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black South African schools bears testament to the fact language is a pertinent issue in our society" (Cakata & Segalo, 2017). The importance of language and it playing a political role in a given society saw the colonial and apartheid regimes respectively entrenching English and Afrikaans "as a tool to transmit their cultures and impose their reality" (Cakata & Segalo, 2017: 321) on indigenous African people.

Wa Thiong'o 1986; Mignolo 2011 as cited in (Cakata & Segalo, 2017) argued that during apartheid and colonial "eras in South Africa, language was used as a political tool to entrench the ideals of colonialism on indigenous African people at the expense of their own ways of life which were regarded as inferior and insignificant". This resulted in the "country's business being conducted in languages which were foreign to the majority of the population as indigenous African languages were side-lined and given no status" (Cakata & Segalo: 2017).

The South African society is therefore plagued with a complex and fascinating landscape of multilingualism that comprises of eleven official languages post the apartheid era. The apartheid era saw only English and Afrikaans recognised as languages of official status across the nation even though indigenous languages existed in the country. The post-apartheid era which commenced in 1994 have been years in which extensive "political negotiation and transition" have been occurring which have encompassed establishing constitutional rights for indigenous languages in the South African dispensation. This included the choice for indigenous languages to uses as languages of learning and teaching (LoLT) and being offered as subjects at schools (Pluddeman et al, 2004: 13, 14). Thus, the democratic government from 1994, had a duty and responsibility of undoing the injustices of the past by giving African languages their deserving status – which was attempted through policies (Cakata, & Segalo, 2017).

The definition of language and policy are "defined by different scholars" in various "ways dependent on" context and the meaning which is being conveyed (Maluleke, 2011). One theorist, Chomsky argued "that language was a set of (finite or infinite) of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements" (1957: 13). Furthermore, he elaborated that "all natural languages have a finite number of phonemes (or letters in its alphabet) and each sentence is representable as a finite sequence of these phonemes (or letters)" (Chomsky, 1957: 13). He argued that as such, "the grammar of a language should be viewed as a device of some sort of producing the sentences of the language under analysis" (Chomsky, 1957: 13). Contrastingly, policy was described as a "proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose" (Frederich, 1963: 79).

"The promotion and development of indigenous languages in the new South African democracy was initially under-pinned by the National Language Project and the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)" (Pluddeman, 2004: 13-14). Heugh (1995: 340) pointed "out that the language policies ignored the necessity of strategies for implementation in practice. The mismatch between intention and implementation strategy was from the beginning subjected to immense assimilation pressure from English as the language of dominance. Pluddemann *et al.* (2004:17) further added that the mismatch between language policy as intention on the one hand and the actual implementation of home languages in practice prevailed in education." There was an inherent dilemma between the actual policy implementation and challenges in practice.

In view of the above, the study focused on language policy implementation practices in basic education with particular reference to a primary school in the Western Cape, situated in the City of Cape Town as a case study. It sought to observe language practices within the school to assess various patterns of implementation.

The study intended to research and gain knowledge about language policy implementation in basic education. This would be achieved through focus groups, semi-structured interviews as well as questionnaires which would lead to a greater understanding about the language practices of the chosen primary school. These language practices included: The language of learning and teaching, the language in which study materials were written, the language used in memos to parents, the language of assessment, language used in general administration such as minutes of meetings as well as announcements and the like. This would be done by exploring the language policy which the school has in place in relation to national language plan on language policy implementation.

Where necessary, the study would be able to offer advice on policy implementation and discuss monitoring plans to ensure that the school policy is not a matter of tokenism and window dressing but rather a practical ongoing exercise manifesting in everyday running of the school where the curriculum is concerned, assessment, language of teaching and learning, language of writing materials, language used in running memos, correspondence to parents, school communication with the outside world and general administration such as minutes, running of meetings, assemblies, school ceremonies and events.

The study would further highlight the challenges inherent at the implementation stage as policy experts have stressed the difficulty of 'moving from policy to implementation' (Cakata & Segalo, 2017: 322). It would attempt to provide ways in which these challenges can be alleviated to ensure that the language policy is consciously implemented by being inclusive and central to curriculum planning, lesson planning and teaching and learning activities.

Language policy planning in South Africa at large will be analysed using Ruiz's (1984) three orientations to language planning: "language as a problem, language as a resource and language as a right." Further, it will use the model for policy making as described by Barkenbus (1998) in order to analyse the policy implementation process of the language policy at the given primary school. The study is therefore two-pronged as it explores the disciplines of language as well as policy concurrently.

1.1 Background of Study

In the wake of the "new South Africa", language was not included in the "RDP framework" which could suggest that it was not envisioned to be a core area in which the new administration would focus on (Buekes, 2009). This later changed when legislative framework promulgated the following legislature:

1. "The Pan South African Language Board Act (Act No. 59 of 1995)
2. The National Language Policy Framework (2003).
3. The Language in Education Policy (Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 17997, in terms of section 3(4)(m) of the National Education Policy Act, 1996;

4. Norms and Standards on language policy (Government Notice No. 383, Vol. 17997, in terms of section 6(1) of the South African Schools Act, 1996), which regulates language policy in schools; and

5. The Language Policy for Higher Education (2002), which regulates language dispensations in higher education institutions"

(cf. Du Plessis 2006: 43-4):

"Though the Language-in-Education Policy (1997) as well as the Language Policy for Higher Education (2002) by the Ministry of Education" were passed through separate processes and initiatives respectively, it was an important step given that "the domain of education is one of the societal areas where multilingualism poses substantial challenges …" (Buekes, 2009: 36).

In light of the strides taken by government in promulgating the necessary legislation to support the implementation of language policies across the country at large, this study is highly relevant as it seeks to understand the manner in which language policies are implemented so as to aid to scholarly knowledge on how language policy implementation should be understood and how it could be improved in order to aid multilingualism in classrooms and the South African society at large.

1.1.1 Problem Statement

Post the apartheid era, indigenous South African languages still compete for their status in academia, particularly in schools. This is evidenced by language learning policies which exist in schools that do not give indigenous South African languages the same status as English and Afrikaans which were previously the country's' only two languages which were given official status. This meant that they were used in official contexts such as medium of instructions in classrooms as well as for official government communication. There is therefore a clear historical disparity between indigenous South African languages and their English and Afrikaans counterparts in terms of overall status in the South African context. Thus, in the democratic dispensation, indigenous South African languages are correctly enshrined in the South African constitution as being equal to South English and Afrikaans with further provisions explicitly indicating that they ought to be prioritised as a result of their "previously diminished status" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Further, in the context of basic education, the National Schools Act (1996) is clear on the promulgation of language policies by schools that ought to be in line with constitutional prerogatives of indigenous South African languages being uplifted from their "diminished status". As such, in the democratic dispensation efforts to uplift indigenous South African languages specifically in the basic education context, seem to not be yielding any positive results as indigenous South African languages remain diminished in the classroom context. This is affirmed by the fact that indigenous South African languages still have to compete for space in school curriculums as they are prioritised less than other languages which indicates that this is a result of a lack of effective monitoring systems that evaluate whether language learning policies are effectively implemented in schools in an equal and just manner which is underpinned by the constitutional rationale of comprehending the diminished status of indigenous South African languages.

To gain a better understanding surrounding the problem identified above, it is imperative to explore the history of the education as well as the language-in-education policy framework in South Africa.

1.2 History of Education and Language-in-Education Policy in South Africa

The tensions between Afrikaans and English date back to the colonial and apartheid times wherein the original European settlers in 1652 spoke Dutch which eventually "linguistically evolved into Afrikaans" (Majorie, 1982). However, "when the British gained control in 1822, they proclaimed English as the language of schools, government" as well as churches (Majorie, 1982) which is referred to as the "Anglicisation policy" (Cakata and Segalo, 2017: 321). The Afrikaners only won their right to be taught in Afrikaans in the year 1925, in all the preceding years they were taught in either Dutch or English (Majorie, 1982). It was during this year that Afrikaans and English became equal in terms of use in the South African society.

While the struggle of English and Afrikaans ensued, indigenous African languages were deliberately suppressed and under-developed to the extent that "the architects of apartheid had envisioned a separate education system for black people" but still forced them to teach one another in Afrikaans (Majorie, 1982). In the year 1955, there was a policy created by the apartheid government for "English and Afrikaans to be taught on a 50-50 basis" in secondary schools (Majorie, 1982). This policy was not implemented accordingly because black teachers in the Bantu Education system for black students were not competent in Afrikaans and as such this caused much frustration in black secondary schools. As a result of this, the frustration against apartheid as well as the Afrikaans language as a whole brewed the 1976 Soweto Uprising against Afrikaans and apartheid as a whole.

"The topic of language has therefore been a contentious issue in post-apartheid South Africa because of the status of African languages in general during the apartheid era" (Cultural Survival Quarterly

Magazine, 2017). The tensions caused by the suppressing of African languages during the apartheid era gave rise to the 1976 student uprising learners who spoke African languages were forced to be educated in Afrikaans as stated above (South African History Online, 2017).

This was a result of the apartheid government promulgating the Bantu Education Act in 1952 that created a "two tiered" education system that separated learners on the lines of race in an unequal manner (Kissane & Volacu, 2014: 82). In doing so, they also enforced Afrikaans as the primary language of teaching which sparked the biggest uprising led by high school learners the world was yet to see (South African History Online, 2017). This was their response to the system of apartheid entirely but fundamentally, they rejected the notion of being taught in a language that they and their educators could not fully comprehend which they also viewed "Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor" (Kissane & Volacu, 2014: 83).

This event portrayed the inherent tension in a multi-lingual society that was forced to use two foreign languages for teaching and learning purposes with a complete disregard of indigenous African languages and their development (South African History Online, 2017). As a result of the apartheid era, there are fundamental tensions between English and Afrikaans as two languages that competed for dominance amongst one another. There are also tensions from the indigenous African languages against English and Afrikaans that sought to diminish them in a struggle for power in the apartheid era (South African History Online, 2017).

> The youth uprising against the usage of Afrikaans as medium of instruction in black South African schools which took place on 16 June 1976 remains fresh in South Africa's memory as the last language battle of the pre-democratic era and a constant reminder that language has always mattered. The issue of language and its importance was one of the critical areas on the agenda of colonisers, hence their efforts to impose their languages upon the people they oppressed through the Anglicisation policy of the British and the imposition of Afrikaans by the apartheid government. (Cakata & Segalo, 2017: 321).

"It is clear that language and politics are intertwined in the South African context and thus the apartheid governments 'separate development' approach underpinned by racism in relation to the language policy of schools was designed to ensure that indigenous African languages were never developed to be languages of teaching and learning" (Majorie, 1982). "The democratic government led by the African National Congress thus had a task of promulgating enlightened policy in the area of language" (Majorie, 1982).

Further, to understand the desired transformation of the former landscape, it is important to look into the post-apartheid language planning in the democratic South Africa.

1.3 Post-Apartheid Language Planning in a Democratic South Africa

1.3.1 Public Policy Making in Post-Apartheid South Africa

South Africa's history is characterised by colonialism as well as apartheid that bore racism and inequality the South African society whose legacies remain intact (Gumede, 2018). As a result of these, in all spheres of the South African society there remains a vast number of challenges wherein public policies ought to respond as described in the policy proclamation above (Gumede, 2008). Thus, post-apartheid policy formulation in South Africa is in line with what is referred to as social policy which can be described as follows:

Social policy primarily refers to guidelines and interventions for the changing, maintenance or creation of living conditions that are conducive to human welfare. Social policy are education, health, housing, employment and food for all people. Social policy is that part of public policy that has to do with social issues (Vargas-Hernandez et al, 2013: 287) As such, "policies in the post-apartheid era" ought to deal with improving the lives of people in the respective spheres of education, health, employment, and food.

For this study, the focus will be on the basic education sector and how the post-apartheid policies in relation to language development have been in line with the envisioned social responsibility the government has in order to undo the injustices of the past in relation to the equality of languages as envisioned in the Constitution.

1.3.2 The Constitution

As a response to these inherent tensions borne in the Apartheid era, democratic South Africa sought to undo the injustices of the past by promulgating in the highest law of the land: Constitution of the

Republic of South Africa, that the Republic would have eleven (11) official languages as promulgated in section 6:

The official languages of the Republic are “Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu”

“Section 6 (2) of the Constitution, states that the Republic recognises the historically reduced use and Status of the indigenous languages of the majority of people in the country who are Black. Further, in section 6 (3), It states that the state ought to take concrete and constructive measures in order to uplift their status as well as advance their development. In addition, the section states that national and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government taking into account issues surrounding the following:

(1) “Practicality

(2) Expense

(3) Regional circumstances

(4) The balance and the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned but the national and provincial government concerned must use at least two official languages.”

In response to the aforementioned constitutional prerogatives, the Western Cape Provincial Government promulgated a provincial law in relation to language policy.

1.3.3 The Western Cape Provincial Government

Section 3.1 of the Western Cape Government Language Policy states:

> “The official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. These languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees. The Western Cape Parliament must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Provincial Parliament and any of its committees. Sign language interpreting must be provided where necessary.”

Moreover, The Constitution also asserts that municipalities must also take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

1.3.4 The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality

Section 5.1 of the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality states that:

> "Any of the three official languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Council and its committees. The City must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Council, its sub councils and committees. Sign Language interpreting must be provided, upon request, if and when considered necessary by the requester."

The Constitution further asserts that the national and provincial governments must, by legislative and other measures, monitor and regulate their use of official languages without detracting from subsection (2). Subsection (2) is in respect of previously diminished indigenous African languages. In closing, it states that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and compels that they be treated in an equitable manner.

It is imperative also, to look into the post-apartheid language-in-education policy in order to understand its intentions in terms of transforming the basic education sector.

1.3.5 Language-in-Education Policy

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 granted the right to implement the Constitutional prerogatives to individual schools as is promulgated in Chapter 2, Section 6:

> "Language policy of public schools
>
> (1) Subject to the Constitution and this Act, the Minister may by notice in the Government Gazette, after consultation with the Council of Education Ministers, determine norms and standards for language policy in public schools.
>
> (2) The governing body of a public school may determine the Language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law.
>
> (3) No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined under this section.
>
> (4) A recognised Sign Language has the status of an official language for purposes of learning at a public school."

The Constitution thrusts the responsibility for language policy development on the three spheres of government by mandating that all three spheres a particular role in ensuring that all languages are treated and developed equally. It provides a theoretical framework for multilingualism that is to be applied across all three spheres of government.

The South Africans Schools Act (1996) has decentralised the responsibility of language policy implementation to the administration of the respective schools by allowing governing bodies to determine their own language policies in line with the theoretical framework that is promulgated in the Constitution. This also speaks to the fact the National Schools Act (1996) is therefore not prescriptive and in theory, suggests that any language could be used in any school in so far as the governing body had decided in line with what is promulgated in the Constitution.

The language in education policy of the country purports that the language policy implementation in schools should take a mother tongue-based multilingual approach.

1.4 “Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MT-based MLE)”

A “mother tongue-based multilingual education system (MT-based MLE)” (Stoop, 2017). MT-Based MLE can be described as the time in which:

> “… A child starts his or her schooling (education) in his or her mother tongue and subsequently changes over to additional languages. MT-based MLE can also be described as the use of students' mother tongue and two or more other or added languages as languages of instruction (LoI) in school. In other contexts, the term is used to describe bilingual education across various language groups, with each group using its own mother tongue along with the official school language of instruction.”

The Language-in-Education policy’s assertion of mother-tongue based education is supported by Stoop (2017) who argues that it is “advantageous for learners to receive mother tongue education as it promoted the acquisition of knowledge and understanding, and it advances the development of a learner’s cognitive, affective and social skills” (p. 20). Further, Stoop (2017) argues that this is the case because “when children start their schooling and education it presents a new social environment for them, and as such, learning in their mother tongue makes the transition” easier as “it provides a bridge from the known to the unknown” (p. 21).

As such, this study argues MT-based MLE (Stoop, 2017) as per the “Language-in-Education Policy” is the necessary and appropriate manner for implementing language learning policies in schools as guided by Ruiz’s (1989) three tiered framework of “language as a right, language as a problem and language as a resource” in relation to language learning policies and further uses Barkenbus’s model of the policy making process in order to fully comprehend how a policy is made.

First, the study wishes to outline the theoretical framework in detail.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Language as a Problem

“Language as a Problem’ refers to deficit thinking wherein it is assumed that students who belong to a particular ethnic or racial group and do not have proficiency in the dominant language are “deficient in their ability to think and learn” (Darder, 2011; Freire, 1970; Knight and Pearl, 1999; Ruiz, 1984). In this sense, indigenous and minority community languages are seen a threat to the unity of a nation state hence the fear dominated by deficit thinking politically drives many nations towards assimilation and away from a pluralistic society (Baker, 2011; Darder, 2011).”

Language as a Right

“Language as a Right refers to personal, human and constitutional rights which encompasses the freedom of an individual to speak in, and to preserve his/her heritage language (Ruiz, 1984). Language as a human right refers to an individual receiving protection from discrimination based on their language choice (Ruiz, 1984).”

Language as a Resource

“Language as a Resource chooses a pluralistic society over assimilation and it thus an asset to a community as it is useful in building economic and social bridges across different communities (Ruiz, 1984). It is a way of eliminating tensions which arise when discussing language as a right and a problem.”

“Ruiz argues that ‘a fuller development of a resource-oriented approach to language planning could help to reshape attitudes about language and language groups’ (Ruiz, 1984: 27). In light of the above sentiments, Ruiz (1984: 27) declares that a language-as-resource orientation is an alternative to a language-rights approach.”

“The language-as-resource approach is embraced by the South African government and finds expression in the National Language Policy Framework” (Phaahla, 2010:53). The language-as-right approach is embraced too and finds expression in the South African Constitution which is the supreme law of the country.

“An emerging polity such as South Africa had to adopt both orientations in its language planning strategy so that” both approaches could complement one another (Phaahla, 2010: 53). “The equality of language rights in the South African context is guaranteed by the fact that in its Constitution, language rights fall as individual human rights” (Phaahla: 2010: 53). This therefore guarantees “equality for all and non-discrimination against any person” who wishes to exercise the right to speak a language of their choice in any given setting (Phaahla: 2010: 53).

Thus, this study asserts that in the South African context, viewing language both as a right and a resource is a conducive approach to achieving a MT- based MLE as envisioned in the Language-In-Education Policy.

Given the historical context and current socio-political structure of South Africa, I decided to conduct a study at a primary school which is situated in Rondebosch in the City of Cape Town, Western Cape Province. It is a co-educational, secular public primary school formerly categorised as a “model c” school in the apartheid era. “Model C” schools in the apartheid era were government schools which were meant only for white people and were semi-private in their functionality (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2011).

This study was motivated by my passion for the development of African languages in general, IsiXhosa in particular. Through this study, I sought to explore the mechanisms put in place in order to aid the development of African languages following the apartheid era which was characterised by oppression of African people and everything that was associated with their being. This included their languages and heritage which were substituted by Afrikaans and English interchangeably. As a result, African languages became non-existent in the South African dispensation and were confined within the homes in which they were spoken.

The 1976 student uprising was testament to the frustration of black South Africans being forced to be taught in Afrikaans as opposed to their mother tongue languages. This resulted in the biggest revolt the country was yet to see. I believe that this act by learners highlighted the issue of language in education. This proved that indeed, language was a powerful tool in the area of teaching and learning and society at large because it is part of a person’s identity.

I was determined to discover how the post-apartheid government had sought to aid the discrepancies of language in education created by the colonial and apartheid legacies and as such I sought to discover the policies put in place as well as their implementation patterns.

I intended to answer the following in respect of language policy implementation in schools:

Primary Research Question:

How does the language policy implementation pattern at this particular primary school inform us about the current status of previously diminished indigenous African Languages in basic education?

Secondary Research Questions

1. What are the languages practices in the school in relation to;

(a) Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT)

(b) Language of Study Material

(c) Language of Memos to Parents

(d) Language of Assessments

(e) Administrative Use of Language (meetings, minutes, etc.)?

2. Is the language policy of the given primary school in line with the Constitutional prerogatives surrounding the development of previously disadvantaged indigenous African languages?

The study will take this following structure:

Chapter 1: This chapter presents the background to the study, the motivation, objection and research questions which sought to be answered as the study was undertook. The history of education and language-in-education in South Africa is explored. Public policy making in post-apartheid South Africa is also looked into as well as the theoretical framework which guides the study.

Chapter 2: This chapter explores the language policy typology, literature pertaining to language learning policies as well as policy-making theory.

Chapter 3: In this chapter the research design and methodology is outlined. Data collection instruments will be highlighted and data analysis explained.

Chapter 4: This chapter will look into the findings of the study as well as discuss them.

Chapter 5: This chapter shall conclude the study and provide recommendations.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter successfully covered the following areas: background of study, motivation of the study, history of education and language-in-education policies, post-apartheid language planning in a democratic South Africa, significance of the study, the purpose of the study as well as the theoretical framework. The next chapter shall deal with the literature review.

2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an account of what has been researched and published on the topic of language learning policies and the policy making process in basic education within the South African context and the world at large. The purpose of this chapter is to give a context to readers of this study on the knowledge that has been established on this particular topic. Inherent in this account would encompass the strengths and weaknesses of the given research to date and how his particular study would add value to the current literature.

2.2 Literature on Language Policy Typology

"An overview of language policy typology encourages one to look toward global perspective models of bilingual and multilingual approaches for national struggles geared towards a pluralistic society" (Ochoa, 1995) as cited in (McNelly, 2015). "The typology suggests that the global perspective of monolingual language policy is more supportive of students being multicultural in a classroom, university or pre-school setting" (Ochoa, 1995) as cited in (McNelly, 2015). In understanding the language policy typology, the study sets out the literature that relates to literature which examines language learning policies.

To understand the aforementioned language typology in practise, we explore the literature on language learning policies.

2.3 Literature on Examining Language Learning Policies

Ruìz (1989) developed the framework of "language as a problem, as a right and as a resource as a means of" examining language learning policies. The framework makes the argument that a language learning policy can be analysed through the following three lenses:

2.3.1 Language as a Problem

The 'language as a problem' phenomenon is described by Ruìz (1989) as the idea presented in deficit thinking (McNelly, 2015). This thinking results in a practise that assumes that "students who are not proficient in the dominant language from poor economic backgrounds and minority ethnic groups are therefore deficient in their ability to think and learn (Darder, 2011; Freire, 1970; Knight & Pearl, 1999; Ruíz, 1984)." "Deficit thinking therefore leads to the thinking that bilingual students are mentally inferior, slower to learn the language of dominance, confused and unable to function properly because the new language is assumed to be a burden on the brain" (McNelly, 2015). Additionally, "deficit thinking leads to further assumptions that bilingual students have cultural dislocation and an overall identity crisis" (McNelly, 2015). "Low self-esteem, alienation, emotional vulnerability, a poor self-image and language anxiety are other assumptions made of bilingual students in deficit thinking" (McNelly, 2015).

The "stereotypes that emerge from deficit thinking include the fear that allowing students to take multiple languages may cause conflict, less cohesiveness, cause students to perform poorly at school, contribute to poverty, hinder students from integrating into society and that they might have less social and vocational capital" (McNelly, 2015).

The most prevalent stereotype in deficit thinking relates to the "accent one has when they speak as everyone possesses a certain type of accent irrespective of where one is in the world" (McNelly, 2015). The problem arises when one does not have an accent which matches the dominant hegemonic culture of that particular moment and as a result will experience discrimination and be perceived "as being inferior (Lippi-Green, 2011)." Colonization in the globe over has resulted in the marginalization of "indigenous and minority communities who experience being accused of slowing national development and being a hindrance to the dominant culture" (Ruíz, 1984; UN New Centre). When strides are made "to include indigenous and minority community" language it is perceived as being a "threat to national unity of a state and this is associated with secessionist movements" (UN New Centre, 2013). The "fear mongering that is dominated by deficit thinking therefore politically drives assimilation in a society and away from promoting a pluralistic society" (Baker, 2011; Darder, 2011).

Further, Ruiz (1984) asserts that in English dominant countries (such as South Africa), "a lack of English is seen as a handicap to overcome" (Harrison, 2007: 74). In addition, Horberger (1998) amplifies that in respect of language learning policies which see language as a problem, "monolingualism in a dominant majority language is valued" and multilingualism is limited or completely eliminated. Moreover Horberger (1998) further asserts that in this instance, language problems are unjustly and inaccurately equated with social problems and language education facilitates transition to the dominant majority language. Furthermore, bilingual "educational programs that facilitate bilingual language development" are viewed as those which facilitate social divisiveness and that they are detriment to the dominant language (Horberger, 1998). In this particular context, "bilingualism is associated with cognitive difficulties and a poor performance in academics for speakers who do not have the dominant language as a mother-tongue" (Horberger, 1998).

Further, the framework describes the type of language learning policies which are formulated using the "language as a problem" framework.

2.3.1.1 "Policies of Language as a Problem"

Policies which arise from "viewing language as a problem arise from educators who view bilingual students with a deficit in their ability to learn are generally the key drivers of monolingual or all-English education programs (McNelly, 2015). Monolingual language policy programs therefore favour learning the dominant language at the expense of the home language thus promoting an assimilationist agenda" (McNelly, 2015).

Additionally, the framework outlines the practices of policies which are formulated viewing "language as a problem".

2.3.1.2 Practises of Language as a Problem

"Monolingual education becomes a specific goal when assimilation occurs on the socio-political level of any given society" (McNelly, 2015). The practise of assimilation requires all members of the indigenous or "minority community to become much like" the dominant group in order to be accepted into the society (McNelly, 2015). Thus, this means that people have "to give up their special characteristics such as culture and language" as a result of being over-powered by the dominant group (McNelly, 2015). It has been illustrated that the "power of the dominant group does not lie in numbers but on the level of influence it has in that particular society to the extent that it is able to force its language on the less powerful" (McNelly, 2015. In a monolingual structuring of a society, groups are moved "to a common culture through language" (Baker 2011; Cummins, 2001)."

This is achieved through "students learning a new language while having an experience that their home language does not hold the same value as the dominant language" (McNelly, 2015). An environment wherein the mother tongue is at risk of being lost is created through it never being developed at the same level as the dominant language (McNelly, 2015). In schools, the "practise of English only monolingual standardized tests reinforces assimilation into the dominant culture" (Ochoa, 1995).

Moreover, the framework describes the outcomes of language learning policies where "language is a problem".

2.3.1.3 "Outcomes of Language as a Problem"

The outcome of a language as a problem language learning policy approach is "limited bilingualism and a dominance of monolingualism" (McNelly, 2015). Bilingualism is only embraced in so far as it assists students in "transitioning into accepting the dominant language over their own" (McNelly, 2015). The deficit thinking manifests itself the entire time "as students who do not perform at school well are blamed for it and it is implied that they are not smart enough nor appreciate the opportunities given to them by the school" (Darder, 2011). Language learning policies that stem "from deficit thinking show bad results in the world over as they assimilate children to the dominant language while preventing them from getting a good education" (Cummins, 2001).

Notwithstanding "factors such as class and race, language identity and language use have the ability to limit opportunities for active participation in social and political arenas alike (Lippi-Green, 1997)" as cited in (Harrisson, 2007). Thus, for the person who is unable to communicate in the dominant language it can lead to social exclusion which constitutes a barrier "for the majority of South Africans who are not mother-tongue English speakers" (Harrisson, 2007). Participation in social, political domains, employment as well as accessing services and information is limited for those who are unable to speak English in an English-dominant environment (Harrisson, 2007).

The framework further explores where language learning policies view "language as a right."

2.3.2 "Language as a Right"

When language is viewed as a right in a language policy it places language at the centre of a person's human rights (McNelly, 2015). It includes "the freedom of an individual to speak and preserve their own heritage while receiving protection from discrimination based on this choice" (McNelly, 2015).

Rita Izsák (2014) stated:

> "Language is particularly important to linguistic minority communities seeking to maintain their distinct group and cultural identity, sometimes under conditions of marginalization, exclusion, and discrimination." She further states that, "…linguistic minority rights is a human rights obligation" (UN News Center, 2014).

Horberger (1998) argues that when language is viewed as a right, it "facilitates access to society including things such as employment, healthcare, the justice system, education and media". Overall, an inequality in languages is linked to "social inequality" and the right to use ones language in the former listed circumstances are viewed as positive rights (Horberger, 1998). Furthermore, rights on non-discrimination against people based on their languages are promulgated and regarded as negative rights and moreover, they are framed in relation to international conventions and treaties as affirmation of the "protection of each individual's right to speak a particular language of their choice/origin" (Horberger, 1998). In this orientation, speaking and mainlining ones language is viewed as a "human right and access to overall human rights may not be denied" as a result of linguistic ability (Horberger, 1998). In this sense, language is related to "personal freedom and this right is protected by law" (Horberger, 1998).

The framework further describes the practices where language is viewed as a right.

2.3.2.1 "Practices of Language as a Right"

A tolerance and "promotion oriented approach" is employed by schools in respect of language learning policies when it is viewed as a right (McNelly, 2015). A tolerance oriented approach to the languages of minorities or indigenous groups "serves to strengthen the already powerful and prestigious dominant language while a promotion oriented approach is more assertive and positive in promoting the use of the non-dominant language freely and officially in all given contexts of that particular society" (Baker, 2011).

Further, the framework describes what the outcomes are when language is viewed as a right.

2.3.2.2 "Outcomes of Language as a Right"

The "tolerance-oriented approach in failing to recognise the non-dominant language as a human right leads to the oppression, domination and great injustice to the people who speak the non-dominant language" (McNelly, 2015). The promotion-oriented approach of bilingual education programmes leads to good results for both minority and majority children because all languages are promoted equally and not at the expense of another" (McNelly, 2015).

With the "outcomes of language as a right" described above, the framework delves into describing where a language is viewed as a resource in terms of language learning planning.

2.3.3 “Language as a Resource”

“This particular manner of drafting language learning policies perceives society as pluralistic and is useful in building economic and social bridges across different communities (McNelly, 2015). When language is spoken about as a resource it eliminates the tensions inherent when it is spoken about as a problem and as a right because it helps to engage both majority and minority communities in discussing the need for a bilingual education (Ruìz, 1984). In this manner, language is a “preservation of heritage languages and promotes tolerance and cooperation between groups while being a central element and expression of people’s identity” (Baker, 2011; Ruíz, 1984; UN News Centre, 2013). “Languages as a natural resource cultivates cultural, spiritual, and educational growth for economic, commercial, and political gain for all” (Baker, 2011; Ruíz, 1984).

Horberger (1998) argues that when language is viewed as a resource both “societal multilingualism and cultural diversity are valued and national unity includes linguistic diversity in its core values. Languages are viewed as personal and national resources for the entire nation and not only for linguistic minorities and their respective communities (Horberger, 1998). The awareness of different languages and cultures has the ability to reduce xenophobia and ethnocentrism with the enhancement of intercultural understanding and interaction (Horberger, 1998). This creates an environment for language learning to be additive as opposed to subtractive (Horberger, 1998).

Following the understanding of viewing language as a resource, the framework further describes how the policies of viewing language as a resource are formulated.

2.3.3.1 “Policies of Language as a Resource”

Language is viewed as a resource when the goal of bilingual education programme is for students to be bilingual and bicultural in the true sense (McNelly, 2015). These bilingual education programs serve as a revitalisation of programmes that are or will become endangered.

Therefore, the practices of “language as a resource” are described below.

2.3.3.2 Practises of Language as a Resource

“Monolingual education programs are rejected in favour of strong bilingual education programs that promote bilingual and bicultural students” (McNelly, 2015). Therefore, in practise, the practise of language learning policies where language is viewed as a resource promote bilingual programmes instead of monolingual education programmes.

The outcomes of seeing “language as a resource” approach is described below.

2.3.3.3 “Outcomes of Language as a Resource”

A pluralistic society promotes “coexistence between multiple language groups, cultures, interests as well as convictions” (McNelly, 2015). Language is a resource in which participants of a particular society are able to communicate within their respective communities as well as outside of them. In this way, “cultural ideologies and beliefs” are affirmed (Darder, 2011). Extensive evidence has illustrated that knowing more than one language is a resource and thus developing bilingualism and biliteracy results in higher achievement across the curriculum in school (Baker, 2011). Empirical studies which have been carried out in the past thirty years have illustrated that there is a positive correlation between additive bilingualism as opposed to subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 2011). The outcomes of viewing language as a resource are therefore that multilingualism is promoted within a society and speaking more than one language is as a positive thing.

In essence, Ruìz (1985) points out the strengths and weaknesses of ‘language-as-problem’, “language-as-right, and ‘language-as-resource approaches in language planning” (Ricento, 2005). He reiterates that while the ‘language-as-resource’ approach is not without its shortcomings: “a fuller development of a resources-oriented approach to language planning could help shape attitudes about language and language groups (Ruìz, 1984: 27). He advocates for the language-as-resource approach stating that it helps to resolve the evident conflicts which arise in the “language-as-as-a problem approach as well as the language-as-a-right approach to language planning:

> … it can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning. (1984: 25–26)

The problems arising with the “language as a right” approach are described below.

2.3.3.4 Problems with Language-as-Right Approach

Unlike other language planning scholars, Ricento (2005) argues a different perspective in respect of the language-as-right paradigm. He argues that in the US context, there are “no language rights *per se* because when non-English languages have been accorded special consideration it has been for the sole purpose of enhancing access to individual civil rights granted to all Americans.” He further argues that this has not been done in order to protect any particular language or ensure the rights of those communities to maintain or use their languages freely in the public sphere (Ricento, 2005). Therefore, policies such as bilingual education as well as bilingual ballots and public services in other languages have not "existed to legitimize non-English languages but rather they have existed as temporary instruments to make amends for injustices of the past" (Ricento, 2005).

In the U.S context, the distinction made between group and individual rights within their legal framework of civil and constitutional law which emphasizes the rights of the individual more than the group "thereby renders the discussions around linguistic rights problematic" (Ricento, 2005). He argues that the protection of languages cannot exist outside of communities of speakers, singers, users and the like and therefore it would be unsustainable to speak of a language-as-right approach in the current context. The successful preservation, promotion and maintenance of languages in the United stated would require sustained socio-political action and commitment on the part of language communities as well as their supporters (Ricento, 2005).

English is perceived to be part of American identity, it dominates and renders all the other languages as irrelevant and not a core part of the American identity (Ricento, 2005). Thus, English speakers believe that their language has a natural right to existence, maintenance and promotion because having English as a mother tongue is tantamount to being American (Ricento, 2005). In essence, English needs no protection or further promotion because of its inherent status and non-English languages are the one that need protection, preservation and promotion because of their diminished status but they cannot even dream of this because while these language desire this, they will never obtain any protection, promotion or preservation (Ricento, 2005).

Ricento (2005) further describes the shortcomings related to the "language as a resource" approach.

2.3.3.5 Problems Language-as-Resource Approach

Ricento argues as follows in respect of the language-as-resource orientation:

> "Language-as-resource is connected to particular dominant socio-political agendas, namely national security, trade, and law enforcement. These agendas, it is claimed (or, more accurately, presupposed), benefit the nation as a whole, yet the nation as I have shown in this paper – historically and currently – is not neutral with regard to the interests of all languages or groups."

He argues that this is the case because the ideology of language in this instance is "tied to state-driven agendas in the same way that the support of local vernacular languages were tied to the interests of the empire" (Ricento, 2005). He contends that the language-as-resource approach "does not ascribe lower status to heritage languages but that it does little in terms of the recognition on inherent and non-quantifiable resources which are associated with languages" (Ricento, 2005). These include "psychological, cultural, aesthetic and historical aspects of heritage languages to name a few" (Ricento, 2005). He adds that this approach is equally silent on with regards to the "rights claims of minority or indigenous communities to receive financial and official support in recognition of their languages; these rights are notably on reserved for the dominant langue –English" (Ricento, 2005).

Ricento (2005) therefore argues that the "fuller development of the language-as-resource approach to language planning alluded to by Ruiz has not yet been evident in society." His main contestation is with the fact that this approach "appears to not be moving beyond theory in academic papers and is not having the desired effect in terms of changing societal attitudes towards the other languages." He also states that the "language-as-resource approach does not appreciate that language learning policies are not done neutrally and are an expression of the dominant socio-political agenda of the time thus they can never be "neutral with regards to the interests of all languages or groups" (Ricento, 2005).

2.3.3.6 Centring the "Language as a Resource Approach" in the South African Context

Trudell (2007) concurs with Ruiz (1984) in that "linguistic citizenship infers that language should be viewed as a resource people use as needed." This, he argues, is "because local use of language is fluid and cannot be captured by standardisation and thus this use of languages ought to be respected and recognised." He states that this is the ideal manner in which languages should be embraced "rather than the state being the organ to determine language use and rights." This means that "South African indigenous African language speakers ought to seize power over the discourses and representation of the languages that are their identity."

Heugh (1995) harmonises with Trudell (2007) as well as Ruiz (1984) "and maintains that the language-as-resource approach can better serve the needs of the minority" group as well as the majority communities. This, he argues, would create a situation where language diversity would not be viewed as a problem by South Africans but rather as an asset while they are oriented to understanding it is a human right for a person to be able to speak a language of their choice and origin. For the indigenous South African people, a resource-oriented approach would be more likely to be conducive to their linguistic survival rather than a language-as-right approach, he asserts.

Thus, when the “government actively evaluates the resources that a particular language community brings to the nation, it is more likely to see the unique wealth in indigenous culture (Phaahla, 2010). This would create the sense that that particular linguistic community is not a deficit, burden or inconvenient responsibility (Phaahla, 2015).

The language-as-resource paradigm has evidently gained currency with scholars who are interested in the promotion of language learning and use (Phaahla, 2010). However, it is important to note that the assumption that the usefulness of a language equates to its reach: “the more useful the language, the greater its international reach” (Phaahla, 2010: 184) needs to be dismantled.”

Phaahla (2010) “asserts that in the South African context, we embrace the language-as-right approach as well as the language-as-resource approach to developing language policies.” The language-as-right approach finds expression in the Constitution where the equality of language rights are guaranteed because they fall under “individual human rights in the Bill of Rights. Section 30 of the Bill of Rights states:

Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.

Section 31 further states:

(1) Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community— (a) to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and

(b) To form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

(2) The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights”

“These individual human rights therefore ensure equality for all and non-discrimination against any person wishing to exercise those rights (Phaahla, 2010). Despite this, Mkhize (2017) argues that while multilingualism is enshrined in the Constitution (1996) as a basic human right and that the majority of people in South Africa speak languages other than English and Afrikaans; it is these two languages that continue to dominant official public domains. This continued hegemony, he argues, seeks to undermine the language rights of other citizens in the country as it is contrary to the Constitution (1996), the National Language Policy Framework (2003) and other legislative frameworks which were promulgated to promote multilingualism.”

> “A community-based approach to the promotion of multilingualism is the most viable one, given South Africa's highly pluralistic society. There must be a decentralised and participatory approach to language planning and policy implementation, which harnesses technical expertise for the transfer of knowledge and skills.

The approach stated by the National Language Policy Framework (2003) in respect of the promotion of multilingualism coincides with the definition of the language-as-resource which states that:

…an orientation toward language as a resource questions language hierarchies by valuing and encouraging bilingualism (Martinez, 2004).”

“In the developed world as discussed by Ricento (2005) and Ruiz (1984) language rights are often intended to protect languages which are spoken by minority groups (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006; May 2005). On the contrary, in Africa, including South Africa, language rights are aimed at protecting indigenous languages which are spoken by the majority of the people against dominant colonial languages such as English, French, and Portuguese and at times even dominant African languages (Docrat and Kaschula 2015; Namyalo and Nakayiza 2015). In the developed world, the debate around language preservation from an ecological perspective whereby languages that are deemed as to be endangered need to be supported through inclusive policies in order for them to thrive and survive (Hornberger 2002; Mühlhäuser 1996). In the instance of African contexts and South Africa in particular, rights are framed from a legal perspective as articulated in the Constitution and other legislation.”

Mkhize (2015) argues that section 29 (2) of the Constitution is flexible in its approach for language use:

“Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account—

(a) “equity;

(b) practicability; and

(c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices”

“Docrat and Kaschula (2015) argue that phrases such as ‘practical’ and ‘reasonably practical’ allow institutions to tailor language policies to their needs and the phrases do open a possibility of the continuation of old practices as organisations, schools, universities and the like can argue around implementing language policies which promote multilingualism given the defence of ‘practicality’ and ‘reasonably practical’ given to them in the Constitution.”

As cited in Perry (2004, 31), Honourable Justice Sachs “described institutional language policies as ‘messy, inelegant and contradictory’ as a result of most institutions resorting to English and Afrikaans thereby undermining the promotion of multilingualism as promulgated in Language in Education Policy” (Department of Education 1997).

Mkhize (2017) argues that the “practicality consideration which is articulated by the former legislative frameworks encourages some school governing bodies and universities’ language structures to develop an inept attitude towards African languages. In extreme cases, these institutions develop a hostile attitudes towards African languages while claiming to be protecting the language rights of the institutions on ‘academic’ grounds (a factor noted in higher education, see Parmegiani and Rudwick (2014) and schools, see Smit (2007). A clear example is when “Afriforum in 2015 (Du Toit, 2016) litigated universities about their changes to university language policies on the bases that the organisation perceived the language policy changes as a threat to Afrikaans language, culture and heritage.”

Mkhize (2015) further argues that in order to fully comprehend the domination of English in schools despite multilingualism being enshrined as a basic human right in the South African context, one has to understand the underlying policies and practises of schools. Plüddemann’s (2015, 188) says that “policy (a text documenting language rights – own emphasis) is more than text; it is a process that carries an ideological load, and is subject to interpretation by competing interest groups in ways that reflect power relations between them.”

Therefore, viewing language as a resource in respect of formulating language learning policies in South Africa is the approach enacted in the Constitution as well as the National Language Policy Framework (2003).

To better understand how language learning polices are formulated and find expression in a particular society, the study further explores language rights as well as language ideologies which inform how language learning policies are formulated with particular reference to the South African context.

2.3.3.7 Language Rights and Language Ideologies: The South African Context

"Language ideologies are defined as a set of beliefs, attitudes, values and cultural orientations about ways in which language should be understood and used in society" (Blommaert 1999; Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Therefore, ideologies are socially constructed and thus motivate actions which support or constrain legitimization of some languages over others in a hierarchy (Namyalo and Nakayiza 2015; May 2015, 358). Language ideologies are produced and reproduced through systems of power-relations that legitimize or restrict what people 'say and do not say, and do and do not do' (Blommaert, 1999: 10). Further, 'how and by whom it should be said and whether it can be heard' (Makoe and McKinney, 2014: 659); as well as what language or languages (Mkhize, 2017). In essence, ideologies are connected to a politics of language in which power relations, social structures and groups navigate around issues of identity, ethnicity and gender (Garcia 2009, 84; Namyalo and Nakayiza 2015, 412).

As discussed by Ruiz (1984) and Ricento (2005), monolingual ideologies transcend from a 'European Enlightenment' history which was characterised by the view of one-language one-nation. This is an instance where national language was directly associated with a national identity (Liddicoat and Taylor-Leech 2015; Pennycook 2010).

The National Party in apartheid South Africa adopted this ideology in 1948 when it came into power where they linked language to atonal/ethnic identity: Afrikaans (Heugh, 1995). The separate 'development' policy of apartheid resulted in African languages being synonymous with corresponding ethnic identities which was met with great resistance from liberation movements which viewed English as the language for liberation (Alexander, 1989). In doing so, English was automatically privileged at the expense of indigenous African languages (Balfour, 2003).

In the current South African context, there are tensions which exist between the justification of developing African languages for only those students/learners who are interested in them: this is segregationist as well as the justification of English as the only language of instruction: this is assimilationist (Mkhize, 2015). These views continue to co-exist in post-apartheid South Africa despite Constitutional provisions (section 6) which state that all the eleven official languages of the country ought to enjoy parity of esteem and be treated equally:

> The official languages of the Republic are "Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu."

Mkhize (2015) argues that the proponents of the former ideologies infringe on the language rights of African-language speaking students and the equally fail to take into cognisance the fact that in the 21st century, “linguistic fluidity and diversity are increasingly becoming a norm as a result of globalisation and urban migration” (Blommaert. 2010; Pennycook, 2010).

Hornberger (2002, 27) asserts that in order to understand the linguistic and ethnic complexities of students in the 21st century and how they can be addressed we need to “open up ideological spaces and fill in implementation spaces” through the formation of multilingual police which promote linguistic and ethnic diversity as a means of building the nation (Mkhize, 2015).

In the South African context, ideological spaces have been opened by Constitutional provisions and other legislative frameworks specifically regarding multilingual education (Mkhize, 2015). The promotion of African languages as academic and communication languages at schools and universities is paramount in post-apartheid South Africa (Mkhize, 2015). Some schools show more commitment to the promotion of African languages than others (Turner and Wildsmith-Cromarty 2014; Maseko 2014; Pillay and Yu 2015).

Mkhize and Balfour (2015) argue that the “absence of commitment in promoting African languages is a gross violation the language rights of African-language speaking students and the promotion of hegemonic assimilationist and segregationist ideologies thrive.” They further argue that these prevalence of these ideologies has a negative impact on the academic performance of African-language speaking students as they violate their language rights as well as derail social cohesion which is the cornerstone for a successful democracy.

Mkhize and Balfour (2015) make the following deduction:

> “First, school-based and university-based research points to the deleterious consequences of the same problem: inadequate development of the home language makes for difficult acquisition of the target language (and its associated literacies as noted by Cillié and Coetzee 2013) and further constrains efforts of students to make the transition (Boughey 2013) from school to the high literacy levels required for university studies through English (Cliff 2015). Second, new research shows that where formal provision (development, support, use) is made for the development and use of African languages for teaching and learning, rich pedagogic and research opportunities arise for students and academics alike.”

It is clear from the analysis of language policies by Ruiz (1984) and Ricento (2005) that language rights often focus on minority groups (Edwards, 2003). Further, that this perception is not surprising given the fact that a vulnerable community is always finding itself in a precarious situation because of the dominant group in society (Edwards, 2003). The South African context presents a unique case as the dominant group is less in numbers than the vulnerable black population which is the majority of the population (Phaahla, 2010). The disadvantages suffered by the black population correlate with racial divisions rather than specific ethnolingusitic groupings (Phaahla, 2010). Therefore, the current language situation in South Africa presents indigenous African languages as if they are of minority origin:

> "A minority is a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the state. The members of this non-dominant group have ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics different from those of the rest of the population and show, even implicitly, as sense of mutual solidarity focused on the preservation of their culture, traditions, religion or language." (Henrard, 2006: 48).

Thus, in the South African context, the term "minority language group" implies political and economic power rather than superiority by number because the majority of the people are black and indigenous language speakers but do not possess the necessary political and economic power that the dominant minority group does (Phaahla, 2010).

In addition, Ochoa (1995) makes the argument that "globally, the current trends indicate that monolingual and assimilation to a certain language is forced in favour of the dominant society" (Ochoa, 1995). Even where there are bilingual programmes in place, assimilation to the dominant societal language is prevalent and this trend is clearly noticeable in public schools where immigration reform includes learning English in America (Ochoa, 1995). This is true to the South African context as clearly indicated by Mkhize and Balfor (2017).

Scholars have also debated on the public policy making process which is pertinent to this study as the policy implementation of a school language policy is being analysed. It is therefore imperative that the policy-making process is explored.

2.4 Policy Theories

Theories are regarded as "systematic, consistent as well as reliable in the explanation and forecasting of relations among specific variables which are built on various concepts" (De Coning and Cloete, 2006: 33). It is argued that public policy theories are in pursuit of f"orging a relationship between public policy-making, the implementation thereof as well as the arising consequences of the entire process" (Robichau and Lynn, 2009: 21). This affirms the fact that public policy theories have an "inevitable influence whether public policy is implemented following a top-down, bottom-up approach or a combination of both."

Theories therefore focus on a particular framework and make explicit assumptions that are necessary for analysts to identify a phenomenon, clarify its processes as well as predict its consequences as asserted by (Hill and Hupe, 2009: 118). In contrast, Howlett and Ramesh (2003: 14) argue that each theory possesses strengths and weaknesses and as a result, the public policy making process cannot be solely described by one theory

The theories that inform the public policy process are a result of interactions within a general society and are subject to legal bodies such as government departments as well as embedded political ideologies unique to that particular society (Cloete et al, 2006: 290). Normative beliefs that exist within a given society are therefore inform their public policies (Hyman et al, 2001: 90). In the South African context, the post 1994 trajectory of transformation encompasses: "redress, reconciliation, nation building, reconstruction, redistribution and growth" and as such, these are all embodied in the public policy making process (Gumede, 2008: 11). This is testament to the fact that the shaping of public policies within a particular society and the translation thereof to actionable programmes is a result of the embedded theories and beliefs unique to it.

The National Language Policy Framework (2003) is one such a policy which was developed by the South African government post-apartheid which reflected the wishes of the democratic government in respect of the promotion of languages in the country (Maluleke, 2011). "Addressing the interplay between policy intentions and policy implementation is what was analysed in this study."

It is imperative for the purposes of this study, that a policy is clearly defined as below in order to fully comprehend the relevance of this study.

2.4.1 Definition of Policy

Scholars have debated extensively about what a policy is and all these definitions are dependent on the context and meaning conveyed (Maluleke, 2011):

Richard and Baldwin (1976:122) define policy as ―formulation of rules, norms and prescriptions intended to govern the subsequent decisions and actions of government.

‘‘―Public policy is the broad framework of ideas and values within which decisions are taken and actions, or inaction, is pursued by governments in relation to some issue or problem. ‘‘

“Brooks, (1989:16). ―Commitment to a course or plan of action agreed to by a group of people with the power to carry it out.”

Dodd and Michelle, (2000:2). ―”A broad guide to present and future decisions, selected in light of given conditions from a number of alternatives; the actual decision or set of decisions designed to carry out the chosen course of actions; a projected program consisting of desired objectives (goal) and the means of achieving them.” Daneke and Steiss (1978).

"Proposed course of action of a person, group or government within a given environment providing obstacles and opportunities which the policy was proposed to utilize and overcome in an effort to reach a goal or realize an objective or purpose.” Frederich, (1963:79). 89

“Whatever governments choose to do or not to do.” Dye, (1972: 18)

For the “purposes of this study, ‘policy’ shall mean broad guidelines of goals for a course of action that should be followed in an institution to address a particular problem” (Maluleke, 2011). The “rules, norms and prescriptions stated in the policy should translate into actions which address the needs of the intended beneficiaries of the policy” (Maluleke, 2011). That process is referred to as policy implementation. Given the various definitions above, it is clear that a policy is aimed at something that is “desired and agreed upon by a group of people that have an aim to satisfy the needs of a particular group” (Maluleke, 2011). As part of this process, there should be a plan of action for implementing the said policy as well as measures in place to “evaluate the impact of the policy” (Maluleke, 2011).

The impacts of policies are further explored in order to give a greater understanding of what occurs when a policy is formulated.

2.4.2 Policy Impact

Maluleke (2011) argues that policies are capable of having both positive and negative impacts as well as “intended and unintended effects.”

2.4.2.1 Intended Effects

The intended effects of a policy is the context in which the policy displays great influence on its goals – this differs from organisation to organisation (Maluleke, 2011). As an example, “the ‘no-fee school and nutritional programme in basic education initiated by the ANC led government is an example of a benefit seeking policy” (Maluleke, 2011).

This policy has yielded the 'intended effects' "based on the evidence that the number of learners, particularly in rural primary schools, had a dramatic increase" (Maluleke, 2011). This indicated that "learners found in poor municipalities who attended no-fee schools enrolled more number at school as a result of the change in policy which initiated that they be fed at school" (Maluleke, 2011). In this case, "the organisation (provincial government) created an effect (increased attendance at school) through policies (no-fee schools and nutrition programme) benefit" (Maluleke, 2011: 93).

The intended effects of policies are therefore what the policy intended to achieve when it was formulated. It is however, possible for a policy to also have unintended consequences.

2.4.2.2 Unintended Effects

In some instances, "policies have unintended consequences due to the fact that the environments in which policies seek to influence are complex (Maluleke, 2011). Additionally, it is also not possible to gauge all possible impacts that a given policy might have given the complexity of systems in which governments and societies interact in" (Maluleke, 2011).

For example, the fact that informal businesses which used to sell fruit and food to learners at schools before the nutrition programme policy mentioned above was initiated had to close down - thus adding to the high unemployment rate is one example of unintended consequence of a policy.

Therefore, though difficult, it becomes important that when formulating policy one considers assessing areas of potential policy impact in order to decrease the chances of unintended consequences Maluleke, 2011). The perception of people on the impact of the given policy is often influenced by people's perception of reality and the value which they have attached to the outcomes of the policy (Maluleke, 2011). This translates to the fact that policy-makers and public managers and higher management echelons ought to stimulate public debate about policies in order to aid any ambiguities which might occur regarding the said policy (Maluleke, 2011).

There exists many models which assert how participation in the policy-making process ought to occur, for the purposes of this study, we shall not delve deeply into public participation in the policy-making process but it is important to assess the effectiveness of policies and how they are managed to see the extent to which their desired outcomes are coming to life (Maluleke, 2011). Therefore, it is necessary to discuss policy cycles in order to ascertain policy implementation and how it ought to occur – as per the thesis of this study.

2.5 Policy Phases

Many scholars have debated the phases inherent in the policy making process. Barkenbus (1982) and Peters (1993) argue that the "stage in which the public or office bearers and other interested groups become aware of a problem, they make demands for the issue to be addressed". They call this stage the 'policy formulation' stage.

According to Van Niekerk, Van de Waldt and Jonker (2001: 92), during this stage, decisions on what should be done to solve the problem should be made. Barkenbus (1998) states that once the problem has been identified, it then forms part of the political decision-making agenda. At this stage, the issues would be introduced by different governmental institutions, interest groups, individuals or specific events. Van der Waldt et al (2001) also suggest that there exists various alternative ways to address the problem which would be influenced by costs and the overall feasibility for the intended action. Moreover, values which are held by the society on the particular issue also influence which action ought to be taken in order to alleviate the identified problem (Maluleke, 2011).

Barkenbus (1998: 2, 4) argues that once the problem has been defined it then forms part of the political-decision making agenda which will be introduced by different governmental institutions, interest groups, specific events or individuals as outlined by the law. By virtue of office, certain individuals such as the president of the country are able to get pertinent issues on the political agenda which implies that issues which appear and remain on the policy agenda should be pertinent where a number of people are affected, high in intensity, or a pressing issue over time (Maluleke, 2011).

Pertinent to this 'agenda setting' stage is a decision regarding who ought to deal with the problem, with what means and when ought to be made (Maluleke, 2011). Such a decision is determined by the political party system of a particular country who in turn have to come up with a political solution to the issue raised (Maluleke, 2011). Various alternatives to address the problem ought to be assessed considering measures such as costs and benefits in order to ascertain viability of the cause of the intended action (Van Niekerk, Van der Waldt and Jonker, 2001).

The succeeding stage is argued to be the policy creation process wherein the policy is laid down in the form of a law, program or provision (Maluleke, 2011). Thereafter, the law or program is given to administrative structures for implementation where the results of the policy implementation create negative or positive political reactions (Maluleke, 2011).

Theodoulou and Cahn (1995: 86) state that there are stages of public policy formulation which are agreed upon which consist of:

Policy formulation stages	**Explanation**
1.Issue identification and problem definition	Attention is drawn to particular issues which are identified as problems which need to be solved.
2. Agenda setting	The issue has gained enough traction for it to be put on the agenda.
3. Policy formulation	Steps to address the problem are created
4. Policy adoption	One alternative from the proposed solutions is adopted.
5. Policy implementation	The proposed law/program is carried out.
6. Policy evaluation	The impact of the policy in delivering the intended results is evaluated.

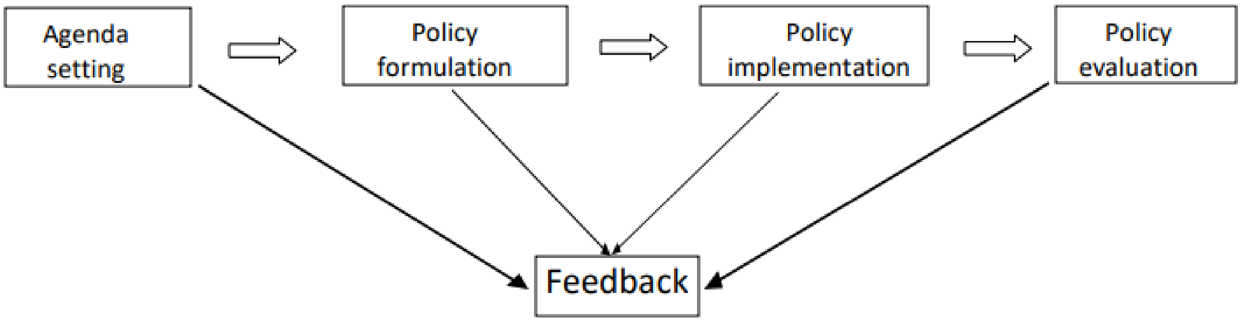
Scholars differ on the number of stages involved in the policy making process wherein some scholars such as Hayes (2006) have argued that there are up to eight stages in the policy making process which include:

1. Issue Identification
2. Policy Analysis
3. Policy Instrument Development
4. Consultation
5. Coordination
6. Decision-Making
7. Implementation
8. Evaluation

While other scholars such as Barkensbus (1998) have argued that there are only four stages of the policy making process. These are namely:

1. Agenda Setting
2. Policy Formulation
3. Policy Implementation
4. Policy Evaluation (with a feedback loop)

The stages are arranged in a sequence as indicated:



Source: Barkenbus 1998

For the purpose of this study, the point of the policy-making stage is the implementation stage. Thus, the four-stage policy making process as outlined by Barkenbus (1998) shall be used as a guideline to interpret the language policy implementation process of the given primary school where this study was undertaken. First, an elaboration of each stage as defined by Barkenbus (1998):

2.5.1 Agenda Setting

According to Barkenbus (1998) there exists a substantial amount of environmental issues that could reach the agenda of decision makes on a variety of issues. It is argued that the process of issues gaining order of priority in competing for the limited attention of policy makers that it is neither random nor completely predictable (Barkenbus, 1998). According to Dearing and Rogers (1996) as cited in (Barkenbus, 1998), "scientific research results do not play an important role in the agenda-setting process as a result of issues reaching the attention of decision-makers through "social construction of reality" (Barkenbus, 1998: 3). Barkenbus (1998) contends that this is because in a given society, perceptions count as much as reality. Key to the construction of these perceptions is the media which has easy reach and the ability to influence people on a variety of issues (Barkenbus, 1998). The media might be able to influence people who are concerned about environmental quality but be unable to elaborate on 'specific environmental issues and their causes' (Barkenbus, 1998: 3).

Equally important to note is the fact that not all media are equal and as such, some will have more influence than others dependent on their status in society (Barkenbus, 1998). For example, a headline in the *New York Times* would have far greater influence than one of the lesser newspaper outlets in the American context (Barkenbus, 1998). Moreover, the content of what is covered by the media also plays a significant role in what would catch the attention of decision-makers (Barkenbus, 1998). In addition, certain individuals have greater influence on what becomes part of the agenda by virtue of their public office, e.g. the president (Barkenbus, 1998).

Barkenbus (1998) argues that while recognizing that experts are hardly ever the drivers of issues which reach the public agenda, the fact that expertise are called upon to legitimize a given issue should not be overlooked. An article in the *New York Times* would need to have a scientific basis in order for it to be considered a factual and pertinent issue and thus the role of expertise should not be diminished as it does form part of the process (Barkenbus 1998).

Additionally, Barkenbus (1998) asserts that there have been attempts to make science a more powerful driving force in the agenda-setting stage of the policy cycle. Further, he argues that the rationale behind this was to carefully ascertain risks according to their degrees, resources and consideration (Barkenbus, 1998). He contends however, that despite the attractiveness of the given studies which were meant to inform the agenda-setting process, there has been little evidence indication a restructuring of environmental policies (Barkenbus, 1998).

The next stage in the policy-making process is identified by Barkenbus (1998) as that of policy formulation.

2.5.2 Policy Formulation

At this stage, it is important to note that it matters not how a particular issue reached the attention of decision-makers but that expertise are capable of becoming part of its solution (Barkenbus, 1998). The term expertise is far more comprehensive than just the knowledge of tools which assist in decision making and when considering to formulate a policy, political leaders have sought the wisdom, reasoning and intelligence possessed by certain individuals (Barkenbus, 1998). A combination of these qualities with a great understanding on a given area as well as its history presents a solid foundation for rational decision-making (Barkenbus, 1998).

The 'enlightenment' element of expertise refers to the manner in which decision-makers are able to be 'enlightened' to the extent of gradually altering their perception of issues as well as their solutions (Barkenbus, 1998). In the absence of expertise, decision-makers are likely to formulate policies on the basis of politically fuelled special and powerful interests as their entire perspective on a particular issue may already be shaped by these (Barkenbus, 1998). The ‘enlightenment’ element is important as it broadens policy options instead of them being constrained by the former limitation (Barkenbus, 1998). This is given the assumption that experts who have no special interests are able to provide a broader perspective on policy issues coupled with a wealth of experience and a considerable number of policy options which are not constrained by constricted interests (Barkenbus, 1998). Therefore the enlightenment value of expertise broadens the policy space and creates an environment wherein the policies which are formulated are a “win-win” (Barkenbus, 1998: 5).

The policy formulation phase is thus assisted by expertise which serve “instrumental’ and ‘enlightenment’ functions (Barkenbus, 1998: 5). Though this is the case, there are limitations which exit such as the fact that there are multiple factors which influence a decision-maker in making choices on policy (Barkenbus, 1998). These factors include the decision maker’s constituency, (if they are an elected individual), funders as well as organizational requirements and ideological stand point – these arguably play a greater role than expertise when formulating a policy (Barkenbus, 1998).

Examples of expertise being used in political environments to affirm pre-selected policy positions are abundant and experts operating in this arena ought to be aware of the potential abuse of their expertise in a political context (Barkenbus, 1998). Despite the potential abuse and limitations inherent in the acquisition of expertise for policy formulation purposes, in genuine policy formulation, expertise are a necessity and their intervention is not likely to lessen over time (Barkenbus, 1998).

After the policy has been formulated, Barkenbus argues that the next stage is for it to be implemented. Thus, the following stage is policy implementation.

2.5.3 Policy Implementation

“Policy implementation is described by scholars as the process in which public policy directives are carried out” (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980: 1). The effectiveness of a policy is therefore “determined by the ability of the policy implementers to put into practise what the expected outcomes of the policy were at the formulation stage” (Maluleke (2011). Barkenbus (1980: 6) asserts that:

> Policy-implementation phase has always taken a back seat to the policy-formulation phase of the policy cycle. This is understandable because the public perceives the major policy battle as being fought over defining the policy itself. Scholars know better. They know that policies themselves are not self- executing and that the elaboration and setting forth of policy mark just the beginning, not the end, of a full policy cycle. The perils that face those actually having to implement policy are substantial.

Ingram and Mann (1980) as cited in (Barkenbus1998) asserted that policy implementation was so difficult to achieve that one ought to be surprised when there is a positive outcome derived from the prescripts of a given policy. This bears testament to the fact that policy implementation is therefore complex process which encompasses translating the intention of a policy into action.

Again, the role of experts is highlighted in this stage as they are needed to provide clarity on legislative mandates which are vaguely worded (Barkenbus, 1998). It becomes easier for a policy to be implemented if there is a clear understanding of what the desirable qualities of a particular policy are (Barkenbus, 1998).

It is important to note that policies are not ‘self-implementing’ and that a variety of stakeholders play a role in assuring that the policy itself is implemented in line with the vision of the said policy (Barkenbus, 1998: 7). Expertise in addition with other forces such as interest groups, political pressure and the courts have a pertinent role to play in the implementation of a said policy (Barkenbus, 1998). In this phase, expertise are used for standard setting as well as technical-assistance purposes as laws and policies are mostly made at levels which are above the level where they shall be implemented (Barkenbus, 1998). Local communities benefit from technical assistance as they are assisted in determining how to enact policy measures in a consistent manner which is critical to the accomplishment of policy goals (Barkenbus, 1998).

Therefore, policy implementation should be regarded as the stage wherein the assumptions made in the needs-identification stage are tested (Maluleke, 2011). It is rare for the implementation of a policy to satisfy all stakeholders given that optimum does not exist and the desired product will be realised only if the appropriate combination of relevant inputs is realised (Maluleke, 2011).

The implementation of policies happens in a variety of ways. According to Matland (1995: 146) as the evolution of implementation research occurred, the two schools of thought developed to be most effective in studying and describing policy implementation are the top-down and bottom-up approaches. We now look into approaches to policy implementation.

2.5.3.1 The Top-Down Approach

The top-down theorists place policy creators as the fundamental actors in implementing a said policy (Matland, 1995: 146). Top-down models (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Maz- manian and Sabatier 1981; 1983; 1989) align implementation with the actions of implementing officials as well as the reception of target groups in how they accord with the goals embodied in an authoritative manner. They define implementation as:

> “The carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions . . .”

Central to the top-down approach is the aspect of an authoritative nature of a clear hierarchy from which decisions on implementation arise and are trickled down accordingly in the said order (Matland, 1995: 147). According to Elder (2001), the top down approach displays the following elements: It has clear and consistent goals which are articulated at the top of the hierarchical environment. Further, there is knowledge of pertinent cause and effects within a clear hierarchy of authority wherein rules are established at the top and the said policy is aligned with the said rules. Following this, there are resources and the necessary capacity is put in place to ensure that commands are carried out effectively from the top.

Top-down models of policy implementation are criticised for their exclusive emphasis on the top echelon as key actors of policy implementation (Matland, 1995). The first criticism is that local service deliverers have first-hand experience of the true problems of a given society and thus would be in a better position to propose policy that would address those particular problems (Matland, 1995). In this model, local actors are seen as obstacles to fruitful implementation who’s “behaviour ought to be curtailed” (Matland, 1995). The second part of the criticism is that it is unrealistic for bureaucrats in the top levels of the policy making process to be able to control the actions of local actors (Matland, 1995).

2.5.3.2 The Bottom-Up Approach

In direct contrast, bottom-up theorists such as Berman (1978 and 1980); Hjern and Porter (1981); Hjern (1982); Hjern and Hull (1982); Hull and Hjern (1987); and Lipsky (1978) as cited in Matland (1995) argue that a realistic understanding of policy implementation can be achieved by observing the said policy from the point of view of the target population and service deliverers. Berman (1978) as cited in (Matland, 1995). Argues that policy implementation occurs on two levels: (1) the macro implementation level wherein actors which are centrally located devise a government programme and (2) the micro implementation level where local organisations respond to the macro level plans by developing their own programmes and implementing them (Matland, 1995).

As such, a wide variation exists in the manner in which the same national policy is implemented at a local level and context specific factors within the implementing environment can dictate to rules which are created at the top of the implementing pyramid and those that designed the policy would have no control over it (Matland, 1995). Bottom-up scholars therefore argue that if implementers at a local level are not given the free reign too adapt the said programme to local conditions it is likely to fail (Palumbo, Maynard-Moody, and Wright 1984) as cited in (Matland, 1995).

Bottom up designers of policy are of the belief that the target groups of the designed policy are the implementers of it. They further assert that if the buy-in of the target groups is not sought than the implementation process of the policy is most likely to not be successful (Matland, 1995: 148). The bottom-up approach therefore expresses that the goals, strategies as well as activities related to the policy must be made in line with how it will directly impact the people whom the policy is intended for (Matland, 1995: 149).

The first criticism of the bottom-up model to policy implementation is normative in that it states that in a democratic system, the power to control policy should be exercised by those elected to do so by voters and decentralisation of this power should be within a legal framework (Matland, 1995).

The second criticism is that the bottom-up approach to policy implementation places an exaggerated emphasis on the level of local autonomy to the extent that there are many differences at a local level which cannot be contained (Matland, 1995).

2.5.3.3 The Hybrid Approach

In addition, the hybrid approach to policy implementation incorporates the principles of both the bottom-up and top-down approaches (Stachowiak, Robles, Habtemariam & Maltry, 2016:32). It is argued that this approach is used when policy-makers want to respond to a policy that is ambiguous in nature; which does not clearly define its goals nor present a designated pathway to achieve its purpose (Stachowiak et al, 2016: 32).

2.5.3.4 Successful Implementation

Matland (1995) describes successful policy implementation as follows:

> To recapitulate, when policy goals explicitly have been stated, then, based on democratic theory, the statutory designers' values have a superior value. In such instances the correct standard of implementation success is loyalty to the prescribed goals. (p. 155).

Barkenbus (1998) asserts that after the policy implementation stage, the last stage in the policy making process is the policy evaluation stage.

2.5.4 Policy Evaluation

Barkenbus (1998) argues that the policy implementation stage is a neglected part of the policy cycle and policy evaluation is for the most part, a forgotten element in the policy cycle. Further, Barkenbus (1998) stresses that this is “hard to comprehend from a rational basis as it is only mandatory that one seeks to understand the importance of evaluation in answering basic questions about the said policy”: ‘How has the policy worked?’ and ‘How can we improve policy implementation?’ (p. 7).

The answer to these questions are important in providing policymakers with the required feedback that shall inform future decision-making and yet policy evaluation in a thorough and systematic manner is an exception rather than a standing rule (Barkenbus, 1998). When locating this policy phase in the a political context it is evident that policymakers would not want policy evaluation to occur because should it have negative outcomes, it could prove embarrassing for those responsible for formulation and implementing the said policy (Barkenbus, 1998). This gives evidence to the fact that “decision makers operate in a political environment where success on policy outcomes among other things is a necessity for re-election” (Barkenbus, 1998). Therefore, this is coupled with the need to suppress unpleasant results of policies or to amplify only positive outcomes of policies which is the reason why policy evaluations are for the most part ignored or set aside by decision-makers in order to reconcile their own political agendas (Barkenbus, 1998).

In one way or another, policy evaluation is bound to happen as media, interest groups and think tanks also weigh in on policies and provide their own evaluations which differ on degrees of impartiality (Barkenbus, 1998). This constitutes “anecdotal evaluation as opposed to systematic evaluation” which ought to be a professional activity rather than an informal commentary on a said policy (Barkenbus, 1998: 8).

It is clear from this literature review that scholars have thoroughly debated about language learning policies as well as the policy making process in isolation to one another. The literature review does indicate that the process of looking directly at the implementation patterns in implementing language policies has not been looked at in detail which makes this study highly relevant as it seeks to close this gap and contribute to the debate on language learning policies as well as that of policy implementation concurrently.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has successfully given an account of what has been researched and published on the topic of language learning policies, and policy making within the South African context and the world at large. The purpose of this chapter was to give a context to readers of this study on the knowledge that has been established on language learning policies as well as policy implementation respectively. Given the research to date, it was apparent that the studies to date have not looked directly into language policy implementation concurrently and as such this study is highly relevant as it seeks to look at language and policy implementation concurrently and add value to the current literature.

The next chapter shall detail the research methodology.

3. CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter shall discuss the research design and methodology used for this study. The choice of the research style, data-collection methods and procedures will also be elaborated upon in this chapter. A justification for the qualitative approach to the study will be provided and all other methods of data collection, recruitment of participants and ethical considerations will be accounted for.

In the social sciences, “methodology refers to the manner in which research is conducted as a means to seek answers to problems” (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault (2015: 3). “The type of methodology chosen by a researcher is informed by their assumptions, interests as well as purpose” (Taylor et al, 2015: 3). This term can be summarised in three parts, (1) “a body of rules and theories employed by researches in a discipline of study; (2) a set or particular sets of procedures; as well as (3) the analysis of the procedures of inquiry which are followed by researchers in a particular discipline of study” (Taylor et al, 2005: 3).

3.1.1 A Body of Rules and Theories

Babbie (2001, 91) argues that “methodology is in reference to the behaviour of scientists and scholars when they examine phenomena which is relevant to their specific disciplines.” Further, it defines the information that is to be analysed and provides the conceptual tools and procedures which are necessary to perform analysis. In essence, methodology “encompasses exploration, description as well as exploration and can be summarised as the theoretical analysis of the methods appropriate to a field of study or to the body of methods and principles particular to a branch of knowledge” (Pickett 2000, 274).

3.1.2 A Set or Particular Sets of Procedures

“The social sciences use a variety of research methods” (Mouton & Marais, 1998). These include (but are not limited to), “field research, experiments, analysis of existing data, content analysis, surveys, experiments, comparative as well as evaluative research. Each of these need to be arranged in accordance with a system” (Mouton & Marais, 1998).

3.1.3 The Analysis of Procedures

According to Mouton & Marais, 1998; & Babbie, 2001; “methodologies include an organisation of analysis that provides the framework for organising, collecting and interpreting data.” The researcher “makes an informed decision as to how he/she will collect data and as such, data is collected inductively or deductively” (Mouton & Marais, 1998; & Babbie, 2001). The instance where “a researcher has a predetermined framework which he/she uses to guide their research is referred to as deductive reasoning” (Mouton & Marais, 1998; & Babbie, 2001). In contrast, “inductive reasoning allows a researcher to begin a research project with a general research question without a clear framework” (Mouton & Marais, 1998; & Babbie, 2001).

The method of data collection utilised in this study was qualitative. This method of data collection was chosen because the nature of this research required the examination of social data rather than a quantified analysis. A general pattern among variables was sought through examining the links between theory and human behaviour. Mouton and Marais (1998) argue that “some methods which are involved in qualitative research include grounded theory, semiotics and conversation analysis.” The nature of the research requires a critical approach where issues can be examined in detail and in depth without limitations.

3.2 Qualitative Methodology

Taylor et al (2015, 7) argue “that qualitative methodology can be broadly defined as research that produces data that is descriptive which encompasses people’s own written and spoken words as well as observable behaviour.” Berg (2007: 6) argues that “qualitative research seeks answers to questions by observing various social settings as well as the individuals who inhabit them.” “They monitor the manner in which these inhabitants make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles and the like” (Berg, 2007: 7).

Bhattacherjee (2012) affirms the fact that “qualitative research is the analysis of qualitative data in the form of interview transcripts to mention one. He argues that this is contrary to quantitative data which is statistics driven and is largely independent to the research whereas in qualitative analysis, the analysis is heavily dependent on the researcher’s analytic and integrative skills. Further, that the social context where the “data is collected is personally known by the qualitative research” (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Thus, he argues, the unique element of qualitative research analysis is ‘sense making’ of data rather than predicting or explaining it. (Bhattacherjee, 2012: 133) describes the type of mind-set needed to carry out qualitative research as follows: “A creative and investigative mind-set is needed for qualitative analysis, based on an ethically enlightened and participant-in-context attitude, and a set of analytic strategies.”

In addition, “qualitative research makes use of interviews, journals, diaries, observations open-ended questions, and the like in order to interpret and make sense of experiences of people and their social reality” (Mohajan, 2018). It is exploratory in nature as it seeks to explain the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of a particular social phenomenon which by in large assists us to understand the social world we inhibit and why things are the way in which they are (Mohajan, 2018: 2).

“Qualitative research seeks to give a detailed understanding into the behaviour of human beings, their attitudes, their emotions, attitudes as well as experiences” (Mohajan, 2018). Punch (2005) as cited in (Mohajan, 2018) states that the “main paradigms in qualitative research are positivist, interpretivist and critical.”

The interest of qualitative researchers is that of “people’s experience, belief and the meaning of systems from their own perspectives both as groups and as individuals” (Mohajan, 2018). In so doing, qualitative research does not “include statistical analysis nor empirical calculations” (Brink, 1993). This is because the “end goal of qualitative research is an in depth understanding of a particular issue outside of numerical values" (Mohajan, 2018). This is because in qualitative research "issues are to be described and interpreted from the point of view of the person or group being studied in order to formulate new theories and concepts as a result of that particular interaction" (Mohajan, 2018).

Mohajan (2018) further argues that "qualitative research is difficult to define concisely as it has no theory paradigm it solely belongs to it nor a distinct set of practices that belong to it alone." Further, he "contends that qualitative research ought to be guided by research questions which would be tailored for participants who would be answering questions on the given topic" (Mohajan, 2018). Moreover, Mohajan (2018) "concedes that in qualitative research there is a close relation between the' researcher's goals' and the 'researcher's theoretical frames." Theoretical frames encompass all previous research of a given topic, findings or theories and the methodology to obtain these is dependent on how the information is collected and how the data is analysed (Mohajan, 2018).

In this given context, the qualitative data is descriptive in the form of "documents, interview notes, observation records which are all analysed inductively" (Mohajan, 2018). The settings of the data collection are natural and not manipulated in any form to emphasize that the research occurs in 'real-world situations' where the researcher is drawn into the details of the particular setting of the research (Mohajan, 2018: 7). The purpose of the research ought to guide the researcher into using the key principles of research design and aligning research question to the methodological approaches (Mohajan, 2018).

In summary, it is argued that "qualitative research has some common characteristics" (Hammersley & Atkinnson (1993). Part of these characteristics include the fact that "researchers using qualitative research methods collect data through direct encounters with participants through one on one or group interviews and observation" (Mohajan, 2018). The data collected assists in "developing theories and concepts that help people understand the world" (Mohajan, 2018). The manner in which "sampling takes place shows the representativeness of findings through which participants have been selected randomly in a quest to attain a better understanding of the thoughts, attitudes and behaviours of people" (Mohajan, 2018). Researchers using "qualitative research methods remain open to alternative explanations and are concerned with the experiences, opinions and feelings of participants" (Mohajan, 2018). This is because "qualitative research is rooted in how people experience and make sense of certain issues that occur in their everyday lives and thus clear information and a detailed analysis of the opinions of respondents is required" (Mohajan, 2018).

In this manner, "social phenomena is described as it occurs naturally as it is possible for the theoretical framework to be derived from the data instead of it being given previously" (Mohajan, 2018). All of this is conducted in day to day settings as “opposed to laboratory settings which are controlled because the focus is on individual as well as person to person interactions” (Mohajan, 2018). This requires researchers “to spend lots of time with participants in research settings which is later presented in the exact words of the participants which can be referred to as a narrative form of presenting research findings” (Mohajan, 2018). The researcher is ought to be objective in conducting qualitative research and “avoid making a premature decision about the study as studies are context bound thus requiring the researcher to be context sensitive” (Mohajan, 2018). This assists in establishing a “holistic perspective of the given subject matter which is being research and the focus is on discovery and understanding which requires flexibility in the research design “(Mohajan, 2018). The responsibility of the researcher is “to attain true information and ensure that the participants are treated ethically” (Mohajan, 2018).

The researcher also “remains an integral part of the research process” because it is the researcher that collects and analyses the data (Mohajan, 2018). The study can be “stimulated by the motivation and personal interest of the researcher” (Mohajan, 2018). The findings are typically in the form of “themes, concepts, hypotheses or theories” (Mohajan, 2018).

Therefore, qualitative research methods also allow for flexibility in data wherein new data is accepted as it arises (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, and 2015:4). In so doing, data analysis is not restrictive and allows for new information to arise as the study uncovers it. The use of “open-ended questions in qualitative research allows for participants to respond in their own words as opposed to forcing them to choose from fixed responses” (Family Health International, 4). The responses “evoked by the asking of open-ended questions are rich and explanatory in nature as they are unanticipated by the researcher” (Family Health International, 4). Qualitative research methods also allow for the researcher to probe initial participant responses by asking “how” or “why” thus making “answers of participants meaningful and culturally noticeable” (Family Health International, 4).

The three most common qualitative research methods are:

1. “Participant observation wherein data is collected on naturally occurring behaviours on their usual contexts.
2. In-depth interviews for the collection of data on individuals’ personal histories, perspectives, and experiences more especially where sensitive topics are being explored.

3. Focus groups which are effective in producing data on the cultural norms of a group thereby generating broad overviews of issues of concern to the cultural groups or subgroups presented (Family Health International, 2)."

3.3 Types of Qualitative Research

Typically, "qualitative research methods include observations as well as interviews but are also able to include document analysis, surveys, case studies and historical texts" (Mohajan, 2018):

> Qualitative research is an umbrella term used to refer to the theoretical perspectives designs as (Creswell, 2009; Hancock et al., 2009): narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, action research, case study, ethnography, historical research, and content analysis. (p. 7).

In this study, we discuss six types of qualitative research which exist and highlight the ones chosen for this particular study.

3.3.1 Narrative Model

This method focuses on peoples narratives about themselves or a particular set of events (Mohajan, 2018). The focus is on the unfolding of a person's story instead of emerging themes and thus emphasis is placed on characters (Mohajan, 2018). Hancock et al (2009) argue that this particular method is "time consuming and therefore only includes a small number of cases". For example, a doctor conducting interviews on a small group of patients and them narrating the positives and negatives of a particular disease constitutes as narrative research (Mohajan, 2018).

The focus of the narrative analysis are the stories which are shared by the participants wherein the story is seen as a 'complete entity' with a 'beginning, middle and end' (Mohajan, 2018: 7). This approach is used when "a study has a contextual focus where the subject is biographical, oral or life history of an individual or group" (Mohajan, 2018). Narrative research data is collected by "letters, interviews, diary entries, artifacts, photographs and observations" (Mohajan 2018).

Participant experience can be "immensely captured by narrative research which can inform project design and highlight context-based impacts that have the ability to 'give greater power to local people" (Mohajan, 2018: 8). A set of characters develops over the course of the narrative, "a sequence of events, a plot and a point of view from a narrator which gives this particular form of qualitative research 'distinct communication features" (Mohajan, 2018: 8).

3.3.2 Phenomenological Method

"This approach in qualitative research quests to explore the experiences of people in their everyday lives" (Mohajan, 2018). It is best suited when the study seeks to understand the life experiences of a given concept which is experienced by an individual or group of people (Creswell, 2009) as cited in (Mohajan, 2018). This type of study is most suitable in study areas where there is little knowledge on the subject matter (Mohajan, 2018):

> For example, a researcher takes interview of 100 widows, and asks them to describe their experiences of the deaths of their husbands. Creswell [2014] expressed that this type of study is the search for "The central underlying meaning of the experience that emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where experiences contain both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on the memory, image, and meaning." (p. 8).

Thus, phenomenological research is "an inquiry rooting in psychology and philosophy wherein a researcher describes individuals lived experiences about a particular subject matter as described by participants" (Mohajan, 2018). There is an inherent attempt to understand "how the participants of a given study make sense of their experiences through this approach" (Mohajan, 2018).

Questions posed by phenomenological researchers pose questions such as, "What is it like for a mother to live with a teenage child who is dying of cancer?" (Mohajan, 2018: 9)

This study was narrative and the qualitative research methods of a focus group, in-depth interviews as well as document analysis were used. We explore the research setting and sampling methods used in this particular study.

3.3.3 Grounded Theory Method

This model explores to "explain why a particular action happened the way it did by looking at large subjects in numbers" (Mohajan, 2018). It is based totally on data rather than trying to emerge theory from data and thus, in this approach, "the researcher doesn't test hypothesis but builds theory from the extension of another theory of unprocessed information" (Khan, 2014). Interviews and observation are particularly “used to develop grounded theory wherein data is gathered face-to-face, telephonically or in focus groups” (Tepper, 2000). For example, businesses use grounded theory when exploring user or satisfaction surveys that are in the quest of understanding why consumers use company services or products (Mohajan, 2018).

Mohajan (2018: 10) argues that a grounded theory report incorporates five aspects which are namely:

(1) “Describing the research question
(2) The literature review
(3) Describing the methodology
(4) Data analysis which explains the theory and
(5) Discussing the implications”

Hancock et al., 2009 argue that the “key features of grounded theory include the fact that it focuses on the fact that research should start from a position where the researcher knows nothing about the subject matter at hand so that all concepts emerge directly from the data.” Further, they argue that sampling based on constructs which are theoretically relevant and supporting constant comparative method which is a useful form of doing qualitative analysis. Moreover, they argue that “data analysis ought to occur at the same time as data collection in order to allow researchers to refine the research question as well as the data collection procedures in light of emerging findings.” Lastly, they argue that it requires the ability to recognise what is important in the data so that the researcher is able to give it “meaning in order for the study to make sense.”

Further, we explore elements of the case study model.

3.3.4 Case Study Model

In direct contrast to grounded theory, the case study model looks at “one test subject in-depth and the subject can be a business, a family, a person, an organisation, a town or city” (Mohajan, 2018). Sagadin (1991: 11) argues that: “A case study is used when we analyze and describe; each person individually for his/her activity, special needs, life situation, life history, etc.; a group of people, such as, a school department, teaching staff, etc., a problem or several problems, process, phenomenon or event in a particular institution, etc., in detail. If we remain in such analyses on the descriptive level, then a case study is considered as a form of descriptive method, but if we climb to the causal level, case study proceeds towards causal experimental method.”

Case studies are therefore the in-depth examinations of people or groups of people and has been found to be useful in fields which are “practice-oriented such as public administration, psychology, history, education management and medicine” (Mohajan, 2018). It is further argued that case studies are time-consuming and may be costly too and in this instance, case studies are “not used to test hypotheses but hypotheses may be generated from case studies” (Mohajan, 2018).

George and Bennett (2005) have asserted that there are four advantages of using case studies:

(1) “Their potential to achieve high conceptual validity.
(2) Strong procedures for the development of new hypotheses.
(3) Usefulness for closely examining the hypothesized role of causal mechanisms in the context of individual cases, and
(4) Their capacity for addressing “causal complexity.”

We then explore what the historical model entails.

3.3.5 Historical Model

Historical research describes the events of the past in order to fully comprehend the present patterns as a means of providing a foundation to anticipate future choices (Mohaja, 2018). In this manner, it describes where the study started, how it has developed over time and where it stands at the current moment [Špiláčková, 2012]. This is referred to as his historiography which describes the investigation of elements from history (Berg, 2012).

The manner in which historical research is conducted is similar to other types of research as there is a systematic collection of data that has occurred in the past and consequently “identify, classify, arrange, clarify, evaluate, synthesize, elaborate, develop, and publish them by means of scientific methods” (Mohajan, 2018: 14-15).

A historical researcher can therefore not manipulate or control any of the variables in the study as past events are not changeable (Hroch et al, 1985).

The data in historical research has to be thoroughly evaluated as Mohajan, (2018) asserts:

> “The data for historical research should be subjected to two types of evaluation. These evaluations are called external criticism and internal criticism. External criticism is concerned with the authenticity or genuineness of the data and should be considered first. Internal criticism examines the accuracy of the data, and is considered after the data are considered to be genuine” (p. 15).

Berg (2012) further argues that “external criticism establishes the validity of the data and internal criticism establishes its reliability”. He further argues that the aims of qualitative research are:

(1) “To serve for revealing the unknown,
(2) To search for events and relations in the past whose consequences reach up to present,
(3) To answer questions which have not been answered yet, and
(4) To evaluate activities by individuals, agencies, and institutions in the past which have contributed to their today’s success” (p.15).

Furthermore, we look into how the ethnological model to conducting qualitative research occurs.

3.3.6 Ethnographical Model

The ethnographical mode of qualitative research is “the study of the social interactions, beliefs and behaviours of small societies which involves the participation and observation as well as the interpretation of data over a long period of time” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). “In contrast to the case study, the ethnographic study as entire group that shares a common culture as opposed to a person, program or event” (Mohajan, 2018).

According to LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, the main characteristics of ethnographic studies are described as follows:

(1) “It is related to intimate, face-to-face interaction with participants.
(2) It reflects an accurate view of participants’ perspectives and behaviors.
(3) It is conducted on natural settings, not involve with laboratory.
(4) It uses multiple data sources.
(5) It frames all human behavior and belief within a socio-political and historical context.
(6) It uses inductive, interactive, and recursive data collection and analytic strategies to build local cultural theories.
(7) It uses the concept of culture as a lens through which to interpret results.” (p. 14).

Having explored for different kinds of models that assist in understanding how qualitative research ought to be conducted, it is asserted in the case study model that: “A case study is used when we analyze and describe; each person individually for his/her activity, special needs, life situation, life history, etc.; a group of people, such as, a school department, teaching staff, etc., a problem or several problems, process, phenomenon or event in a particular institution, etc., in detail (Sagadin (1991: 11).

For this study, the case study model was used as the given primary school was used as a site to gain more knowledge about language policy implementation in basic education.

The language practices of the school were analyzed in depth in order to ascertain the state of African languages within the basic education environment against the context that in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa they are regarded as 'previously diminished' languages. As such, this method was appropriate for this study because one was able to look at the practices of the primary school in depth in line with national, provincial and local legislation which speaks to the language policy that directly affects the entire nation.

It was an appropriate case study for this particular study as the school had an interesting transition of language policy implementation given that it was during the apartheid era, and Afrikaans medium school. This shifted in the democratic dispensation (1994 to date) when it became a dual medium instruction school offering English and Afrikaans as the medium of instructions in the classroom. Further, IsiXhosa second additional language was then added onto the language list in 1994 and it boasts to be "one of the first schools" in the southern suburbs of Cape Town to have introduced an African language in its curriculum.

Upon having chosen the model for the qualitative research, the study explored sampling as well as described the actual research setting.

3.4 Sampling and Research Setting

The research setting can be described as 'the physical, social and cultural site in which the researcher conducts the study' (Bhattacharya, 2008: 2). As discussed above, in qualitative research, the researcher studies the participants of the study in their natural setting which alludes to the fact that in a qualitative study, the researcher does not seek to completely control the conditions of the study as in a laboratory setting (Bhattacharya, 2008).

In traditional ethnographic studies, the observer became immersed in the community he/she was studying and as such, in colonial times such settings included 'where the "natives" lived in the study of the "other" cultures' which were conducted by missionaries and researchers which were sponsored by the state (Bhattacharya, 2008: 2). In this day and age however, indigenous research are now framed against oppressive and imperialist research which raise questions of power and privilege in relation to race, sexuality, caste, class and gender (Bhattacharya, 2008). The former elements play a role in determining the subject of the study, the participants and therefore the setting and as such, "the influence of cultural behaviour in the understanding of a phenomenon gets recognized and, therefore, is central to defining the setting" (Bhattacharya, 2008: 2).

Therefore, research setting refers to the geographical site where the participants of a study are found as individuals or in a group: "It could be the everyday lives that we live and study, the films that we watch, the texts that we analyse, the feelings that we interrogate, the bodies in which we reside, and the myriad interpretations and constructions of reality and the world that we, as researchers, are constantly trying to negotiate and "re-present." (Bhattacharya, 2008: 2).

The setting for this research was a primary school situated in the province of the Western Cape, City of Cape Town in a suburb called Rondebosch. The school was chosen because of its interesting history in pre-and post-apartheid in relation to language policy. The implementation of the language policy at the school was to be very interesting and thus I decided to make it my site of research. In addition, the case study model was used for this study as the school was a case study for language policy implementation in basic education.

In qualitative research, only a subset of a population is selected for a given study (Babbie, 2011, 231). The research objectives and characteristics of a study determine the number as well as which people to select for the study at hand (Babbie, 2011, 231). We discuss various forms of sampling and highlight the one chosen for this particular study.

3.4.1 Purposive Sampling

In this sampling method, "participants are grouped according to preselected criteria which is relevant to a particular research question" (Babbie, 2011, 232). Sample sizes are dependant of the study objectives as well as the resources and time available (Babbie, 2011, 232). "The sample sizes in purposive sampling are often determined by the point in data collection when new data no longer brings additional insights to research questions – this is also referred to as theoretical saturation" (Babbie, 2011: 232).

In this form of sampling, "researchers are reliant on their own judgement when choosing participants for their respective studies and thus requires researchers to have prior knowledge about the purpose of their study so that they are able to choose participants who are eligible in relation to the set out criteria" (Babbie, 2011). According to (Palinkas et al., 2013):

> "Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) note the importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner. In contrast, probabilistic or random sampling is used to ensure the generalizability of findings by minimizing the potential for bias in selection and to control for the potential influence of known and unknown confounders."

This form of sampling is used when researchers want to access a particular set of people because the selection of participants is done with those who fit the required profile for the study (Babbie, 2011).

Thus, purpose sampling is most successful when data review and analysis are done in combination with data collection (Babbie, 2011).

The study further explored quota sampling and what it entailed.

3.4.2 Quota Sampling

Quota sampling is the "method of sampling wherein the decision of how many people with which characteristics are to be included as participants" (Babbie, 2011, 233). Characteristics might include "age, place of residence, class, gender, race; dependant on the objectives of the study" (Babbie, 2011, 233). The criterion chosen allows focus on the people the researcher thinks are more likely to have experienced, know about or have insights into that particular research topic (Babbie, 2011, 233). The researcher then goes out to find people who fit the set out criterion until the prescribed quota is met to analyse (Babbie, 2011)

This particular method allows the researcher to save time and resources by selecting a subset of the population in order to analyse (Babbie, 2011). The preferences of the subset population is made by determination of given characteristics by the researcher who groups them according to them (Babbie, 2011). This type of sampling assists in the selection of samples by providing metadata which indicates the number of samples which need to be taken for each group targeted in order for them to be in line with the original population size (Babbie, 2011).

Thus, quota sampling can be described as he taking of samples from groups of items with precise characteristics in proportion to their population size (Babbie, 2011).

Quota sampling is useful when a researcher is unable to obtain a probability sample but still quests for a sample which is representative of the given population which is being studied (Babbie, 2011).

It is argued that quota sampling is easier and quicker to carry out as it does not require a set framework and the rigid use of sampling techniques (Babbie, 2011). Thus, quota sampling improves the representation of groups within the population and also ensuring that particular strata are not overly represented at the expense of others (Babbie, 2011). The stratification of groups in quota sampling allows groups to be easily compared (Babbie, 2011).

Snowball sampling was also explored and described.

3.4.3 Snowball Sampling

This form of sampling is also known as 'chain referral sampling' and is considered a type of purposive sampling (Babbie, 2011, 234). Participants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could contribute to the study (Babbie, 2011, 234). This form of sampling is often used to recruit what is referred to as "hidden populations" which are groups that are not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies (Babbie, 2011, 234).

This is the sampling method where research participants recruit each other for a given study or test (Babbie, 2011). It is referred to as snowball sampling as the theory suggests that once "the ball is rolling, it picks up more snow along the way and becomes larger and larger" (Babbie, 2011: 234). Babbie (2011) argues that two steps are followed in snowball sampling:

(1) To identify the potential participants in the population
(2) Ask those participants to recruit other people then ask *those* people to recruit

It is important to note that often only one or two participants can be found in the initial step and that participants should be made aware from the onset that they do not have to provide additional names for the study if they do not wish to (Babbie, 2011).

Snowball sampling allows for studies to occur in environments wherein they would not necessarily occur because of a lack of participants (Babbie, 2011). In so doing, it is able to help a researcher discover the characteristics of a population which they did not know existed (Babbie, 2011). In summary (Naderifar, Goli and Ghaljaie, 2020) states that:

"Snowball sampling is a convenience sampling method. This method is applied when it is difficult to access subjects with the target characteristics. In this method, the existing study subjects recruit future subjects among their acquaintances. Sampling continues until data saturation."

Upon exploring the former sampling techniques, the study evaluated and explored different sample strategies.

3.4.3.1 Sample Strategies

"Marshall (1996, 523) argues that there are three broad approaches to selecting a sample for a qualitative study:

1. The convenience sample is, according to him, the least rigorous technique which involves the selection of the most accessible subjects for the researcher. He purports that it is the least costly for the researcher in respect of time, money and effort but that it may result in poor quality data which lacks in intellectual credibility. He does add however, that there exists an element of convenience sampling in many qualitative studies but that a more thoughtful approach to selection of a sample is usually justified.
2. Judgement sampling also known as purposeful sampling is according to Marshall, the most common sampling technique. This is the process whereby the researcher actively selects the most productive sample to answer the research question. He adds that this can involve developing a framework that might influence a participant's contribution which would be based on a researcher's practical knowledge of the research area, the available literature as well as evidence from the study itself.
3. Theoretical sampling means that samples are theory driven to a greater or lesser extent according to Marshall. This form of sampling necessitates building interpretative theories from emerging data and selecting a new sample to examine and elaborate on a particular theory."

In this study, the method of sampling which was used was purposive sampling. This is because clear criterion was set out in the design stage as to the number of people who were to participate in it as well as their characteristics. Convenience as well as judgement sampling were the sampling strategies applied in this study. The convenience element of the sampling was the fact that as the researcher I was the IsiXhosa teacher at the primary school from grade R to 7 and thus it was convenient for me to do the study there as the data collection would be easier. In terms of judgement sampling, I actively chose a sample of learners who had been part of the school from grade R-7 in order to track the implementation of the language policy in learners who had been at the school since grade R.

Marshall (1996, 523) argues that when doing qualitative research, it is useful to study small samples and that "an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is one that adequately answers the research question." Thus, the sample size for this study was ten percent of the learners who had been at the school from grade 1-7 for the in-depth interviews as well as two teachers who were selected on the basis of them being at the school for 30 years. The teachers would be able to elaborate on the language policy from its inception given the length of time they had spent at the school in pre and post-apartheid eras which proved a different approach to framing the language policy.

This method allowed me to get the maximum amount of information used out of the data which was collected in for this study. Also, the major issues which were presented in the finding were able to be highlighted. This form of sampling was extremely cost and time effective when I weighed it against other sampling methods. Purposive sampling was also rich in providing a number of techniques which could be used in order to get to the required participants for the study which makes it a highly versatile research method which can be personalised to enhance the effectiveness of a study

It worked very well for this study as the participants were profiled before embarking on the data collection and those who did not fit the profile were not invited to form part of the study. The pre-described criteria for participants was what guided the researcher in eliminating participants who would not be of assistance to the study given the pre-described criteria.

We explore further, how recruitment is conducted in qualitative research in general, and particularly for this study.

3.5 Recruitment in Qualitative Research

Recruitment is the process of identifying people who are to participate in a research study against set criterion in the purposive sampling method (Babbie, 2011). The strategy for recruiting is thus a "project specific plan" for the identification of people who are to participate in a particular research study which includes the number to be recruited, the location and the specific approach to be used in identifying them (Babbie, 2011). The strategies of recruitment are guided by the number and type of the data collection activities which are make up the study, also by the features of the population which is being studies (Babbie, 2011). The research strategies can be flexible in order to specially tailor for new topics, research question of subpopulations which appear to be important to the study (Babbie, 2011). The selection criteria may also be altered if the data collected or the population chosen prove not to be useful in answering the research question.

It is evident therefore that recruitment in qualitative research also required recruitment strategies which are outlined below.

3.5.1 Recruitment Strategies

"The researcher develops strategies for the initial comments which the researcher makes to potential participants" (Babbie, 2011). These strategies ought to be thoughtful to the cultural and social contexts of where the participants will be recruited (Babbie, 2011). Encompassing this should be a reflection of the researcher in the relation to the participants being able to understand "what the study is about, what is expected of them if the participate, and how their privacy will be respected" (Babbie, 2011: 352). The "recruitment guidelines should further be determined by taking into cognisance that participants should not be coerced in any way to take part in a given study and the voluntary nature of this participation should always be emphasized" (Babbie, 2011).

Relevant to this study, we explore what ought to occur when minors are recruited for research.

3.5.2 Recruitment of Minors

"Minors are people who are legally under the care of their parent or guardian" (Babbie. 2011). It is permitted to recruit minors for research purposes but "informed consent from the parent or guardian must be obtained as well as from the minor who is the potential participant" (Babbie, 2011). There are sometimes exceptions in obtaining parental consent as an example in respect of pregnant adolescents or homeless minors although this is subject to ethics guidelines of that particular ethics review board (Babbie, 2011). "Minors are considered a vulnerable population and as such, the recruitment of minors for research purposes is highly sensitive and their protection is paramount hence the appropriate measures must be put in place" (Babbie, 2011).

The study ought to be clear in terms of having the "informed consent" of participants for the research being conducted.

3.5.3 Informed Consent

The "ethics committee which would review and approve the given study would determine whether informed consent ought to be obtained for each activity of data collection" (Babbie, 2011). It is a general understanding that informed consent is pertinent for all qualitative research methods "except for participant observation" (Babbie, 2011). This applies irrespective of which sampling method was used to identify potential subjects nor the strategies used to recruit them (Babbie, 2011). What "informs whether the consent is oral or written is dependent on research-specific factors and the approval of the ethics committee" (Babbie, 2011). Informed consent encompasses "clearly explaining the research project to potential participants to ensure that they understand what it means for them to participate in the study so they make a conscious decision whether they want to participate or not" (Babbie, 2011).

Informed consent ensures that each participant is respected during the research process and it is normally provided for on a form which participants sign before participating in the research, encompassed in the form is a clause which permits participants to skip any questions they do not wish to answer and to withdraw at any given point (Babbie, 2011).

Forms, however, are but "one part of the process of attaining informed consent as there are situations where obtaining informed consent from each participant may not be necessary or feasible" (Babie, 2011). Thus, researchers must always be versatile in their approach of achieving informed consent as it depends on the particular context. According to the Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide:

> "In general, data collection activities that require more than casual interaction with a person require individual informed consent from that person, regardless of whether community-level permissions exist. Examples of such activities include in-depth interviews and focus groups. The person should be told:
>
> (1) "the purpose of the research
> (2) what is expected of a research participant, including the amount of time likely to be required for participation • expected risks and benefits, including psychological and social • the fact that participation is voluntary and that one can withdraw at any time with no negative repercussions
> (3) how confidentiality will be protected
> (4) the name and contact information of the local lead investigator to be contacted for questions or problems related to the research • the name and contact information of an appropriate person to contact with questions about one's rights as a research

> participant (usually the chair of the local ethics committee overseeing the research" (p 10).

All of the information set out must be provided at the educational level and language which the participant can fully comprehend and must be free from coercion to participate in the said study (Babbie, 2011). According to Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide, informed consent may be written or oral:

> "Written consent means that a person receives a written form that describes the research and then signs that form to document his or her consent to participate. For illiterate participants, the form is read to them, they make some kind of mark in place of a signature, and then a witness usually signs as testimony that the consent is authentic. Written informed consent may also be described as documented informed consent.
>
> Oral consent means that a person receives all of the information needed for consent either verbally or in writing and then verbally consents to participate. The participant does not sign a consent form; therefore, this is often described as waiving the requirement for documentation of informed consent. This does not mean that the requirement for informed consent is waived. Most ethics committees require the researchers to maintain accurate records of how and when consent was obtained for each participant. Oral consent is generally acceptable for research with minimal risk, or where a loss of confidentiality is the primary risk and a signed consent form would be the only piece of identifying information for study participation." (p 11)

Upon outlining the recruitment strategy as well as the consent required from participants in order to partake in the study, the study explored what occurs when the recruitment strategy ought to be revised.

3.5.4 Revising the Recruitment Strategy

When the data collection is underway, the researcher may find that the recruitment strategy is not working as well it was anticipated to (Babbie, 2011). "Qualitative research is a repetitive process therefore it is possible to change the recruitment strategy when approval of doing so is granted" (Babbie, 2011). The reasons for a failed recruitment strategy could include there fact that not enough participants were recruited for the study or the criteria chosen for participants could have been flawed (Babbie, 2011).

The researcher should be transparent about why the research strategy did not work and why and how it needs to be changed (Babbie, 2011). These proposed changes should be submitted to the ethics committee for approval before the new phase of recruitment commences (Babbie, 2011). If the number of the potential participants has increased or decreased from the previous phase of recruitment, this also needs to be approved by the ethics committee keeping in mind that there is not a lot of time for data collection (Babbie, 2011).

In understanding this, the study further looked into general ethics when conducting qualitative research.

3.5.5 Ethics in Qualitative Research

Research ethics are the relations between the researcher and the people whom they study while professional ethics deals with issues such as intellectual property, plagiarism, fabrication of data and the like (Babbie, 2011).

Standards of research which are agreed upon help ensure that researchers consider the needs and concerns of people whom are studied and that the necessary oversight of how the research is carried out occurs (Babbie, 2011). This ensures that there is trust between researchers and participants of their studies as it is "imperative to safeguard the well-being of people when studying them and answering the research question is a second priority" (Babbie, 2011). In essence, this translates to the fact that if there is a choice that must be made between "harming the participant and harming the research, the research must be sacrificed instead" (Babbie, 2011).

The Belmont Report (1979) argues that there are three core principles of ethics in research as follows:

(1) "Respect for persons requires a commitment to ensuring the autonomy of research participants, and, where autonomy may be diminished, to protect people from exploitation of their vulnerability. The dignity of all research participants must be respected. Adherence to this principle ensures that people will not be used simply as a means to achieve research objectives.
(2) Beneficence requires a commitment to minimizing the risks associated with research, including psychological and social risks, and maximizing the benefits that accrue to research participants. Researchers must articulate specific ways this will be achieved.
(3) Justice requires a commitment to ensuring a fair distribution of the risks and benefits resulting from research. Those who take on the burdens of research participation should share in the

> benefits of the knowledge gained. Or, to put it another way, the people who are expected to benefit from the knowledge should be the ones who are asked to participate."

Further, it has been argued by Weijer et al (1979) that an fourth principle "respect for communities" should also form part of the above three principles. This "principle ensures that the researcher has a responsibility to respect the values and interests of the community while conducting the research and to ensure that the community is not harmed in any way."

Imperative in any research study, is the protection of confidentiality of participants.

3.5.6 Protecting Confidentiality

Qualitative research is "conversational and therefore data collectors ought to ensure that there are boundaries between what they are told by participants and what it is they tell participants" (Babbie, 2011). Some situations require unique strategies to ensure that "confidentiality if participants are not breached and this should be done before data collection commences in order to ensure the protection of the privacy of participants" (Babbie, 2011).

Thus, having elaborated on sampling methods, strategies as well as recruitment methods and strategies, the study delves into explain the different types of methods it implored to attain information from participants.

For this study, a focus group was conducted among ten teachers at the school which was the site of research.

3.6 Focus Groups

"Communication between research participants is used to generate data" (Kitzinger, 1995: 299). Group interaction is thus what is "capitalised on in focus groups because during this process, participants are fortified to speak to one another by asking questions and commenting" on each other's views (Kitzinger, 1995: 299). Often, focus groups are seen to be similar to "one-to-one" and "group interviews" (Parker & Tritter, 2006) as cited in (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). The evidence, however, "illustrates that the role of the researcher and their relationship with the participants compared to "one-to-one" and "group interviews" is significantly different to that of focus groups" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> “Interviews involve a one-to-one, qualitative and in-depth discussion where the researcher adopts the role of an “investigator.” This implies the researcher asks questions, controls the dynamics of the discussion, or engages in dialogue with a specific individual at a time. In contrast, in a focus group discussion, researchers adopt the role of a “facilitator” or a “moderator.” In this setting, the researcher facilitates or moderates a group discussion between participants and not between the researcher and the participants. Unlike interviews, the researcher thereby takes a peripheral, rather than a centre-stage role in a focus group discussion (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, & Robson, 2001; Hohenthal, Owidi, Minoia, & Pellikka, 2015; Johnson, 1996; Kitzinger, 1995) as cited in (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).”

The focus group had the desired effect in terms of attaining the necessary information from the discussions of teachers in order to answer the research questions posed. The below mentioned process was followed in conducting the focus group interview.

Morgan et al (1998) argue that there are four main steps in conducting focus groups and these are namely:

1. “Research Design
2. Data Collection
3. Analysis
4. Reporting of Results”

Upon conducting the focus group interview, the study outlines the research design for this particular focus group.

3.6.1 Research design

This is the “process of identifying what the main aim and objectives of the study are” following which, a list of questions are created for each discussion which would occur in a focus group (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). Thereafter, “ethics clearance is sought and then the identification of participants is the next important step as the focus group is based on group discussions and the relationships they have when discussing on the subject of the study in order to generate data” (Green, Draper, & Dowler, 2003; Kitzinger, 1995; Thomas, MacMillan, McColl, Hale, & Bond, 1995).

How the group is comprised is dependent on the aim of the research and moreover, the willingness of the participants to engage in a group discussion is imperative in being able to generate data that can be useful for the study (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

The" number of the participants for the discussion is also an important factor to consider and it is generally accepted that between six and eight participants suffice while some studies have reported as little as four and as many as fifteen participants" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). Potentially, a setback could be that not all those recruited for the discussion would pitch and thus (Rabiee, 2004) purports that researchers may "over-recruit by 10-25%." Therefore, "ten participants are considered to be large enough to gain a number of views as well as small enough no to be unmanageable and disorderly" (Krueger, 1994). Further, it is argued that with "more than twelve members, the group becomes disorderly and difficult to manage and may be better managed if disintegrated into two or three groups who have their own independent discussion" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

Following this, a convenient venue for the discussion ought to be sought and in doing this, researchers must consider issues like "participants' comfort, access to the venue, and levels of distraction" (Smith, 1972). Moreover, Sampson (1972) argues that "participants must be in a normal and familiar setting with enough seating that ensures that participants have a clear view of one of another as well as the facilitator (s)."

For this study, a maximum of ten participants were chosen for the focus group interview.

We then move to understanding how the data for the focus group was collected in this study.

3.6.2 Data Collection

Collecting data in focus groups includes verbal and non-verbal data interactions within the group (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). Non-verbal data is reliant on the behaviour and actions of the participants before the focus group discussion, during and after the discussion and it is considered as providing more detailed interpretations and descriptions as compared to verbal data (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> Gorden (1980) outlines four non-verbal communication data sources based on participants' behaviour reflected by body displacements and postures (kinesics); use of interpersonal space to communicate attitudes (proxemics); temporal speech markers such as gaps, silences, and hesitations (chronemics); and variations in volume, pitch and quality of voice (paralinguistic)."

Mainly, collecting data in a focus group includes “audio and tape recording, note-taking as well as the observation of participants and each of these methods have their own advantages and disadvantages and researchers should consider what works best in the context of their own study and choose a method of data collection which is most suitable” (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

Imperative to focus group discussion meetings, time is an important factor to consider as participants would become tired of a pro-longed discussion and thus the “rule of thumb” is 1-2 hours based on what the topic is, how many participants there are and the number of questions (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). This will differ if the participants are children as they have shorter attention spans and lose interest in topics sooner than adults (O.Nyumba et al., 2018)

In this study, note-taking as well as observation of participants were implored methods of collecting the data from the focus group discussions.

When the data is collected, it further needs to be analysed. The study outlines how this occurred.

3.6.3 Analysis

The discussions of a focus group lead to observational as well as qualitative data and thus analyses can be demanding (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> “Focus group discussion usually yields both qualitative and observational data where analyses can be demanding. According to Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007, 2008), qualitative analysis techniques that can be used to analyse focus group data include grounded theory analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Strauss, 1987), content analysis (Morgan, 1988) and discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Morgan (1988) recommends the use of content and ethnographic analytic techniques to analyse data from a focus group discussion since it affords the researcher an opportunity to obtain both qualitative and quantitative information through a “three-element coding framework” leading to mixed content analysis (Morgan, 1988). The “three coding-framework” refers to the two steps involved in the content analysis that yields

> quantitative results and the one step involving the ethnographic analysis that yields qualitative results" (p. 23).

Charmaz (2006) argues that "data coding" is done in two stages which are namely "initial coding" and "focused coding". "Initial coding" involves generation numerous category codes without outing a limit on the number of codes (Charmaz (2006). This is the stage where the researcher makes a list of the ideas which are emerging which draws relationship diagrams as well as identify keywords which are used by respondents in a frequent manner which is an indication of the emergence of important themes (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). "Focused coding" is where the researcher eliminates, combines or subdivides the coding categories which were identified in initial coding (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> "Attention should be drawn to recurring ideas and wider themes connecting the codes (Charmaz, 2006; Krueger, 1994; Ritchie & Spencer, 1994). This process can yield quantitative results to draw comparisons across focus groups, group dynamics, individual participants or the participants' statements (Carey & Smith, 1994; Morgan, 1995)."

The analysis if content allows the researcher to code the data in a systematic manner by coding the information into categories which are not detectable by only listening to tapes or reading transcripts (Robson, 1993; Yin, 1989). Ethnographic analysis is "qualitative in a strict manner as it draws primarily on direct quotes from the discussion of the group and therefore this process is not systematic and is heavily reliant on the ability of the researcher to label the findings into 'themes', 'discourse' or 'illustrative quotations'" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

"Ethnographic analysis does permit a detailed interpretative account of the everyday social processes of communication, talk and action occurring within the focus group, which can be useful in some instances" (Krippendorff, 2012).

In this study, the content and ethnographic analytic techniques were used to analyse data from the focus group discussion. This was because the afforded me the opportunity to obtain both qualitative and qualitative information from the discussions which had the desired effect of a "mixed content analysis (Morgan, 1988).

3.6.4 Reporting of Results

After the analysis of the data, the researcher ought to consolidate the findings into a report which is to be disseminated (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). The decisions surrounding how the report ought to be laid out is dependent on the on the audience which is targeted and the report can be in point form or narrative (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). For this study, the results of the focus group are described in Chapter 5 of this study.

The study also explored different ways in which focus groups are conducted and reiterates why the study opted to use one of the particular methods.

3.6.5 Types of Focus Group Discussions

(O.Nyumba et al., 2018) argue that "there are five types of group discussions and a further two which are evolving as a result of the growth in access and the variety of online platforms."

Firstly, the study explored the single focus group.

3.6.5.1 Single Focus Group

In this type of a focus group, "there is a discussion which is interactive by a group of participants as well as a team of facilitators in one place" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). Morgan (1996) argues that this is "the most common and classical type of group discussion which occurs that has been used by researchers across a variety of disciplines."

Additionally, it explored the two-way focused group.

3.6.5.2 Two-Way Focus Group

This type of focus group is the "choosing of two groups where one group actively discusses while the other one observes the first group" (Morgan, 1996; Morgan et al., 1998). This type of discussion is usually "done behind a one-way glass" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> "Usually, this type of focus group is conducted behind a one-way glass. The observing group and the moderator can observe and note the interactions and discussion of the first group without being seen. Hearing what the other group thinks (or by observing

> their interactions) often leads the second group to different conclusions than those it may have reached otherwise (Morgan, 1988)."

Also, it explored the dual moderator focus group.

3.6.5.3 Dual Moderator Focus group

This type of focus group encompasses "two moderators working together in the same group discussion where both of them perform two different roles within the same group" (Krueger & Casey, 2000). Dividing roles between the two moderators allows the discussion to flow and for all topics to be covered (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

Further, it explored the duelling moderator focus group.

3.6.5.4 Duelling Moderator Focus Group

Here, "two moderators take opposing sides on purpose on the issue which is being investigated" (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The belief here is that "introducing opposing views to a discussion by the moderators is imperative in achieving a disclosure from the participants which is in depth" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Moreover, it explored the respondent moderator focus group.

3.6.5.5 Respondent Moderator Focus Group

In this focus group discussion the "researchers invite the participants to also take up the role of being moderators" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). By "allowing one of the participants to lead the discussion it is believed that it would impact the dynamics of the group by having an influence in the answers of the participants which would increase the chances of the responses to make them more varied and honest" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

It further explored the mini focus group and what it entailed.

3.6.5.6 Mini Focus Group

Often, researchers are faced with a situation where they is "only a small potential selection of participants and they are difficult to reach even though the research design requires that the topic be discussed in a group setting" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). In these circumstances, the researchers are only able to "convene small groups of between two and four participants and these groups are usually made up of individuals who have a high level of expertise" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, Hague, 2002).

It also explored the online focus groups method.

3.6.5.7 Online Focus Groups

"Online focus groups occur on the internet which is an adaptation of traditional methods of conducting focus group discussions" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> "It is applied within the online environment, using conference calling, chat rooms or other online means (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Online focus groups boast an aura of dynamism, modernity and competitiveness that transcends classic problems with face-to-face focus group discussion (Edmunds, 1999). However, these discussion platforms are only accessible to participants with access to the Internet and are prone to technical problems such as poor or loss of connectivity and failure to capture non-verbal data" (Dubrovsky, Kiesler, & Sethna, 1991).

Having explored the different types of focus groups conducted in qualitative research, the study explores the importance of the use of focus groups when conducting qualitative research.

3.6.5.8 Importance of Focus Groups in Qualitative Research

Focus group discussions offer an opportunity for issues that are not well understood to be explored in a thorough manner as opposed to "conventional techniques" such as individual interviews and surveys (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). The underlying reason is because in focus groups, the discussion is built on the dynamics of the group to explore issues in context in detail and freely and in detail without there being a conceptual framework as in a structured individual interview (O.Nyumba et al., 2018):

> Our field experiences point to the fact that such dynamics and the process of sharing and comparing understandings and views mean that the focus group discussion can yield more insights

> than the equivalent number of individual interviews. Researchers can hugely benefit from the group context since it provides insight into social relations, and the information obtained reflects the social and overlapping nature of knowledge better than a summation of individual narratives through interviews and surveys.

It is important to note that the participants are "often not willing to discuss sensitive topics in a discussion as compared with an individual interview or survey" (O.Nyumba et al., 2018). In conducting focus group discussions, researchers ought to be cognisant of this fact when planning for the discussion questions and in so doing, they can have the mixed methods approach in order to get the most value out of the focus group (O.Nyumba et al., 2018).

(O.Nyumba et al., 2018) recommend ways for "best practise" in a focus group:

(1) "Provide a clear rationale for the choice of focus group discussion: The researcher must be able to provide adequate justification for the choice of focus group discussion technique as the "best suited to answering their questions about a phenomenon" (Berry & Kincheloe, 2004, p. 4). A clear rationale should provide the readers with confidence that the selection of data sources, the analysis and the interpretation is reliable and valid and that the quality of research is not compromised (Wilson, 2009, p. 81).

(2) Focus on facilitator skills: Focus group discussion relies on facilitators or moderators to guide the group's discussion (Berg, 1989; Morgan, 1996). According to Morgan et al. (1998) and Litosseliti (2004), the facilitator must have a set of skills and techniques to ensure that the issues under discussion are addressed comprehensively. Here is a suggested skill set:

(a) Ability to build rapport by creating a warm, supportive and comfortable environment to foster open and honest dialogue among diverse groups and individuals.

(b) Have good and active listening skills to help engage with the respondent by paraphrasing or summarising their responses and using gestures to encourage conversation.

(c) Have good observation skills, pay attention to participants' body language or demeanour and recognise group dynamics.

(d) Have good speaking, communication skills and knowledge of the topic of discussion including some basic information on the subject to help in probing different answers for more in-depth discussion but should demonstrate some degree of “naïveté” to encourage participants’ responses.

(e) Flexibility to adapt to the flow of the discussion, remain open to changes in the discussion guide, adjust to participants’ requests during the group and adjust physical behaviours and activity around the room.

(f) Ability to remain impartial by getting involved while maintaining verbal and non-verbal objectivity.

(g) Should have a sense of humour to keep the discussion relaxed, encourage sharing of information and maintain a human connection.

(3) Report methods and results based on Figure 1: The review revealed that a major lacuna of most of the studies was improper reporting or inadequate reporting of key attributes of the application of the technique. We, therefore, recommend that future studies should explicitly mention the methodological decisions based on the guidelines provided in the flow chart (Figure 1).

(4) Beware of biases affecting group discussions: Unlike interviews or Q methodology which are individually administered, focus group discussion is a group-based technique. It is subject to the biases which are commonly encountered in any group setting. These include dominance effect (a dominant individual shapes the discussion), halo effect (the perceived status of a group member influences the discussion), groupthink (the members in a group tend to think similarly to maintain group cohesion) among several others (Mukherjee et al., 2015). The facilitator (and/or assistant) should keep a keen eye out to spot and address such biases in the data collection phase.

(5) Ensure a clear pathway between the data obtained, coding and subsequent analysis of data: The review revealed that 144 out of 170 studies used focus group discussion alongside other techniques in the same study. In most of these studies, it was extremely difficult to tease out what component of the results and inferences were derived from the focus group discussion alone. Providing this information might enable the reader to make a clear connection between the research question asked, results obtained and subsequent analysis.” (p. 29)

For this study, the single focus group method was used wherein there was an interactive discussion which I as the researcher, facilitated. Moreover, the data of the focus group was collected using notes and observation which was most suitable for this study.

Further, it is important to explain the sampling process used for selecting the participants who were to compose the group.

3.6.6 Sampling and Group Composition

Depending on the aims of a project and the resources available, it is argued that group studies can consist of "anything between six to over fifty groups" (Kitzinger, 1995: 300). This study consists of two focus groups, one consisting of the teachers (ten participants) and one consisting of the learners from grades R-7; chosen according to whether they has been at the school from the grade R to grade 7 (six learners). The focus group discussion was based on this questionnaire for teachers and learners respectively.

This method of data collection was combined with other techniques namely in-depth interviews as well as document analysis. This was overbearing for the study as the manner in which the language policy was implemented relied on the teachers. The recipients of the language policy and implementation thereof, were the learners and as such, their experiences were important for the study. Through the focus groups, a 'real life' experience of how both teachers and learners interacted with the language policy was observed.

Kertzinger (1995) argues that the focus group method allows people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would not be easily accessible in a one to one interview. The focus group was particularly important for this research as it allowed for a series open-ended questions to be answered by participants in which they were able to explore issues of importance to them, in their own understanding.

In this way, they formulated their own questions and pursued their own priorities. Thus, the group dynamics worked very well and the participants worked alongside me as I conducted the research which took it to new and unexpected directions – this being the aim of qualitative research.

Having explored and elaborated a to why focus groups were used in order attain information from the teachers and learners, we outline another qualitative research technique used in this study which is in-depth interviewing.

3.7 In-Depth Interviewing

"A qualitative research technique which involves the conduction of intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents in order to gauge their perspectives on a particular program, idea or situation" (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3). In depth interviews are useful when a "researcher requires detailed information about a person's thoughts or behaviours in relation to a particular issue" (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3).

These interviews are often used to provide context to other data which offers a more complete picture of what happened in a particular situation and why (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3). The fundamental advantage of in-depth interviews is that "they provide much more detailed information about a subject matter thus making a study rich." In addition, (Bray, 2010) argues that the use of in-depth interviews are effective because they allow the researcher to collect data that pursues the 'links between meaning and experience' and further makes the environment conducive for the discovering of correlations, dynamics, unknown characteristics as well as causal relations.

For this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with six learners from grade 7 who were at the school from grade R-7. This was done deliberately in order to track the implementation on the language policy in relation to language acquisition and attitudes towards all the languages offered at the school for a learner who was at the exit stage of primary schooling.

In addition, two teachers were chosen to participate in the in-depth interview. The nature of the sampling was purposive given that the teachers were chosen based on the number of years they had been at the school (30 years) thus they would have interacted with the language policy from its inception and been part of its overall evolution to date. This was also a ten percent sample (1.6 rounded up to 2).

There were sixty one grade 7 learners at the school therefore a ten percent sample was taken. There were also sixteen teachers in total thus 1.6 was rounded up to two to make the ten percent sample mark. The justification for the small sample sizes taken is that qualitative studies necessitate that small samples be taken as a result of the intensive and detailed work which has to be undertaken (Anderson, 2010: 5).

In qualitative research, sample sizes are not calculated using probability statistics as well a mathematical rules but rather in terms of characteristics and relevance to the broader population (Anderson, 2010: 5). In this instance, purposive sampling was used in that learners and teachers were chosen according to certain characteristics which would make them most informative for the study.

Another qualitative research method used in this study was document analysis. We explore it below.

3.8 Document Analysis

"Document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher in order to give a voice and meaning around a particular topic" (Bowen, 2009). O' Leary (2014) argues that there are three types of primary types of documents:

1. "Public records are defined as documents which are the official and ongoing records of an organisation's activities such as student transcripts, mission statements, annual reports, policy manuals, student handbooks, strategic plans and syllabi.
2. Personal documents are first person accounts of an individual's actions, experiences. As well as beliefs. He argues that examples includes calendars, e-mails, scrapbooks, blogs, Facebook posts, duty logs, incident reports, reflections/journals as well as newspapers.
3. Physical evidence is defined as physical objects which are found within a study setting and are often referred to as artefacts. These include flyers, posters, agendas, handbooks as well as training materials."

Before document analysis takes place, the researcher ought to go through a detailed planning process in order to ensure a reliable set of results. The planning process is outlined by O'Leary (2014) in eight steps and he argues that this process should not only occur in document analysis but in all textual analysis:

1. "Create a list of texts to explore (e.g. population, samples, respondents, participants).
2. Consider how texts will be accessed with attention to linguistic or cultural barriers.
3. Acknowledge and address biases.
4. Develop appropriate skills for research.
5. Consider strategies for ensuring credibility.
6. Know the data one is searching for.
7. Consider ethical issues (e.g. confidential documents).
8. Have a backup plan."

O'Leary (2014) argues that researchers can use a "huge number of texts for research but that the most common use is that of written documents". Bowen (2010) asserts that the number of documents should not be the main focus for the researcher but rather that the "researcher must be guided by the quality of the documents rather than the quantity."

In conducting document analysis, O'Leary introduces two major issues which on should consider. The first issue is that of "bias on the side of the author of the said document as well as that of the researcher."

The argument presented is that the researcher ought to consider the subjectivity of the author as well as the personal biases the researcher may be bringing to the research. In addition, Bowen (2009) argues that the "researcher ought to evaluate what the target audience of the document is and in so doing determine whether the author was a first-hand witness or if they used secondary sources." Bowen (2009) also adds that the researcher "must determine whether the document was edited and/or anonymous."

Additionally, O'Leary (2014) states that the second important step for the "researcher is to determine the style, tone, agenda, facts or opinions of the document in question." When evaluating documents it is important to note that data need not be viewed to be "necessarily precise, accurate, or complete recordings of events that have occurred" (Bowen, 2009: 33). O'Leary (2014) sums up these events in another eight-step process:

1. "Gather relevant texts.
2. Develop an organization and management scheme.
3. Make copies of the originals for annotation.
4. Assess authenticity of documents.
5. Explore document's agenda, biases.
6. Explore background information (e.g., tone, style, purpose.)
7. Ask questions about the documents (e.g., who produced it> Why? When? Type of Data produced?)
8. Explore content."

The latter steps refer to the process of exploring the actual content of the document and as well, two techniques for doing this are argued by O'Leary (2014). The first technique is "the interview technique wherein the researcher treats the document like a respondent which provides the researcher with relevant information for the research project in question." The manner in which this is carried out is through the researcher "asking" questions and "highlighting the answers in the text" (O'Leary, 2014). The second technique argued by O'Leary (2014) is "content analysis" whereby the researcher "quantifies the use of particular words, phrases and concepts." In essence, the researcher "determines what is being searched for then documents and organizes the amount of occurrences within the document" (O'Leary, 2014.) Thereafter, the information is organised into what is "related to central questions of the research" (Bowen, 2009: 32).

This study is built on the analysis of the following documents for reasons that will be explained:

3.8.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

The constitution asserted that the Republic would have eleven (11) official languages as promulgated in section 6:

> (1) “The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
>
> (2) 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.
>
> (3) (a) The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages. (b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.
>
> (4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
>
> (5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must—
>
> (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of— (i) all official languages;
>
> (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
>
> (iii) sign language; and
>
> (b) promote and ensure respect for—
>
> (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
>
> (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sans”

Section 6 (2) of the Constitution, states that the Republic recognises the historically reduced use and Status of the indigenous languages of the majority of people in the country who are Black. Further, in section 6 (3), it states that the state ought to take concrete and constructive measures in order to uplift their status as well as advance their development. In addition, the section states that national and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government taking into account issues surrounding the following:

(1) "Practicality

(2) Expense

(3) Regional circumstances

(4) The balance and the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned but the national and provincial government concerned must use at least two official languages."

The Constitution further reiterates that the national and provincial governments must, by legislative and other measures, monitor and regulate their use of official languages without detracting from subsection (2). Subsection (2) is in respect of previously diminished indigenous African languages. In closing, it states that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and compels that they be treated in an equitable manner.

As the highest law of the land, the Constitution of the Republic was imperative to analyse as it provides the legal framework for the entire country in a transformative manner, including African languages.

The second document used in this study is the Western Cape Provincial Government Language Policy. This was an important document to analyse in order to comprehend the province's language learning policy as the school is based in this province and would thus be directly affected by the province's legislation.

3.8.2 Western Cape Provincial Government Language Policy

In light of these constitutional prerogatives, section 3.1 of the Western Cape Government Language Policy states:

> "The official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, IsiXhosa
> and English. These languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees. The Western Cape Parliament must make provision for

> interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Provincial Parliament and any of its committees. Sign language interpreting must be provided where necessary."

It is important to note that the language policy of the Western Cape Government is found in its three official languages on the website, namely IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans.

The third document analysed in this research study is the City of Cape Town Municipality Language Policy. This was an important document to analyse in order to comprehend the city's language learning policy as the school is based in this city and would thus be directly affected by the city's legislation.

3.8.3 The City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality Language Policy

Moreover, the Constitution also asserts that municipalities must also take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents and in response to this, section 5.1 of the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality states that:

> "Any of the three official languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Council and its committees. The City must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Council, its subcouncils and committees. Sign Language interpreting must be provided, upon request, if and when considered necessary by the requester."

The fourth document analysed was the National Schools Act because it would give a greater understanding to what the legislation in schools says about language learning policies of schools. Particularly because this study was conducted at a school.

3.8.4 National School's Act

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 granted the right to implement the Constitutional prerogatives as set out in Chapter 2, section 6 of the Act:

> "Language policy of public schools

6. (1) Subject to the Constitution and this Act, the Minister may, by notice in the Government Gazette, after consultation with the Council of Education Ministers, determine norms and standards for language policy in public schools.

(2) The governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law.

(3) No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined under this section.

(4) A recognised Sign Language has the status of an official language for purposes of learning at a public school."

Section 6 (2) of the National School's Act states that a governing body of a school ought to determine the language policy of the school in line with the Constitution, this Act as well as any applicable provincial law.

Therefore, the school's own language policy also had to be analysed because it provided a framework for the implementation of the language policy for the school as guided by the Constitution, the provincial language policy, the city's language policy as well as the National School's Act.

In terms of section 6 (2), the governing body of Groote Schuur primary school promulgated the following language policy for the school:

3.8.5 X School Language Policy

The language policy of X School is divided into eights parts. This section will seek to explain the policy in its eight different parts.

1. **Vision**

The Groote Schuur Primary School language policy's vision is for all learners to be proficient in at least three official languages.

2. **Definition**

The policy purports that the learning area languages include English Home Language, Afrikaans First Additional Language as well as IsiXhosa Second Additional languages. Furthermore, it adds that English and Afrikaans will be offered at the school as languages where learners have to develop high levels of proficiency.

2.1.An incremental approach to multilingualism

It states that learners are to become competent in two additional languages while their home language is maintained and developed.

2.2.The language of teaching and learning

It states that the language of instruction shall be English.

3. The objectives of language instruction

The policy says that language is an integral part of peoples' lives which helps with communication as well as understanding of the world. It also adds that language develops identity as well as increases knowledge. The objectives set out for the policy are listed under different categories which are designed to stimulate different aspects of learning. It states that in respect of personal development it aims to develop and strengthen identity while maintaining stronger family school and community bonds as well enjoyment. The aim is to assist children with communication skills which will assist them to communicate appropriately and correctly in all contexts. Educationally, it aims to develop skills to think and reason as well as to access information and aesthetically it aims to stimulate the use of creative and imaginative usage of oral, visual and written literature. Culturally, it seeks to how an understanding an appreciation for languages as well as their entire heritage while maintaining the balance of teaching learners to be critical in being able to understand the relationship between languages, power as well as identity.

4. Unique characteristics and scope

The policy states that languages play a pivotal role in learning and teaching in the country and are therefore an integral part of the school curriculum. It states that the language learning underlies al other learning areas since it is the medium through which all learning and teaching occurs.

It refers to 'languages learning area' and that it contributes to the curriculum by helping to develop reading and writing which forms the foundation of literacy. In addition, it is stated that language forms the medium of learning and teaching of other learning areas and encourages understanding of other cultures while providing access to other view point. This establishes a critical understanding of the term 'culture' as well as stimulates creative and imaginative activity. The objectives of arts and culture are thus promoted and an effective means to communicate information is achieved. The aims of other learning areas are promoted and the overall critical means to becoming a responsible citizen are developed – states the policy.

5. Learning Outcomes

This part of the language policy stipulates exactly what the learner will take out of being taught languages at the school.

5.1. Learning Outcome One: Listening

The learner is able to listen to information and enjoyment, and respond appropriately as well as critically.

5.2.Speaking

The learner will be able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language.

5.3.Reading and Viewing

The learner will be able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts

5.4.Writing

The learner will be able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.

5.5.Thinking and Reasoning

The learner will be able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning.

5.6. Language Structure and Use

The learner will know and be able to use the sounds, words and grammar of the language to create and interpret text.

6. Assessment

The policy states that the assessment will be done in English, Afrikaans an IsiXhosa. The ‘Language Assessment Standards’ are said to be the minimum standard for achievement of learning outcomes. It states that ‘Continuous Assessment’ is the model of assessment and that it supports growth and development of learners. This is because it provide constant feedback to learners while gathering the evidences of their achievement in the ‘Assessment Standards of the Languages Learning Outcomes’.

7. The Role of the Educator

It is stated that educators are to avail themselves of any teaching strategies which support the ‘Language of Learning and Teaching’.

8. The Role of the Parent

It states that it is the responsibility of the parents to ensure that the ‘Language of Leaning an Instruction’ is not a barrier for leaning and that learners would be assessed in this regard before being admitted to the school.

In line with implementing the policy are hours allocated for each language offered by the school on a weekly basis for grades 1-7:

English Home Language (HL)

Afrikaans First Additional Language (FAL)

IsiXhosa Second Additional Language (SAL)

Grade	**Language**	**Time (hours per week)**
1-3	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (SAL)	8 2.5 30 minutes
4	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (SAL)	5 5 30 minutes
5-7	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (SAL)	5 5 30 minutes

Document analysis is therefore efficient and effective at gathering data because documents are practical and manageable as resources (Bowen, 2009). This is because documents come in various forms thus making them accessible and reliable as a source of data (Bowen, 2009). In addition, obtaining as well as analysing documents is both time and cost efficient in relation to conducting field work or doing experiments (Bowen, 2009). Documents can be read and revised multiple times and remain unaffected by the researcher’s influence and the entire research process because they are “non-reactive” data sources (Bowen, 2009: 31).

For this research, document analysis was imperative because the basis of analysing “language policy implementation in basic education” was through looking at the language policy of the school against the Constitution, National School's Act as well as the Provincial and Local Government laws relating to language policy.

3.9 Conclusion

In the social sciences, methodology refers to the manner in which research is conducted as a means to seek answers to problems (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault (2015: 3). The type of methodology chosen by a researcher is informed by their assumptions, interests as well as purpose (Taylor et al, 2015: 3). This term can be summarised in three parts, (1) a body of rules and theories employed by researches in a discipline of study; (2) a set or particular sets of procedures; as well as (3) the analysis of the procedures of inquiry which are followed by researchers in a particular discipline of study and therefore this chapter has successfully discussed the research design and methodology used for this study. The choice of the research style, data-collection methods and procedures was also be elaborated upon in this chapter. A justification for the qualitative approach to the study was provided and all other methods of data collection, recruitment of participants and ethical considerations were accounted for.

The next chapter will deal with the findings and the discussion thereof.

4. CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will convey the findings of the study and discuss them in line with what the research sought to find in relation to the language policy implementation of the said primary school. The language policy implementation will be analysed using Ruiz's three-tiered analysis of language learning policies of language as a right, language as a resource and language as a problem. Further, the findings on the policy making process, and in particular, policy implementation will be analysed using Barkenbus's 4-stage model of the policy-making process which encompasses agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation.

4.1.1 Analysis of Language Policy at The Primary School using Ruiz's Orientation of Language as a Right, Language as a Resource and Language as a Problem

The language policy of the said primary school purports that in its vision that:

"The vision at [the primary school] is for all learners to be proficient in at least three official languages."

This assertion in the language policy amplifies the fact that language at the school is viewed both as a right and a resource. In line with Ruiz's three orientations of language learning policies viewing language as a right refers to personal, human and constitutional rights which encompasses the freedom of an individual to speak in, and to preserve his/her heritage language (Ruiz, 1984). Language as a human right refers to an individual receiving protection from discrimination based on their language choice (Ruiz, 1984).

As such, when the policy asserts in its vision that learners are to be proficient in at least three official languages affirms the fact that the constitutional rights of the learners are protected as language rights in South Africa are guaranteed in the constitution under the Bill of Rights in section 30:

Everyone has the right to use the language and to participate in the cultural life of their choice, but no one exercising these rights may do so in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights.

Section 31 further states:

(1) “Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community— (a) to enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language; and

(b) To form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society.

(2) The rights in subsection (1) may not be exercised in a manner inconsistent with any provision of the Bill of Rights”

It further affirms constitutional prerogatives of languages in relation to language rights within education in section 29 (2) of the Constitution:

Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account—

(a)” equity;

(b) practicability; and

(c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices”

This provision in the language policy of the school also affirms the constitutional prerogatives in relation to provincial and local government laws in relation to language policies which states that

In addition, the section 6 (2) of the Constitution states that national and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government taking into account issues surrounding the following:

(1) “Practicality

(2) Expense

(3) Regional circumstances

(4) The balance and the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned but the national and provincial government concerned must use at least two official languages.”

In addition, the policy states that:

“English will be used a as a language of instruction”

This is in line with the National Schools Act 84 of 1996 section 6 (2) which purports that

“The governing body of a public school may determine the Language policy of the

school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law.”

As such, the Western Cape government prides itself in having three official languages which are namely IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans in which the language policy at the primary school comprises of the same set of languages.

Further, the policy offering three languages also asserts that language is viewed as a resource which Ruiz (1984) describes as the act of choosing a pluralistic society in relation to different languages and cultures over assimilation to a dominant language and it thus language is seen as an asset to a community as it is useful in building economic and social bridges across different communities (Ruiz, 1984).

As a result of the policy envisaging that learners ought to be proficient in three official languages namely IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans, it affirmed that the policy viewed language as a resource it valued multilingualism and cultural diversity in the school as argued by Horberger (1998). As such, the school displayed an awareness of different languages and cultures which were prevalent in the school and embraced them through its vision.

In the definition, the policy states that:

“The learning area languages include English Home Language, Afrikaans First Additional Language as well as IsiXhosa Second Additional languages. English and Afrikaans will be offered at the school as languages where learners have to develop high levels of proficiency.”

At the definition stage, the policy moves towards viewing language as a problem which Ruiz (1984) describes as an idea which is embedded in deficit thinking which results in a practise that assumes that students who are not proficient in the dominant language from poor economic backgrounds and minority ethnic groups are therefore deficient in their ability to think and learn (Darder, 2011; Freire, 1970; Knight & Pearl, 1999; Ruíz, 1984) and the language learning policy is geared towards assimilation rather than multilingualism.

In this instance, the policy favours English and Afrikaans as languages where learners would ‘have to develop high levels of proficiency’ even though IsiXhosa was also offered. When the policy further states that:

“Learners become competent in two official languages while their home language is maintained.’

This is not the case for mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers who in fact do not have their mother-tongue maintained as a result of it not being commissioned to be a language where all learners must 'develop high levels of proficiency in.'

It could be argued in this instance that the language policy then orientates around the 'language as a problem' orientation because it centres the dominant languages within the South African context which are English and Afrikaans as the languages where the learners 'must develop high levels of proficiency' at the expense of IsiXhosa which is regarded as a 'previously diminished language' within the South African Constitution and overall South African context.

4.2 Analysing the Policy-Making Process of The Primary School Using Barkenbus's Four-Stage Model

Barkenbus argues that the policy-making process consists of four stages which are namely:

(1) Agenda Setting
(2) Policy Formulation
(3) Policy Implementation
(4) Policy Evaluation

4.2.1 Agenda Setting

According to Barkenbus (1998) there exists a substantial amount of environmental issues that could reach the agenda of decision makes on a variety of issues. It is argued that the process of issues gaining order of priority in competing for the limited attention of policy makers that it is neither random nor completely predictable (Barkenbus, 1998).

As such, it is clear that in relation to this particular policy, its 'agenda setting' stage can be argued to be drawn from the prescripts of the National School's Act section 6 in the provision which states:

> "Language policy of public schools.
>
> (1) Subject to the Constitution and this Act, the Minister may by notice in the Government Gazette, after consultation with the Council of Education Ministers, determine norms and standards for language policy in public schools.
>
> (2) The governing body of a public school may determine the Language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law.

(3) No form of racial discrimination may be practised in implementing policy determined under this section.

(4) A recognised Sign Language has the status of an official language for purposes of 15 learning at a public school."

The School's Act therefore compels all public schools in South Africa to 'set the agenda' in relation to the language policy of the school.

4.2.2 Policy Formulation

Further, Barkenbus (1998) argues that after the agenda has been set, the following stage is that of policy formulation it and that it is important to note that it matters not how a particular issue reached the attention of decision-makers but that expertise are capable of becoming part of its solution (Barkenbus, 1998). In the case of this primary school, the policy was formulated as a result of section 6(2) off the School's Act which states that:

The governing body of a public school may determine the Language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, this Act and any applicable provincial law.

4.2.3 Policy Implementation

Policy implementation "is described by scholars as the process in which public policy directives are carried out" (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980: 1). The effectiveness of a policy is therefore "determined by the ability of the policy implementers to put into practise what the expected outcomes of the policy were at the formulation stage and further policy implementation should be regarded as the stage wherein the assumptions made in the needs-identification stage are tested" (Maluleke, 2011). It is rare for the implementation of a policy to satisfy all stakeholders given that optimum does not exist and the desired product will be realised only if the appropriate combination of "relevant inputs is realised" (Maluleke, 2011).

Given the above, the policy implementers of the policy at the said primary school can be identified as the teachers who are entrusted with the responsibility of teaching in the classroom as well as performing administrative tasks in relation to the learning of the children.

As such, it can be argued that the implementation of the policy is that of a 'top-down approach':

"Top-down models (Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Maz- manian and Sabatier 1981; 1983; 1989) align implementation with the actions of implementing officials as well as the reception of target groups in how they accord with the goals embodied in an authoritative manner". They define implementation as:

"The carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions . . ."

According to Elder (2001), the top down approach displays the following elements: It has "clear and consistent goals which are articulated at the top of the hierarchical environment. Further, there is knowledge of pertinent cause and effects within a clear hierarchy of authority wherein rules are established at the top and the said policy is aligned with the said rules". Following this, there are resources and the necessary capacity is put in place to "ensure that commands are carried out effectively from the top."

Further evidence that the policy used a 'top-down' approach of policy implementation lies in section 7 which states:

"*Educators avail themselves of any teaching strategies to support the Language of Learning Teaching*"

This affirms the fact that it is not the learners and their diversity who guide the language policy implementation process but rather there is an authoritative directive from the top to implement the policy according to the hierarchy set out in the policy. The teachers play a leading role in implementing the policy as they are the one who determine the direction of the classroom. This would leave the children at the mercy of the teachers and having no direct control over what language ought to be used in the classroom even though they are also responsible for their own learning.

The language policy of the said primary school only centres the policy implementers at the top (teachers) as to how they should implement the language policy at the school but does not explore allowing the learners who are recipients of the said language policy to determine any aspects of it. Their role is reduced to learning only and not negotiating which language they would want to be taught in for any particular subject in the classroom, thus it is evident that the approach of the implementation is 'top-down'.

In addition, section 8 of the policy also states that:

"*It is the responsibility of parents to ensure that the Language of Learning and Instruction is not a barrier for learning. Learner will be assessed before admitting them to the school"*

This provision of the language policy illustrates that the policy, in its top-down approach to language policy implementation may even discriminate against children who are not mother-tongue English speakers as a test for the language of teaching and learning would be conducted before children are admitted into the school. This illustrates the manner in which the language policy further emphasizes the dominance of English and its hegemony within the school because it does not test learners on their ability to speak other language which are offered at the school, namely, English and Afrikaans. The focus, is on the fact that learners ought to fully comprehend the language of dominance, English, meaning that the other languages are just auxiliary to English.

Additionally, the bottom-up approach therefore expresses that the goals, strategies as well as activities related to the policy must be made in line with how it will directly impact the people whom the policy is intended for (Matland, 1995: 149). As the policy is intended for the learners primarily, and the school at large, it would have been important for the bottom-up approach to language policy implementation to have been explored which could have inculcated a culture of multilingualism at the school given that the classrooms were diverse in their nature.

In relation to the language of learning and teaching, the language policy of the school purports that:

'The language of instruction shall be English.'

Thus, all study material, meetings of minutes, meetings, letters to parents, assessments (except in the case of an isiXhosa or Afrikaans assessment) were found in English.

4.2.4 Policy Evaluation

Barkenbus (1998) argues that the "policy implementation stage is a neglected part of the policy cycle and policy evaluation is for the most part, a forgotten element in the policy cycle." In the language policy of the said primary school, there is no clause in the policy which illustrates whether the policy is reviewed and how it is evaluated against which criteria and in what given timeframe. Barkenbus (1998) stresses that this is "hard to comprehend from a rational basis as it is only mandatory that one seeks to understand the importance of evaluation in answering basic questions about the said policy: 'How has the policy worked?' and 'How can we improve policy implementation?'" (p. 7).

Given the above, it is clear that policy evaluation is imperative in being able to determine whether the policy has worked or not, and further, how it can be improved. The policy itself was not formulated out of a vacuum but within a framework of the highest law of the country, the Constitution and thus, it ought to resemble what is envisioned in the constitution in relation to protecting the rights of all language communities within the classroom and society at large. It is unclear as to when the governing body re-looks at the language policy and what it has achieved in terms of the multilingualism that the policy purports to be working towards. The evaluation of the policy is an important process of continuously aiming to improve the way it is implemented so as to ensure that it has achieved its "intended effects"

> The intended effects of a policy is the context in which the policy displays great influence on its goals – this differs from organisation to organisation (Maluleke, 2011). As an example, the 'no-fee school and nutritional programme in basic education initiated by the ANC led government is an example of a benefit seeking policy (Maluleke, 2011).

In relation to this, it can be argued that the intended effects of the language policy of this local primary school can be found in its vision in section 1 which states that:

"The vision at [the school] is for all learners to be proficient in at least three official languages"

Thus, the policy intended for the learners of the school to be proficient in isiXhosa, English and Afrikaans but whether this was achieved or not as a result of the policy was not evaluated.

Policy evaluation also allows for the policy makers to review whether the policy has produced any "unintended effects":

> In some instances, policies have unintended consequences due to the fact that the environments in which policies seek to influence are complex (Maluleke, 2011). Additionally, it is also not possible to gauge all possible impacts that a given policy might have given the complexity of systems in which governments and societies interact in (Maluleke, 2011).

The findings of the study suggest that the policy is contradictory in its approach as the vision described above is contradicted by section 2 of the policy which states:

> The learning area languages include English Home Language, Afrikaans First Additional Language as well as IsiXhosa Second Additional languages. English and Afrikaans will be offered at the school as languages where learners have to develop high levels of proficiency.

Therefore, the vision and this provision contradict each other because it separates IsiXhosa from English and Afrikaans by determining that it is only the two languages which learners will have to develop high levels of proficiency while having stated that the vision is for leaners to be proficient in three official languages in its vision. In addition to the contradiction, the language policy of the school in section 2.1 states that:

> "*Learners become competent in two additional languages, while their home language is maintained and developed*".

The extent to which this can occur is slim to none given that IsiXhosa is not developed nor maintained as the findings will further illustrate.

4.3 Groote Schuur Primary School Language Practices

The inception of the language policy states that the vision of Groote Schuur Primary school is "for learners to be proficient in at least three official languages".

Contrastingly, section two of the Groote Schuur Language Policy defines the learning area languages as English Home Language, Afrikaans First Additional Language and IsiXhosa Second Additional Language and further adds that "English and Afrikaans will be offered as languages where learners have to develop high levels of proficiency."

The policy presents itself as being biased towards English and Afrikaans proficiency and in so doing diminishes IsiXhosa in that it purports that the only two languages where learners will have to develop high levels of proficiency are English and Afrikaans even though IsiXhosa is also offered at that school. This contrasts its purported vision that learners need to be proficient in at least three official languages.

In addition, the policy states that it has an 'incremental approach to multilingualism and that "learners become competent in two additional languages, while their home language is maintained and developed."

The findings suggest that this is not entirely accurate given that the development of the three languages offered at the school is skewed as mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers do not adequately have their home language 'maintained and developed' given the biasness towards English and Afrikaans as asserted by the language policy. Thus, the actual policy practise is that only English and Afrikaans speaking learners have their mother-tongues maintained while developing another language respectively.

This is despite the fact that the South African Constitution upholds the right of all children to "receive education in the official language or languages of their choice" together with the national Language in Education Policy (1997) which stresses the cognitive benefits of home language instruction, bilingual education as well as the overall goal of multilingualism.

It is important to highlight the limitations of the current Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) in that it does not appear to support teaching through the home language (where it is not English or Afrikaans) beyond the foundation phase nor does it present any provisions for bilingual education. This is emphasized by the fact that there are no teaching materials for learning areas in African languages available beyond grade three. Despite this, school governing bodies are thrust with the responsibility of determining the language policies of schools and thus do have the necessary agency to ensure that all languages are treated equally in terms of status at the school. This language policy therefore suggests that the governing body of this school has deliberately ensured that IsiXhosa would be seen as the inferior language where proficiency in the language would not be required from learners even though it was offered as a language at the school. Thus, the governing body has made an active decision to de-legitimize IsiXhosa as a language at the school by offering it as a formality: that it appears in the policy but the implementation thereof is skewed towards English and Afrikaans which borders on 'window dressing' rather than actual tangible transformation in respect of the promotion of 'previously diminished languages' which are indigenous African languages.

The policy also purports that:

> 'Language forms an integral part of our lives. Language helps us to understand our world and to communicate our world. Language develops our identity and increases our knowledge."

This part of the policy illustrates the difference between the language policy and the language practice of the school. This is given the fact the school only prioritizes English and Afrikaans as languages that children must develop full proficiency at the expense of IsiXhosa. This creates attitudes towards African languages at the school and the continued subjugation of IsiXhosa as a 'lesser language' when compared to English and Afrikaans. This is a direct result of the manner in which the language policy is developed as well as the language practices at the school. The policy has indicated from the on-set that IsiXhosa would not be developed equally along-side English and Afrikaans by way of only ensuring that high levels of proficiency of languages were reserved for English and Afrikaans.

4.4 Attitudes towards IsiXhosa and the IsiXhosa Teacher

The attitudes towards IsiXhosa and the teacher are a result of the language policy because the time allocated to the language ensures that proficiency does not occur. The attitudes towards the teacher arise from the language being viewed as a ‘lesser’ language to the others thereby reinforcing racial and gender stereotypes of the teacher being ‘inferior’ because of the language she teaches.

The teacher is also not seen as being on the same level as other teachers as the participants who were learners in the study often interjected saying ‘of course IsiXhosa is ‘easier’ than English and Afrikaans’. Therefore, the teacher was viewed as teaching a subject on a lower level when compared to the former two languages. The general attitude of learners towards IsiXhosa were prevalent in the classroom where the authority of the IsiXhosa teacher was undermined and diminished as compared to her other colleagues who were teaching languages. While the overall behaviour of the learners was not exemplary, there was clear exaggerated ill-discipline towards the IsiXhosa teacher given her perceived and apparent ‘lower status’ when compared to her other colleagues.

The attitudes are further exacerbated by the fact that the language was not examined alongside other languages and subjects as a whole during examination periods. The learners understood that they would not be required to write any mid or end of year exams in isiXhosa therefore they never took the language seriously. It was clear that they did not need to learn their language in order to pass exams therefore they developed an attitude towards the subject as well as the teacher.

4.5 Language as a Problem

The attitudes which were prevalent at the school against isiXhosa and the teacher illustrate that the multilingualism is viewed as ‘as problem’. The ‘language as a problem’ phenomenon is described by Ruìz (1989) as the “idea presented in deficit thinking” (McNelly, 2015). “This thinking results in a practise that assumes that students who are not proficient in the dominant language from poor economic backgrounds and minority ethnic groups are therefore deficient in their ability to think and learn” (Darder, 2011; Freire, 1970; Knight & Pearl, 1999; Ruíz, 1984). Deficit thinking therefore leads to the thinking that “bilingual students are mentally inferior, slower to learn the language of dominance, confused and unable to function properly because the new language is assumed to be a burden on the brain” (McNelly, 2015).

Additionally, deficit thinking leads to further assumptions that “bilingual students have cultural dislocation and an overall identity crisis” (McNelly, 2015). “Low self-esteem, alienation, emotional vulnerability, a poor self-image and language anxiety are other assumptions made of bilingual students in deficit thinking" (McNelly, 2015).

The stereotypes that "emerge from deficit thinking include the fear that allowing students to take multiple languages may cause conflict, less cohesiveness, cause students to perform poorly at school, contribute to poverty, hinder students from integrating into society and that they might have less social and vocational capital" (McNelly, 2015).

The utterances of the teachers indicate that they were consumed by 'deficit thinking' in relation to multilingualism and had often emphatically expressed that there was no need for children to 'to be taught so many languages at once'. They often believed that the children were 'confused' and 'overwhelmed' with the amount of languages they had to learn at once. They blamed the availability of having three languages at the school as a result of the children not performing well in their other learning areas.

They also emphatically stated that 'there was no need for isiXhosa' to be offered as a subject because it had no significance given that it was not an examinable subject. The direct antagonism was against IsiXhosa in that they believed that multilingualism was the route of conflict because students did not know which language was more important than the other.

These attitudes played into the minds of the learners themselves who always reiterated that it would not make them more desirable in the workplace if they knew IsiXhosa because it was 'not an important language'. The deficit thinking was therefore across the entire school, multilingualism was seen as a threat rather than something to embrace given the diversity of the school.

4.6 Non-Formal Examination of IsiXhosa

The fact that the language was not examined indicated to them that it was something they did not need for their future and further engraved in their minds the fact that IsiXhosa had no place in society beyond being taught rote terms like greeting slogans and numbers. The tasks given to learners during class were not taken seriously by the learners and most of them spent the whole term not having an IsiXhosa book for classwork. The tasks were also random and followed no chronological order for a desired outcome at the end of the curriculum for the year given that a structured curriculum did not exist. The teacher was disempowered to enforce any rules because the language was considered as auxiliary to other subjects. It was not moderated, there was no set curriculum and it would never be examined.

This meant that the teacher was powerless in her pursuit to change the perceptions of the language while having no support from the school. Further entrenched by the fact that the teacher had no classroom. She had to teach the learners in their home classrooms meaning she could not even put up charts in her won classroom of terminology and the like. The learners spent most of their time at school and thus to them, in their adolescent years, the reality of the outside world is mainly built on what happens at school. The IsiXhosa period was often viewed by learners as a ‘free period’ wherein they could catch up with their other work which they regarded as more important and pertinent for their future.

It was also viewed as a subject they ‘did not need to take seriously’ as per their own utterances. This was because they had the knowledge that the subject would not appear in their formal reports which would affect their GPA. There was a separate ‘report’ for IsiXhosa on the side which accompanied the report in the form of a pamphlet. The marks were derived from an ‘oral assessment’ done during the course of the year and had to accompany the report in June and December respectively. The report only required a percentage of the oral mark a learner received for the ‘oral assessment’.

4.7 The “Assessment”

The ‘oral assessment’ was based on phrases and terms in IsiXhosa the learners had learnt during the year and was done as a formality because given the manner in which the language was ‘taught’, testing the construction of sentences, morphology and syntax understanding of the language was flawed. The ‘oral assessment’ involved an oral presentation of a dialogue between two learners at a time. The learners had to come up with a dialogue from a range of topics having no vocabulary of the IsiXhosa language or the ability to construct sentences. They had to converse in IsiXhosa for a minute about a topic of their choice.

The burden was on the teacher to translate their work from English to IsiXhosa so that they could present it. The learners then had the grave task of figuring out how to pronounce the translated words as their lessons did not include lessons into the grammar of IsiXhosa. The learners could all not pronounce the words adequately, with only the mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers attempting to pronounce the words properly.

The ‘assessment’ was therefore unnecessary and flawed which further proved the ‘window dressing’ approach of transformation towards African languages at the school. The ‘assessment’ was done as a formality to indicate that IsiXhosa was indeed offered at the school but the lived reality was that

IsiXhosa merely offered as a subject on paper but in practise, learners would leave the school not understanding how to read, write or speak in IsiXhosa.

It is important to point out that of all the languages offered at the school, isiXhosa was the only language which did not appear on the formal report and which did not get any other form of assessments during the year except for the oral one. All other languages had different types of assessments in order to test different competencies of the language at different stages of the year in order to measure the level of acquisition per language from the learners. This further exacerbated the level of inequality in the three languages with IsiXhosa enjoying no status at the school.

The attitudes were therefore engraved by the language practices of the school, and though the policy purported to have an "incremental approach to multilingualism", the results indicate that the schools language practices were skewed towards monolingualism with English being the dominating language at the particular expense of IsiXhosa.

The language of teaching and learning is English and the time spent on English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans at the school respectively is as follows:

HL refers to Home Language

FAL refers to First Additional Language

TAL refers to Third Additional Language

Grade	**Language**	**Time (hours per week)**
R-3 Foundation Phase	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (TAL)	8 2.5 30 minutes

4 Intermediate Phase	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (TAL)	5 5 30 minutes
5-7 Senior Phase	English (HL) Afrikaans (FAL) IsiXhosa (TAL)	5 5 30 minutes

From the above findings, it is clear that the time allocation to English as well as Afrikaans is so that the learners become proficient in English as well as Afrikaans and not IsiXhosa as stated in section 2 of the policy. The inadequate time allocated to the language is a factor in why they cannot acquire fluency in the language and the time allocation of all the languages appears to be in line with the policy provision that states that learners will only be required to develop a high proficiency in English and Afrikaans. This is because the time allocated to the language illustrates that learners would not have sufficient time to learn morphology, syntax, semantics as well as vocabulary. The IsiXhosa lesson which is thirty minutes once a week leads learners to only be able to rote learn certain terminology of the language as opposed to language acquisition towards proficiency in the language.

The language in this form is therefore presented as a 'watered down' version of IsiXhosa as there is not adequate time to get into morphology, syntax, semantics and sentence construction as language acquisition theory argues, language acquisition is the process through which humans acquire the capacity to be aware of a language and to understand it so much that they are able to produce and use words and sentences to communicate (David, 2010). Furthermore, that to successfully use a language one requires a variety of tools which include phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics as well as an extensive vocabulary (Lightfoot, 2010).

Given the former analysis of the language policy at Groote Schuur Primary School, the responses given by the sample of learners chosen for this study indicate that the leaners could not successfully acquire IsiXhosa. Even though they have been 'taught' IsiXhosa from grade R -7 they are unable to use words and sentences in isiXhosa in order to communicate. There is not adequate time allocated for the subject in order for them to be. The results indicate that this was the case because of the time allocation and lack of a structured curriculum to indicate what learners are being taught in each grade in the other order to track progression of the language acquisition process from one year to the next. Learners also expressed the manner in which there was no stability in respect of the subject as they indicated that they had a new teacher 'every year'.

This could be aided by allocating more time to IsiXhosa in the week as well as advocating for multilingualism as per the policy through not only using IsiXhosa words during the IsiXhosa lesson but in all other subjects to ensure that IsiXhosa is viewed and treated as equal to English and Afrikaans. In addition, the IsiXhosa teacher could be given more support and resources like English and Afrikaans so that it can be esteemed on their level.

Participants confirmed that they 'did not know much' about IsiXhosa and that they were "taught the same thing every year" in their IsiXhosa lessons. It was evident that the learners themselves had developed an attitude towards IsiXhosa as a result of its inferior status given by the language policy and language practices of the school.

The policy speaks of six learning outcomes of all languages as follows:

(1) Listening
The learner will be able to listen for information and enjoyment and respond appropriately and critically

The results indicate that this only earmarked for English and Afrikaans as learners and teachers who participated in the study confirmed that they did not understand IsiXhosa at any level except for phrases which they had been rote learning since IsiXhosa was introduced as a subject. The teachers on the other hand showed no interest of learning IsiXhosa or using it while teaching other subjects in the classroom as way of introducing it to all areas of learning.

Further, it was interesting to note that the teachers were happy to code switch at the time they had introduced English when the school was an Afrikaans medium school and was transitioning to be and English school medium. During this transition, they used both languages in the classroom as languages of instruction. When IsiXhosa was introduced, the same principle was not applied.

This indicated that the teachers did not see the need or view IsiXhosa on the same level as English or Afrikaans in order to give it the same status in the classroom. Though there were only three teachers left at the school what had been employed by the apartheid regime, the attitudes remained the same throughout the staff. Of most interest was that the only teacher of African descent was the IsiXhosa teacher and the rest of the staff was white or coloured. Even though the IsiXhosa teacher had an honours degree in African languages, she was not seen as being on the same level as the other teachers.

Moreover, because she was the only teacher without her own classroom, she had to go and teach learners in other teacher's classes and they would often sit in her lessons. Upon being in her classes, they would alert her that she was not meant to teach grammar to the children but to teach them songs in isiXhosa. They emphasized they were 'only meant to learn conversational Xhosa'. In this utterance, they illustrated a lack of understanding of how the language acquisition process occurs but also indicated that they perceived language acquisition in IsiXhosa to be a menial exercise given that they thought it could merely occur through the singing of songs.

There was constant interference from the other teachers into the teaching methods of the IsiXhosa teacher whereas it would never be conceivable that she too, could have views on the teaching methods in the other learning areas. This illustrated the dynamics of power at play, not only was she a minority in the staff but her voice was suppressed as a result of the subject she taught.

It appears that there are historical prejudices against IsiXhosa as a language and the attitudes of the teachers towards IsiXhosa is further emphasized by the fact that they are aware that the IsiXhosa teacher does not have a set curriculum or formal assessments to set. This impeded their ability to comprehend isiXhosa as a language that can be used outside of its lesson time.

(2) Speaking
The learner will be able to communicate confidently and effectively in spoken language

The learners would only be able to speak and communicate confidently in English and Afrikaans given in that they only get taught IsiXhosa for 30 minutes once a week. In order to acquire the language successfully, the amount spent on languages would have to be equally distributed amongst all the languages. This would reinforce the multilingualism as well as ensure that mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers are also not discriminated against in light of their constitutional rights and not be deprived from the cognitive developments of mother-tongue instruction.

The language policy also states that they are not required to gain a high level of proficiency in IsiXhosa. The implication of this is that there is no set curriculum of IsiXhosa and the time allocated proves inadequate for language acquisition to occur successfully.

(3) Reading and Viewing
The learner will be able to read and view for information and enjoyment, and respond critically to the aesthetic, cultural and emotional values in texts.

For IsiXhosa, there is not time allocated for literature studies within the thirty minutes once a week. This is because the manner in which the IsiXhosa is offered is not meant for the learners to have abroad understanding and appreciation for the language as a whole. Furthermore, the school library has no IsiXhosa books for the children to read and take home. The only books which were available were in English and Afrikaans and the librarian who was there briefly stated that this was because ‘the children did not request them’. This begged the question of whether they requested the English and Afrikaans books themselves or that it was the role of the library to inculcate a culture of reading and viewing of literature across the eleven official languages of South Africa. There is also insufficient time for learners to get taught how to read and understand IsiXhosa thus they would not have the ability to read and view any IsiXhosa texts as a result of this. The fact that the library also had no isiXhosa literature further emphasized that no regard was given to IsiXhosa as a whole.

(4) Writing

The learner will be able to write different kinds of factual and imaginative texts

The writing ability of learners in IsiXhosa was not achieved for learners even though they started ‘learning’ IsiXhosa in Grade R. This is because they were never taught the grammar of the language but rather rote learning terms in respect of greeting as well as songs. This therefore affected IsiXhosa construction and development as part of learning the language because the writing aspect in understanding a language illustrates a coherence in understanding the morphology, syntax, sentence construction and semantics of a language. The ability to write therefore indicates a heightened level of proficiency in a given language and as per the policy, the leaners were not to be taught to develop a high proficiency in IsiXhosa.

(5) Thinking and reasoning

The learner will be able to use language to think and reason, and access, process and use information for learning

The learners were not able to think and reason in IsiXhosa as a result of the amount of time allocated to the language as well as the overall arching clause in the language policy which states that learners were not going to be taught to develop a high proficiency in IsiXhosa.

(6) Language and Structure use

> The learner will know and be able to use sounds, words and grammar of the language and create and interpret texts.

The evidence suggests that learners would not be able to understand the structure of the IsiXhosa language because of the lack of time given to the language. The focus was not for them to learn the language but to rote learn certain terminologies of the language such as greeting. In order for them to attain a stronger foundation in IsiXhosa, they were meant to be taught the morphology, syntax, sentence construction and overall grammar in isiXhosa as is done with English and Afrikaans. This would require more time to be allocated to IsiXhosa in line with the former languages. Without this being done, the learners at the school would not be able to develop a high level of proficiency in IsiXhosa.

4.8 Language of Assessments

In terms of assessments at the school, the policy states that assessments would be done in English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa. The actual practise at the school as per the findings in relation to assessments is that all assessments are done in English except in the instance where it is a specific Afrikaans or IsiXhosa assessment. Thus, in actual practise, the language of assessment of the school is English.

4.9 The Role of Educators and Parents in Language Policy Implementation

In terms of the policy, the role of the educator is to avail themselves of any teaching strategies to support the language of learning and teaching. Thus the school policy does not compel educators to make any further effort in terms of promoting multilingualism by encouraging educators to use all three languages in the classroom across all subject areas, in meetings and in assemblies. The policy also outlines the role of the parent by stating that it is their responsibility to ensure that the language of learning and teaching is not a barrier for learning and that learners would be assessed for this before being admitted to the school.

Once more, the policy reinforces monolingualism by placing emphasis on only the language of teaching and learning being the prerequisite for entering the school at the expense of IsiXhosa.

4.10 Towards a "Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education System" (MT-based MLE)

To aid this, the 'incremental approach to multilingualism' purported by the policy ought to be implemented in order to create a mother tongue-based multilingual education system within the school (MT-based MLE) (Stoop, 2017). MT-Based MLE can be described as:

> "… A child starts his or her schooling (education) in his or her mother tongue and subsequently changes over to additional languages. MT-based MLE can also be described as the use of students' mother tongue and two or more other or added languages as languages of instruction (LoI) in school. In other contexts, the term is used to describe bilingual education across various language groups, with each group using its own mother tongue along with the official school language of instruction."

This approach to education is advantageous and imperative in bridging language gaps and inequalities in educations particularly in countries such as South Africa which are multilingual (Stoop, 2017). It has been proven that children who have access to MT-based MLE are better equipped in their mother tongues as well as the national languages of their countries (Stoop, 2017). This is because "when the knowledge of a second language (L2) is added to a strongly developed first language (L1), a child is able to form additive bilingualism" (Stoop, 2017). Therefore, MT-based MLE is "the foundation for learning given that learners are able to build a strong educational basis in their mother tongue as well as a bridge to their second language and even more additional languages."

Kindergarten 1	Kindergarten 2	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
Build fluency in oral L1	Continue fluency in oral L1	Continue oral and written in L1; systematically start oral in L2	Continue oral and written in L1 + L2	Continue oral and written in L1 + L2	Continue oral and written in L1 + L2; systematically start oral in L3	Continue oral and written in L1, L2 + L3	Continue oral and written in L1, L2 + L3
	Begin written in L1	Begin written L2 (later in the year)		Begin oral in L3	Begin written in L3		
	Begin oral L2 (later in the year)						
L1 for teaching	L1 for teaching	L1 for teaching	L1 for teaching	L1-L2-L1 for teaching	L1-L2-L1 for teaching	L1-L2-L1 for teaching	L2-L1 for teaching

(Stroop, 2017)

The table above illustrates how the mother-tongue should be used as the dominant language during instruction in the classroom, and that the second language and third language would then be systematically introduced to the child through the progression indicated on the table (Stroop, 2017). This reinforces the fact that the child should first master their own mother tongue in order to enable them to learn new languages with ease (Stroop, 2017). This approach is in line with the national Language in Education Policy (1997).

Stroop (2017) argues that they "key to school success is based on providing leaners with reasonable and balanced learning opportunities. This is achievable through the use of mother-tongue education because this type of education is fundamental in increasing access to school as well as facilitate learning as well as acquisition of the second language" (Stoop, 2017).

An MT-based MLE approach appears to be advantageous to the South African education system because it reinforces the fact that a child's education will start with their mother-tongue and additional languages will be added at a later stage (Stroop, 1997). The decision of which model would work best remains open ended given that it is necessary to appreciate the unique circumstances of each situation. Having said this, it is clear that "monolingual education is not sustainable in multilingual as well as fast-growing multilingual nations" (Stoop, 1997).

4.11 Possible Challenges towards a Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education System

The challenges which are perceived for the introduction of an MTE-based MLE is that of a lack of skilled teachers who could teach the eleven official languages competently (Oyhama, 2018).

> Language education requires only three essential inputs for success: well-educated, well-trained teachers; state-of-the-art textbooks; and adequate school facilities' (Wright, 2017)

Additionally, the second challenge is that of producing teaching materials which would be in multiple languages where the languages would need to be standardized as the development of textbooks, reading materials and dictionaries were developed (Oyhama, 2018)

Despite this, it is still beneficial to have an MT-based MLE approach to education as is encourages multilingualism within the education system which assists in fostering equal respect and stays for all

African languages (Oyhama, 2018). This would promote social cohesion and heritage within the South African society as a whole.

4.12 Findings from In-Depth Interviews

The responses from the learners had three main themes:

1. Attitude towards IsiXhosa.
2. Lack of understanding of IsiXhosa.
3. Lack of teaching time allocated to IsiXhosa.

4.12.1 Attitude towards IsiXhosa

The attitude developed towards IsiXhosa was perpetuated by the lack of teaching time allocated to IsiXhosa. It was also emphasized by the fact that there was no fixed curriculum for IsiXhosa which resulted in the learners perceiving IsiXhosa as a ‘lesser’ language which was not to be taken seriously. In the end, they would have no formal assessment in isiXhosa which would impact their marks and as a result, they perceived IsiXhosa as a ‘waste of time’.

4.12.2 Lack of Understanding of IsiXhosa

The learners also clearly displayed a lack of understanding of IsiXhosa but not being able to read and understand basic IsiXhosa sentences which they should be able to comprehend given that they had been taught IsiXhosa from grade R to grade 7. This was a clear indication that the learners were not actually being taught the language in order to acquire it to the level where they would be able to read, write and speak the language in comparison to English and Afrikaans.

4.12.3 Lack of Teaching Time Allocated to IsiXhosa

All the learners indicated that they believed that not enough time was allocated to IsiXhosa and there was no reinforcement of the language throughout their primary school years where they felt that the language could be used in and outside the classroom. The y emphasized that they could not be fluent in the language because they were not taught the language as much as they were being taught English and Afrikaans. They dd see this discrepancy of time allocation and indicated that this resulted in them not being able to be fluent in IsiXhosa. Even mother tongue IsiXhosa speakers cited difficulty in acquiring isiXhosa because they stated that at school they did not get taught to read and write IsiXhosa which made them even forget their mother-tongue which they only got reminded of when they got home. They too could not state with confidence that they were fluent in IsiXhosa.

Languages	**Participants Fluency:** **Speak** **Read** **Write**	**Times Taught Per Week**
1. IsiXhosa	0/6	1
2. English	5/6	2+
3. Afrikaans	1/6	2+

The survey was conducted with a sample of six learners (10% sample size) at the school who had been at the school from grade R-7 who all confirmed that they had been 'taught' IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans in all their primary school years. They all stated that of these three languages, they had been taught IsiXhosa once a week and English and Afrikaans 'more than two times a week' since grade R.

When they were asked what made them fluent (being able to read write and speak the nominated languages) in the languages which they had chosen they stated the following responses:

Participant 1: *"I learn it every day and I speak it at home"*

Participant 2: *"I learn English every day and I speak it at home"*

Participant 3: *"I deal with English everyday"*

Participant 4: "*It is my home language and I get taught English every day"*

Participant 5: *"It is my home language and we were taught it since crèche'*

Participant 6: *"Because I went to an English crèche and I did not get taught Xhosa*

When they are asked with language they were unable to speak, read or write, they all unanimously answered that it was IsiXhosa.

When asked why they answered in the way that they did, they had the following responses:

Participant 1: *"I only get Xhosa once a week"*

Participant 2:*"I don't speak it at home or at school"*

Participant 3: *"We are only taught Xhosa once a week that is why"*

Participant 4: "*At home in my younger years I spoke English. So I speak English at home and at school"*

Participant 5: *"I don't really have anyone who speaks Xhosa to me and I learn it once a week at school. All my Xhosa friends speak English to me."*

Participant 6: "*I only get Xhosa once a week at school."*

In the following question, they asked to translate the following sentence into IsiXhosa:"My name is Ntando and I am 13 years old. I live in Rondebosch and attend Groote Schuur Primary School."

Their responses were as follows:

Participant 1: *"I don't know how"*

Participant 2:*"Igama lam ngu Ntando. Ndina 13. Groote Schuur Primary."*

Participant 3: *"Igama lam ngo Ntando"*

Participant 4: "*Igama lam nguNtando. Uhlala eRondebosch"*

Participant 5: "*Imaga lam ngu Ntando"*

Participant 6: *Igama lam ngo Ntando ndina 13. Ndihlala eRondebosch ndifunda eGroote Schuur Primary School*

Next, the participants were asked to translate the following sentence into English: "Ndingumfundi wesikolo samabanga aphantsi iGroote Schuur. Ndiyasithanda isikolo sam.

Their responses were as follows:

Participant 1: "*Something about love and Groote Schuur"*

Participant 2: *"I can't read the sentence"*.

Participant 3: "*Mfundi means leaner, I honestly don't know the rest"*.

Participant 4: "*Groote Schuur"*

Participant 5: "*Isikolo means school"*.

Participant 6: "*I attend a school. I speak my school"*.

4.13 Responses from Teachers

Two Main Themes from Responses of Teachers:

1. Transition from apartheid to democracy in education ‘challenging’
2. Attitudes towards IsiXhosa

Additionally, two teachers at the school participated in an in-depth interview. They had both indicated that they had been at Groote School Primary School for thirty years. They also contend that the School offers IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans. Given the length of time they had taught at the school, they indicated that there had been a lot of changes to the language policy of the school specifically in relation to pre and post-apartheid eras respectively.

The stated that in the apartheid years, Afrikaans was the language of teaching and learning but that gradually, English speakers started to join the school and in this respect, the school had to adapt to the changing circumstances. As such, the indicated that for a couple of years they taught in both English and Afrikaans in the classroom which they emphatically said was ‘the best way to teach’.

They believed that by using both languages in the classroom for general instructions and explanation of terms, it made the learners more susceptible in learning both languages at once and thus multilingualism was promoted. They said that by the time they got to learn English and Afrikaans as distinct subject areas, they already had a solid foundation given that they received instructions in both languages for all other subject areas. They added that during these years, the offered leaners the option of writing exams in English or Afrikaans.

Furthermore, they added that as per the school’s ability to changing circumstances, they were ‘were the first school in the Southern Suburbs to introduce IsiXhosa in 1990’. They said that this was in response the growing number of IsiXhosa speakers joining the school and their commitment to promoting multilingualism in the school. They did however contend that there was resistance to this introduction given the political environment of the time but that even as the years progressed, IsiXhosa has never been seen as being on the same level as English and Afrikaans.

4.14 Policy Evaluation: Window Dressing

Policy evaluation is done in order to determine (1) the process by which a policy is being implemented and to further identify the drawbacks associated with the implementation as well as (2) the policy impact and outcomes in an objective and efficient manner in order to develop fair, efficient and effective policy outcomes (Simon, 2015). The evaluation of the language policy at the said primary school therefore is that the policy did not reach its intended outcomes of multilingualism as it has envisaged.

This was exacerbated by the manner in which the policy was implemented. Though the policy spoke about an incremental approach to multilingualism, it was evident that there was no increment introduction of IsiXhosa as a subject a long side English and Afrikaans but what appeared was that there was a window-dressing approach in respect of offering IsiXhosa at the school given that it was not being taught but rather that teachers of IsiXhosa were told to sings songs to the children and merely teach them how to greet.

The evidence collected in this study suggests that the language policy of Groote Schuur Primary School has no effect on the multilingualism it envisages, and the language practices of the school reinforce that the policy is in fact not implemented in the manner in which the policy has set out. This indicates that the availability of IsiXhosa at the school is mere 'window dressing' in order for the school to able to tick a box and say that they do indeed 'offer' IsiXhosa as a subject at the school.

In some instances, the policy is implemented in the manner that it is promulgated as it does state from the beginning that leaners at the school would not be required to obtain high levels of proficiency in isiXhosa but it contradicts itself by stating that there would be an incremental approach to multilingualism at the school because the language practices at the school indicated that the school is skewed towards reinforcing monolingualism in favour of English dominance.

The fact that this policy within a democratic South Africa states without fear that priority will be given to English and Afrikaans as languages where learners will be required to gain high levels of proficiency perpetuates the apartheid divisions in respect of languages and should not be a part of this policy. Previously diminished languages such as IsiXhosa ought to take center stage at schools alongside English and Afrikaans which were the only languages with a status during colonial and apartheid times. The continual subjugation of IsiXhosa as a language seeks to undermine the gains of our democracy which clearly indicate the transformative nature our society ought to take.

The window dressing approach to implementing language policies in respect of African languages plays no role in developing African languages into being on the same level with both English and Afrikaans and only reinforces monolingualism. It is important for language policies to be in line with the constitutional prerogatives of uplifting previously diminished languages and not seek to keep the status quo in respect of African languages. Window-dressing language problems also does not eradicate the contradiction's which exist in the society in respect of our languages but is just an under-carpet sweeping approach which parks problems for later. This approach is therefore detriment within an education system that is to train future leaders of the country who will develop attitudes towards African languages a result of language policies that window dress the implementation of African languages.

Findings from Focus Groups with Learners

The six learners were asked the following questions in the focus group discussion:

Probe Questions:

- Do you know what a language policy is?
- What language(s) do you enjoy learning in class?
- What is your preferred language of learning?

Follow-Up Questions:

5. Why do you enjoy learning the language you have mentioned?
6. Do you think it is important to learn all the languages you learn at school?
7. Do you feel like all the languages you learn are taught equally and why?
8. Which language would you prefer to learn in and why?
9. If we were to do away with one language at the school, which one would it be and why?

Exit Question:

- Is there anything else you would like to say about the languages you get taught at school?

I will give an account of what the responses of the learners are and discuss them in relation to answering the research question

(1) Do you know what a language policy is?

For this question, all the learners could not fully comprehend what was meant by a 'language policy' was precisely but one of the learners did state that perhaps it was 'how they were supposed to learn languages at their school'. Given their age maturity, this was a good answer which presented an understanding of the topic.

(2) What language(s) do you enjoy learning in class?

5/6 Learners discussed that they enjoyed learning English because ‘they understood it’ 1/6 learners stated that they referred learning Afrikaans because it was their mother-tongue. None of the learners said that they enjoyed learning IsiXhosa, their reasons ranged from the fact that they did not understand it, there were too many changes in teachers and they ‘kept being taught the same thing over and over’ and also that IsiXhosa was not a subject which they wrote exams in so they felt it was ‘a waste of time’.

(3) What is your preferred language of learning?

All the learners indicated that they preferred learning in English because it was ‘easier to understand’ part of their discussion involved stating that they had been taught in English since pre-school years so it was logical for them to continue to be taught in English.

(4) Why do you enjoy learning the language you have mentioned?

The learners discussed that they enjoyed learning English because ‘they could not picture themselves learning subjects like History or Mathematics in IsiXhosa as they simply ‘would not understand’ the content. They further discussed that they felt that it was ‘nice to learn isiXhosa or Afrikaans during their respective periods but that they did not picture it extending further to that because their own teachers would not be able to teach History in IsiXhosa as an example.

This is a clear indication of the language policy having created a perception in the learners of the fact that isiXhosa was only confined to being taught in an IsiXhosa period and the learners could not comprehend IsiXhps abeyond that.

(5) Do you think it is important to learn all the languages you learn at school?

The learners discussed that it was important to learn IsiXhosa, English and Afrikaans at school but they had a resounding agreement of the fact that they ‘were not really learning anything’ when it came to IsiXhosa because they ‘learnt how to greet’ since they had been at the school in grade R and they had had a different teacher in each grade, they remarked that ‘there was no teacher that stayed for more than a year’ since they had been at the primary school. They discussed that they thought this was because ‘IsiXhosa was not a serious subject’ because they did not write exams for it and it did not appear on their official report. Also, they discussed how they felt it was good to learn languages ‘like IsiXhosa’ because then they could talk in that language and also think about the culture of that language. They still however, reiterated that they ‘would not need’ isiXhosa for any of their future careers because ‘no-one’ at work spoke IsiXhosa and ‘no one’ would teach or write isiXhosa at university where they would go after high school.

The comment about IsiXhosa not being ‘a serious subject’ was recurring and it was therefore clear that the manner in which the language policy was implemented created an attitude in the learners about IsiXhosa. To an extent, they did not view IsiXhosa as an equal language when compared to English and Afrikaans. It created a perception of it being a ‘lesser subject’ and conditioned them to assimilate and think in the dominant language – English. It also created a perception that IsiXhosa was not a language that could be explored beyond the IsiXhosa classroom. This meant that they only saw IsiXhosa as only being relevant to the time that it was taught in class and beyond that, it was non-existent. This was amplified by their comments which related to isiXhosa not being spoken at a work place or being taught at a university.

(6) Do you feel like all the languages you learn are taught equally and why?

The learners discussed that they did see a difference between English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa at the school. For the most part, they were clear about the fact that they realised that they only got taught IsiXhosa ‘once a week’ while they were taught English and Afrikaans every day. They also felt that what they were taught in English and Afrikaans was ‘different’ to what they were taught in IsiXhosa. The difference was that while learning English and Afrikaans they explored all aspects of the languages i.e. language and literature concurrently. They indicated that being taught isiXhosa they were only taught ‘how to greet’ and they did not really understand this.

This contributed to the learners not perceiving IsiXhosa as a fully-fledged language like Afrikaans and English because they were only taught one aspect of it since grade R. This meant that to them, the languages were not equal because IsiXhosa was only limited to greeting while English and Afrikaans had grammar and literature. This, to them was the only thing that was available in the IsiXhosa as that is all they were taught.

(7) Which language would you prefer to learn in and why?

The learners had continuously expressed their preference of the English language and had indicated that they could not comprehend learning other subjects in any other language other than English.

This was a clear indication of the English dominance and assimilation as a result of the implementation of the policy. Their preference for English could not be viewed as voluntary but had come from a monolingual environment which was inculcated by the language policy implementation of the school. As such, it was not surprising that they could only comprehend IsiXhosa to be a ‘greeting language’ and nothing more. The learner’s wold not have been able to gain proficiency in IsiXhosa to the extent that they could be taught other subjects in it. This includes mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers.

(8) If we were to do away with one language at the school, which one would it be and why?

The learners all agreed that there was no value in learning IsiXhosa as they did not write exams in it nor did it appear in their reports and therefore they felt that even if it would go away ‘it would not make a difference to their academics’. The learners indicated that even if they had to get into high school, the IsiXhosa mark would not make a difference because it was on a separate report so ‘it did not really matter’.

It was clear that the manner in which IsiXhosa had been taught at the school since they were in grade R had made them perceive IsiXhosa as a lesser language and a language that they did not need for their academic life. This meant that IsiXhosa was both auxiliary in form (how it was taught for thirty minutes once a week’ and in practise as they was a separate report for isiXhosa based on one ‘assessment’. The learner’s perceptions had therefore been built over a long period of time and changing them would be a grave task.

(9) Is there anything else you would like to say about the languages you get taught at school?

The learners remarked that they would have been happier to learn more about isiXhosa but had not gotten that opportunity. They stated that isiXhosa ‘seemed like an interesting language’ but that the ‘clicks were difficult’ to pronounce and were often a point to joke about in class when learners tried to pronounce it. One learners said that he felt English and Afrikaans were more important to know because they could use it at school and if they went to work one day, he remarked, ‘do we even get news in Xhosa?’

It was clear that the learners had been heavily assimilated to English as the dominant language to the extent that they could not comprehend a world where English was not the core language, some, eeven to the expense of their own mother-tongue. The policy did therefore not encourage multilingualism in the manner in which it was implemented. It further exacerbated the divide between the three languages and further diminished IsiXhosa which is regarded in the Constitution as a previously diminished language.

Findings from Focus Groups with Teachers

The ten teachers were asked the following questions in the focus group discussion:

- How familiar are you with the language policy of the school?

- What language do you use to teach in class?
- What is your preferred language of teaching?

Follow-Up Questions:

10. How has the language policy progressed from over the years?
11. Have the changes been positive or negative?
12. What influences your use of a particular language in the classroom?
13. Which language would you prefer to teach in and why?
14. If we were to do away with one language at the school, which one would it be and why?

Exit Question:

- Is there anything else you would like to say about the language policy?

(1) How familiar are you with the language policy of the school?

The teachers were all familiar with the language policy but one emphasized that it was ‘very outdated’ because it was still based on ‘learning outcomes which was part of the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) system’ which the Department of Basic Education abandoned in favour of A National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS). Thus, the policy had not been updated since then, they remarked. The teachers had further remarked that the language policy had evolved over time because they school was previously an Afrikaans medium school during the apartheid era but had transitioned between the pre and post-apartheid eras to accommodate the changing political landscape. They had reiterated that they were ‘one of the first schools in the area to introduce IsiXhosa’ at their school within the southern suburbs area. Further, they had indicated that they language policy changed to adapt to their environment at every given point in time given that when they started having less Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers, and a combination of English and Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers who joined the school, they had ‘dual instruction classrooms where they taught in both English and Afrikaans in the classroom.’ In addition, in 1994, the school introduced IsiXhosa to mark the new dawn of the rise of democracy.

The adaptation of the language policy is a clear indication that the school was able to implement the policy according to the needs of the school. This was a positive thing but it had a limitation because post the introduction of IsiXhosa, the language policy never adapted to accommodate mother-tongue isiXhosa speakers by also introducing it as a language of instruction in the classroom. It is also important to note that there was no mother-tongue IsiXhosa teacher except for the IsiXhosa teacher. This cited limitations as to why this could not necessarily occur.

(2) What language do you use to teach in class?

The teachers all used English to teach in class as they remarked that it was the language of teaching and learning as per the language policy. They only taught Afrikaans during the Afrikaans period but would not teach other lessons in Afrikaans, and of course there was only one IsiXhosa speaking teacher so it would not be possible for other teachers to teach in isiXhosa – they remarked. Since the linguistic diversity of the school had evolved over the years, the teachers stated that they no longer had Afrikaans medium classes because they 'no longer had a large number of Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers joining the school' hence the language policy had to adapt and accommodate the changed linguistic landscape of the school.

It was clear that the teacher fully acknowledged the need of a language policy to adapt and be implemented in a manner that spoke to the linguistic landscape of the school as such, this indicated that they had a grasp of the importance of language within the classroom. It was then interesting to note, that the same analysis did not apply to IsiXhosa as the school was filled with mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers but the language policy only accommodated them in terms of the language being offered at school but it did not translate to their children receiving mother-tongue education.

(3) What is your preferred language of teaching?

Six out of the ten teachers indicated that they preferred to teach in English while four of them indicated that they preferred to teach in Afrikaans but that they had had to adapt given the changing linguistic landscape of the school. Each group said that it felt comfortable in teaching in both languages but that some preferred English and some Afrikaans. None of the teachers indicated wanting to teach in IsiXhosa because as they indicated 'they would never be able to' and that 'the learners would not get any benefit from being taught in isiXhosa because none of the high schools they would go to in the area taught in IsiXhosa.'

The utterances of the teachers stemmed from the fact that there was English dominance even within the southern suburbs area and that as they taught at primary school level, they were preparing learners for high school where they would be further required to assimilate to English.

(4) How has the language policy progressed from over the years?

The teachers had indicated that their school was 'very progressive' in terms of adapting its language policy to accommodate the changing landscape both of the school but of the nation at large. They did confirm that the school was able to accommodate different linguistic communities post the apartheid era. They had reiterated that this was not the case during the apartheid era as they only accommodated mother-tongue Afrikaans speakers or those that could understand Afrikaans to that level in the classroom as all subjects were taught in Afrikaans. As such, this required a person to have a high proficiency in Afrikaans. It was important to note that the school was also not open to black South Africans during the apartheid era.

It was interesting to note the teachers articulating how ‘progressive’ their school was in terms of adapting it language policy to confirm with the political landscape of the country. They were very proud of this aspect of their school and it made them proud to teach at this primary school which was able to accommodate different linguistic communities according to their own analysis. They felt that their school was able to grapple with the changed landscape of the South African society by being able to offer English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa at the school. They believed that this act was one that made them stand out from the rest of the schools in the area.

(5) Have the changes been positive or negative?

The teachers felt that the changes were positive but that they also had a negative trait. They said that this was because they felt that the ‘learners were bombarded with too many languages and they could not cope.’ As a result, the teachers said that the introduction of three languages at the school was ‘a burden on the learners who were too young to comprehend three languages at once.’ The teachers also felt that they were not consulted for the introduction of three languages at the school and that they would want a platform where they could air their views regarding the addition of ‘so many languages to the curriculum.’

I t was interesting to observe the discussion of the teachers in relation to this particular question because previously, they had boasted about the school being one of the first school in the southern suburbs to introduce IsiXhosa as a language. Furthermore, the teachers clearly resembled that they saw language ‘as a problem’ rather than a right or a resource and particularly when it came to IsiXhosa:

> Language as a Problem’ refers to deficit thinking wherein it is assumed that students who belong to a particular ethnic or racial group and do not have proficiency in the dominant language are deficient in their ability to think and learn (Darder, 2011; Freire, 1970; Knight and Pearl, 1999; Ruiz, 1984). In this sense, indigenous and minority community languages are seen a threat to the unity of a nation state hence the fear

> dominated by deficit thinking politically drives many nations towards assimilation and away from a pluralistic society (Baker, 2011; Darder, 2011).

The teachers said out right that 'it was fine when they were only getting English and Afrikaans' but with the introduction of IsiXhosa the languages were 'too much' and the 'learners were getting confused over the three languages they learnt at school.' In the complexity of changing from one-medium of instruction to another, i.e. the changing over from Afrikaans to English medium and having dual medium instruction classes did not seem like a complex process to them in so far as it was English and Afrikaans and not IsiXhosa. It only became burdensome to the learners when IsiXhosa was added, in their view. This reiterated the 'attitudes' towards isiXhosa even by the educators. It was not a surprise when this transcended to the leaners.

They only viewed languages as a resource when it was English and Afrikaans because between those two transitions they were able to accommodate the languages in the classroom and accepted that the change was necessary and pertinent for teaching and learning. Viewing language as a resource refers to:

> 'Language as a Resource' chooses a pluralistic society over assimilation and it thus an asset to a community as it is useful in building economic and social bridges across different communities (Ruiz, 1984). It is a way of eliminating tensions which arise when discussing language as a right and a problem.

As such, the teachers were able to identify that language was a resource when dealing with the transition between Afrikaans medium to an English medium school and this process was 'relatively smooth' in their view. They were further enlightened by the fact that learners were able to 'adapt easily' to the change of environment. The same sentiments did not apply when there was an introduction of IsiXhosa as the teachers felt this was a 'burden on learners.'

(6) What influences your use of a particular language in the classroom?

The teachers concurred that their use of language in the classroom was guided by the language policy. Some remarked 'as much as we would love to teach in Afrikaans, we cannot because the language policy now states that the language of teaching and learning is English'. The teachers further stated that there was no other language that they could teach in except for English and Afrikaans but were fundamentally guided by the language policy of the school.

In observing the teachers and their responses, it was also clear that they would not be interested to learn how to teach the other subjects in IsiXhosa. They were not able to make picture themselves teaching outside the prescripts of English and Afrikaans and there was a sense of the fact that they would never be able to do that and no willingness to even try.

(7) Which language would you prefer to teach in and why?

Six teachers said that they preferred to teach in English because it 'was their mother-tongue' and they 'felt comfortable using it'. As such, they would not be comfortable in teaching in any other language. Four teachers felt that they would prefer to teach in Afrikaans because it was also their 'mother-tongue' and they would be comfortable in doing so but that 'they understood that it was necessary for the change to the English medium instruction at their school.' The teachers all di not express wanting to teach in IsiXhosa.

It was interesting to observe the discussion among the teachers as they all wanted to teach in a preferred language because it was 'their mother-tongue' and they did not further expand or have a deeper insight how that would translate to a learner who receives mother-tongue instruction as a opposed to a learner who does not. It was also interesting to note the utterances of the teachers who stated that 'they understood the need to transition from an Afrikaans medium of instruction to English' but could never comprehend a transition to IsiXhosa. This illustrated that the teachers did not view IsiXhosa as equal to English and Afrikaans and this was a recurring theme throughout the entire discussion. Further, it was notable that that mother-tongue Afrikaans speaking teachers 'understood' that they had to move from an Afrikaans-medium classroom to an English-medium classroom and it begs the question of whether the English-speaking teachers would have been able to do the same and whether they would be able to move from English and Afrikaans to IsiXhosa because the demographics of the school presented a large number of mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers but the language policy has never been changed to accommodate their mother tongue.

(8) If we were to do away with one language at the school, which one would it be and why?

Unanimously, the teachers all agreed that 'there was no need for IsiXhosa at the school' because the learners were already 'learning too many languages and as a result, they were 'confused'. They said that IsiXhosa was not even a subject that was examined so there was no need for it at the school, that it was just a 'waste of resources and time for the school, the teacher and the learners'. The teachers emphasized the fact that the time which was taken up by isiXhosa (30 minutes once a week) could be used for core academic subjects which were actually examinable. They said that even the learners got no value in isiXhosa as 'there was no time for it' in the curriculum as the curriculum was already packed as it was. The teachers felt that the learners were being 'bombarded' unnecessarily with 'too many learning areas' and in particular, that there was 'no need' for IsiXhosa.

The teachers were adamant in their discussion that the learners did not need three languages and they felt that they were not consulted about this particular decision. Interestingly, they never appeared to have protested dual medium classrooms and English medium as a transition from Afrikaans. Furthermore, the teachers would also appear to have deficit thinking in relation to multilingualism as they saw multilingualism as a burden rather than a positive way of promoting a pluralistic society which embraces different languages and cultures. It was clear that the attitudes of the learners in relation to isiXhosa were shaped by the implementation of the language policy and the policy implementers being the teachers who harboured views vested in deficit thinking.

(9) Is there anything else you would like to say about the language policy?

The teachers remarked that they would like for there to be more consultation at the school when it came to promulgating the language policy. They were more 'concerned' about the learners who were 'confused because of the number of languages they were taught all at once.' The learners on the other, appeared to embrace this aspect and seemed curious to learn more about IsiXhosa which they only got for a short period of time (30 minutes once a week).

It was an interesting observation to analyse the teacher's discussions relating to the language policy. It did not occur to the teachers that most of the learners at the school were actually learning three languages at once any way given that even if they did not get taught IsiXhosa at school, mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers would get it at home – at least at a speaking level. The teachers were therefore also already assimilated into the language of dominance as they were happy to have moved from 'dual-medium' classrooms in order to accommodate only the English peaking children in the classrooms. This was a clear indication of assimilation to English dominance which the teachers overlooked as a mere 'following of the language policy'. The teachers did not question this nor did they ever comprehend having to accommodate mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers by having also incorporating IsiXhosa as a language that could be developed into a language of teaching and learning in the future. The steps taken to accommodate English and develop it in the school as a language of instruction could have also applied to isiXhosa as it is clear that the school's language policy is forever adapting, but seems to have staggered when it comes to IsiXhosa.

4.15 Conclusion

This chapter has successfully conveyed the findings of the study and discuss them in line with what the research sought to find in relation to the language policy implementation of the said primary school. The language policy implementation was analysed using Ruiz's three-tiered analysis of language learning policies of language as a right, language as a resource and language as a problem. Further, the findings on the policy making process, and in particular, policy implementation was analysed using Barkenbus's 4-stage model of the policy-making process which encompasses agenda setting, policy formulation, policy implementation and policy evaluation.

5. CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The study focused on language policy implementation practices in basic education with particular reference to a primary school in the Western Cape, situated in the City of Cape Town as a case study. It sought to observe language practices within the school to assess various patterns of implementation.

The study intended to research and gain knowledge about language policy implementation in basic education. This was achieved through focus groups, semi-structured interviews as well as questionnaires which would lead to a greater understanding about the language practices of the chosen primary school. These language practices included: The language of learning and teaching, the language in which study materials were written, the language used in memos to parents, the language of assessment, language used in general administration such as minutes of meetings as well as announcements and the like. This would be done by exploring the language policy which the school has in place in relation to national language plan on language policy implementation.

In concluding, the study would be able to offer advice on policy implementation and discuss monitoring plans to ensure that the school policy is not a matter of tokenism and window dressing but rather a practical ongoing exercise manifesting in everyday running of the school where the curriculum is concerned, assessment, language of teaching and learning, language of writing materials, language used in running memos, correspondence to parents, school communication with the outside world and general administration such as minutes, running of meetings, assemblies, school ceremonies and events.

The study would further highlight the challenges inherent at the implementation stage as policy experts have stressed the difficulty of ‘moving from policy to implementation’ (Cakata & Segalo, 2017: 322). It would attempt to provide ways in which these challenges can be alleviated to ensure that the language policy is consciously implemented by being inclusive and central to curriculum planning, lesson planning and teaching and learning activities.

Language policy planning in South Africa at large was analysed using Ruiz’s (1984) three orientations to language planning: language as a problem, language as a resource and language as a right. Further, used the model for policy making as described by Barkenbus (1998) in order to analyse the policy implementation process of the language policy at the given primary school. The study is therefore two-pronged as it explored the disciplines of language as well as policy concurrently.

This study therefore successfully embarked on a journey to generate knowledge about language policy implementation in basic education. This was achieved through carefully constructed questions in in-depth interviews and focus groups with learners and teachers at a local primary school in Cape Town. The analysis of documents in the form of the:

(1) “Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
(2) The Western Cape Language Policy
(3) The City of Cape Town Language Policy
(4) The National School’s Act and
(5) The Language Policy of the local primary school”

This study founded its underlying principles on the fact that the Western Cape Province has per the Constitutional prerogatives, observed three languages which are used as the official languages of the province namely IsiXhosa, Afrikaans as well as English. The research was conducted with this in mind in order to determine how this policy was implemented by the governing body as the National Schools Act thrusts the responsibility of the school language policy to be developed by the school governing body. This was done under the understanding that of the three languages mentioned, IsiXhosa was categorised in the Constitution as a previously diminished language as an indigenous African Language.

The study also observed the manner in which the post-apartheid legislation as discussed above and in the study as a whole, aided the imbalances of the past where indigenous African Languages were previously under developed and suppressed in favour of English and Afrikaans concurrently and interchangeably and how this had changed to date with post-apartheid legislation.

The policy of the local primary school only focused on the offering of IsiXhosa at two levels as being a successful language policy. According to Dye (1978) a policy ought to address the problems of the people it is aimed at. Offering IsiXhosa to learner is not enough to aid the injustices of the past wherein IsiXhosa is listed in the Constitution as a vulnerable language. With this in mind, the language policy of a school ought to empower a vulnerable language by using it in other areas of the school other than its designated teaching time. Furthermore, the language policy purports to embrace 'multilingualism' but this is not the case in the classroom as teaches inculcate a culture of assimilation to the dominant language: English. The language policy therefore does not address the problem of monolingualism within the school context but also, provides a mirror of what is occurring in the entire basic education system as a result of English dominance.

The colonial and apartheid eras might have ended in legal times but the schools appear to still harbour views and attitudes in relation to African languages that resemble apartheid and colonial time, as a result, African lnguages continue to be subjugated and treated like the 'lesser' language as a result of this. The liberty to odo this is given by the legislation in place as the responsibility of creating language learning polcies at schools are given to governing bodies who might also harbour the same views regarding African languages, and there exists no law to compel schools to ensure that African languages are treated in a fair and equal manner at school. To this end, there is no monitoring and evaluation of the language learning policies of schools both fromm the government who has identified African languages as vulnerable languages.

The study found that the language practices of the school indicated that there was a window dressing approach to offering of IsiXhosa at the school as though it was indicated that IsiXhosa was offered at the school, when the study delved deeper into the language practices of the school there was a clear indication that isiXhosa was merely offered as a formality and for no tangible outcome. This was illustrated by the fact that isiXhosa was only offered for thirty minutes once a week with it never appearing anywhere else at the school except for when it was its lesson time. The fact that it had no formal assessment and did not appear on the learners reports was also an indication of the window dressing approach to the policy because it proved that IsiXhosa was not viewed on the same level as English and Afrikaans.

The issue of the separate report was a visual representation of how the school, as led by the governing body and the principle, viewed IsiXhosa as auxiliary. In so doing, the learners developed attitudes towards IsiXhosa as a result of the manner in which they were ‘taught’ IsiXhosa at school. The window dressing approach to the learning of IsiXhosa was therefore detriment to the perceptions which the learners would have received at their basic education level. In their entire schooling experience, they have come to understand IsiXhosa as a ‘greeting language’ only and this happened to learners who had been ‘taught’ IsiXhosa from grade R-7. Thus, the learners did not get the full benefit of learning and African language and opening up their horizon to leaning another culture and language as the window dressing approach robbed them of this opportunity.

Signs, correspondence to parents and the like, could include even two sentences of IsiXhosa to illustrate the importance of promoting multilingualism within learners in the school. This would aid in raising consciousness about the language as well as heightening its status amongst the school community. IsiXhosa could also be part of assembly messages to reinforce the multilingualism which was spoken about in the language policy instead of it being confined in the thirty minutes once a week in the classrooms in which it is taught. All the assemblies were also all done in English only and not IsiXhosa or Afrikaans. As such, the assimilation to English as the language of dominance was done on a daily basis through the language practices of the school.

It was also clear that the isiXhosa teacher did not get the same support as the other language teachers at the school as the teacher had no classroom or budget attached to IsiXhosa. The attitudes which the learners harboured in the towards IsiXhosa were evident in the classroom as the learners had no regard for isiXhosa since it was not an academic subject that would not affect their academic careers in any way. The learners would often disregard the IsiXhosa teacher as a result of this and so did the other teachers whom the Xhosa teacher had to use their classrooms for reaching. The learners noticed that the teacher did not have any stable classroom and that the subject was only for ‘entertainment’ purposes seeing that they would never be examined on it. The isiXhosa teacher also did not have any authority on the learners and when they misbehaved, the other teachers who taught subjects that the learners respected had to intervene on her behalf, ,further diminishing the teachers already non-existent dignity. The learners did not see the authority of the IsiXhosa teacher because the language policy and the manner in which it was implemented did not empower the language nor the teacher. The learners were able to see this and they acted accordingly.

The implementation of languages in the ‘language as a problem’ manner have resulted in African language speakers not regarding their languages as languages of choice and development. This is a result of deficit thinking in the society as a whole that African languages are not economically viable or are of little to no use. These attitudes are a result of viewing multilingualism as a ‘problem’. As such, both the learners and the teachers at the school have been boxed into deficit thinking as a result of the language policy being aligned to assimilation of the dominant language – English. The result of this that IsiXhosa as the African language which is offered at the school does not enjoy the same parity as its counterparts which are namely English and Afrikaans. This practice is therefore no different from the apartheid and colonial eras which had no regard for African languages and thus the policy implementation of language learning policies ought to undo this not perpetuate it in an unending cycle of subjugation.

The policy making process in the South African context is also worth scrutinizing for this study as it becomes a mirror for all the legislation which exist in our country which is well and good when written on paper but the implementation thereof leaves one to wonder. A classic case of window dressing was uncovered in this study wherein the policy purports that it envisages a multilingual context by ensuring that learners would be competent in at least three official languages but the language practices illustrate that the policy is not being adequately implemented and that rather than multilingualism being embrace, language continues to be viewed as a problem both inside and outside of the classroom within the school context.

It was also evident that there was a lot of autonomy given to schools through the National Schools Act for them to determine their own language policies in line with constitution prerogatives through their governing bodies. It appeared that there was no thorough evaluation of whether language policies developed by schools were indeed being implemented in line with Constitutional prerogatives of uplifting previously diminished languages. Through the lack of this evaluation, much room was left for schools to circumvent constitutional prerogatives by applying a ‘window dressing’ approach which they knew would not be uncovered because of a lack of accountability structures. The Department of basic Education therefore also does not empower African languages by monitoring what occurs in classrooms and schools inn general in relation to the language policies. The schools are aware of this and would not make a concerted effort to implement a language policy that views language as a right and a resource because there is no evaluation of the extent to which the language policy can divert from the constitutional prerogatives. With a lack of these accountability structures, it means that mother-tongue speaker s of African languages will continue to have their rights taken away from them – that is the right to learn in the language of their choice.

This illustrates that it would be in the best interest for government to provide schools with the necessary support and materials to be able to carry out the language policy implementation effectively and fairly for all languages and African languages in particular because of their diminished status. It would appear that schools also need the government to support them by constantly training educators to be bilingual in their approach in the classroom and have a MT-based MLE as it would be the most beneficial for South African children. The Department of Basic Education ought to work hand in hand with the Pan African Language Board of South Africa to ensure that the diminished status of African languages is rescued from a primary school level.

It is clear also that the legislation in place also places the burden of language policy implementation on the schools and provides no directives of the preservation of vulnerable languages such as isiXhosa by being silent on the explicit provision by the Constitution of uplifting previously diminished languages. This means that there is no clear prerogative on the part of the Constitution on what repercussions there would be for a school that does not adhere to constitutional prerogatives which could be aided by proper policy formulation, implementation, monitoring and the critical reviewing of policy within a designated period of time in order to comprehend the dynamic nature of South African classrooms and to be able to adapt to language changes as they come.

It was further evident that in the South African context, the term ‘minority language group’ implied political and economic power rather than superiority by number because the majority of the people are black and indigenous language speakers but do not possess the necessary political and economic power that the dominant minority group does in order for their languages to be viewed on equal terms with English and Afrikaans. Therefore, while Black South Africans are the majority of the population, their economic status places their languages in a diminished position just as in the colonial and apartheid times. While indigenous African language speakers are greater in number, they have no way of becoming languages of dominance given the political and economic power of minority language which are namely Afrikaans and English.

It was also evident in this study that language in South Africa is still viewed 'as a problem' wherein deficit thinking is what drives language learning policies where it is assumed that students who belong to a particular ethnic group or racial group who are not proficient in the dominant language which is English are therefore deficient in their ability to think and learn. Stereotypes that emerge from deficit thinking include the fear that allowing students to take multiple languages may cause conflict, less cohesiveness, cause students to perform poorly at school, contribute to poverty, hinder students from integrating into society and that they might have less social and vocational capital and the most prevalent stereotype in deficit thinking relates to the accent one has when they speak as everyone possesses a certain type of accent irrespective of where one is in the world (McNelly, 2015). This view of multilingualism was highly robust in at the school where teachers emphasized these views over and over indicating that learners were 'burdened by too many languages' and this burden only emerged after the introduction of IsiXhosa. Learners were seen to be 'struggling' with learning three languages and an 'unnecessary added pressure' to their primary school education without having any regard for the mother-tongue IsiXhosa speakers and their right to be taught in their mother-tongue.

What is also clear is that the South African laws view English both as a right and as a resource because the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa protects the rights of African language speakers by having promulgated language as one of the provisions in the Bill of Rights wherein a South African citizen has a right to speak a language of their choice without being discriminated against. This is an important aspect of our society because it respects the linguistic rights of all people. However, this ought to extend from the constitution to practical spaces such as in the schooling system.

The Constitution thrusts the responsibility for language policy development on the three spheres of government by mandating that all three spheres a particular role in ensuring that all languages are treated and developed equally. It provides a theoretical framework for multilingualism that is to be applied across all three spheres of government.

The South Africans Schools Act has decentralised the responsibility of language policy implementation to the administration of the respective schools by allowing governing bodies to determine their own language policies in line with the theoretical framework that is promulgated in the Constitution. This also speaks to the fact the National Schools Act is therefore not prescriptive and in theory, suggests that any language could be used in any school in so far as the governing body had decided in line with what is promulgated in the Constitution.

An emerging polity such as South Africa had to adopt both orientations in its language planning strategy so that both approaches could complement one another (Phaahla, 2010: 53). The equality of language rights in the South African context is guaranteed by the fact that in its Constitution, language rights fall as individual human rights (Phaahla: 2010: 53). The guarantee of these rights ought to translate to tangible spaces in the South African society where all languages enjoy the same status. It is important for the rights of all linguistic communities within the South African society too enjoy the use of their own languages from their basic education level.

The crisis at the policy implementation stage is as a result of the underlying political nuances of both the pre and post-apartheid eras within the South African context wherein the society is grappling with the transition. The policy implementers which are the teachers at the schools till harbour sentiments of the 'old guard' as they come from the apartheid era and have and to adjust to the new South Africa post-1994 which was a clear challenge for them. This occurs mainly in previously whites only schools where the transition to accommodation black learners is a difficult exercise in itself as some schools are grappling with hair policies which are discriminatory to black learners. This bears testament to the fact that the transition is not an easy one that the use of language in classrooms and society at large is not only a social aspect but a political one which requires a lot of negotiation. The post-apartheid era is difficult in the South African context as equality in all aspects is sought for previously disadvantaged groups. Language is no exception to this because it was used as a tool to divide and conquer during the colonial and apartheid times.

The language policy at the school provided a mirror for the language challenges inherent in the South African society as a whole wherein the 'language as a problem' approach dominated the South African society amidst the laws and regulations are in line with promoting multilingualism in both the classroom and society at large. It is thus clear that laws without the policy implementers who are able to implement them in a proper manner are as good as useless. There also need to be firm monitoring and evaluation strategies in order to assess whether the language policies at schools are indeed addressing the status of previously diminished languages in the classroom and the school at large.

It is clear that policies need to be formulated for a reason and be monitored in terms of their implementation in order to ascertain that they are implementing what they had envisaged for their desired outcomes. The lack of evaluation and monitoring of policies allows them to be implemented in a manner that is not in line with the envisaged outcome of the policy as clearly illustrated by this study. The policies themselves also ought to be uniform across the schools in being able to address the inequalities of languages within the basic education sector across all provinces. There appears to be no alignment between any of the schools in the province in relation to the language policy-making as a result of the clause in the Schools Act which allows school governing bodies to determine their own language policies.

Our country has a rich linguistic diversity but the education system operates in a manner that promotes monolingualism as the norm. What was evident at the school was that most of not all teachers were bi/multilingual and the learners were emergent bi/multilingual but the manner in which the curriculum and assessments were set out assumed and positioned them to assume a monolingual status. This presented the flaw in the manner in which the language policy was implemented because the language policy purported to be promoting multilingualism in line with the Constitutional prerogatives in respect of African languages which are perceived as previously diminished languages.

The promotion of English dominance should be confronted head on with the development of adequate and quality teaching materials in all available languages of that particular province in line with the local provincial and national laws. The suppression of multilingualism is detriment to the plural society in which we reside in in South Africa. It becomes important for the window dressing approach to policy implementation to be rooted out in favour of tangible policy implementation that is in line with the imperatives of what the policy set out to gain.

The window dressing approach for the implementation of language policy that seek to uplift previously diminished African languages will hinder this initiative and render African languages useless and without any development and it would be as if apartheid times still reign in the South African society. Languages should be seen both as a right and a resource within the South African context in order to inculcate an imbedded culture of multilingualism as envisaged in the South African Constitution.

Further, a mother tongue-based multilingual education system (MT-based MLE) (Stoop, 2017) MT-Based MLE can be described as the time in which:

> … A child starts his or her schooling (education) in his or her mother tongue and subsequently changes over to additional languages. MT-based MLE can also be described as the use of students' mother tongue and two or more other or added languages as languages of instruction (LoI) in school. In other contexts, the term is used to describe bilingual

> education across various language groups, with each group using its own mother tongue along with the official school language of instruction.

The Language-in-Education policy's assertion of mother-tongue based education is supported by Stoop (2017) who argues that it is advantageous for learners to receive mother tongue education as it 'promoted the acquisition of knowledge and understanding, and it advances the development of a learner's cognitive, affective and social skills" (p. 20). Further, Stoop (2017) argues that this is the case because when children start their schooling and education it presents a new social environment for them, and as such, learning in their mother tongue makes the transition easier as "it provides a bridge from the known to the unknown" (p. 21).

As such, this study argues MT-based MLE (Stoop, 2017) as per the Language-in-Education Policy is the necessary and appropriate manner for implementing language learning policies in schools as guided by Ruiz's (1989) three tiered framework of language as a right, language as a problem and language as a resource in relation to language learning policies and further uses Barkenbus's model of the policy making process in order to fully comprehend how a policy is made.

It is therefore evident that even post the apartheid era, the colonial and apartheid attitudes towards African languages continue to be entrenched even at basic education level which shapes the views of learners and teachers towards regarding African languages as inferior. Also, that the South African classrooms 'conduct their business' in foreign languages at the expense of indigenous African languages. This was evident throughout this entire study wherein English dominance was the order of the said primary school at the expense of promoting a pluralistic environment by embracing the three languages English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans which are written in the language policy of the school.

It is also clear that much has to be done in supporting IsiXhosa teachers equally to teachers of English and Afrikaans and the fact that IsiXhosa teachers are not even given classrooms, budgets or permanent positions in previously 'whites only' schools indicates that the transition from pre- and post-apartheid eras is stagnant, in particular in relation to language learning policies at school. The parents at schools also have a responsibility together with the learners and teachers to promote multilingualism and to ensure that the language rights of all learners are respected in a fair and equal manner just as the constitution envisages. Thus, the democratic government from 1994, has a duty and responsibility of undoing the injustices of the past by giving African languages their deserving status in even in the classroom context so that the rights of mother-tongue African language learners are also respected.

This can only be achieved by placing effective monitoring and evaluation systems by the national and provincial departments of education to ensure that language policies are adequately implemented to the benefit of all languages, underlined by the understanding that African languages are “previously diminished” languages as per the Constitution and thus require language learning policies that view languages as both a right and a resource in classrooms.

Hopefully, this study can contribute to the conducting of further research into effective monitoring and evaluation systems which the Departments of Education can have in place at provincial level that can assist in the proper formulation, implementation and evaluation of language learning policies in South Africans schools.

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