Negotiating bilingual identities in selected homes and schools in the Belhar community

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Key Words

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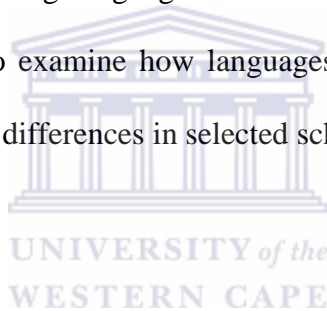
Belhar

Code-switching

Code-mixing

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Abstract

Negotiating bilingual identities in selected homes and schools in the Belhar community

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The study explores the negotiation of identities through linguistic innovations such as code-switching, code-mixing and differing language choices in different domains of home and school in Belhar. The focus is to examine how languages are used to negotiate class, age, generational, socio-economic, etc differences in selected schools and homes in the community of Belhar.

The specific study objectives include the following:

1. To find out the linguistic options and identities (including hybrid identities), that are available to the Belhar community.

2. To explore how Afrikaans and English (and other languages) are used as linguistic resources in the community of Belhar.

The Belvue Primary school was used as a vehicle to gain access to the families in Belhar which were used as case studies. The data was collected by observing learners in the classroom, interviewing educators, interviewing parents and observing linguistic practices in the homes/families of selected learners.

Using poststructuralist coupled with the social constructionist approach the study is a clear departure from studies and paradigms current in vogue in South Africa, which have linked language and ethnic identity in unambiguous ways. These paradigms also see ethnic identity as fixed and communities as homogenous and language as having a one-to-one correlation with identity. However, these studies do not consider that identities are constructed and negotiated during interaction with others. In this regard it was found that individuals in the community of Belhar constantly construct and negotiate identity using language as central to the identity behaviour. Thus ultimately their language and identity cannot be described as pro-English or pro-Afrikaans.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of study

Historical accounts of language and education are inherently political. During the apartheid regime, there was a division amongst races, causing them to be linguistically zoned. Whites, Indians and Coloureds were educated in one of the two official languages, English or Afrikaans. Thus it can be argued that it was assumed that the individuals in the "coloured" community had only one mother tongue with one fixed identity.

It can be said that under apartheid there was an attempt to assign all South Africans singular identities based in many cases on biological race and ethnicity. Each ethnic group was prescribed its own language and its own community. This was done under several laws. Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No 55 of 1949, Immorality Amendment Act No 21 of 1950, Bantu Authorities Act, Act No 68 of 1951 and the notorious Group Areas Act 41 of 1950. The Group Areas Act No 41 was meant to ensure the 'physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races.' (http://africanhistory.about.com/library/bl/blsalaws.htm)

It can be argued that assigning of identities still goes on under several guises, such in official government statistics ostensibly meant to ensure parity. However, people do not have to be confined to using languages that have been designated for different racial groups.

Communities previously marginalised by the Apartheid government, like the "coloured" community of the Western Cape, now seek socio-economic empowerment under a new democratic government. Like other racial groups, many in the "coloured" community see English as the vehicle for socio-economic mobility (cf. Plüddemann et al, 2004).

English has been seen by South Africans as the language of global communication and economical power, while until recently Afrikaans used to be the language of the state and ruling party. Of the population who do not consider themselves as "black/African", approximately 38% are said to be English first language speakers and 60% are Afrikaans first language speakers. However, the majority of Afrikaans speakers do not consider themselves as white people, and were classified as "coloured" people by the apartheid regime (Stoops, 1995: 22-23).

Most of the so called "coloured" people are found in the Western and Northern Cape Provinces, are officially classified in monolingual terms as Afrikaans L1 speakers (cf. Banda, 2009). As a consequence of rezoning of areas such as Goodwood, District Six and certain areas in Stellenbosch, during the apartheid regime, people classified as "coloured" were removed from these areas. These so called "coloured" people now find themselves living on the Cape Flats in the Western Cape (McCormick, 2002).
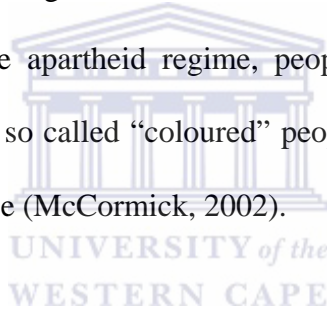
Plüddemann et al (2004) note that their most significant finding is that there is a language shift in the wider Cape metropolitan area from Afrikaans to English and that there is possible decline in the use of Afrikaans as a public language. However, Plüddemann's study mostly focuses on the medium of instruction and therefore neglected to look at other domains of language. There is also an assumption that the "coloured" community is an homogenous community with a single Afrikaans based "coloured" identity. However the thesis questions the basis of this monolingual/monocultural assumption of the "coloured" community and identity.

Therefore using the Belhar community on the Cape Flats as backdrop, this thesis explores the domains of Afrikaans and English language use with the view to finding out how "coloured"

people signal different identity options in different contexts using the linguistic repertoire at their disposal. Whether there is a language shift or a diglossic situation is important but is not really the focus of this study. What is undisputable is that in the Western Cape, both Afrikaans and English are used. What is not often clear is how the two languages are used to perform different functions in different domains, including marking different identity options.

1.2 Statement of the problem and Motivation

A personal observation at a primary school sparked the interest in the topic of language shift. When the school was established, it operated with a system of parallel medium of instruction (MoI), having almost equal amount of learners in English MoI classes and Afrikaans as MoI classes. However, the school has now experienced a drastic shift towards enrolment for English as MoI, showing a decline in the amount of learners in the Afrikaans MoI classes. A question of motivation for this choice of parents, identity and self identity came to mind.
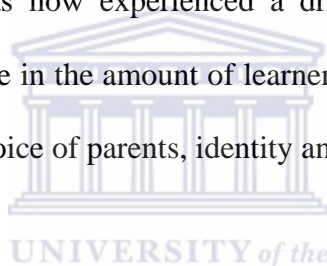
The sociolinguistic character of South Africa is very complex and is highly politicised. English and Afrikaans were the only official languages during the apartheid era. As a result, Afrikaans was considered, even by some "coloured" speakers, to be the language of the oppressors, while English has always been seen as a global language and as a means of economic empowerment (Plüddemann et al, 2004). Both "black" and "coloured" communities were marginalised by the inferior education system of the apartheid regime where the "mother tongue" was used as medium of instruction. Thus "mother tongue" education, in the "black" community in particular, came to be associated with mediocrity and was regarded as "gutter" education (Banda, 2004). It is not surprising that in post apartheid South Africa, a drastic shift to English as medium of instruction has been observed in both "black" and "coloured" communities (Plüddemann et al, 2004). However, it is not clear whether this shift to English in the school domain means a shift in other domains of language use.

In the Western Cape "coloured" community, English is currently given a higher status than Afrikaans (Dyers, 2003). Afrikaans spoken as home language is usually Kaapse Afrikaans, a variety of Afrikaans, morpho-phonologically and syntactically quite unlike the standard Afrikaans used in education. Despite this status given to English, Dyers (2003) maintains that the power of Afrikaans still prevails in the Western Cape. However this power of Afrikaans does not quite correlate with what has been observed in many "coloured" schools in the Western Cape. It is also not clear in which domains the power of Afrikaans is felt most.

Generally in the Western Cape, a decline in enrolment for Afrikaans as medium of instruction has been observed and the demand for English as medium of instruction has increased (Plüddemann et al, 2004). As a result of this many schools now have very few learners in Afrikaans medium classes and some former Afrikaans schools have only English as medium of instruction. It is this phenomenon that has been equated to a language shift. However, has the language shift occurred in all domains in the community or only in the domain of education? Even in the education domain, has the language shifted, or is it that teachers have switched to English, the other language in their repertoire and spoken by people in the "coloured" community with varying degrees of proficiency? Here it has to be noted that in the majority of cases, the teachers who used to teach in Afrikaans are the same teaching in English (Banda, 2009).

However, there is no denying that in Belhar (the site of the study) and its surrounding areas, although English is spoken, Afrikaans has always been perceived as the dominant language. The members of this community are from diverse socio-economic, religious and cultural backgrounds. More importantly it is a community made up of people who were forcefully removed from their original communities which were located all over the Western Cape and surrounding areas, that is from Bo-Kaap, District Six, Goodwood and some rural areas such

as Vredendal, Worcester and Stellenbosch (McCormick, 2002). Belhar is thus a good representation of the "coloured" population of the Western Cape.

What is salient is that most of the previous socio-linguistic studies would claim that Belhar coloureds are either Afrikaans or English speakers and ignore nuances of language use and constructions of social identities in certain contexts. The problem is that coloured speakers are described as 'either … or' when in reality they use both languages as linguistic resources to signal different identities in different social contexts some of which could signal age, gender, status and other social roles (Banda, 2009).

Ultimately, the problem is not really about language shift or diglossia: the thesis uses the notions of language shift and diglossia are used as points of departure in the study of how bilingualism is manifested through linguistic choices in different contexts, and hence how identities including hybrid identities are manifested and negotiated in Belhar. In this idiom, this study sees bilingualism as performative and exercised in different contexts as social practice (cf. Heller, 2007). It would also be interesting to find out how ethnicity, race, socio-economic class, gender, age and generational difference are played out in relation to language use.

1.3 Research Questions

The research focuses on the following questions:

- How is bilingualism performed in the community of Belhar?

- How is Afrikaans and English (and other languages) used as linguistic resources in the community of Belhar?

- What linguistic options and identities (including hybrid identities) are available to the Belhar community?

- How are different identities negotiated in Belhar in the face of English and Afrikaans linguistic options?

These questions are reduced to one: How is language used to negotiate class, age, generational, socio-economic, etc differences in the community of Belhar?

These research questions are based on the following assumptions:

- The relationship between language and ethnic identity is tenuous is not one-to-one.

- Social communities are not homogenous.

- In bilingual communities, speakers use different languages in their repertoires for different purposes and to signal different identity options.

- Languages are not autonomous and bounded systems and that the presence of one language does not necessarily negate the other.

(See Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Widdicombe, 1994 for similar assumptions)
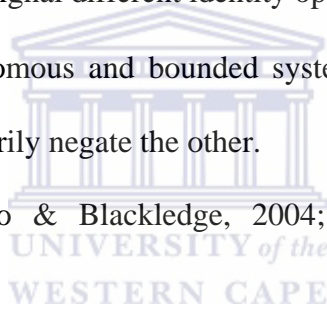
In order to answer the above research questions, the study focuses on language use in the different contexts in the home and the school domains as well as language use in the intersect of cultural, economic, political, etc spheres.

1.4 The Aim and objectives of the Study

The study explored the negotiation of identities through linguistic innovations such as code-switching, code-mixing and differing language choices in different domains. Specifically, the study is limited to the following objectives:

1. To explore the linguistic options and identities (including hybrid identities) which are available to the Belhar community.

2. To explore how Afrikaans and English (and other languages) are used as linguistic resources in the community of Belhar.

3. To investigate how different identities are negotiated in Belhar in the face of English and Afrikaans (increasingly isiXhosa) linguistic options.

4. To find out how ethnicity, race, socio-economic class, gender, age and generational difference are negotiated in relation to language use.

The study is a clear departure from studies and paradigms current in vogue in South Africa, which have linked language and ethnic identity in unambiguous ways. These paradigms also see ethnic identity as fixed and communities as homogenous and language as having a one-to-one correlation with identity. These studies do not consider construction of social identities indifferent contexts.
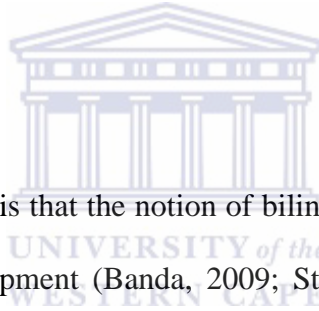
What also need to be pointed out is that the notion of bilingualism as performative and social practice is a fairly recent development (Banda, 2009; Stroud & Wee, 2006, 2007; Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Widdicombe, 1994). Rather than living a singular prescribed identity, speakers are seen as performing different identities including hybrid ones using their linguistic repertoires depending on several factors such as education, economic, cultural, etc and domains of use (such as work vs home vs. church/mosque vs. school, etc). For instance, it is not uncommon for a Muslim "coloured" to use Arabic for prayer at a mosque, Kaapse Afrikaans to neighbours, *suiwer* Afrikaans ('white' or standard Afrikaans) to a white colleague and standard English to another colleague at work. This will be elaborated further on in herein.

1.5 Theoretical and Analytical Framework

The four paradigms that have been used to study language and identity have been described as sociopsychological, interactional linguistics, poststructualist and social interactionalist approaches (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). Paradigms that explore the relationship between language and ethnic identity as a way to locate the framework was reviewed and adopted in this study.

1.6 Research Design and Methodology

1.5.0 Introduction

The design of this research is largely based on qualitative methods. The approach to the research design is informed by the interpretive approach as proposed by Terre Blanche and Kelly (2002:123-125). Therefore the instruments used are mainly observations and interviews.
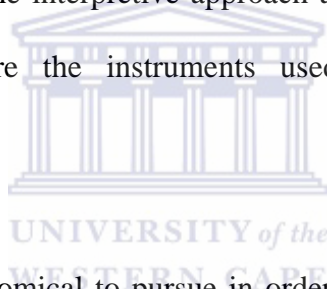
Case studies were the most economical to pursue in order to explore the social phenomena such as code-switching and negotiation and construction of identities. A selection procedure for the cases was done via the schooling system by observing the kinds of interaction, language(s) used and generally and multilingual practices in the classroom and playgrounds.

Interviews with the school principal and educators were conducted on language use in the schools in addition to classroom observations. Secondly cases, for the study was selected from learners. Finally home visits were carried out in order to conduct interviews with the parents as well as to observe interactions and language use amongst family members. Thus case studies were established.

1.6.1 Interview with Principal

An appointment was made to interview the principal of Belvue Primary school. As Belvue Primary is well represented of cultural as well as the socio-economic diversity of the Belhar community, it was most cost effective to focus on this school only. This was vital in establishing how Afrikaans and English are used in different domains. Requests were also made to view records of admission to the school over the period from 1995 to 2005. This was to determine whether there have been changes in officially ascribed identities through differing languages of instruction.

1.6.2 Interview with educators and classroom observations

To reaffirm the different contexts of language use, interviews with two grade 7 educators were arranged. The decision to interview Grade 7 educators was influenced by the fact that their learners have come to the end of their primary school term and should by now display bilingual behaviour even if they were monolingual in the early years of education. Their classrooms were visited in order to observe the language(s) used when learners interact with each other and the educators. For instance, it was interesting how language is used to negotiate identities for group affiliation, i.e. how the learners' reconfigure their linguistic repertoire in order belong to group.

1.6.3 Interview with parents

Interviews were conducted with selected parents to establish their motivation for choosing English or Afrikaans as a medium of instruction for their children. Another important aspect of the interview was the establishment of the language used by the parents and the grandparents of the learners as a way to determine differences in generational language use, and the contexts in which different languages are used. These interviews then formed part of the case study.

1.6.4 Home visits and observations

The home visits were an additional part of the case study. This was a good opportunity to observe the language used by the learners at home with their neighbours, siblings and other family members like grandparents. This also enabled observation of age, gender, generation, etc, -based language use in different contexts of home. What was also important in these observations was establish whether their languages used in the homes correlated with the languages used in different contexts at school, and the kinds of identities performed.

1.7 Outline of chapters

Chapters:

1. Introduction to the study: This concentrates on the background and aim of the study.

2. Literature review: It starts with an exposition of the sociolinguistic situation and language use in education and society in South Africa.

3. Theoretical and analytical framework: The chapter reviews the concepts and terminology used in the study such as bilingualism, language shift and diglossia. These concepts provide a background to the theoretical and analytical framework for the study. It also locates the proposed study in the four paradigms which have been used to study language and identity: viz: the sociopsychological, interactional linguistics, poststructuralist and social interactionalist approaches are discussed.

4. Research methodology: The chapter describes the research methodology used in the study. It also discusses the approach which informed the research design, such as observations and interviews which form part of an ethnographical study and the procedure of the case selections.

5. Findings: This chapter a reports on the findings. Data collected at the school and in the homes is displayed in this chapter.

6. Discussion: The chapter relates findings to themes developed in the literature review to explore and provide heuristic value.

7. Conclusion: The chapter strings together all the important points of the research. It points out how no single theory could be applied to the community. Most importantly it brings together the understanding of how language is appropriated to negotiate and enact identity.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review will follow the sequence in which the study progressed. It will commence with a discussion of the language in education situation in South Africa. This will then be followed by contextualising the notion of identity.

2.1 Language and Education

Historical accounts of language and education in South Africa are inherently political. During the Apartheid Regime, there was a division among races, causing them to be linguistically zoned. "Whites", "Coloureds" and "Indians" were educated in the two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans. If their prescribed home language was English, Afrikaans was taught as a second language and vice versa. "Black" children were educated in their mother tongue for the first the four years of their schooling, followed by English as medium of instruction (MoI) (Murray, 2002: 434-439). At this point it correlates well with the views of Nanaban (1981) who relates that when a child enters school, emphasis is placed on the cognition of the child. Teaching him various subjects develops the child's world view. More importantly, it is the language of this period that lay the foundation of an individual's world view. According to a weaker version of a so called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the language we use has an influence on our way of perceiving the world, because language is a codification of the world and the realities perceived by the people. Thus when educators pass information on to learners in a language they already know, the information would be best understood by the learners.

However, prior to the 1994 elections, a large number of "Black" learners moved to "Indian" and "White" schools. At these schools English was the MoI. Learners could only be admitted to the school after successfully completing a language test (Murray, 2002: 434-439). After the

new government was elected in 1994, the Department of Education proposed a 'multilingual' policy in which 'no language must be introduced at the expense of another' (Department of Education, 1995:25). At the same time admissions to schools are no longer subjected to language tests and in terms of the Schools Act (1996), the choice of language as MoI is up to that of the learner.

The situation whereby learners had a choice with regard to MoI, led to an increase in enrolment for English as MoI. This phenomenon is precisely what inspired Probyn (2001) to conduct research at ex-DET secondary schools in Cape Town. She found that learners do not have the English language skills to cope with learning through the medium of English and therefore educators resort to giving students simplified notes. Educators simply do what they can in a difficult, if not impossible situation. Although English is supposed to be the MoI, the actual language use in the classroom is a mixture of English and Xhosa. The MoI thus act in varying degrees as a barrier to effective learning.
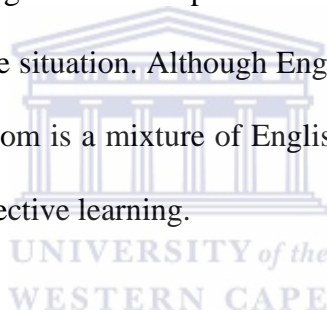
Although, there seem to be a barrier to effective learning with English as MoI, parents are still motivated to place their children in English MoI classes. De Klerk (2002) gives the following as motives or reasons as to why Xhosa L1 parent opt for English as MoI noted by:

- The need for a better education and vital to educational success

- English as an important international language

- English as a language for job opportunities

- English as a prestige language

- The children would gain certain social advantage

Heugh (2000 and 2002) contradicts this view and claims that it is a myth that parents want straight English for their children's education. She indicates that it is possible to maintain English as MoI alongside the home language. This evidence she draws from a Pan South

African Language Board (PANSALB) survey which indicated that 88% of people favoured the maintenance of home language alongside English throughout education. However, in the same PANSALB report, which indicates support for languages other than English, it is evident that English still comes out as the most popular language of choice.

Table1 Support for languages other than English

Afrikaans	11.5%
English	42.9%
African Languages	34.4%
A combination of official languages	9.5%

Heugh (2002) indicates, as in table 1 above, the high degree of support for other languages, but fail to acknowledge that English is still the most popular language choice for education. The problem with Heugh (2002) and others are that they view language as autonomous systems, which have to be kept apart when in reality students use different code combinations of English and isiXhosa or English and Afrikaans to explain or discuss academic ideas.

However, the monolingual bias that characterizes South African studies on language in education and society is crystallized in Vivian De Klerk's (2000) article: 'To be Xhosa or not to be Xhosa… That is the question'. The implication is that parents' choice of English necessarily negates the use of Xhosa in all domains. De Klerk (2000) projects a psycho-socio approach which assumes a one-on-one correlation between language and ethnic identity. This approach is discussed below. Suffice to say here that De Klerk (2000) implies that there is language shift among isiXhosa speakers to English monolingualism in the town of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, and that children from isiXhosa homes who go to 'white' English schools suffer from a split identity. This is clear simplification of a bilingual mind.

The notion that an individual can move between two or more linguistic groups are ignored (cf. Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Thus it is oversimplification of the notion of identity when it is seen as having a one-on-one correlation with language. The problem here is that the language contact phenomenon is always described as 'either or' and not as affiliating to both languages. Factors such as socio-cultural and economic are not taken into consideration. According to Heller (2007) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) individuals are then seen as members of homogenous, uniform and bounded ethnographic communities. In this way hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bi- and multilingual individuals are obscured.

English has been seen by South Africans as the language of the financial world and economic power, while until recently Afrikaans used to be the language of the state and the ruling party. As noted in the introduction, the majority of the people who do not consider themselves as 'black' are mainly Afrikaans speaking. Approximately 60% of this group are Afrikaans L1 speakers while only about 38% are considered to be English L1 speakers. While at the same time, the majority of Afrikaans speakers do not consider themselves as "white" people and have been classified as "coloured" by the apartheid regime (Stoops, 1995: 22-23). Plüddemann et al (2004) note that their most significant finding is that there is a language shift in the wider Cape metropolitan area from Afrikaans to English and that there is a possible decline in the use of Afrikaans as a public language. However, Plüddemann's study mainly focuses on MoI, and neglected other domains of language use. For instance, it was not designed to follow up on actual language usage in the homes.

In the Cape "coloured" communities, English is currently given a higher status than Afrikaans. Afrikaans spoken as a home language is not usually the standard Afrikaans, but a variety of Afrikaans coined by Adam Small as *Kaapse Afrikaans,* a variety not used in

education. Given the South African history of Afrikaner nationalists, most "coloured" people still have a negative attitude towards speakers of standard Afrikaans. Despite this, the power of Afrikaans still prevails in the Western Cape (Dyers, 2003). However this power does not quite correlate with what has been observed in many "coloured" schools in the Western Cape.

2.2 Contextualising Identity

2.2.0 Introduction

Language is closely linked to an individual's group or social identity. However this identity cannot be separated from the historical context in which an individual finds himself. The identity of the "Cape coloured" is far from being homogenous. Literature which places the identity of the "Cape coloured" in context, their social historical context, their identification with Afrikaans and their identification with English had to be explored.
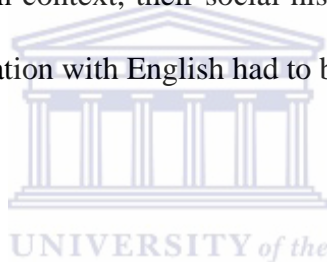
2.2.1 Social historical context

Although Banda (2009) points out that the census data is monolingually/multiligually biased, it indicated that of the vast majority of people classified as "Cape coloured" during the *apartheid era* in South Africa has Afrikaans as their mother tongue. The vast majority of this group resides in the Cape Province where 55% of the population speak Afrikaans as their first language, 23% Xhosa and 19% English (Census 2001). Most of the "Cape coloureds" are descendants of South Africa's earlier inhabitants such as the Khoi and San people as well as the union of these people with Asian and European settlers. The group also uses other languages such as Arabic (especially by the Muslim community), French and German to a lesser extent. A multilingual environment is therefore common in this community, contrary to that reflected in the census.

In this diversity of language and culture Afrikaans was developed from Cape Dutch by the "Cape coloureds" to facilitate communication (Malan, 1996:127). The Afrikaans spoken by the "Cape coloureds" have thus formed part of their identities or rather that their identity formed a crucial part of language choice as imposed by the group (Appel and Muysken, 1990:23).

Dyers (2007) highlight the role that language plays in defining identities which are recognisable to others within the same speech community. She draws on Joseph (2004) who says "…we read the identity of people of who we come in contact based on very subtle features of behaviour, among those of language are particularly central." Dyers (2007) makes it clear that the "Cape coloured' do not identify themselves with the "White Afrikaners" who share their language. A distinction is also made between the Afrikaans spoken by the "Cape Coloureds" and the "White Afrikaners". "White Afrikaners" who were identified as the oppressors during the *apartheid era* speak the standardised version of Afrikaans, while the "Cape Coloureds" their own variety of Afrikaans.

The above literature implies that the socio-historical context of the Western Cape has made available to "Coloureds" a number of identity options. Some of these options will be discussed below.

2.2.2 Identity and Afrikaans

Linguistic choices allow individuals or groups to resist identities which place them in an unfavourable position. Therefore Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) consider this a factor which influences the construction and negotiation of identities. Taking this concept into consideration, the shift from Afrikaans to English can be understood when looking at Stone's (2002) view of the Afrikaans speaking Cape Peninsula "coloured" community.

According to Kamwangamalu (2007), the "coloured" community of the Western Cape had to contend with more stigmatisation than any other "coloured" community in South Africa, including self-stigmatisation. This group had to contend with nearly three hundred years of political subordination prior to the 1994 elections which originate from the time of slavery when they were regarded as non-entities.

Kamwangamalu, links self-stigmatisation to Halliday's (1978) definition of sociolinguistic code 'as a systemic pattern of tendencies in the selection of meaning to be exchanged under specific conditions'. Stone (2002) claims that the Afrikaans spoken by the "coloured" community in the Western Cape is viewed with discontent from the inside and the outside.

Outsiders view the Afrikaans of the Cape "coloureds" as not being a pure or standard Afrikaans. Insiders view it as slang and often this Afrikaans is stigmatised as being common or vulgar Afrikaans (Stone, 2002). This Outsider vs. Insider perspectives are also important in determining the prescribed versus the performed identities.

Linking this view of Afrikaans by the insiders of the Western Cape "coloured" community to the apparent shift to English in the community of Belhar, could be a display of how the individual is an agent in searching out social and linguistic resources which allow them to resist being identified with a marginalised or a negatively identified group. Thus it can be investigated whether these agents (the Belhar community) make the link between language, resources and identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Small who coined the Afrikaans spoken by the "coloured" community, as *Kaapse Afrikaans*, looks at it as a homogenous dialect of Afrikaans and does not take into consideration that

there are different classes within the "coloured" community with a variety of lexicogrammatical codes (c.f. Dyers, 2003). Contrary to this image, Stone (2002) classifies the different dialects of the Western Cape, Afrikaans speaking "coloured" community and how it is linked to class and status. He looks at the lexicon as consisting of a hierarchy of four lexicogrammatical codes, signifying the enactment of four corresponding identities namely *respectable, disreputable, delinquent and outcast codes*.

2.2.3 Identity and English

The manner in which the "coloured" community identifies with English cannot be separated from the socio-historical context in which this community finds itself. A better understanding of the identification of this community with English can be explained in the same manner by which Kamwangamalu (2007) uses Gumprez's (1982) *we-* and *they* code to explain the view of the non-native speakers of English. Kamwangamalu (2007) starts his explanation from the pre-apartheid era, moving through the apartheid era and then the current post-apartheid era. In doing so, he places the use of a English in a socio-historical context in South Africa.

During the pre-apartheid era the Cape was occupied by the colonisers who were white British descendants, Afrikaners (Dutch descendants) and the people of mixed race ("coloureds"). The two latter groups were the colonised. The colonisers, i.e viewed English as a *we-code* while the colonised viewed it as a they code. Although Afrikaners viewed English as the language of the oppressor and "coloureds" did not share the same view, both groups perceived English as instrument of domination. Thus English was viewed by both the latter groups as a *they-code* (Kamwangamalu, 2007).

As a result of the struggle during the apartheid era, English underwent a change in identity from a *they-code* to an ideological *we-code*. This ideological *we-code* was initiated by

liberations movements such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Communist Party, and the Pan African Congress (PAC) amongst others. The movements used the medium of English to keep the international community informed as to the happenings in the country (Kamwangamalu, 2007).

In this post-apartheid period English is perceived as a neutral language. Kamwangamalu (2007) uses this notion of the pragmatic *we-code* to refer to this presumed identity of English. The use of English as a pragmatic *we-code* is evident in the pattern of language use in parliament, the media and in the conduct of business, where English generally serves as the sole medium of communication. English is therefore the language of the institutions. Thus English is viewed by both the dominant and subordinate groups as a superior language (Bourdieu, 1997). The subordinate group therefore strive to become proficient in English as it is seen as a resource to social-economic upward mobility. However, this assumed superiority of English places it in a hegemonic position.
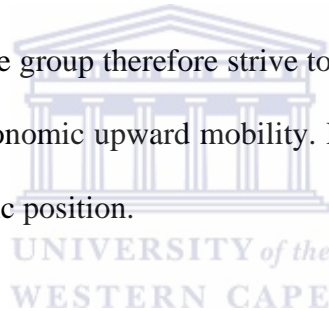
3. THEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The "Cape coloured" community finds itself in a multilingual context to various degrees in proficiency and in the use of different languages. It was therefore essential to firstly discuss the existing theoretical concepts of language shift, bilingualism and diglossia. Secondly, the notion of identity in the multilingual context should be understood in order to explore paradigms to study language use as linked to identity.

The four paradigms, also referred to as approaches have been used to study language use as been described as socio-psychological, interactional sociolinguistics, poststructuralist and social interactionist approach (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Paradigms that explore the relationship between language and ethnic identity as a way to locate the framework of the study have been reviewed.
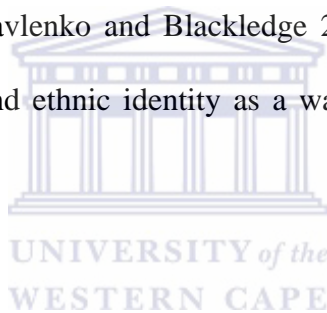
3.1 Theoretical concepts

The discussion of the theoretical concept follows a particular order because it displays an initial perception of a language situation to deeper level of understanding of the situation. Firstly, when it is observed that the dominant language used in a community have changed in a particular domain, it could be assumed that a language shift has occurred. Secondly, this shift could not happen unless a situation of bilingualism is preceded by it. The discussion on diglossia follows as to show how bilingual use of language develops. Also the theory of diglossia facilitates a point of departure from where the concept of changing language use in a particular domain can be understood. The choice or switching of language in a particular domain can then be connected to constructing and negotiating identities using the languages in a speaker's repertoire as a resource.

3.1.1 Language shift

A language shift occurs when a community of speakers who share a particular language deliberately and collectively choose to speak another language. Economic, political, social, cultural and technological changes often affect language, directly or indirectly and therefore influence a conscious language shift (Baker, 1996:42). Plüddemann et al (2004) assume that as a consequence of a shift in political power, an apparent language shift from Afrikaans or isiXhosa to English has occurred. They point to the negative attitude towards Afrikaans and Xhosa and recommend campaigns to change these negative attitudes. However, they seem oblivious to the fact that people consciously choose to speak a particular language in a particular domain. Plüddemann et al (2004) and others such as Alexander (2005) and Heugh (2005) do not consider that bilingual speakers drift from on language, to "mix" of languages and to another language in their repertoire depending on domain, topic and social factors (cf. Fergusson, 1982; Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1996).
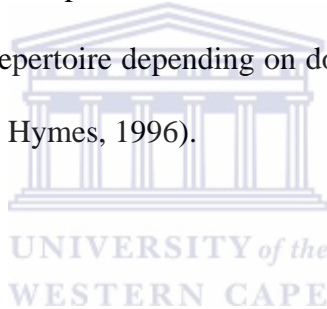
3.1.2 Bilingualism

Bilingualism is a multifaceted phenomenon at both an individual or societal level. This is why it is sometimes difficult to clearly define it since there are no clear boundaries in which to define it. Hoffman (1991:14-23) suggests that bilingualism should rather be described than defined as it is open to a variety of descriptions, interpretations and definitions. However, Mackey (2000) argues that bilingualism is a property which lies with the individual and not with a community. He states that if a community can efficiently communicate in two languages, he does not see the need to use both languages in all domains. In other words, it is normal for the bilingual speaker to choose one language in one domain, eg. the school or church, and another language in a different domain such as the home or playground. He further explains that bilingualism can only exist if there is contact between two monolingual

communities and communication occurs in both the languages of the respective communities. Furthermore he explains that bilingualism is a relative to the following:

1. the degree of proficiency,

2. the function of the languages or the role a particular language plays,

3. alternation, the extent to which the individual alternates between the two languages

4. interference, how the individual keeps the two languages apart

3.1.3 Diglossia

Mackey (2002) therefore come to the conclusion that when two languages exist in a community, it is most likely that both languages will not be used for the same purpose. One language will be used for a certain function and the other for a different function. In this idiom, the community may use Afrikaans as a home language and English as the school language. The situation in which the interaction takes place, the topic of conversation and the group in which it takes place usually influences the choice of language.

Ferguson's (1959) definition of diglossia looks at two varieties of the same language, a high variety (H) and a low variety (L). The H variety of the language being used in formal situations such as politics and education and the L variety used in informal conversations with friends and family (Appel and Muysken, 1988:24 and Coulmas, 1997:206). However, Gumperz (2002) and others have extended the definition of diglossia to bilingual situations in which two different language are used for different functions in the same domain of language use. In this regard, a situation where one language or language variety is used for H function and the other language as or language variety as L variety functions by a community of speakers is termed a diglossia. And bilingualism is a term used when an individual has the ability to use two languages (Baker, 1996:36). This makes the situation in the Western Cape

very interesting and complex as there is Afrikaans and English as different linguistic systems, with each language also having a variety e.g. Kaapse Afrikaans and non Standard English spoken on the Cape Flats.

Appel and Muysken (1988) looked at previously studied cases such as in Paraguay, where Spanish and Guarani is used, in Morocco, where classic Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and Berber is used, in Western Europe, where French and Provencal is used and in Haiti where Haitian Creole and French is used. They applied Ferguson's criterion of diglossia of H variety and L variety and suggested that the H and the L could also be applied to the use of two unrelated linguistic systems.

Coulmas (1997) further distinguishes diglossia from bilingualism by looking at variables such as, function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar lexicon and phonology. He also focuses on the difference between diglossia and standard language with dialects. Coulmas (1997) also poses "*What engenders and under what conditions*?" as a variable in the study of diglossia.

3.1.4 Identity and the multilingual context

The communities of the Western Cape are not simply bilingual, but rather exist in a multilingual environment. The multilingualism whereby there is a majority and minority language such as community languages, mother tongue national languages and international languages, is described by Mansour (1993) as Vertical Multilingualism. He refers to the situation as a polyglossia rather than a diglossia as the central feature of Vertical Multilingualism, with a dominant high (H) and low (L) language or language varieties.

Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) equated domain to Bakhtin's (1981) notion of 'dialogical places'. They base this on Bakhtin's theory of the dialogical nature of all aspects of language which is, that all utterances anticipate an audience and a response. Each utterance, including the choice of language or variety of language is thus determined by the sphere in which it occurs and the sphere also determines the utterance (Bakhtin, 1986). 'Dialogical places' may consist of more than one of these spheres. These spheres may occur within the domain of a single family depending on who is being addressed and the topic under discussion.

Blommaert *et al* calls this type of multilingualism as 'truncated multilingualism'. They define it as linguistic competencies which are organised according to domains and specific activities. This does not mean that all the participants in a particular domain are competent in all the languages used; instead they may vary across the domains.

Invariably, whether a language shift or diglossic situation exists, linguistic choices and identity is not independent of a social-historical context. These identities are negotiated, assumed or imposed allowing the individual to identify with a group for upward mobility. Simultaneously, these linguistic choices allow them to resist identities which place them in an unfavourable position. These are some of the factors Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) consider as influencing the construction and negotiation of identities.

3.2. Changing paradigms of research on identity

3.2.1 The socio-psychological approach

Previously, sociopsychological approaches have been used to study negotiation of identity in a multilingual context. This comprised of inter-group approaches amongst which Tafjel's theory of social identity and Berry's theory of group membership was noted. The approach

assumes a one-to-one correlation between language and ethnic identity. Thus it assumes that languages are autonomous and bounded phenomena tied to particular speakers and communities. One aspect of this approach is that it examines "ethnolinguistic groups" and measures their "ethnolinguistic validity". This approach views ethnic identity as a "subjective feeling of belonging to a particular ethnic group" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). It is of no consequence to this approach that individuals can move from one linguistic group to another.

The socio-psychological approach has been heavily criticised for its oversimplification of the concept of identity which is seen as a one-to-one correlation with language. The concept is treated as essentialist and as the property of an individual or society. Another criticism is that this approach assumes that there is always a link between identity and social reality, meaning, there are real groups that make up structures or nations (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004 and Widdicombe, 1994). Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) say that the socio-psychological paradigm assumes that language is a salient marker of identity and group membership. The language contact phenomenon is not taken into consideration and that language either affiliates an individual with a group or not. Other factors such as socio-cultural and economics have not been considered.

3.2.2 Interactional sociolinguistic approaches

Interactional sociolinguistic approached such as those adopted by Gumperz (1992) view language as fluid and constructed in a particular interaction. He focused on negotiation of identities through code switching and language choice.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) refer to Myers-Scotton's (1993) framework which view talk as the negotiation of rights and obligations of both speaker and addressee. It assumes that the speaker have knowledge of marked and unmarked linguistic choices in a particular

interaction. This means that the language choice of the speaker, whether it is marked or unmarked may indicate whether the speaker wants to identify with the addressee or not.

Identity as portrayed above was dismissed by sociolinguist as they argue that identity cannot be used to explain sociolinguistic practices as sociolinguistics need an explanation of its own (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). As a result, Heller (2007) argues that multilingual speakers move around in multidimensional social spaces and that each act of speaking or silence constitute as an "act of identity".

3.2.3 Social constructionist approach

Social constructionist focus on how languages are appropriated to legitimise, challenge and negotiate particular identities. Also, to open new identity options for oppressed and subjugated groups and individuals (Pavlenko sand Blackledge, 2004). Furthermore social constructionist adds to interactional linguistics to conceptualise identities as an interactional accomplishment produced and negotiated in discourse. Thus this approach view identities as "diachronic mutant formations" which people constantly have to negotiate in their interaction with others. Emphasis is place on the role played by language in the way which individuals and groups use language to display and accomplish their identity (Wodak, 2001).

Alternative models to the traditional models have therefore been created by the social constructionist to redefine identity by integrating the previous approaches. The concept of identity produced is therefore designed to deal with variability, flexibility and show how the most obvious identity is a product of negotiation. Thus constructionist approaches emphasise the multiple ways in which social identities are constructed and show how these constructions provide resources through which the individual's objectivities and experiences are shaped.

Contrary to the other approaches, constructionists show that there is a dynamic correlation of individual–social relation (Widdicombe, 1998).

3.2.4 Poststructuralist approach

The poststructuralists view explains how language is appropriated in the construction and negotiation of identity. They acknowledge the socio-historical ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) rephrase this as they "consider language choices in multilingual contexts as embedded in a larger social, political and cultural system." They reconceptualise the notion of language and power drawing from Pierre Bourdieu's poststructural approach. Bourdieu views linguistic practices as a form of symbolic capital which can be converted into economic and social capital. This capital is usually distributed unequally within a speech community.

The significance of Bourdieu's approach is that he argues that the official language or the more standardised language becomes the language of institutions which are hegemonic because both the dominant and the subordinate group misrecognise it as superior language. The approach thus views language as situated and tied to questions of power and identity in societies (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). The key focus is therefore power relations and the process of social interaction.

3.2.5 Towards multilingualism as a resource and negotiated performative identities

The theoretical and analytical framework used in the study combines poststructuralist and social constructionist approaches. In this regard, the poststructuralist/constructionist

approaches is used to analyse how bilingualism is manifested through linguistic choices in different contexts, and hence how identities including hybrid identities are manifested and negotiated in in schools and homes Belhar. Thus, the approach is used to explore how the social practice of bilingualism is performed in different contexts (Heller, 2007). Also, that the two languages are not used for the same purposes within the community (Mackey, 2000). The idea is to analyse the negotiation of ethnicity, race, socio-economic class, gender, age and generational difference using multilingualism as linguistic resource.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

4.0 Introduction

The research design and how it was implemented will be discussed in this chapter. It will start off with an explanation of the instruments used in the enquiry, followed by detail description of the procedure by which the participants were selected for the study or rather the sampling procedure. The framework for analysis will then be discussed which includes the approach used to analyse the data. Finally the ethical aspect of the research will be made explicit.

4.1 Research Design

The following research design is largely based on qualitative methods. However some quantitative method was also used. The qualitative methods included interviews as well as observations. Observations in this design are systemic observations guided by concrete research questions in order to draw plausible conclusions from the observations. The interviews, also guided by the research questions, were a means to enquire and interpret the views of the educators and the parents. The only quantitative method used was the statistical data gathered at the school to substantiate the hypothesis.

The approach to the research design was mainly informed by interpretive methods as discussed by Terre Blanche and Kelly (2002:123-125). They explain that researchers, who work in this manner, assume that peoples' subjective experiences are real and should be taken seriously. Also, in order to understand the experiences of people, the researcher, should interact with the people, listening what they have to say, or understanding people in context. Understanding the context is a key factor of this research. Although the findings are presented as a text, the context in which they occur is important because they go beyond what is said and written in the text. Halliday and Hassan (1989) explain that from a social-semiotic perspective, they regard 'social' to indicate the relationship between language and a social

structure, when social structure is one aspect of the social system. Thus the interpretative approach bridges the gap between the text and the situation in which the text occurs, namely the context.

Case studies were the most economical manner in which to gather information about the social phenomenon of language shift. However, careful selection of participants occurred in order to study this phenomenon. The route via the schooling system was the easiest to navigate towards suitable cases because it is here were the initial observation of language shift occurred. Thus the school was the point of departure for this research.

4.2 Instruments

4.2.1 Observations

Although the interpretative approach advocates "participant observation", ie interacting with participants as if the researchers are one of them, however in this study the researcher did not strictly become a participant in the observation, but rather remained in the position of researcher. This facilitated the researcher not only to observe the language used, or what is being said, but also understand and interpret the context in which it was said.

Shortly after the interviews with the educators, both their classroom interactions were observed. These observations were done in order to record the linguistic between the educators and the learners as well as the linguistic interaction amongst the learners. Firstly, the attitude of the educators with regard to the learners' linguistic choices and language proficiency play an important role in the relationship between power dynamics in the classroom and how these educators identify themselves. Secondly, the linguistic choices learners' made were important to observe how they negotiate identity within their groups as well as with those outside of their groups.

During the interviews with the parents in their homes, certain observations were made in order to conclude the language use in the home and the availability of literary materials and artefacts. The artefacts in the home are a good indicator of the religious or cultural association the family has, whereas the literary material is a good indicator of the culture of reading. A combination of all these factors were analysed to highlight how identities are manifestations of social realities.

4.2.2 Interviews

Terre Blanche and Kelly (2002) state that an interview is one of the most natural ways of interacting with people. It conforms to an interpretative approach of research because it seems like a natural conversation through which the researcher can gather the thought and feelings of the participant. Although it may seem natural, the researcher still need to be skilled at conducting interviews.
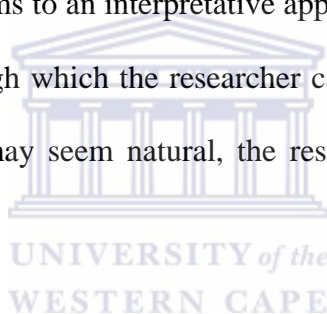
All the interviews were initiated by informing the interviewee about the study. Also, a brief summary of the interview was given before the actual interview took place. This was done to put the interviewee at ease.

Firstly, the principal and two of the educators of Belvue Primary school were interviewed. This school is situated in a suburb in the Western Cape. Learners from this school are from diverse socio-economic as well as culturally diverse backgrounds, representative of the diverse Cape "coloured" community. The interviews were done establish the views of the principal and the educators on the language use of the learners. In order to grant the educators an opportunity to express themselves, a few open ended questions were asked.

Secondly, three parents of learners attending Belvue Primary school were interviewed. To be more specific, the learners were in the classes of the educators who were interviewed. Mainly, the interviews were conducted to establish the language which is used in the home and the motivation of parents to choose English as a medium of instruction at school.

4.3 Procedure used to access parents and the home environment

4.3.0 Introduction

As a decision was made to use case studies for this research, it was necessary to find a means to gain access to parents of the learners who attend the school where the shift in language as MoI has occurred. Thus it was crucial to have the co-operation of the school in reaching the parents of these learners. However, the position of the school as regard to this shift had to be affirmed by interviewing the principal and the educators as well as observing the language used in the classrooms. This was the first step in the investigation as to whether a language shift has occurred in the domain of the school only or in the community at large. Thus the school was only a vehicle to gain access to family homes for the investigation the language use in the homes and how these linguistic resources are appropriated to negotiate identities.

4.3.1 Access to the school

After several months of negotiations with Western Cape Department Education granted a period of only three months on which to do this fieldwork was allowed. However the principal allowed an extended period in which all the data could be gathered. He also facilitated access to records of enrolment at the school and allowed for the letters as an appeal to parents, be handed out in the classrooms.

4.3.2 Interview with the Principal of Belvue Primary

An appointment was set up with the principal only to find out that the actual principal of the school was on leave and the researcher had to settle interviewing the acting principal. This was as effective as interviewing the principal since most of the interview questions concerned the position of the school as to catering for literacy awareness and the demographics of the school. Only a few of the open-ended questions regarding the language and the educational background of the principal was personal. The enthusiasm with which the researcher was welcomed at the school as well as the eagerness, with which the questions were answered by the acting principal, is commendable.

At this point the principal indicated willingness to further assist with the research by directing the researcher to the relevant educators to be interviewed. He also offered to avail the list of the enrolment of Grade R and Grade 1 learners over the period of ten years so that statistical data would be available for the research. This data was obtained from the school secretary as seen in appendix 3.
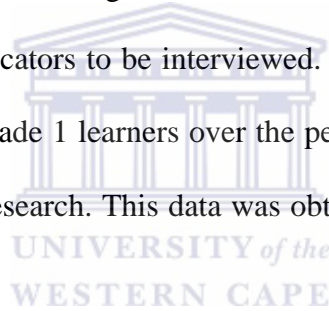
4.3.3 The educators' interviews

A suitable time with Grade 7 educators were arranged. Both these educators were eager to be interviewed. They preferred the interviews to take place after their classes were dismissed in the afternoon. The first educator was the Afrikaans medium of instruction teacher and the other the English medium of instruction teacher. Both interviews took place in the respective classrooms.

The interviews took about 20 minutes and consisted of a few open ended questions to establish the language use of the learners as well as their opinions on the literacy practices of the learners and the community at large. The interviews also helped to clarified whether

educators are allowed to use innovative classroom practices to facilitate learning. Also, their views on the Outcome Based Education were probed during the session.

An important development during these interview sessions was that a familiarity between the researcher and the educators was established. As the educators became trusting and comfortable with the idea of the research, gaining access to the classrooms for observation was made easy.

4.3.4 Classroom observations

Shortly after the interviews with the educators, arrangements were made to observe their classrooms. Firstly an observation was made to establish whether posters and books were available. Secondly the amount of reading materials was noted. However the most important part of the observation had no particular structure, but was very important in the establishment of language use. The linguistic behaviour of learners was observed, ie the manner in which they used the language of instruction and whether the home language had an influence on its use.

Before any work could be done in the classroom, the researcher had to introduce herself to the learners and explained to them what the research was about. She also requested their co-operation as to participating in the venture. A camcorder set up at the back of the classroom and moved to the side at times. The learners were told to ignore the presence of the researcher and carry on with their work as if she was not there. At the onset it was difficult for them to do this, but after a while, as the lesson progressed, they settled and behaved naturally. As they interacted with the educator and each other, observation could be made, the language they used recorded and whether any code switching between English and Afrikaans occurred could

be established. Hence a platform and valuable tool to asses *language shift* as part of negotiated identity in this particular community of Belhar was put in place.

Not only were these observations valuable in the feasibility of the investigation, it also established interest of the learners in the research. Thus when request forms for participation of the parents in the research were handed out, the learners were enthusiastic to take it to their parents.

4.3.5 Arranging the meeting with parents

The grade 7 learners were asked to pass the letters of request to participate in the research to their parents. Although sixty letters were issued, only nine responses were received. This low response could be because in most households both parents are working and time for interviews could not be facilitated. Of these nine, only three parents were chosen to be interviewed at their homes. Appointments were made with the three parents to visit them at their homes as well as to interview them.

Table 2. Request letters issued and their response

	Letters issued	**Responses**	**Selected**
Number	60	9	3
Percentage		15%	5%

As can be seen by table 2 above, only 5% of the parents were finally selected. These families were from diverse backgrounds. Although only a small percentage was selected, their diverse backgrounds made the sample accurate and representative of the community. Here background is referred to in the sense of religious and place of family origin as well as soci-

economic background. The researcher vicariously asked questions to probe into these backgrounds when she arranged the home appointments.

4.4 Home visits

The home visits not only facilitated for the interviews, but also some observations, especially as to looking for signs of literacy practices in the home. In this domain an observation could also be made as to language use and how linguistic resources are appropriated in negotiating identities.

4.4.1 Self introduction of the researcher to the parents

In conformity to the interpretative approach to the research, a non-threatening atmosphere was created by the researchers. This was achieved when the researcher introduced herself as not only a student, but also a parent of a school going child. The parents were then informed about the research, giving them some background as well as the aims of the study. Thus the interviews could proceed with ease and closely to natural conversation.

4.4.2 The interviews with the parents

The medium in which the research was conducted and written up is English. Although interviews were conducted in English, a language friendly approach was taken. The interviewees were therefore told that it was acceptable for them to any in the language they are most comfortable with. The language in which they answered also served as a point of observation as to which language is preferred to be spoken from their multilingual resource.

Some of the questions related to practices at the school and interaction between the parents and educators. However, most of the questions were focused on language use and literacy

practices at home. Also, the choice of medium of instruction was explored by asking about the motivation for the particular medium of instruction.

4.4.3 Home observations

Similarly, to the interviews, the observations were semi-structured because the researcher/observer was looking for particular things. Displays of books and artefacts were the first things noted. Also, displays of certificates of achievements were included in this observation.

The focus of the observation however was listening to the language spoken when various family members interacted with each other and with any other people who may have entered the home. An important aspect of these observations was the language use of the particular learner and his or her interaction with the parents, siblings, friends and extended family members. Particularly code switching and lexicogrammatical codes where recorded.
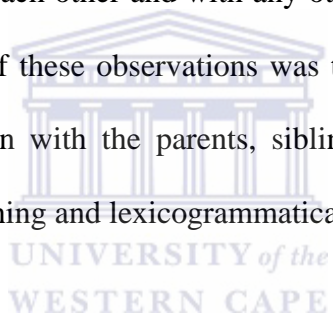
The interviews with the parents, together with the home observations provided enough data to build case studies. Since the three case studies were from such diverse families, a more holistic view of the nuances of language use and construction of social identity in the Belhar community could be observed.

4.5 Statistical data collection

The only statistical data gathered at the school was from their enrolment register. This data was important to indicate the decline in enrolment for Afrikaans as medium of instruction and the move towards an increase of enrolment for English as medium of instruction. This data is displayed in graphic form in chapter 5.

4.6 Analysis of data

The paradigms used to study language and identity were a combination of social constructionist and the poststructuralist approach to discourse analysis. The social constructionist looks at how language is appropriated to legitimise, challenge and negotiate particular identities. Also to open new identity options for oppressed and subjugated groups and individuals. The community of Belhar can be regarded as a previously oppressed and subjugated group, therefore the social constructionist approach is able to look at new identity options both for the group as well as individuals in the group (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

The poststructuralist approaches take this view further and acknowledge the socio-historical ways in which language ideologies and identities are linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies. Evidently, this approach relates to Bourdieu's argument that the official language (or standard variety) becomes the language of institutions. This language thus becomes hegemonic because both the dominant and the subordinate view it as a superior language (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004).

The social constructionist approach facilitated to look at which language is used when and where and how it forms part of identity. Furthermore this approach provided a means of explaining how new identity options are negotiated to gain economic resources.

4.7 Ethical Consideration

Permission from the Western Cape Department of Education was acquired to do the research at the school. The principal as well as the educators were assured that their names will not be used. Furthermore, the principal arranged the interviews with the educators who in turn

arranged for the classroom observations. The study did not interfere or disrupt any of the academic programmes at the school.

Permission to interview the parents was sought by letter via the school. A sample of this letter can be viewed as appendix 4. These parents were informed of the aim of the research and assured that they will remain anonymous. Thus participation of all participants in the research was optional and by mutual consent. Pseudonyms were used to replace the real names of all participants when the findings were recorded.

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5. FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

The following chapter is organised in sequence of the information gathered. In order to substantiate the study, proof had to be obtained from the school with regard to the shift in demand from Afrikaans to English as MoI. The chapter therefore opens with a display of statistical data gathered at Belvue Primary School. Secondly the interviews with the principal and the educators at the school will be viewed. Next, the classroom observations will be reported on. Lastly, the cases will be created from the observations and the interviews which were conducted during the "home visits".

5.1 Statistical Data

The data gathered at Belvue primary with regard to the intake of learners, is what is meant by statistical data. That is, the amount of learners who enrolled for Afrikaans and the amount of learners who enrolled for English between 1995 and 2005, inclusive.

The ratio of English to Afrikaans as MoI in 1995 was close to 1:1 with 82 learners in the English MoI class and 78 the Afrikaans MoI class. By 1999 the ratio English: Afrikaans was around 2:1 with 89 learners enrolled in an English MoI classes and 43 learners enrolled for the Afrikaans MoI class. Significantly by 2004, ten years post apartheid regime, the ratio English: Afrikaans has changed to almost 5:1, that is 105 Learners for English as MoI and 22 for Afrikaans as MoI.

The graph below is a clear indication that the intake of learners had declined from 1995 to 2004. In 2005 the demand for Afrikaans had deteriorated to such an extent that the school decided not to have Afrikaans medium of instruction classes thereafter.
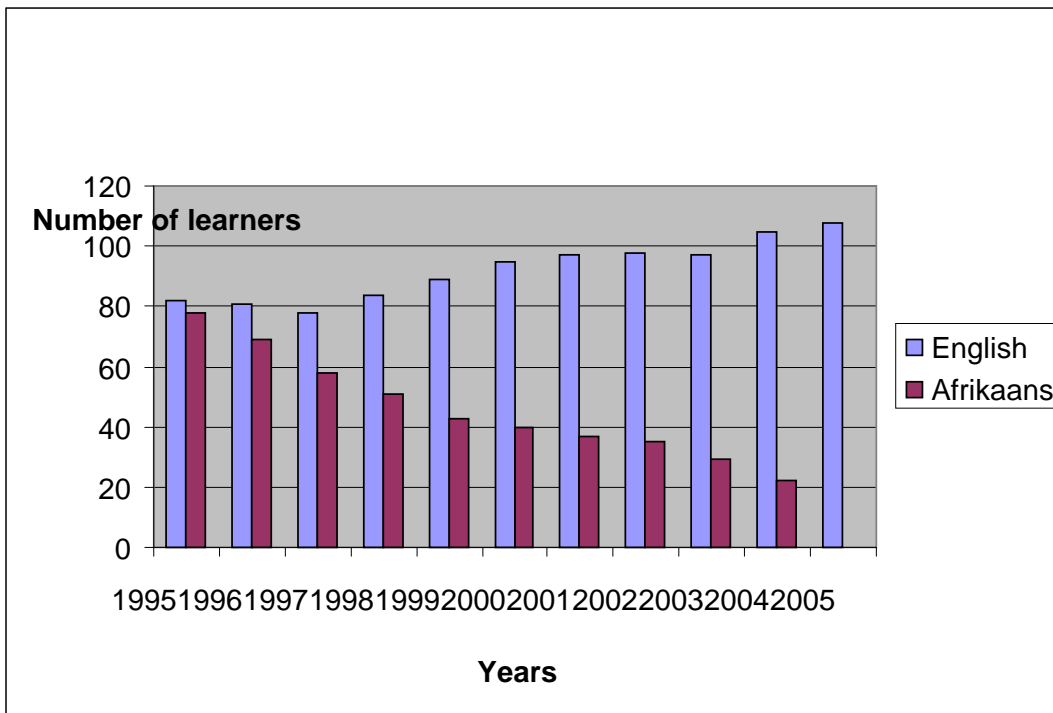
Figure 1 Intake: Number of grade 1 learners between 1995 and 2005

Although the ratio between English MoI and Afrikaans MoI has changed drastically, the amount of learners taken in for English as MoI only had a slight increase. The total number of learners enrolled at the school for grade one had therefore decreased. Post 1994, all schools in "white" areas opened to all races. The more affluent "coloured" parents saw this as an opportunity to gain access to a better education for their children. As a result many of the children were now enrolled at these schools, decreasing the total number of learners entering the local schools at grade one.

The difference in the number of learners enrolling for English as MoI and to those enrolling for Afrikaans as MoI is a clear indication that MoI has shifted from Afrikaans to English at Belvue Primary school. This apparent display of language shift thus became the point of departure for the exploration in how language is appropriated and negotiated in the community of Belhar.

5.2 Interviews with the principal and the educators

5.2.1 Interview with the principal

As indicated, the actual principal of the school was unavailable for this interview and hence the acting principal Mr Jay availed himself for the interview.

Mr Jay explained that the learners come from a mixed socio-economic background. They have learners from the more affluent areas in Belhar to learners from the sub-economic areas. These learners also come from a diverse cultural and religious background.

Mr Jay confirmed that there has been an increase in enrolment for English as MoI in relation to Afrikaans as MoI and at some point the request for Afrikaans was so low that they had to stop the intake of Afrikaans. He however indicated that it has become evident that some of these learners are in fact Afrikaans L1 speakers with English as a second language and the Afrikaans spoken is not of the standard variety.
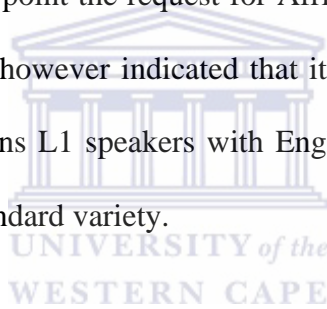
The situation of Afrikaans L1 speakers in English MoI classes has become a problem and has impeded on learning and teaching. He explained that for himself, this is a problem since he is an Afrikaans L1 speaker having to teach in English. Although the school has no programme in place to help those second language English speakers to cope with English as the school language, learners with great difficulties in adjusting to English MoI are sent to a remedial teacher for help. He however suggested that Afrikaans should be scrapped as MoI as most parents are opting for English.

5.2.2 Interviews with educators

The first educator to be interviewed was Mr Em. He is the educator of the Afrikaans MoI class and also a subject teacher of the English MoI class. According to him it is clear that

most of the Grade 7 learners are Afrikaans L1 speakers. This he said he deduced from the way they pronounce their words. Also it is clear to him that they think in Afrikaans because it becomes apparent when they directly translate from Afrikaans to English. Furthermore he says that they struggle in reading and cognition in English which leads to the use of non-standard Afrikaans words in their presentations, both in writing and orally.

He affirms that there is an academic support team at the school. However there are no programmes in place to improve the English of Afrikaans L1 speaking learners. He is also of the opinion that there are no other languages spoken in the environment outside the class, except Afrikaans. He concluded by saying that he uses newspapers and extra books to do research all as a means to improve the learners' abilities in English.

The second educator was Mr Kay, the English Grade 7 MoI educator. He had similar views to that of Mr Em. Although his class is supposed to be English L1 learners, he is of the opinion that they are actually Afrikaans L1 speakers. He says that they cannot express themselves well in English and that it appears that they think in Afrikaans. He also says it becomes difficult for him to teach because the learners simply do not understand him. This he expresses clearly in the following quote from the interview (appendix2):

> *Yes, what I find is that the when you teach these kids, it's hard to get through to them because you speak proper/standard English, so it is difficult for them to understand. I personally revert back to the dictionary to tell them what the word meant etc But for a first language speaker it's supposed to be a natural thing. But now I must explain, so it could seem as though I'm being too… It's just above the level of the kids.*

Mr Kay therefore confirms what Mr Em had said with regard to the learner's cognitive abilities in English and that they appear to be Afrikaans speakers in an English MoI class.

According to Mr Kay's knowledge the school does not have any literacy programmes in place. In correlation to Mr Em he also said that the school has no programme in place to help improve the English of learners from a non-English background. He also added that none of the other schools at which he taught had such a programme in place. He further expressed that it would be beneficial for both educators and learners to have a programme in place which provide "language guidelines".

5.2.3 Classroom observations

The learners had typical Afrikaans linguistic behaviour, both on a phonological and syntactical level. One might compare it to Nigerian, Singaporean, Jamaican or other English characteristics; however this language behaviour is directly transferred from the Afrikaans spoken in their environment. A typical example would be in the pronunciation of the words "that" and "they". Instead of [ðæt] they would sound it as [dæt] and [ðɛ] as [de] as [ð] is not found in the Afrikaans phonetic system. On a syntactical level, one of the most common factors which display Afrikaans linguist behaviour is the over use of the auxiliary verb "did". As in "*I did go to…*" Typically in Afrikaans the auxiliary "het" is use in all cases the express past tense.

Also a notable amount of code-switching and use of slang occurred between learners. Most obvious was that when they spoke Afrikaans, it was not the standard variety, but a variety which is morpho-phonologically and syntactically different to the standard. Thus a display of the rich linguistic resources of the learners was observed.

These observations with regard to the language use confirmed what Mr Jay, the principal said about the learners being in English MoI class. Observing how the learners negotiated identity

provided enough evidence that the case studies would be feasible. Thus the families of these learners participated in the further investigation.

5.3 Home visits

5.3.1 Case 1: The Vander Family

The daughter of this family is a learner at Belvue Primary school. Although she is Afrikaans speaking, she was placed in an English MoI class. She was identified in one of the observed classrooms and volunteered her family to participate in the study.

The Vanders is an Afrikaans speaking, Christian family who moved to Belhar from Vredenberg in the late 70's. Although Mr Vander was only a youth when they moved to Belhar, he had already established his L1 as Afrikaans. Mrs. Vander is also an Afrikaans L1 speaker. Since they came from a rural area, they speak a more standard variety of Afrikaans than most of the people in the community.
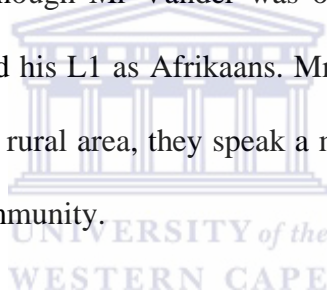
The interview with Mr Vander was conducted in English. He was told that, although the interview is conducted in English, a language friendly approach is taken and that he could answer in either English or Afrikaans. He then chose to respond in Afrikaans. His reason for this was that although he knows English well, he could better express himself in Afrikaans. Furthermore he said that he was only exposed to English speakers when he moved to the city because everybody in his previous town spoke Afrikaans, i.e. his parents, all his siblings and friends.

Mr Vander works as a clerk at Tygerberg Hospital, making him economical stable, but not in a state of affluence. The family is thus not poor or rich and only able to afford to send their children to the local schools.

Although Mr and Mrs Vander is adequately educated, they find that their lack of exposure to English in education a disadvantage to them. In order for their children to gain access to a better education and global resources, they made a conscious decision to teach their children English before they entered the schooling system.

Significantly, Mr Vander exposed his children to English literature since before they could read fluently. This he did by registering them at an early age at the local library. And borrowed books in both English and Afrikaans. He himself is an ardent reader of mainly Afrikaans, but also reads English novels. A culture of reading thus prevails in the family.

When asked about how their daughter was doing at school, Mr Vander responded by say that she does well and achieves academically.
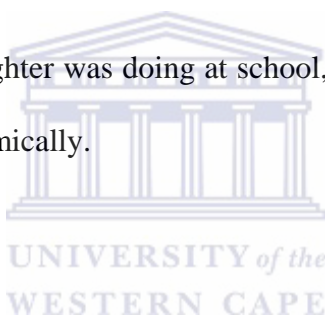
5.3.2 Case 2: The Harry family.

They youngest daughter of this family was in the observed classroom. She is an English speaking learner from a Muslim family in Belhar.

This family only recently moved to Belhar. Originally the mother was from Wynberg and the father from Woodstock. Although this family is an English speaking family, they identified with the researcher who was a Muslim female, wearing head covering and greeted in Arabic. Mr Harry said: *asalaam hu alaykum* (peace be upon you), as she opened the door to welcome the researcher.

Observing the family, I realised that only the children speak English to each other and their parents. The couple however spoke in Afrikaans to each other. The English spoken was not a

standard variety, but a local variety which consist more of a mixed code. It was clearly English using Afrikaans and Arabic words and phrases intra-sententially.

The telephone rang and Mrs Harry answered it in the following manner: *Salaam muumy ek kannie nou praat nie. Hier is iemand van die varsity. Ek bel mummy later trug.* (Peace, a local form of Arabic Greeting, I cannot speak now. Here is someone from university. I will call you back later.) It was her mother in-law calling to whom Mrs Harry spoke Afrikaans. A few minutes later her brother called. This entire conversation was in English.

During the interview with Mrs Harry, she confirmed that she spoke Afrikaans to her husband because that was his home language. Her home language was English, although her father spoke Afrikaans. Because English is the dominant language of the home, choosing English as MoI was the most obvious choice for this family.

A culture of reading is also encouraged in this family, reading in English, Arabic and Afrikaans. When asked how her daughter was doing at school, Mrs Harry responded by saying that she had no problem and that she was doing very well.

5.3.3 Case 3: The Waldi family

 The youngest son of this family is in the English MoI class at Belvue Primary School. Although he claimed to be English speaking, he seemed to lack fluency in English.

Mrs. Waldi is a housewife and the interview took place early afternoon. She was home alone when we arrived.

During the interview, Mrs. Waldi said that the family is actually bilingual and that the older son was in an Afrikaans MoI class. The second son however she preferred to enrol in an English MoI class as they spoke English to him since he was born. The reason for this is that they previously lived in an Afrikaans speaking environment then moved to an English speaking environment.

Observation in the home revealed no visible books or magazines. Mrs. Waldi confirmed that she reads, but does not really encourage her boys to read.

Although Mrs. Waldi spoke English, she showed a distinct Afrikaans linguistic behaviour, especially on a lexical level. For example during the interview she constantly says: "… they talk Afrikaans…" or "…they talk English…" as "talk" is directly translated from Afrikaans which is *"praat"*. Also another phrase observed was "… they get scared for him…" which is translated in verbatim from the Afrikaans "…*hulle is bang vir hom...*"
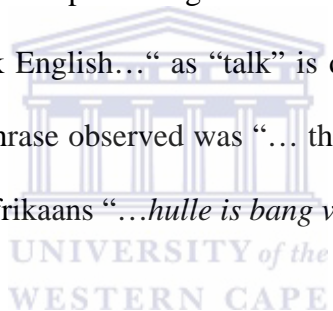
Young Mr Waldi is reported not to do well at school. In fact his mother says that although he is in Grade 5, he still cannot read fluently. Notably, Mrs Waldi carried on complaining about the manner in which the work is done at school. She also indicated that her son cannot cope with the homework he is given. According to her there is a lack of resources, no support from the teachers. She therefore blames the schooling system for her son's inability to do well at school.

As we were leaving the house, the young son arrived. He greeted his friend and shouted: "*Maak toe die gate!*" (Close the gate!). Clearly the child speaks Afrikaans and code-switches intrasententionally.

5.4 Concluding remarks

Educators and some parents view bilingualism and multilingualism as a problem. They lean towards a monolingualism bias as either pro-English or pro-Afrikaans, ignoring the rich linguistic repertoire of themselves and the learners. An example is that the code-switching and code-mixing is viewed as a problem and not as a linguistics resource to access knowledge and for academic literacy purposes.

However, the home visits revealed that the multilingualism is a resource used to negotiate the multiplicity of identities which exist in the Belhar community. The choice of code is dependant on who is being communicated to as well as the context of the communication. In other words the linguistic choice of individuals in this community is linked to whether they want to be identified, for example as an intellectual, a Muslim, a layman, from the Cape Flats or from a rural area. It is also seen that they can easily shift from one identity to another by changing their code as observed in Mr's Harry's case. Thus the linguistic resources are used to negotiate identity. Yet during the interviews majority lean towards either Afrikaans or English. In other words, although all the interviewees are bilingual or multilingual, with varying degrees of proficiency in the languages, they resort to monolingual classification of their speech behaviour. This will be elaborated in the next chapter (see 6.2).

6. DISCUSSION

6.0 Introduction

Notably the demand for English as MoI has increased at Belvue Primary school. This increase in demand for English as MoI leads to an assumption that a language shift has occurred from Afrikaans to English in the community of Belhar.

The following discussion will firstly look at how this demand impacted on the classroom environment where learners are multicultural and multilingual. Thus the interviews with the educators and observations in the classrooms will be taken into consideration. Finally and most importantly the home visits, that is, the interviews with the parents of the learners and the home observations will be discussed in order to establish the correlation between negotiating identity and linguistic resourses.
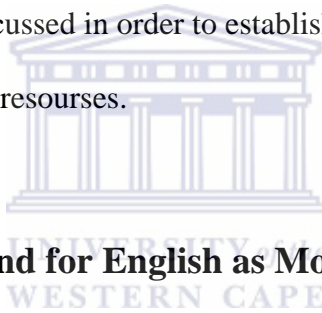
6.1 The impact of the demand for English as MoI

During the Apartheid Regime, there was a division among races, causing them to be linguistically zoned. "Whites", "Coloureds" and "Indians" were educated in the two official languages, namely English and Afrikaans. If their home language was English, Afrikaans was taught as a second language and vice versa. "Black" children were educated in their mother tongue for the first the four years of their schooling, followed by English as MoI (Murray, 2002: 434-439). After the new government was elected in 1994, the Department of Education proposed a 'multilingual' policy in which 'no language must be introduced at the expense of another' (Department of Education, 1995:25). Admissions to schools are no longer subjected to language tests and in terms of the Schools Act (1996), the choice of language as MoI is up to that of the parents of the learner.

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The situation at Belvue Primary is reflective of the choice learners have with regard to MoI. In 1995 about 50% learners chose Afrikaans as MoI as Afrikaans is the home language of a majority of families in the community of Belhar and rest chose English as MoI although it was not their home language. The same phenomenon was observed by Probyn (2001) research at ex-DET secondary schools in Cape Town where she observed 50% chose Xhosa as MoI and the rest English as MoI although it was not their home language. She found that learners do not have the English language skills to cope with learning through the medium of English and therefore educators resort to giving students simplified notes.

Similarly educators like Mr Em who find themselves with learners who are Afrikaans L1 speaking resort to code-switching as a strategy for classroom interaction. He also uses newspapers and other media as means to improve their fluency in English. Mr Kay, another educator observed the same as Mr Em. He however constantly uses a dictionary to explain certain words as he finds that the learners have difficulty to understand his standard use of English. Thus it can be said that unlike the educators at the ex-DET schools who give simplified notes to the learners, educators at Belvue Primary found other innovative ways to improve the fluency of English of their learners.

6.2 Dispelling the monolingual bias

As indicated in the concluding remarks of the findings chapter, educators view bilingualism and multilingualism as a problem, rather than a linguistic resource. These educators lean towards a monolingual bias as seen in the literature of De Klerk (2000), Plüddeman (2004), Alexander (2005) and Heugh (2005). That is, a bias towards single language education. They do not consider that bilingual and multilingual speakers drift from one language to a "mixed language" and to another language depending on the context of the communication. Thus

code-mixing and code-switching is seen as a problem, rather than used as a tool to gain access to knowledge and academic resources.

A notable amount of code-switching and code-mixing was observed amongst the learners in the classroom. They mixed Afrikaans and English as well as a variety of the two languages. However when they addressed the educator, they tried to keep to a standard variety of English. The learners thus have the ability to move between two or more linguistic groups and are not seen as members of a homogenous and bounded linguistic group (Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Thus the concept of identity amongst these learners cannot be seen as a one-on-one correlation between language and identity.

Although not dismissing the arguments entirely, the monolingual bias that characterises South African studies on language and education as crystallised in De Klerk (2000) needs to be questioned based on the observation of the learners at Belvue Primary. De Klerk (2000) implies that there is language shift among isiXhosa speakers to English monolingualism in the town of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, and that children from isiXhosa homes who go to 'white' English schools suffer from a split identity. Following Heller (2007) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), it can be argued that learners at Belvue Primary negotiate their identities through their various linguistic resources. Rather than a split mentality or identity, I want argue that the learners use the different languages to perform different identity options – ranging from isiXhosa-based to English-based, and 'mixed' ones in between.

How the learners negotiate their identities was noted during the classroom observations. It becomes obvious that these learners are multilingual speakers using more than one language and/or varieties of that language. The language or variety used depends on who is being addressed, thus identifying with that particular person or group. Their identity is therefore not

fixed and has various facets which could be made present or absent in different domains of interaction.

6.3 Observed identities in the classroom

The classroom environment was a focal point of observation of the learners. It is here where it could be established how the learners identified, or rather negotiated their identities with the educators. Before one can speak about how the learners negotiate their identities in relation to the educators, it is important to establish how the educators view themselves by examining their interviews and interaction with the learners during the classroom observations.

6.3.1 Educators

The two educators interviewed had different displays of language and identity. The first, Mr Em, who was dominantly Afrikaans speaking, had no problem using English words in order for his learners to understand or grasp a concept. An example of this is when he uses the English word *ingredients* instead of the Afrikaans word *bestandele* when he explains how to make a pizza. Although Mr Em speaks a variety of Afrikaans close to that of the standard, one can assume that his code-switching is an attempt to identify with a "coloured" community. Mr Em therefore embraces an identity which, according to Stone (2002), should have placed him in an unfavourable position. Stone (2002) has the notion that the Afrikaans spoken by the "coloured" community of the Western Cape caused stigmatization of this group of people because the language is viewed with discontent both by insiders and outsiders of this community.

Mr Kay, the second educator who is English speaking had quite a different attitude to Mr Em. He most definitely did not identify with Afrikaans speakers or the learners in his class. He refers to the learners as *these kids* indicating that he does not identify with them. He claims

that they are definitely Afrikaans speaking, totally ignoring their ability to move between linguistic groups in a multilingual environment. This is evident in one of his responses during the interview when he says:"… *what I don't find is that when you teach these kids, it's hard to get through to them because you speak proper/standard English, so it is difficult for them to understand*." Mr Kay's statements therefore support the view of English monolingual bias which dominated research in language and education. The view is that only 'proper' English is good for education and that English second language learners are doomed to failure because they are impervious to 'proper' English. Although it is indicated as Afrikaans speaking homes and English speaking homes, it is better explained as Afrikaans with English and English with Afrikaans speaking homes.

6.3.2 Learners

The learners have their own linguistic repertoire before they enter school and reconfigure it amongst their peers, thus forming a linguistic group. The language spoken by this group is what makes them identify with each other. They speak English with typical Afrikaans behaviour both on a syntactic and a phonological level. It was established that most of these learners come from Afrikaans speaking homes, hence the Afrikaans influence in their linguistic behaviour. However, the learners from English speaking homes also speak in the same manner in order to identify with the group.

The difference in their use of English becomes prevalent when interacting with the educators. A more standard form of English is used with little or no code-switching by the learners who are English speaking. The Afrikaans linguistic behaviour also disappears when speaking to the educator and reappear when speaking to their peers. This happens in both groups, the group which claims to be English speaking and the group who claims to be Afrikaans

speaking. That is, those who claim to come from English homes have an Afrikaans influence and those who claim to come from Afrikaans homes have an English influence.

Although the Afrikaans linguistic behaviour remains with those who are Afrikaans speaking, they also adopt a more standard form of English when interacting with the educator. This is an indicator that they want to identify with the institution and use the institutional language, Standard English, to negotiate this identity. The learners thus have the ability to move between two or more linguistic groups and thus should not be seen as members of a homogenous and bounded linguistic group (Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) would say that the situation in the classroom is reflective of truncated multilingulism, defined as linguistic competencies organised according to domain and specific activities. However the term truncated multilingulism becomes problematic since it implies that the learners would not have a complete language resulting in ineffective communication. In other words according to them the learners would not have a language, thus they ignore the properties of language to be ever evolving and not being stagnant. Also, they would not recognise that the learners constantly use language as a means to identify themselves with a particular group or person. These learners not only have a language, but have rich linguistic resources whereby they constantly construct and negotiate their identity using different languages. In other words, domains are social constructs and hence not impervious to use languages that do not "belong" there. Similarly, languages are not autonomous systems and as Heller (2007) has argued that the idea that languages form neat packages that relate to particular domains is a fallacy.

6.4 The role of language in defining identities

The learners at Belvue Primary are from a very diverse community. The community of Belhar is a 30 year old "coloured community". A diversity of socio-economic, culture and religion exists in this community. Also, the families in this community were removed from various areas in the Western Cape during the apartheid regime. Although Afrikaans was spoken by the majority of these people, the dialect of Afrikaans varies according to their area of origin. The learners, at Belvue Primary, from these families therefore have different linguistic repertoires and in order for them to form a group identity they reconfigured their linguistic repertoires when entering the school environment.

The linguistic repertoires of the learners cannot be separated from that of their families' and the greater community. Hence the visits to the homes of selected learners revealed the extent to which this community constantly negotiates their identities by subtle behaviour changes of which language use is central.
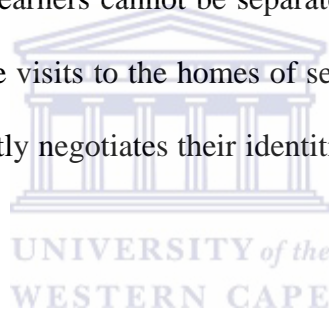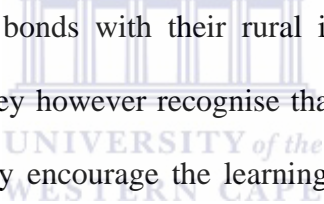
6.4.1 The Vander Family

It has been established that the Vander family is mainly an Afrikaans speaking family although they have chosen English as the MoI for their children. The variety of Afrikaans spoken by this family is different to the Afrikaans spoken by the majority of people in the Belhar community. The reason for this being that this family is originally from Vredenberg where a more standard form of Afrikaans is spoken than that of the general Western Cape population.

Since they originated from Vredenberg, they did not have to contend with the stigmatisation to the same extent as that of the rest of their community. The manner in which this family identifies with Afrikaans cannot be linked Stone's (2002) notion that Western Cape

"coloureds" endure stigmatisation as well as self-stigmatisation. Although this family now lives in a suburb of the Western Cape, they still have strong links to their town of origin and use the variety of Afrikaans, in their home, spoken by the people in Vredenberg to maintain that particular aspect of their identity.

Although the family positively identifies with Afrikaans, Mr Vander feels that he was marginalised for not being too fluent in English. He claims not being exposed to English from a young age was a disadvantage to both him and his wife in the working environment. On these grounds, Mr Vander decided to expose his children to English from a very early age, by encouraging reading in English. This occurred before they started school in order for him to choose English as MoI when they entered the schooling system.

The Vander family have strong bonds with their rural identity by still speaking a more standard variety of Afrikaans. They however recognise that fluency in English is a resource for economic empowerment. They encourage the learning of English for upward mobility, and are thus agents who make the link between language, resource and identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). This family recognises the power of English in South Africa and its symbolic capital which can be converted into economic capital, but do not regard it as a superior language. Thus this family use English for educational and socio-economic mobility and Afrikaans for socio-ethnic reasons.

Since the Vanders are non-native speakers of English and they view English as a neutral language, which can be compared to Kamwangamalu's (1998) pragmatic *we-code*. Their identity with English is presumed as a result of English being an institutional language, evident in the pattern of use in parliament, business and in education.

Being Afrikaans L1 speakers, the Vanders opted to teach their children English, especially for school purposes. They now have command of two languages, yet choose to speak Afrikaans in their home and use English as the school language only. According to Mackey (2000), bilingualism is the property which lies with the individual and not the community. Thus the Vanders can be classified as bilinguals. However, they choose their linguistic repertoire according to their domain and in so doing negotiate their identity according to the domain. This then leans more towards a situation of diglossia than language shift.

6.4.2 The Harry Family

The Harry family indicated that they were English speaking. The visit to their home revealed differently as it was discovered that they are actually multilingual with multiple identities. Not only are they a "coloured' family, but also a Muslim family who relocated to Belhar from the Southern suburbs of Cape Town where it is not uncommon to find an English speaking family. Most interesting was the manner in which each member of the family constantly negotiates these identities, using language to affiliate to certain groups.

Firstly it must be noted that the researcher a Muslim female, wearing head covering was greeted in Arabic *Asalaam hu alay kum* (peace be upon you). Immediately Mrs. Harry affiliated herself to the religious group, thus identifying with the researcher. Most of the prayers done by Muslims are conducted in Arabic. Some of the members of the Muslims in the community of Belhar also speak the Arabic language.

Mrs Harry then immediately switches to English with the introduction of the researcher as she then identifies with the university and English as the institutional language. This is a typical example of how identity is constructed and negotiated with the interaction of others. Here the role of language is emphasised to display an identity (Wodak, 2001). Furthermore, Mrs Harry

has to deal with multiple identities which require subtle behaviour changes of which language is central. Being the subservient daughter-in-law, she answers the telephone speaking Afrikaans to her mother-in-law. The Afrikaans spoken was not a standard variety, but a variety spoken by the Muslim community of the Western Cape. This particular variety of Afrikaans consists of many intersentential code-switching, using English and Arabic words within an Afrikaans sentence.

The interview revealed and confirmed that a change in the use of predominantly Afrikaans to the predominant use of English emerged in this family. Currently the children in this family are mainly English speaking, while the parents are bilingual. Mrs Harry confirmed that she and her husband spoke Afrikaans to each other, but switches to English as soon as they have to address the children. The maternal grandparents are bilingual as well, but Mrs Harry speaks English to her siblings. The paternal grandparents are Afrikaans speaking, but they communicate well with their grandchildren who are English speaking. Over three generations this family has therefore shifted from mainly Afrikaans speaking to mainly English speaking. This does not mean that the other languages are completely abandoned. Even though they are spoken to in English, the children still listen and hear Afrikaans and Arabic from their parents' interaction in the home and also from the community which surrounds them. As a result the children are not monolingual individuals, but rather multilingual individuals, with varying degrees of competency for each language since they are constantly exposed to English, Afrikaans and Arabic.

A variety of languages are used by this family. Mrs Harry used the non-standard variety of Afrikaans, a variety used by the Muslim community, to affiliate herself with her mother-in-law. This particular lexicogrammatical code Stone (2002) links to signifying the enactment of a respectable identity. Thus no real evidence is present that this family felt stigmatised by the

use of a non-standard variety of Afrikaans which Stone (2002) claims this 'coloured" community had to contend with. It can therefore be said that the family does not fully resist the identities associated with the use of a non-standard Afrikaans.

The family identifies with English on a different level as to that of Afrikaans. The fact that the children are mainly English speaking and are in English MoI classes is indicative that the family viewed English as a superior language, necessary for upward mobility. Here again, as in the Vander family, English is regarded as a resource for economic empowerment. However no conscious effort is made to maintain Afrikaans as a home language.

Using a poststructural approach, it can be said that the Harry family appropriate language in constructing and negotiating their different identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). They view English as a linguistic resource, therefore these linguistic practices as a form of symbolic capital which can be converted into economic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Similarly they use Arabic for religious purposes and English and Afrikaans for everyday communication and education.

6.4.3 Case 3: The Waldi family
Mrs Waldi indicated that the family is bilingual, but displayed distinct Afrikaans linguistic behaviour both on a lexical and phonological level.

The interview revealed that Mrs Waldi spoke Afrikaans to her husband and her older son. According to her they previously lived in an environment where only Afrikaans was spoken. The eldest son was also enrolled in an Afrikaans MoI class. When they moved house, their linguistic environment changed to English and they shifted from speaking Afrikaans to speaking English. The second son was therefore enrolled in an English MoI class. It is

common in this community to have one child in an English MoI class and another in an Afrikaans MoI class.

Mrs Waldi persisted that the motivation behind switching from Afrikaans to English is due to the change in environment and the language spoken in the environment. There was no indication that the motivation for placing her second son in an English MoI class was due to aspirations towards upward mobility. Thus she does not view English as a superior language, but rather as a means to identify with the people in their new environment.

However Mrs Waldi contradicts herself later during the interview by saying that the High schools in her environment mainly have Afrikaans as MoI. She also indicates that she does not think the Language Policy of one of the schools is a good idea as it required that the learners do some subjects in English and others in Afrikaans in order to produce bilingual learners. Thus it is clear that Mrs Waldi is influenced by the monolingual bias in Western education which tends to favour formal education to be done using one language.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

Groups such as the "coloureds" are seen as a homogenous group aspiring to the same cultural norms. However the families observed in the Belhar community proved the contrary as the sample showed diversity in socio-economic status, religion and linguistic repertoires.

This chapter draws information from the findings in the case studies to answer the following research questions:

- How is bilingualism performed in the community of Belhar?

- How is Afrikaans and English (and other languages) used as linguistic resources in the community of Belhar?

- What linguistic options and identities (including hybrid identities) are available to the Belhar community?

- How are different identities negotiated in Belhar in the face of English and Afrikaans linguistic options?
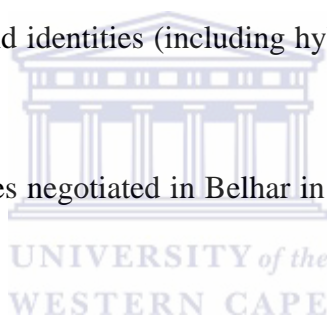
7.1 Performance of bilingualism

All three cases revealed the use of both English and Afrikaans. However, the three families differ in their approach in using two languages.
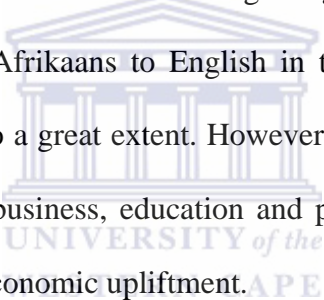
Being Afrikaans L1 speakers, the Vanders opted to teach their children English, especially for school purposes. They now have command of two languages, yet choose to speak Afrikaans in their home and use English as the school language only.

The Harry family initially claimed to be monolingual, but the home visit proved quite different. The children clearly spoke English only, the parents spoke both English and Afrikaans, the maternal grandparents spoke both English and Afrikaans and the paternal

grandparents spoke Afrikaans only. Although the children speak English only, they are exposed to Afrikaans and a bit of Arabic in the home and community. Thus these languages have an influence on the children's use of English.

The Waldi family stated that they are bilingual, using both English and Afrikaans in the home. The parents speak English to each other and to the eldest son. The youngest son was placed in an English MoI class. Therefore the entire family address the youngest son in English.

7.2 Afrikaans and English as linguistic resourses

The use of English in the three cases varied. Although English appears to dominate in most domains, a language shift from Afrikaans to English in the community of Belhar has not occurred. Afrikaans is still used to a great extent. However English is seen as an institutional language, as used in the media, business, education and parliament. Thus it is used by the community as an instrument for economic upliftment.

In all three cases, the code-switching and code-mixing was seen as a problem. The parents tried to enforce a practice of using one language only that is, striving towards the standard use of English or Afrikaans. Similarly to the educators, they do not recognise that the ability to use more than one language or varieties of that language could be used as a tool to gain access to knowledge and academic resourses embedded in particular languages (Banda, 2003).

7.3 Linguistic options and identities

The parents of the Harry family choose to speak Afrikaans to each other, yet they conduct all their business in English. Unlike the Vander family who only chooses English for education purposes, they move from one language, to a "mix" of languages and to another language in their repertoire depending on domain, topic and social factors (cf. Fergusson, 1982; Gumperz,

1982; Hymes, 1996). This phenomenon was obvious by the manner in which Mrs. Harry drifted from Arabic to a non-standard form of Afrikaans when speaking to her mother in-law, then back to English when she spoke to the researcher. Thus using language to identify herself with a particular group or person.

The three families as representative of the community are diverse in their culture, religion and socio-economic class. The choice of language they use in the home also differ. Thus their children will have different linguistic repertoires. So, when they enter school they reconfigure their linguistic repertoires in order to form a group identity.

7.4 Negotiated identity

The "coloured" community of Belhar cannot be seen as one homogenous group with the same identity. Identity in this group is multiple and is constructed and negotiated during interaction with others.
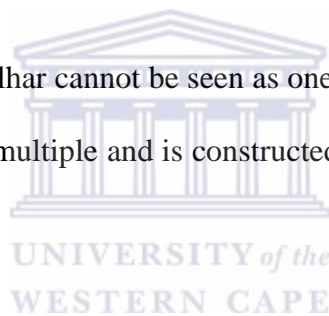
The study proved that the Harry family have the ability to move between two or more linguistic groups and are not members of a homogenous and bounded linguistic group (Heller, 2007; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Their language and identity cannot be described in binary in terms, that is, pro-English or pro-Afrikaans. Their identity is constantly constructed and negotiated using language as central to the identity behaviour.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1:Transcript of Belvue Primary School Principle interview

Mr Jay

Q: Do you have any programmes in place to help non- English speakers cope with English as the school language?

A: We don't have a programme as such in place, but we do send them to the remedial teacher for help. But we don't have a programme to ha… help non-English speakers to speak English.

Q: What do you think of teaching in English only so that the learners can be fully prepared for higher education? ... It is mainly done in English.

A: I think that it would be greatly to their advantage. We might as well scrap all Afrikaans at school because most parents want to place their children in an English medium class. Our teachers must then be prepared to teach English properly. They, … er must be equipped to handle non-English in an English classroom environment. I at most times feel disadvantaged since I'm Afrikaans speaking and received all my education up to secondary education in Afrikaans. This put me at a disadvantage at college and university. So, … my all means I think learners should be equipped with English.
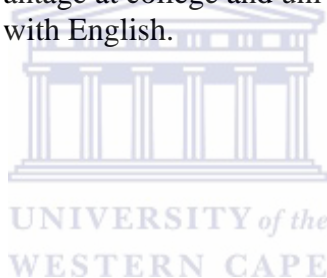
Appendix 2:Transcriptions: Belvue educators' interview

Mr Marais

Q: Mr Marais in your class how would you classify the children in terms of the languages they speak?

A: I think most of our learners here, especially the Grade 7's are Afrikaans speaking, the way they pronounce the work, they struggle with their tenses, I think they think in Afrikaans that's why most of the English words are a direct translation From Afrikaans, they struggle with English

Q: how would you say the environment out here,… is the diverse literacy practices, are there diverse languages that's spoken outside the classroom, like the playground and the community?

A: No

Q: Would you know anything about that?

A: No, not really

Q: You say they struggle with English, does this impact on their learning ability?... To what extend?

A: Ja,… Like in the reading there are no definite cognitive ability of things in the sentences and in their writing as well in English period they make use of Afrikaans words as well

Q: Your class is basically Afrikaans speaking?

A: My class is Afrikaans, and the two English classes are English in class, but I can here they are actually Afrikaans

Q. Do you think the new curriculum is innovative enough to provide the children with academic success or not

A: The new revised curriculum we are not on track with that in Grade 7. The OBE is not 100%, *net in gedeeelte daarvan* (only part of it)

Q:Does it look like the curriculum has influenced the overall performance at school?

A: I think that in the English classes there's a possible increase, maybe but, in the Afrikaans class there is a negative attitude towards it. You can't actually see the rapid progress in the Afrikaans class

Q: To your knowledge, has the school done anything to add value to school literacy and language practices?

A: Yes, there's a support team, we send them to the library. There's someone there for the reading. For languages and the Maths, Ms M Jacobs is there. Sometimes we send them to the lower grades cause some of our kids is on that level

Q: Did you initiate any practices in your class to improve the reading within the class environment?

A: The normal reading

Q: And you say the school besides the… didn't have any other organization coming in

A: In the first term they participated in the newspaper question competition and they came 9th or 10th

Q: Did they do well and did they have any influence on the other kids at school+

A: Yes,

Q: Has the school done anything to improve the learners in the English class who are non L1 English speakers?

A: No, there's nothing

Q: Are you allowed to use other literacy ideas or other languages in class to divert from standard Afrikaans or Standard English for learners to undersand

A: Ja

Q: What do you actuall use?

A: Sometime I use newspapers. Like every 2nd week they get books for research
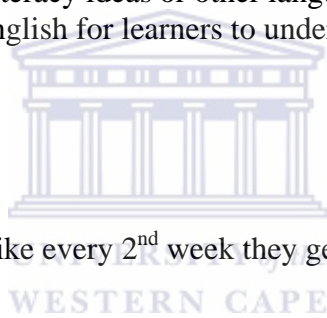
Mr Keen

Q: How would you describe the class in terms of the languages they speak, are they very divided?

A: Not, 34 learners. I have all English speaking

Q: The environment is diverse and they have diverse literacy practices. Does this have any impact on the learners' performance in the class?

A: Yes it does, most of them think in Afrikaans

Q: Is their Linguistic behaviour actually Afrikaans, the way they structure their sentences?

A: Yes, they can't really express themselves really well in English, that's what I find, even though they are L1 English speakers. So my class is English medium, but they are all actually Afrikaans

Q: Does the new curriculum have any impact on your teaching and their progress?

A: Yes, what I found is that when you teach these kids, it's hard to get through to them because you speak proper / standard English, so it's difficult for them to understand. I

personally revert back to the dictionary to tell them what this word mean etc But for a first language speaker it's supposed to be a natural thing. But now I must explain, so it could seem as though I'm being too…. It's just above the level of the kids

Q: To your knowledge did the school attach any value to literacy practices concerning classroom and the surrounding environment?

A: Well, I've only been here for two months. So I don't know. I haven't seen anything

Q: Does the school accommodate for learners who are not L1 English speakers? Like in your class, are there any programmes?

A: Nothing in place. At other schools as well and I've been at quite a few schools

Q: So there is no programme in place to teach them the language.

A: There is nothing that I know of besides a reading period at the end of the day but, there's no formal programme to address that type of thing

Q: Do you think the school has done enough in terms of literacy practices?

A: There's nothing

Q: Is there any other innovative ways you explain things to them besides the dictionary?

A: The only resource is the dictionary

Q: So you don't switch to Afrikaans like many other teachers do?

A: No, I'm not comfortable with that

Q: Have you been allowed to use any alternative ideas for literacy that are outside of the curriculum

A: Well we are open to new ideas, on a Friday we use the computer lab and I ask the kids to write down new words and concepts, then we do research on the pc's. But it's difficult because the kids in the computer lab want to play games

Q: Would you be in favour of a programme where kids are taught English in a proper manner and as they progress from foundation phase to here, they'll be fully equipped to deal academically in English. In concepts as well equip themselves for secondary and tertiary education

A: I'd be glad if there was such a programme. Not only for my benefit, but for the kids because there has to be language guidelines
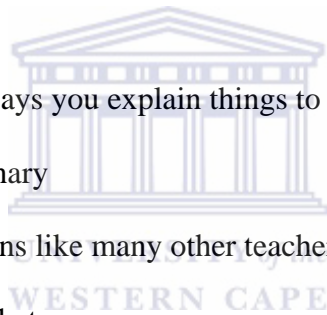
Appendix 3: Intake of learners at Belvue Primary School 1995 – 2006

<div align="right">

3 Daffodil Crescent
Belhar
7493
13 October 2008
</div>

Dear Mrs Esau

Trust you are in good health and spirit.

You might recall that that about a year ago I asked you for some information regarding the intake of learners at Belvue Primary. However, both you and I did not get round to look up the information.

I am now totally pressured to complete the report of the study I did at Belvue Primary. I would like to have that information to conclude the report.

Would it be possible for you to forward that information to me in the following table?

Intake: Number of Grade 1 learners between 1995 and 2006

Year	English	Afrikaans
1995	82	78
1996	81	69
1997	76	58
1998	84	51
1999	89	43
2000	95	40
2001	97	37
2002	98	35
2003	97	29
2004	105	22
2005	108	0
2006	106	0

Mrs Esau, the information is vital to my thesis and I would appreciate it if you could handle it as an urgent matter. Also could you stamp the letter for me to make my information authentic?

Thank you very much.

Kind regards

Faika Warner

Appendix 4: Consent Letter

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17,   Bellville.
7535
 SOUTH AFRICA

Telephone :   (021) 959-2978/2380
Fax   :   (021) 959-1212
Email   :   Fbanda@uwc.ac.za
           :   Agrovers@uwc.ac.za

Linguistics Department

Dear Parents/Guardians

REQUEST LETTER
 I, Faika Warner, a post graduate student in the Department of Linguistics at the University
of the Western Cape request the participation of parents in a research project.

The purpose of this research project is to study the efficacy of dual-medium and parallel-medium instruction in promoting multilingualism for multiliteracy at historically disadvantaged schools in the Western Cape.

During the daily conducting of research, under no circumstances shall the research process hinder the educational programmes. The learners, educators, parents/guardians and the school will not be identifiable in any way when the results of the study are published. All recordings and interactions with the learners and teachers will remain anonymous.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. And, you are free to withdraw at any time. In addition, if you have any further queries concerning this project you can contact Ms. Warner or the Departmental Assistant at one of the above numbers.

CONSENT

I …………………………………………………….. consent to participate in this research project. I understand that I am free to withdraw at any time. I also understand that any information or personal details gathered in the course of this research is confidential, and that neither my name nor any other identifying information will be published without my written permission. In addition, the purpose of the research has been explained to me and I have been given the chance to ask questions about the research.

Name of Learner…………………………… grade……………..

Contact No. of parent …………………………(o.h)

…………………………(a.h.)

Signature of Parent………………………..

Signature of witness………………………

Date: …………………………………..

Appendix 5: Transcripts: Family Interviews

Mr Vander

F: First of all, um what languages

V: Um you see, it's fifty-fifty you know … mostly Afrikaans

F: Okay. Also um do you actually read often

V: Ja, ek hou baie van lees

F: Ja

V: Veral library toe kom en so

F: Okay. En in watter taal, in which language do you actually read most of your books

V: Soos ek sê, meeste is Afrikaanse boeke wat ek lees en so een Engelse boek. Soos as ek nou ses boeke uit haal sal vyf van hulle Afrikaans en een Engels wees.

F: Um okay en en um wat soort boeke, what kinds of magazines or books do you actually read?

V: Drama en Romance en altyd die speur verhale.

F: And your children, do they read all the time? Do you encourage them?

V: Ja, ja hulle lees baie. Die jongste enetjie, sy lees net so graag baie.

F: Okay and when do they read, um do you actually discuss what they're reading all of the time?

V: Ja as hy nie verstaan nie dan kom vra hy dan verduidelik ek vir hom net die storie.

F: And um do you allow your children, your daughter to mix her two languages, English and Afrikaans? Do you allow her to mix it or are you strict that she must only speak English when she speaks English and only just Afrikaans when she speaks Afrikaans?

V: You know… maar jy sien as jy nou nie mooi duidelik kan uitdink of so nie then you speak in the other language.

F: And um do you think when these teachers, when they give homework… does it actually help them to learn or is it just unnecessary - the homework that they get from the teachers?

V: Ek wil sê dat dit nodig is. Soos ek agter gekom het, dit help baie vir die leerder.

F: And do you discuss the homework with your children?

V: Ja, redelik baie aandag. Sy kom haal my partykeers, come help me with this, explain to me how this works.

F: Um is it sometimes difficult to understand the work?

V: Sometimes ja, maar meeste van die vra kan ek help met en so.

F: Okay , and when you encounter, when you when you come up wih difficulties in homework or you don't understand or your daughter doesn't understand, is there a way that you can actually go to the school or go to the teacher and will the teacher help you to make her understand?

V: So vêr hetek nog net [inaudible].

F: But I mean do you have a way of going to the teacher? Maybe a phonecalll, you know? Is there an opening for the parent? Can you actually go to the teacher?

V: Ja, daar is baie van die by die [inaudible]. As daar 'n vergadering is of so dan sê hulle enige problem met die kind wat nie reg verstaan nie… ko net na ons toe.

F: And when you participate, do you participate in the school abctivities? And so on like when the are on the board of the school or something like that? But you do it in meetings?

V: I do it in meetings. I'm not working at the moment and my work doesn't allow me to…night shift and day shift…day shift and night shift. Dit sal bietjie moeilik gewees het met die skofte,jy weet? Met die Rade en so. Maar as ek die kans gehad het, [inaudible] ek is nou by die huis nou, so ek kan maar…

F: Okay and um you know the language that they use at school, is it the same that they use at home like um I see you mainly speak Afrikaans but yourf daughter is in an English medium class. Okay, now what actually motivated you to put your daughter in an English medium class? What was the reason for not putting her in an Afrikaans class?

V: Ja sien jy die ding is die man. Ons het met Afrikaans groot geword en klaar…toe ons nou klaar met skool was, toe sien ek nee in Engels sukkel ons. Metengels sukkel ek nog 'n bietjie meer. Toe besluit ek nee. En die ding is die nie 'n international language and so nie. Laat ek dan van die begin stell… laat die kind voorbereid is.

F: Okay, did you do anything at home to prepare her for the English classes? Did you speak Afrikaans to her or did you speak English to her before she went to school?

V: Ja, before she went to school [mumbles]

F: Do you understand what is meant by the [noise] to learn another language, that they must become bilingual and so on?

V: mmmmm

F: Thank you very much, I think this must be all. Um what as your daughters results like? Is she doing well in school?

V: Yes she's doing well at school, she's brilliant at school. There's no problem about that.

F: Anyway, thank you.

Mrs Harry

F; Um, at this school, what um languages… rather do you know, and what languages do you speak to each other?

H: I speak Afrikaans.

F: You speak Afrikaans? Coz he's Afrikaans speaking? [inaudible] Okay um the other question that we really need to know is do you read… like the person…

H: Yes

F: Okay, and um when you read , is it mainly English?

H: only

F: Only English [laughs] okay and um when you read you do business and so on, is it all conducted in English

H: Yes

F: Okay, and there are no other language that you use besides English in your whole like……

H: No

F: Um, so when you read, do also read novels

H: Novels, all things that would um… interest me, the topics [inaudible]

F: Okay, um and your children do you encourage them to read at home?
H: I do, the boys are very … and I think it rubs off on her more and they're older than her… she's the baby..

F: Would you try and [ ]?

H: I do.

F: Okay, and when she reads her um magazine or book, would you try and have a discussion with her about it?

H: I do. The problem is here, the library … so when you get home sometimes they closed. So it's not that she's not, um wanting to get anything from the library it's the times.

F: So you say you don't allow them to mix other languages with their language at home?

H: No. But you know what? Children like some of the cousins, their home language is Afrikaans, so they mix it and I feel terribly upset when they do.

F: They actually let me think of school. But I mean like being a Muslim as well,.. and you say *shukran*? And like that?

H: Okay

F: So you use other languages, coz that is what we are looking at.

H: Yes, yes exactly.

F: And…. Also you get upset when they mix their English and Afrikaans?

H: Yes
F: You like them to just speak English or only Afrikaans if they do speak?

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H: Yes, I don't like the slang they use.

F: Okay um … the important thing here is… Do you think that um the homework the teachers give the children from school… Do you think it has infected, err,…sorry.. affected the learning process? Do you think it actually helps them to learn more?

H: I must say that I've had … [ ] and the homework that they got was a bit of history… they learn from it. But with normal schools it is just the normal runaway dog when you get homework which I am really upset about because I feel that we cannot with everything at home which they are supposed to do at school.

F: And when she does get this homework, do you evr have discussions with her about the work?

H: Yes, she'll come to me and she'll give me a layout of what she's done. She' very um independent but she must also just sit there and go over it.

F: Okay .. and um have you like encountered really um any difficulties in understanding her homework?...... Both you and her/

H: Um sometimes it's not um clear what the picture is and though they will give an instruction, but not very clear. That helps. …… instead of doing a cover series where just in case….

F: But um you know, what we actually looking at is, in case you run into difficulties trying to help her, is there any opportunity to contact the teacher?

H: Err no, they don't give you their cell number, but last year, I was very happy that, that teacher actually did. So if I needed anything I could call.

F: So it was like….uh…it depends on the teacher? So what we really like to know is there any help available for you?

H: Let me tell you, generally no, cos with my … are we talking specifically private school?

F: Um what we would really know, the grade seven.

H: Okay. Um not normally, the previous school that she was in, yes [   ]

F: Okay and um where the school is concerned, have you or do you partake in any activities that this school has to offer?

H: Yes we had fundraising and I've been involved [   ]

F: So you would say that the language you use at home is the same language that is used for instruction at the school as well?

H: Yes, because their first language is English.

F: Okay. Is it important for you that she learns both languages at school?

H: Yes it is because it's the school that can… I see it in her writing as well.

F: And on that point, how does she do at school?

H: She's, she's actually doing well… at most times.

F: And uh like you say, she is in an English class and you would like her to learn both languages. But what actually motivates the parents to put their child in an English class?

H: Probably because I grew up being English.. I find English much more interesting because I pity the Afrikaans kids because I had an uncle when I was growing up and went through his book. I thought how can the [ ] because the language is too difficult. I think Afrikaans is very difficult. But the medium at university is actually English. So for that purpose it'll be better.

F: Um just another question. We would like to know…. Do you know what the school's language policy is?

H: Um actually I don't. Um I know they have Afrikaans classes as well an I actually wasn't aware that they still have that during this day and age. [giggles]

F: Okay, okay. Thanks a lot.

Mrs Waldi
F: Okay.. um .. What languages do you speak as a couple or caregivers to your children at home?

W: Well obviously, English and Afrikaans, but mostly English

F: Personally, do you read often?

W: I read often. I go to the library often times. Not my family, they don't like reading.

F: Okay. And when you read, do you read in English?

W: Both languages.

F: And um do you … Say if you do business, in what language would you prefer to conduct the business?

W: Uh… English

F: English. And what kind of books do you read? Do you prefer just novels? Or magazines?

W: Just novels.

F: And any magazines?

W: Ja most of the times I do ja

F: Um… And your children? Do you try to encourage them to read at home as well?

W: Oh ja, yes Jason of course, him… But is it very difficult because um he don't understand the basics. So he can't read and he's a grade seven learner. And it's actually very heart sore

because you can't do anything or you don't want your… Me for instance. I'm very short tempered, maybe that is also got a lot to do with it, because we nag on him all the time. And, um… I had a discussion with his remedial teacher. Though she said um.. the first thing when he comes home don't ask him how his day was at school because it irritates him. He, he's not enjoying it because he don't understand it. He likes to do things with his hands though. He's very good with that and computers and of course phones. He'll tell you anything about a phone. But reading….

F: Okay, and if he did…If he read or whenever he does read something, have you ever tried discussing what he read?

W: Yes but we've had but uh, um he's got a very short concentration span. Whit um... anything can tick him off. And he gets distracts, distractions anytime. So um, I'll say if he understands it though. If he under he understands and what I also found out is , he can say big words but not the basic words. He can't.

F: Okay, and um, when the children speak, you say you speak two languages, do you allow them to mix the languages?

W: Mmhm um no.

F: Are you very strict,? You only speak English or you only speak Afrikaans?

W: Yes

F: To allow them to use English words when they speak Afrikaans or use Afrikaans words when they speak English?

W: No we don't
F: Not at all?

W: Although when we send them to the shop, we've got a house shop, like two roads away, and he will never talk English. He will always ask me mommy what do you say this in Afrikaans?

F: Yes of course. Because of the environment.

W: Ja. Even his friends, most of his friend speak Afrikaans. So, um, he will speak Afrikaans with them. Sometimes the words are not right but he will always ask if it is right.

F: Now related to homework and thing like that. Do you think that the homework the teachers give the children are effective in teaching them something and learning some thing?

W: I wouldn't say in learning them something because they don't understand it and we also don't understand. I mean my son, he finished Matric two years ago, he can't even help him.

F: So you try and discuss the work with him?

W: We can't because we don't understand it.

F: It's quite difficult then?
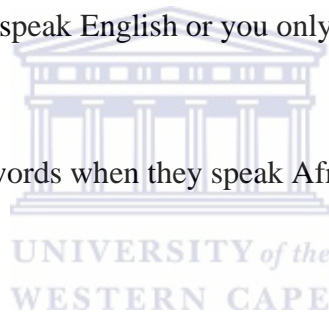
W: It's quite difficult, yes.

F: What is important right now is that if you don't understand everything, is there any way that you can like contact the teachers directly? Can you phone and say, look we don't understand this, explain this to us and so on?
W: Well I normall talk to Mrs A Jacobs or she'll phone me if there's a problem. For me, maybe I see it in a different light because I don't understand the work. And I don't understand him. There's certain things that we can't explain to him and uh.. uh, um I think they get scared for him especially. He gets very scared and he gets nervous and agitated because he don't understand the work. And maybe, uh, for a few days or a few weeks he didn't do something that he had to do, they'll always contact me.

F: They'll always contact you?

W: Ja

F: But there is no way that you can contact them?

W: Yes

F: No other teachers you have contact with?

W: No

F: Okay. So, um, so if there's any activities at school, would you participate? Sa, would you go to the parents meeting?

W: Yes

F: Would you say that the language they use at school is the same language that you use at home?

W: Yes

F: And, um, is it important for you that the children learn both languages?

W: It is important because I am actually sitting in a mess. Um, he's going to high school next year. All these schools around us is Afrikaans. And what do I do with him? He's going to high school and he don't even know half the stuff he must know. What do I do? I'm in a predicament. I don't know if I must keep the next year in grade seven again. For what? I got all the forms for further schools, but I don't know what to do.

F: Okay, so if I ask you why did you put him in an English class in the first place?

W: Because my family, I mean they've been speaking English since they were small. To put him in an Afrikaans class was gonna be even worse. And that is what I couldn't get. If I put Jason in an Afrikaans school next year, what is going to happen to him?

F: Um. I know this don't sound good, but if you were Afrikaans speaking, would you still have put him in an English class?

W: No
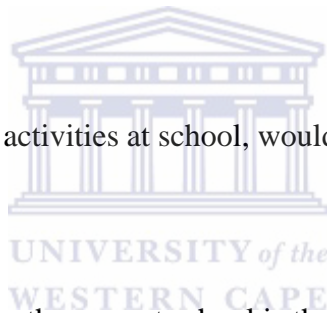
F: Okay. And um, do you understand what is meant by the school's language policy?

W: Yes I think I got some idea of it.

F: Can I just hear what your view is?

W: It means um, where Jason is, um is both languages, Afrikaans and English. Just not the English school. They talk both languages. So, um maybeit is not a good idea because obviously children mix. You get the Afrikaans children and you get the English children. So I don't know how they speak at school and I don't think that they do the same thing that they do at school, they do at home. So maybe it's not a good idea.

F: Uh, uh, uh. I have been to that school and what they have is a called a parallel medium school. The parallel meaning that they have English medium classes separately to Afrikaans medium classes. You do have schools where there's dual medium as well. They have English and Afrikaans, uh some subjects in English, some in Afrikaans.

W: And that is gonna happen, uh, I went to Parow high on Thursday night. So they explain to us what that is, and I freaked already. You know, what I'm saying? I freaked already because the child is not gonna know anything.

F: So Parow High seems like a dual medium?

W: Yes. And it's weird to me, not that it's weirder. I mean but I don't want Jason there also the environment. It's not that we trying to be funny or anything, I mean we can't afford it. I can't afford to send Jason to Parow High. But if it gonna be best for my child, we must ma' suffer and just go there.

F: Thank you very much.
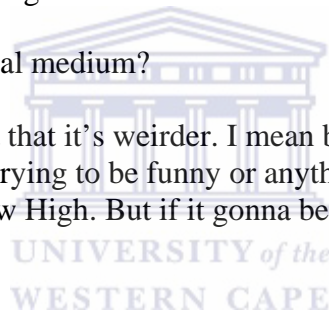
Appendix 6: Home visits: observation notes

03 August 2006

Mr van Wyk, father of a grade 7 learner at Bellvue primary

He is and orderly at a state hospital, working shifts. This allowed for a weekday interview.

I arrived at his home at 13:50, on a Tuesday afternoon.

I was well received and the parent was quite enthusiastic to participate in the project.

As I waited to interview him, his daughter arrived from school. The sister asked: "*Is jy honger*?" (Are you hungry?). The response to that was: "*Ja, maar ek willie brood hê nie*" (Yes, but I don't want bread.)

It was clear from the beginning that Afrikaans was the home language and all the family members spoke in Afrikaans to each other. I therefore placed him at ease and agreed that he could answer the questions in the language in which he is most comfortable.

The walls of the room in which the interview was conducted, was decorated with family pictures, prayer verses and poetry placards. These placards were both in English ad in Afrikaans. A few novels were stacked on the side table. Two religious books were on the bookshelf. The only way I know they were religious books was because of the symbol of the cross on both of them. One book was English, but could not manage to read the title of the second book (the print was too small).

During the pre-interview chat I discovered that Mr Van Wyk was from a rural town, Vredendal where Afrikaans was the only language spoken. Hence both he and his wife are both Afrikaans speaking.

He confirmed that none of his parents or grandparents spoke English.

General comment: A culture of reading is encouraged. The father gave the impression that his daughter is doing well at school despite the difference between the home language and the school language.

05 August 2006

Mrs. Hendricks, mother of a grade 7 girl.

She is a Paralegal, working for a law firm which specializes in copyright and trade marking.

I arrived at her home at 14:00, on a Saturday afternoon as this was the only time she could accommodate me for an interview.

Mrs. Hendricks was very enthusiastic to be interviewed for the project.

She made us comfortable in the living room. The wall on the left was covered with plaques on which verses from the Quran was printed in Arabic. Almost the entire right wall consisted of bookshelves. On it was a full set of "World Books", encyclopedias as well as a set of "Britannica Encyclopedia". Some "O" magazines were stacked on the coffee table and the child's homework books were scattered on the dining table.

The language spoken in the home was clearly English, although she said that she speaks Afrikaans to her husband. Before we proceeded with the interview, her brother called and she answered in English.

Midway in the interview the phone rang again, this time it was her mother in law. She greeted in Arabic saying *Salaam* (Peace) and proceeded with the conversation in Afrikaans. By saying: " *Mummy ek het iemand hie, ek gan vi Mummy later trug bel."* (Mommy I have someone with me, I will call you back later.) Clearly the Afrikaans used was not the standard variety, but Kaapse Afrikaans

General comment: Mrs. Hendricks shows a keen interest in the progress of her children's education.

07 August 2006

Mrs. Waldergrave, mother of a grade 7 boy

We arrived at her place at 13:50. She was very keen to participate in the project and eager to be interviewed. No other family members were about so I could not observe the language in which the family communicated. However she indicated that both she and her husband are bilingual, speaking both English and Afrikaans.

The cabinet was decorated was decorated with ornaments, but no books was visible.

About certificates were on the one wall and three paintings on the other.

General comment: A concerned parent whose son is not doing so well at school. However, she feels helpless and blames the system for some of his shortcomings.