Charlyn Dyers
Iilwimi Centre for Multilingualism and the Language Professions, University of the Western Cape.

Intervention and language attitudes: the effects of one development programme on the language attitudes of primary school educators

ABSTRACT

The Iilwimi Centre for Multilingualism and the Language Professions ran a development programme for primary school educators from 5 schools in the Helderberg Basin from 2000–2002. The aim of this programme was to help the educators to cope with the demands of the multilingual classroom as learner populations at these schools became increasingly diverse in terms of language and culture. The intervention included the following aspects:

> Diversity Management;
> Assistance with the formulation of Language Policy;
> Language Acquisition in Xhosa and Afrikaans;
> Assistance with the new curriculum 2005;
> Multilingual materials production and
> The creation of a multilingual schools magazine.

In 2002, a research project was carried out on the development programme in order to assess the effect of this type of intervention on the teachers' language attitudes, and also to determine whether such effects could be sustained beyond the period of the programme. The latter was assessed by considering the effect of the programme on teachers who experienced the foundation and intermediate phases of the programme through classroom observation, interviews and questionnaires. The period of the research also coincided with the senior phase of the programme. This article is a description of the research project and its findings.

1. Background

Since the early 1990s, educators in South Africa have become aware of the need to address the issue of language in school education. In the former Department of Education and Training (DET)

schools, some educators have become aware that the language-in-education policy of switching to English after Grade 3 is contributing to educational failure. In many other schools, educators are struggling to respond adequately to the increased linguistic diversity found among their learners. The development programme run by the Iilwimi Centre for Multilingualism and the Language Professions at the University of the Western Cape was initially developed in response to the needs of the latter group, but expanded to include the needs of the former group as well. This paper considers the impact the development programme had on the language attitudes of educators who participated in Iilwimi's programme in the Helderberg Basin, Western Cape Province. The centre also ran a similar programme in the West Coast region of the Western Cape.

Five schools in the Helderberg Basin participated in the programme: 3 former House of Representatives (HoR) schools, and 2 former Department of Education and Training (DET) schools. The former serve mainly an Afrikaans-speaking community, but operate as dual medium schools with English and Afrikaans streams. Xhosa-speaking children who join such schools are placed in the English medium classrooms, at the request of their parents. The official medium of instruction at the two ex-DET schools is English, but, in line with Desai's findings (2002), the teachers use Xhosa a great deal in class in order to help their learners to come to grips with the learning materials. However, even these two schools reported having more multilingual classrooms, with small numbers of Afrikaans- and Sotho-speaking children joining the majority Xhosa learner population.

Iilwimi's development programme was run in support of the Language in Education Policy for Schools (1997) of the Department of Education. The underlying principle of this policy was to "maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition of additional language(s)" and its overall framework rested on an obligation to promote multilingualism. Despite this obligation, the policy gave schools the right to decide on their own language policy, which meant that indigenous languages, despite their official status, remained marginalized in many schools, even in schools that were admitting speakers of indigenous languages in increasing numbers. A much more far-reaching recommendation is contained in the Western Cape Education Department's Language Policy in the Primary Schools of the Western Cape (November 2002): that the mother tongue or home language of the child or learner must be used as a formative language of learning and teaching from Grade R up to Grade 6.

The Iilwimi Centre's development programme in the Helderberg Basin lasted for three years, from 2000 to 2002, and consisted of workshops on the following aspects:

- Diversity management: These workshops invited participants to reflect on the influences that shaped the way in which they saw the world and people of different races and cultures. Through groupwork, participants worked out action plans for coping with increased diversity in the classroom.
- Language policy: The workshop was a critical evaluation of different models of language policy, in order to help educators to understand why a multilingual language policy was the most efficient one for their schools. Educators were also shown how to draw up language policies for their own schools.
- Multilingual materials production and assistance with Curriculum 2005: Educators were given practical ideas on how to design materials that would suit the demands of Curriculum 2005. The Centre then translated these materials into other languages, so that the end-product could be trilingual sets of learning material.
- Language acquisition in Xhosa for English and Afrikaans speakers and Afrikaans for Xhosa

speakers: Following detailed needs analysis sessions, materials were designed to teach educators some of the basic Xhosa and Afrikaans they needed in their classrooms.

- Report writing and the production of a multilingual schools magazine: Educators were trained in the writing of reports to enable them to submit their own as well as their learners' written work for a combined schools' magazine at the end of each phase. Each submission was translated into two other languages, and the magazine also contained illustrations and photographs.

In 2000 the programme was offered to foundation phase educators from the five schools; in 2001, to intermediate phase educators and in 2002 to senior phase educators. Therefore three different groups teaching at three different levels participated in the project over the three-year period. Schools took turns to host the workshops.

In 2002 a research project was carried out on the development programme in order to assess the impact the programme had had on the language attitudes of the participants, and whether educators were able to sustain changes in attitudes beyond the period of the development programme. Short-term attitude changes were measured by looking at the attitudes of the senior phase educators, while attitude changes of relatively longer duration were measured by looking at the attitudes expressed by foundation and intermediate phase educators two and one year after these two groups had participated in the project respectively. This paper is a description of the research project and its findings.

2.   Attitudes and Attitude Change

Baker (1992: 12–13) distinguishes between "…the cognitive, affective and readiness for action parts of attitudes". According to him, the cognitive component relates to the thoughts and beliefs people have about the languages they know, while the affective component relates to how people feel about such languages. The "readiness for action parts" is a plan of action with regards to a language – what people intend to do about such languages, e.g. whether they would be happy to learn them. Triandis (1971: 8) lists another category in his definition of attitudes, namely that of ranking. According to him the language attitudes held by people also define the ways in which they rank the different languages they know.

The languages known to the educators of the Helderberg Basin are Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. According to Statistics South Africa (2000), 69.36% of the population of the Helderberg Basin are Afrikaans-speaking, 17.65% are English-speaking and 10.34% are Xhosa-speaking. English appears to enjoy the highest ranking as a language of status, further education and political power, closely followed by Afrikaans, while Xhosa has the lowest ranking. The Xhosa-speaking population mainly live in two townships knows as Lwandle and Nomzamo, and are among the poorest members of the population. The economic clout of any group definitely impacts on the standing of the language and how speakers of other languages behave towards that group. This factor contributes to the prevailing power of Afrikaans, especially in the Western Cape, despite the political baggage of the past attached to it.

Despite the low ranking of Xhosa, the educators from the ex-HoR schools came to our project with strong instrumental motivation (Gardner, 1985) for wanting to learn the language of their Xhosa learners so that they could communicate with them in class. The ex-DET educators were initially very sceptical about learning Afrikaans. However, the needs analysis session conducted with them revealed that all these educators now sent their children to ex-HoR schools where they as parents struggled to cope with events like sport days and open days because of the

predominance of Afrikaans. They also acknowledged the difficulties they had in certain shops, businesses and government offices when dealing with Afrikaans-speaking interlocutors.

Research has shown that change in language attitudes may provide the catalyst for change in language preferences and ultimately language use (Baker 1988: 112; Webb and Kembo-sure 1999: 117). Morgan (1993: 72), considering the likelihood of attitude change, writes that it cannot operate in isolation. 'In order for change to take place, some basic restructuring on a cognitive level with probable shifts in affectivity must also occur'. Morgan further argues that changes in attitudes may vary in durability so that short-term and long-term effects, which are influenced by cognitive and affective factors, need to be taken into consideration. Thus, if there is no reinforcement of the positive messages for change received in a setting like the school classroom, university lecture venue or an in-service workshop, the change may only be of relatively short duration. But if societal changes are also at work, this may lead to more long-term changes. As Baker (1988: 142) puts it, 'Attitude change is essentially a cognitive activity, yet is formulated through social activity'.

In South Africa, Webb (1992: 450–1) contends that language attitudes need to be changed in order to avoid

> ... serious consequences, such as continued language based conflict, the continued marginalization of people who have an insufficient knowledge of the dominant languages, the possibility of continued manipulation and discrimination, the possible cultural and linguistic alienation of people and the loss of the country's linguistic diversity.

In particular, Webb (pp. 452–455) wants policies in place to effect the following changes, which in turn would impact on people's existing language attitudes:

- The depoliticization of South African languages. Under the apartheid government, languages became highly politicized, creating unreal expectations about e.g. what Webb calls the 'liberating abilities of English';
- A lowering of the high evaluation of English (which would include accepting the Africanization of English);
- Removing the ambivalent attitudes of love-hate towards Afrikaans among speakers of Afrikaans; and
- the revalorization of African languages, particularly by technicalizing and modernizing these languages.

However, Webb is quick to point out that 'social change precedes linguistic change' and that meaningful social change could only be 'a product of political and economic forces.'

Change can be active, i.e. the individual can take the conscious decision to change his/her attitudes towards a particular attitude object and act on this, or passive, i.e. it can be engineered by socio-political forces and accepted by the individual over time. Triandis (1971: 142–146) contends that there are four well-established ways in which attitudes can be changed:

- by first changing the cognitive component (e.g., with new information), the affective component (e.g. by pleasant or unpleasant experiences in the presence of the attitude object) or the behavioural component (e.g. by norm or behavioural changes);
- by forcing a person to act or by presenting him/her with a fait accompli;
- by presenting a person with what is called a 'traumatic experience' with the attitude object; and
- through psychotherapy by increasing the person's insight into the reasons s/he holds certain

attitudes, by providing positive reinforcement for certain attitudes, by presenting an anxiety-reducing stimulus in the presence of the negative attitude object, and so on.

State language policies could, if properly and sensitively implemented, lead to the first two ways of change in attitude listed above by Triandis. Many researchers in Africa and elsewhere have pointed to the role of aggressively enforced state language policies in shaping the attitudes of people towards that language. The example of Afrikaans and its promotion by the pre-democracy governments of South Africa, and the enforcement of Russian in the former Eastern Bloc countries in Europe are frequently cited as examples of how state intervention can affect the status and vitality of a language. In Africa however, Adegbija (1994) argues that negative attitudes to the use of indigenous languages in particular domains, especially education, have become institutionalized under the guise of official language policies in education. Unless such negative attitudes are consciously reversed and provision is made for the use of indigenous African languages in education and other areas of public communications, most of these languages will stagnate. However, Webb (1999: 84–5) cautions against expecting too much attitudinal change as a result of external and direct influences. He believes that attitudes towards indigenous South African languages can only change if the social standing of the communities themselves increase, and the communities become 'overtly successful'.

Triandis' third way of changing attitudes, the 'traumatic' experience, could lead to change mainly in one direction: previously positive attitudes could change to negative attitudes. Thus hostility and racism experienced from speakers of a previously desirable language, or being sneered at because of a weak command of the language can hardly be said to lead to positive attitudes towards the language and speakers of that language. However, many educators in the Helderberg Basin became involved in our programme precisely because they had experienced the trauma of being unable to help their learners because of the language barrier. An example of such a traumatic experience was when a child was seriously injured on the playground and was unable to explain to her teacher what had happened to her, or where she experienced pain.

While the kind of psychotherapy advocated by Triandis as the fourth avenue for change is naturally out of the question at national level, much can be done to change the affective component of attitudes. Africans, for example, need to associate their languages with experiences which are pleasant by the standards of modern life. As Okombo (1998: 595) puts it

It is important that Africans see and hear their languages used in a dignified manner and in dignified settings by people who are successful in the modern spheres of ambition, especially in educational and professional endeavours.

Language activists who believe that people's attitudes towards languages can be changed through e.g. public awareness campaigns or state policies, must realize that changing language attitudes is no simple task. An individual might change his/her attitudes, but unless such changes are supported either by societal changes in attitudes or by state intervention through enforced language policies which carry the approval of the majority of the population, the individual would find it extremely difficult to sustain such changes. Indeed, actual social practices appear to have much more impact on language attitudes than language policies and educational input.

3. Research Methodology

The research methodology used three distinct research tools. Firstly, a questionnaire was used to determine how the schools had responded to increasingly multilingual learner populations. It also revealed some of the cognitive and affective attitudes educators held at the beginning of the

development project. The questionnaire was available in three languages – English, Afrikaans and Xhosa (see Appendix One), and was completed by educators at the start of their phase of the development project.

Secondly, a total of thirty interviews were conducted with educators from all three phases (six from each school) who had participated in the development project. A trilingual questionnaire was designed for use during these interviews, in order to see whether there had been any changes in cognitive or affective attitudes as well as changes in behaviour towards other languages and speakers of those languages (see Appendix Two). A Xhosa research assistant helped in conducting the interviews and with the classroom observation. Finally, schools were visited so that actual classroom practices could be observed and also to see whether schools acknowledged their multilingual populations by making the different languages visible through signs, word-lists and other forms of realia.

4.   Results

The results of the first questionnaire over the three years in which it was answered clearly reflected the greater freedom of choice parents had in choosing the schools their children could attend, and this in turn affected the staffing of such schools. The results of the interviews and classroom observations also revealed many interesting trends at both individual and school level.

4.1   Results of the initial questionnaire

At the beginning of the development project, when work was being done with the foundation phase educators, educators from the three ex-HoR schools reported that the learner populations in their schools contained small percentages (4–5%) of Xhosa children, while educators from the two ex-DET schools reported having only Xhosa learners. Slight changes were reported by the intermediate phase educators, but, with the exception of one ex-HoR school, most of the senior phase educators reported significant changes. The educators from the ex-DET schools acknowledged that the mother-tongues of between 2–5% of their learners were Afrikaans and Sotho, while educators from two of the ex-HoR schools reported much higher combinations of learners who spoke Afrikaans, English and Xhosa as their mother-tongues:

50% Afrikaans; 35% English and 15% Xhosa in the case of one school, and
40% Afrikaans; 20% English and 40% Xhosa in the case of the other.

While educators from the ex-DET schools continued to define their staff as mainly Xhosa-speaking, educators from the ex-HoR schools reported an increase in English and Xhosa educators. At the beginning of the development project, the foundation phase educators from the ex-HoR schools reported that they mainly used Afrikaans as medium of instruction, but by the third year of the programme, the senior phase educators from two of these schools reported that English, Afrikaans and "some" Xhosa were being used as media of instruction. However, the main languages of internal communication were English and Afrikaans at the ex-HoR schools, and English and Xhosa at the ex-DET schools, which clearly reflected the existing staff compositions. One ex-HoR school continued to use Afrikaans as its language of external communication, but the other two used combinations of English, Afrikaans and Xhosa, while Xhosa and English predominated at the ex-DET schools. The changes to the languages of external communication at the two schools mentioned may be indicative of changed language attitudes, with Xhosa improving its previously non-existing ranking at such schools to a language in which the schools were trying to communicate with Xhosa-speaking parents.

Over the three years, only one ex-HoR school had seen fit to start making changes to its language policy. However, the ex-DET schools had done so in order to be in line with the more multilingual approach of the Department of Education. Despite this, most of the educators participating in the programme felt that that there was a need to change existing language policies to reflect the changed learner populations at their schools. Effecting language policy changes is a lengthy process, requiring sufficient background knowledge on how to structure such policies as well as negotiations with all the roleplayers in a particular school. Therefore, the lack of change in this regard may have very little to do with changes in language attitudes.

Educators continued to agree that the best participation in class and performance in tests came from learners whose mother tongues were the medium of instruction used at the school. Educators from the ex-HoR schools at the foundation phase (2000) and intermediate phase (2001) felt that race relations between the different learner groups needed to improve, but among the senior phase educators (2002), only one school felt that race relations between learners from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds needed to improve. The improved race relations at the other two schools may also be indicative of changed language attitudes among educators as well as learners.

4.2 Results of the interviews

Despite some initial scepticism, most of the senior phase educators were highly enthusiastic about what they had gained from the project, and revealed positive attitudes towards the languages they had been taught: Afrikaans in the case of ex-DET schools, and Xhosa in the case of ex-HoR schools. They were also very positive about the way in which they had been taught the language, despite the brevity of the course (one hour per week over six weeks). Most of them felt inspired to continue improving their language acquisition. All the ex-HoR educators indicated that they had developed a greater empathy for their Xhosa learners as a result of the project. As one educator said: "We have a better understanding of the circumstances of our Xhosa learners as a result of Iilwimi. We can sympathise with parents' fears that children will lose their language and culture".

In the short term, therefore, one could argue that there had been a change in views or opinions about Xhosa and Afrikaans, as well as how the educators felt about these languages. According to Baker's (1992: 12) definition of attitudes, these changes could be described as both cognitive and affective changes, while the desire to continue learning the languages might have been indicative of changes in behaviour towards the language and speakers of the language. But could such changes in attitudes be sustained beyond the period of the development programme? The answer to this question could only be determined by examining the attitudes revealed by the foundation and intermediate phase educators.

Interviewees from both phases singled out the language acquisition in Xhosa and Afrikaans as the aspect they remembered the most of the entire project, which was indicative of the impact learning a new language had had on them. Foundation phase educators however felt that their ability to communicate with their learners was very poor, and restricted to greetings and few commands. Those who had learned Xhosa during both phases expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which it had been taught. They felt that the cognitive approach used by the facilitator (a UWC lecturer) and the lengthy dialogues used as learning material made the lessons "…more like lectures, and …showed little understanding of our position and the way in which we like to learn". With one exception, most ex-HoR educators expressed the desire to receive more classes in Xhosa language acquisition "…provided that the methodology could be changed to more practical ways of acquiring Xhosa". It is worth noting that the methodology became far more interactive and communicative with the senior phase educators.

The educators from the ex-DET schools who had learned Afrikaans at intermediate level were much more positive, and felt that the classes, which were presented in a highly communicative manner, had "… built confidence…" in learning Afrikaans. The facilitators (both ex-primary school teachers with many years' experience) played games, used realia and roleplays, and also provided the educators with material they could use effectively to teach their learners Afrikaans. Facilitators obviously used methodologies with which they were more familiar, but some cross-fertilization had clearly taken place by the third year of the project, when the Xhosa lessons became much more communicative and interactive.

Not all educators from the ex-HoR schools had attempted to implement what had been taught in our workshops. One intermediate phase educator felt that "…although I use some basic Xhosa in my class…there was too much of a gap between Iilwimi's workshops and our classes", while another said that she had "…tried to use Xhosa at the beginning, which was appreciated by the learners, but was no longer trying". Foundation phase educators reported that they were still using Xhosa greetings and songs, and that they were using Xhosa children as interpreters. It was however an entirely different story with the educators from the two ex-DET schools who had learned Afrikaans. At these schools, the educators enthusiastically continued to apply what they had been taught both at foundation and intermediate phase. One foundation phase educator said: "… we managed to apply what we learned with our classes, specifically some Afrikaans vocabu-lary, such as stories, poems and numbers," while an intermediate phase educator reported that "The year plan, body parts and teaching aids they (Iilwimi) provided are useful and easily understood."

The key question concerning race relations at the schools, and whether they had improved as a result of our intervention, elicited a variety of responses from the different phases. Some educators from the ex-HoR schools maintained that their school had no racial problem, while others made the following comments:

> "We have improved our relationships with our Xhosa educators, and our Afrikaans-speaking children now have a more positive attitude towards Xhosa" (senior phase educator).

"The large number of Xhosa children at our school is problematic – some can do the work, but never say a single word. And they like to fight! Some have failed Grade one because of their lack of Afrikaans or English. We also get little parental support from Xhosa parents…it would also help if parents sent their children to crèches where they can be exposed to English and Afrikaans at an early age" (foundation phase educator).

 "Our children now see Xhosa in a different light, and have more appreciation for it. This has helped to improve race relations" (intermediate phase educator).

All the educators interviewed indicated that they would appreciate much more help with the production of multilingual learning materials, and also expressed their appreciation for the way in which the project had helped them to get to know educators from the other schools. The multilingual school magazine was also regarded as a wonderful end-product, and educators from the ex-DET schools expressed the desire for more regular multilingual newsletters so that the process of co-operating with other schools could be maintained.

4.3   Results of the classroom observation

The classroom observation focussed on the following areas:

- The visibility of multilingualism in a multilingual school – were there signs, posters, wallcharts and pictures that depicted the school as a multilingual one?
- The use of languages other than English in educator-learner interaction;
- Learners' ability to speak Xhosa or Afrikaans; and
- Inter-racial relationships among learners.

Classroom observation was limited to the classes of those educators who had participated in the development project.

In the ex-DET schools, English was the most visible language, although Xhosa predominated in educator-learner interactions. To some extent, this supports an earlier finding by Banda (1998: 9) that none of the ex-DET schools are currently using the model of additive bilingualism espoused by the government: 'In a nutshell, the majority of South African schools have a monolingual orientation despite government's policy of additive bilingualism. The situation is unlike to change in the near future.' Intermediate and senior phase learners were, however, proud to show off the Afrikaans they had acquired from their educators. Such classes also contained a few word lists and posters in Afrikaans. As the small number of Afrikaans- and Sotho-speaking children were all fluent in Xhosa as a result of living in the same township as their Xhosa-speaking peers, there was little immediate evidence of inter-racial tension at these two schools.

In the ex-HoR schools, English and Afrikaans were the most visible languages, and these languages also predominated in educator-learner interactions. Xhosa was only present in multilingual posters distributed by the Western Cape Education Department and in the words of the national anthem which appeared in some classes. At foundation phase, it was clear that the Xhosa learners could not follow the instructions given in English by the educators. Nor were the educators able to tell them what to do in their mother tongue, although our language acquisition courses had included a wide variety of instructions. An effort had, however, been made by the educators to ensure that the learners could greet us in the three official languages of the Western Cape. At the school where efforts were being made to design a multilingual language policy, Grade 4 learners in one class were able to demonstrate their multilingual ability. Afrikaans and English children were able to speak some Xhosa, and Xhosa children were able to communicate in both English and Afrikaans. It was clear that this was a happy class where linguistic and cultural diversity was valued and where an inspired educator could evoke positive attitudes towards learning other languages.

It was interesting to observe that the senior phase English medium classes at two of the HoR schools were dominated by Xhosa learners – 90% in one case. Encouraged by their class teachers, these learners were teaching the small minority of other learners in the class some Xhosa, which they proudly demonstrated to us. While there was little immediate evidence of poor race relations in all the classes observed, the principals of these schools felt that this was still a major issue as learners and parents from each group still carried the baggage of the past with them.

At the third HoR school with the smallest number of Xhosa learners, Afrikaans was the dominant language. Educators did not see this as a problem as the school's feeder community was a large squatter camp where the majority Coloured and minority Xhosa groups co-existed fairly peacefully and where the children learned each other's languages with ease. Learners at this school freely interpreted the lessons and learning materials for their classmates.

5.   Conclusions

So, did our intervention lead to sustained changes in behaviour towards Xhosa and Afrikaans among the participating educators? From the responses to the interviews, we can see definite sustained changes in language attitudes towards Afrikaans at the ex-DET schools, with both educators and learners enthusiastically demonstrating some competence in the language. If we take account of the Bakerian distinctions, we could say that the attitude changes towards Afrikaans among these educators have taken place at the cognitive, affective and behavioural levels.

At the ex-HoR schools, however, despite changes at the cognitive and possibly even affective levels towards Xhosa, not all educators appear to be able to maintain changes in behaviour towards the language without institutional or social support. This is in line with the research findings reported in Section 2, viz. that individual language attitude changes can only be long-term if supported adequately by institutions, societies and social practices. In the one ex-HoR school where significant steps are being taken to make other languages and speakers of those languages part of the school, some educators have managed to maintain the positive attitudes they displayed at the end of their phase of our project, and they have been able to inspire their learners to learn each others' languages as well.

But it became clear to us during the period of research that many educators felt caught between the demands of a heavy workload and the needs of learners with whom they could not communicate effectively. Many expressed their frustration during the interviews, and the sense of helplessness they felt when they could not assist such learners. Virtually all educators who participated in the research project expressed the need for continued support, as well as an increase in the number of Xhosa educators and interpreters at such schools.

The different ways in which Xhosa and Afrikaans language acquisition were taught may also have influenced attitudes. Overly strict adherence to the cognitive method at foundation and intermediate phase may have led to the view among some educators that Xhosa was far too difficult to acquire. The highly communicative and interactive method used to teach Afrikaans clearly found much favour with the ex-DET school educators, but it is also worth remembering that most of these educators will have learned some Afrikaans at some point in their lives whereas Xhosa was virtually a foreign language to the other group. It was also clear that both languages were ranked much higher by the different educators by the end of the project, although English still appeared to enjoy the highest ranking with both groups in terms of status and power.

This research project draws further attention to the need to acknowledge language attitudes if existing language policies are not to fail dismally. The implementation of language policy also needs to be done with sensitivity to people's existing language attitudes. Much needs to be done to enhance the teaching of both first and second language at school, as both are clearly vital to educational advancement in South Africa. Webb (1999: 73–4) feels that a single generalised language policy statement is possibly not wise, and that, in the South African context, there is a need for different policies for each of the following sociolinguistic situation types – the larger urban areas, the smaller urban areas and the deep rural areas. Webb goes on to expand on other sociological factors that need to inform policy in these areas, for example whether English and/or Afrikaans have strong dominant presences, whether there are urban varieties of African languages, Afrikaans and English, and whether strong urban identities have developed and there is resistance to 'traditional ways of life'. Clearly, in all of these factors attitudes play a central role and cannot be ignored by those who plan policies and direct the implementation of such policies.

The promotion of African languages as languages of learning could work if dominant regional African languages were made compulsory in schools (Plüddemann 1997: 27). Making fluency in

at least one African language a pre-requisite for employment in certain areas might also enhance the status of these languages.

As a centre we have learned a great deal from working together with these educators, and have improved the contents and presentation of our workshops considerably as a result of their feedback. It is our hope that we may also have contributed towards nation-building by improving communication between different speech communities.

APPENDIX – QUESTIONNAIRES USED

I. **Questionnaire used at start of project with different phases** (Note: The questionnaire was also available in Afrikaans and Xhosa)

1. Would you define your school's main source community as:
(a) Xhosa
(b) Afrikaans
(c) English
(d) Other
(e) Combinations of two/three or more. Give the combination percentage-wise.

2. Looking at the composition of learners at your school, does the language situation differ from the situation five years ago? How?

3. Would you define your staff as:
(a) Xhosa
(b) Afrikaans
(c) English
(d) Other
(e) Combinations of two/three or more. Give the combination.

4. Has the composition of the staff changed in the last five years? If yes, how?

5. What is the current language policy of your school with regards to:
5.1 Language of learning/instruction?
(a) Xhosa
(b) Afrikaans
(c) English
(d) Other
(e) Combination of two/three or more. Give the combination.
5.2 Language of internal communication?
5.3 Language of external communication?

6. Has the language policy of the school changed during the last five years?

7. If yes, how?

8. If no, why not?
9. Do you think there is a need for it to change?
(a) If yes, how?
(b) If not, why not?

10. In your opinion:
(i) which learners participate more actively in your classroom:
    (a) speakers of the language of instruction?
    (b) non-speakers of the language of instruction?
(ii) which learners perform the best academically?
    (a) speakers of the language of instruction?
    (b) non-speakers of the language of instruction?
(iii) is the social relationship between learners from different linguistic backgrounds
    (a) good
    (b) average
    (c) weak? Explain your answer.
(iv) does the current language policy address the language needs of all the learners in your class?
    (a) Yes
    (b) No
    (c) Partly. Explain your answer.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE USED DURING INTERVIEWS
QUESTIONS/VRAE/IMIBUZO

1. Wat onthou u die meeste van Iilwimi se werkswinkels?
What do you remember most about the Iilwimi workshops?
Yeyiphi eyonanto uyikhumbulayo ngemihlangano yokwabelana ngezimvo yase-Iilwimi?

2. Wat was die beste/swakste aspekte van die projek?
What were most/least satisfactory aspects of the project?
Ngawaphi awona macala maninzi/ambalwa onelisayo kwinkqubo yexeshana?

3. Hoe is u Xhosa/Afrikaans? Kan u kommunikeer met u Xhosa/Afrikaanse leerders op 'n basiese vlak?
How is your Xhosa/Afrikaans? Can you communicate with your Xhosa/Afrikaans learners at a basic level?
Sinjani isiXhosa/isiBhulu sakho? Unganxibelelana ngesiXhosa/isiBhulu sakho nabafundi kumanqanaba asisiseko?

4. Het u enigiets toegepas in u klas wat ons u geleer het? Hoekom? Hoekom nie?
Have you applied anything you learned from our workshops in your class? Why? Why not?
Ukhe wasebenzisa nantoni na oyifundileyo kwimihlangano yokwabelana ngezimvo eklasini yakho? Kunjalo? Akunjalo ngoba?

5. Sal u sê dat rasseverhoudings in u klas verbeter het as gevolg van u bywoning van ons werkswinkels? Hoekom/Hoekom nie?
Would you say that race relations in your class improved after you had attended   our workshops? Why/Why not?
Ungatsho ukuba unxibelelwano ngokobuhlanga eklasini luye lwaphucuka emveni kokuba uye kwintlangano zethu zokwabelana ngezimvo? Kunjalo/akunjalo ngoba?

6. Is u gretig om nog Xhosa/Afrikaans te leer? Het u enige taal van u leerders opgetel?
Are you eager to learn more Xhosa/Afrikaans? Did you pick up any language from your learners?
Usenomdla wokusifunda isiXhosa/isiBhulu kwakho? Lukhona olunye ulwimi olufumeneyo kubafundi bakho?

7.   Watter verdere ondersteuning sou u verlang het van Iilwimi?
      What kind of further support would you have liked from Iilwimi?
      Loluphi uhlobo lenkqubela-phambili lenkxaso onokuluthanda e-Iilwimi?

References

Adegbija, E. 1994. *Language attitudes in Africa: a sociolinguistic overview*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. 1988. *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. 1992. *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Banda, F. 1998. The dilemma of the mother-tongue: Bilingual education in South Africa. Paper presented at the Language in Action Seminar Series on 23 March 1998, Dept. Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

De Klerk, V. (ed.) 1996. *Varieties of English around the World* (General Series, Vol. 15) – *Focus on South Africa*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

Department of Education 1997. *Language in Education Policy*. 14 July 1997. http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/policy/edulangpolicy.html

Desai, Z. 2002. A case for mother tongue education? Paper presented at the launch of the LOITASA Project in Morogoro, Tanzania, from 22–24 April 2002.

Gardner, R.C. 1985. *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning*. London: E. Arnold.

Heugh, K., Siegrühn, A. and Plüddemann, P. (eds.) 1995. Multilingual Education for South Africa, for PRAESA. Johannesburg: Heinemann.

Limage, L. (ed.) 1999. *Comparative Perspectives on Language and Literacy: Selected Papers from the work of the Language and Literacy Commission of the 10th World Congress of Comparative Education Societies*. Cape Town 1998. Dakar: UNESCO-BREDA.

Morgan, C. 1993. Attitude change and foreign language culture learning. *Language Teaching* 26: 63–75.

Okombo, O. 1999. Towards a strategy of changing attitudes to indigenous African languages. In L. Limage (ed.), 591–596.

Peirce, B. 1995. Social Identity, Investment and Language *Learning. TESOL Quarterly* 29.1: 9–31.

Plüddemann, P. 1997. 'Additive' and 'Subtractive': Challenges in Education for Multilingualism. *Per Linguam* 13.1: 17–28.

Pütz, M. (ed.) 1992. *Thirty years of linguistic evolution*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Triandis, H. 1971. *Attitude and Attitude Change*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Webb, V. 1992. Language attitudes in South Africa: implications for a post-apartheid democracy. In M. Pütz (ed.), 429–460.

Webb, V. 1996. English and Language Planning for South Africa; the Flip Side. In V. de Klerk (ed.), 175–190.

Webb, V. 1999. Multilingualism in democratic South Africa: the over-estimation of language policy. In L. Limage (ed.), 65–86.

Webb, V. and Kembo-Sure (eds.) 1999. *African Voices: An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Western Cape Education Department 2002. Language Policy in the Primary Schools of the Western Cape. November 2002. http://wced.wcape.gov.za/documents/langpolicy/ index_ exsum.html

Professor Charlyn Dyers is a graduate of the Universities of the Western Cape and Edinburgh. She graduated with the degree of D.Litt in Linguistics from UWC in 2001, and graduated with the degree M.Sc in Applied Linguistics from the University of Edinburgh in 1980. She has lectured at the University of Edinburgh (1981–1985), the Free University of Berlin (1982–3) and Stevenson College of Education, Edinburgh (1985–1992). She has been a lecturer at UWC since 1994, and is currently the director of the Iilwimi Sentrum for Multilingualism and the Language Professions at UWC. Dyers specializes in the field of language attitudes in a multilingual environment. This paper describes a research project undertaken by her following the conclusion of a development programme run in support of primary school educators faced with the demands of multilingual classrooms.		Prof. Charlyn Dyers Director Iilwimi Sentrum for Multilingualism and the Language Professions University of the Western Cape Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 (021) 959-2666 Fax: (021) 959-1320 cdyers@uwc.ac.za