

University of Cape Town

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Dissertation

**“Implications of South Africa’s New Language Policy with
special reference to the Implementation of African
Languages as Media of Instruction.”**

by

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Abstract

This study has explored the New Language Policy of South Africa, with special reference to African languages as possible media of instruction, at pre-tertiary level of education. The most critical and relevant linguistic aspects examined here, takes into account the issue of multilingualism in education or multilingual education (particularly the issues that still handicaps it), the development of African languages and linguistic rights. The study provides a brief overview with regard to individual and collective rights in South Africa. In sum, the South African government's attempt to implement the New Language Policy, in part, has been carefully examined.

The study has also investigated the relationship between the New Language policy and the people it directly affects. In this respect, much attention has been paid to the attitudes of teachers and students of the African community, that is, African-language speakers, toward the New Language policy. However, the legitimacy of the New Language policy amongst the Afrikaans-speaking populace is not explored in this study. It is anticipated that further research will be conducted in this respect.

This study has further demonstrated how the government can be entrapped through the designing of its public policies. Sometimes governments fail to implement the policies they have formulated and announced to the public. The New Language policy of South Africa is no exception. This study indicates that although the New Language policy is politically correct, it is practically unworkable, complex, problematic and controversial with regard to African languages as media of instruction. } LOT

Some recommendations are provided to shed other alternatives with regard to the successful implementation of the New Language policy. The study indicates that the South African Government should minimise its eleven media of instruction. Whilst one language (English) should serve as a medium of instruction in predominantly African or Black public schools, other languages (African languages) should be taught as subjects in the school curriculum. } LOT.

Definition of Key Concepts

Additive Bilingualism is the process whereby the use of a second language co-exists with the use of mother tongue as medium of instruction through all levels of education (Corson, D, 1990).

African Public Schools refer to public schools that are predominantly attended by African language speaking children.

Apartheid (or Colonial) Bilingual Policy refers to the previous South African language policy where only two languages (i.e. English and Afrikaans) served not only as official languages but also as media of instruction throughout the school curriculum.

Collective Rights are those rights that pertain to a particular (e.g. linguistic) community or group (van Dyk, 1993).

Individual Rights are those rights, which pertain to a single person (Sachs, 1994, Constitution, 1996 & Department of Education, 1997).

Issue Definition refers to the acceptable description of an issue (problem, opportunity, challenge or trend) placed on the political agenda for a definition of its likely causes, components and consequences (Hogwood et al, 1984).

Linguistic Rights are those rights granted to a particular person(s) for using one's own preferred language in given contexts (Language Policy in Education Working Group, 1993).

Medium of Instruction refers to the language(s) used for the purposes of learning and teaching in the school curriculum.

Mother Tongue Education (or instruction) refers to the use of an indigenous language(s) in education for any purpose and at any level (Bamgbose, 1991:63).

Multilingual Education means the use of more than two languages in the realm of education (Corson, D, 1990).

Multilingualism is the recognition and the use of more than two languages in every sector of the community (Corson, D, 1990).

New Constitution refers to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (Department of Education, 1997).

New Language Policy means the language policy promulgated by the New Constitution (1996) and the New Language-in-Education Policy Document of 1997.

New South African Government refers to the government that came into power as a result of the 1994 elections in South Africa.

Policy Design is the manner in which the policy has been defined by the statutes (Parsons, 1995).

Policy Implementation is the process of executing a policy through the given instrument(s) (Parsons, 1995).

Policy Instrument is a means, device or technique of implanting a particular policy (Parsons, 1995).

Primary Source is the absolute basic raw material (i.e. data) or the initial document, source or record of a specific issue (Marwick, 1970).

Promotive Policies are initiatives which enhance the use of particular languages not only by statutory or constitutional means but also by devoting the necessary resources like finance, personnel and environment (Schiffman, 1996).

Public Policy is the government's action(s) or in-action(s) with regard to political, social and economic public problems or issues (Dye, 1987).

Research is the diligent and scholarly investigation in all the primary and secondary sources with the intention of extending human knowledge in a particular subject area (Marwick, 1970).

Secondary Source is the interpretation and analysis of a primary source(s) (Marwick, 1970).

Tolerance Policies are policy initiatives which, tolerate for the use of languages without explicitly devoting resources, time and space, etc, to them (Schiffman, 1996).

Vernacular Instruction (also see mother tongue) is the use of indigenous languages for specific societal purposes like the teaching and learning of children (UNESCO, 1953).

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List of Abbreviations.

ANC	African National Congress
ATASA	African Teachers Association of South Africa
CATA	Cape African Teachers Association
CPLS	Cape Provincial Library Services
CDC	Curriculum development Centre
FEP	Foundation for Education with Production
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GTRE/AP	Group De Travail Sur La Recherche en Education et L'Analyse Des Politiques
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MOE	Ministry of Education
LANGTAG	Language Plan Task Group
NEPI	National Education Policy Investigation
NISTCOL	National In-Service Training College
NP	National Party
PANSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PRAESA	Project For The Study OF Alternative Education In South Africa

SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South Africa Council of Churches
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race relations
SASPU	South African Students Press Union
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WB	World Bank

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

For its unique role in capturing the breath of human thought and endeavour, language provides an alluring object of study. Issues surrounding the question of language are as enormous and widespread like the whole universe that encapsulates it. Going from one continent to another, from one country to the other, from one province (as in the South African context) to another, from one institution (such as government departments, and educational centres) to another, language is critical and crucial and it is a factor to reckon with. Languages used, for whatever purposes in these institutions and organisations are often diverse and warrant proper control and management. At least, most governments have intervened in this respect.

Some of the ways in which the country's language policy manifests itself is in the kind of constitutional and departmental provision(s) the government makes for the linguistic education of its populace. Answers to questions like, Which language(s) is to be used as medium of instruction? And which language(s) is to be taught, as a subject? (From what grade? and for how long?), arises from the government's linguistic policy, where a wide range of positions are found.

The two key and major determinants of the well being of linguistic policies is the "empirical" and "normative" aspects of such policies. The former is a concern of whether the language policy 'can' be implemented and the latter is a focus on whether the language policy should be implemented. It is in these two policy aspects where major controversies and debates around linguistic policies have blossomed.

On the one hand, some people strongly hold that linguistic policies 'can' be implemented whilst others' view is that it 'cannot' be implemented. It is further debatable as to whether a language policy 'should' be implemented or 'should it not' be implemented. The New Language Policy of South African relates perfectly to these various respects. Different people hold different perspectives with regard to the implementation of this policy. The legitimacy of the New Language Policy is highly challenged.

The New Language Policy of South African has enormous implications for various institutions and organisations across the country. Some of these institutions include the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Parliament and the educational sector (i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary institutions) as well as the private enterprises. However, the focus of this research will only be on the educational sector, particularly at pre-tertiary level of the South African education system.

It is important to note that the New Language Policy addresses two linguistic issues in education. According to South Africa's Language-In-Education Policy Document of 1997, these take into account language as a subject of study and language as a medium of instruction. The issue of language as a subject is less problematic and is not an area of concern in this study. The linguistic aspect at issue here, is the controversial, problematic and complex issue of medium of instruction, through African languages, as implied by the New Language Policy.

LP { In this regard, South Africa has adopted, in place of its apartheid bilingual policy, a policy that is multilingual in character. According to the new South African Constitution of 1996, English and Afrikaans do no longer enjoy, at least in principle, the monopoly of serving as the only official languages and media of instruction. In addition, nine African languages, from whence the theoretical framework guiding this paper shall be discerned, have been recognised not only as official languages but also as possible languages for the purpose of instruction. These include languages such as Setswana, Sesotho, Pedi, Ndebele, Swati, Zulu, Xhosa, Tsonga and Vhenda.

It is the inculcation and 'possible usage' of African languages as media of instruction, in the New Language Policy that has triggered the interests and minds of many concerned people, including the mind behind this study. The notion of African languages as media of instruction is only welcomed in some quarters of the country whilst in others it is met with vigorous objections, especially from African-language-speakers themselves. As will be seen in the historical background of this study, African language speakers in South Africa have once turned against the government's linguistic policy, which declared African languages as media of instruction. LOT.

Nonetheless, for many people, then and now, all the legitimised African languages seem to have the 'official linguistic authority', but not the 'linguistic power' to serve as languages of learning and teaching. 'Linguistic authority' implies that African languages earned the legitimacy, particularly from the government, to serve as media of instruction and 'linguistic power' refers not only to the rhetorical commitment but also to the resources available for the active and effective implantation of such languages as media of instruction. It is noted that African languages do not seem to be acknowledged by many African students and teachers, at grassroots level, as media of instruction. Moreover, they do not seem to have the power for successful implementation as media of instruction. These are carefully addressed in Chapters

} LOT.

} LOT
- attitude

Three and Four

Nevertheless, before exploring the New Language Policy, it is not only important to take a glance at the previous linguistic policies of South Africa. It is also essential to posit the purpose of this study, the research statement or question, its significance and its limitations. Also very significant is to establish the techniques, that is the methodology, employed to facilitate this paper. All five aspects are central to the discourse in Chapter Two. It has already been implied above that Chapter Three focuses on the theoretical framework and the literature review whilst Chapter Four's primary concern is to further explore some of the debates that proliferate from the literature review. Finally, recommendations and conclusions shall be made in relation to the New Language Policy with pertinence to African languages as media of instruction at the pre-tertiary level of education.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The core of this section is to re-iterate the previous linguistic policies of South Africa under the apartheid system of government. In the previous political dispensation, the South African government did not only impose a bilingual education policy on Black African public schools, it also tried to impose mother tongue instruction policy in public schools predominantly attended by Africans. In fact, the apartheid government of South Africa, under the leadership of the National Party (NP), did not know which language medium policy to put in place for the education of Africans.

Between 1955 and 1981, the apartheid government often changed the linguistic policies dealing with the medium of instruction in African or Black public schools. In 1955 the central government of the Republic South Africa extended the use of mother tongue as a language of learning and teaching from Grade Four to Grade Eight. This policy was actively operational until 1963. In 1959 the public Grade Eight examinations of the Department of Bantu Education was written in one or another of the African languages spoken and used in South Africa (Hartshorne, 1995:308 and Heugh, 1988:1).

Most of the African-language-speaking populace of South Africa was never content and reconciled to the mother-tongue policy, especially its extension beyond Grade Four, that is, at higher primary and secondary level of education. This opposition was not premised on a disregard for African languages by Africans but on a common sensual feeling that African languages were not appropriate for instruction in the modern world of great scientific development, technological advancement and the ever changing industrial practices (Kloss, 1978:41-43). There was, actually, an amorphous amount of reasons why mother-tongue education was so unpopular amongst African parents, students and teachers.

It was widely held, amongst these groups that the extended use of African languages as media of instruction impedes the intellectual progress of African students in further studies. Moreover, African languages as media of instruction did not only contribute to the decline in competence in the official languages. They were also a handicap, especially, in the teaching and the learning of courses like Science and Mathematics

because of the complexities encountered in teaching abstract concepts such as fractions; density; inertia; algebraic expressions and many more (SAIRR, 1969:11).

Moreover, there were barely textbooks available in African languages for these courses. The teacher had to prepare his or her lessons from books either written in Afrikaans or English and then translate the data into African languages. As the subjects advance in sophistication, the poor teachers experienced some difficulties in creating vocabulary in African languages for things and terms for which there are no equivalents (The Black Sash, 1960:22). Because all tertiary institutions offered courses in either of the then official languages, that is, Afrikaans and English, there was a serious general shortage of teachers for teaching in African languages at lower levels of education (African National Congress, 1980:16-21).

For the students, there were virtually no textbooks and as a result they had to highly rely on their memory for recollection during tests and examinations (The Black Sash, 1960:22). With all its education experience, the previous South African Department of Education has never been able to fill African public schools with adequate and appropriate textbooks (SASPU, 1984:17). Although the Education Department, in 1978 claimed to have supplied African pupils with all textbooks they needed, in 1984 students were still complaining that between fifty and hundred students have to share a single textbook (SASPU, 1984:17). Students at schools in KwaThema, near Springs, discovered when they came to write their examinations that the questions were not based on any of the textbooks they had been supplied with (SASPU, 1984:17). This policy posed severe challenges and problems for the apartheid government. But, in its endeavour to change it, the apartheid government made matters worse.

By 1975, the minister of Bantu education announced that as from the beginning of 1976 there would be changes in the language medium of instruction in African public schools. Starting from higher primary to secondary school level, from 1976 half the subjects offered in predominantly African language-speaking public schools were to be taught in English and others, including Arithmetic; Mathematics; History and Geography, in Afrikaans (Hirson, 1981:233). Blacks were forced to learn and teach in Afrikaans and English at the stated levels of education. This was a drastic

government policy, which was soon to be met with overt criticism from African language speakers.

Unlike before, African languages only served the purpose of instruction at lower primary level of education, that is, from Grade One to Grade Four. Nonetheless, the school curriculum underwent no changes with regard to languages taught, as subjects, throughout the pupil's pre-tertiary education (Kloss, 1978:45). Amongst many others, Setswana, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu, TshiVenda, Sesotho, Sepedi, SiSwati, Indebele and Xitsonga were still taught as subjects.

The apartheid government of South Africa did not publicly explain the reasons for replacing the mother tongue instruction policy by imposing Afrikaans alongside English as the only media of instruction in public schools predominantly attended by Africans. In Parliament, that is, behind closed doors where Blacks had no access and representation, the deputy minister of Bantu Education, Andries Treunicht, viciously and uncompromisingly stressed that,

“... In the White area of South Africa where the government provides the buildings, subsidies and pays the teachers, it is surely our right to decide what the language dispensation should be...” (Hartshorne, 1995:311).

The only statement, made in public, by a government official on the subject is that of a school circuit inspector made on 20 January 1976. The inspector vividly echoed the words of Andries Treunicht. He told the School Board of one school in Soweto that all taxes paid by Africans were used for paying for the education of Africans in the homelands and he continued to say that,

“... In the urban areas, the education of a Black child is being paid for by the White population, that is, Afrikaans and English speaking groups. Therefore, the Secretary for Bantu education, has the responsibility towards satisfying the Afrikaans and English speaking people...”(Hirson, 1981:235).

It is stating the obvious that Africans had no say in the apartheid government, including taking part in the decisions that directly affected their lives. They were not

consulted in the drafting of the apartheid bilingual policy and thus did not participate in the making of the policy. Beyond the general frustrations at their (Blacks in South Africa) inability to participate in the policy-making process, African opinion never became reconciled to the apartheid bilingual policy, especially at secondary level of education where Afrikaans serve as a medium of instruction alongside English. Parents, teachers and students immediately protested against the ruling of the apartheid bilingual policy.

Parents of the Black African community were frustrated and discontented by this policy. They felt that the education of their children was also their responsibility and that the government stripped them of their characteristic feature of actual parenthood. They wanted to have a say in educational matters pertaining to their children. The devastated Mr Chokile exclaimed that Black parents,

“...had no final say when it comes to the medium of instruction. White parents decide whether their children go to an English or Afrikaans medium school, but in our case the child just has to accept the language that is predominantly spoken by whites in that area...” (Drum, 1973:7).

Concomitantly, Mr Mzaidume, principal of Orlando West High school and ex-chairperson of SOWETO Secondary school principals, believed that,

“... It is the duty of the Black people to decide in which language they want their children educated. Like Whites, Blacks must be allowed to choose for themselves...” (Drum, 1973:8).

This was very much unlikely in the previous political dispensation since Blacks were oppressed and not allowed to have a word in conducting the affairs of the state. They were deprived of their democratic right to participate in the formulation and implementation of public policies. Therefore, it can be gleaned that Blacks were marginalised from the South African political process by the apartheid government.

The South African Parliament of apartheid consisted of 38 Whites, 11 Coloureds, 4 Indians and 1 Chinese (African National Congress, 1980:1). Given this context, it is

evident that the apartheid parliament, that is, the rule, decision and policy-making body of the country, was not representative of the South African people. Approximately 80 percent of the South African population, which is Blacks or Africans, were excluded from the political processes. Hence the parliamentary deliberations of the apartheid government had no legitimacy, especially amongst Africans because it did not command the broad assent of the population (African National Congress, 1980:1).

African teachers resigned or were dismissed for the mere fact that they were not prepared to implement this policy, that is, teaching through Afrikaans. Amongst these were members of CATA, Cape African Teachers Association, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and other community organisations (Hartshorne, 1995:311). Teaching half the subjects in English and the other half in Afrikaans (dual medium policy) has been a strain on teachers, especially African teachers. Their main cry, just like African students and parents, was against Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

Very few African teachers in South Africa were proficient in Afrikaans. There were some teachers with a working experience and little knowledge of Afrikaans, but they were unable to handle the intricacies of Mathematics, Accountancy, Economics, Physical Science, Biology, Chemistry, et cetera, in Afrikaans (Hirson, 1981:234). In sum, many African-language speaking teachers had some difficulties in teaching through the medium of Afrikaans.

Albeit it was a requirement of the syllabus that the teachers should be able to use both English and Afrikaans as media of instruction, English maintained its prestige over Afrikaans as medium of instruction in most teacher training colleges and universities. Amongst these were the University of Fort Hare; University of Zululand and Phatsimang College of education. It was mostly English that was used as medium of instruction to equip teachers with necessary knowledge for their actual work at a later stage (Kloss, 1978:16-17).

Very few teacher-training colleges and universities used Afrikaans as the language of learning and teaching. Therefore it was difficult for the teachers who acquired their

education through an English medium to teach in another language, in this respect, Afrikaans. As a result the government could not fully actualise its colonial bilingual policy because the other language, Afrikaans less resourced and supported. Amongst many other things, educational materials written and published in Afrikaans were not adequate for supply in Black Public schools. What is more, there were very few teachers qualified to teach through Afrikaans and the infrastructure for the successful implementation of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was very poor (Hirson, 1981:234).

On 16 June 1976, a demonstration was called for by the school student organisation, the South African Students Movement (Kane-Berman, 1979). This protest brought 15, 000 (plus) youth on to the streets, carrying hastily prepared banners which read: 'Afrikaans is the oppressors language', 'Down with Afrikaans', 'Abolish Afrikaans', 'Blacks are not dust-bins', 'Afrikaans stinks', and many others in a similar vein (Hirson, 1981:234). In fact, these phrases and statements on these banners underpinned some of the major reasons for the revolutionary demonstrations.

The use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black public schools was a handicap and an inconvenience to African pupils and teachers. It was strongly held that the languages used for learning and teaching then, English and Afrikaans were not meant to broaden the pupil's intellectual capacity. Moreover, they were not used in order to enable Africans to communicate to people from the outside world or to give them access to literature or knowledge written in other languages other than their own. They were merely taught to enable them to follow oral and written instructions from their future bosses in the work place (African National Congress, 1980:17).

What made matters worse was that the Black African students from primary schools switched abruptly from instruction through vernacular to English and Afrikaans medium while still trying to settle down in the new school environment. The angry and frustrated principal of Isaacson high school and official of ATASA, African Teachers Association of South Africa, Mr. Mathabathe cried out that,

“ ... the child is taught in his or her mother-tongue until he or she reaches high school. When he or she gets to high school, the poor child has to switch over

once more to two media of instruction, English and Afrikaans. It is so bedevelling..." (Drum, 1973:6).

With the colonial bilingual policy in operation, especially Afrikaans as medium of instruction, the matriculation results of African language-speaking students began to scale down. By way of example, in the years where some of the African languages were used as media of instruction from grade one to grade eight (i.e. sub-A to standard six), the pass rate of African language-speaking students increased from 43.5% in 1955 to 83.4% in 1976. When African languages were no longer used as media of instruction beyond Grade Four (i.e. standard two), the pass rate of African language-speaking students 'spiralled down' from 83.4% in 1976 to 48.3% in 1982 (Heugh, 1988:1).

By 1997, the overall pass rate for all matriculation students in South Africa, which included speakers of English and Afrikaans who, previously, had been able to perform better under the colonial bilingual policy, was 47.4%. The results were far worse in those provinces where there is an overwhelming majority of African language speaking students. The failure rate in the Northern Province was 68%, 57% in the Free State, 54% in Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape, and 50% in North West Province (Heugh, 1988:1).

Moreover, the drop-out rate among African language-speaking students heightened in the years of the colonial bilingual policy (Heugh, 1988:3). To cite an instance, in 1960, it was estimated that 70% of African children were attending school. Of these children who enrolled at primary school in 1960, only 42% got beyond Grade Four, 10.4% get to secondary school and 1.25% get to the matriculation class (African National Congress, 1980:16).

During the year 1979, the Department of Statistics in South Africa gave the total number of African children at primary and secondary schools as 3, 394, 100. Only 14.6% of this number of students managed to go to high school (African National Congress, 1980:16). Ayo Bamgbose (1996:13) attributes these drop-outs not only to the inadequate use of languages unfamiliar to young African students and the attitudes

of Africans toward the language through which learning and teaching takes place, but also to other factors including poverty, the perceived primary and major cause.

The apartheid government failed to realise or ignored the fact that language, especially in relation to learning and teaching, exerts a powerful influence not only on mastering the content, but also on instruction and outcomes of schooling. It failed to recognise that language is a crucial means of gaining access to quintessential knowledge and skills. Most importantly, that it can promote or impede the success of students in the educational system and to some degree it is the key to cognitive development. Moreover, the apartheid government failed to recognise that it is the people who are affected by certain policies who must determine those policies.

In the midst of both the appalling and implausible policies of the previous government, the African community had basically two cries or solutions. Firstly, they did not want the government, predominantly white, to decide, unilaterally, which medium of instruction for African children. They, especially African parents, wanted to be part of the decision-making body, that is parliament, and to be involved in all matters which, concerned their lives.

Secondly, African parents had always been anxious for their children to be taught through English and to learn English as early as possible. English was generally perceived as a language which, would open doors, in all avenues of change worldwide, for an African child. Unlike Afrikaans and African languages, it was a language of prestige, industria, commerce, technology, science, academia, international stature and a gateway to knowledge (Drum, 1973:7-8, African National Congress, 1980:16, Native Education Commission, 1952:105 and SAIRR, 1969:12).

Finally, evidence shows that the apartheid government's bilingual policy (especially on the part of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction) and the mother-tongue instruction policy were applied with insensitivity and inflexibility by the apartheid government. These policies were discriminatory and oppressive, hence not democratic. In a general sense, both language medium policies were imposed on Blacks. Blacks were not recognised, consulted and represented in the policy and political processes of the apartheid government of South Africa.

In conclusion, the African language-speaking populace at large, despised and rejected the mother tongue instruction policy, particularly beyond primary level of education. They were also opposed to the notion of Afrikaans serving as a medium of instruction in their schools. Summarily, the previous language medium policies had serious technical and practical problems and thus, not entirely appropriate for the education of Africans. Moreover, they lacked legitimacy from the mass population of the African community in South Africa.

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CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH STATEMENT OR QUESTION

In terms of the Language-in-Education Policy Document (1997), the new government of South Africa, hence the Department of Education inherited an educational language policy that is fraught of tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, which were bolstered by racial and thus linguistic discrimination. However, the new government adopted a new language medium policy which rightly implicates multilingualism and linguistic rights in the realm of education (Constitution, 1996). The New Language policy recognises the use of eleven languages not only as official languages, but also as media of instruction throughout the school curriculum. Moreover, the policy states that each student has the right to choose the language medium through which he or she would like to learn and to be taught. This was the new government's attempt to redress the linguistic imbalances and injustices of the past in the educational sector (Department of education, 1997).

However, the New Language policy, especially with reference to African languages as 'possible' media of instruction, seems to raise a series of critical questions and a wide range of serious practical problems, including complications in any attempts to implement it. Relevant and essential to this study,

To what extent does the New Language policy address the issue of multilingualism in education?

Does the New Language policy address the crucial linguistic issues pertaining to individual versus collective rights?

Should it be implemented? And, if that is the case, can it actually be implemented?

To what extent does it relate to the people it directly impacts upon at grassroots level?

What alternative policies are available and appropriate if the New Language policy seems so unworkable?

Therefore, the general research question is:

"What are the implications of the government's New Language policy, with special reference to the medium of instruction, on the educational sector"?

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The primordial aim of this study is to investigate the implications of the new multilingual policy of South Africa as promulgated by the new South African Constitution of 1996 and the Language-in-Education- Policy Document of 1997, thus the government, with special reference to medium of instruction. It is for the first time in the history of South Africa for the government to pursue a multilingual policy. Therefore, it is because of the novelty of such a kind of linguistic policy that this research has been brought underway.

Furthermore, according to Alexander (1989) the question of formulating language policies around the issue of medium of instruction in South African public schools has always been and continues to be one of the most critical and complex issues. In the educational sector, often vocal and vigorous objections are encountered in relation to linguistic policies. Consequently, research on linguistic policies seems to be ceaseless because solutions need to be found in order to appease the South African community with its government.

All the same, this study is undertaken to explore some of the challenges that may be faced by the South African government in its attempt to implement the New Language policy. In other words, it looks at the possibilities of fully realising the government's policy goals such as multilingualism in education, enhancing linguistic rights of teachers and students, and the development of African languages (Department of Education, 1997:1-10).

Furthermore, this study is intended to explore the extent to which the New Language policy is related to the people on the ground. In this case, African language-speaking teachers and students who are directly affected by the policy. It is not unusual to find that there is discordance between the government's stated policies and the very people it is meant to serve. Sometimes the government formulates and implements policies, which do not serve the interests of the wider public.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Most obviously, the criticisms levelled for and against the New Language Policy, as it is done in this study, will assist, inter alia, politicians and bureaucrats, whose responsibility is to make decisions about which language(s) should be used to serve the purpose instruction. Moreover, the findings of this study are also useful and informative for adopting and implementing appropriate linguistic policies. Often decision-makers have no specialised knowledge of linguistic issues. Therefore, linguistic research by students, academics and linguistic experts is indispensable for their plight.

At the same time, this study not only sheds tremendous and fresh light on the understanding of linguistic policies, but also illuminates linguistic policy changes. The South African government has made a radical change as far as the language policy is concerned. The shift from the apartheid bilingual policy to a multilingual policy dictates several implications for the country and places more potential pressure on the government's capacity to put such a policy into effect. So this study explores such trouble areas to caution the government and all the people concerned.

Furthermore, it supplements the existing literature on language policy issues, especially the language aspect of medium of instruction in schools, both in South Africa and elsewhere. Very significant in this regard is Chapter Four, which distinguishes some gaps that seem not to be covered in the existing literature. The data gathered, here, can be used by academics and students for research in future language policy crises everywhere around the globe. Therefore, this research will serve as a useful repertoire of information relating to linguistic issues.

In similar vein, this research illuminates the fundamentality of an appropriate language policy choice, specifically to the language medium of instruction. As already reflected in the historical background, language policies if applied insensitively and inflexibly, can be very detrimental to the political stability of the country. The SOWETO riots of 1976 are a particular case in point (Kane-Berman, 1979). Therefore, the importance of this study is to assist in overcoming the predicaments of the linguistic policies of the post-apartheid government in the Republic of South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

This chapter highlights the techniques or methods employed in this study. In other words, we look at how this study will be conducted. Social Science research takes into account the employment of different standardised and non-standardised techniques in the pursuit of valid knowledge (Mouton, 1996:35). This is mainly so because social scientists endeavour to generate reliable knowledge. This paper strongly relates to the notion of producing reliable or scientific knowledge. The techniques applied are an attempt to search for objectivity and balance.

The first technique relates to the theoretical framework that underpins this study. In analysing public policies like the New Language Policy, ideas and concepts need to be organised in order to simplify the complexity of the world (Parsons, 1995:56). In this way we construct maps through which we can think and explain some world phenomena. Hence, we should contemplate about the implementation of the New Language policy of South Africa through mother tongue instruction policy.

Mother tongue instruction policy, as a guiding map, can be classified as an explanatory, ideal type and normative framework (Parsons, 1995:57-58). It is an explanatory framework because it attempts to indicate how difficult it is to implement African languages as media of instruction. It is an ideal type framework for it sets out the features of the African languages which, are shared in large part, by the new language policy. It is a normative framework because it seeks to set out the conditions which, ought to exist if the African languages are to be successfully implemented as media of instruction. In sum, mother tongue instruction policy serves to guide the exploration of the South African New Language Policy in this study.

It is important to note that the historical approach is also applied in advancing this text. This technique enables us to see what and how things were like before. It also marks the period of transition (change). It appears to me that it is impossible to deal with the present without copious reference to the past. We have to understand the past in order to be able to interpret the present and ultimately analyse the future. And if that is the case, then, we can briefly examine the previous language policies with relevance to the educational sector.

Nonetheless, this paper warrants a comprehensive survey, which is a qualitative research method. The qualitative research method allows minimising bias through the standardisation of the questions, which are being asked (Mason, 1996:38-42). Hence, two questionnaires were distributed at Gaopalelwe secondary school. One questionnaire was distributed to teachers and the other to students. The questions asked in these questionnaires differ to some degree. However, there is no difference in the type of questions asked, in both respects, they are probing questions. These type of questions assist in generating data pertaining to the New Language policy, from the students and teachers. It is through these questions that we will know whether the New Language policy should be implemented or not.

Moreover, unstructured interviews were also applied to enhance this study. These were meant to gather relevant data from some of the parents. This technique facilitated communication with those who are unable to read or write. Furthermore, these informal interviews allowed for free conversation, hence, parents could actually say what they wanted to say (i.e. not what the interviewer wanted them to say about the New Language policy. The questions were open ended and not standardised (Mason, 1996:38-39).

It will be naïve to preclude the major technique, that is, primary and secondary sources or 'the documentary sources', in conducting a research, (Neuman, 1997:89). Research is the diligent and scholarly investigation in all the primary and secondary sources with the intention of extending human knowledge in a particular subject area (Marwick, 1970). Therefore, it is important to review primary and secondary sources. Primary sources refer to the initial documents or the basic raw materials such as the government's documents like the Constitution and the proclamations of the Department of Education, which are relevant to the New Language policy (Tosh, 1991:32). However, secondary sources refer to the documents written in order to explore, critic and explain the initial documents (Marwick, 1970 and Tosh, 1991). Whilst the primary sources reflect upon the actual state of affairs, the secondary sources allow for learning from what others have written about the original sources and to build on what they have written (Neuman, 1997:89). In this respect, the documents or literature related to the New Language policy in education shall be revisited.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The intention of this section is to highlight the factors that seem likely to challenge the authenticity of this study. During the years 1997 and 1998 there were numerous 'radio talk-shows' that were conducted in "Umhlobo weNene"(Radio Xhosa). These talks-shows were about how the public felt about the government's new language policy, particularly the aspect of the medium of instruction, in the educational sector. The information from such programmes is very useful for the purpose of this project, but the downside of it is that the researcher is not familiar with Xhosa. Therefore, language marks the first handicap.

Concomitantly, translating, transcribing, analysing and interpreting data from these sources will cost an amorphous amount of time. Ordering and delivering, including the processes in between, of programmes at the moment will need plenty of time which, is already slipping out of hand. There is very limited time to wait for these programmes as well as to start with the process of translating, transcribing and interpreting.

This study also employs interviews and a survey, which command a lot of time. These research techniques do not only implicate time but also have serious financial implications. The whole process of interviews, conducting the survey and getting hold of the radio talk-show programmes involves a tremendous amount of money. Therefore, this means that a great deal of money is needed for this project. At the moment there is little money to enhance the research.

However, this can be alleviated in one way or the other. Amongst other things, interviews will be conducted through informal conversations and very few people, especially parents, shall be interviewed in this manner. The Survey shall be conducted at Gaopalelwe secondary school only and it is only the Grade Twelve students and the teaching staff who will be given questionnaires.

However, one likely obstacle is the sophisticated analytical processes in retrieving essential, relevant and sufficient information relating to the previous language policies. The existing literature does not seem to cover this area very well, especially

in relation to the previous government's primordial intentions of instituting such policies. It would be essential to look at the primary sources pertaining to the previous educational linguistic policies but the technical know-how of accessing such files is quite limited.

In spite of all these difficulties and complications the research can be brought under control. The subject matter is relatively manageable because a lot of related literature has been made available and thus consumed in order to enhance the credibility of the knowledge produced henceforth. Moreover, the research is under thorough supervision.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The main emphasis of this chapter is to illuminate upon the frameworks or guiding maps, which will enhance a careful analysis and investigation of the New Language policy. To this regard we look into the theories of mother tongue or vernacular instruction policy and the implementation thereof. These theories have been chosen because the New Language policy in education recognises nine African languages as possible media of instruction through all levels of education. These theories are appropriate theories for this study since they relate to the subject under discussion and directly reflect upon the New Language policy.

This section further explores some of the works that have already been written about the New Language policy, especially the use of African languages as possible media of instruction. Some critical comments have been made with regard to the implementation of African languages as possible media of instruction, hence the New Language policy in education. These were often at diametrical positions. Whilst some people were in favour of the new multilingual policy due to political, historical and social concerns, others challenged this notion, mainly, on the basis of practical concerns (addressed below).

The Theory of Mother Tongue Instruction Policy

The notion of mother-tongue education or vernacular instruction (that is, using African languages as media of instruction) has been central and critical in most linguistic debates in educational circles. It has a series of implications for many of the academic disciplines, whichever, one can think about. It is an inter-disciplinary issue. However, what is crucial here is the philosophy and psychology behind the issue of mother tongue as the appropriate language of learning and teaching for African-language speakers, as well as its policy implications, with particular reference to the implementation phase.

Many views, often times diametrical, proliferated in both respects. Whilst some people, including scholars and academics, argue that it is good, in terms of cognitive

development, for Africans to learn and teach in African languages, others hold a sharp contrast to this view. They assert that for Africans to learn and to be taught in African languages is a handicap. In addition to these antagonistic perspectives, is the contestable notion of the implementability of African languages as media of instruction.

The idealists, on this subject, share a strong sentiment that it is not only appropriate to learn and teach in African languages, but it is also possible to implement African languages as media of instruction. However, realists are quite adamant on the notion that it is nearly impossible to implement African languages as media of instruction, especially in countries where governments have legitimised more than two African languages to serve the purpose of instruction throughout the school curriculum.

The proponents of the mother tongue instruction policy hold that the most appropriate language of instruction is the mother tongue of the learner. The rationale behind this notion is that the cognitive development of children is faster and easily achievable when their mother tongue serves the purpose of medium of instruction, particularly at primary level of education (GTRE/AP, 1997:3). This simply implies that children best comprehend what they are being taught when the language used for learning and teaching is the language they encounter on their daily life activities. A great deal of evidence has been found in many parts of Africa and elsewhere (GTRE/AP, 1997:3 & 18).

It is also assumed that if the language of instruction is the children's own language, even if they can leave school after they have acquired their primary education, it is highly unlikely that they will lapse back into illiteracy (Kloss, 1978:25). What this means is that children will still continue to know the art of writing and reading no matter at what stage they step down from the educational ladder.

In ensuing their course, the advocates of the mother tongue instruction principle strongly believe that instruction through mother-tongue, not only enhances reading and writing, it also improves unrestricted communication, especially in the classroom setting where children and their teachers are expected to interact, at least verbally

(Komarek, 1997:33). It is assumed that children will actively participate in class if the language used during the class session, is the language they know and understand.

It is generally held that the mother tongue, especially at primary level of education, bridges the language gap between the child's 'linguistically friendly home environment' and the 'unknown new school environment'. In other words, when a child begins to attend school, the child is not dumped into a new and strange environment. The transition will be rightly untraumatic. At least, a child would have something familiar and essential to associate with, his or her own language. As a result it will be much easier for children to accumulate knowledge and information. They do not become alienated than when the language they first encounter in school is novel to them (Heugh, 1988:1).

Advocates of the mother tongue instruction principle also assert that if any school, in a specific community, would use a language widely spoken by that community as a medium of instruction, there would be a balance and fairness in the education of children in that community. Education in such a community will be levelled. The education system would not favour children whose parents are well-off or well-educated. There would be consistency, at least linguistically, in the system of education (Kloss, 1978:25). Nonetheless, this school of thought, that is, championing vernacular instruction policy was challenged because of failing to recognise the practical implications of implementing mother tongue instruction.

The central tenet of the critics of the mother tongue instruction policy is that African languages are not appropriate for instruction, thus, for the education of African language speaking children. The basic assumption underpinning this notion is that the use of African languages as media of instruction, beyond primary level of education, is highly impracticable. What is more, vernacular instruction impedes not only the intellectual progress of children in the educational system but also their future careers because they are not sustained throughout the education system.

It is conventional that in most African countries, African languages are mainly used as media of instruction for the first four years of schooling. Thereafter, colonial languages, such as English in the case of South Africa, resume the function of

instruction until tertiary level of education. Therefore, the switch from mother-tongue instruction to another language medium seems to pose some difficulties for those who were taught through African languages (SAIRR, 1969:11 and Tiffen, 1968:84-85 & 1975:324-330).

When pupils taught through African languages enter their secondary and tertiary phase of education, they start suffering academically. They are not only struggling to master the content of subjects or courses they are being taught, they also struggle to master the language medium itself. As a result, therefore, they cannot easily keep up the pace with the teacher hence, they start lagging behind in classes.

In addition, mother-tongue instruction handicaps the African child in learning scientific subjects like physical science, mathematics and chemistry, and commercial subjects such as Accountancy and Economics, as well as technological subjects such as information systems and engineering. The simple reason is that there are difficulties in teaching abstract concepts like 'velocity' in physics and 'algebraic expressions' in mathematics, through African languages. In short, African languages are, by far, lagging behind in terminology or vocabulary, as far as knowledge already available in other widely used languages, such as English, is concerned (SAIRR, 1969:11 and Native Education Commission, 1952:105).

The use of mother tongue as medium of instruction does not only restrict the movement of teachers from one geographic area to another, it also restrict the students to study at a particular area (Gorman, 1970:3). By way of example, teachers who are qualified in Setswana will have to teach in schools, provinces or countries using Setswana as the medium of instruction. This makes it very difficult for the distribution of teachers at a national scale. In the case of students, the same would apply in the learning process. Students will be stuck, with their knowledge and information, in their respective provinces or countries.

Concomitantly, mother-tongue instruction prohibits the speaker from economic development since they will not be having the language of wider communication (Heugh, 1987:19-53). The student will be ousted from certain economic opportunities like jobs. He or she will never be able to effectively communicate with, in or to

institutions using a different and strange language to his or hers. He or she will never fit in the institution and as a result will be alienated.

Furthermore, the exponents of this stance hold that mother-tongue instruction, particularly in multilingual settings, will inflame tribal sentiments (UNESCO, 1953:12). This implies that mother-tongue instruction is likely to divide the society along ethnic or tribal lines instead of promoting nation building. There is no doubt that each and every particular language group is proud of the language it speaks. Therefore, it is not inconceivable for each group to demand for instruction in the language of their own, especially if they will have to use the language of another group as a medium of instruction. A neutral language medium is thus, quintessential.

Policy Implementation and Mother-Tongue Instruction

According to Hogwood and Gunn (1984), an institution needs the brains, strong planning capacity, resources, authority to act and complete understanding of the goals of the organisation, in any attempt to successfully implement its policies. These variables featured in the works of many other authors. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1981) in addition, assert that statutes or objectives of the policy should be clear and unambiguous and the implementing agency must be sympathetic to the objectives. In further pursuit, Linder and Peters (1990) supported this view and argued that these conditions were necessary because they would ensure compliance down the line. In other words, people would do whatever they have to do because they know exactly what to do.

On the contrary, a policy is unlikely to be implementable if there is a high shortage of financial and human resources. Vague, multiple and conflicting policy objectives including poor communication of policies, are also deterrents for successful policy implementation. Other policies may also have a negative or positive impact on other policies, thus have the power of determining the successful implementation of other policies (Cameron, 1991:145). More often the economic policies of a country are often very influential on other policies like the language policy under scrutiny here. Therefore, circumstances, external to the implementing agency, can handicap the operation of the agency, hence policy failure is inevitable.

From the conferences and studies conducted under the auspices of UNESCO, it has been suggested that, bearing in mind the availability of instructional resources, the implementation of mother tongue (or African languages), as media of instruction, is nearly an absolute impossibility. Amongst the numerous factors that impede the implementation of mother tongue instruction policy is the lack of teachers, lack of reading materials and inadequate funding from governments.

It is probably more difficult to use each mother tongue as medium of instruction, especially in communities which are highly multilingual (UNESCO, 1953:12). In some situations it is conceivable to use a very limited number of African languages as media of instruction. But, in other situations, it is unthinkable to use the very limited African languages as media of instruction such that a foreign or colonial language is in dire need to serve the purpose of instruction (Tiffen, 1975:327).

It is nearly a universal truth that there is no adequate supply of teachers or the teachers are not well qualified to teach through most of the African languages throughout the educational curricular (Heugh, 1987:11). The major contributing factor to this effect is that teacher-training institutions in most African countries do not use any of the African languages as media of instruction, except providing them as subjects of learning and teaching (Awoniyi, 1976:41). As a result, therefore, teachers are prone to teach in languages through which they acquired knowledge, teaching skills, and education. Very often the languages used in many tertiary institutions are not indigenous languages of the African continent. It must be noted it is a mistake to contemplate that African-language speaking teachers can automatically teach through their mother tongue and that they will unquestionably opt for mother tongue instruction.

A further deterrent for the implementation of mother-tongue is the absence of adequate and appropriate learning and teaching materials in most of the African languages (UNESCO, 1953:13). There are numerous factors that hinder the production and development of such materials. These include the lack of trained linguists and the lack of institutions translating the literature which is available to African languages and publishing such literature and novel knowledge in African

languages (FEP, 1981:43). But, most importantly, the financial costs of producing or developing such educational resources is a prime obstacle.

The multiplicity of languages in a single country warrants an amorphous amount of financial considerations, particularly when each language is to be “resourced” with enough supply of instructional materials and human resources, including the costs of the linguistic development of such languages (Bamgbose, 1976: 12). The mother-tongue instruction policy thus, is likely unattainable without adequate supply of funds and other resources. Other resources can only be pursued when the problem of funds is being dealt with.

University of Cape Town

LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the New Language Policy in Education

✓ The South African government designed and adopted a multilingual policy in education because the previous language policy, that is, the apartheid bilingual policy, was 'fraught with tensions, contradictions, sensitivities and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination' (Department of Education, 1997: 2). Moreover, the New Language policy was precisely framed as such (that is, multilingual) because the government wanted to reflect upon the cultural and linguistic diversity of its community. For the reason that it was determined to undo the linguistic imbalances, injustices and detrimental effects of the linguistic policies of the previous political dispensation, the South African government took the multilingual stance under the auspices of transformation (Department of Education, 1997). The main aims of the government were to promote multilingualism and to enhance linguistic rights for the culturally and linguistically diverse South African community.

According to the new Constitution (1996), in place of the previous bilingual policy, South Africa has recognised eleven languages as official languages. These include Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Section 6 (2) of the Constitution states that the government must create conditions for the development and for the elevation of African languages to an extent that they enjoy equal status and usage as Afrikaans and English. In relation to education and relevant to this study, this suggests that all languages mentioned above must be equally treated and must equally serve the purpose of instruction in every institution of education. This was concretised by the Department of Education. Aligning itself with the Constitution of 1996, the Department of Education declared that 'the medium of instruction in schools shall be *any* of the eleven official languages of South Africa' (Department of Education, 1997). In addition, it stated that each person has the right to choose the language for his or her instruction (Department of Education, 1997).

In pursuit of this position, the Department of Education chose the additive bilingual approach (Department of Education, 1997:3). What this means for instruction is that

the languages that were not used, as media of instruction would be used alongside languages that served the purpose of instruction in previous years. In the case of South Africa, the additive approach will mean that alongside the English and Afrikaans media of instruction one of the African languages will be introduced as a medium of instruction. The new languages will not abruptly be introduced as media of instruction, but will have to be gradually introduced, step by step, through all levels of education.

✓ It must be borne in mind that nine of such languages will have to be considered and alas, South Africa will end up with eleven languages as media of instruction. This alarmed many people, inter alia, politicians, bureaucrats, academics, journalists, students and parents in this country and elsewhere. Thus, some debates and discussions about the New Language policy in education proliferated. These broadly cover subjects like the *nature of the policy*, *multilingualism*, *linguistic rights* and *the development of African languages*.

Commenting on the *nature of the policy debates*, Synfrey Makoni (1994), points out that since the South African government adopted a multilingual policy the linguistic debates shifted from a discourse of policy formulation to the dimension of implementation in the policy process. The credibility of this argument is highly unquestionable. It is an important contribution because it gives the direction in which, the pendulum of the linguistic discourse is swinging. Most people are concerned about the successful implementation of New Language Policy. There seems to be some misunderstandings, complexities and serious challenges towards implementing the New Language policy, as shall be reflected shortly. Moreover, some gaps in the process of formulating the New Language policy appear to be evident.

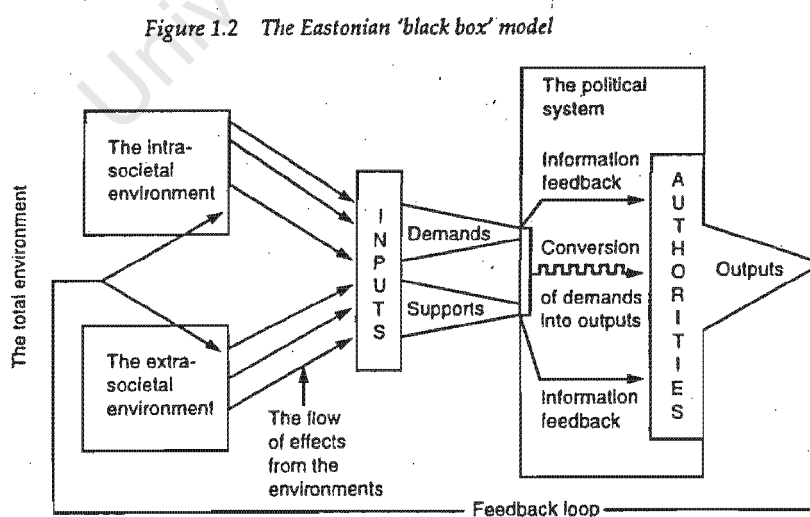
There are numerous ways of making policies and making policy decisions. These are often determined by the political system of each country. Democracies and authoritarian countries follow different models of policy making. In sum, authoritarian political systems often oust the mass population from participating in political deliberations intended for policy and law or rule-making. In contrast, democratic political systems herald citizen participation in political discourse and political deliberations concerning policy and law or rule-making in a country. In

other words, the political realm is not exclusive to the political and bureaucratic elite. It is open to the mass population of the country.

Nevertheless, this study does not virtually explore the different policy making models and their related political systems. The classic, contemporary and popular policy model employed here is an attempt to reflect upon the South African policy process with regard to the New Language policy. To this regard, the “conversion box model” of David Easton has been quite valuable because it draws the connection between the political system (that is, government) and the mass population. Moreover, it illuminates on how the political system operates in addressing the social, economic and political issues within its given constituency.

According to the David Easton model (1965), the process of public policy making initially involves inputs (that is, demands and supports) from the environment (internal and external). Hereafter follows the conversion of such inputs into policies (outputs) by the political system and its auxiliaries, that is, the administrative and the technical units. Finally, the bureaucracy executes these policies and ultimately the results (outcomes) of the policy follow (Parsons, 1995:23 and Saasa, 1985:319). This model is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure One: The Eastonian ‘Conversion Box’ Model



Source: adapted from Easton (1965: 30) and Parsons (1995: 23).

In simpler terms, the Eastonian model suggests that the internal societal institutions such as interest groups, political parties, lobby groups, trade unions, the mass media and others or the external pressure groups such as the World Bank (WB) or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) exert pressure on the political system for reform or transformation. These pressure groups do not always make demands on the political system, but they may, at some point in time, support the political system's policy initiatives for reform, especially if such initiatives serve their interests.

Depending on the demands and supports from within the society or from the international community, it is assumed that the political system will lay the basis for formulating its public policies. The bureaucracy (administrative and technical units) implements the policies that proliferate as a result of the political interface between the political system and the pressure groups. It must be noted that the bureaucracies do not only execute policies, but they also play an active role in the process of formulating such policies. All those agencies that might be summoned to execute a particular policy and all those who will significantly be impacted upon by that policy should be involved in the shaping and implementation of such a policy (Garnett et al, 1997:78).

It is discernible from the Eastonian model that public policies are the responses of the political system to the society's demands or problems, hence, it should be a product of the mass participation of citizens. Since the Eastonian model suggests that public policies are aggregations of the society's convergent inputs into the 'conversion box', it is logical that the policy (output) represents the nation's interests (Saasa, 1985: 310). In other words, the actual policy is expected to be a reflection of the interests of the people rather than the interests of the political system (that is, the political and bureaucratic elite).

✓ In the same tack, the Department of Education declares that the New Language policy in the school curriculum is a product of a wide range of education stakeholders, role-players including the South African government and its public. This implies that the South African government has involved immense citizen participation in the formulation of the New Language policy in education. However, this proposition is highly questionable. To this regard, an empirical linguistic study has been conducted

at Gaopalelwe secondary school in 1998/1999 to illuminate the power dimension between the public and the political system or government in the policy process. This subject is carefully addressed in Chapter Four.

Public policies are often in conflict with the interest of the public (see Chapter Four), hence, it can be argued that the political system shapes the opinion of the masses more than the masses shape the views of the political leadership (Saasa, 1985:310-319). It must be borne in mind that it is the members of the political system, that is, the decision-makers, who have not only access, but also considerable potential for directly influencing the final outcome of the policy process rather than the mass population. In summary, it is in the conversion box (within the political system), rather than where the inputs come from, where the power lies. The political system (or government) and not the ordinary members of the public actually makes the final decision. Hence, it can be safely assumed that the notion of the new multilingual policy is not really a product of the public, but very much a product of the government and its advisory institutions.

The New Language Policy and Multilingualism in Education

Perusing the literature, one comes to realise that some people have argued that the New Language policy should be implemented but, there are factors that negatively impact upon it. The New Language policy is considered to be a template for a multicultural and multilingual educational system (Constitution, 1996, South African School Act, 1996 and Department of Education, 1997). However, the focus here is on multilingualism in education. It is a fact that the New Language Policy is an edge to multilingual education for it recognises the linguistic diversity of South Africa to a certain extent.

Apparently the advocates of this notion were guided by the results of multilingualism rather than by the practical possibilities of their plans and the language attitudes of the people of South Africa (Barkhuizen, 1997:96). Agnihotri has pointed out that multilingualism is now generally recognised as a normal and universal phenomenon (Agnihotri, 1995:3). This view was echoed by Alexander (1995) when he asserted

that in the overwhelming majority of countries in the world today, the citizens or inhabitants have the capacity to speak more than one or two languages as a matter of course. Many countries like Switzerland, India, Nigeria and South Africa are not exceptional. They aspire to promote multilingualism in various aspects of the society, including education, broadcasting and other aspects of society.

✓ It has also been noted that multilingualism in education is an ideal, resource and is exactly what the country needs. According to Agnihotri (1995) and Heugh (1995), multilingualism in education will enhance cognitive development and achievement of children at school. This strongly suggests that, for instance, if students are taught in their own languages, that is, their mother tongue, their academic performance will advance. The assumption is premised on the notion that they will understand better and faster because the language of instruction will be familiar to them. Therefore, it is assumed that if the nine African languages are used as media of instruction, children of the relevant linguistic communities will be boosted in their academic performance.

In addition, it can be deduced from Kathleen Heugh (1995) that the new multilingual policy of South Africa will endorse the knowledge, which every child brings to the classroom about the value systems, history and diverse cultures of its own community (Heugh, 1995:334). Heugh states that the vehicle through which the child brings these features of knowledge is the child's first language. Technically, the New Language policy positively responds to this regard because of its pluralistic nature. Children from both the White and Black communities of South Africa will be able to communicate about things and events in their environment the way they see them and understand them as a result of the new multilingual policy.

Furthering the notion of a multilingual policy, Neville Alexander (1997), argues that regardless of its democratic and nation-building importance, the new multilingual policy has significant potential for job creation (Alexander, 1997:88). He points out that this policy opens a large pull of jobs with regard to the language industry. Amongst other things, translators, interpreters and publishing houses will find jobs since their services will be required to translate, interpret and publish the information which is readily available in English and Afrikaans to the nine African languages (that is, the possible media of instruction) in this country.

In addition, the proponents of the multilingual policy argue that this policy correspond to the fundamental themes of the constitution such as linguistic rights even though the constitutional provisions of the policy itself are messy, inelegant and contradictory (Sachs, 1995:105). Theoretically, the people in this country are no more compelled by the government to use certain languages for the purpose of instruction. They now have the right to choose the language through which their education has to be conducted (This subject is being addressed below). Moreover, the previously marginalised linguistic communities are now included and recognised in South Africa.

✓ In fact many people view the multilingual policy as a resource, especially when one consider the socio-political and ideological concerns under which it has been founded. However, some people were much concerned about the implementation of the multilingual policy. Some people argued that multilingualism, especially at secondary and tertiary levels of education is almost impractical, chaotic and probably not likely to be afforded by the South African government. It can be realised from van Vuuren (1994) that the multilingual policy is so ambiguous such that a clear-cut language choice is problematic. There is no clear indication as to which languages must serve the purpose of instruction in South African schools. What is more, there are some challenges or factors that negatively impact upon the successful implementation of multilingual instruction.

✓ In the first place, there is great **teacher shortage**. The teacher is fundamental and key in any system of education (Komarek, 1993:37). The language through which he or she teaches and has acquired his or her education is preponderant in terms of the quality of education. The system of multilingual education warrants appropriate and adequate teaching staff. In South Africa, there is a severe lack of teaching personnel and support for the nine African languages and for Sign language as media of instruction. Many teachers are not qualified to teach in African languages.

Many principals from schools in the Eastern Cape Province have lamented this frustrating anomaly in their school circumstances (Barkhuizen, 1997:98). From their point of view and from the teachers' point of view the government's language policy recommendations of promoting multilingualism, especially on the part of African languages, cannot be pursued for their schools do not have qualified teachers for

African languages as media of instruction. They do not believe that the government will ever be able to give them relevant teachers should the demand and need, of learning and teaching through these languages, arise.

- ✓ The teacher's training institutions in the past, have not prepared teachers for multilingual classrooms, especially with regard to African languages (NEPI, 1993:181). By way of example, Phatsimang college of education (Kimberley), Mphohadi college of education (Free State), University of North West (Mmabatho), University of Cape Town (Western Cape), amongst others, have always used English as media of instruction. In this case then, it is obvious that most teachers acquired their education through English. Therefore, many teachers are not ready to teach in any other language(s) other than the one through which they acquired their education. It is needless to mention African languages which, were and are still not serving the purpose of instruction.

In the case of Sign language, albeit the South African School Act of 1996 provides for Sign language as an option for the language of learning and teaching, firstly, there are at the moment only two qualified Deaf teachers in South Africa (National Committee on Special Needs in Education, 1997:108). Only a handful of teachers educating deaf learners are presently equipped through the medium of Sign language. As has been globally recognised, deaf teachers are not only in a position to share a common first language with deaf learners, but they also play an extremely vital role as change agents for changing attitudes and role models for juvenile deaf learners.

Similarly, very few house-parents in residences with deaf learners can communicate through Sign language. In this situation the educational environment becomes very un-supportive. Therefore mastery and enjoyment of Sign language by deaf learners is not enhanced. Thirdly, there are also very few Sign language interpreters or translators at tertiary level. There are only two interpreters at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS) and only one at the University of the Free State, UOFS (National Committee on Special Needs in Education, 1997:108).

- ✓ 2) Secondly there is **lack of instructional materials**. Common and quintessential to educational resources is the textbook for both the teacher and the student (Komarek,

1993:38). There is no education system, multilingual or monolingual which, will survive without the printed word. There are virtually no textbooks available for content subjects like Mathematics, Physical Science, Biology, Accounting and others, in Setswana, Sesotho, SePedi, SiXhosa, SiZulu, SiSwati, TshiVenda, XiTsonga and Indebele (Walters, 1997:94 and Dyk, 1993:183). This will cause a problem if students will demand to be taught in these languages at secondary level of education as the government in the Constitution, the South African School Act and the Department of Education, has provided and proclaimed.

In commenting on a recently desegregated school in Cape Town, David Breiwer indicated that IsiXhosa-speaking pupils find it very difficult to even take IsiXhosa as a first language at school. The reason for this was because there is a limited number of books written in IsiXhosa. Even though, these pupils are proficient in IsiXhosa, the virtual absence of IsiXhosa medium books handicaps the quality of their literacy development in and through the language (Breiwer, 1995:13).

The quality of education is going to be hampered to a large extent because students will not be having any necessary and appropriate educational material for reference and further study. Amongst all instructional resources, there is no one, which is comparable to textbooks or teaching manuals. They give direction or guidance to both the teacher and the student. Moreover, any user can grope their way along, lesson by lesson, step by step and gradually but surely (Lockheed, 1991:48).

3 ✓ Thirdly, there are problems with regard to translation and interpreting facilities. There is a serious lack of applied linguists, skilled writers and editors in all languages, especially African languages (McCallum, 1995:134). These have direct implications on the translation and interpretation of textbooks for schools, in the case of the subject under discussion. In other domains like Parliament and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) it will refer to verbal and non-verbal speeches. Translation and interpretation are very important for the duplication or production of materials for other languages.

The South African government experiences great difficulties to get qualified people who will translate and interpret the huge amount of knowledge available in other

languages to African languages (Subcommittee on Equitable and Widespread Language Services, 1996:6). It is incredible to contemplate appropriate textbooks or instructional manuals in African languages without appropriate translators and interpreters acquainted with the semantics and phonetics of African languages: Therefore, multilingual service delivery in education and other spheres of the South African society seems almost a total impossibility due to these factors.

4 ✓ In addition to that, there are some **pitfalls in relation to publishing material in African languages**. Despite the existence of technology, there is not much material that has been produced in African languages as compared to English and Afrikaans (Nassimbeni, 1995:291). The national publishing figures provided in Table 1, which compares language in terms of book production and demographics, is solid evidence of this anomaly. The production of African language material is very low for South Africa to realise a fully fleshed multilingual education system.

Table 1: Book and Pamphlet Production by Language, 1992 and 1993: Titles (excluding reprints)

Language	1992		1993		Percentage of Population
	Titles	% of Titles	Titles	% of Titles	
Zulu	74	1.56	96	2.06	21.61
Xhosa	65	1.37	92	1.98	17.44
Afrikaans	1581	33.36	1519	32.66	15.66
English	2415	50.97	2429	52.22	8.68
All African*	374	7.89	490	10.54	73.40
OL	368	7.77	316	6.79	2.26
Total	4738	100.00	4651	100.00	100.00

Notes: * Including Zulu and Xhosa

! OL means Other Languages. It includes bilingual, multilingual, and undefined language titles.

Source: "Collection development in public libraries in South Africa: New library and language policies," (Nassimbeni, 1995).

It can be deduced from these figures that in the case of any demand to use an African language as a medium of instruction, most people will not have much supplementary learning and teaching material for this respect. There are very few book titles produced in African languages.

The most salient factor that makes multilingual education in relation to publishing is that many African language speaking writers are less enthused to write in their own languages. A case in point is Gilbert Modise, a Bloemfontein based former Setswana writer. When Mmusetsi Monaisa in "Iketleng" interviewed Modise (that is a talk show programme of Radio Motswedding, on the 27 January 1999, he showed his tendency to shift from Setswana as his writing medium to English. He has already started by translating his book, "Lesiela" into English. The reason for this is that he wants to have a much wider client readership, which is very unlikely when writing in Setswana or any other African language.

The other reason Modise stated was that South African libraries have very little material written in African languages as compared to English and Afrikaans. This can be illustrated by the purchasing figures (see Table 2) supplied by one of the four provincial library services in the Western Cape, which reflect purchasing patterns in public libraries in 1991. At this point one can realise that the problem is not only due to the production of books in terms of titles and numbers, but it is also due to the purchase of books written in African languages by public libraries.

Table 2: Books Added to Stock of Cape Provincial Library Services (CPLS), in 1991

Language	Titles	% of Titles	Copies	% of Copies
Afrikaans	1089	14.69	246,421	41.18
English	6142	82.85	340,370	56.88
Xhosa	56	0.75	9457	1.58
Tswana	38	0.51	1026	0.17
Sotho	23	0.31	267	0.04
Zulu	65	0.88	816	0.14
Total	7413	100.00	598,357	100.00

Note: The figures include new and additional copy titles.

Source: "Books for Africa: A supply and demand overview," (Gertz, 1992)

✓
5 Fifthly, the multilingual policy is problematic when it comes to its costs. It does not require a rocket scientist to figure-out the enormous expense to be encountered in the process. While in the ideal world there would be no limit on the cost of instructional materials, in reality there have been, and are, severe constraints on the money available for text-books in South African classrooms (McCallum, 1995:129). There is no country, least of all a still developing country, which can afford to multiply its educational expenses by providing instructional resources and teacher training for all its ethno-linguistic communities (Mansour, 1993:87).

In the case of South Africa, the present budget of the Department of Education is so very little to such an extent that the department had to downsize in one way or the other. It is very likely that the government will not be able to provide funds for the unnecessary duplication of textbooks in African languages because of both the internal and external pressure which, curtail the supply of funds. In the same spirit, the low price ceilings that the Education Department has previously set for books have of necessity, been the determining factor in the production of those books and are one of the reasons for the inadequacy of many text-books (Mansour, 1993:87).

Transforming the school curricula at one level of education would almost cost 12, 4% to 23, 5% of the net educational book market budget of approximately R 750 million per annum (McCallum, 1995:135). The present budget is strained by the move of supplying every student with an appropriate textbook for every subject at all levels of education. Bearing this in mind, it is naïve to contemplate any successful implementation of the new language policy.

Today the low price cuts in the Department of Education government departments posit a problem of inadequate production and supply of textbooks and other instructional materials and resources. In addition, the fact that there are other languages to make their debut as media of instruction as well as taught subjects means that the problem, especially of costs (via production and supply), will be much greater. At present, there are textbooks written in African languages only up to grade four (standard two). Most textbooks for secondary education are written in English and some in Afrikaans. Thus, it is a mammoth activity to transform this knowledge and information from these languages to African languages.

What makes matters worse is that **there is lack of determination and support from the South African government.** There is no commitment to multilingual education. Despite the government's official commitment to promoting multi-lingual education, there is lack of government support and funding for the creation, development, and maintenance of appropriate structures to facilitate language services in the educational sector and other domains (Draft White Paper on Education and Training, 1994:5). In other words, the infrastructure for language service delivery is inadequate and almost non-existent for African languages. Therefore, the development of African Languages as media of instruction is very unlikely beyond the literacy and primary level of education.

Relating to the above is the fact that the government has done nothing to effectively change the previous language policy in education. English and Afrikaans are still the languages of learning and teaching in all public schools, particularly at secondary and tertiary level. Over the past few years English has practically become the dominant language in education, both as medium of instruction and as a means of

communication. The situation in South African public schools is likely to be in this way for a very long time to come.

This is clearly reflected in Curriculum 2005 which, indicates that English language will still enjoy its hegemony as medium of instruction. All school programmes planned for curriculum 2005 are conducted through English. Moreover, related textbooks for Curriculum 2005 are mainly written and published in English. It also seems as if instead of teachers being prepared to teach content subjects like Physical Science and Mathematics at all levels of education in other languages, especially African languages, they are being prepared to do so in English.

✓ In the seventh place, **sophisticated linguistic contexts in the classrooms** are drawbacks for the successful implementation of the multilingual policy. The New Language policy is not only costly in terms of material resources. It is also costly in terms of time, energy and mental capacity. To demonstrate in the form of a question, what would happen if a teacher had to give a lesson through two or three (plus) languages, simultaneously, in an attempt to accommodate the multi-lingual nature of the classroom? In most South African schools there are many contexts in which it is an extremely daunting task to select languages of learning and teaching. For instance, the student population at a school in Gauteng may have anything up to five equally sized language communities (Education Policy Unit, 1995). Furthermore, individual classes themselves are multilingual. Therefore, providing for all these linguistic communities in their respective languages is not and will never be an easy task.

Any attempt to let this come to pass is a dead end. It will be an absolute inconvenience for both the teacher and the students. Teachers will have to spent a lot of time in preparing their subject matter for the day through more than two languages of which some of them might be unfamiliar to the poor teacher. On the part of students, by the time the teacher switches from the language which, they are familiar with, to another language which, they do not comprehend, they will be left wandering in darkness.

✓ In the eighth place, the multilingual policy is being failed by the **negative linguistic attitudes toward African languages**. Attitudes towards language(s) also have an

impact on the implementation of multi-lingual education. Hence, it is perceived as one of the major problems. Users of African languages seem to hold a low opinion of the worth and the value of African languages (White Paper on the "Publication of Language in Education Documents with the intention to invite comments from the public", 1997:6), especially as languages of learning and teaching. This is not because of disregard for African languages, but for reasons that languages practically fail to address future prospects like careers, further studies and international communication.

Language attitude surveys conducted in 1992 indicate that since 1994 many parents from all quarters of the South African Black communities have taken their children to schools where the medium of instruction is strictly English (van Dyk, 1993:187). This refers to multi-racial schools. One has to acknowledge that there are various reasons that also led parents to take their children to such schools. In similar vein, some informal interviews around the University of Cape town (UCT), have reflected that many students, probably parents of tomorrow, have no intention whatsoever to let their children learn through any of the official African languages.

- ✓ Students themselves have a problem of being taught through African languages. Many say that there is no point in being taught through any African language for, amongst other things, none of them, including the officially recognised African languages, has international competence. Tshire (1999) argues that African languages also have less economic opportunities like jobs and they do not give access to the entire world of knowledge which is totally closed to Africans if they pursue education in their own languages.
- ✓ What is more, many African students are alert and conscious about the importance and significance of the language medium. They are worried that education through African languages will close doors to their future careers since they do not have much influence, power and prestige in the country and in the international arena. In addition to that, any attempt to use one of the African languages as a medium of instruction will be an invitation to political destabilisation in South Africa.

✓ Finally, the multilingual policy is not workable because it is perceived to **inflare conflict in societies**. Evidence from within South Africa and other parts of the globe indicates that the usage of the diverse multiplicity of languages is a recipe for conflict where battles are constantly waged among different language-speaking communities or individuals for linguistic equality (Ramahobo, 1998:1). For instance, the Soweto uprisings of 1976 was one of the linguistic battles where the African-language speaking communities challenged the predominantly white-Afrikaans speaking government for imposing Afrikaans as a language of learning and teaching in predominantly South African Black public schools (see historical background).

Similarly, throughout the history of South Africa, the White-Afrikaans speaking community has viciously resisted Anglicisation. They denounced and protested against the implementation of English as a medium of communication and as medium of instruction in South African public schools (Jeevanantham, 1995:174). Today, the government has been lambasted for its agitation to use English at the expense of other languages in almost every domain.

The Afrikaans speaking community has already made attempts to initiate a movement which was to cater for their linguistic needs and demands (Alexander, 1996). This movement was aimed at protecting and promoting the status and use of Afrikaans to the level of English. It is an indication that members of other language speaking communities will never sit by the sideline and do nothing whilst their language is not being promoted and developed through usage and other means. Linguistic parity is essential for stability in a country, otherwise the conflict is imminent. This seems unattainable in multilingual contexts like the South African education system, given the situation of the nine supposedly novel African languages as media of instruction.

The Development of African Languages

Language development refers to the development of a standard orthography and spelling system, vocabulary elaboration and modernisation, the creation of technical registers, and the elevation of the status and usage of a language (LANGTAG, 1996:19). Therefore, any claim to develop a language has to take cognisance of these types of factors. It is a fallacy to think of the development of a language whilst no

efforts or resources are provided to this regard. The South African government must bypass political rhetoric in its attempt to develop African languages.

Since Namibia achieved its independence, the hegemonic role that the Afrikaans language played under the apartheid colonial system has technically ceased. The indigenous languages were granted official status and usage that did not distinguish them from Afrikaans, English and German. However, very little or nothing was done in terms of developing the indigenous languages in Namibia (Prah, 1995:41). Indigenous or African languages seem to be the most discouraged as Versveld (1995) has pointed out. They do not serve the purpose of instruction at secondary and tertiary level of education in most African countries and are not recommended for appointments in public services (Bamgbose, 1991: 96-99).

However, in terms of elevating the status and promoting the usage of African languages in South Africa, the PANSALB has adopted two key principles of “non-diminution” and “extension” (Constitution, 1996:4). The principle of “non-diminution” was aimed at safeguarding the historical official status of English and Afrikaans, including their usage as media of instruction. On the contrary the principle of “extension” was aimed at promoting the status and usage of African languages, hence they obtained official status and were recognised as possible media of instruction at all school levels. This was heralded by the National Education Policy Act (ACT 27 of 1996) which stipulates that the language of learning and teaching must be an official language(s). This does not preclude the nine officially recognised African languages.

However, the nine officially recognised African languages were not developed during the apartheid regime (Heugh, 1995:97). Therefore, they are not yet appropriate to serve as languages of learning and teaching, especially at secondary and tertiary levels of education. Most of the African languages lack relevant terminology, concepts or vocabulary for expressing mathematical, scientific and technological jargons. For instance, there is no parallel African word for “computer”(in technology) or “schlerenchyma” (in Biology) and many others that proliferate as a result of speedy advancement in the fields of, inter alia, Technology, Science, Mathematics,

Commerce, Environmental and Health studies. Any endeavour to develop these African languages is a futile and daunting exercise for the South African government.

In the previous political dispensation African languages were developed as Ausbau-languages, that is even in situations whereby it was possible to allow and standardise the varieties and dialects of a particular language community or subgroup like the Nguni group, these were deliberately kept separate (Alexander, 1997:82). This was done through lexical and other corpus-planning manoeuvres, which exacerbated the problem of the development of African languages.

Moreover, Neville Alexander (1997) acknowledges that to develop African languages to such an extent that they match English and Afrikaans in usage as media of instruction, is a process fraught with problems resulting from the multilingual and multiethnic character of many African states. But, he is optimistic that through language planning the problem of linguistic development can be successfully addressed.

In contrast, Walters (1997) is not reconciled with Alexander's idea. He is opposed to the notion that language planning can alleviate the problem developing African languages. The linguistic damage done by colonial administrations cannot be undone at a cheap price. African languages were historically, cynically and intentionally underdeveloped by the colonial administrations (Walters, 1997: 93). As a result, therefore, Walters strongly holds that it will require generations, decades, and in some cases, perhaps centuries of committed attention to develop African languages such that actual equality of usage is realised.

The difficulties of the development of African languages and all issues discussed above make the use of African languages as media of instruction a "mere dream" for South Africa. The New Language policy seem to be inappropriate, inconvenient, impossible and confusing as far as the medium of instruction is concerned in the educational sector, particularly at secondary and tertiary level of education. However, the New Language policy has been appraised for adhering to the provisions of the New Constitution (1996). Sachs (1995) has argued that the policy provides for

linguistic rights, both at an individual and group level. It is this subject that we now explore.

Linguistic Rights in Education

It has been recognised that various linguistic communities as well as individuals have language rights which warrants sound attention (Jeevanantham, 1995:179). Language rights refer to those linguistic rights that are protected by the New South African Constitution and by legislation. It technically and practically implies the recognition, authority, and entitlement of using one's own language of preference, be it his or her own mother-tongue or any other language besides his or her own mother tongue, at government institutions like the education system.

Concomitantly, very important and central to the notion of language rights is the freedom and power to make your own language choice, a critical principle and value of a democratic country, for either instruction or subject in the school curriculum. It does not mean recognising and giving authority to someone for using his or her mother tongue. However, it is important at this point to dedicate this part of the paper to the debate about "the new language policy versus individual and collective rights", in education. Some people have alluded to this political discourse in a number of ways.

The New Language Policy and Collective Rights

Collective linguistic rights refer to rights that can be exercised by a particular language-speaking group or community. This does not convey a sense of colour or race but should constitute a special interest and liking for using a particular language. With this borne in mind, under the National Party regime (NP), the only communities that enjoyed and fully exercised their language rights were the English and the Afrikaans language-speaking communities. The logic behind this notion is that the languages of these groups were the only legitimate official languages, that is, the languages to be used by the whole South African population in every business with the government. Moreover these languages were the only media of instruction, especially at secondary and tertiary level of education.

The government then, was mainly concerned about the linguistic welfare of the Afrikaans and English-speaking groups. This was strongly based on race or colour. But despite this fact, the government infringed on the linguistic rights of African-language speaking communities or communities that preferred to use African languages for specific purposes, including instruction in the school curricula. This was merely so because neither of the African languages enjoyed official status or recognition beyond media of instruction at lower primary level of education.

In sharp contrast, the newly adopted Constitution (Section 6.1) of the African National Congress (ANC) led government, provides for a multilingual policy. In addition to the colonial bilingual policy, it gives nine of the African languages (Setswana; SeSotho; SePedi; INdebele; SiSwati; IsiZulu, IsiXhosa; XiTsonga and TshiVhenda) the equal status and equal usage as English and Afrikaans. Each of these languages fervently suggests a specific linguistic community (Sachs, 1994:114).

As a result, therefore, this indicates that the new government fully recognises, acknowledges and respects the fundamental linguistic rights of all the above language communities, including those of the Afrikaans and English speaking communities. Serote (1994) has made it clear that recognising the usage of eleven languages in public institutions is a means of empowering the historically voiceless or linguistically marginalised groups. In other words, linguistic communities, strongly conveyed by the newly legitimised African languages, previously deprived of linguistic rights can now enjoy such rights.

It has been argued that all these languages are or should be equal as a means of communication and, therefore, entitled to equal rights and state support in a democratic society (Alexander, 1989:36). Section 6 (2) of the Constitution (1996) stipulates that the government must create conditions for the development and for the elevation of African languages to an extent that they enjoy equal status and usage as English and Afrikaans. This strongly connotes the enjoyment of equal linguistic rights for communities preferring to use those languages. Thus, a balance had to be struck between the two previously privileged white oriented languages and the nine under-privileged and underdeveloped African languages. The principles of non-diminution and the principle of extension come to play in this respect.

On the one hand, the “principle of non-diminution” was meant to protect the official status and public usage of Afrikaans and English (Sachs, 1994:115). In other words, those communities which, speak or prefer the usage of these languages, for instance as media of instruction, can still do so under the guardianship of the government. As this is the case, the government is still determined to give the Afrikaans and the English speaking communities the privilege to enjoy their linguistic rights. The government is not inclined to undermine or reduce either the use of Afrikaans and English or demote them from their official status. Therefore, these linguistic communities retain their previous linguistic rights. For instance, they can still receive education through English and Afrikaans at all school levels.

On the other hand the “principle of extension” was designed to advance the status and use of the other nine African languages by developing them. The main idea is to advance the status of the African languages until their position cannot be distinguished from that of English and Afrikaans. In other words, to get all official languages on par. The point here is that communities that prefer the usage of African languages can also technically enjoy the privilege of using a language of their choice just like the English and Afrikaans language-speaking groups. All the eleven official languages are technically equal in status and usage in public institutions (Fast Facts, 1992:2). Thus, making it possible that all communities speaking and preferring these languages enjoy equal linguistic rights.

However, the notion of actually having eleven languages, that is, having eleven language communities using and enjoying their language rights, persuades us to closely scrutinise what language rights, in fact, mean and whether the South African government is capable to practically guarantee language rights to its diversified linguistic communities. Language rights, at surface value, might strongly imply everything done eleven times (Sachs, 1994:109) as demonstrated above. Eleven languages must be used as media of instruction at all levels in the South African education system.

To present day South Africa, nothing has been effectively done eleven times to show the actual implementation of the new language policy. For instance, the media of instruction at secondary and tertiary level of education are English and Afrikaans,

whereas it should be more than these two languages. This being the case, those communities that prefer the use of these languages, their linguistic rights are being addressed. But, for those communities that prefer to use African languages, their linguistic rights are not being addressed. The reason is that languages preferred by these communities do not serve the purpose for which they would like them to serve.

Although Afrikaans is still a medium of instruction, those communities that prefer to use this language as media of instruction are more likely to lose this privilege since Afrikaans is gradually losing its purpose as medium of instruction in many education institutions. The University of Stellenbosch and the University of Potchefstroom are cases in point. These institutions were previously Afrikaans medium institutions but now, English is gradually becoming the language of learning and teaching in the very institutions. This is at odds with the constitutional principle of non-diminution of other languages. As mentioned above, some of the Afrikaans speaking communities have a feeling that their language rights are infringed upon. The point is that even some of the legitimised language communities are not fully able to exercise their language rights.

In the same vein, South African micro communities are not accommodated in the framework of the new language policy (Jeevenantham, 1995:93). It is important to note that South Africa consists of more than forty rather than eleven languages, hence linguistic communities, heralded by the Constitution (1996). These languages that are not given official status and not used for important purposes like serving as languages of learning and teaching, are actually the languages of minority groups, not only because of small numbers, but also because of minor political and economic status in the South African population. Thus, New Language policy partly addresses collective linguistic rights.

The New Language Policy and Individual Rights

Language is, in fact, internationally seen as a fundamental right of an individual. In a draft bill of rights, the South African Commission on human rights has pleaded that language must be an individual rather than a collective right (Fast Facts, 1992:2). The

rationale behind this notion was that if language rights are made collective rights, language has a detrimental effect on the stability of the country.

It will result in grouping people in terms of race or colour. This is a taboo for the country for it breeds potential race and ethnic cleavages. Experience has taught us that political divisions of such nature have been pretty awful for many African countries. By way of example, for various reasons, the Xhosa-speaking communities and the Zulu-speaking communities in South Africa have had numerous warfares in the past. Language differences underpinned many of these in-fights amongst these African black communities. It is evident from this point that collective linguistic rights can be very dangerous.

However, the New Language policy, at least in principle, fully recognises individual language rights, those linguistic rights that can be exercised by one person at any given point in time (The Facts, 1994:3). For instance, Section 29 (2) stipulates that each person or individual has the right to instruction in any of the official languages or the language of his or her choice, where this is reasonably practicable (Constitution, 1996:14). The right to choose the medium of instruction is vested on individual persons. It is the individual who chooses a language for learning and teaching for his or her education.

But, there are serious limitations caused by the general laws of application in this respect. For an example, the learner chooses the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school (Language in Education Policy Document, 1997:1-10). Similarly, in the case of a minor learner, that is pupils commencing or just entering the education system, the relevant parent exercises the language rights on behalf of the minor learner (White Paper on "Publication of Language in Education Documents with the intention to invite comments from the public", 1997:5). This does not allow students to freely exercise their individual linguistic rights. It is important to note that these restrictions commands students to be ready for the educational institutions instead of them being ready for students, that is the other way round, as promulgated in the South African Constitution of 1996.

Moreover, the expression, “where reasonably practicable” further limits the students from enjoying their individual linguistic rights (Brown, 1997:2). This expression indicates that the right to have instruction in a language based on the choice of an individual is not an absolute but rather a qualified right. The government, in other words, is not under obligation of ensuring that each individual has instruction in a language of his or her choice. It can only do so when it has the means of which, at the moment, is not conceivable. Therefore, individual rights can only be exercised under specific and convenient circumstances. It is again important to note that the onus is placed on the educational institution than on protecting the linguistic rights of the student.

This point is further illuminated by the emphasis on the “official language(s)” as medium of instruction. This indicates that the language of instruction is predetermined even before learners can enter the educational system. Moreover, there is no other language, even if that language is preferred and chosen by learners, that can serve the purpose of instruction except for official languages. Therefore, in practical terms, learners do not have much of a choice when it comes to medium of instruction and the educational institution of their choice. The emphasis on official languages and the expression “where reasonably practicable”, undermine the mandatory power of the new language policy and the Constitution (National Committee on Special Needs in Education, 1997:33).

It must be emphasised that individual rights are still infringed upon on the ground that the status of the official languages takes precedence. In other words, collective rights practically supersede individual rights. To illuminate this state of affairs, it is often the case, for instance, that a Khoisan-speaking individual will never be able to exercise his or her linguistic rights, if he or she chooses not to use the Zulu language, in a predominantly Zulu-speaking community like KwaZulu Natal. He or she will have to use the official language(s) like IsiZulu and English, ascribed to that political jurisdiction for any transaction with the state.

In the same tack, language rights are very expensive and cumbersome to put into effect (Sachs, 1994:111). For instance, if you are the only Venda-speaking person at Gaopalelwe secondary school in Boitumelong township (North West province), it

would be impossible for the government to provide you with education through a language of your choice, except if it is Setswana; English or Afrikaans. These are the official languages that can serve the purpose of instruction in the North West Province. It is important to note that, as alluded above, Setswana has a dearth of practical problems as medium of instruction especially at secondary and tertiary level of education.

It is important to note that linguistic rights, both individual and collective, the development of African languages and multilingualism in education can only become meaningful if more resources are made available for their realisation. This conveys that the government must not only show the willingness to grant linguistic rights but it must also have the capacity to realise such rights in practical terms. This is not easily achievable bearing in mind the complex linguistic situation in South African schools. It must be emphasised that the multilingual policy has some advantages and disadvantages, but it is mainly undermined by practicality with regard to linguistic rights, multilingual education and the development of African languages.

To complete this chapter, like many other African countries, South Africa seems unlikely to afford all eleven (plus) languages, especially African languages as media of instruction. Thus, the realisation of the goals of the New Language policy (that is, inter alia, promotion of linguistic rights in education, promotion of multilingualism in education and the development of African languages for instructional purposes) are highly challenged. To afford eleven languages (plus) connotes a strong sense of resource allocation, if not distribution, to successfully effect, that is implementing, the multi-faceted language policy. The realisation of the multilingual policy in education lies heavily on the availability of relevant resources and not the 'wishful thinking' and 'public utterances' of the political system. Amongst the few notables sharing the same sentiments are D. Breiwer (1995), B. Breytenbach (1995) and G. P Barkhuizen (1997) who strongly hold that,

“... it is all too easy to wallow in the comfort of politically correct rhetoric and produce equally appealing policy statements, but what counts is the realisation of such policy statements and not political rhetoric...” (Barkhuizen, 1997: 97).

The main concern of these writers is that the declaration of African languages as possible media of instruction, is mere political rhetoric, which seems impracticable. They assert that politically appealing public policies are worthless if they are practically impossible, especially if they are not backed-up with the necessary resources. It is discernible from here that public policies must not only be determined by politics or political rhetoric, but by other practical factors as well.

The New Language policy in education needs to be reconsidered, especially with regard to the design of the media of instruction. It must be more explicit as to which language(s) should serve the purpose of instruction in the linguistically diverse South African school curricula. Moreover, it must be noted that it is not all of South Africa's official languages, also declared as possible media of instruction, have the capacity to serve the purpose of instruction.

In attempts to benefit African languages for the purpose of instruction, some people thought of minimising the number of African languages by regrouping them into two major groups, that is Nguni and Sotho for an attempt to establish an African language as a medium of instruction. Nguni would take in Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Swati, Tsonga and Venda, and Sotho would encapsulate Southern Sotho, Pedi and Tswana. Some people even thought of establishing the language of the most powerful linguistic community as a medium of instruction. The fact is that both instances will not materialise since each linguistic group is likely to resist linguistic domination or assimilation by another (subject is not further discussed here).

Elsewhere, some people have argued that African languages serve as media of instruction in other African countries, but why not in South Africa. In fact this can be true. To cite an instance, in Tanzania, out of approximately 120 indigenous languages, it is only Kiswahili that has been authorised to serve the purpose of instruction throughout the school curriculum (Rubanza, 1997:1). It must be realised that the South African linguistic, political, economic and social conditions are not compatible with that of Tanzania.

As evident from the literature, the Tanzanian government only considered one African language to serve the purpose of instruction even beyond primary level of education.

Very important though, the Tanzanian government still struggles, especially in economic terms, to implement only one African language, Kiswahili, as a medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary levels of education. On the other hand, the South African government is supposed to have nine African languages equally serving as media of instruction throughout the school curriculum.

In the process of outlining and identifying the causes and consequences of the New Language policy (that is, issue or problem definition), the government seems to have failed in relation to measuring its capacity to manage the New Language policy. The ability to manage a policy is very important and significant in defining the policy problem (Hogwood et al, 1984, Grindle et al, 1991 & Ham et al, 1984). Policies command human, financial and other relevant resources. Presently the South African government is quite incompetent in providing these essential and necessary resources in order to implement the New Language policy which, it has principally promulgated through the Constitution of 1996 and the 1997 linguistic proclamations of the Department of Education.

In so far as the government has defined the New Language policy, it seems to have overestimated the legitimacy of African languages as media of instruction amongst the African language-speaking populace. The next Chapter has been devoted to this regard. Problem definition takes into account a consensus between the active participating agents, that is, those who are directly involved in the decision-making process, and the non-active policy agents, that is, those people who are not directly involved in the final decision phase of the policy process (Hogwood et al, 1984). As it will be manifested shortly in this study (that is, in Chapter Four), the government's perspective on the Language-in Education policy is vigorously challenged by the public's view with regard to African languages as possible media of instruction.

CHAPTER FOUR

It is evident from the literature that the success for the implementation of the New Language policy must realistically be determined by socio-economic factors, rather than by political rhetoric. This matter is further explored in this section. In relation to economic factors that impact upon the New Language policy, a brief focus shall be on South Africa's macro economic policy (e.g. GEAR). This conveys a strong sense of the impact of another policy on other policies. Therefore, it is logical to say that other policies determine the successful implementation of other policies.

With regard to the social factors, this study places emphasis on the receptivity of the New Language policy by those it directly affects. This takes into account the views of secondary teachers and students about the New Language policy. In this respect, we closely look at how African languages-speakers (in this case Setswana) view their languages in relation to education. Finally, this section also examines some of the challenges faced by the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) in implementing the New Language policy.

South Africa's Macro Economic Policies versus the New Language Policy.

South Africa's macro economic policies, particularly the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), have ominous consequences on the educational sector (Mutume, 1998:1). In general, GEAR concerns the government's endeavour to rationalise or downsize public service delivery and public jobs despite the social needs of the South African population. Since the inception of GEAR, the government has laid a heavy hand on the Department of Education. By way of illustration, during the financial year of 1997/1998, the government decided to cut the budget of education by more than six percent (Mutume, 1998:1).

This did not only leave many teachers without jobs (not further discussed here), it has also impacted negatively upon the effective delivery of social services by the government. Many schools were left with a dearth of school textbooks and other learning and teaching materials. Almost 67 percent of South African schools,

according to the Education Policy Unit, are without textbooks (Mutume, 1998:2). It must be borne in mind that there are only two languages currently serving as media of instruction whilst this is taking place, especially at secondary level of education, in South Africa.

Now, if the government faces such horrendous problems in supplying schools with textbooks for only two official media of instruction, it is more likely that it will never be able to produce and supply textbooks for instruction in the nine African languages. Hence, the service of African languages as media of instruction remains a dream that will possibly not come true. In fact, the government seems to have no adequate financial resources to address the challenges impacting upon the New Language policy, particularly in relation to advancing African languages as media of instruction more so that it considered rationalising or downsizing its net expenditure.

To afford the New Language policy, the South African government will have to borrow a great deal of money from the economic forces of globalisation like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It is conventional that these forces, through their structural adjustment programmes can make it very difficult for poor and developing countries to get loans. Structural adjustment generally refers to the package of measures which the IMF and World Bank sought to persuade many developing countries to adopt during the 1980s in return for loans they desperately needed for development and transformation (Leftwich, 1993:607).

The general pattern or conditions of loans is the immediate devaluation and often dramatic public expenditure cuts. This clearly indicates the premises of the South African macro economic policies. It is one of the reasons why the South African government has taken such drastic measures to cut the budgets of many of its departments, including the Department of Education. The point driven here is that because of the GEAR strategy, the New Language policy seems to have no adequate support.

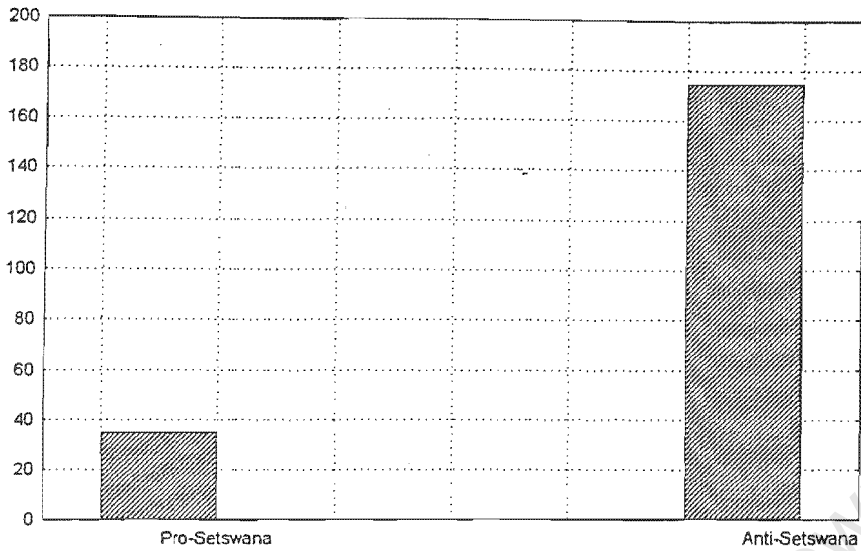
The New Language Policy versus the People's Voices: A Discordance.

As far as social factors are concerned, more emphasis is placed on the receptivity of the New Language Policy, particularly in relation to African languages as media of instruction at schools predominantly attended by African-language speaking people. It will be quite interesting to see how a selected group of language teachers and students, directly affected by this policy, view the subject matter. These are the people who seem to be forgotten or ignored by the government when the language medium policies were shaped. Their voices do not seem to be mirrored in the linguistic policies of this country. This has been evident in some linguistic surveys.

The South African government prides itself with the consultation principle it upholds whenever formulating its socio-economic policies. In terms of the Language-in-Education Policy Document (1997), the New Language policy in education is a product of a wide range of stakeholders and role-players. Therefore, discussions debates and public comment underpin the policy. This being the case then, one would expect that the New Language policy of South Africa would reflect much on the wishes (or voices of "the other", that is, those people, especially students and teachers, not actually involved at the decision making point) of those directly affected by the policy. But, the New Language policy seems to be nothing of this sort.

In fact, the 1998/1999 linguistic survey conducted at Gaopalelwe secondary school provides evidence that the New Language policy ousts the "voices of the other" (that is students and teachers). Two hundred students and fifty teachers took part in the survey. It was found that approximately 83.3 percent of students rallied against Setswana as a potential medium of instruction at their school. It is approximately 16.7 percent of students who pointed out that Setswana should be a medium of instruction (refer to Diagram 1). This indicates that Setswana (i.e. one of the African languages), hence the New Language Policy, may not yet be accepted the majority of students as medium of instruction in some quarters of the community.

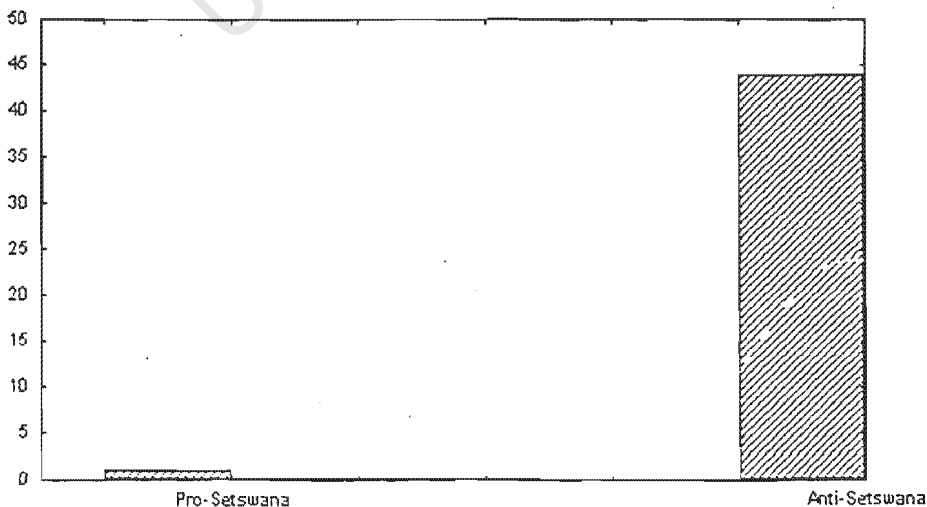
Diagram 1: Students' Response to Setswana as media of instruction



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

In similar vein, approximately 97.8 percent of Gaopalelwe teachers denounced Setswana as a medium of instruction and only 2.2 percent of teachers were sympathetic to the probable notion of Setswana as a medium of instruction (see Diagram 2). Therefore, it is obvious that the New Language policy is not reflective of the “voices” of most students and teachers, hence the principle of consultation (which strongly connotes democracy) becomes highly questionable.

Diagram Two: Teachers' Response to Setswana as medium of instruction



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

It is often a norm that governments consult with linguistic experts or academics to help them shape or design their linguistic policies (i.e. policy formulation). Therefore, the voice behind the New Language policy, for instance, is logically the voice of elites (that is, academics and linguistic experts) and politicians rather than the voice of the ordinary people on the ground. As this statement holds firm ground, it is rightly suggestive of the type of democracy practised in the South African policy process.

The democracy conveyed here is the Elitist Competitive democracy where the highly qualified people are justified to take important decisions around, inter alia, social public policies, for or on behalf of ordinary people (Held, 1987). This is mainly so, in this type of democracy, because it is assumed that those who are dosed with academic knowledge can make rationally calculated (i.e. proper and appropriate) decisions and policies than the common people on the ground. However, the New Language policy has proven otherwise. Since it is, to a large extent, championed by academics, linguistic experts and politicians, but it does not seem to be any convincing rational action given the context under which it has been pursued.

The point driven in this respect is that linguistic policies must be based on thorough research. Technical advice from experts may be necessary and significant but not sufficient for linguistic policies. It is very fortunate that the government is not imposing the New Language policy. If it did, there is no doubt that the South African experience of 1976 uprisings, which was bred by linguistic policy disillusionment, would be vividly resurrected. The perspective of the common citizens is also an important component to consider in linguistic policies. In other words, the views of the directly affected may not only be necessary, but also sufficient for a proper and suitable language policy.

By the same token, the implementation of linguistic policies must also take into account the resourcefulness of those languages chosen, in principle and practice, for particular purposes (refer to Figure 2). Different people prefer specific languages for specific linguistic functions. Languages give people power (Bloch et al, 1999:1). By way of example, whilst at school, some languages give students the power to access the enormous amount of knowledge and information available inter alia, in libraries

and archives. And after matriculation some languages give the students the power to access the commercial world, especially in relation to jobs. Nonetheless, it is important to note that languages are not equally developed, prestigious and powerful.

Table Figure 2: Roles of a resourceful language in South Africa

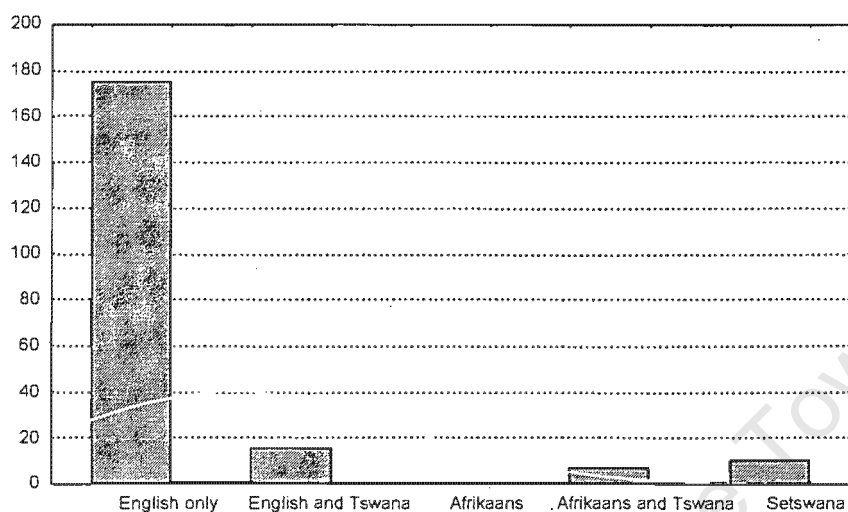
- South Africa needs a language that will serve as a medium of instruction and which simultaneously,
- Cuts across ethnic and racial linguistic boundaries.
- Such language will play a crucial role in creating a nationalistic spirit that leads to nation building.
- It must not handicap the communication of South Africans with the rest of the world thus,
- South Africa needs a lingua franca, that is a common language used by different linguistic communities that have no comprehension of the other linguistic community's mother tongue. Moreover, that language must serve the purpose of wider communication, that is give South Africans access to the international arena.
- The language which is to be implanted, as medium of instruction must address future linguistic challenges facing students, for an example, tertiary education predominantly conducted in English.
- It must also enhance comprehension of parliamentary speeches and documents, including the affairs of public administration.
- A resourceful language must meet the demands of Business and Commerce
- And it must meet the demands of Science and Technology

Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey, 1998/1999 and "English, the Constitution and South Africa's Language Future," Titlestad (1954).

It must be recognised that not all eleven official languages of South Africa can play these fundamental linguistic roles. Seemingly, some languages are more prestigious than others. They can give people the power to access various avenues of change with relative ease. Bearing in mind that other languages, particularly African languages, have historically been cynically underdeveloped, other languages are not

even nearly capable to shoulder other linguistic duties precipitated by global advancement. Hence, students, including teachers, are prone to choose other languages over others for specific purposes (see Diagram 3 and 4 below).

Diagram 3: Students' preferred language for instruction purposes



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

According to the Gaopalelwe linguistic survey, approximately 83.3 percent of students prefer to learn and to be taught in English and only 16.7 percent opted for other languages or a combination of languages as media of instruction. Of the 16.7% whom opted for other languages, 7.6% chose a mixture of English and Setswana, 0.4% opted for Afrikaans, 3.3% chose Afrikaans and Setswana combination and only 5.2% opted for Setswana only. In supplement to the linguistic functions stated above, many students have chosen English mainly because of the hope that, after matriculation, it will give them access to tertiary education, overseas studies and jobs.

All the same, almost an outright 97.8 percent of teachers prefer to teach in English despite the assumption that they are not masters of English (Bloch et al, 1999:1). An approximate 2.2 percent of teachers have a feeling that English must be coupled with Setswana as medium of instruction. Of course it is a fact that all teachers at Gaopalelwe secondary school are second language speakers of English. All of them are first language speakers of African languages. Most speak Setswana and all others

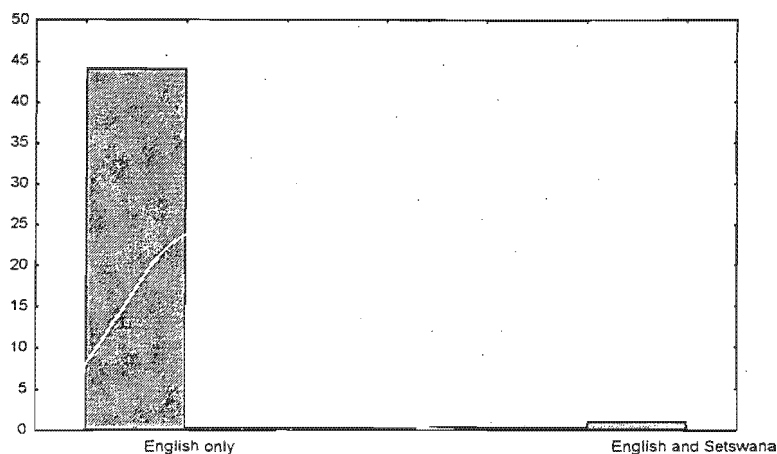
speaking other African languages (elaborated below). Be that as it may, they all have command of one common language and that is, English.

It is not surprising why all the teachers are so enthusiastic about English and not Setswana (or African languages) as a medium of instruction. It is not only because they acquired their educational pre-training through the medium of English. In terms of the Gaopalelwe linguistic survey, there was not even a single teacher who showed any inclination and preparedness for re-training programmes in the case whereby they would have to teach in Setswana or any other language. The teachers claimed that re-training programmes would only be a waste of time more so that the teachers' jobs are not definitely secured or guaranteed today.

Nevertheless, in correspondence with some of the linguistic functions stated in Table Five, teachers have posited that English does not only allow them to reach a linguistically diverse classroom at once and with ease since they all acquired their education through the medium of English. It can be observed that Gaopalelwe secondary school is multilingual since its clientele, that is students, are from various linguistic backgrounds. They are mostly Setswana, Sesotho, SePedi, IsiXhosa, IsiZulu and TshiVenda speakers. Thus, teachers can easily and instantly communicate with these widely varied linguistic groups via English since they (i.e. students) all have comprehension of it.

What is more, teachers prefer to teach in English because it also makes them national assets rather than sectional (i.e. provinces) assets. This simply implies that since South African teachers are faced with retrenchment and redeployment, they can easily find vacancies in any other province in South Africa or beyond the borders of South Africa. Above all, the teachers will not have complexities of familiarising themselves, at least linguistically, since English is a language of wider communication and used in all the nine South African provinces and in many other countries in Africa and elsewhere as a medium of instruction.

Diagram 4: The Teachers' preferred medium of instruction



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Moreover, the survey indicated that the teachers of Gaopalelwe were not all Setswana speakers. Some are from Tumahole in Parys and Thabong in Welkom (both in the Free State) and they speak Sesotho, others are from Gauteng in Soweto and they speak IsiZulu and others are from Nigeria and they speak Hausa and Igbo. In addition to that, students also speak diverse African languages, including Afrikaans. Therefore, given the situation at Gaopalelwe secondary school it can be recognised that a language of common ground is necessary for communication, thus the language of learning and teaching, between linguistically diverse teachers and students, students and students and between teachers and teachers.

Setswana, or many of the African languages, is obviously not that language because some teachers and students do not have any comprehension of the language. The other Eight official languages, that is Xhosa, Zulu, Venda, Tsonga, Pedi, Sotho, Swati and Ndebele are not exceptions. They too incur the same practical complexities and victimisation as media of instruction by their own speakers.

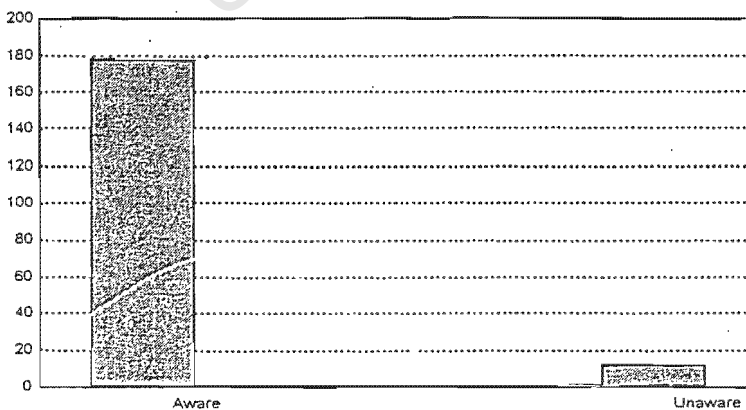
Some students and teachers, especially from the Zulu speaking community, vehemently suggested that if the Setswana speaking community will demand Setswana to be a medium of instruction, then they would also like IsiZulu to be medium of instruction. The outrageous complaint was premised on the fact that Zulu speakers are proud about their language as much as Setswana speakers are about their

own language. The crux of the matter is that other languages have the power to inflame racial and ethnic tensions.

Such languages as Setswana and IsiZulu seem to breed tension amongst Africans (see Chapter Three). Hence, they are not perceived to befit the purpose of instruction in multilingual contexts. This instance, including other reasons wedged against the New Language policy, undermine the rational calculation of policy makers (mainly the government, i.e. politicians and linguistic experts) behind the New Language policy. The mere fact that students and teachers have chosen particular languages over others and provide sound reasons to that effect, is a clear indication that they are linguistically aware.

It has been argued elsewhere that there is an extreme awareness of language (van Vuuren, 1994:89). For instance, according to the Gaopalelwe linguistic survey (1998/1999), approximately 94.2 percent of students claimed to be aware of linguistic issues and only 5.8 percent were not sure of this state of affairs (see Diagram 5 below). They were linguistically aware not only because they know the essence and the power which different languages have in store for them, they also know that they have the Constitutional right to be taught in their own first languages or mother tongue.

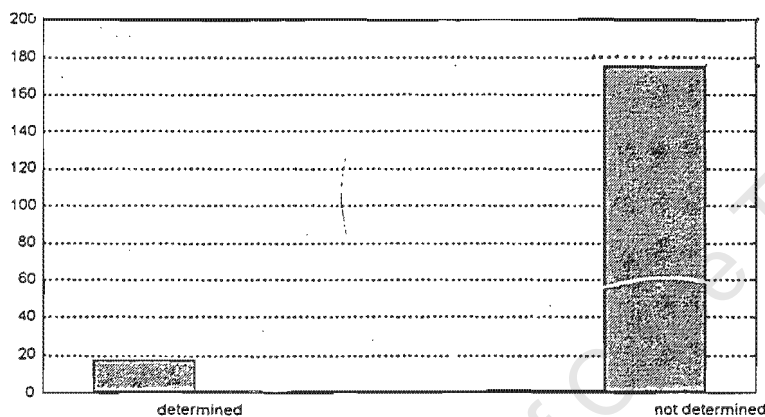
Diagram 5: Students' Linguistic Awareness



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Surprisingly, most of the students have no intention of exercising these linguistic rights as evident above. From the survey, approximately 92 percent of students indicated that Setswana will never appease them as a medium of instruction (see Diagram 6 below). There was only about 8 percent of students who showed determination to exercise their linguistic rights, that is, being taught in their mother tongue. This is a further indication of how unpopular the New Language policy is in the education of Black South Africans.

Diagram 6: Students' determination to exercise their linguistic rights



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey, 1998/1999.

Given the sad state of affairs, therefore, the New Language policy warrants to be revisited, especially its design in relation to the issue of languages as media of instruction. It is not worthy to be concerned about the implementation of the New Language policy whilst its formulation phase or labelling is so fraught with problems (see Chapter Three).

The way in which the new language policy has been labelled or designed, it is vague and confusing. For instance, some members of governing bodies, principals and teachers do not actually know what to do in order to help the government to fully effect the New Language policy. By way of example, one principal alleges that they will continue to do what they have always been doing, that is using English as a medium of instruction, until they receive an explicit and implementable linguistic policy statement (Barkhuizen, 1997:98).

Often times, it is the government, which makes people to respond negatively towards its policies. By merely stipulating vague policies like authorising all eleven official languages to serve as media of instruction, the government has drawn the attention of the mass population and has run itself into a problem. Some people may manipulate the way in which the policy has been framed (i.e. multilingual in character, hence vague) and mobilise for support from other people, hence complicating proper governance. To be precise, the government has created a situation whereby some African language speaking communities might demand to learn and to be taught in their own languages. Any failure to provide for this demand can lead to resentment of the government by the public. This can be illustrated in the following manner:

Figure 3: The impact of the Political Agenda on the Public Agenda

- Government's vague Linguistic legislation
 - Political manoeuvres and Mass media attention
 - Public interest aroused And mobilised
 - Public pressure for the Enactment of legislation
 - Inability of government to Enact policy
 - The public's disillusionment
 - The public's reaction

The manner in which the New Language policy has been designed also plays an impeccable role in determining the fate of its implementation. It is generally held that for a policy to be successfully implemented, its legislative variables or statutes should be clear-cut and unambiguous so as to avoid confusion (Cameron, 1991:145). The protagonists of this view assert that this being the case, the institutional variable or the policy instrument (PANSALB) and all those, inter alia, principals, teachers, school governing bodies, implicated by the policy, will know exactly what to do, when?,

how?, why? and where?. Thus, effectively executing their mandates and not confused by what they must or should do.

Implementation of the New Language Policy: the Pan South African Language Board.

It is highly inconceivable to think of implementing, that is executing, any policy without a certain policy instrument(s), that is, the device or technique employed in order to achieve the goals or objectives of a policy (Parsons, 1995:102). It is only through appropriate policy instrumentation that the blueprint for any policy can be implemented. The policy instrument is often expected to deal with policy problems as they have been defined so as to attain given policy objects.

It can be derived from this point that the proper criteria for assessing a policy instrument are the two principles of “efficiency”, that is doing something with the least cost, and “effectiveness”, that is doing the right thing (Robbins, 1995:26). Moreover, there are various typologies of policy instruments through which the policy instrument for the New Language policy of South Africa can be gauged. The most relevant and appealing typology of policy instrument is the NATO scheme by Hood (1984). In sum, the NATO scheme denotes that a policy instrument constitutes an organisation with personnel, funds, authority and resources for information (Parsons, 1995:104). This is reflected in PANSALB, the policy instrument for the New Language Policy.

In 1995 the South African government established a national policy instrument, the Pan South African Language Board, PANSALB (PANSALB Act, 1995 and Constitution, 1996). This in itself is an “organisation” with its own “funds” because it had particular goals in pursuit and consists of thirteen staff members (South African Year Book, 1997:421). Serote (1994) has pointed out that PANSALB was introduced in order to deal with the country’s complex linguistic matters, especially to facilitate and execute the New Language policy in social sectors like education. It has been challenged with a lot of various linguistic activities.

In terms of our subject matter, the actual object of PANSALB is mainly to ensure that multilingual education is effective in South Africa (Die Burger, 1996:10). This policy instrument, PANSALB, also has the responsibility of enhancing linguistic rights, both individual and collective, in the school curricula. These two major objects can only be carried out if language development and language equality are pursued. This specifically refers to African languages which, have been recognised as official languages. Therefore, PANSALB is challenged to develop African languages to such an extent that they are not only equal to English and Afrikaans in terms of status, but also in usage where many problems arise.

In carrying out its mandate, PANSALB operates with numerous subcommittees, policy networks and policy communities. These include institutions such as the Subcommittee On Language In Education, Subcommittee On Translation And Interpretation, Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG), the Project For The Study OF Alternative Education In South Africa (PRAESA). It also gets assistance from the Deaf Federation Of Southern Africa (DEAFSA), the English Academy and AFRILEX, the African Association For Lexicography (PANSALB, 1998:4). All these policy communities and networks including others not mentioned here, serve as essential "sources of information" to PANSALB in its effort to implement the new language policy.

It is important to note that PANSALB acts mainly as an overseer or monitor of the subcommittees it has instituted to carry out its tasks. Therefore, it is supposed to have "authority" over such policy networks and policy communities for it is the chief body in making linguistic recommendations with regard to the decisions and research findings of these agencies. It must be borne in mind that authority does not convey any sense of power. Policy instruments or organisations with authority but without power are more likely to fail in carrying out their mandate, than policy instruments with authority and power. With authority an institution can only make useful suggestions and with power, institutions can fully execute their mandate.

PANSALB is, technically, an independent and autonomous statutory body (LANGTAG, 1996:iii). According to Section 4(2) of the PANSALB ACT of 1995, the duties and functions of PANSALB shall be carried out without interference from

any organ of the state and from any member of an organ of the state. However, PANSALB is accountable for its actions to the National Parliament, especially the NCOP, National Council of Provinces (PANSALB ACT, 1995), but the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology got to the habit of conducting the affairs of PANSALB. This undermines the authority of PANSALB and questions its credibility and autonomy. Policy instruments can be very ineffective when other institutions of power temper with their functions and duties.

Professor Golele, N. P, chairperson of PANSALB, has pointed out that PANSALB has made great efforts to carry out their mandate (PANSALB, 1998:4-9). It has been "loyal and dedicated" to implement multilingualism, says Professor Golele. By way of example, it endorses the Department of Education's commitment to promote the nine official African languages and Sign language in the school curricula. The board has also been dedicated in developing African languages and promoting linguistic rights. However, this is highly questionable because as a national policy instrument, intended to engineer and pursue the New Language policy, it had experienced a number of structural and institutional problems.

By way of example, PANSALB has problems in relation to staff. There is a **shortage of necessary staff**, says its chairperson, Professor Golele (report, 1998:4). One of the factors contributing to this is that all the present staff members are not full-time members but part-time members of the board. They are all permanent incumbents of other institutions. For instance, Neville Alexander (former member of PANSALB) is a lecturer at the University of Cape town and a director of the Project For The Study Of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA). This makes it almost impossible for the board to shoulder the great administrative responsibilities facing it.

Furthermore, Professor Golele has asserted that PANSALB has a serious problem in terms of infrastructure (PANSALB ANNUAL REPORT, 1998:4). There is a **lack of appropriate and adequate number of offices**. According to the PANSALB ACT of 1995, the offices of PANSALB should be in Pretoria. Although the board has made efforts to have its own offices, PANSALB is currently housed in the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (SA year book, 1998:406). The problem of

infrastructure runs from national level to provincial level. There are no offices at provincial level as well.

Moreover, **the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology infringe on the autonomy, independence and authority of PANSALB.** By way of example, it is this department that administers the finances of PANSALB (PANSALB ANNUAL REPORT, 1998:17). In other words, PANSALB is practically not at liberty to redistribute its finances the way it deems fit. This is in sharp contrast with the relevant provisions made in the Constitution (1996) and the PANSALB ACT (1995). According to the new Constitution (1996) and the PANSALB ACT (1995), the Pan South African Language Board has to be autonomous and manage its own affairs.

The board has “effectively been stifled by the overweening bureaucracy” of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (Morris, 1998:2). For instance, according to academics at the University of Cape Town, the department took a unilateral decision in transplanting its Lexicographic Unit to the board (Lund, 1998:1). It did not consult the board and inform it with the decision or invite it to take part in the decision. This did not only strip the board of its authority to act but also rendered it ineffective and inefficient in carrying out its mandate because of the extra-burden.

The Pan South African Language Board has been determined and dedicated to pursue the goals and objectives of the New Language policy, that is, its course of effecting multilingualism, linguistic rights and the development of African languages. However, **the South African government has never shown any political commitment toward assisting the Board in the realisation of the New Language policy.** It appears that the government is unwilling to exert any pressure in this respect (Morris, 1998:2 and Lund, 1998:1).

In 1996 the Zambian government adopted a New Language policy that recognised local African languages as media of instruction (Muyebaa, 1998). To this effect the Zambian Ministry of Education (MOE) has increased the training chances of preparing Zambian teachers to teach through a number of local languages. A class of Zambian language teachers was opened at the National In-service Training College

(NISTCOL) and Zambian language teachers are trained at the University of Zambia and the Nkrumah Teachers College (Muyebaa, 1998). Similarly, the government of Ghana has established a specialist training college at Ajumoko, specifically for the training of professional pre-tertiary teachers of Ghanaian indigenous languages (Bamgbose, 1991: 96).

What is more, the Zambian government allocated funds to develop instructional materials in local languages (Muyebaa, 1998). The Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) of Zambia designed and developed all the syllabi for local languages for primary, junior and secondary levels of education. CDC has also developed, published and distributed books in local official languages to schools. This was enhanced by financial assistance from the private sector and foreign donors such the Irish government, the British government, UNICEF and NORAD.

In stark contrast, the South African government is quite incompetent to provide the infrastructure for language service delivery, especially for African languages in terms of languages of learning and teaching, taught-subjects and other linguistic functions (Subcommittee on Equitable and Widespread Language Services, 1996: 5). The government's support and funding for the creation, development and maintenance of appropriate structures and resources to enhance African language services nationally, is very inadequate.

As a result, therefore, the lack of funding or special budget negatively impacts upon the successful implementation of African languages as languages of learning and teaching. This is merely so because the South African linguistic policy instrument, PANSALB, and its auxiliaries is not supported by the government in pursuit of its goals and thus, it cannot develop educational materials and resources, such as textbooks, in the nine legitimised African languages of South Africa. Most of the educational resources and materials are readily available in English.

Furthermore, it is English that is predominant with regard to the linguistic function of instruction in South African public schools. Although the South African government principally changed this situation by authorising other languages as media of instruction, it practically did very little or nothing to ensure that its voice becomes a

reality. In other words, the New Language policy remains political rhetoric, a 'dead letter' or a 'mere theory' because it is not fully supported by the government.

The South African government has not yet tried to prepare teachers for teaching through African languages. There is very little African language training happening in South Africa. According to the Subcommittee on Equitable and Widespread Language Services (1996) most of the training institutions do not yet adequately address the significant African language issues and processes regarding teaching development and other linguistic education.

Teachers are only prepared to teach African languages as subjects but not to teach through African languages. Therefore, African language teaching in secondary schools and tertiary institutions is inadequate. Hence, the current South African model of teacher training commands intense transformation if African languages are to serve the purpose of instruction in higher levels of education (Subcommittee on Equitable and Widespread Language Services, 1996: 5). The responsibilities of the government and its technical and administrative staff, that is, the decision-making bodies, is not only to make the final policy decisions, but also to closely monitor the execution of such policy decisions (Garnett et al, 1997:78).

Finally, the South African government, like the Zambian government, must make funds available for the development and usage of African languages as media of instruction. It must provide for the proper infrastructure to facilitate African-language-teacher-training. Moreover, the government must allocate a special budget for the production, publishing and distribution of African-language instructional materials and other relevant resources.

Failure to provide resources and facilities for achieving the goals of the new multilingual policy forces us to classify it as a 'tolerance policy'. The government technically allows for the use of nine African languages as well as Sign language as media of instruction, taught-subjects and as means of communication in every nook and cranny of the educational domain. However, there is little or no effort taken by the government to promote and enhance the usage of such languages as media of

instruction. Few or no public resources are made available and used to promote these languages for some of the purposes of language in education (Schiffman, 1996:29).

By way of example, there are no tertiary institutions preparing teachers to teach through these languages at the moment. The government is very cold on the matter. Teachers have not been given any incentives for re-training programmes that are so quintessential if the new language policy is to be genuinely implanted. It is for such reasons that teachers view re-training programmes as an absolute waste of time hence, nullifying the new language policy. It does not follow automatically that teachers who speak African languages or those who learnt these languages as subjects, will have the capacity to teach other subjects like Accounting, which is presently taught mainly in English and Afrikaans, with relative ease. For this course re-training of teachers is quite significant.

All the same, since the inception of the New Language policy, the government has never showed any inclination of enhancing this policy. There is no indication that this policy has been budgeted for. In other words, there is no money set aside for the translation and interpretation of the main instructional materials, like textbooks, into African languages. Moreover, the production and publishing of instructional materials through African languages is daunting. The logic behind this is that most of the writers, even those who wrote in African languages before, are no more enthused to publish their literary works in African languages (see Chapter Three).

These writers assert that they no more want to write for specific linguistic communities. Writing is no more a way of conveying a certain message or information to a particular linguistic community. It has been commercialised. In other words, writers make a living out of what they write and publish. Therefore, writers choose to write or publish their work in language(s) that will reach a wider client readership and thus, a fortune in return. The crux of the matter is that this trend, of writing and publishing in languages of wider communication or prestigious languages, seriously impacts upon the authenticity of implementing the New Language policy since not all of the official languages are languages of wider communication.

The New Language policy cannot be regarded as a 'promotive policy' where the government would devote and or guarantee resources such as money and personnel for the practical implantation of a particular language (e.g. for purposes of instruction (Schiffman, 1996:28-29). If it were a promotive policy, the South African government would not only entrench it on paper (i.e. in the Constitution). It would also devote or guarantee financial and material resources for the successful implantation of the New Language policy (Schiffman, 1996:28). As evident from this study, the government of South Africa is said to have lack of commitment toward multilingualism in this country.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

On a final note, this research has shown that the government's policy initiatives are sometimes in conflict with the interests of the mass population. This undermines the legitimacy of public policies. The New Language policy of South Africa is least favoured and appropriate, especially with regard to African languages as media of instruction, in South African public schools predominantly attended by Blacks. Language Attitude Surveys, that is, empirical studies, including the Gaopalelwe secondary school linguistic survey, have indicated that teaching and learning through African languages is not plausible to either students, teachers or most parents of the Black South African community since time in memoria.

Moreover, through informal interviews it could be realised that both current and future Black parents have no intention of sending their children to schools that employ African languages as media of instruction. Therefore, there is no reason to put on paper, let alone in effect, a policy, which seems highly unworkable and not appreciated by the very people it is supposed to appease. The empirical study of social issues is a factor to reckon with in formulating public policies.

Political rhetoric sometimes impedes the implementation of public policies. From a political plane, the New Language policy is correct. Amongst other things, it technically addresses individual and collective linguistic rights to a certain extent. Unlike the previous bilingual policy, the new multilingual policy recognises and includes nine African linguistic communities, which were marginalised in the past. Moreover, it, technically, promotes multilingualism and the development of African languages. However, it is largely undermined by its practical implications. African languages are not only underdeveloped, but there is a dearth of instructional resources and materials in African languages.

The incompetence of the South African government to provide the infrastructure and other necessary educational elements to enhance the use of African languages as media of instruction, further, exacerbates the failure of the New Language policy.

The government also fails to support PANSALB, the policy instrument, in its attempt to pursue the goals of the New Language policy, that is, multilingualism, linguistic rights and the development of African languages. As a result, therefore, the New Language policy is doomed to fail. It can be discerned from the New Language policy that even the most elaborately formulated language policy can have very little value, if that policy does not apply in practice.

Finally, the definition of linguistic policies should refer to the way in which such linguistic policies are shaped and most importantly how they are implemented, inter alia, through aspects like the medium of instruction and the language subjects available in institutions of learning. This does not preclude the human resources, that is, the personnel which, is available for the purposes of teaching, through a particular language. It also takes into account the material resources, that is, the manufacturing and publishing of textbooks and other instructional elements available in a particular medium of instruction. What is more, the linguistic attitudes of the people directly affected by particular linguistic policies must be considered when such policies are formulated and implemented.

Recommendations

Recommendation One: Uniform Medium of Instruction

As the New Language policy does not seem to be implementable, unambiguous and plausible with regard to medium of instruction, there must be a clear-cut and uniform language policy, which states without any ambiguity, the language to be used for learning and teaching through all levels of education. Mother tongue instruction policy must begin at grade one and end at grade four. Afterwards, one language must serve the purpose of instruction. In South Africa, the language that is presently appropriate for learning and teaching in predominantly African public schools is English. Therefore, as a linguistic policy the South African government should plainly stipulate and implement English as a medium of instruction.

There is already an abundance of instructional resources in English (Brown, 1997:2). For instance, in English, there are textbooks for each school subject at all levels of the

education system. Thus, the costs of translating, inter alia, Science, Mathematics and Commerce textbooks to other languages will be averted. Moreover, all teachers in predominantly Black public schools have acquired their education and training through English. Therefore, English as the sole medium of instruction will not only make the language policy more cost-effective and practicable but also clear-cut.

In similar vein, many Language Attitude Surveys have also indicated that English is the most favoured language in relation to the issue of medium of instruction, especially amongst Blacks in South Africa. This can be attributed to the significant linguistic roles that English plays in this country. It does not only give Blacks access to the international community but, it also gives them access to tertiary education and the abundant information that is mostly available in English.

Most importantly it is a neutral language amongst the linguistically diverse South African community. Therefore, it has the potential of avoiding ethnic cleavages that might be caused by the use of a particular African language(s) over others. Beyond that, it facilitates communication and understanding amongst various linguistic communities, especially in the schools of South Africa.

Most linguistic surveys indicate that most Blacks prefer the use of English as their language of learning and teaching. This carries strong connotations of linguistic rights. The government is for the people and it must respond to the needs of the people. If the people need English to serve the purpose of instruction, the government must recognise, respect and grant them these rights both in principle (that is legal stipulations) and in practice. This gives meaning to any action (or inaction) taken by the government for its constituency.

However, there might still be some political challenges to a uniform language policy for medium of instruction. Some people would also argue that the performance of second language English-speakers scale down if English is used as the only medium of instruction. This assertion has been disproved by the "St Lambert Experiment" in Quebec. In this experiment, twenty six English speaking children without any French experience were exclusively taught in French whilst others were taught in English (NEPI, 1993:186).

The most significant part of it is that at the end of the fourth grade, the performance of the experimental class, that is English speakers taught through French, was found to be the same as that of the control class, that is English speakers taught through English. Similarly, African-language-speakers can perform well in the education system no matter which language is being used as a medium of instruction. However, this should be a language they choose themselves because they will be motivated to learn and teach through it.

There may be some concern about the meaning, existence and status of other languages, including official languages, in the realm of education. Some members of other linguistic communities would argue that a uniform language policy advocates for the death and oppression of the languages not used as media of instruction. This should be of less concern since other languages, especially those that are not appropriate to serve the purpose of instruction at higher levels of education, can effectively be taught as subjects throughout the education system. Hence, multilingualism in education can be safeguarded.

Recommendation Two: Other languages as taught subjects

In this respect of languages as taught-subjects, all eleven languages including the Sign Language can be offered as school subjects in South Africa. African languages have long been taught as subjects in Black public schools. What is more, at least, one or two of these languages have been and are still taught as subjects at one or two of the tertiary institutions around the country. By way of example, the University of Cape Town offers English; Afrikaans; IsiXhosa and SeSotho, as subjects and the University of North West offers, inter alia, Setswana as a subject. This does not only ensure qualified teachers or practitioners for the above stated languages, including other official languages, it also ensures the recognition and existence of such languages.

Recommendation Three: Determining the medium of instruction

Even though it has been suggested that English should be the medium of instruction (especially after grade four) and that other languages should be taught as subjects in

Black public schools. This should not convey the imposition of the linguistic policy. The people, especially students and teachers, must be actively involved in the formulation of linguistic policies in education. Therefore, schools must determine the linguistic policies in education. In the first place, each school must determine its own linguistic policies. Thereafter, the policy decisions of all the schools in the country must be jointly used to determine the national linguistic policies.

In both cases the democratic principle of majority rule should be effectively employed. This simply means that the medium of instruction will be determined through the votes of the people directly affected. Hence, the language that has the highest votes should be the medium of instruction. By way of example, the Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey has indicated that approximately 90% of Gaopalelwe's students and teachers prefer the use of English as the medium of instruction. Thus, English with the highest vote must be the medium of instruction.

The few students and teachers who did not choose English, in the case of Gaopalelwe secondary school, must comply with the decision of the majority.

Recommendation Four: Linguistic Education

Both the majorities and minorities must be educated and made aware of the ramifications of their linguistic choices. It is quintessential that South Africans are informed about the potential nature of language to divide and build the society. Moreover, South Africans must be enlightened of the economic implications of their linguistic policy choices. They must be alert of their government's economic capacity to implement the policies that serve the interests of the community and not the government.

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APPENDIX 1.

Linguistic Survey Questionnaires 1998/1999

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. Do you want to be taught content subjects, like *Accounting, Economics, Mathematics, Physics¹, etc., in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

2. Do you think text-books for these subjects in Setswana are appropriate?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

3. Do you actually have text-books for these subjects in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

4. Would you like your teachers to teach these subjects in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

5. Which of these languages do you think should be used for the purpose of teaching and learning in South African schools?

- * Setswana ()
- * English ()
- * Afrikaans ()
- * Other (), specify

Comments:

6. Do you like to read and write in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

7. Do you think that class-sessions should be conducted in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

¹ * Subjects under question

8. Are you aware that Setswana is one of the Eleven (plus) official languages?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

9. Do you know that you have the right to be taught in Setswana?

Yes () No () Comments

10. How comfortable are you in being taught and examined in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS

1. Do you want to teach content subjects, like Accounting, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, etc., in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

2. Do you believe that communication in Setswana in teaching these subjects is appropriate?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

3. In which of these languages were you schooled and educated?

- * Setswana
- * English
- * Afrikaans
- * Other, specify.....

Comments:

4. Would you like to use the same language(s) to teach?

Yes () No ()

Comments

5. Students' conceptual understanding is faster and better when you teach or explain some issues in Setswana.

Yes () No ()

Comments

6. Are there enough teachers who can teach through Setswana in your school or any other school?

Yes () No ()

Comments

7. Do you think there are adequate instructional materials in Setswana?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

8. Do you think students need to be taught in Setswana for them to produce better results?

Yes () No ()

Comments

9. Would you consider re-training programs for the purpose of using Setswana as a medium of instruction?

Yes () No ()

Comments

10. How important is the use of Setswana as medium of instruction?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

11. How important of a resource is Setswana for students after matric?

Yes () No ()

Comments:

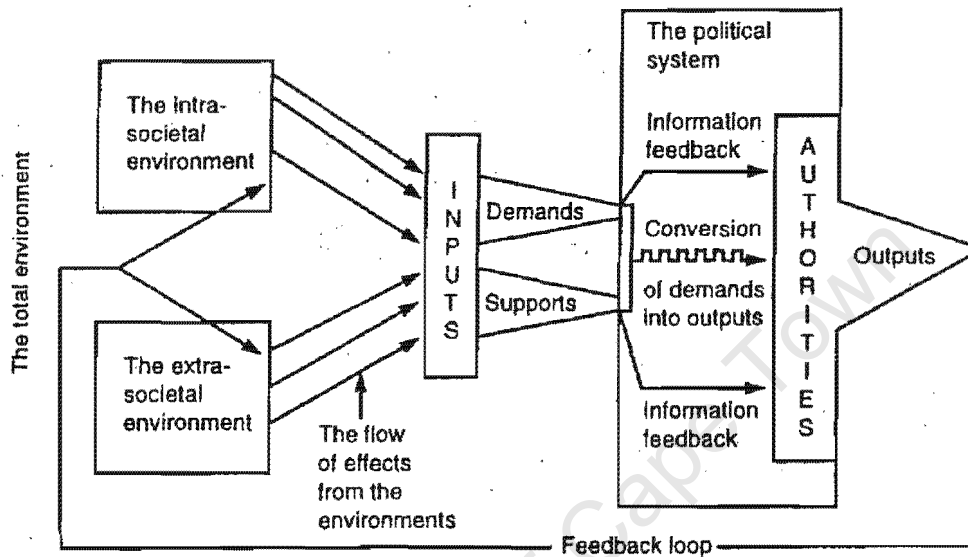
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APPENDIX 2

FIGURES.

Figure 1. The Eastonian “Conversion Box” Model

Figure 1.2 The Eastonian ‘black box’ model



Notes:

The Intra-societal environment:

- Ecological system
- Biological system
- Personality system
- Social system

The extra-societal environment

- international political system
- international ecological system
- international social system

Source: Adapted from Easton (1965: 30) and Parsons (1995: 23).

Figure 2: Roles of a Resourceful Language in South Africa

- South Africa needs a language that will serve as a medium of instruction and which simultaneously,
- Cuts across ethnic and racial linguistic boundaries.
- Such language will play a crucial role in creating a nationalistic spirit that leads to nation building.
- It must not handicap the communication of South Africans with the rest of the world thus,
- South Africa needs a lingua franca, that is a common language used by different linguistic communities that have no comprehension of the other linguistic community's mother tongue. Moreover, that language must serve the purpose of wider communication, that is give South Africans access to the international arena.
- The language which is to be implemented as medium of instruction must address future linguistic challenges facing students, for an example, tertiary education predominantly conducted in English.
- It must also enhance comprehension of parliamentary speeches and documents, including the affairs of public administration.
- A resourceful language must meet the demands of Business and Commerce
- And it must meet the demands of Science and Technology

Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey, 1998/1999 and "English, the Constitution and South Africa's Language Future," Titlestad (1954).

Figure 3: The impact of the Political Agenda on the Public Agenda

- Government's vague
Linguistic legislation
 - Political manoeuvres and
Mass media attention
 - Public interest aroused
And mobilised
 - Public pressure for the
Enactment of legislation
 - Inability of government to
Enact policy
 - The public's disillusionment
 - The public's reaction

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APPENDIX 3

TABLES

Table 1: Book and Pamphlet Production by Language, 1992 and 1993: Titles (excluding reprints)

Language	<u>1992</u>		<u>1993</u>		Percentage of Population
	Titles	% of Titles	Titles	% of Titles	
Zulu	74	1.56	96	2.06	21.61
Xhosa	65	1.37	92	1.98	17.44
Afrikaans	1581	33.36	1519	32.66	15.66
English	2415	50.97	2429	52.22	8.68
All African*	374	7.89	490	10.54	73.40
O L	368	7.77	316	6.79	2.26
Total	4738	100.00	4651	100.00	100.00

Notes: *Including Zulu and Xhosa

! O L means Other Languages. It includes bilingual, multilingual, and undefined language titles

Source: "Collection development in public libraries in South Africa: New library and language policies," (Nassimbeni, 1995).

Table 2: Books Added to Stock of Cape Provincial Library Services (CPLS), in 1991

Language	Titles	% of Titles	Copies	% of Copies
Afrikaans	1089	14.69	246,421	41.18
English	6142	82.85	340,370	56.88
Xhosa	56	0.75	9457	1.58
Tswana	38	0.51	1026	0.17
Sotho	23	0.31	267	0.04
Zulu	65	0.88	816	0.14
Total	7413	100.00	598.357	100.00

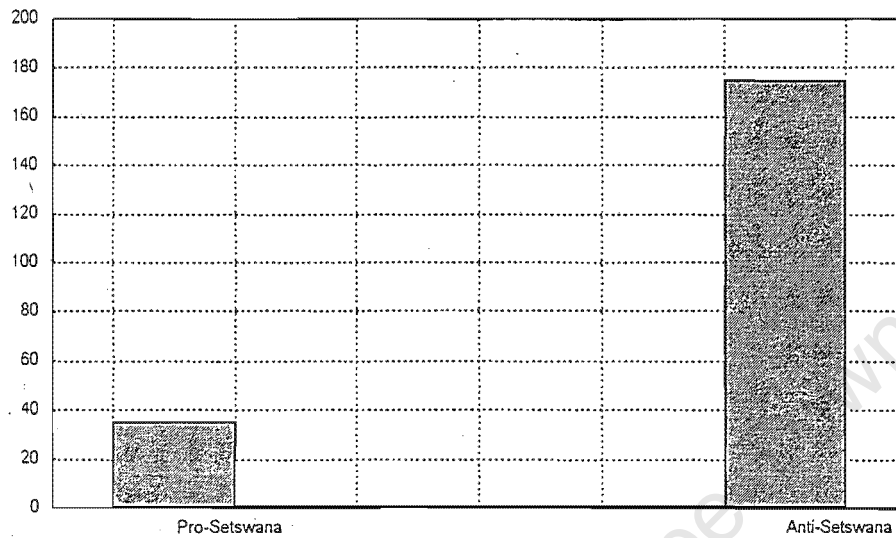
Note: The figures include new and additional copy titles.

Source: "Books for Africa: A supply and demand overview," (Gertz, 1992)

APPENDIX 4.

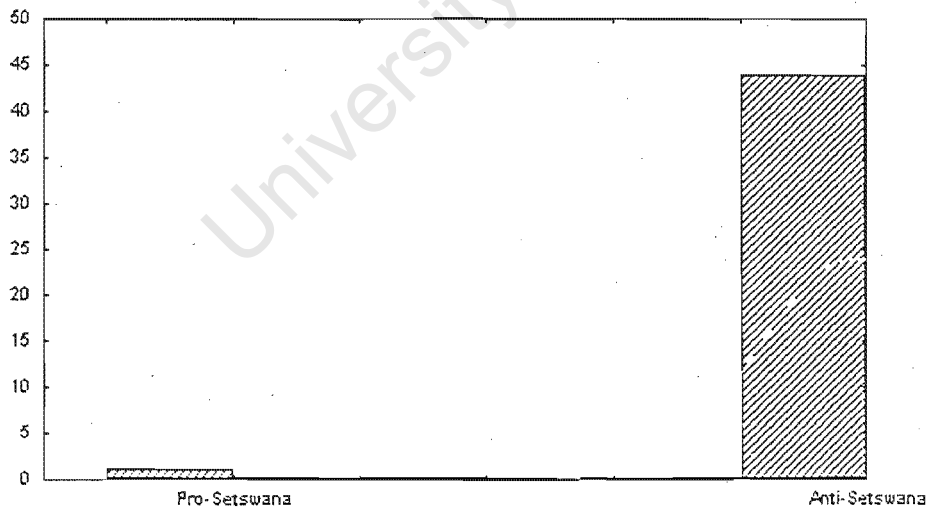
DIAGRAMS

Diagram 1: Students' Response to Setswana as media of instruction



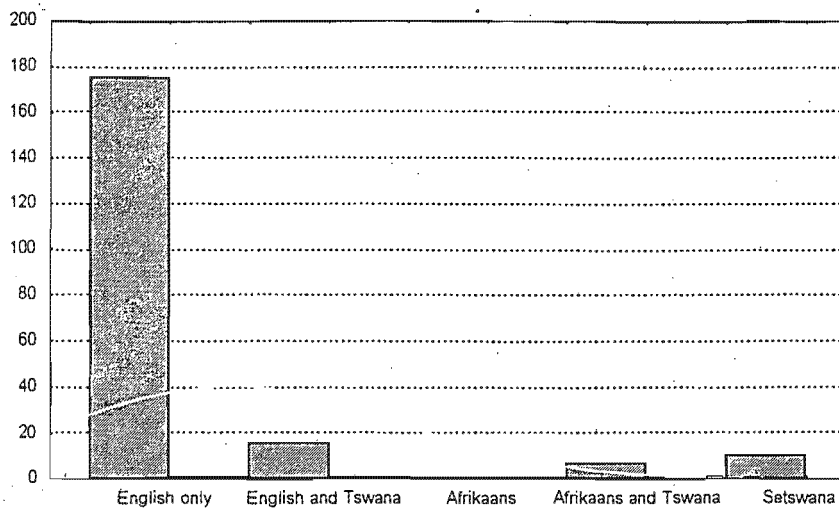
Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Diagram 2. Teachers' response to Setswana as a medium of instruction.



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999).

Diagram 3: Students' preferred language for instruction purposes



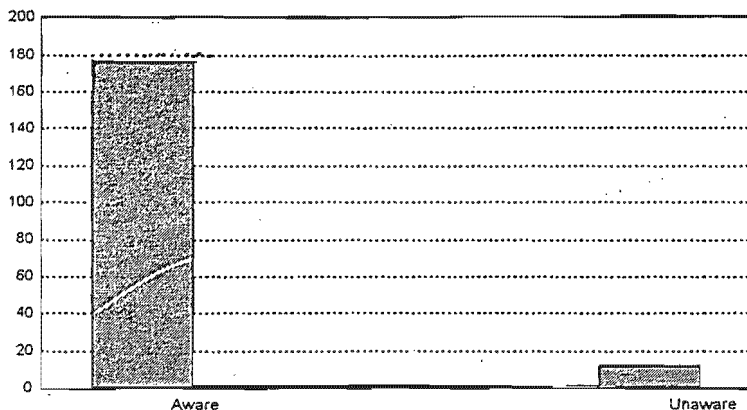
Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Diagram 4: The Teachers' preferred medium of instruction



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Diagram 5: Students' Linguistic Awareness



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey (1998/1999)

Diagram 6: Students' determination to exercise their linguistic rights



Source: Gaopalelwe Linguistic Survey, 1998/1999.