

Dual-medium education and parallel medium schooling have a long history in South Africa. Both these forms of bilingual education go back a century to the beginnings of the struggle for Afrikaans against anglicisation. They remain prevalent today in the officially multilingual dispensation of post-apartheid South Africa that is nevertheless characterised by the hegemony of English. This paper reports on a qualitative study of the interpretation and application of these two concepts in Western Cape schools. The study found that both dual- and parallel-medium education are practised in formerly Afrikaans-medium schools under pressure to teach through English. Dual-medium education becomes the fall-back position for parallel single-medium schooling, rather than a model designed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy. In township schools, meanwhile, the ground appears fertile for extending widespread codeswitching practices into dual-medium education. Much advocacy work, teacher training and materials production in African languages remain to be done, however, if this form of mother-tongue based bilingual education is to be realised.



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Dual-medium and parallel-medium schooling in the Western Cape: from default to design

Peter Plüddemann, Daryl Braam,
Michellé October, Zola Wababa

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PRAESA's series of occasional papers is meant to provide an opportunity for the research done by staff members and associated researchers working in the domain of language policy in education to obtain initial exposure to an interested peer audience. It is hoped that feedback will improve the final version in which this research is eventually published or distributed.

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Abbreviations

Add1	First additional language (i.e. second language or L2)
Add2	Second additional language (i.e. third language or L3)
ex-CED	former Cape Education Department
ex-DET	former Department of Education and Training
DoE	Department of Education
EMDC	Education Management Development Centre
EMIS	Education Management Information System
HL	home language (i.e. first language or L1)
ex-HoD	former House of Delegates
ex-HoR	former House of Representatives
LiEP	Language in Education Policy
LoLT	Language of learning and teaching
LPPS	Language Policy for Primary Schools (in the Western Cape)
LSMs	Learning support materials
MTE	Mother-tongue education
OBE	Outcomes-based education
PRAESA	Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
SGB	school governing body
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

Opsomming

Dubbel-medium onderrig en parallel-medium skole het 'n lang geskiedenis in Suid-Afrika agter die rug. Albei dié vorme van tweetalige onderwys gaan meer as 'n eeu terug na die begin van die taalstryd teen die anglisisme. Hulle bly relevant in die amptelik veeltalige opset van Suid-Afrika ná apartheid wat nogtans deur die hegemonie van Engels gekenmerk word. Hierdie referaat lewer berig oor 'n kwalitatiewe ondersoek na die interpretasie en toepassing van dubbel- en parallel-medium onderwys in Wes-Kaapse skole. 'n Hoofbevinding is dat beide vorme in voormalig Afrikaans-medium skole beoefen word waar daar 'n sterk behoefde aan Engels is. Dubbel-medium onderwys verteenwoordig in dié opset die terugvalposisie vir parallel-(enkel-)medium skole, eerder as om 'n model te wees wat doelbewus tweetaligheid en dubbele geletterdheid bevorder. In die township skole blyk die grond vrugbaar te wees vir die uitbou van die wydverspreide praktyk van kodewisseling, na dubbel-medium onderwys. Dit sal egter heelwat bewussynswerk, onderwyser-opleiding en die produksie van leermateriaal in die Afrika-tale verg indien hierdie vorm van moedertaal-gebaseerde tweetalige onderwys verwesenlik gaan word.

Isishwankathelo

Imfundo engokusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezimbini ngokulinganayo ukufundisa nokufunda kunye nemfundo engeelwimi ezinxuseneyo zinembali ende eMzantsi Afrika. Intsusa yezi ntlobo zemfundo engeelwimi ezimbini ingabalelwa kwinkulungwane yeminyaka yokuqala komlo wokusetyenziswa kwesiBhulu endaweni yokwenziwa ukuba kusetyenziswa isiNgesi. IsiBhulu sisesekhona kwinkqubo yasemva korhulumente wengcinezelo eMzantsi Afrika wokwenziwa kweelwimi ezininzi zibe ziilwimi zoburhulumente obongamelwe sisiNgesi. Eli phepha linika inkcazelo ngophando lwamanani olungokutolikwa nokusetyenziswa kwezi ngqiqo kwizikolo zaseNtshona Koloni. Uphando lufumanise ukuba zombini iintlobo zemfundo, imfundo engokusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezimbini ngokulinganayo ukufundisa nokufunda kunye nemfundo engeelwimi ezinxuseneyo zenziwa kwizikolo ebezifudula zisebenzisa isiBhulu njengolwimi lokufundisa, phantsi kwesinyanzeliso sokuba kufundiswe ngesiNgesi. Imfundo engokusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezimbini ngokulinganayo ukufundisa nokufunda isetyenziswa njengonobangela wokufundisa ngeelwimi ezinxuseneyo, injongo ikukukhuthaza ubungcali kulwimi olunye, endaweni yokuba ngumzekelo omiselwe ukukhuthaza ubungcali bokusebenzisa iilwimi ezimbini nobuchule bokufundisa ukufunda nokubhala. Ngeli xesha, kwizikolo zasezilokishini izinto zibonakala ngathi ziyathembisa ekusekeni nasekwandiseni ukutshintshwa-tshintshwa kweelwimi ukuba kube yimfundo engokusetyenziswa kweelwimi ezimbini ngokulinganayo ukufundisa nokufunda. Umsebenzi omninzi wokuthethelela olu hlobo lwemfundo, ukuqeqeshwa kootitshala kunye nokuveliswa kwezixhobo zokufundisa ngeelwimi zase-Afrika kusafuneka wenziwe, ukuba kufuneka oluhlobo lwemfundo engeelwimi ezimbini nolusekelwe kulwimi lwenkobe luphunyezwe.

Abstract

Dual-medium education and parallel medium schooling have a long history in South Africa. Both these forms of bilingual education go back a century to the beginnings of the struggle for Afrikaans against anglicisation. They remain prevalent today in the officially multilingual dispensation of post-apartheid South Africa that is nevertheless characterised by the hegemony of English. This paper reports on a qualitative study of the interpretation and application of these two concepts in Western Cape schools. The study found that both dual- and parallel-medium education are practised in formerly Afrikaans-medium schools under pressure to teach through English. Dual-medium education becomes the fall-back position for parallel single-medium schooling, rather than a model designed to promote bilingualism and biliteracy. In township schools, meanwhile, the ground appears fertile for extending widespread codeswitching practices into dual-medium education. Much advocacy work, teacher training and materials production in African languages remain to be done, however, if this form of mother-tongue based bilingual education is to be realised.

1. Background to the study

In March 2002 the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) undertook a research study to investigate “the interpretation and application of the concepts ‘dual’ and ‘parallel’ medium education in Western Cape schools”¹. The study was commissioned by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), and was to look specifically at the qualitative² aspects of

- teacher qualification and provision (expertise)
- expenses incurred by schools (the cost factor)
- time-table provision for language (status of language subjects)
- assessment provision for language (status of languages of learning and teaching [LoLTs])
- language policies in schools e.g. language of learning and teaching (LoLT).

In the process it became necessary to determine the meaning of existing LoLT descriptors for public schools across the different ex-department contexts³. Information provided beforehand by the WCED’s own Education Management Information Systems (EMIS) database showed the extent of dual-medium and parallel-medium education. A glance at the 2001 WCED figures for public schools by LoLT descriptor (Table 1) reveals that of the 1452 public schools, some 482 (33%) were classified as parallel-medium and 51 (3.5%) as dual-medium. Parallel-medium institutions included most ex-DET schools, almost two in five ex-CED schools, and one-quarter of ex-HoR schools. Dual-medium schools were limited to the latter two ex-departments.

WCED LoLT descriptor	Ex-CED	Ex-DET	Ex-HoD	Ex-HoR	Total	Row %
Single-medium	169	46	6	696	917	63.2%
Parallel-medium	120	120		242	482	33.2%
Dual-medium	30			21	51	3.5%
Totals	319	166	6	961	1452	100.0%

Table 1: Summary of WCED schools by LoLT descriptor, 2001 (source: EMIS, WCED)

It was clear, therefore, that however the terms were defined, dual-medium education and especially parallel-medium schooling were widespread across the province⁴. The study was tasked with making informed recommendations regarding WCED language support and general systemic provision of LoLT.

Somewhat fortuitously, the study was commissioned at the same time as an important policy development process was taking place in the Western Cape⁵. Following political reshuffling in late 2001 a new provincial minister of Education, Advocate Andre Gaum of the New National Party, came into office and set up a task team to investigate the feasibility and legality of introducing a policy of mother-tongue education (MTE) and third-language tuition in primary schools. Such a policy had become necessary because the national language-in-education policy (LiEP) (DoE 1997) had not taken root at school level. The LiEP provides for additive bilingualism on home-language foundations, and clearly envisages the rehabilitation of African languages through their extended use as LoLTs and as language subjects. Gaum identified the main reason for the LiEP's non-implementation as school communities' exploitation of a legal loophole that 'places no obligation on schools to offer particular languages, but encourages schools which are willing and able to offer more than one language medium in order to accommodate parental or learners' preferences' (Gaum 2002).

As this paper will argue in more detail, evidence of the policy's lack of ~~impact can be found in the growing drive for English~~ *the expense of the home language* amongst Afrikaans- and Xhosa-speaking school communities in the Western Cape⁶, for whom English remains, at best, a second language. The voluntarist nature of the LiEP, as referred to by Gaum (above) and also by the national deputy Minister of Education at the time (Mangena 2002:3), is directly attributable to its responsiveness to political pressures at the time of the policy's genesis in the mid-1990s. These pressures came from the powerful pro-Afrikaans lobby, on the one hand, and from African-language speakers' sensitivities around the historically-stigmatised role of MTE under apartheid, on the other. Today, in a public sphere in which English has become dominant and even hegemonic (Alexander 2000) in government, business, the media, and higher education – official multilingualism notwithstanding – it is unsurprising that working-class school communities should emulate the elites in largely ignoring the multilingual spirit of the LiEP, and opt for English. Tragically, the pursuit of an English-medium education at all costs by additional-language speakers is often accompanied by high drop-out rates, low academic performance all the way up the school ladder (cf. October 2002), and by cultural alienation and identity crises (De Klerk 2002).

For the study, therefore, it was important to recognise the contradictions of the language in education terrain in post-apartheid South Africa in which pro-multilingual policies stand in increasing opposition to anglocentric practices. Upon completion the present study played a part in informing the subsequent (draft) Language Policy in the Primary Schools of the Western Cape (WCED 2002), the product of the task team's work. This point will be taken up again in the concluding section of this paper.

Before then, we try to show that dual-medium education and parallel-medium schools have a long and troubled history in South Africa. There follows an empirical section in which we report on the present study's findings, including the prevalence of dual-medium and parallel-medium education *by default* rather than *by design*, and further evidence of a language shift to English (cf. Plüddemann et al. 2004). We conclude with a closer look at the draft new language policy for primary schools in the Western Cape (WCED 2002). The endorsement of what is termed mother-tongue-based bilingual education may well represent the most viable alternative to English-mainly practices for most Xhosa-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking schools in the Western Cape for the foreseeable future.

2. Dual-medium and parallel-medium schooling in historical perspective

Historically, dual-medium education and parallel-medium education in South Africa are associated with the struggle for Afrikaans in state-aided bilingual schools for 'whites' over a period of about a hundred years until 1948. For Dutch/Afrikaans-speaking children in the nineteenth century living under English colonial rule, bilingual Dutch-English instruction was the norm (Heugh 2002:4). An increasingly bitter *taalstryd* was waged by pro-Afrikaans nationalists against the anglicisation policies of the British since 1875. Following the defeat of the Boer forces by the British colonizers in the South African War (1899–1902), nationalist Afrikaners sought to shore up the position of Dutch-Afrikaans alongside English. Education was identified as a key site of struggle. In 1907–8 the two former Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) decreed six years of MTE, with the second language introduced as a subject and gradually and increasingly used as a 'subsidiary' LoLT. Dual-medium education was to occur from the 7th year (i.e. from secondary school) in classes with both English- and Dutch- (i.e. Afrikaans-) speaking children; the two languages to be used in equal measure (Malherbe 1977:6). After 1910 home-language medium was recommended across the Union for the first 6 Grades of schooling, with some allowance for parental choice and local adaptation, to be followed by dual-medium education from Std. V (Grade 7) (ibid.).

The struggle for Afrikaans represented a political and economic quest for survival, and later for supremacy, as much as it did a pivot of cultural identity (Alexander 1989). For proponents of the bilingual schooling system, the overriding purpose was to foster social and cultural integration between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking 'whites' who lived in the same community (Malherbe 1977:6)⁷. Utilising widely accepted definitions, Malherbe (1943) defined the *parallel class* system as one in which English medium and Afrikaans-medium classes co-existed side by side in the same school.

... the Afrikaans and English-speaking pupils are taught in separate classes, each receiving instruction through the medium of his home language. If the numbers in the one group are so small that one teacher per class is not warranted, two or more classes are sometimes combined under one teacher. This system is in operation more frequently at the primary level than at the secondary level. It implements, in the primary stage at least, the mother-tongue medium regulation as consistently as the unilingual school, as far as the formal instruction of individual pupils is concerned. (Malherbe 1943:35)

The *dual-medium* system, by contrast, was defined by the systematic exposure to two languages of instruction; or, in Malherbe's terms, 'both media are used alternately in teaching one subject or by teaching some subjects through the one medium and other subjects through the other medium to English and Afrikaans pupils sitting together in the same class' (ibid:118). 'Terminology in both languages is thus absorbed' (ibid:36), although pupils take notes in their home language. Dual-medium classes are considered acceptable once 'pupils have reached a sufficiently high level of attainment in the second language to make it effective as an additional medium of instruction' (ibid:36). Finally, Malherbe distinguishes a 'combination of the parallel and dual medium system, the former being more common in the lower classes and the latter more common in the upper classes' (ibid:118). For historically contingent reasons, these definitions were limited to the Afrikaans/English combination.

There is little doubt that dual-medium education and the parallel-medium system proved to be beneficial to learners under the specific conditions of the time, from an educational and social point of view. In 1938 a major national survey of bilingualism was conducted amongst almost 19 000 'white' Afrikaans/English bilingual pupils in Grades 6 to 12 (Std. 4 to Std. 10) (Malherbe 1943). The study has been internationally recognized as one of the first large-scale ones of its kind. Amongst other findings, the survey concluded that (a) more children come from bilingual Afrikaans/English homes (40%) than from English-only (32%) or Afrikaans-only homes (25%); (b) that children from bilingual homes have a higher IQ than children from unilingual homes; (c) that 'bilingual children reach a higher all round level of scholastic achievement than unilingual children' (ibid:70) (d) that 'even in the case of unilingual children the bilingual school achieves a higher attainment in the two languages combined than the unilingual school, whether English or Afrikaans medium' (ibid:73); (e) 'the bilingual school offers no handicap in the study of the mother tongue', i.e. that children in bilingual schools reached similar levels of proficiency in their home language as did their peers enrolled in unilingual (home-language) schools (ibid:73); (f) that in regard to the content subjects, children in bilingual schools significantly outperformed their peers in unilingual schools (ibid:76).

Notwithstanding such and other evidence of its pedagogic and social successes, and despite support from a considerable proportion of the 'white' electorate, the bilingual school came increasingly under fire from Afrikaner separatists who felt threatened by the power of English, and who sought to limit its influence (and attendant 'liberal values') on their children (Heugh 2002:7)⁸. These more radically Nationalist Afrikaners advocated single-medium schools as part of a strategy of cultural autonomy and, after 1948, of Afrikaner political and economic ascendancy over the English. By the

time Afrikaans replaced Dutch as the second official language alongside English in 1925, dual-medium and parallel-medium schools were already starting to be phased out in favour of single-medium schools (Giliomee 2003:14), a process that was accelerated under apartheid from 1948. Giliomee notes the rapid growth of Afrikaans single-medium schools, from 28% of all (white) schools in 1932 to 62% by 1958 (ibid:14). While the more English-oriented United Party of Smuts and Hertzog remained broadly in favour of the bilingual school, it was DF Malan's reconstituted National Party that resisted it. The Nationalist victory in the 1948 election ~~sounded the death-knell for dual-medium education~~ design. As a result, many former dual-medium and parallel single-medium institutions broke into separate schools along language lines (NEPI 1992).

3. Education for Black South Africans – dual-medium or parallel-medium or neither?

For purposes of this study, the question arose as to whether the schooling of Black South Africans – and speakers of African languages in particular – falls within the ambit of dual-medium and/or parallel-medium education. Of course the real issue is not a definitional one, but of academic success for African-language speakers within a system historically designed to disadvantage them. The history of the language question in Black education has been much documented (see Hartshorne 1995, NEPI 1992a, Alexander 1989, Niedrig 2000, Heugh 2002), and only certain aspects will therefore be highlighted here. In the first phase of Bantu Education from 1955–75, a period of eight years of compulsory MTE for African-language speakers was followed by a form of colonial/apartheid dual-medium education in the high school years, whereby half the content subjects had to be taught in Afrikaans (including mathematics) and the other half in English – the so-called 50:50 policy. On purely definitional grounds, this constituted a corruption of dual-medium education, as the theoretical use of two LoLTs in this instance violates a founding principle of dual-medium education, namely that one of the two languages should be a home language. Most schools in any case ignored the 50:50 ruling; by 1968, a mere 26% of schools reportedly followed it (NEPI 1992a:28), while the majority used only English. Reasons had to do with the growing antipathy towards Afrikaans for its association with apartheid, and with the paucity of 'black' teachers who were competent to teach through Afrikaans. It was the inflexible imposition of the 50:50 policy in 1975, combined with certain structural changes to Black schooling, which sparked the revolt against Afrikaans that began in Soweto in June 1976. Afrikaans had over-reached itself (Giliomee 2003:17).

The two major casualties of the post-Soweto period in Black education were the 50:50 dual-medium ruling and the mother-tongue principle. In 1977, in the immediate aftermath of the uprising, the government allowed schools the right to choose one language medium from Std 5 upwards (Hartshorne 1992: 203), i.e. either Afrikaans or English. In practice, almost all schools formally chose English (ibid.). This had in any case been the *de facto* situation for quite some time, and gave official sanction to the popular rejection of Afrikaans as a medium. The second and more far-reaching consequence was the government's reluctant agreement, by 1979 – again in response to pressure from below – to allow MTE to be limited to the first four years of schooling, whereafter schools could choose their own medium. In the event, almost all ex-DET schools opted for English. Hartshorne, writing in 1992, notes, 'By choice of the users of the present

black schooling system, then, it has become, from Std 3 upwards, an English-medium system, at least in theory if not always in practice' (ibid:205–6). As Hartshorne and others (e.g. Alexander 2000; Webb 2002; Stroud 2002) have observed, an English-mainly based educational system in South Africa is unworkable for the foreseeable future, since the majority of teachers are not highly proficient in English, and the majority of learners have very little access to the metropolitan language outside of school.

As Alexander (1989) and Heugh (2002), amongst others, have pointed out, it is one of the ironies of history that the pedagogically sound principle of mother-tongue education was barely tolerated by African-language speakers, because it was seen to be synonymous with Bantu Education and integral to apartheid's divide-and-rule strategy; and a second irony that one oppressive language, Afrikaans, was rejected in favour of another, English, the language of the British colonizers, which came to increasingly symbolise not only political liberation but also socio-economic aspiration. In the post-1994 phase a further irony of history has begun to unfold, with tragic consequences. The endorsement of official multilingualism at a policy level stands in contradiction to the oft-cited hegemony of English in the public sphere (cf. Alexander 2001) and the effective 'gridlock of collusion'⁹ between the ruling English-speaking elite and the English-seeking masses. For the majority of speakers of African languages, this collusion has resulted in the most debilitating school language practices to date, namely in the (premature) abrogation of MTE after Grade 3 in favour of English as LoLT. The maximal use of English – what Brock-Utne (2003), following Phillipson, calls the maximum exposure fallacy – is viewed by the majority of schools in the still impoverished townships as the best guarantee of educational success, economic security and social mobility. African-language speaking parents respond to the role-model effect of the Black elite, who enrol their children in better-resourced formerly 'white' (alternatively 'coloured') schools in the hope of equipping their children with 'a foolproof English education' (Crawford 1996:29, original emphasis). These schools have English or Afrikaans (or both) as their languages of learning and teaching, but mostly do not offer an African language as a subject¹⁰. Unlike Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers, therefore, who experience MTE all the way through schooling and beyond as a self-evident right and as a resource, most speakers of African languages remain educationally disadvantaged.

This deficit approach to learners' home languages¹¹, combined with poverty and other factors, has for years had devastating effects on the educational performance of African-language speakers. Kathleen Heugh (2000:23–25), in an analysis that has yet to be refuted, argues that the steeply declining matric pass rate of African-language speakers between 1975 and 1992 is directly attributable to the decreased length of MTE from

eight to four years over this period. In similar vein, Michellé October's analysis of matric results in the Western Cape for 2000 shows that Xhosa-speaking candidates on average scored between 20 and 30 percentage points lower than their Afrikaans first-language speaking peers in key subjects such as Maths, Biology, Physical Science and Geography (October 2002). It is an indictment of the schooling system that, despite the fact that the majority of those writing the Grade 12 school exit (matric) exam have neither Afrikaans nor English as a home language, the exam can still be taken only through the medium of one of these two languages. While English is the nominal language of teaching from Grade 4 upwards, teachers are compelled to codeswitch into and from the home language perpetually, even up to Grade 11¹², in order to bridge the learning gap. They do so without the benefit of textbooks in African languages, and without having been trained to teach through African languages. Three years after agreeing in principle to the translation of examination papers into the African languages, as a first step to full equality with English and Afrikaans, the national Ministry of Education has yet to take any action in this regard¹³.

4. Teacher training (development) and dual-medium education

There is a long tradition of mother-tongue based approaches in both 'white' and 'black' teacher training, accompanied by the compulsory taking of the two official languages (Afrikaans and English) as subjects. In the pre-apartheid years, teacher education for 'whites' and 'blacks' was segregated and unequal, 'with only white teacher education conceived of as professional practice' (Welch 2002:19). State control and provision of teacher education was largely limited to 'white' teachers. 'Black' teachers were trained in the liberal Christian tradition of the missionary institutions (Hartshorne 1992:231), and invariably through the medium of English, creating the so-called 'mission elite' (cf. Alexander 1989). Teacher education in the era of official bilingualism (1948–94) became integral to the apartheid state's social engineering. The Eiselen Commission was set up in 1949 to extend state control over 'black' education, including teacher education. Given the anti-English paranoia and hegemonic aspirations of an Afrikaner-dominant government and civil service, it is unsurprising that the Commission was critical of the almost exclusive use of English as medium of instruction in black teacher education colleges, and of 'the failure of the colleges to relate to the separate development ideal and "matters of local cultural development"' (Hartshorne 1992:233). The Commission recommended that the (African) mother tongue be used as a teaching medium for those school subjects taught through the mother tongue in the primary school, as well as for courses of a general administrative nature (Hartshorne 1992:234–5). Afrikaans and English were to be taught as subjects (*ibid.*).

In an effort to eliminate the influence of the English-speaking missionaries, the State closed down many urban-based colleges and relocated teacher training to the Bantustans, replaced English-speaking principals and teachers with Afrikaans-speaking ones, introduced Christian National Education and the authoritarian and paternalistic philosophy of fundamental pedagogics, and made Afrikaans a compulsory subject for black teacher trainees (*ibid.*). From 1972 black primary school teachers in training were required, to pass three language subjects (home language, Afrikaans, English), and were to be taught some 'content' subjects in Afrikaans, some in English, and the remainder in the language medium of the school they were to be employed in, i.e. a form of triple-medium education. In practice, however, English remained the dominant language of instruction in the primary school colleges (Hartshorne 1992:240). A similar default to English characterized the training of black high-school teachers, who were supposed to receive their instruction in English and Afrikaans on an equal

basis (*ibid.*:241). In short, therefore, English remained the dominant language of instruction in black teacher education, while Afrikaans became the dominant language of administration.

Until 1992 teachers were formally required to have the competence to teach through the medium of both official languages in order to qualify for the profession (NEPI 1992b:19). This requirement implicitly endorsed dual-medium education, although in practice, as we have seen, dual-medium schooling had been phased out in favour of single-medium institutions in order to safeguard perceived Afrikaner interests in the uneasy accommodation with English. In practice the bilingual proficiency requirement was never extended across the curriculum to content subjects; nor was the method of using two languages in the same classroom explicitly taught. That is to say, no teachers were formally trained for dual-medium education. Black aspirant teachers seeking admission to teacher colleges under the tricameral dispensation (from 1983) were disadvantaged in that many were not competent in Afrikaans, since the subject was either not taught at many Bantustan or ex-DET schools or was available only at second-language or third-language level (*ibid.*: 19–20). Furthermore, while the Afrikaans/English bilingual certificate was a prerequisite for teaching in 'white', 'coloured', and 'Indian' schools, it was not a requirement for teaching in ex-DET ('black') schools, where English was the official medium from Std 2 (Grade 4) on up. This resulted in many teachers qualifying for service in the ex-DET 'while not complying with the National Criteria for teacher education qualifications' (NEPI 1992b:25).

In the post-apartheid era of official multilingualism it is yet another irony that teacher development has become increasingly unilingual. Despite numerous calls by language NGOs and university-based academics (cf. Young 1995), there have been no attempts to revive a form of language certification for pre-service teachers, or to make promotion for in-service teachers dependent on teaching competence in two or more languages. Teacher in-service programmes with a multilingual orientation have been introduced at two Western Cape universities¹⁴, although even these progressive programmes are taught and assessed largely through the medium of English. Fifty years after Eiselen's recommendation that primary teacher education be done partially in the mother tongue (see above), we have some way to go before the goal of bilingual teacher education is realized.

5. Research matters

The present study proceeded on the basis of two assumptions. At the level of definition, there is a large measure of overlap with earlier definitions (see above). *Dual-medium* education is understood to mean the systematic use of two languages for teaching, learning and assessment, both orally and in writing; learners thus experience the curriculum through the medium of two languages. The strong version of dual-medium education implies full equality of the two LoLTs with regard to teaching time, availability of learning support materials, assessment, and administration. By *parallel-medium* education is meant the use of two LoLTs in parallel (usually single-language or unilingual) streams in the same school; that is to say, learners experience non-language areas of the curriculum through the medium of one language only. As we have seen, these definitions are in accordance with both local as well as international literature.

A second assumption was that dual-medium and parallel-medium education are not mere epiphenomena of a bygone era that is best forgotten, but constitute – provided they are based on home-language foundations – examples of additive bilingual programmes as envisaged by the LiEP. The LiEP specifies that “the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)” (DoE 1997), without prescribing the organisational forms this might take. Furthermore, during his tenure as Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal endorsed mother-tongue foundations and incremental bilingualism (Bonthuys 2001), and explained that dual-medium education was one of the ways of implementing the LiEP (Asmal 2001).

A key research aim was thus to gain empirical evidence to support the implementation processes of the LiEP; the study would assist in raising awareness amongst participating schools of the policy. On the basis of the survey information that became available to us via the SDU & PRAESA 2002 survey, and in consultation with the WCED representative, the following sampling criteria for site visits were agreed upon:

1. A smaller sample of schools that described themselves as dual-medium or parallel-medium institutions would be visited, for interviews and classroom observations.
2. Where possible, schools should be spread across school type (primary, secondary, combined), district or Education Management and Development Centre (EMDC), and former department (CED, HoR, DET) in order to obtain as nuanced a picture as possible.
3. In the case of dual-medium schools, one Grade 7 class (primary) and one Grade 11 class (secondary) would be tracked through a school day.

The twelve schools that formed the subject of this study can be summed up as follows:

School*	Descriptor (school's own)	Type	EMDC	Ex-dept
Azure Primary	Dual	Primary	Breede River/ Overberg	CED
Platinum Secondary**	Dual & parallel	Secondary	Metropole East	CED
Scarlet Primary	Parallel	Primary	West Coast/ Winelands	CED
Turquoise Primary	Dual & parallel	Primary	Metropole South	CED
Violet Primary	Dual	Primary	West Coast/ Winelands	CED
Almond Combined***	Dual	Combined	Breede River/ Overberg	DET
Emerald Primary***	Dual	Primary	Metropole East	DET
Maroon Secondary***	Dual	Secondary	Metropole Central	DET
Caramel Primary	Dual	Primary	Metropole Central	HoR
Lilac Primary**	Parallel	Primary	Breede River/ Overberg	HoR
Ochre Secondary**	Parallel	Secondary	Metropole Central	HoR
Purple Primary	Dual	Primary	Metropole East	HoR

Table 2: Schools that formed part of the study, sorted by ex-department

*These are pseudonyms to protect the identities of participating schools.

** Schools referred to in detail, below.

*** Schools referred to in some detail, albeit collectively, under 7.4, below.

Seven schools classified themselves as dual-medium, 3 as parallel-medium, and 2 as dual/parallel-medium. The schools were regionally distributed over 5 of the 7 EMDCs across rural and urban areas, and represented three of the four former education departments, namely the ex-CED (5 schools), the ex-HoR (4 schools) and the ex-DET (3 schools). There were 8 primary schools, 3 secondary schools and one combined (primary/secondary) school in the sample.

The sampling criteria were thus largely adhered to. Even though the research team surmised that the descriptors ‘dual-medium’ and ‘parallel-medium’ did not fit ex-DET schools (see above), it was decided to include them in the study because (1) the schools had included themselves by describing themselves as either ‘dual-medium’ or ‘parallel-medium’ (in the SDU/PRAESA 2002 survey), and it would therefore have been methodo-

logically questionable to exclude them, and (2) because they represent the constituency which in many ways is most in need of support, including language support. Research instruments included the original returned survey questionnaire on language provision, which was to form the basis of a clarifying interview with the school principal; interview schedules for dual-medium teachers and for parallel-medium teachers, respectively; and a classroom observation schedule.

Data were collected through various means, including interviews with the school principal or a deputy, classroom observation of dual-medium Grade 7 and Grade 11 classes, and focus-group interviews (mostly tape-recorded) with dual-medium and parallel-medium teachers. The fieldwork for the present study was conducted in August 2002. All analysis of data recorded on classroom observation schedules and in interviews was analysed manually.

6. Findings: selected schools

Dual-medium and parallel-medium schooling in the Western Cape is an uneven affair. Much of this has to do with changing patterns of enrolment in schools, and with shifting language preferences among school communities that tend to reflect and reinforce socially dominant ideologies. Most schools classified 'parallel-medium' also have some dual-medium education, and vice versa. A few schools also incorporate single-medium education within a complex configuration. And some schools are typically neither 'dual' nor 'parallel' in any traditional sense of the word, relying as they do on the covert (oral) use of the home or primary language to support teaching and learning through an additional language. Arranging the case studies of individual schools by LoLT descriptor, as suggested by the title of this paper, thus did not seem to fit.

The clearest divisions in the schools we visited were along the lines of resourcing. Ex-CED schools are generally much more well-endowed than ex-HoR schools, which in turn are generally better off materially than ex-DET schools. The latter in any case form a natural category of their own on account of their more uniform language distribution and language practice. For purposes of analysis, therefore, a threefold division by former education department has been adopted. We do so with some loathing, however, as the continued use of apartheid-era terminology risks reinforcing the mindset that gave rise to it. However, we believe that overlooking the multiple legacies of apartheid would undermine our chances of overcoming them. We begin with some case studies before abstracting from these to draw more general conclusions. Throughout, it will become clear that dual-medium education as well as the practice of codeswitching are done more by default, than by design. This has to do with the goals of the respective forms of schooling.

6.1 Platinum Secondary (ex-CED, suburban)

The school is situated in a plush valley in a Boland town in the Metropole East. It has an affluent parent community who uphold the tradition of striving for excellence at the school. It is very well resourced and offers learners the best opportunities for a quality education. The school is a predominantly parallel-medium institution (Afrikaans/English) that has always had dual-medium classes in the senior levels where parallel language streams are no longer justified on economic grounds. The effect is that learners can receive tuition in their language of choice. Hence the rationale for this language system is based on an awareness of the pivotal role that language plays in providing a quality education. Communication with parents in written and verbal forms is conducted in both languages, which respects the Afrikaans/English bilingual character and its associated

culture. The school has three main feeder primary schools which together account for over 75% of its intake of learners. Two of the three feeder schools offer dual-medium education, while the third is a parallel-medium institution. From a language point of view, therefore, learners arrive prepared.

The school has 1006 learners and 46 educators, of whom 21 are in school governing body (SGB) posts. According to the school, learners' home languages are as follows¹⁵:

Afrikaans	368	36.6%
English	624	62.0%
Xhosa/English	8	0.8%
other	6	0.6%

Table 3: Learners by home language, Platinum Secondary School (n = 1006)

The majority of learners are English-speaking (62%), while a large minority are Afrikaans-speaking (37%). There are a few Chinese and Korean students (6 in total) who have their home language supported extra-murally. Fewer than 1% of learners (8) speak isiXhosa as a home language. Probable reasons for the low number of Xhosa-speakers are continued residential segregation (the school's remoteness from the township), and the high school fees¹⁶. Teachers all have either English and/or Afrikaans as home languages. Most are bilingually proficient. None of the staff have isiXhosa as a home language.

The school describes itself as both 'dual-medium' and 'parallel-medium'. Generally, learners are in parallel Afrikaans or English single-medium streams in grades 8 and 9 and thereafter receive dual-medium education. Subjects such as Home Economics and Physical Education are taught dual-medium at the junior levels. For Maths all learners receive lessons in their home language. Teachers and students have an understanding that they can have part of the lesson or explanation repeated in Afrikaans or English at their request, and this happens quite frequently.

The school offers two compulsory language subjects (Afrikaans, English) plus the option of isiXhosa, German, French, and Chinese after school, for 2 hours a week. Timetable allocation for languages is as follows (minutes per week):

Grade	Afrikaans		English	
	HL	Add1*	HL	Add1
8	248	248	248	248
9	248	248	248	248
10	248	248	248	248
11	248	248	248	248
12	248	248	248	248

Table 4: Weekly time allocation, in minutes, of compulsory language subjects, Platinum Secondary

* In accordance with the terminology of the new national curriculum, Add 1 refers to 'first additional language', Add2 to 'second additional language'.

Despite isiXhosa being a provincial official language it is merely offered as an extra-mural subject, which suggests its low status. IsiXhosa was offered as a timetable subject until 1997, but was discontinued when its small learner numbers made it no longer economically viable to hire the services of an isiXhosa teacher.

Most teachers speak Afrikaans first, but have high levels of competence in English and have been teaching bilingually for many years. Lessons are delivered confidently and competently. Some teachers have bilingual certificates on the higher grade from the pre-1992 era, and are also well qualified in their subject areas, which is partly attributable to the privileges enjoyed under apartheid education. Due to the school's strong financial position it is able to recruit teachers that are highly qualified and that have the necessary experience to comply with the high standards the school sets. On the basis of our lesson observations, several teachers are able to present their lessons with equal proficiency in both languages. Teachers are very conscious of the time allocated to each language in the classroom, and take care to explain almost everything in both languages, from the introduction to the lesson, through the explanation of concepts, to the conclusion of the lesson. All teachers we observed have had over 10 years of teaching experience in dual-medium classes.

The problems and possibilities of dual-medium teaching and learning were cited by several teachers. In explaining why she said and wrote (on the chalkboard) everything of import in both languages, the Economic and Management Sciences (EMS) teacher reported that while all the Afrikaans-speaking learners also understood English, not all English-speaking learners understood Afrikaans. Both groups insisted on the use of their home

language, but would 'tune out' when the other language was used¹⁷. Frequently, questions and answers had to be repeated in both languages, thereby contributing to pressure on the syllabus as teachers ran out of time. On the other hand, a Biology teacher claimed that her dual-medium Grade 11 class was only one lesson behind her single-medium class after every ten-day cycle. While this forces the teacher to trim the syllabus a little, it seems a small price to pay for the benefits of accommodating learners from different home-language backgrounds in the same classroom. It is a good example of how the advantages of this type of dual-medium education outweigh its disadvantages.

The various forms of assessment, including tests and assignments, are formulated in both languages (Afrikaans and English), providing learners with the choice of language medium for assessment and the chance to develop their bilingual potential. There is reportedly no discrepancy between the Afrikaans- and English-speaking groups in their performance levels, probably because they come from the same socio-economic backgrounds with similar support systems such as functional and secure home environments. Question papers are set in both languages, with the alternate language appearing on the reverse side of the page. In this way the dangers of confusion in regard to understanding the questions is almost entirely eliminated. Our impression is that learners' bilingual orientation allows them to read and speak with a kind of linguistic dexterity that bespeaks an educationally stimulating and richly literate home and school environment.

A variety of learning support materials (LSMs) were used in lessons, including audio-visual apparatus and subject-specific materials such as Science kits and models. Teachers took care to use both languages on their own overhead transparencies, without duplicating all the content; and both languages were used to explain concepts represented in the LSMs, which enhanced the quality of the lessons. In one Science lesson featuring a video in English, the teacher stopped the cassette from time to time to offer explanations in Afrikaans.

The school has a well-stocked library from which learners may borrow and take home books. The library is staffed during break-times and after school hours by a teacher who also teaches in the venue. 'Pupil librarians' assist with running the library, while some mothers assist with covering the books with plastic, and with stock-taking.

Despite the school's strenuous efforts at maintaining a linguistic equality, there are signs that the growing power of English in the linguistic market is having an effect. The principal reports that Afrikaans-speaking families are increasingly requesting places for their children in the English stream. English is seen to be the favoured language in higher education and the job market, and 'also opens the overseas workplace to young people'. In a related devel-

opment, the school is piloting English 'A-level' examinations for those prepared to pay for the chance to gain entry into overseas universities.

6.2 Lilac Primary (ex-HoR, rural)

This primary school is located in a town in the Breede River/Overberg EMDC. It is unusual for having absorbed a small, reportedly unregistered school of Xhosa-speaking learners and teachers. The school combines features of single-medium, parallel-medium as well as dual-medium education. It has a descriptor of 'parallel-medium'.

The community is largely Afrikaans-speaking, with a minority of Xhosa-speakers. There are no English-medium secondary schools in the area, the nearest being in a town that is too far for learners to reach. Therefore most learners move on from Lilac Primary to either of the two Afrikaans-medium secondary schools nearby.

The school has 637 learners and 20 teachers, of whom 3 are appointed in school governing body (SGB) posts. Learners' home languages are as follows:

Afrikaans	568	89.2%
Xhosa	69	10.8%

Table 5: Learners by home language, Lilac Primary School (n = 637)

The overwhelming majority thus have Afrikaans as their home language. There are two identifiable groups of Xhosa-speaking learners, namely in the Foundation Phase, and in the multigrade 5&6 class. The 17 teachers who teach in the Afrikaans stream have Afrikaans as their home language, and the three teachers who teach in the isiXhosa stream have isiXhosa as their home language.

The two LoLTs at the school are Afrikaans (Grades 1–7) and isiXhosa (Grades 1–3 only). At Foundation Phase level a parallel-medium class system applies, in which learners are separated by home language. Due to insufficient numbers in the isiXhosa stream, Grades 2 and 3 are combined into a multigrade class. From Grade 4 upwards Afrikaans is the sole LoLT for everybody, with the exception of a combined Grades 5/6 class of Transkeian-born Xhosa-speakers who are taught Mathematics through the medium of English (at least officially), at the express wish of their parents. According to the school principal, the reason is that the Xhosa-speaking parents want English to be the LoLT for their children. We observed, however, that in practice the teacher was compelled to make widespread use of the home language (isiXhosa) to facilitate understanding in a context where English is like a foreign language. Learners from the Xhosa-dominant Transkei are reportedly not proficient in Afrikaans. Locally-born

Xhosa-speakers reportedly prefer Afrikaans-medium above English-medium – though a problem does exist when it comes to reading and writing. According to the teacher interviewed, the problem with reading and writing is not confined to the Xhosa-speaking learners, however, but is also prevalent among many of the HL Afrikaans-speakers. He attributes this to the trend that children do not read, cannot afford books, and that the parents in this predominantly farming community are not involved in their children’s education.

All three official languages of the Western Cape are offered as language subjects at the school¹⁸. In the Foundation Phase both the Afrikaans- and Xhosa home-language (HL) groups do their HL from Grade 1 and English as first additional language (L2). From Grade 4 upwards all learners do all three languages. Afrikaans is done as a first-language subject, English as a second-language subject, and isiXhosa as a third-language subject by all learners except the Transkeian-born Xhosa-speakers, who do isiXhosa at first-language and Afrikaans at third-language level. Afrikaans-speakers are joined by locally-born Xhosa-speaking learners, who do Afrikaans as a first-language subject, since they are proficient in Afrikaans. Timetable allocation for languages is as follows (Transkeian Xhosa-speakers excepted):

Grade	Afrikaans HL	English Add1	Xhosa Add2
1	390	150	
2	390	150	
3	400	200	
4	200	160	120
5	200	160	120
6	200	160	120
7	200	160	120

Table 6: Weekly time allocation, language subjects, Lilac Primary (in minutes)

For the small group of Transkeian Xhosa-speakers, the respective positions of Afrikaans and isiXhosa are reversed.

Xhosa-speaking learners are allowed to express themselves in isiXhosa in the content subject classroom. Teachers not proficient in isiXhosa make use of other Xhosa-speakers in the class or one of the Xhosa-speaking teachers, to translate what was said or written. A number of problems became apparent during lesson observations, however. For the multigrade 5&6 class, Mathematics was taught mainly in English, while other content subjects were taught in Afrikaans. In Economic and Management Sciences,

for example, the lesson started in Afrikaans. Yet the (Afrikaans-speaking) teacher would need to switch into English every few minutes to explain because the (Xhosa-speaking) learners were struggling with Afrikaans, even though the teacher later claimed that they were proficient in Afrikaans. Most questions had to be translated into English, and even then it did not solve the communication problem because learners were not proficient in English either. So it became difficult for learners to answer in either language. Conversation during the lesson amongst learners was in their home language, isiXhosa. The teacher himself could not speak any isiXhosa, however. LSMs were available in Afrikaans only, and assessment – both oral and written – was likewise done in Afrikaans only.

To compensate for the learners’ general inability to read and write, tests form only a small part of assessment. Xhosa-speaking learners write in the presence of a Xhosa-speaking teacher so that they can ask her to explain questions that they do not understand. If a learner performs badly on a written test, it is followed by an oral interview in order to determine the extent of the learner’s knowledge. This happens for both Xhosa HL and Afrikaans HL learners.

All three teachers from the old Xhosa-medium school are competent in isiXhosa and English. However, this bilingual competence cannot be carried through to the senior grades, which are taught exclusively in Afrikaans. Most immediately, the need is for more Xhosa/Afrikaans bilingual teachers in the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6). The teachers from the old Afrikaans single-medium school are competent in Afrikaans and English only. All have Afrikaans as a home language. The principal feels that these teachers are proficient enough to teach through the medium of English and Afrikaans, and would not need further language training. However, they would need training on how to handle a bi-/multilingual class, i.e. in dual-medium teaching methods.

Concerning learning support materials (LSMs), the school has not bought into a commercial modular approach because the modules are too expensive. In the senior phases, teachers create their own modules by consulting various sources¹⁹. The Xhosa-speaking teachers use the English and isiXhosa books that they used when they themselves were in training, despite the fact that these are outdated. Afrikaans books are readily available. The teachers use the available materials to create an outcomes-based education (OBE) format. In the Foundation Phase the isiXhosa stream is reliant on donated isiXhosa books. In the multigrade 3&4 class a vast number of story books and much writing material were available to learners, more so than in the lower Grades. The class also had a reading corner with a rug on which learners could sit and read stories.

Asked about his school’s resource needs, the principal identified software programmes and equipment to create a computerised language centre.

There was a need for more curriculum support from the subject advisors²⁰ within their respective learning areas, as well as for more Xhosa/Afrikaans bilingual teachers to deal with the current language situation in the school. The language policy would only be implemented if the Department were to renew the contracts of the Xhosa-speaking teachers, and if it continued to provide transport for them.

6.3 Ochre Secondary (ex-HoR, urban)

The school lies on a major transport route from the 'African' townships, and has for this reason experienced a huge increase in the number of Xhosa-speaking learners since the formal desegregation of schooling after 1994. As a result of forced removals under apartheid, the opening up of two secondary schools nearby, and its distance from the townships, the school has lost any sense of community: it has over 50 feeder primary schools, many of them far away. There is a high dropout rate of learners in Grades 11 and 12. Last year, however, the school markedly improved its matric pass rate and was given due recognition, and some additional funds, by the Minister of Education. These monies are currently being used to install a new computer laboratory. The school has a WCED descriptor of 'parallel-medium'. According to the principal, the language most valued by the community for purposes of higher education and the job market is English.

The school has 881 learners and 26 teachers, all of whom are appointed by the Department (i.e. none are in SGB posts). Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking learners together account for 50%. Almost half the learners (415 of 881, or 47%) have isiXhosa as a home language, while 3% of learners have other home languages. According to the principal, Afrikaans 'is on the decline' at the school. All the teachers have either English or Afrikaans (or both) as home languages. No teachers speak isiXhosa.

Afrikaans or/and English	440	50.0%
Xhosa	415	47.1%
other	26	3.0%

Table 7: Learners by home language, Ochre Secondary School (n = 881)

The vast majority of learners (77%), including most of the Xhosa-speakers, are in the English stream; a minority of 199 learners (23%) constitute the Afrikaans stream. While the parallel-medium structure is maintained for most of the curriculum, some 'choice' subjects in the senior Grades for which there are too few learners are taught dual-medium.

Teachers in the English stream, in particular, experience major difficulties with many learners in the Xhosa-speaking group on account of the latter's lack of proficiency in the LoLT²¹. This affects their performance across the curriculum. Xhosa-speakers account for some 60% of the English stream. Dual-medium teaching occurs in 'content subjects' such as history, business economics and accounting; the Afrikaans-speaking group is said to 'feel hard done by' when mostly English is used in order to accommodate the Xhosa-speakers. It is worth considering that for Xhosa-speakers, these Afrikaans/English dual-medium classes are likely to be deeply disabling, as for them neither LoLT is a home language and quite probably therefore not a well-known language. In that regard the local version of dual-medium education is not dissimilar from the despised 50:50 ruling of the Bantu Education era (see 3. above). Politically the difference now lies in the greater LoLT choices parents and their children have, at least on paper.

Despite the large proportion of Xhosa-speaking learners, Afrikaans and English are the only two language subjects on offer at the school. The majority of learners, i.e. those in the English stream, take English as HL (1st language) and Afrikaans as Add1 (2nd language). Conversely, those in the Afrikaans stream take Afrikaans as their HL and English as their Add1. Timetable allocation for languages is as follows (minutes per week):

Grade	Afrikaans		English	
	HL	Add1	HL	Add1
8	176	176	176	176
9	176	176	176	176
10	317	270	317	270
11	317	270	317	270
12	317	270	317	270

Table 8: Weekly time allocation, language subjects, Ochre Secondary (in minutes)

The major problem for the Afrikaans language teacher is that Xhosa-speakers generally fare poorly in Afrikaans as Add1 (second language). On account of the absence of Xhosa from the curriculum, Xhosa-speakers in the English stream have no choice but to take Afrikaans as their additional language. According to a teacher, Xhosa-speakers generally don't like Afrikaans because they can't speak it; Afrikaans is like a foreign language to them. Learners would, for example, begin writing a composition in Afrikaans and halfway through switch to English, or use many English words. The solution, according to the teacher, might be to broaden the subject choices for learners so that they would not have to take Afrikaans.

That, however, would depend on the introduction of isiXhosa as a subject (as all learners have to take two languages to Grade 12) at the school. From several points of view, therefore, the school together with the Department should urgently find ways of appointing Xhosa-speaking teachers in order to introduce isiXhosa.

The assessment of languages presents teachers with problems. Continuous assessment, so integral to OBE, is enormously difficult in the context of large classes (between 40 and 60), the high rate of learner absenteeism, and the low Afrikaans language proficiency of Xhosa-speakers in particular. Reading comprehension in Afrikaans Add1 falls short; and in exams and tests teachers feel compelled to include the answers 'slightly hidden away' on the question paper to enable learners to pass. Language teachers express frustration at not being able to maintain previous standards. Coping strategies in the English-language class include group orals, dramatisations, and extending assessment into school intervals in order to cope with large numbers. In general, learner absenteeism remains a major problem for continuous assessment as required by OBE.

The school does not have a library, but is busy establishing one that should be functioning within the following year. There are very few dictionaries (18 in total), and between 100 and 500 books. A portion of the Minister of Education's award has apparently been set aside to establish the library.

6.4 Ex-DET schools

A decade into the new democracy, the three ex-DET schools we visited continue to bear the scars of apartheid-era discriminatory practices. Most of the learners in the ex-DET schools continue to come from poor families. The shortage of classrooms is still a big problem; teacher: learner ratios of 1:50 are common, and place enormous burdens on already under-resourced schools. None of the three schools is equipped with more than one or two computers. There are no libraries, no computer rooms for learners, no laboratories. In some schools learners' desks were old and dilapidated. All three schools had just experienced some trauma when we arrived. Township schools remain trapped in high crime rate areas, and teachers and learners continue to live in fear.

As already indicated, neither of the descriptors (dual- or parallel-medium) appears appropriate in the case of ex-DET schools. Most of the principals together with their staff associated their schools with dual medium teaching because of the code-switching and code-mixing that occurs during teaching and learning. Those schools that describe themselves as parallel medium appear to differ little from the so-called dual-medium schools, once they explain their situation. These descriptors are

thus misleading. In effect, a type of transitional LoLT practice applies (see 3. above).

Despite demographic differences between urban and rural ex-DET schools, similar teaching, learning and assessment practices obtain. In our observations of content subject lessons such as Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and EMS at both Grade 7 and Grade 11 levels, all the teachers spoke mostly isiXhosa with their learners. In general, isiXhosa was used most of the time, for classroom management talk such as greetings, instructions and announcements. Only one teacher in the secondary school tried to greet his class in English, but learners responded in isiXhosa. Informal language use by learners in the classroom was in isiXhosa. Lessons were delivered mostly in isiXhosa, in both the primary and the secondary school classrooms we observed. English was only used for introducing new concepts. However, most of these were merely written on the board for learners to memorise, raw as they were, without further explanation in isiXhosa.

We estimate that for both secondary and primary schools, isiXhosa is used for approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of the time during teaching and learning. There is a lot of code-switching and code-mixing during lessons, and learners are comfortable with this. Some teachers at times attempted to use English to explain further, but learners would simply wait for the explanation in isiXhosa. Even if the question was posed in English orally the teacher had to translate it into isiXhosa before learners would respond. A disabling type of diglossia operates here: orally isiXhosa is the language that plays a crucial educational role; when it comes to written work, however, English plays the leading role.

Although most teachers use isiXhosa when teaching, all of them say that teaching in isiXhosa is not official policy. A teacher from a secondary school mentioned that 'if the Department could see us teaching in isiXhosa we could be in great trouble because the language of teaching is English. But because our learners are having difficulties in this language we use isiXhosa.' Thus isiXhosa is being used as an underground, unofficial language under the guise of English. Concerning oral assessment, isiXhosa is the language that is used most. Teachers interviewed confided that they use isiXhosa as a favour to Xhosa-speaking learners, not as their right, and that the Department should not know about it. English, however, remains the medium for all written assessment in content subjects.

In the two urban schools we visited, most teachers are competent users of isiXhosa and, to a lesser extent, of English. Learners know isiXhosa because they mostly live in townships where isiXhosa is dominant. In both schools teachers were confident of using or teaching in isiXhosa. However, whenever they switched into English during teaching the difference became very apparent, as explanations were laboured and took longer. In the case of the rural ex-DET school, situated in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking

area, several teachers were proficient in three languages. Most learners, whilst being Xhosa-speaking, also knew some Afrikaans. Most of the teachers have a teaching diploma for both secondary and primary school, and their qualifications were accompanied by many years of teaching experience.

There were very few learning support materials (LSMs) in both schools and the few we saw were in English, such as charts and posters on classroom walls. In some classes the walls were completely bare. The only environmental print in isiXhosa consisted of religious texts and the school anthem; we found nothing in relation to teaching and learning. One teacher mentioned that the few LSMs that are designed for OBE are in English and that it became difficult to use them because teachers were using isiXhosa and that there was no material in isiXhosa. In this way LSMs distributed to these schools every year run the risk of going to waste if teachers cannot or do not use them for teaching and learning purposes.

In the interview at an urban secondary school²² the principal's answers did not correspond at all with what was in the returned language provision questionnaire. He initially refused us permission to do any observations. His understanding about dual-medium teaching was that teachers were doing some explaining in isiXhosa but that the actual teaching took place in English. This somewhat undermined his claim that teachers use both languages (English/isiXhosa) when teaching and that exams and tests are done bilingually. The principal denied all this until we said there was nothing wrong with that because it was done for the benefit of the learners, and that it did not conflict with the national language-in-education policy. It appears that some principals live in fear, believing that allowing teachers to teach in African languages is a violation of official policy. The school has no written language policy, although the principal said a policy would be considered once the school moved to its new premises the following year.

In the focus group interview it became clear that for teachers, dual-medium education is code-switching, and this is done because learners do not understand English. Everything said in English should be repeated in the home language of learners for them to understand. Although English is the only official language it is highly problematic as a medium of learning and teaching. IsiXhosa is always used as medium of teaching, but unofficially. Some teachers mentioned that some questions during tests and exams had to be translated from English to isiXhosa for learners to understand them. Teachers also mentioned that they felt comfortable in teaching in their first language. A Grade 11 Biology teacher confided, 'I teach $\frac{3}{4}$ of my period in isiXhosa; otherwise, if I wouldn't, there would be no achievement at the end of the lesson.'

A teacher at a primary school²² mentioned that 'learners prefer to answer their questions in isiXhosa, and if you emphasise that you want

them to answer in English, most of them do not respond or you get wrong, inaccurate answers.' The same teacher said, 'We as teachers explain more clearly and easily in isiXhosa, especially when we are able to use relevant examples from children's everyday lives.'

In all three schools visited, teachers felt strongly about the question of language of teaching, although the principals sometimes sounded defensive. All teachers agreed that language and thinking belonged together; it was difficult for learners to think in English. That was why they were allowed to use isiXhosa most of the time.

7. Discussion and outlook

This section summarises the findings and spells out the implications of the study as a whole, and not merely of the four case studies referred to in more detail, above. For a list of the 12 schools that formed part of this study, the reader is referred to Table 3, above.

7.1. Economics of language shift

There is an indisputable trend in Western Cape schools that English is gaining ground over Afrikaans and isiXhosa at an increasing pace.

Several factors account for this, the most apparent being a language shift²⁴ from Afrikaans to English in several communities in the Western Cape. The shift has been on the level of both language attitudes and language use, and is directly attributable to the increasing dominance of English in public life. One consequence of the drive for English is that increasing numbers of schools are offering an English-medium education, in response to parental pressure. Such a move represents an overt strategy for survival, as learner numbers determine teacher numbers according to a fixed ratio determined by the central Department of Education. This is part of the legacy of rationalisation in the post-1994 period, during which the roll of teachers decreased dramatically. The trend is illustrated in the case of Purple Primary in the Metro East EMDC, where the staff complement decreased from 35 teachers in 1994 to 21 in 1996. The struggle to retain staff complements is particularly intense in working-class school communities that cannot afford to employ additional teachers from governing body funds.

In the more affluent and stable communities this language shift is not so apparent, and yet initiatives to promote English as a means of climbing the socio-economic ladder are still evident at these schools. This is achieved by, for example, offering English as a prestigious A-level option to academically gifted learners with European ambitions, and the use of corporate funds to employ teachers to teach through the medium of English. Schools that have forged a partnership with such companies without taking proactive steps to promote Afrikaans and isiXhosa have effectively committed themselves to an ongoing marginalisation of the other two official languages in the province.

Similarly, in the outlying West Coast regions, where industrialisation processes are changing the language landscape of schools, English is on the increase at the expense of isiXhosa particularly, and potentially of Afrikaans as well. Attitudes spawned by this wave of English hegemony include a reported complacency and even arrogance on the part of English-speakers. Many teachers bear this out, as in the following interview extracts:

1. 'Afrikaans-speaking learners are more tolerant of listening to English as their second language than English-speaking learners are of listening to Afrikaans; in this way they develop a stronger second language.'
2. 'Afrikaans-speaking students are more accepting of discipline than English-speaking students.'
3. 'Afrikaans speaking learners are more tolerant of listening to English as their second language than English speaking learners are of listening to Afrikaans, in this way they develop a stronger second language'

As we have tried to show, the tendency to promote English in the ex-DET schools has been widely practiced since the demise of MTE in 1979. It is a system that has brought about much educational failure and social hardship, quite apart from the economic impact of a barely literate workforce. The formal subtraction of learners' home language as a LoLT from Grade 4 upwards, coupled with the unofficial use of isiXhosa alongside the official LoLT English, is clearly not captured by the descriptors dual-medium or parallel-medium. More fundamentally, the system is clearly unworkable pedagogically. It also goes against the spirit of the national Language in Education Policy (DoE 1997), a fact that none of the schools seemed to be aware of. While systemic change is clearly called for, the role of dynamic leadership in schools should not be underestimated.

In contrast to this rather bleak scenario, well-resourced schools can afford to make and implement decisions that are based on educationally sound principles, namely to have dual-medium classes that are facilitated by highly trained teachers in well-resourced classrooms. These schools demonstrate the advantages of learners acquiring high levels of bilingualism in an environment that fosters acceptance of linguistic and cultural diversity.

In financial terms, the immediate costs to schools of dual- and parallel-medium education are relatively low. Curricular modules have to be bought in two languages for the same class or school, but since in general only one copy is purchased for each teacher, the total cost of duplication (Afrikaans and English) is small. Translations of worksheets, test and exam papers as well as notices to parents are usually done on site by a teacher, alternatively provided free of charge by a parent. There is no evidence yet of a translation industry. While it is more expensive to produce bilingual as opposed to unilingual test and exam papers, more schools than not tend to produce two separate unilingual question papers (one in Afrikaans, the other in English), both to save on photocopy costs and reportedly to avoid confusing the learners. No bilingual textbooks were found at any of the schools visited. For Xhosa-speaking learners, all written assessment in non-language learning areas from Grade 4 onwards is done in English. There are thus no immediate additional costs to the schools. However, from a macro-economic perspective, the educational failure to invest in (official) home-

language based bilingual education results in high drop-out rates (e.g. Ochre Secondary) and poor performance (e.g. Maroon Secondary), and constitutes a massive waste of resources, and of human potential²⁵.

7.2 Shifts in LoLT patterns

The field of language policy at school level is very complex and defies easy categorisation. As we have seen, descriptors such as 'dual-medium' and 'parallel-medium' education are currently used to cover a range of widely differing practices. Institutions that have the descriptor 'parallel-medium', for instance, frequently also have dual-medium classes for some grades or in some learning areas, and vice versa. Accordingly, some schools classify themselves as 'dual/parallel' medium institutions. As already noted elsewhere²⁶, the labels 'dual' and 'parallel' do not seem to fit the ex-DET schools, which are characterised by the official 'subtraction' yet unofficial (oral) use of the home language for teaching and learning purposes. For this reason, recommendations of a systemic nature have to be carefully thought through and applied with great flexibility, taking local context into consideration.

The application of dual medium-education has revealed an irregular pattern that is largely determined by the historical and socio-economic context of the respective schools. Schools that are under-resourced apply dual-medium teaching in a manner that reinforces the ideology that English proficiency is the gateway to upward social mobility and a successful life. The shift towards English in formerly Afrikaans-speaking school communities typically goes through a number of stages, some of which may co-exist in the same school:

1. single-medium: an Afrikaans-speaking institution enrolls learners whose parents want English for their children.
2. dual-medium (Afrikaans/English): English is introduced as a LoLT alongside Afrikaans, but the small number of English-speakers does not (yet) warrant separate streams; the result is dual-medium education (e.g. Azure Primary in the present study)
3. parallel-medium (Afrikaans & English): in response to the growing number of learners wanting English as LoLT, the school introduces separate parallel language streams. Usually these co-exist with dual-medium education in some form (e.g. Ochre Secondary; Platinum Secondary)
4. dual-medium (English/Afrikaans): the declining number of Afrikaans-speaking learners (or of learners whose parents no longer want an Afrikaans-medium schooling for their children) forces the school to revert to dual-medium education (e.g. Caramel Primary)

5. single-medium (English): the school loses the last of its Afrikaans-seeking learners and opts for English only. The language shift from Afrikaans to English is complete.

In practice, the process is not always as linear as this. Not all the schools go through all the stages. Communities that have a strong identification with Afrikaans, or that have few English-speakers (e.g. in the rural areas), or those that can afford to employ additional teachers from their own funds are able to arrest the phasing out of Afrikaans for many years. And given the preponderance of Afrikaans in smaller towns, some schools may remain dual-medium institutions for many years. Yet the overall trend appears incontrovertible and will remain irreversible unless policies promoting multilingualism are realised in practice.

Shifts in LoLT give rise to a language mismatch between the school and the broader community. In the ex-HoR communities, for example, English is used increasingly as the LoLT despite the fact that Afrikaans is still used widely for local purposes in the community. Similarly, English has long replaced isiXhosa as the official medium in Xhosa-mainly ex-DET school communities. Where speakers of the lower-status languages have their languages stigmatized, marginalized or even excluded from the curriculum, the mismatch phenomenon has negative pedagogic and social implications.

7.3 Dual-medium: attitudes and practices

Dual-medium education is generally viewed by schools as a default option, rather than a design option. Dual-medium education often co-exists with parallel-medium schooling in situations where there are insufficient numbers of learners to justify separate, parallel streams, such as in the 'choice subjects'. The preferred option for teachers remains single-medium home-language based education. Teaching through the medium of two languages is stressful for teachers on account of increased preparation time, the need to acquire learning support materials in both languages, and the need to constantly switch between the two languages in class. In only one case did the school principal acknowledge that dual-medium education was socially beneficial to learners. And even there, Mathematics is taught in separate classes according to learners' home language. Shifting school communities' language attitudes to viewing dual-medium education as a preferred option or resource, rather than as a problem, will require time and resource commitments.

Dual-medium teaching offers both possibilities and challenges. At its best, a teacher competent in her field and proficient in both LoLTs is able to switch consistently and intuitively between the two languages while maintaining the learners' attention through well-presented lessons. If handled with skill, the duplication results in only a minor lag in the syllabus

behind a single-medium class at the same grade level (e.g. Platinum Secondary). However, avoiding learner 'tune-out' presents a major challenge, as does the unevenness in learners' language proficiencies. In practice, for example, linguistic attitudes on the part of some English-speaking learners tend to undermine attempts at reducing duplication of lesson 'content'. Nowhere did we observe integrated bilingual teaching in which not all key concepts and explanations were duplicated, or schools that adopted a 'one day, one language' model. Such models of bilingual education²⁷ clearly require new forms of awareness-raising and training.

No teachers have been formally trained to teach bilingually, whether in the Afrikaans/English combination typical of ex-CED and ex-HoR schools or in the isiXhosa/English combination that characterises ex-DET schooling. It is our distinct impression that the quality of learning and teaching in several of the schools we visited is compromised on account of teachers' relative lack of training in the LoLT and/or in the home language of learners, amongst other factors. Put differently, teachers are in many cases not effective, despite their formal (subject) qualifications. Given the diversity of schools, it would be unfair to generalise beyond this point. In what amounts to extreme cases of 'language mismatch', Afrikaans-speaking teachers teach Xhosa-speaking learners through the medium of English, either by default (e.g. Azure Primary) or by design (e.g. Almond Combined, an ex-DET school).

On the other hand, wealthy schools are able to appoint highly qualified and competent teachers at competitive salaries from SGB funds (Scarlet Primary; Platinum Secondary). This occurs mainly at the ex-CED schools. Many SGB posts go to language teachers in recognition of the centrality of language to learning; schools in working-class areas are not able to invest in this manner, to the detriment of their learners.

7.4 Language subjects

Apartheid-era mindsets and practices continue to prevail in this aspect of school language policy. The low status of isiXhosa is clearly evident in the timetable allocation for language subjects. Only one of five ex-CED schools, and two of the four ex-HoR schools currently offer isiXhosa²⁹. Both of the HoR schools are unusual: the one, an historically Afrikaans-medium rural school has 'adopted' a small, reportedly 'illegal' Xhosa-speaking school, including the teachers, and hence has the Xhosa-speaking staff to offer the subject; the other school employs an itinerant isiXhosa teacher who provides learners with 1–2 isiXhosa lessons per week. Several schools indicated that it was only the shortage of funds and the absence of teaching posts that prevented the appointment of a isiXhosa (-speaking) teacher. Market forces (the law of supply and demand) are used to justify the absence of isiXhosa as a subject at some affluent schools. On the other

hand, all the schools offer large amounts of time to English and Afrikaans. In the case of ex-DET schools, all learners have to take three language subjects even though this is no longer a requirement of the LiEP. Popularising the LiEP thus offers a way out of such outdated mindsets, although this is not to imply that competence in three languages is undesirable. On the contrary, as we will argue, below.

Assessment requirements for language subjects in the era of OBE have complicated the lives of teachers in 'mixed' classes, particularly where learners are not proficient in the LoLT or in the additional language (e.g. Xhosa-speaking learners in a ex-HoR school who have to take Afrikaans as Add1 because isiXhosa is not offered as a subject). Assessment remains one of the most taxing aspects of life for all teachers in dual- and parallel-medium schools. Large classes bedevil attempts at continuous evaluation, particularly with regard to individual oral marks. As a consequence, learners are sometimes assessed orally in groups, as at Ochre Secondary, in order to comply with OBE requirements.

8. Concluding comments

The diverse language policies and practices of the schools visited point to an educational system that still lacks some co-ordination and direction. Schools remain largely unaware of, or impervious to, the LiEP and its advocacy of additive bilingualism. Language practices at school level are determined largely by contextual factors such as resourcing, demographic shift, parental preferences, and the language competence of teachers. Several of these practices are educationally sound, especially in well-resourced schools that boast highly-qualified teachers. However, the lack of articulation between the new curriculum and the LiEP is everywhere apparent, as teachers trained for the former are uninformed about the latter. This is especially tragic in ex-DET schools, where teachers continue to believe that official language policy is violated by the use of the home language (isiXhosa) for teaching and learning purposes; hence its covert and exclusively oral use. A severe form of home-language deprivation is experienced by Xhosa-speaking learners in ex-HoR and ex-CED schools which do not offer isiXhosa as a subject, let alone as a LoLT. Predictably, drop-out and failure rates are high.

In view of the fragmentation, unevenness and lack of awareness in regard to language policy at school level, what is needed above all else is strong leadership on the part of the Department at provincial, district, and circuit levels. Schools have to be informed, supported and, where necessary, pressurised in order to realise the aims of the language-in-education policy. All relevant stakeholders will have to be brought on board by the Department to ensure delivery of services in the interests of a home-language based education for all. In short, a central impetus is urgently required if the goal of equitable access to education via progressive language policies is to be attained.

As described in detail earlier, dual-medium education *by design* has been largely phased out. Parallel-medium schools continue to be widespread, particularly in the Western Cape. Examples of good practice should be made known with a view to adaptation or replication elsewhere. In a context in which the mother-tongue principle cannot, on attitudinal grounds, stand on its own, and in which English is the most sought-after resource in the linguistic market, it is essential to establish under which conditions dual- and/or parallel-medium education works to the advantage of learners.

Postscript

The study described here was concluded in September 2002. As it turned out, it had a formative influence on the subsequent draft Language Policy in the Primary Schools (LPPS) of the Western Cape (WCED 2002). Briefly, the LPPS has as its central recommendations 'to implement the policy of mother-tongue based bilingual education in Grades R–6 as from 2004–5 in all primary schools of the Western Cape Province', and 'to institute incentives to guide all children towards electing to take (offer) the third official language of the Province as their second additional language (SAL)'. Secondary recommendations are aimed at the training and language proficiency-related deployment of teachers, the large-scale investment in reading books and learning support materials in isiXhosa in particular, and the running of multilingualism awareness campaigns coupled with the introduction of incentives for schools to adopt LiEP-aligned language policies. Incentives include financial rewards, a higher categorisation, more generous staff allocations, language proficiency endorsements on professional qualifications, and better promotion prospects for teachers. An implied or latent recommendation is 'to carry out a full cost analysis of the recommendations... and to secure approval of the costs prior to implementation of the plan.' The central concept in the document is that of 'mother-tongue-based bilingual education', which is glossed as follows:

Mother-tongue-based bilingual education (MTE) is, in the South African context, a more persuasive and more easily comprehensible rendering of the meaning of "additive multilingualism". It includes the following definitional features:

- a) using the mother-tongue (= home language(s) or L1) of the child/learner as a *formative Lolt* from Day 1 in Grade R or Grade 1 up to and including the last day of the school year in Grade 6;
- b) introducing the first additional language (FAL) as a subject as soon as possible in the foundation phase, including Grade R;
- c) assuming that a dual-medium approach is preferred by the parents or guardians, gradually using the FAL as a *supportive Lolt* as and when the children have adequate competence; and
- d) ideally, using L1 + FAL as *complementary Lolts* at a 50% – 50% level by the end of Grade 6. Normally, however, other permutations of this dual-medium model can be expected to prevail because of teachers' limited language proficiency and subject knowledge as well as other constraints of a material or managerial nature.

(WCED 2002: http://wced.wcape.gov.za/documents/lang_policy/index_exsum.html#defs)

While the signifier 'mother-tongue-based bilingual education' is new, at ~~least in policy documents~~ its signified is widely accepted as valid in the literature on bi-multilingual education. The model outlined above comes close to what in the USA would be described as '90-10 one-way developmental bilingual education' (see Thomas & Collier 2001). In the Western Cape context, the model is designed to cater for schools and classrooms where either Afrikaans or isiXhosa is preponderant, and where parent communities want maximal exposure to English for their children. What is significant here is the support for a phased-in dual-medium approach, which has the twin advantages of being both pedagogically sound, and acceptable to school/parent communities on attitudinal grounds.

What, then, is the future of dual-medium education and parallel-medium schooling in the Western Cape? Is dual-medium education merely a longer-term transitional strategy until such a time as African languages find acceptance as fully-fledged teaching media at all levels of education (Alexander 2001)? Or will the eventual (re)habilitation of the African languages as LoLTs provide the basis for dual-medium education as a desirable good for the foreseeable future? As implied throughout this paper, the answer depends on the goals set by the system, and the effort mustered to realise them. If dual-medium education is simply seen as a transition from MTE to English-medium education, its success will depend on whether the language shift in the population can keep pace with popular aspirations for English – an unlikely scenario. On the other hand, if the *educational* goal is being able to access the curriculum through the medium of the home language and the first additional language, and the *linguistic* goal is that each learner should know and be able to use the three provincial official languages, and the *political* goal is full equality of all the official languages, then dual-medium education combined with third-language tuition as envisaged in the draft LPPS appears to offer the better prospects.

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Endnotes

- 1 This paper is an edited and updated version of the report submitted to the WCED (PRAESA 2002).
- 2 A quantitative survey of WCED schools (SDU & PRAESA 2002) constitutes a companion study to PRAESA 2002.
- 3 Under apartheid, more specifically from 1979–94, schools for classified ‘blacks’ fell under the aegis of the Department of Education and Training (hence ex-DET); the tricameral House of Representatives (hence ex-HoR) administered schools for classified ‘coloureds’; the House of Delegates (ex-HoD) did the same for classified ‘Indians’; and in the pre-tricameral days, i.e. before 1983, schooling for classified ‘whites’ resided with the Cape Education Department (ex-CED).
- 4 Du Plessis (2004) reports that in the decade between 1993 and 2003, the number of Afrikaans single-medium schools in the Western Cape had dropped from 759 to 564, a decrease of 26%, accompanied by a concomitant increase in dual-medium (Afrikaans/English) schools.
- 5 Following the New National Party’s poor showing in the April 2004 general election, Gaum was replaced as MEC for Education in the Western Cape by Cameron Dugmore of the African National Congress.
- 6 **According to the 2001 population census, Afrikaans remains the most widely spoken home language in the Western Cape (55%), followed by isiXhosa (24%) and English (19%). (Source: Statistics South Africa 2003).**
- 7 **It is of course the defining feature of South African history that Black people, and African-language speakers in particular, remained completely marginalised from the mainstream of politics and the economy by colonialism and apartheid. The Union constitution of 1909/1910 simply became another instance of this exclusion.**
- 8 See Hough 2002 for a detailed historical account.
- 9 Alexander’s team, as cited in Plüddemann 2003
- 10 **According to Dowling & Deumet (2004), while 503 secondary schools offer Afrikaans as a second language subject, a mere 81 offer isiXhosa at the same level in the Western Cape.**
- 11 **Termed ‘subtractive bilingualism’ by Lambert (1975, in Baker, 1993) and by Thomas & Collier (2002).**
- 12 **This was observed during a field trip.**
- 13 **In 2001 the then Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, agreed in principle to the translation of Grade 12 exam papers on a provincial pilot basis. However, the initiative ran into the sand.**
- 14 **These programmes include PRAESA’s Advanced Certificate in Multilingual Education (1997–2001) and the PGDE Masters in Mother-Tongue Based Bilingual Education (ongoing), via the School of Education at the University of Cape Town (<http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/praesaa/>), and the Advanced Certificate in Language Education**
at the University of the Western Cape (<http://www.uwc.ac.za/academic/indexr.htm>).
- 15 The school’s statistics do not allow for more than one home language per learner, even though it is likely that a substantial proportion of learners come from bilingual Afrikaans/English homes. The WCED’s current EMIS database has the same limitation.
- 16 The principal stresses that bursaries are available to black students to cover fees.
- 17 It is interesting to note that, in the context of two-way immersion programmes in the USA, the exact same term (‘tuning out’) is often used to justify the strict separation of languages (cf. De Klerk 1995).
- 18 The more cumbersome Language, Literacy and Communication learning area (LLC) of (the old) Curriculum 2005 has since been renamed, in the RNCS, the Languages learning area.
- 19 One of the tenets of outcomes-based education (OBE) is that it requires teachers to show greater initiative in consulting a variety of sources, in line with constructivist epistemology.
- 20 Since then renamed ‘curriculum advisors’.
- 21 According to a teacher, the majority of Xhosa-speakers “are not comfortable with English and they cannot understand the question as it is asked”.
- 22 The Maroon Secondary School, an inner-city school unusually populated entirely by African-language speakers, has since moved to newer premises to one of Cape Town’s northern suburbs.
- 23 Emerald Primary is located in Khayelitsha, the largest township in the province.
- 24 See Plüddemann et al. (2004).
- 25 For a cost-benefit analysis and contending approaches to the issue of the costs of multilingualism in education, see Grin (forthcoming).
- 26 See the SDU/PRAESA report on language provision in Western Cape schools, 2002.
- 27 By contrast, well-designed two-way immersion or dual-medium programmes in the USA rely on a strict language separation, and hence minimise on duplication of lesson content. See Thomas & Collier 2002.
- 28 Almond Primary is an unusual ex-DET school in the sense that it has appointed a group of Afrikaans-speaking (i.e. non-Xhosa-speaking) teachers to raise the level of achievement in the senior grades. The vast majority of learners are Xhosa-speaking, although Afrikaans is not unknown to many from this farming community.
- 29 See endnote 30.
- 30 A prior reference to ‘mother-tongue based bilingual education’ and ‘African mother-tongue based bilingual education’ can be found in Banda (2001:200).

PRAESA's series of occasional papers is meant to provide an opportunity for the research done by staff members and associated researchers working in the domain of language policy in education to obtain initial exposure to an interested peer audience. It is hoped that feedback will improve the final version in which this research is eventually published or distributed.

Other publications in the series of PRAESA Occasional Papers

1. Bloch, C. 1998. 'Literacy in the Early Years: Teaching and Learning in Multilingual Early Childhood Classrooms'.
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4. Wolff, E.H. 2000. 'Pre-school Child Multilingualism and its Educational Implications in the African Context'.
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6. Heugh, K. 2000. 'The Case Against Bilingual and Multilingual Education in South Africa'.
7. Broeder, P., Extra, G. and Maartens, J. 2002. 'Multilingualism in South Africa with a focus on KwaZulu-Natal and Metropolitan Durban'.
8. Bloch, C. 2002. 'Concepts of Early Childhood Development, Literacy Learning and Materials Development in Multilingual Settings'.
9. Heugh, K. 2002. 'Revisiting Bilingual Education in and for South Africa'.
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12. Perry, T. 2003. 'Language Rights, Ethnic Politics: A Critique of the Pan South African Language Board'.
13. Alexander, N. 2003. 'The African Renaissance and the Use of African Languages in Tertiary Education'.
14. Giliomee, H. 2003. 'The Rise and Possible Demise of Afrikaans as a Public Language'.
15. Plüddemann, P., Braam, D., Broeder, P., Extra, G. and October, M. 2004. 'Language policy implementation and language vitality in Western Cape primary schools'.
16. Bloch, C. 2004. 'Enabling effective literacy learning in multilingual South African early childhood classrooms'.