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Introduction

Since the end of Apartheid in South Africa and with the official status of 11 languages in the constitution of 1996, it has increasingly become the norm that South African teachers teach pupils from diverse linguistic backgrounds in one classroom. In multilingual South Africa it is not uncommon that teachers teach subjects in a language that is not their mother-tongue. This thesis examines the concept of **language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa**. During a 2 _ months stay in Port Elizabeth in the province of the Eastern Cape I carried out a research project, which helped me to find answers to my main research question: **How aware are teachers of multilingual classrooms in South Africa that they are language teachers no matter which subject they teach?**

In my research project, I used a qualitative approach of research. I worked with an inductive and contextualized approach and an emergent research design. In qualitative research, the researcher focuses on what he or she wants to find out in the course of the research and only then chooses the research methods. Qualitative research is holistic as it examines a problem in its whole complexity in everyday contexts. The aim of this form of research is to find out something new rather than trying to falsify or verify a given hypothesis as quantitative research does. The research project that will be described in this thesis, aims at the development of something new, namely the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa.

In quantitative research, the subjectivity of both the researcher and the research partners is excluded. In qualitative methods, subjectivity is used as part of the research, and the communication between the researcher and the research partners plays an important role. I used qualitative research methods to examine the subjective concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa (cf. Flick 2000; Olivier 2002). In this thesis I present my research project in a phenomenological way in that I describe what teachers think and their concept of language teaching awareness without judging their beliefs and attitudes. Despite my prescriptive opinion about teachers who have

language teaching awareness I try to fulfil the phenomenological demand of this thesis through reflective subjectivity and impartiality (cf. Flick 2000 : 15; 30). I shall now give a brief overview of the contents of each chapter:

Chapter 1 of this thesis provides the theoretical background by introducing different theories and approaches, which are relevant in the context of my research. These are subjective theories, experimental knowledge of teachers and language awareness. I will describe how the concept of language teaching awareness was developed in chronological order and give the first set of research questions to be examined in my research project, which look at the *values* of teachers.

Chapter 2 presents the research field by describing the history of education in South Africa, the education in post-Apartheid South Africa and language teaching awareness in the context of South Africa. It shows how I entered the research field and introduces the second set of research questions that were developed in the course of my research project, which look at the *action* of the teachers.

Chapter 3 discusses in three subchapters bilingualism in Europe and in other parts of the world, bilingualism in South Africa and why it should rather be called multilingualism and describes the Master's module "Teaching Content and Language", which was offered in the Department of Education at the University of Port Elizabeth. In this module I participated as a student assistant and met my research partners. Chapter 3 also introduces the additive approach of bilingualism as a possible solution for the language in education policy in South Africa.

Chapter 4 describes the four teachers I chose as my research sample in the course of my research project and the way of selection, namely gradual selection through theoretical sampling. I also give reasons why I decided to take these four teachers as research partners. This chapter places my research into the context of qualitative research.

Chapter 5 describes data collection and documentation of data in my research project. I shall present the visual and verbal data I collected and introduce a

method for communicative validation, which I used in two cases of member-checking to validate the results I gained out of the semi-standardized interviews I carried out with my research partners. After describing other forms of written data I used in the course of my research like assignments and worksheets from the module “Teaching Content and Language” and a questionnaire I had developed, I describe the documentation of my research data through field notes, a research diary I kept in the course of the research and the transcriptions of the interviews.

Chapter 6 presents the method I used for analysing my research data, namely Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. Mayring 2000). This method I mainly used for analysing the semi-standardized interview by paraphrasing and subsuming these paraphrases in a reduced form as sub-categories under the main five categories I developed in the course of my research project, namely first language, secondly awareness, thirdly teaching, fourthly South Africa and fifthly teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa.

Chapter 7 describes different methods how qualitative research can be grounded, for instance communicative validation in the form of the structure-formation-technique. Another method for grounding qualitative research is triangulation of data to gain a wider range of results. I used this method to prove the results I got in the semi-standardized interview and to be able to present each of my research partners in as much detail as possible.

Chapter 8 discusses the findings I gained in my research project when investigating the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa. It gives a brief overview of the concept I developed in the course of my research before I shall present each of the four teachers according to her¹ individual concept of language teaching awareness. As I described in chapter 7 I used triangulation of data to bring all my findings together and present each of the four teachers as thoroughly and detailed as possible.

¹ As the four teachers of my sample are female teachers I use the form “her” in this context.

Chapter 9 presents concluding remarks of this thesis in regard to my research in which I comment briefly on the differences between the four teachers of my research sample and explain why my findings can not be generalized as I describe individual cases. These teachers should not be viewed as everyday teachers of South Africa as they are already made more sensitive in regard to the language in education policy and multilingualism in their classrooms by attending teacher training courses to upgrade their qualifications. Chapter 9 also reflects on the qualitative methods I used in the course of my research and the detailed description of the various theories in the beginning of this thesis. Finally I present the hypotheses I gained out of my research in regard to the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa.

Chapter 10 offers an Outlook which looks again at the situation of South Africa and her language policy in education. It refers to the legacy of Apartheid, which can still be felt in various aspects even eight years after the end of this regime. I finish the final chapter by making suggestions how further research could be carried out following my research project investigating the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa.

In order to give the reader a better understanding and insight into this research project and the data I collected, different forms of data, like the interview guide for the semi-standardized interview, the four interviews and the analysis of the interviews according to the Qualitative Content Analysis will be enclosed in a separate appendix. The reason for offering such a detailed and extensive appendix is to give greater transparency, which further grounds my qualitative research.

1. Theoretical Positions

In this chapter it will be shown how the following research questions were developed: **In how far are teachers in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, in the year 2002 aware of multilingualism in their classroom and how sensitive are they towards learners whose mother tongue is not the language of instruction in this multilingual context? How do these teachers value multilingualism in their classroom? What significance has / have the mother tongue and other languages, which the teachers speaks in this multilingual context?**

It had to be decided which research questions should be formulated in the course of my research project. In order to answer these questions, the right research methods had to be found. Therefore an exact definition of the research questions and the methodological possibilities had to be defined. This chapter introduces the theoretical framework which I needed to conduct my research project. I will show how I proceeded while developing my own theory, with which theories and research methods I worked and which ones I rejected and why I did so. To reflect the development of a theory in a chronological order, will enable me to show how I defined my own theory of **language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa**. I will give a brief overview of the theories I dealt with like subjective theories (cf. Groeben et. al. 1988; Grotjahn 1991; Henrici et. al. 1998; Kallenbach 1995, 1996), experience-based knowledge of teachers² (cf. Appel 2001) and the concept of language awareness (cf. Edmondson et. al. 1997; Luchtenberg 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001). At the end of this chapter I will again present the research questions, which are already stated at the beginning of this chapter. In the course of the chapter it will be shown how the different research questions were developed while working with different theories and methodological possibilities.

Before I started my research project during my stay in Port Elizabeth I had to decide on which aspect of the school system of South Africa I wanted to concentrate. South Africa offers a variety of interesting topics to look at,

² In German, the term “Erfahrungswissen” is used. As I did not find an equivalent term in English in secondary literature I translated “Erfahrungswissen” into “experience-based knowledge”.

especially in the educational sector, with many changes happening at an immense speed. It was important to formulate my research questions as early as possible. At the beginning I thought about a comparison between bilingualism in Germany and in South Africa, but I soon realised that this was a much too broad research question. Therefore I had to focus, and I decided that I would concentrate on the teaching aspect in South African schools. This would exclude the perspective of the pupils in my research. I tried to be realistic about what would be manageable in the period of time during my 2 _ months stay in Port Elizabeth. To interview both teachers and pupils as I anticipated in the beginning seemed too complex and would need a larger scale research project. As these were my first experiences with conducting research I decided to choose only a small research sample, and to describe each of my research partners in detail as qualitative research suggests (cf. Flick 2000). My research partners would be the teachers attending the teacher training course “Teaching Content and Language” at the University of Port Elizabeth, which I took part in as a student assistant.

1.1. Subjective Theories

As I wanted to find out something about what teachers think and what they do, about motives and beliefs of teachers who teach in the multilingual classroom of South Africa in my research project, the concept of subjective theories was first taken into consideration as a possible research aim. Before describing subjective theories in more detail, I shall give a brief overview of the concept of schemata as Littlewood (cf. Littlewood 1991) uses it, which can also be regarded as a theory guiding human action (as subjective theories also do, which will be shown in this subchapter). It is drawn from the field of cognitive psychology. The schema theory says that

[...]as we learn about life – either through direct experience or indirectly through processes of socialisation, education, reading and so on – we form networks of ideas and associations around important aspects of it. These networks become the mental structures – the “schemata” – within which we organise our knowledge of the world. (Littlewood 1991 :100)

These schemata are “mental maps” that we develop for our world for all kinds of different contexts. They enable us to know how to react in certain situations. If an existing schema proves inadequate for new experiences we have to adapt our schemata or create new ones. Schemata are developed to make sense of all significant domains of life, including classrooms.

When teachers enter classrooms, their perceptions, decisions and actions are influenced by a complex set of schemata for making sense of their world (cf. Littlewood 1991 : 101). These schemata determine how a language teacher interprets the events in the classroom and what decisions she makes trying to influence these events. It is important to ask where a teacher’s schema comes from. A lot of aspects have not been worked out in conscious or sophisticated ways, but developed intuitively through experience (cf. Littlewood 1991 : 102). Accordingly they are below the level of consciousness. The schemata that teachers bring into the classrooms arise from a wide variety of sources. On one level there is the teacher’s basic philosophy and outlook on life. Other sources are the teacher’s own experiences as a learner, the teacher’s initial professional training, the teaching tradition and the personal experiences of the teacher.

It can be said that in an informal sense these schemata whether they are conscious or subconscious are the “theory” which guides the teachers practice, referring to all ideas and assumptions that lie behind the teacher’s understanding of the classroom and the action inside it. Grotjahn (1991) uses the term “subjective theories”³ and describes a research methodology for investigating them. When adopting the term “theory” in such an informal sense, it has to be asked how the other kind of theory – the “scientific” theory – can be accommodated within this framework.

There are important similarities between schemata or informal, subjective theories and the theories which are formulated explicitly in education and science in that

³ Grotjahn (1991) writes that “foreign language teachers’ classroom schemata” as Littlewood (1991) describes them “might be considered as instances of a broad concept of subjective theory” (cf. Grotjahn 1991 : 189). Whereas the term schemata is used in cognitive psychology, the term subjective theory is used in psychology and educational science and is more holistic than schemata.

they are both mental representations of the real world. These representations enable us to understand the relationship between separate elements. They also help us to make predictions. Both kind of theories can be verified and falsified when being confronted with the real world, and they both have a hierarchy of different levels. Yet there are also important differences between scientific (objective) and subjective theories. A lot of aspects of a schema might be subconscious whereas the scientific theory has to be made explicit to be accessible to inspection and discussion. Many of our schemata are resistant to change although they may change gradually over time. Scientific theories are formulated to be tested and adapted to new findings, which is part of the exploratory procedure.

These differences can be shown in a broader sense in the distinction of two paradigms as Grotjahn (1991) points out:

The scientific paradigm focuses on hypothesis testing by means of experiments and quantifiable observations, strives for reliability and replicability, analyses the data with the help of mathematical methods, and [...] seeks to establish generalizations and laws to be used for prediction and causal explanation. The humanistic paradigm focuses on holistic and qualitative information, tends to deny the relevance of replication, refrains from generalizations, and strives instead for the idiographic understanding and interpretation of specific events and actors in terms of intentions and stated reasons (Grotjahn 1991 : 188).

Whereas the task of humanistic or qualitative methods is to explore the research object in a lot of detail so as to generate hypotheses, the aim of quantitative methods is to test hypotheses.

The question would be how subjective theories, which are often subconscious, can be described. The concept of subjective theories puts emphasis on the subjectivity and the theoretical status of subjective knowledge. One can speak of subjectivity as every human being constructs this knowledge, which helps to organise the world. Therefore subjective theories are based on everyday knowledge, which one gains through personal experiences on the one hand, and traditional knowledge on the other hand. This knowledge is mainly implicit. It can and has to be made explicit in the research situation to be able to develop a subjective theory (cf. Kallenbach 1996 : 4). Subjective theories are therefore made explicit through communication.

One has to differentiate between “subjective *knowledge*”, which is implicit and can be action-orientated and executive, and “subjective *theory*”, which is only then developed when subjective knowledge is made explicit. Accordingly subjective theories are reconstructions, and they are always self-reflections. They are complex cognitive structures, highly individual, relatively stable and relatively enduring. In psychology and educational science it has been shown that subjective theories can to a certain extent explain and predict human action, reaction, thinking, emotion, and perception (cf. Grotjahn 1991: 187). Examples of subjective theories are teachers general beliefs about language, and about learning and teaching.

I will now give an excursus on one of the most widely known research methods concerning subjective theories. One research method for making subjective knowledge explicit is the “Research Programme Subjective Theories” (RPST), which has been developed in German psychology and educational science. It is an attempt to overcome the dichotomy between the humanistic and the scientific paradigms (as described above) by trying to integrate hermeneutics and empiricism. As subjective theories, which are sometimes also referred to as “implicit”, “naïve”, “private” or “everyday” theories, are highly individual cognitions, RPST focuses on the individual person. An important characteristic of RPST is its foundation in psychological and philosophical action theory. The concept of conception of the human being plays a central role in RPST. It is the epistemological model of the human being according to which the research subject is an actor, which has the characteristics of intentionality, (self)-reflectivity, potential rationality, and communicative ability. This model stands in sharp contrast to the behavioural model of the human being, which regards the behaviour of the subject as being controlled by the environment (cf. Grotjahn 1995 : 190; for a further description of behaviourism see Edmondson / House 1993).⁴

⁴ I purposely refrain from going into too much detail about the theoretical background of the Research Programme Subjective Theories as I would rather give an overview to show in how far it helped me to develop my own theory. For more detail see Groeben /Wahl / Schlee /Scheele 1988.

Two of the central characteristics of the concept of subjective theory is the requirement of reconstructability of the subjective theory in a dialogue consensus as well as the requirement that subjective theories must be tested for acceptability as objective knowledge (cf. Grotjahn 1991: 196). Therefore, the research in RPST is conducted in two phases. These two phases are communicative validation and explanatory validation. To secure that the reconstruction of the subjective theory is adequate, the researcher tries to establish a consensus with the research partner in a phase of communicative validation. Through an open interview, “researcher and research partner conduct a dialogue in which the research partner tells the researcher about his or her (topic or task related) cognitions about him- or herself and about the world” (cf. *ibid.* : 196). The researcher tries to understand and reconstruct the subjective theories out of this dialogue. In a next step it will be presented to the research partner for approval. This shows how important the agreement of the research partner is concerning subjective theories. If he or she does not agree, one cannot say that the subjective theories of the research partner have been reconstructed.

On the basis of RPST, different methods have been developed for the dialogue-consensus reconstruction of subjective theories. One of the best known procedures is the “Heidelberger Struktur - Lege Technik”, which is a structure-formation-technique based on concept cards and predefined definitions. This form of member-checking is done approximately two weeks after the interview. The researcher presents the research partner his or her main statements out of the interview on concept cards, which the research partner will arrange according to his or her understanding.

The structure-formation-technique has two aims: one is to help the research partner to remember the contents of the interview and to let him or her check whether the contents are correctly summarized on the concept cards. If not, the research partner can reformulate, take out and / or replace the statements with others. This is used as a check of contents. The second aim is to structure the concept cards (the researcher has to make the research partner familiar with the rules of the structure-formation-technique before the second session). Therefore it can be seen as the graphical presentation of the reconstructed subjective theory. If

the graphical presentation of the research partner corresponds with the presentation of the researcher, the subjective theory has been reconstructed adequately and has been communicatively validated. In order to reconstruct a subjective theory by making implicit subjective knowledge explicit requires an optimal communicative situation. This would be an atmosphere of trust in which the research partner feels comfortable talking about his cognitions. RPST also aims at increasing the self awareness and self-consciousness of the research partners by helping them to reflect about their own motives and beliefs.

However, the potential of the first phase of research in RPST, the communicative validation, is limited. To make internal processes like reflexes or automatized behaviour like teaching routines, accessible to self-reflection is often difficult. Also, as Grotjahn (1993 : 199) shows, the insight into the internal processes of non-automatized actions is rarely complete and unbiased. The report of the research partner, which might seem like self-reflection, could be influenced by the aim to give a justification of the self-report. Such justifications can occur when for instance the correct report would not correspond to the self-image. Communicative validation only says something about the quality of the researcher's understanding. Nothing is said about how well the subjective theory corresponds to reality. Therefore the adequacy to reality also has to be checked, which is done through the second phase, the explanatory validation. It has been shown that subjective theories and cognitions are not only descriptive but also explanatory constructs, which can explain the action of the research subject:

Whereas the goal of communicative validation is to understand and describe the agent's reasons, intentions, and aims, the goal of explanatory validation is the explanation of the causes and effects of actions through observation. [...] In the first phase [...], the researcher attempts to take the agent's perspective, whereas in the second phase, the researcher takes the perspective of an outside observer (cf. Grotjahn 1991 : 199).

This means that after the researcher has reconstructed the subjective theory in accordance with the research partner, he will then observe the action of the research partner to show whether the subjective theory corresponds to reality. If this is not the case and reality differs from the cognitions that have been reconstructed, the researcher might have to reformulate the subjective theory. It has to be stated though that the formal techniques of RPST make considerable

demands on the research partners as they have to be able to verbalize their cognitions and to think in formal logical structures. Also the structure-formation-technique used for communicative validation is very time-consuming. Some researchers who work with the RPST decide to only do the first phase in their research, trying to reconstruct the subjective theories (cf. Kallenbach 1995 : 87). Kallenbach (1995) shows that it often depends on which part of the research is emphasized, whether it is the discussion and agreement with the research partners (which would be the first research phase) or the empirical checking of the subjective theories (which would be the second research phase).

When first planning my research project, I wanted to use the concept of subjective theories as the theoretical background with reference to the “Research Programme of Subjective Theories” (cf. Groeben et al. 1988). Of the postulated two-phase research process only the first phase was to be carried out, trying to make implicit, subjective knowledge explicit through semi-standardized interviews. I was interested in the discussion and agreement with my research partners, the teachers attending the module “Teaching Content and Language” whom I chose as my sample.

In the course of my project I realised that my research aim to develop subjective theories of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa was too broad. It had to be said more explicitly on which aspects of subjective theories the research project would concentrate on. I was always quite sceptical whether I would manage to reconstruct subjective theories, and whether the questions I had developed for the interviews would trigger off subjective knowledge. Therefore it would have been appropriate to not actually speak of subjective theories, but rather choose a term like everyday theories, which is not as affected by a research programme as RPST with its complex methods and rules. At that point of the research, other concepts and methods were taken into consideration, like experience-based knowledge of teachers and language awareness.

1.2. Experience-Based Knowledge of Teachers

I shall now give a brief overview of experience-based knowledge, which teachers gain in the course of their professional activity (cf. Appel 2001). According to Bach / Timm (1996 : 256), experiences are part of what they call “dormant theories”, which are concepts that influence processes in the classroom actively from the background, even though the teacher is not or only partly aware of this. There are many important factors, which influence activities in the classroom. A range of ideas, knowledge and attitudes represent the teacher’s mind set. Some of these ideas are explicit, which would be information given to the teacher through formal learning, for example during her teacher training. But many other ideas are implicit, which are based on the teacher’s self-image and value system. Therefore, dormant theories are a mixture of factors, like the routines, which teachers often call experiences.

The term “experience” in this context includes three forms of knowledge. The first kind of experiences would mean that one is able to do something. One does it routinely. Experience can secondly be seen as life experience in the course of a biography, which is for instance influenced by the parental background and one’s upbringing. Thirdly it is social experience collected in a peer group or school.⁵ Experiences are always acquired in the context of culture. How can one describe and investigate experiences as social experience? Interpretative and ethnographic methods mainly used in anthropology proved to be appropriate instruments to understand experienced everyday life, subjective perceptions and personal perspectives. Interpretative methods can be used to comprehend all three aspects of experience. Appel (2001 : 187) shows that one can get access to a culture by linguistically analysing utterances of the members of this culture.

Pedagogical and didactical research has been investigating experience-based knowledge of teachers since the 1970s. One realised that observation alone would not give an authentic picture of the complexity of classroom action, and that one

⁵ How the different kind of experiences have influence on the teachers I chose for my research sample can be seen in chapter 5 when I describe each teacher and her (linguistic) background and the school at which she teaches in more detail.

would also have to consider the perspectives of the persons involved, which means the perspective of the teacher. Cognitive studies endeavour opposite to behaviourism to show the inner perspective of the teachers, especially their cognitions in regard to teaching behaviour. One used to place thoughts, knowledge and experience exclusively inside the head of a person. Most studies were concerned with processes within the individual. New evidence shows that these are not only located in the mind and intelligence of a person, but also in the material and social surrounding. Assuming that cognitions and knowledge are no longer just inside the mind, but that they also have a cultural dimension, the consequence for the research of experience-based knowledge is that it has to include the culture in which this knowledge has been acquired (cf. Appel 2001 : 189). Assumptions that are part of experience-based knowledge are said to be fairly stable and are carried on over a longer period of time. It can be said that the personal aspect of experience-based knowledge is seldom only personal, but also part of a professional and social context. As well as the development of each teacher influences the classroom action, it is also the teaching tradition that plays a part.

As a summary, it can be said that this understanding of experience-based knowledge of teachers as Appel (2001) shows it does not only include attitudes and assumptions, but also the cultural aspect in its definition. It is more selective, including more aspects than subjective theories, which are theoretical assumptions that the researcher tries to interrelate with each other through conducting interviews with the research partners. Subjective theories are structures of assumptions, whereas experience-based knowledge includes different assumptions. It is related to teaching. Experience-based knowledge can be implicit and made explicit through interviews. For the research project that will be described in the course of this thesis, it was worthwhile looking at experience-based knowledge as it offers many interesting insights. In the following subchapter I will describe language awareness, which is implicit and explicit knowledge about language and communication and one's attitude towards it.

1.3. Language Awareness⁶

Language awareness as a teaching concept aims at sensibilising for languages. It is also a language awareness-raising process, which facilitates holistic learning across the curriculum. It promotes the comparison of different languages and a change of perspectives. As there is a connection to linguistic-cultural aspects, the concept is related to intercultural learning (cf. Luchtenberg 1998 : 51). I will now describe some of these aspects in more detail to give an overview of this concept and process and show why dealing with language awareness helped me to define my own concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa.

Language awareness is a concept that has mainly been developed in Great Britain in various contexts of language teaching in the 1970s. It has been assumed that the learning process can be supported through a conscious reflection of the language in question. It is helpful to include all languages that have been learned before, for instance the first language and to compare these languages with each other. Therefore language comparison plays an important part but also to work creatively with language as well as dealing with language manipulation and language abuse⁷.

Language awareness is not a language learning method but an awareness-raising process, which accompanies language acquisition and language use. This awareness-raising process does not necessarily have to be teacher-stimulated as children and adolescents reflect about language in early years. These are procedures, which can be used and continued in language teaching. The language awareness concept supports the interest in language and enjoyment in learning it. The interest in and the curiosity about languages is supported or awakened in order to make learners look thoroughly at language, to find rules and compare

⁶ Language Awareness is a concept which is currently very attractive but also critically discussed in various contexts. This makes the concept itself vague as well as its potential benefits for language learning as it is not easily accessible to empirical research (cf. Knapp-Potthoff 1997 : 9). The way language awareness is described here is how I understand it in the context of my research project.

⁷ Language abuse is a translation of the word “Sprachmissbrauch”, which is the misuse of language.

languages (cf. Luchtenberg 1999 : 9). It also considers the relationship between language and culture, which shows its connection to intercultural learning and multilingual education (cf. Luchtenberg 1997).

Language awareness is a term that is often used when discussing awareness-raising of linguistic phenomena in language teaching and the reflection of language (cf. Luchtenberg 1998 : 52). Meanwhile the concept is used in different fields of language learning, for instance in first and second language acquisition, but also in teaching language across the curriculum. One assumes that language learning can be improved if one works across the curriculum, if on the one hand the language subjects would cooperate, and if on the other hand all the other subjects would deal with linguistic aspects and use these for an awareness-raising process. These aspects play a significant role in this thesis as I will show that every teacher is a language teacher and that language should be taught across the curriculum (cf. Department of Education and Science 1975 : 188-192).

The concept language awareness can also be used in multilingual classes when dealing with languages that are represented in the classroom. This will make pupils aware of the linguistic diversity in their own environment and also supports bilingual or multilingual learners. The acceptance of the use of the mother-tongue is very important. Language teaching can profit from the use of other languages if language is seen as a resource and not as a problem. It would acknowledge diversity and could use methods like comparison and translation in order to gain knowledge about language. Especially this aspect makes the concept of language awareness so profitable for the topic of my thesis as the focus is on teachers teaching in multilingual classes in South Africa.

Language awareness also emphasises cultural diversity. Through the relationship between language and cultural contents, one can raise the awareness for cultural phenomena in a language which is especially worthwhile in multicultural classes but also in foreign language teaching (cf. Luchtenberg 1995; Luchtenberg 1999). It enables communication across different languages and cultures, due to the interrelation between language and culture. The diversity of these classrooms could serve as a basis on which to develop linguistic and cultural awareness and

tolerance. Learning about intercultural understanding is a life-long process which would make it worthwhile to start developing cultural (and language) awareness in a child at a very early age. It is not enough on the part of the teacher to only show pupils the differences between various cultures. They should learn the general principles of intercultural understanding⁸. Multilingualism and its implications for education cannot be fully understood without the cultural dimension. Therefore learners should develop intercultural competence (cf. Gnutzmann 1997).

The concept of language awareness can also be part of teacher training. Especially knowledge of language learning across the curriculum and of language development are relevant. One could say that language awareness begins with teacher awareness⁹. Teachers have to be made sensitive for language and linguistic phenomena themselves. They have to be curious about languages, which is a prerequisite to foster all this in learners. That teachers do not know the concept of language awareness does not mean that they do not have insights into linguistic phenomena or that they do not reflect about language. Language awareness supports multilingualism in that it helps to reduce language barriers towards languages one is not familiar with. It is important to keep in mind that language awareness is a holistic concept and should be used in all fields of teacher training.

Especially in language subjects the concept of language awareness is important. It could help teachers in training realize that language acquisition is a process which can not be separated from other languages already acquired¹⁰. This holistic view shows the relevance of the mother-tongue in language learning. When teaching a

⁸ To speak of general principles of intercultural understanding is problematic because there are, as it is the case for language awareness, different concepts about it. To my mind, principles of intercultural understanding are the ability to change perspectives, language competence, cultural understanding for the culture in question and cultural techniques. This means that intercultural understanding includes certain general abilities but also abilities which are specific to a country and culture.

⁹ With teacher awareness I mean for instance the teacher's knowledge of a concept like language awareness.

¹⁰ In this context I do not differentiate between second and third (etc.) language acquisition, but assume similarities between the language acquisition processes. A different view has Hufeisen (2003) with her model of multilingualism. Her viewpoint is that second language acquisition differs from third language acquisition, etc. (cf. Hufeisen 2003).

foreign or second language, the teacher therefore also has to take into consideration the mother-tongue of the learner. Also the difference between the spoken and the written language plays an important part in this context, especially when subject-matter language is concerned, which will make language learning even more difficult for a learner who is learning in a second language (cf. Luchtenberg 1997). This also shows in how far teacher training courses should emphasize the fact that every teacher is a language teacher no matter, which subject he or she teaches. It is not only the task of the language teachers to teach language.

In her essay, Knapp-Potthoff (1997) points out that the concept of language awareness might increase “*the ability and readiness to develop adequate and (potentially) explicit subjective theories of language(s) and language learning.*” These subjective theories are described as cognitive schemata consisting of individual knowledge (compare 1.1. Subjective Theories). They could be made explicit through interviews about language and language learning. In this way awareness-raising would no longer be measured only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

The aims of the concept of language awareness are for instance to be more aware about using language in socio-cultural contexts, to support the analysis of language, to wake curiosity and interest in languages, to be open for cultural diversity, to accept language diversity and variety (also within a language), to learn how to realize when language is used in manipulative and abusive ways and to initiate meta-communication (cf. Luchtenberg 1998 : 53). Language awareness is not supposed to replace language teaching, but to complement it through awareness-raising processes and by adding new aspects. Grammar can be involved in such a concept, but is not focused upon. It is not intended for a particular age group or a specific school form. It can be involved in all subjects as was mentioned earlier, and not only in the language subjects.

Comparisons between different languages have a double function in the language awareness concept: learners will, whether consciously or unconsciously, compare the target language with languages they already know. By doing so, they will find

particulars of this language, which can then be resumed by the teacher or other learners. Teachers also support the comparison between the first and second language in order to describe linguistic phenomena as alike or divergent (cf. Luchtenberg 1995 : 53). If one accepts the diversity of languages one's own language will no longer be exceptional. That does not mean that one's mother-tongue does not play a significant part in building an identity and one's personal language ability. Nevertheless every language should have equal rights in all parts of education and language use. It also helps learners to change their perspectives as they will try to express themselves in a new language to be able to communicate, which will lead to more tolerance.

This subchapter showed why dealing with the concept of language awareness was worthwhile for the research project described in this thesis as it takes into consideration teaching in multilingual contexts. Language and cultural diversity is seen as a resource. It also becomes clear that not only language teachers are responsible for the development of language awareness in learners, but that every teacher is at the same time a language teacher. The importance of the mother-tongue when learning a second language is mentioned in the concept of language awareness as well as the fact that language awareness begins with teacher awareness. Many of these aspects also play a significant role in the following subchapter of this thesis where I will try to find my own definition of language teaching awareness.

1.4. Language Teaching Awareness

After dealing with the three concepts mentioned before, I realised that the concept of subjective theories would most probably be too complex for my research project. It could not be taken for granted that the questions I had developed for the interviews with the teachers would trigger off subjective knowledge and that I would be able to reconstruct subjective theories out of the dialogue with my research partners. Therefore I decided to concentrate on a concept that would be closer to experience-based knowledge of teachers. This knowledge can be seen as

a preliminary stage of subjective theories. The difference is that in subjective theories a connection is established between the different forms of experience-based knowledge. But as I was interested in motifs and beliefs of teachers teaching in a multilingual context in South Africa, experience-based knowledge was not the right concept as emotional and cognitive beliefs are not included in it. Therefore I looked for a theory or concept like language awareness of teachers, which also included experience-based knowledge and the beliefs of the teachers. Out of these considerations, the idea of a concept of language teaching awareness arose.

To find out whether the term language teaching awareness had already been defined by somebody and whether it would include the aspects that were of importance for my research project, I looked at the work of Willis J. Edmondson who had been dealing with the concept of language awareness (cf. Edmondson / House 1997, Edmondson 1997). From Edmondson I got to know different key words, which were relevant for a definition of language teaching awareness. These key words had to be connected to find my own definition.

Another stimulation was a book by Jerry G. Gebhard and Robert Oprandy with the title "Language Teaching Awareness. A Guide to Exploring Beliefs and Practices" (cf. Gebhard / Oprandy 1999). The authors describe an "exploratory approach to teacher development" (ibid.). They want to help teachers exploring their beliefs and practices and to use the knowledge and awareness that arises from these processes to make informed decisions about their own teaching. This approach does not aim at supplying information that would help to change or improve teachers' practices, but rather wants to show how a teacher can explore her teaching in order to gain awareness of their beliefs and practices and to become more aware of teaching possibilities. Therefore teachers are not under the pressure of finding a better way, which makes a non-judgemental description important opposite to prescribing how teaching should be done.

Gebhard / Oprandy (1999) propose that teachers have to take responsibility for their teaching and that cooperation with other teachers is significant. They also emphasize "the need to pay attention to language and behaviour" and "promote

the use of metalanguages”. Communication about classroom behaviour often leads to misunderstandings (as different words have different meanings for people), which makes a common language so important that teachers use when talking about what happens in their classroom. This also shows how important listening is in this explorative approach with the aim to gain awareness about one’s own beliefs and practices.

The authors describe different “avenues to awareness” like problem solving, seeing what happens by trying out the opposite, contrasting what we think with what we do and clarifying our feelings (cf. Gebhard / Oprandy 1999 : 13). The affective side of teaching is often neglected although feelings influence behaviour. Gebhard / Oprandy value exploring the connection between the personal and the professional life of a teacher. “*These links between who we are as people and as teachers are rarely dealt with in teacher education programs*” (ibid. : 16). If there is a personal connection to teaching, teachers can also relate any experience in life to it. In order to explore their teaching, teachers have to be familiar with the process of exploration. Only then they can be involved in processes that will help them to make more informed decisions. This will help them to not only rely on recipes others have developed and prescriptions, which would limit their own awareness, but rather construct their own set of beliefs. Therefore it is important when exploring one’s own teaching to have what Gebhard / Oprandy call “the beginner’s mind”, meaning that teachers should try to leave aside preconceived ideas about what they think should go on in a classroom. With an open mind they will be able to explore an awareness for their beliefs and practices.

Crucial to the process of exploratory teaching proposed in this book are the observation and description of teaching events and processes, investigation of teaching through action research, using journal writing to write about and explore teaching, and using conversation to examine teaching from different perspectives. These activities are intended to help teachers understand their own practices as well as those of other teachers, to explore alternative approaches to teaching, and see teaching in different ways (cf. Gebhard / Oprandy 1999 : xi).

Therefore these activities describe processes of exploration that can lead to awareness. They are presented in more detail in the second chapter of Gebhard and Oprandy’s book. For the purpose of this thesis, it is sufficient to only mention that teachers will have more chances to gain awareness through this explorative approach when processing their teaching through multiple activities as the ones

mentioned above. The more opportunities there are to explore, the more likely it is that awareness-raising will take place.

As the authors of the book “Language Teaching Awareness” do not give an explicit definition of the concept that could be used for this research project, it was merely used as a stimulation as well as the key words by Willis J. Edmondson. Out of this I tried to find a definition applicable to the special context of South Africa. Therefore the term language teaching awareness is linked to teachers in multilingual classes in South Africa, which also forms the title of this thesis. The five categories that originate from this definition, namely first **language**, secondly **awareness**, thirdly **teaching**, fourthly **South Africa** and fifthly **teachers in multilingual classes**, are also used as categories for analysing the interviews (cf. 6. Interpretation of Data).

I shall now briefly look at the five categories as they will play an important part throughout my thesis and will be dealt with again in the following chapters. For the first category, I will try to define **language** and its function. Especially in linguistics, there are many different definitions for language (cf. Korte / Müller / Schmied 1997 : 1-8; Bußmann 1990 : 699). It is important to be aware that language influences the way we think, but also our attitude towards other people¹¹. We use language actively and passively as indicators to form a picture of communication partners and convey a picture of ourselves. Language is the most important means of human communication. It can be informative when trying to bring across a message, expressive when speaking about personal feelings and can also have an appellative function if it aims at a particular reaction of the receiver. Language is always set in a particular context and is used between a sender (or speaker / writer) and a receiver (or hearer / reader). This shows that language can be conveyed through different channels. Furthermore, it can be written or spoken.

The second category in the definition for this thesis is **awareness**, which has already been dealt with in detail when looking at the concept language awareness (compare 1.3.). Awareness can be seen as the explicit knowledge or understanding

¹¹ The position that language determines our worldview has been supported by various linguistics and is known as the “Sapir-Whorf-Hypothesis” (cf. Edmondson / House 1993 : 95).

of a particular subject or situation. To raise someone's awareness generally means to improve people's knowledge and to foster multidimensional cognitive and meta-cognitive processes. Awareness is also the ability to notice something using one's senses (cf. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1995 : 75). Therefore awareness is closely connected to sensitivity, which is the ability to understand other people's feelings and problems.

The third category in the definition is **teaching**. Teaching in general means to help a person or a group of people to learn something. It is the attempt to influence the learning process of others. Didactics is the doctrine of teaching and learning, the theory of education and the methods of instruction.¹² Every subject has its own subject didactic, like for instance English subject didactic. This shows that teaching is always connected to learning. In the context of language learning, one has to differentiate between language learning and language acquisition. Language learning is said to be explicit learning as it is influenced by teaching in some kind of institution like a school as it is done in foreign language teaching. Language learning is therefore said to be a conscious process, whereas language acquisition of a second language is regarded as implicit and unconscious learning as it is not influenced by language teaching. Language acquisition is connected to first language acquisition where the mother-tongue is learned intuitively in the process of socialisation.

Obviously the distinction between learning and acquisition is not static. Didactics nowadays support the approach that language teaching should be imitating language acquisition, that a language is best learned when it is acquired like the first language (cf. Edmondson / House 1993; Weskamp 2001). Although language teaching is such a complex field that could be dealt with in a lot more detail, I shall only mention two further aspects. When looking at language teaching, the

¹² At this point it is important to mention that with new approaches and changing theories in education and didactics also concepts like *learning* and *teaching* have been controversially discussed. Especially since the emergence of constructivism, *learning* is seen as an highly individual process in which a learner is constructing knowledge – a process which can only be influenced to a certain extent from the outside as supporters of constructivism believe. This would also change the meaning of the term *teaching*. To give a detailed description of different forms of constructivism would lead too far in this context (for an overview see Bach / Timm 1996 : 268-284; for an overview of the “epistemological model of the human being” also see Grotjahn 1991 : 190).

explicit language knowledge of the person teaching a language is very important as well as his or her language learning biography. This also links teaching to the term that has been defined as the second category: sensitivity for language does not only play a significant part on the side of the teacher, but also on the side of the pupils. In my opinion, a teacher should have explicit and implicit knowledge about the language that is used as medium of instruction and awareness when teaching, no matter which subject she or he teaches.

The research field, namely **South Africa**, which is the fourth category in my definition, and also the fifth category, **teachers in multilingual classroom** will be described in detail in the following two chapters (cf. 2. Research Field & 3. Bilingualism). I will therefore present the second part of the theory when describing the research field. After dealing with the different concepts that were discussed in this chapter like subjective theories, experience-based knowledge of teachers, language awareness and language teaching awareness, the following research questions could be developed that focus on teachers' *values*: In how far are teachers in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, in the year 2002 aware of multilingualism in their classroom and how sensitive are they towards learners whose mother-tongue is not the language of instruction in this multilingual, context? How do these teachers value multilingualism in their classroom? What significance has / have the mother-tongue and other languages, which the teachers speaks in this multilingual context? The second part of the research questions, which aim more at the *action* of the teachers, will be given when presenting the research field in the second chapter.¹³

¹³ When talking about *values*, I mean the principles of the teachers about what is right and wrong or their ideas about what is important regarding teaching in a multilingual context. *Action* means the process of doing something in order to deal with a situation or difficult problem. *Action* is also what a teacher does in the classroom.

2. The Research Field

The first part of the research questions, which were introduced in the previous chapter, look at the *values* of the teachers. The following research questions that were developed in the course of my research project deal with the *action* of the teachers: **What has changed for teachers ever since classes in South Africa have become more and more mixed and are no longer divided into different mother-tongue speakers' groups? What are the strategies of teachers for teaching in the multilingual context of South Africa? What kind of qualities has, in the opinion of the teachers, an ideal teacher in this multilingual context and how can such a teacher be equipped with these qualities?**

In order to find answers to these questions, the field of my research project has to be described, which is the aim of the second chapter. It will be shown how I entered the field when visiting South Africa and participating in the Master's module "Teaching Content and Language". I shall again refer to the theory which was introduced in the previous chapter. The meaning of the concept language teaching awareness in regard to South Africa will be shown. Therefore chapter 2 presents the second part of the theory in connection to the research field.

When approaching the end of my studies and considering a topic for my thesis, I heard about the possibility to spend time in South Africa to do research as some students from my university had done before. Since the twinning of the Eastern Cape Province, South Africa and Lower Saxony, Germany, the North-South-cooperation, students from the University of Oldenburg have the chance to visit the partner university in Port Elizabeth and vice versa. I was interested in writing my thesis about multilingualism in South Africa and had the chance to accompany a professor from the University of Oldenburg on her visit to Port Elizabeth where she would teach the Master's module "Teaching Content and Language"¹⁴ for in-service teachers at the University of Port Elizabeth (U.P.E.). Through participating in the module as a student assistant, I got into contact with the teachers attending the course who became my partners in my research project. I

¹⁴ The module "Teaching Content and Language" will be described in more detail in chapter 3.

visited each teacher her classroom to observe and also to help with tasks that had to be accomplished for the module “Teaching Content and Language”. Out of the group of participating teachers I chose a sample of four teachers with whom I did a semi-structured interview.¹⁵ In order to understand the context in which the teachers are teaching today, I shall describe the research field in more detail and give a brief overview of the history of education in South Africa (cf. Niedrig 2000).

2.1. History of Education in South Africa

An important question that has to be asked is to what extent education in South Africa today is determined by its Apartheid past. Apartheid as the institutionalisation of racism separated South Africa’s population on the basis of the “Population Registration Act” from 1950 in four “race categories”, namely “Whites”, “Coloureds”, “Indians” and “Africans” (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 55). For a long time, the education system was used as an instrument of racial segregation. The aim of separate education was to divide a culturally diverse population into different racial groups, even before the Apartheid era and under the British colonial rule.

Education for the black and for the white population was not of the same standard. Blacks¹⁶ often only received language teaching to an extent that would be necessary for cheap labour with very basic skills. It was said that people were trained for their future position in life. Therefore, schooling was used to segregate Blacks and Whites. The separation further proceeded after the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and immediately put their policy of Apartheid into action. One example is the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 86).

¹⁵ The collection of the data will be described in chapter 5.

¹⁶ This is a term which is accepted by the African population of South Africa and is therefore used in this context.

The Bantu Education Act provided unlimited power for the authorities to control the education of the Coloureds, Indians and Africans throughout the country. The government made sure that there would be no education out of its control as it declared any educational activity illegal, which was not taking place in an authorized institution. The Bantu Education Act, and the whole policy of Apartheid did not so much aim at educating certain groups of the population. Instead, the aim was to secure the predominant position of Whites in South Africa also for the future. Blacks were further segregated and excluded from certain social, economic and political areas. Therefore, the Bantu Education Act also had social, economic and political consequences.

The language issue in education under the Bantu Education Act became more important as the English language was absent from the syllabus for the Blacks, which created a linguistic and cultural barrier between Blacks and Whites. It shows the constant competition between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, so called Afrikaners. During Apartheid, Blacks were forced to learn Afrikaans at school, which was regarded as the language of Apartheid. Afrikaans teaching was again limited to basic language skills, which would be necessary for a working life (cf. Bradtmüller 2000 : 6-8). Most of the teaching of Blacks was done in the mother-tongue of the pupils. Instead of supporting the idea that every child should learn through his or her mother-tongue and have access to his or her own culture, the reason for the use of the vernacular in education was the aim to restrict communication and access to information and to political and economic life (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 82). This explains why many Blacks nowadays are sceptical towards mother-tongue instruction (cf. Alexander 2000 : 17).¹⁷

The use of the vernacular as medium of instruction and the abrupt change to Afrikaans as medium of instruction in secondary schooling and universities without bridging the gap led to many pupils failing the matriculation exams and leaving the educational system without examination. Only a very small number

¹⁷ The topic of mother-tongue instruction will be looked at in more detail in chapter 3 when describing multilingualism in South Africa and the concept of additive bilingualism (cf. Alexander 2000).

qualified for university entrance, which explains why in the later years not enough qualified teachers were available to teach in non-white schools. Black teachers in general were less qualified, and for them the standard of teacher training dropped. Most teachers were monolingual as the entire teaching was supposed to be held in the vernacular. Little time was allocated for foreign language teaching, and the teachers spoke other languages usually at a low level. The pupil-teacher ratio in black schools was much higher than in white schools, and the infrastructure was often very poor. Therefore there was no possibility to improve black education.

The Soweto uprising in 1976, which cost the lives of several hundred people, who were fighting against a discriminating school system in black education and which was a vehement refusal of the Bantu Education Act, marks a turning point in the history of Apartheid. In the sphere of language policy, as in almost all spheres of life, the Afrikaner National Party regime, and white South Africa more generally, was in a state of crisis (cf. Alexander 1989 : 26). There were voices suggesting that the nine different black languages should be recognised as official languages on a regional basis, with English and Afrikaans retaining their national official status. This would lead to a policy of multilingualism and multiculturalism instead of Apartheid in South Africa (cf. *ibid.* : 27). In the late seventies and eighties the government was under pressure to offer the same quality of education to all ethnic groups and no longer differentiate according to race. Nevertheless, education for Africans declined even further because of shortage of finances and teachers and an increase of pupils in primary education. Many Blacks saw education as a chance for liberation and wanted to improve their chances on the economic market when they realised that Apartheid was being modernized.

2.2. Education in Post-Apartheid South Africa

After the ANC¹⁸ won the first free and equal election in 1994 under Nelson Mandela and the approval of the new constitution in 1996, several linguistic-

¹⁸ ANC = African National Congress, the party that Nelson Mandela belonged to and that fought against Apartheid in South Africa.

political commissions were founded to negotiate the new and future official language policy in education (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 106). The question was which language would be the official language in a country with a multilingual reality like South Africa. A lot of countries in Africa have adopted the ex-colonial language as official language. This would again lead to a competition between the two major languages, English and Afrikaans. Whereas Afrikaans was and still is regarded by many as the language of Apartheid, English came from having been the language of the oppressor to the language of national unity and national liberation (cf. Alexander 2000 : 7).

The question naturally arises which is to be the national language. Shall it be the degraded forms of a literary language, a vulgar patois; or shall it be that language which Macaulay says is “In form, in richness, in aptitude for all the highest purposes of the poet, the philosopher, and the orator inferior to the tongue of the Greece alone?” Shall it be the language of “Kombuis” (kitchen) or the language of Tennyson? That is, shall it be the Taal (Afrikaans) or English? (cited in Alexander 2000 : 9)

It was further discussed whether any of the indigenous African languages should become official language of South Africa, possibly the one with the highest number of members of the speech community. There are several reasons, which could explain why the African languages have been marginalized and their speakers disempowered, one reason being the dominance of English also as a global language. Neville Alexander (2000 : 15) argues that one has to come to understand the relationship between underdevelopment, poverty, undemocratic political regimes and language policy to see the need in South Africa to promote multilingualism and modernise the African languages. To know two or more national languages will create national unity. Therefore the new language policy in South Africa is to promote multilingualism, which is recorded in the constitution of 1996. The government is obligated to recognise the rights of all speech communities in the country and promote social multilingualism.

In §6(1) of the constitution, it says “*The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.*” and in §6(2), it says “*Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and*

advance the use of these languages.” Therefore eleven national languages are recognised in the new constitution: beside the two up to then most privileged languages, English and Afrikaans, these are nine African languages, which are spoken by 75% of the population (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 3).

The question asked by many South Africans was what consequences eleven official languages would have. Some believed that from now on all communication in the public sector would have to be translated into eleven languages, whereas others believed the eleven official languages only had a symbolic meaning and no consequences for practical use. The constitution does not impose which language should be used, but requires the negotiation of language use for various political forums and (geographical) regions.

This negotiation depends on the practicability on the one hand. On the other hand it should be led by the principle that no one should be excluded from any social and political processes because a person is not able to speak a particular language. This means that it would not under every circumstance be necessary to translate into all eleven languages as for example in the province of the Eastern Cape, about 83 % is Xhosa speaking and 10 % Afrikaans speaking, which would make it necessary to use these two languages in official domains (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 4). Some people argue that it would be most practical to only use one language. Eleven instead of two languages is interpreted as *English only*:

It is instructive to note that the “practicability” issue is being argued predominantly by English speakers who would prefer to see only English being used. Often monolingual themselves, they are evidently unaware of how impractical it could be to expect all South Africans to learn English to participate fully in civic and national life. [...] Our point is that in a multilingual society, monolingual or bilingual language policies are not necessarily more practical or economical. They are, however, very commonly more oppressive (cited in Niedrig 2000 : 4).

What kind of implications has the new regulation for the schools in South Africa? Towards the schools, high but also contradictory expectations are directed: after decades of segregation in schools, they are supposed to contribute to social integration (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 7). The Language in Education Policy from 1997 says in its preamble “*Whichever route is followed, the underlying principle is to maintain home language(s) while providing access to and the effective acquisition*

of additional language(s). Hence, the Department's position that an additive approach to bilingualism is to be seen as the normal orientation of our language-in-education policy" (cited in Niedrig 2000 : 419). This additive bilingualism approach is also supported by PRAESA (Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa), whose director Neville Alexander (2000) argues:

South African educators have to realise that the time has come to lay to rest the ghost of Dr Verwoerd and to lead South African education back into the mainstream of global education. One of the preconditions for doing this is to rehabilitate what, for the sake of the convenience, we can loosely call mother-tongue education as not only a valid pedagogical principle but even as indispensable to teaching and learning, an educational approach which is universally accepted as being the most effective.

This misguided rejection of this principle and this approach to education by what used to be thought of as a very large number of South African parents and teachers is the single most disastrous legacy of apartheid and colonialism with which we have to grapple in post-apartheid South Africa. That it is a political hot potato is more than obvious. But, equally obviously, unless we tackle the issue aggressively, we are dooming countless generations of South Africans, especially black South African youth, to a destiny of mediocrity and failure. For, we cannot repeat often enough the paradoxical fact that the only children in South Africa who are the beneficiaries of mother-tongue education from the cradle to university are first language speakers of English and many first language speakers of Afrikaans. And every single year the results show up in the Matriculation examination results as well as in the disastrous drop-out rates which render most of our learners functionally illiterate (cf. Alexander 2000 : 186).

At the same time, PRAESA is trying to revalue the African languages (cf. Rautenhaus 2002 : 5). Language-in-education is still a topic that is controversially discussed in South Africa. Although there seems to be a willingness to change perspectives, the situation in schools today often offers a different picture. Officially there are no segregated schools anymore, but one is still able to see what kind of school it used to be during Apartheid. Former black schools are still exclusively black and are still a lot less privileged in their infrastructure than former white schools. There is not enough funding for black schools to be well equipped with learning material, and the teachers are often not as qualified as teachers at former white schools. Although the classes in former white schools today are often multilingual with many different mother-tongue speakers, mainly the language of the school is used, often English or Afrikaans. Even if teachers have learned other languages they do not use them in class.¹⁹

¹⁹ As I will describe different schools in more detail when introducing my research partners, this chapter only gives a brief overview of the situation of schools in South Africa today.

It is the aim of my research project to look at teachers teaching in a multilingual context in modern South Africa. I am interested in how teachers after 1994 cope with teaching in this multilingual context and whether they have a concept like language teaching awareness which helps them.

2.3. Language Teaching Awareness in the Context of South Africa

What does language teaching awareness, which I defined as the awareness when teaching languages²⁰, mean in the context of multilingual and multicultural South Africa with her complex historical and socio-political implications?

Since one knows in educational theory that there is a relationship between language learning and cognitive development (cf. Baker 2001), one assumes that the less context embedded the curriculum is the more cognitively demanding it is for the learner. Therefore Baker (2001) says that “*attempting to achieve context embeddedness in any curriculum situation requires empathic understanding of a child’s cultural background [...].*” This explains why one usually sees a connection between language and culture. A language cannot be learned without the cultural context.

In the situation of South Africa, the concept of culture and cultural identity has been controversially discussed in language policy in education. A few experts in the South African context see the connection between language and culture as rather problematic because a certain concept of culture had been used by Apartheid policy to justify the segregation. This fact is only given to show that the term “culture” has different functions in the discourse of various South African interest groups (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 21). In the context of South Africa during Apartheid, one could speak of a separate cultural development and mental control as the Apartheid policy tried to control people’s culture (cf. Alexander 2000 : 6). Others in South Africa believe that language is culture and that in language we

²⁰ In this context it is important to mention that every teacher should be seen as a language teacher, not only teachers teaching language subjects. Therefore every teacher should have language teaching awareness.

carry our identity and culture (cited in Alexander 2000a : 16). Language carries culture²¹.

In general, **language** has a personal level as people use language to communicate, but it also has a socio-political and historical level. At the same time, economic considerations play a part. I will now give a brief overview of the concepts language, teaching and awareness and their relevance in the special context of South Africa as I met them while doing my literature check and also experienced myself during my stay in Port Elizabeth. These considerations will be helpful when looking at the meaning of the concept of language teaching awareness in South Africa.

In South Africa, a lot of pupils learn in a language that is a foreign or second language for them, and also teachers often teach in a language that is not their mother-tongue. Teachers have not been trained to cope with linguistically diverse classes and often do not speak the mother-tongue of the pupils (cf. Bloch 2000 : 5). Therefore they can hardly be role models for the pupils. Looking at the political meaning of language, it is obvious that language in South Africa has been used to disempower people as they were not able to speak the dominant language. Therefore it was used for segregation. Languages had different statuses. After the language rights were democratised in 1996 with the new constitution, all 11 languages are supposed to be treated equally, but they still have a different status, especially when one compares the African languages with the former privileged languages English and Afrikaans.

Language competence can be a barrier to employment, education and economic well being (cf. Alexander 2000 : 14). Therefore, the language barriers have to be broken down. This shows the relationship between language policy and national unity. In South Africa, people have strived for liberation through education for a long time. Thus the language in education policy with the question which language should be learned is so relevant and controversially discussed. It is

²¹ Compare “Sapir-Whorf- Hypothesis” (cf. Edmondson / House 1997 : 95).

important to see language as a resource and to realise that language planning is only possible “from below” (cf. Alexander 2000 : 16).

When looking at the concept of **teaching** it has to be mentioned that teaching is not seen as professional work in South Africa. To be a teacher often means to have a very low salary, and there is a lot of frustration on the part of the teachers. In contrast to this fact, teaching plays a significant role in the goal “to build the nation” and to integrate formerly segregated groups in modern South Africa (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 1). For teaching, it is more important nowadays to be able to speak the languages of the pupils as they often come from a linguistically diverse background (cf. Alexander 2000 : 19). Teaching can be seen as a social responsibility (cf. Alexander 2002). Nevertheless, there is often a low standard of education of teachers, especially when they were trained during Apartheid and belonged to the formerly unprivileged groups. This influences their teaching and their competence as teachers. The concept of teaching will always be linked to the concept of language as the question, which language should be used in teaching, is very important. As I will show in chapter 3 of this thesis, a lot of educationalists like Neville Alexander support an additive approach of bilingualism as they argue that teaching and learning through the medium of the mother-tongue will lead to cognitive advantages (cf. Alexander 2000a : 23).

I shall now look at the concept of **awareness** and conclude this subchapter with relevant considerations about the concept of language teaching awareness in the context of South Africa. In general, it is important to develop an awareness for the changes that have happened and are still happening in modern South Africa after the end of Apartheid. Awareness raising is significant, so there should be awareness raising campaigns all over South Africa. People should develop a greater awareness for the new policies and for strategies to implement them. Ingrained behavioural patterns are still used and need to be changed. People should be aware that they live in a multilingual society and see the benefits of multilingualism.

Teachers should receive special training in how to deal with multilingual and linguistically diverse classes (cf. Bloch 2000 : 5). The value of each language

should be shown, that all languages are equal and that not one language is superior or inferior to another (cf. Alexander 1989 : 52). People should also be aware of the importance of the mother-tongue (cf. Alexander 2002). A mind shift would be necessary for many people in South Africa. A certain awareness would help to not have a “static maintenance syndrome” which would lead to resignation (cf. Alexander 2000a : 18). It would also help to be able to make an informed choice. One has to be aware that language cannot be isolated from other issues in education. Teachers have to see their responsibility when teaching as they use a particular language (cf. Alexander 2002). Their understanding of how a language is learned has to be enhanced (cf. Department of Education 2001 : 3). Whether teachers have language teaching awareness is also influenced by their language proficiency, which should ideally be close to the competence of a mother-tongue speaker. Teachers should be able to speak the languages of the pupils as they have to be able to communicate with each other. But they should also be aware that it is not the responsibility of language teachers alone to teach languages, but of all teachers no matter which subject they teach as every teacher is a language teacher. Therefore all teachers should have language teaching awareness.

3. Bilingualism

After introducing the theoretical positions and the field of my research project in chapter 1 and 2, I shall in this chapter deal with bilingualism. As my research project focuses on teachers in the multilingual context of South Africa I refer to the question of bilingualism as it plays an important part in the language policy of modern South Africa.

I will look at different forms of bilingualism and bilingual teaching in three subchapters. First of all I shall concentrate on bilingualism as it is referred to in Europe and other parts of the world. Secondly I will focus on bilingualism in South Africa and why it would be more appropriate to talk about multilingualism in this context. Thirdly, I will describe the module “Teaching Content and Language” to demonstrate which theories and concepts my research partners worked with while participating in this module (as it might possibly have influenced their concept of language teaching awareness which will be shown in the following chapters of this thesis).

3.1. Bilingualism in Europe and in Other Parts of the World

As there are 3000-5000 languages in the world but only about 150 countries to fit them all in (Cook 1996 : 134), knowing a second or even a third language becomes part of everyday life. It might even be unusual if a person only knows one language. If one considers why people speak more than one language there are various reasons to be given: some people use a second language because of their religious beliefs. Some countries recognize more than one language for official purposes, like Switzerland, Canada or Singapore. But the fact that a country has several official languages does not necessarily mean that its speakers are bilingual. The individual person might only speak one language as the different language communities are often entirely separate (cf. Cook 1996 : 136). Nevertheless it is necessary in many of these countries to teach speakers of one of the official languages to use another official language. Cook gives the example of

Afrikaans-speaking civil servants in South Africa who need to learn English (cf. *ibid.* : 136). Even if a country only has one official language like Germany, it will in most cases include a large number of speakers of other languages. Higher mobility also contributes to bilingualism when people move from one country to another as immigrants, as refugees or as migrant workers. This has created a new form of bilingualism or rather multilingualism as people often speak more than two languages. In most European cities a variety of languages is spoken regardless of the official language of the country. Cook (1996 : 138) points out that this multilingualism is in many cases only of short-term as a lot of speakers shift from the minority to the majority language within a few generations. Other people hold on to their language to be able to keep their own culture in a new environment.

Another reason for learning a new language nowadays is of course the aim to promote relationships with other countries, which speak that language. These international goals of learning another language enable people to do business with or work in other countries, but also give access to scientific literature or to the culture of a country. Cook (1996 : 139) mentions that such use of an international language does not necessarily create acceptance of the values of the society in which it is spoken. Cook also points out that language is never politically neutral (*ibid.* : 140) as the decision which languages become official languages of a country and which languages are taught in the education system always has an influence on economic and cultural life. This fact has already been hinted at in chapter 2 of this thesis when describing the struggle of post-Apartheid South Africa to decide which languages should become official languages and what kind of language policy should be followed at school. It will be mentioned again in the following subchapter when looking at bilingualism or rather multilingualism in South Africa.

The importance of bilingualism, both in education and for the society in general, has been increasingly recognized in Europe and other parts of the world. Although in many countries the fact that a number of children with immigrant background are bilingual is nevertheless often ignored or unrecognized by various schools. According to the Department of Education and Science (1975 : 294) bilingualism

in a society should be seen as an asset, as something that has to be nurtured, which should be the task of the schools. The confidence and ability in the mother-tongue will help the children when acquiring their second language. The Department of Education and Science also demands that bilingual pupils should be encouraged to maintain their mother-tongue throughout their schooling. This argumentation is especially interesting in the context of South Africa as will be shown when introducing the concept of additive bilingualism in the following subchapter of this thesis, which aims at the maintenance of the mother-tongue with other languages being added on throughout a pupil's school career.

What does the term bilingualism mean? According to Hadumod (1990 : 134) bilingualism is a special form of multilingualism and can be understood in the two following ways: First of all, bilingualism is the ability to express oneself in two languages, which is also called individual bilingualism. Following a hypothesis that has been widely discussed, the two languages can exist beside one another in different ways in the individual person:

A person who learns two languages in the same context, or who learns a new language through the medium of another (usually his native language), would tend to have a *compound* system, i.e. one in which two languages constitute simply two different ways of encoding the same set of referential meanings. A person who learns two languages in quite different contexts, however, would tend to have *coordinate* systems – systems in which the referential meanings encoded in the two languages differ to a considerable extent (The American Educational Research Association 1967 : 1086).

Therefore, one speaks of *compound* bilingualism and of *coordinate* bilingualism. Secondly, there is social or collective bilingualism, which is also called diglossia. According to Hadumod (1990: 183), diglossia is a form of bilingualism in which one language can be seen as the standard language whereas the other language is used in everyday communication and in informal texts. There is a clear separation in the use of the two languages. Social bilingualism can be further divided into *parallel bilingualism*, where languages are used next to each other (an example for this would be the country of Luxembourg), *territorial bilingualism*, which can be found in Canada and to a certain extent in Belgium and finally *functional bilingualism*, which is the aim for instance of foreign language teaching.

Bilingualism can further be differentiated into *natural bilingualism* and *bilingual teaching* (cf. Niemeier 2000 : 28). Natural bilingualism is associated with children growing up bilingually. This is what Cook (1996 : 135) refers to as bilingualism by choice because parents decide to bring up their children bilingually at home. This is often the case if one of the parents speaks a minority language and the other parent speaks the majority language of a country. This so called “elite” bilingualism is not forced on the parents by society or by the educational system but is their free choice (ibid. : 135). Natural bilingualism also refers to the linguistic behaviour of people who live in a bilingual society or who have immigrated.

Research on natural bilingualism mainly focused on the phenomena of code-switching, which is the alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation (cited in Niemeier 2000 : 30). Many researchers believed for a long time that bilingualism has a negative effect on the development of linguistic proficiency, and that children with minority languages tend to master not only the mother-tongue but also the second language insufficiently (ibid. : 31). In opposition to this assumption, other researchers claimed that the bilingual experience would also improve the proficiency in the mother-tongue:

Since the 1960s research has pointed unequivocally to the advantages of bilingualism: children who know a second language are better at separating semantic form from phonetic aspects of words, at tasks involving classification, and at tests of creativity; they have sharper awareness of language [...] (Cf. Cook 1996 : 135).

As far as the interrelationship between the first and the second language is concerned Cummins²² formulates the *Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis* (cited in Niemeier 2000 : 31) which says that the level of competence in the second language depends to a certain degree on the level the child has reached in his or her mother-tongue. This means that the second language is built on the linguistic concepts and proficiency of the first language. Furthermore, Cummins assumes that the ability to master complex and demanding cognitive tasks can be successfully transferred from the mother-tongue (L1) to the second language (L2)

²² As I will look at the theories of J. Cummins in more detail when describing the module “Teaching Content and Language” I only mention this hypothesis briefly at this point of my thesis.

and that strategies for language use and language production can be adopted for both languages. This would mean that learning a second language should begin at a later stage as the abilities and strategies in the mother-tongue have to be developed before (cf. Niemeier 2000 : 32). This point will be of interest when looking at the additive approach of bilingualism in the context of South Africa.

I shall now give a brief overview of the different forms of bilingual language teaching. As it was mentioned earlier in this chapter, individual bilingualism or the fact that some pupils speak a different mother-tongue is often not taken into consideration by many schools. Instead of being bilingual, teaching is very often assimilationist. This means that this form of teaching expects pupils to give up their native languages and become speakers of the majority language. Thus, people are assimilated into the rest of the country. An extreme form of assimilationist teaching are *submersion* programmes. This is a “sink or swim” method which puts minority language children in a majority language classroom and often forbids them to use their mother-tongue (cf. Cook 1996 : 142).

Another form of language teaching, which is not yet bilingual language teaching is what Cook (1996) calls transitional language teaching. It allows people to function in the majority language of a country, without necessarily losing or devaluing their mother-tongue (cf. Cook 1996 : 142). Although it seems to resemble assimilationist teaching it has a different motivation as transitional teaching is *additive*. This form of teaching adds the ability to function in the majority language without the first language being displaced. Opposite to this, assimilationist teaching is *subtractive* as the pupils feel that their mother-tongue is taken away from them. Usually there are special classes where pupils learn the majority language used in the classroom (ibid. : 142).

Therefore there are different forms of bilingual language teaching. The counterpart to submersion, the “sink or swim” method, are *immersion* programmes. This means that pupils are immersed into a foreign language as all of the teaching is done in this language. Canada has been famous for the experiment of *immersion* schools where English-speaking children are educated through the medium of French (cf. Cook 1996 : 144).

In recent years, the alternative to more established forms of foreign language teaching, the so-called content-based bilingual teaching has gained importance especially in Germany. Teaching content in a foreign language (TCFL) (cf. Weskamp 2001 : 28) is based in its methodological approach on the Franco-German or English-German grammar schools founded in the early sixties. Also European Schools and International Schools in which non-language subjects have always been taught in languages other than German can be regarded as models for the new approach of bilingual education and content-based learning. (cf. Wolff 1997 : 52).

Non-language or content subjects like History, Geography, Biology etc. are taught through the medium of a foreign language, mostly English and French, but also Italian, Spanish, Dutch or Russian in very few schools. Bilingual wings were founded in different types of secondary schools, mainly grammar schools, but more and more *Realschulen* (similar to secondary modern schools) and also comprehensive schools and vocational schools (cf. Wolff 1997 : 53/54). In intensified language courses in grade 5 and 6 pupils are prepared for the teaching of the content subject in a foreign language where they are introduced to relevant technical terms and structures (cf. Wolff 1997 : 53). Following Wolff (1997), content-based bilingual education is, in general, regarded as superior to traditional mainstream approaches. Higher proficiency in a foreign language is one of the positive effects of this form of bilingual teaching, but in many ways it is “still a purely practical approach which has not been integrated into any learning theory or foreign language learning theory” (cf. Wolff 1997 : 51). Therefore, more research is necessary to find out why learning languages and non-language subjects through a foreign language works so well.²³

²³ A lot more information could be given on the topic of content-based bilingual education or *content and language integrated learning (CLIL)*, but in my thesis it was only introduced as one form of bilingual language education. For more information see Wolff 1997, Niemeier 2000, Rautenhaus 2000, Schmid-Schönbein / Siegismund 1998.

3.2. Bilingualism in South Africa

After looking at bilingualism in general I shall now focus on bilingualism in South Africa. As it was already shown in chapter 2, South Africa recognized 11 official languages in her new constitution of 1996. Since then it is the aim of the language policy to support all eleven official languages and foster bilingualism, or rather multilingualism as most people are supposed to speak more than two languages, in all educational institutions. “*Being multilingual should be a defining characteristic of being South African*” (cited in Alexander 2000 : 17).

Even though individual bilingualism was always common in South Africa, bilingual language teaching followed subtractive methods of bilingualism most of the time. Especially after the Soweto uprising in 1976 and the revolt against Afrikaans as medium of instruction in black education the focus was on the development of English as a second language through bilingual language teaching. The two main models that were and are still used are forms of subtractive bilingualism, which replace the mother-tongue in education and which often have negative cognitive outcomes. I will mention these two models briefly at this point of my thesis to give the context in which additive bilingualism is debated in modern South Africa and to show why it finds various supporters (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 367).

With the *Straight-for-English* model pupils whose mother-tongue is not English begin and continue their education in English. This model usually does not support the mother-tongue. The Straight-for-English model was originally developed in migrant societies. In these countries, pupils normally speak English as a second language, but in South Africa the model was often used with children who did not have access to the English language prior to their schooling or outside of school, which means that for them English would be more like a foreign language than a second language. This form of immersion does not work and resembles more a submersion programme, the “sink or swim” method.

The other form of subtractive bilingualism is the *Threshold* model. It uses the vernacular as medium of instruction until grade 5, when English becomes the medium of instruction for all subjects. English is gradually introduced in the lower grades until it changes from foreign language into the medium of instruction in grade 5. Nevertheless, one can speak of a sudden transfer to English as a medium of instruction (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 367). The publishing of the results of the “Threshold Project” of the “Human Sciences Research Centre” in 1990 led to a new discussion of the language policy at black schools and the medium of instruction for pupils with African mother-tongues. The results of this project showed that the sudden transfer of medium of instruction in grade 5 within the Threshold model might explain the failure in schooling of black children (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 99). Educationalists started to understand “that this second language approach is not going to work as a principle of education in South Africa” (cited in Niedrig 2000 : 152) as the first language was not supported throughout schooling and the gap between the demands of English as a foreign language up until grade 5 and English as medium of instruction for all subjects afterwards was too wide.

Only then a change from a subtractive model to an additive model of bilingualism was supported. The term *additive bilingualism* in the context of South Africa has been defined by PRAESA and the National Language Project (NLP), a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Cape Town, as follows:

Additive bilingualism refers to bilingualism associated with a well-developed proficiency in two languages and with positive cognitive outcomes [...]. The term is applied to a context in which speakers of any language are introduced to a second language (or even languages) in addition to the continued educational use of the primary language as a language of learning. The second language is never intended to replace the primary language in education; rather, it is seen as complementary to the primary language throughout (cited in Niedrig 2000 : 152).

What is referred to as *mother-tongue instruction* is seen by many as synonymous with inferior education for black people (cf. Verhoef 1998 : 186). “*This derives from the fact that under the apartheid regime, the so-called mother-tongue instruction had been used to indoctrinate black schoolchildren with a racist curriculum for social inferiority [...]*” (cf. Alexander 2000 : 17). This kind of language policy was only one aspect of the larger policy of Apartheid as was

shown in chapter 2. The legacy of Apartheid makes the implementation of a language policy that would include mother-tongue instruction as the additive bilingualism approach does very difficult in South Africa. A lot of parents want their children to learn English and have English as the medium of instruction in schools. Especially black parents today often believe that English will offer their children better opportunities in the future than they had while being educated under the Apartheid regime and are sceptical towards mother-tongue instruction.

Educationalists in South Africa try to show that dropping the home language might actually harm the child as it might not have learned concepts which it would need when learning a second language (cf. PRAESA 1998 : 23). Another problem is also that the African languages are often not valued as much as English. Children feel ashamed because of their home language and develop a low self-esteem (ibid.). This makes it very important to uplift the status of the indigenous languages in South Africa to prevent what might otherwise lead to the public life becoming more and more monolingual, “*with English being used for most official and formal functions in most domains in the public and private sector*” (cf. Webb 1998 : 126 /127). Also Verhoef (1998 : 181) believes that “[a]lthough multilingualism is a fact of everyday life in Africa and attempts have been made on an official level to establish functional multilingualism in South Africa, the tendency towards monolingualism remains evident.” Many people in the country still believe that *English only* would be the common-sense solution in a multicultural, multilingual society as was shown in chapter 2. Supporters of English in South Africa say that English as a global language has to be used for economical reasons to be able to keep up with the world market.

Although it has been generally accepted that additive bilingualism would be preferable to other alternatives (cf. Webb 1998 : 134) as has been shown in this chapter, the language in education issue is still controversially discussed. The aim of the educationalists who support an additive approach of bilingualism in South Africa like Neville Alexander is to advocate the advantages of additive bilingualism. But also books and materials have to be provided in the indigenous languages (cf. Alexander 2000 : 19) and teachers have to receive extra training to be qualified language teachers (as in the additive bilingualism approach it is

important that languages are taught by teachers with high language proficiency, ideally a mother-tongue speaker). Parents would have to be convinced of the positive outcomes of additive bilingualism as a child learns best through his or her home language. But also teachers have to be informed as many of them have different opinions about additive bilingualism, which I will show when describing the sample and the results of my research project in the following chapters of this thesis. Overall it can be said that there is still a long way to go, and more research is necessary to prove the positive effects of additive bilingualism (as a research project tries to do at the school of one of the teachers of my sample where one class is taught in the mother-tongue of the pupils throughout their schooling with another language being added on as the additive approach of bilingualism suggests (cf. chapter 4.4.)). Even though educationalists in South Africa realised the disadvantages of the Threshold Model there are also voices which are sceptical about additive bilingualism. They say the transitional phase in the language policy of education is over in South Africa, and that it is important that all pupils should learn English. This can be seen in the fact that the Threshold model is still used in many schools. Additive bilingualism will also be the subject of the next subchapter as it was dealt with in the module “Teaching Content and Language”.

3.3. The Module “Teaching Content and Language”

In this subchapter I will describe the module “Teaching Content and Language” (TCL) in more detail. TCL was the first module offered in the new Master of Education programme at the University of Port Elizabeth and was planned and developed within the North-South cooperation between the Eastern Cape and Lower Saxony by professors from the University of Oldenburg and U.P.E.

For my research project, the module was important as I met my research partners by working as a student assistant for the visiting professor from Oldenburg who taught “Teaching Content and Language” in three weekend sessions at U.P.E. I attended every contact session and introduced myself to the participants with the

aim of doing research for my thesis about teachers in multilingual contexts in South Africa. By visiting each teacher her school and offering assistance with tasks that had to be completed for the module like videotaping, I had the chance to get to know each individual teacher more thoroughly, which was helpful when choosing a small sample of teachers who I planned to interview at a later stage of my research.

The module was developed for in-service teachers doing their Master in Education and offered them “*the opportunity to integrate personal experiences, theoretical knowledge and practical application*” (cf. *Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language”* 2002 : iii). The study guide of the module included beside texts for critical study also research assignments for application and reflection purposes in the classroom or other educational institutions of the teachers. Content and language data from each classroom were integrated into the module, and the teachers were encouraged to try out different strategies that would help their pupils to develop their home language to support their learning processes (cf. *ibid.* : iii). Participating in this module should have helped teachers to enjoy and benefit from a multilingual classroom and shown them how to manage the teaching of subject matter in classes with learners from a variety of linguistic backgrounds (cf. *ibid.* : v). The rationale for the module and the general learning outcomes are stated in the study guide as follows:

The experience of bilingual learners and the practice of bilingual education are reflected in a major way by socio-political and historical considerations. Thus, the reality for a less prestigious language speaker accessing the curriculum through a prestigious language (for example, Xhosa speakers using English / Afrikaans in S A schools) is different from a prestige language speaker using that same language to study subject matter. As teachers, you will be helped to analyse the different learners’ language conditions and needs and creatively consider the most appropriate educational and linguistic responses.

After completing the module, you should be able to:

- critically interpret relevant theories on learning language and content
- analyse your learners’ linguistic, cultural and cognitive needs in dealing with a certain subject content
- conduct small action research studies on a regular basis
- apply to your own classroom the teaching and researching techniques practised during the course (cf. *Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language”* 2002 : v).

As taking part in the module “Teaching Content and Language” might have had influence on the outlook of teachers about the multilingual context in South Africa

and might therefore have changed their concept of language teaching awareness I regard it as important to also give a brief overview of the contents dealt with in the module. Hereby I shall focus on the contents which I concentrated on in my research and that were relevant in the data I collected about each teacher of my sample (cf. chapter 5). When describing the contents of the module I will follow thematically the five units of the module.

Unit 1 “Introduction: Bilingualism as a state, an aim and a teaching method”

started off with looking at the diversity of the different language backgrounds of the participants (a worksheet which I also used for my data collection, cf. chapter 5 & cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 1, 2-3) before collecting first ideas on key concepts like *bilingualism*, *language and culture*, *the aims of bilingual teaching*, *opportunities given by the content-orientation of bilingual teaching*, *special teaching principles or methods for bilingual teaching* and *problems that were encountered with bilingual teaching*. Therefore, Unit 1 worked with the pre-knowledge and ideas and concepts the teachers already had in their mind before attending the module. The purpose of the first session was to detect certain questions about the concepts mentioned above regarding bilingual teaching in one’s mind. To find the answers to these questions was the aim of the module. As a homework assignment the participants had to read a text by Neville Alexander (cf. Alexander 2002) and had to write an essay answering five questions about the recommended language policy of additive bilingualism and one’s own opinion of this approach. Thus, this assignment already introduces the approach of additive bilingualism in Unit 1, which also played a part in the following sessions of the module.

In **Unit 2 “Theory and practice of learning a language”** some theoretical concepts on bilingualism were introduced. Before the presentation of the theories by the module leader, the participants had to work on a brainstorming activity about the interrelation of curriculum task and conditions given by the child (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 2, 8). In bilingual teaching, it has to be considered in any curriculum task presented to the pupils what the task requires of the learner. Also the learner’s previous knowledge and experience, the learner’s language proficiency, the form of

presentation to the learner and possible evidence that learning has successfully occurred have to be taken into consideration (cf. *ibid.*). The brainstorming activity helped the participants to open their mind for the theoretical concepts that followed.

The theoretical concepts introduced in this unit was first of all the idea of the *Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP)*, which is the naïve theory of bilingualism. It says that bilinguals must be inferior to monolinguals as the two languages are seen as two language balloons inside the head where one decreases if the other increases (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 2, 1 & Baker 2001 : 163). Opposite to this is the idea of the *Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP)*, which says that there are rather advantages than disadvantages to be bilingual and which is also represented in the *Iceberg Analogy*. This pictorial representation of Cummins’ ideas shows that the two languages are separate above the surface, but that underneath the surface “[b]oth languages operate through the same central processing system” (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 2, 3). The *Threshold Theory* shows that bilingualism can have positive, neutral and negative effects on the cognitive development of a learner depending on weak or strong forms of bilingual education. A further hypothesis suggests that the development of a second language depends on the level of competence already achieved in the mother-tongue and that a conversational language can be acquired more easily than a language that is necessary to cope with the curriculum in a classroom. “Cummins expresses this distinction in terms of *Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS)* and *Cognitive / Academic Language Proficiency (CALP)*” (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 2, 5). It would help the learner if the teacher would take into account whether communication is *cognitively demanding* or *undemanding* and whether it is *context- embedded* or *context-reduced*.²⁴

Unit 2 ended with a group investigation on language used when solving a subject problem, which would mean that a learner would be working on CALP. Different

²⁴ For a more thorough description see Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002, Unit 2, 1-6 & Baker 2001.

categories of language were defined like *general everyday vocabulary*, *technical terms*, *specialist vocabulary*, *grammatical features* and *aids* (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 2, 10).

Unit 3 “Theory and practice of using textbook texts in the classroom” dealt with the identification of linguistic demands of textbook texts. For this activity, the different categories of language were used that were introduced in the previous unit. A second activity dealt with solving vocabulary problems given by textbook texts. It raised the awareness of the teachers participating in the module “Teaching Content and Language” that although a pupil knows a word in everyday language this does not necessarily mean that he or she also understands it when it is used as specialist vocabulary in a different context, especially when the pupil is a second language learner. Therefore, it is important for a teacher to make use of the pupils’ world or subject matter knowledge, to work with the pupils’ linguistic knowledge and competence and to use any means of visualization (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 3, 4).

In **Unit 4 “Task-orientation in bilingual teaching and communication strategies”** positive and negative communication strategies were discussed as well as principles that should be followed when correcting linguistic mistakes pupils make (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 4, 1-2). As a summary of the work done so far the module leader handed in a handout which presented the general aims of bilingual teaching, the didactic considerations and methodological questions, which the participants were made familiar with by reading a text by Rautenhaus (2001) about “Task-Orientation in Bilingual Teaching”. This text showed that “task-orientation is an adequate concept of teaching for bilingual education”, that “[a]uthenticity is extremely important for bilingual teaching”, which concerns both the authenticity of materials and the authenticity of interaction and also looks at “learner autonomy” and a “humanistic approach” (cf. Rautenhaus 2001 : 36 / 37).

In Unit 5 “**Reading and writing skills and the planning of a bilingual lesson**” the participants worked in groups to develop a lesson plan for bi- / multilingual classrooms. The teachers had to describe the class-situation and the subject-specific teaching aim(s) for the lesson. They had to consider the different categories of language that would be used in the lesson when working with texts and therefore the language aims. Also the world or subject-specific knowledge of the pupils had to be taken into consideration and the different phases of the lesson in which the pupils would work individually or in groups. In the lesson plan the participants had to apply what they have learned by taking part in the module “Teaching Content and Language”. The module ended with looking at subject-specific problems that can occur when teaching in multilingual classes (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 5, 1-2).

Before describing the sample I chose as my research partners in more detail in the following chapter, I shall now give a brief overview of the teachers participating in TCL in general. First of all, it has to be mentioned that the module had less applicants than expected. This might be due to the fact that the Master of Education programme had only just started with “Teaching Content and Language” being the only module offered. Therefore there were only a small number of Master of Education students at this stage at the University of Port Elizabeth. Another reason why there were less applicants for the module might be due to problems in the educational system in general.

As I already mentioned in chapter 2.3., teachers in South Africa are not well paid and teaching is often not regarded as professional work. Therefore the motivation of some teachers to do extra qualifications and to attend training courses is not very high. Because of the affirmative action policy in post-Apartheid South Africa, which gives work positions to former disadvantaged groups, a lot of Whites fear to lose their jobs and leave the country to work overseas, which is especially common in the profession of teaching. Another reason might also be a certain idleness or laziness to change one’s way of teaching as I was told by some teachers: their colleagues would often still blame the Apartheid regime for problems in schools and believe that they cannot change anything. There seems to be a lot of frustration on the side of the teachers.

This is obviously not true for teachers who want to change the situation in schools and therefore upgrade their qualifications and do extra degrees as it was the case for the eight teachers taking part in the module “Teaching Content and Language”. It did not matter that it was only a small group of participants as the module was seen as a pilot course that wanted to find out which aspects might have to be changed and could be improved when it will be taught to a bigger group of teachers in the future.

The participants in the module TCL were mostly female teachers with only one male teacher on the course, which I had to take into consideration when doing the sampling. The module was originally designed for teachers of secondary or high schools. When it turned out that a majority of primary school teachers would take part in the module the German and the South African professor who had organised and planned the course had to reflect about whether the contents of the module needed to be changed. It was also questioned whether the study guide would still be suitable. It was decided that the contents of the module did not have to be altered, but that the experiences of each individual teacher should be used and integrated into the course as often as possible. It was also questioned whether there would be enough variation in the module with a small group of participants as most teachers came from a similar linguistic and social background. But in this case, the different pupils of the teachers would offer variation. In the following chapter I shall describe the teachers participating in the module “Teaching Content and Language” in more detail, especially those I chose for my sample.

4. Description of my Sample

In this chapter I shall describe how I chose my sample out of the eight participating teachers in the module “Teaching Content and Language” during the research process. I will also show the way of selection of my research sample, namely gradual selection while collecting the research data. With choosing a sample of four teachers and interviewing each of them I hoped to find answers to the research questions asked above when combining it with the visual data I had collected before (cf. 5. Data Collection and Documentation of Data & 6. Interpretation of Data).

With this chapter I want to place my research project into the context of qualitative research as already mentioned in the introduction of this thesis (cf. Introduction). In the grounded theory which is one possible approach doing qualitative research (cf. Flick 2000 : 56), the research subjects are chosen because they are relevant for the topic, and not because they are representative for their social or professional group. Part of the grounded theory approach is the theoretical sampling (cf. Flick 2000 : 81) where one chooses the sample in the course of collecting and interpreting the data. Therefore one can speak of a circular model of the research project (cf. Flick 2000 : 61) opposite to a linear model, which does not so much fit into the context of qualitative research. This was also the case for the formulation of my research questions: I formulated the research questions in different phases of my research project, for instance while developing my research design, when entering the research field, when collecting the data and choosing the sample. My research questions often had to be reformulated, which was part of the research process until they became more and more concrete (cf. Flick 2000 : 63). Theoretical sampling is a sampling strategy, which is most suitable for qualitative research.

Another aspect I used as a sampling strategy was to have a maximum of variation in my sample. One tries to choose only a few, but heterogeneous cases in order to show the variation and differences in the research field. This will become obvious when I shall describe the four teachers I chose for my sample in more detail. In

doing so I will concentrate on information about each person, for instance on the age and the linguistic background of the teachers, on teaching experience, preparation and education and on the current teaching situation. Hereby I will give some background information of each of the schools of the four teachers.²⁵

Before describing each of the four teachers in more detail I regard it as important to mention that my research sample consists of female teachers only although there was one male teacher participating in the module “Teaching Content and Language”. Even though I got the advice to include him in my research sample as it was my aim to have a maximum of variation as mentioned above I decided to focus in my research on female teachers only. My reasons for doing so were that I wanted to look at primary and secondary school teachers and exclude teachers working in tertiary education. I also wanted to choose teachers who would be working in a classroom at the time of my research as some of my enquiries especially in my interview looked at aspects of classroom behaviour of the teachers. The male participant in question did not fulfil the criteria mentioned above as he was working in adult education and was not employed as a classroom teacher. Therefore I did not choose him as part of my sample and concentrated in my research on female teachers only.

Similar reasons are applicable why I did not include the three remaining female teachers participating in the module in my sample. One of the teachers was working in tertiary education at the Technicon in Port Elizabeth. Two teachers were working at the same school as Ruth²⁶ and also came from similar social and linguistic backgrounds. Therefore they would not have contributed towards a further variation of my sample.

²⁵ This information and the one that follows including comments of the teachers I got mainly out of my observations in the module TCL and in the different schools and the interview I did with the four teachers (cf. 5. Data Collection and Documentation of Data).

²⁶ The names I use in my thesis are pseudonyms to maintain the anonymity of my research partners.

4.1. Ruth

Ruth is a white primary school teacher who was in her late forties at the time of my research. Her first language is English. As an additional language known she states Afrikaans. Although Afrikaans is spoken to neighbours and used for radio and TV, the English language is still dominant, and the teacher herself mentions in the first session of the module “Teaching Content and Language” that she is very monolingual and that she feels that her fellow students are far more exposed to other languages than she is.

Ruth is employed at a primary school for girls, which has been founded in 1874 and used to be a school for whites only, a so called ex-model-c-school (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 365). Since the end of Apartheid and the desegregation of the schools there are white, black and coloured children at this primary school. Most pupils are English mother-tongue speakers as it is an English medium school. A lot of former “white” schools were partly privatised between 1990 and 1992 which gave the parents more rights in the decision-making policy of the school. As the parents of the pupils pay a high amount of school fees this primary school belongs to one of the most renown and privileged schools in the city of Port Elizabeth. It is very well equipped, has experienced staff and high academic standards. It has many resources like a library, computers, music and language classes and specialist educators. It has a variety of extra mural activities and sports, cultural and community service and after school care facilities. There is a high involvement of parents at this school. Especially in the lower grades parents are responsible for the homework of their children in that they sign the exercises that have to be completed at home.

In general I experienced that qualified teachers use a variety of different methods when visiting different grades of this school. The lessons are not very teacher-centred. Instead the pupils do a lot of group work. Often the pupils work on different exercises in different groups. The lessons are well planned, and the teachers seem to be dedicated to teaching. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that this school cannot be seen as a standard school in South Africa as most schools are a lot less privileged and not as well equipped as this one. For the

teachers at this primary school for girls it is not difficult to implement the approach of Outcomes-Based-Education (OBE)²⁷ as the school is privileged enough to have the resources which are necessary to adopt the new approach. One of the teachers in the higher grades told me that they have always taught in a learner-centred way at this school, which makes it only a small step to change to OBE.

The primary school for girls, which starts at 7.40 am has four pre-primary classes, a foundation phase which includes grades 1 to 3 and an intermediate phase from grade 4 to grade 7. Ruth teaches in the foundation phase. In her grade 2 she teaches all subjects and has an average of 28 to 30 pupils in her class. It is interesting to mention that in the schools I encountered in South Africa a teacher only keeps a class for the duration of a school year. When the pupils move on to the next grade they will have a new grade 3 teacher, and Ruth will again take over a grade 2. Each teacher has her own classroom in which she stays while the pupils rotate when they attend for instance computer lessons.

Ruth has been teaching for 16 to 18 years. Since 8 years she has a permanent job at the primary school for girls. While observing in her classroom and especially during the interview, it became obvious that Ruth really enjoys teaching. She did her teacher training at a well known institution in Grahamstown. Every teacher who was trained there was a good teacher according to Ruth. She feels privileged to teach at this special school as there are only minor problems which makes teaching a pleasure. Although she felt well prepared through her teacher training she believes that one never stops learning and therefore upgrades her qualifications through in-service courses.

²⁷ Outcomes-Based-Education (OBE) is an approach which shifts from teacher-centredness to pupil-centredness and includes the knowledge and experiences of the pupils in the classroom. Therefore, OBE focuses on what is learnt and how it is learnt rather than on how something is taught. As the entire school system in South Africa is supposed to have adopted the new curriculum in 2005, OBE in South Africa is also called Curriculum 2005. A lot more information could be given on OBE and its eight different learning areas, but this is not the focus of my investigation (for more information see Department of Education 1997 & Jansen / Christie 1999).

4.2. Jane

Jane is a white secondary school teacher who was in her early fifties at the time of my research. Her first language is English. An additional language she knows is Afrikaans but she does not use it and feels that people are “crippled by being monolingual in a multilingual society”. Jane is a teacher for Mathematics at a secondary school for boys and girls from grade 8 to grade 12, which used to be a “white” or an ex-model-c-school.

Like the primary school mentioned above, this secondary school belongs to the more privileged schools of Port Elizabeth. The High School is very well equipped and offers a variety of computer, sports and music courses and other cultural activities. It nurtures Christian values (as most schools do in South Africa) and also the co-operation among parents, pupils and teachers. It was opened in 1970 with 185 pupils. The school now has an enrolment of approximately 850 pupils of all ethnic groups. It is an English medium school, but offers Afrikaans or Xhosa as a second language which belong to the six compulsory subjects. School starts at 7.50 am and ends at 2.25 pm. The school day consists of seven periods per day of 35 minutes each. When observing different Maths classes I found that a lot of group work was done and that the lessons were very learner-orientated. In a privileged school with many resources it is not difficult for the teachers to work with a range of different methods and to adopt the new approach of Outcomes-Based-Education (OBE).

Jane has been teaching for 29 years at different schools and finds teaching very rewarding. She studied English and Mathematics at Natal University, but moved into Maths only because of the shortage of teachers in that field. She did not feel prepared through her teacher training as she was not told how to teach a class. At the High School where she teaches she has an average of 19 to 33 pupils in her classroom. To upgrade her studies, she does further qualifications and enjoys the practical part of the re-training courses.

4.3. Lydia

Lydia is a coloured secondary teacher who was in her late forties at the time of my research. Her first language is Afrikaans. Additional languages known are English and Xhosa. Afrikaans is the main language spoken at home. English as a second language is used with neighbours and is also the language that is mainly used for writing and reading. Both English and Afrikaans are used for business matters, for TV and for religious meetings. Xhosa is used on a conversational level.²⁸

Lydia teaches at a secondary school for boys and girls which has Afrikaans as medium of instruction. It used to be a school for Coloureds only, a so-called ex-HOR-school as it was administered by the House of Representatives until 1994 (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 365). Nowadays Coloureds but also a large number of Blacks attend the school as a lot of black parents want their children to have a better education and therefore send them to former coloured schools instead of one of the former black schools in the townships²⁹, which are called ex-DET-schools as they were administered by the Department of Education and Training until 1994 (cf. Niedrig 2000 : 365). Therefore most pupils are Afrikaans mother-tongue speakers but there are also learners whose first language is Xhosa.

As a former coloured school, this school is more privileged than the schools in the townships, but it is still a lot less privileged than the two former white schools described above. When observing in her classroom, Lydia told me that due to redeploying, which began in 1998 / 1999, several teachers had to leave the school. This policy had the consequence that the class sizes became even larger and that teaching under these circumstances became even more difficult than before. Therefore, former coloured schools are still disadvantaged compared to former white schools as the parents of the pupils often cannot pay the school fees even

²⁸ This information is taken from a worksheet “Getting to know each other’s linguistic background” out of the study guide of the module “Teaching Content and Language” (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 1, Page 2-3).

²⁹ A township is an informal settlement of the black population that consists mostly of “shacks”, which are little huts that are built out of different material like tin and cardboard. Inside the shack often lives a whole family of several members. The infrastructure in the townships is very low as there are often no roads or running water. The poverty and unemployment rate is very high and therefore crime and violence is often part of everyday life of people who live in a township in South Africa.

though the amount of money is a lot less than the fees that have to be paid at the schools where Ruth and Jane (cf. 4.1. & 4.2.) are employed. This school would have no extra funds to pay for extra teachers or better facilities which leads to a lower standard of education. Nevertheless, the school is still advantaged compared to many other schools in Port Elizabeth, especially in the townships, as it has electricity and running water as well as television, computer and other electrical equipment.

Lydia teaches Economics in grade 9 and 10. There are often 45 pupils in one class. She has been teaching for 24 years and has always been at the same school. She enjoyed teaching more when she first started and found it more exciting and fulfilling compared to today. Lydia did her teacher training at a college in Cape Town and felt well prepared for her position at school as she had specialized in the subject she would teach. Nevertheless she is doing in-service training to upgrade her qualifications.

4.4. Sarah

Sarah is a black primary school teacher who was in her early thirties at the time of my research. Her first language is Xhosa and her second language is English. As an additional language known she quotes Afrikaans, but says herself that this is a language she would not use.³⁰ To her mother she speaks SeSotho. Xhosa is the language that is spoken at home as well as at school where she also uses English in the classroom and the staff room. It is interesting that the language used for reading and writing is English only whereas Xhosa is also used for radio and religious meetings.

Sarah teaches at a farm school near Tarkastad, which has both a primary and a secondary school. It is a joined farm school out of different farm schools in this region. The school was founded in 1990 as a community project and is a positive

³⁰ As was mentioned before, a lot of Blacks still regard Afrikaans as the language of Apartheid which they were forced to learn in their own school career under the Apartheid regime. Therefore they do not use the language even if they might have learned it.

example of what a farm school in the rural area can look like. It is funded by different Non-Government-Organizations (NGO). The school complex consists of new buildings and the whole school is well equipped. It is very clean and looked after. That this school is highly advantaged can also be seen in that it has organized a transport system for the pupils. Buses take the children to school and home again as some of them often have a long way to school which they used to have to walk every day. The teachers organize workshops among themselves after doing re-training courses like Sarah does to further their education. This enables teachers to integrate new methods into their lessons like Outcomes-Based-Education which I also observed in Sarah's classroom. Her lessons were learner-centred and there was a lot of interaction. Different methods were used, for instance group work. Thus the school has the resources and the facilities to train the teachers in OBE to be able to adopt the approach.

It also runs an Effective Parenting Programme, which is a project to educate the parents of the pupils of this school. This project was started when it was realized that there is a missing link between the parents and the pupils. As the parents hardly ever attended meetings they often did not know what was happening in school. Now the parents attend workshops, which are held one Friday a month at school. Even transport has been organized so the parents have the chance to attend the workshops that deal with topics like HIV / Aids, safety, sex education, nutrition, child development and various others. I was told that these workshops actually have an influence on parents and lead to improvements in the families and are therefore effective and useful.

The school also helps mothers of the pupils to learn skills like pottery or sewing. The self-made products are then sold which enables the women to earn money to support their families. As I mentioned above, Sarah's school runs a pilot project on additive bilingualism in which one class is taught in the mother-tongue of the pupils, namely Xhosa with English as a second language being added on throughout their school career. Thus the school trust, which is an integrated community development offers different programs which are all interconnected and interdependent. The different projects which I mentioned above can be summarized as whole school development, teacher development, early childhood

development, Aids education and effective parenting, which are supported by various funders and service providers. The programs share resources, materials, transport and the expertise of the service staff and external service providers. Residents who live in this community are either direct recipients of programs or are indirectly affected by the program activities.

Sarah teaches at grade 2 level in the primary school of this joined farm school. She teaches Didactic, Numeracy, Literacy and Life Skills. In her class are only thirteen pupils, both boys and girls. The classes are rather small, depending on the number of pupils of an age group in this area. Most of the 240 pupils are Blacks, but there are also a few Coloureds attending the school. The class stays with one teacher for one year and then moves on to another teacher when attending a higher grade. Sarah told me that she finds it frustrating at times to give up each class after one year as the next teacher might not continue what has been started and that gaps could be created if the teachers do not work together closely.

Sarah has been teaching for 8 years and has ever since been teaching in the same school. In the beginning of her employment before the school trust and the joined farm schools were founded she used to teach in a different building under poor conditions. She taught up to 4 grades in one room with hardly any resources or facilities. Sarah did her training in a teacher's college and did not feel well prepared for teaching. Therefore she is doing in-service training to upgrade her qualifications.

This chapter introduced the four teachers of my research sample. I concentrated on their age as I regard it as important when they received their teacher training and thus how long they have been a teacher. To be able to say something about their language teaching awareness I also think that their own linguistic background has to be taken into consideration and which languages they know and use themselves. I wanted to show how multilingual each of the teachers is herself. As a second step I gave detailed information of each of the schools as the institution (and its possible language policy regarding second language learners and multilingual classroom) will have an influence on the individual teacher of my research sample. This will be shown in more detail when presenting the results

of my research project in the eighth chapter (cf. 8. Discussion of the Results). The following chapter (cf. 5. Data Collection and Documentation of Data) will give an overview of the different methods I used for collecting and documenting my data. Hereby I will differentiate between visual, verbal and written data.

5. Data Collection and Documentation of Data

In this chapter I shall describe the data I collected while participating in the module “Teaching Content and Language” and visiting the four teachers of my sample in their own classrooms. The aim of collecting various data about my research partners was to find answers to my research questions I formulated in the course of my research project (cf. 1. Theoretical Positions & 2. Research Field). I will show how I decided what kind of data I should use and which methods for data collection I focused on. Hereby I will differentiate between visual and verbal data, look at other written forms of data I collected and describe the way I documented my research data.

5.1. Visual Data

Visual data is often used in qualitative research in addition to verbal data, which will be described in the following subchapter (cf. chapter 5.2.). It is used to analyse action. The most common method to collect this form of data is observation, which can be carried out in different variants. With observation, the researcher tries to understand action, interaction and incidents in a certain context. It can be carried out with an inside perspective if the observer is part of the research field and therefore a participant observer. Observation can also be used with an outside perspective if the observer is not involved in the research field. This method can help to reconstruct a special case – incidents in a certain setting, the action of a member of the research sample or the interaction between various people. Observation methods lead to texts as empirical data (cf. Flick 2000 : 176). These might be observation protocols, which I used in a similar form in my research diary or transcriptions (cf. 5.5. Documentation of Data).

How can one choose the right method of observation to collect visual data? In my research project, it was important to be open towards the perspective of my research partners as I wanted to find out something about their own concept of language teaching awareness. I tried to find out the subjective perspective of the

four teachers of my sample through the interview, which I did at a later stage of my research (cf. 5.2. Verbal Data). I also wanted to be open towards the action and interaction in the process of observation (cf. Flick 2000 : 177). The selection of the right method of observation also depends on the research question and whether it would be suitable for the topic of the research.

While observing in the module “Teaching Content and Language” and also in the classrooms of the four teachers I had to establish my own role as observer in the research field. In how far did I as an observer became an active part of this research field? As a non-participant observer I would have refrained from any intervention in the field. Such an observer does not interrupt the stream of action. Action and interaction continue as if the observer would not be present in the situation, and therefore he or she keeps a certain remoteness (cf. Flick 2000 : 153). This form of observation can be done with video recording without the actual observer being present. But this form of outside perspective would narrow the perspective when interpreting the data.

More common in qualitative research is participant observation (cf. Flick 2000 : 157). The researcher can immerse in the research field and can therefore observe out of the perspective of a participant. This was certainly the case as I participated in the module “Teaching Content and Language” as a student assistant. Also during my visits at the various schools I sometimes left the role as an observer only to lead some of the group work with pupils myself. In how far my participant observation had an influence on the research field which is another characteristic of this method I cannot claim with certainty. For me the openness of my data collection was important which is based on the interaction with the research partners (cf. *ibid.* : 158). The methods of participant observation also helped me to use the strategy of the theoretical sampling as I described it in the previous chapter (cf. chapter 4): I had the chance to spend a longer period of time within the research field and in contact with the teachers participating in the module “Teaching Content and Language”. The clearer it became on which aspects I wanted to focus my research questions and whom of the teachers would be part of my sample the more focused my observations also became. In my research project I used observation as a means of getting to know the research field and my

research partners. I did not apply the data I collected through observation in the classrooms of the teachers to prove whether their behaviour corresponds to their beliefs and attitudes after I had carried out the interview. Therefore observation can be seen as a step prior to the collection of the verbal data.

5.2. Verbal Data

To have access to verbal data is the only access to the internal motive and belief system of a person, which cannot be observed (cf. Grotjahn 1991 : 193)³¹. On the one hand the researcher tries with various strategies to be open towards the research object and the view of the research partners. On the other hand the different methodological alternatives also help to structure the collection of data. Certain topics which are relevant for answering the research questions become part of the interview and are focused on in certain interview questions. In the relatively open design of the interview situation the views of the research partners can more easily be reconstructed than in standardized interviews or in questionnaires (cf. Flick 2000 : 143).

One can differentiate between different forms of semi-structured interviews (cf. Flick 1998 : 76). These can be directly focussed on certain topics as the interviewer develops an interview guide before the interview which includes the topics which he or she would like the interviewee to talk about. To each of these topics that should be dealt with the interviewer also prepares certain interview questions, which should be asked if possible in a similar way in each interview with different research partners (cf. Moser 1998 : 46).

Before choosing the right method for collecting verbal data, one has to decide which form of interview would assure enough openness for the subjective views of the research partners on the one hand, and on the other hand there has to be an adequate level of structure and depth in the treatment of the thematic object of the

³¹ Compare the “epistemological model of the human being” (cf. Grotjahn 1991 : 190 & 1.1. Subjective Theories).

interview (cf. Flick 2000 : 144). The research questions and the research object help to decide for or against a certain interview technique, but also the interview partners have to be taken into consideration whether for instance a narrative interview would be suitable as some people can narrate and others find it easier if they can answer questions within a semi-structured interview (Flick 2000 : 146 / 147).

A certain interview technique and the interviewer using it also have to fit together. In a narrative interview, the interviewer steps back and tries to encourage the interviewee to talk about a certain topic in a detailed and free way without interrupting the research partner. But the interviewer also has to make sure that the interview continues and has to stimulate if necessary (cf. Moser 1998 : 47). After testing the method in the first interview it should be reflected whether the form of interview was appropriate or whether for instance the interview guide should be changed or adjusted with other interview questions (cf. Flick 2000 : 145). The interviewer also has to decide how he or she wants to interpret the collected data (cf. 6. Interpretation of Data). The most important aspect in qualitative research is that the choice of a certain method is subordinated: the research object, research questions, research partners and the aimed for statements help to decide which method would be most appropriate. Therefore choosing a certain method for the collection of verbal data becomes only one part in the whole research process.

In my research project I used the form of the semi-standardized interview (cf. Flick 1998 : 82 & Flick 2000 : 99) as a stimulus for the development of my interview guide for the interviews I did with the four teachers of my research sample (cf. Appendix 1 Interview Guide). This interview-technique is often used for reconstructing the contents of subjective theories (cf. 1. Theoretical Positions & Grotjahn 1991) which I aimed at in the beginning of my research. In my interview guide I also used different types of questions as the technique of the semi-standardized interview suggests. I developed open questions which the teachers could answer with their general knowledge straight away without having to think about it for a long time. In the second part of my interview guide I formulated more directed questions which are more related to my research

questions. In the interview guide, I thematically focused on teaching in the multilingual context of South Africa. Therefore it helped me in a considerable way to find answers to my research questions and to make statements about the teachers' concept of language teaching awareness.

5.2.1. Structure-Formation-Technique

As I described in chapter 1.1. when looking at subjective theories, the Research Programme of Subjective Theories (RPST) (cf. Groeben et. al. 1988) suggests a two-phase research process. Communicative validation is the first phase in a research project which tries to reconstruct subjective theories. In this phase, the researcher uses an open interview as the one just described which is then followed by a certain form of member-checking. One example for member-checking is the structure-formation-technique, which I already described in detail when introducing the Research Programme of Subjective Theories (cf. chapter 1.1.). Although my research project does not aim at reconstructing subjective theories and focuses on the concept of language teaching awareness I was still very much interested in the discussion with and agreement of my research partners. To be able to establish consensus with the teachers of my research sample I decided to use a variation of the structure-formation-technique as one possible form of communicative validation.

After I did the semi-standardized interview (cf. Appendix 2-5 Interviews with teachers) with the help of the interview guide I had developed beforehand I prepared a paper informing the teachers about the aim of the structure-formation-technique. The second meeting for the member-checking was carried out one or two weeks after the interview. In the meantime I had written a short summary of each interview to be able to copy the main statements on cue cards. These I presented to the teachers at our second meeting. The cue cards with the main statements were meant to remind my research partners of the contents of the interview and to let them check whether I had summarized their statements correctly. If not I gave them the chance to reformulate or take out statements

which could be substituted by others. This was the first aim of the communicative validation. The second aim was to bring the statements into some kind of graphical presentation prioritising the ones that the teachers regarded as most important in regard of teaching in a multilingual context.

I used the structure-formation-technique with two teachers of my research sample as an experiment to find out whether I had summarized their comments in the interview correctly. When I realised that this was the case and that I would not use the concept of subjective theories in my research project, I did not further proceed in carrying out this form of member-checking (cf. Appendix 11-12 Structure-Formation-Technique).³² I will look at communicative validation again when describing ways of grounding qualitative research like triangulation and more explicitly triangulation of data (cf. 7. Grounding Qualitative Research). The results of the interview and the other data I collected in the course of my research project will be presented in chapter 8 (cf. 8. Discussion of the Results).

5.3. Other Written Data

In the previous two subchapters I described how I collected visual data by observing in the module “Teaching Content and Language” and in the different classrooms of the teachers of my research sample in the form of participant observation. I also introduced the methods I used for collecting verbal data by doing a semi-standardized interview with my research partners. In this subchapter I will present other written data I collected in the course of my research project.

³² To document the experiment with the structure-formation-technique the two graphical presentations that came out of it are added to the appendix of this thesis.

5.3.1. Getting to Know Each Other's Linguistic Background

“Getting to know each other's linguistic background” is a worksheet included in the study guide of the module “Teaching Content and Language” that the participants had to fill out in the first session which I already mentioned in chapter 3.3. when presenting the module in more detail. The aim of this worksheet was to document which languages are spoken as first languages, which other languages are known and in which situations in life a language is used. For my research, “Getting to know each other's linguistic background” was very important as it enabled me to find out at the very beginning how multilingual each of the teachers is herself which played an important part when looking at the concept of language teaching awareness.

5.3.2. Assignments and Worksheets from the Module TCL

The participants of the module “Teaching Content and Language” had to produce various pre-tests which would be part of the final mark and would be collected in their own portfolio. These written assignments included for instance the essay about the additive bilingualism approach which is supported in a text by Neville Alexander (cf. Alexander 2000 & chapter 3.3.). The participants also had to write reflective summaries about small action research they conducted in their own classrooms and developed a bilingual lesson plan. They allowed me to copy pages out of their study guide at the end of the module. These written assignments and different worksheets I also used as written data as I found a lot of the teachers' own beliefs and attitudes about teaching in the multilingual context of South Africa in these texts. Therefore they were of assistance when examining the concept of language teaching awareness of the four teachers of my research sample.

5.3.3. Questionnaire

Towards the end of the module “Teaching Content and Language” I developed an open questionnaire (cf. Appendix 6 Questionnaire), which helped me to find answers to my research questions and which was also an estimated evaluation of the module. I asked for instance how the teachers felt they could integrate their own experiences of teaching into the module and about concepts like additive bilingualism. The teachers were asked to answer the questions of the open questionnaire in the last session of the module.

5.4. Documentation of Data

The preceding subchapters have dealt with the main ways in which data was collected in this project. Before the data can be interpreted it has to be documented. In the case of an interview where verbal data is collected the spoken word has to be recorded and transcribed. For observations, which produce visual data, action and interaction have to be documented. Through documentation data is transformed into texts, which are the basis for the actual analysis (cf. Flick 1998 : 168). This subchapter introduces the methodological alternatives I used for documenting the data I collected in my research project.

5.4.1. Field Notes

A common way for the documentation of data are the researcher’s notes. A general rule says that the notes should be made as directly as possible. An alternative would be to take down notes after the end of the individual field contact (cf. Flick 1998 : 170 / 171). Hereby it is important that the researcher can distinguish later on what he or she has observed and what has been interpreted or summarized by the observer. Field notes are marked by the researcher’s selective perception and presentation (cf. *ibid.*) as he or she decides what is taken down as

notes and what is left out. In my research project I used field notes whenever I wanted to document the visual data I collected during my observations in the different schools or the module “Teaching Content and Language”. These field notes I added to my personal research diary. The function of the research diary will be shown in the following subchapter.

5.4.2. Research Diary

I decided to use a research diary to document and reflect the ongoing research project. The research diary “should document the process of approaching a field, and the experiences and problems in the contact with the field or with the interviewees and in applying the methods. Important facts and matters of minor importance or lost facts in the interpretation, generalization, assessment or presentation of the results [...] should also be incorporated” (cf. Flick 1998 : 172). Writing notes throughout the whole research process might also contribute to the process of building a theory. Keeping a research diary helps to reflect on the research process. Flick (cf. Flick 1998 : 173) suggests a rule of economy when documenting data, which says that the researcher should only record as much as is necessary for answering the research questions.

In my research project, I did not use the research diary in the original sense as it is often used when more than one researcher is involved in the research. By keeping a diary throughout the research project, the comparability of the empirical proceedings and focuses in the individual notes are increased (cf. Flick 1998 : 172). One can also ask the research partners to keep a research diary, especially when looking at their subjective attitudes and beliefs. This would not have been possible in my research project as my research partners had enough workload with teaching and participating in the module “Teaching and Content” at the same time. For that reason I collected the written data I described in the previous subchapter (cf. chapter 5.3.). Keeping my research diary in which I included field notes as well as the developing research questions, the interview guide and other

facts and questions helped me to formulate more concrete research questions and to build a theory about the concept of language teaching awareness.

5.4.3. Transcription

After recording data using technical media the collected data has to be transcribed before it can be interpreted. There are different transcription systems that vary in their degree of exactness. A standard has not been established yet (cf. Flick 1998 : 173). Whereas in language analysis a maximum of exactness in presenting the statements or breaks in the interview is necessary, in regard of my research questions the linguistic exchange is a medium for studying a certain content. Therefore high standards of exactness in transcription are inadequate in this context. It should only be transcribed as much and only as exactly as it is required by the research question. *“Beyond the clear rules of how to transcribe statements, turn taking, breaks, ends of sentences etc., a second check of the transcript against the recording and the anonymization of data (names, areal and temporal features) are central features of the procedure of the transcriptions”* (cf. *ibid.* : 174 / 175).

As I planned to do the member-checking with my research partners one or two weeks after the interview and because I myself had not had any experiences with transcribing verbal data somebody who was not involved in my research project did the transcriptions of the first three interviews for me. Before we had negotiated how exact the transcription of the interviews had to be and decided that the turn taking and the statements of the interviewee would have to be clear. The fourth and last interview I transcribed myself following the same rules as in the first three interviews.

In this chapter I looked at the way I collected and documented my research data, both visual and verbal. The following chapter will describe the interpretation of data (cf. 6. Interpretation of Data). Hereby I will mostly concentrate on the verbal data gathered by doing the semi-standardized interviews with the four teachers of

my research sample. The Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. Mayring 2000) offered the possibility to also include other data I had collected in the course of my research project through observation which I had documented as field notes in my research diary.

6. Interpretation of Data

This chapter will describe the method of data analysis I used in my research project. Interpretation of data belongs to the core of qualitative research although it plays a different part in various approaches (cf. Flick 1998 : 178). Sooner or later texts become the basis of interpretative work. The main point is to understand a text, for instance an interview or an observation that has been documented and to understand and comprehend each research case (cf. Flick 1998 : 214). For the interpretation of data as well as for data collection it has to be taken into consideration that not every method is appropriate for every case. Which method is chosen depends on the research project as such and its research questions, the aim of the research and the data that has been collected (cf. Flick 1998 : 215). In some approaches, data interpretation is a secondary step following more or less refined techniques of data collection, for instance in the Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. Mayring 2000), which I used for interpreting my data.

Interpretation of texts may pursue two opposite goals. One is the revealing, uncovering or contextualizing of statements in the text which normally leads to an augmentation of the textual material; for short passages in the text, page-long interpretations are sometimes written. The other aims at reducing the original text by paraphrasing, summarizing or categorizing. These two strategies are applied either alternatively or successively (cf. Flick 1998 : 178).

Qualitative Content Analysis follows the second aim of reducing material as it uses strategies of paraphrasing and categorizing to summarize the original text. In the following I will introduce the different techniques of Qualitative Content Analysis in more detail after giving reasons why I used this method.

Content analysis is one of the classical procedures for analysing texts and therefore also interview data. The use of categories plays an important part in this method which opposite to other approaches aims at reducing the material. *“Mayring (2000) has developed a procedure for a qualitative content analysis, which includes a procedural model of text analysis and different techniques for applying it”* (cf. Flick 1998 : 193). This procedure seems less ambiguous, clearer and easier to handle than other ways of interpreting data as the material is reduced and rules are formulated. The formalization of this approach produces a uniform

schema of categories. This makes the comparison of different cases more convenient (cf. Flick 1998 : 195). The method is not fixed upon a theory or a certain theoretical background in which it can be applied. Qualitative Content Analysis is mainly used for analysing subjective viewpoints, which are collected in semi-structured interviews (cf. *ibid.*). This was also the case in my research project as I was interested in the subjective viewpoints of my research partners, or more precisely in their concept of language teaching awareness.

The procedural model which Mayring (2000) developed begins with defining the text and the interviews or certain parts of them that will be analysed to find answers to the research questions. The second step is to describe the situation in which the data was collected, namely the research field or the interview situation. In the third step, it is described how the material was documented and how it was transcribed what Mayring calls formal characterization (cf. Mayring 2000 : 46 - 48). In the fourth step one has to define the direction of the analysis for the material one selected meaning that one has to decide “what one actually wants to interpret out of them” (cf. *ibid.* : 50). The next step further differentiates the research question. The research question for the analysis has to be clearly defined and has to be differentiated in subquestions. Afterwards one of the three techniques of Qualitative Content Analysis Mayring (2000) suggests is chosen to analyse the collected data. Finally, analytic units have to be defined. These are the “coding unit”, “contextual unit” and “analytic unit” (cf. Flick 1998 : 193; Mayring 2000 : 53). I will describe the different analytic units I defined for my data analysis in more detail when introducing the technique of Qualitative Content Analysis I chose for my interpretation. At this point, the actual analysis is conducted and the results are interpreted in respect to the research question (cf. Flick 1998 : 193).

Three different techniques can be used for Qualitative Content Analysis. I will describe each technique briefly and give reasons why I chose to work with one of them mainly. In *summarizing content analysis*, the collected data which the researcher wants to analyse is paraphrased. Less relevant passages and paraphrases with the same meaning are skipped, which Mayring (2000) calls first reduction. In the second reduction, similar paraphrases are bundled and

summarized. By doing so the research data is summarized on a higher level of abstraction as statements which have been generalized before are left out, and therefore data is reduced (cf. Flick 1998 : 193 / 194; Mayring 2000 : 59 – 76). The second technique for Qualitative Content Analysis is *explicative content analysis*, which works in the opposite way than summarizing content analysis. By involving other material out of the context in the analysis, this technique wants to clarify ambiguous or contradictory passages out of the data (cf. Flick 1998 : 194; Mayring 2000 : 77 – 82). The third qualitative technique is *structuring content analysis*, which looks for types or formal structures in the material. “*Structuring is done on the formal, typifying, scalling level or as regards content*” (cf. Flick 1998 : 194; also Mayring 2000 : 82 – 99).³³

In my research project I decided to use Qualitative Content Analysis for the reasons mentioned above. I found that this method for analysing data can be adjusted to one’s own research context and questions and can be easily followed because of the detailed description of rules Mayring (2000) developed. According to the procedure I first of all had to define the material. I decided to analyse all four semi-standardized interviews I did with my research partners according to this method as every interview as a whole would be relevant for answering my research questions. In a second step I analysed the situation in which the data was collected, namely the interview situation. For this my research diary was a good source as I had also included a brief description of each interview situation.

I interviewed each teacher of my research sample by herself. At the first two interviews with Ruth and Jane the professor of the University of Port Elizabeth who was also involved in the module “Teaching Content and Language” and who assisted me in my research project, was present and observed the interview as well as adding a few questions at the end himself.³⁴ The two last interviews with Lydia and Sarah I carried out by myself without another observer being present (cf.

³³ The three different techniques for Qualitative Content Analysis could be described in a lot more detail, but as I concentrated in my analysis on summarizing content analysis I will describe this technique in the following more thoroughly and show how I made use of it in my own research project. For a detailed description see Mayring 2000.

³⁴ One could assume that this had an influence on the openness of the teachers in the course of the interview as their professor was present, but this was not the case due to the good relationship between this lecturer and the two teachers.

Appendix 2-5 Interviews with teachers). While Ruth, Jane and Sarah (cf. 4. Description of my Sample) were very outgoing and talkative, Lydia gave short answers to the questions of my interview guide, which meant that I as an interviewer had to prompt more in the third interview. Especially interview one, two and four resembled more a conversation than a formal interview due to the comfortable and relaxed atmosphere during the interview and also due to the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. These three interviews took approximately 60 minutes whereas the third interview with Lydia took only about 30 minutes as her answers were short and she was not very outgoing and talkative.

The formal characterization of my research data I already carried out in chapter 5 when describing how the data was documented and that the four interviews were transcribed according to the same rules (cf. 5.4.3. Transcription). The direction of my analysis was defined through my research questions. Through analysing the interviews I wanted to find out something about the teachers' concept of language teaching awareness. In the next step I chose the technique of Qualitative Content Analysis to analyse my interview data and decided to use summarizing content analysis for which I had to define the analytic units.

As "coding units" I chose all the data which I had highlighted when working through the interviews more closely, namely the parts on which I wanted to focus my analysis. My "contextual units" I defined as each question that was included in my interview guide. The "analytical units", which define what passages are analysed one after the other are the same in the summarizing content analysis as the "contextual units" and therefore also my interview questions which I followed in my analysis of data (cf. Mayring 2000 : 61). I then began to paraphrase the "coding units". In the following step I formulated the level of abstraction I used for my analysis. I decided to consider all comments of the teachers that might answer my research question whether the teachers have a concept of language teaching awareness. These would also include comments that describe what is part of their subjective concept of language teaching awareness. In a first step all paraphrases were generalized. If there are paraphrases with the same content one of them will be taken out. In a second step the remaining paraphrases were reduced as subcategories under the five main categories I chose for my data

analysis. These five categories are the same categories that originate from my definition of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms in South Africa, namely first **language**, secondly **awareness**, thirdly **teaching**, fourthly **South Africa** and fifthly **teachers in multilingual classes**. The results of this data analysis will be presented in chapter 8 (cf. 8. Discussion of the Results).³⁵

In this chapter it was shown how I analysed the semi-standardized interviews I did with my research partners according to Mayring's Qualitative Content Analysis. The other data I collected which I described in chapter 5 I summarized in a less profound way and used the main points for instance out of my observation or the other written data to get a first overview of each teacher of my research sample. Before the interview I summarized the different information about each teacher I found in the various data. Collecting other forms of data and analysing it in the course of my research project helped me to eventually formulate the questions in my interview guide. I will also use the findings of my other research data to back up the results I gained out of the Qualitative Content Analysis of the interviews by triangulation of data as I will show in the following chapter (cf. 7. Grounding Qualitative Research).

³⁵ To give a better example of how I analysed my data and how I used Mayring's summarizing content analysis I will add a detailed table of analysis to the appendix of this thesis, in which every step of analysis can be followed as it includes the original material, the paraphrases, the generalizations and the final reductions (cf. Appendix 7-10 Summarizing Content Analysis).

7. Grounding Qualitative Research

This chapter describes different ways of grounding qualitative research. “The problem of how to assess qualitative research has not yet been solved” (cf. Flick 1998 : 221). This problem can be summarized in the following questions: How can the procedure and results of qualitative research be best assessed and which criteria should be used? How can one present procedures and results of qualitative research (cf. Flick 1998 : 222)?

Central questions are how appropriately each case (whether a subject or a field) has been reconstructed, with how much openness it was approached, and what controls have been installed in the research process in order to assess this openness. One starting point is to problematize the construction of social realities in the field under study and in the research process. The decisive question, however, is whose constructions were addressed and were successful in the process of knowledge production and in the formulation of the results – those of the researcher, or those met in the studied field. Grounding qualitative research becomes a question of analysing the research as process (cf. Flick 1998 : 237 / 238).

There are different alternatives for grounding qualitative research. One could either apply traditional criteria like validity or reliability or reformulate those so that they would fit into the context of qualitative research, or one could develop new, specific “method-appropriate” criteria for qualitative research. Flick (1998) states that neither of these criteria “*has yet given a really satisfactory answer to the problem of grounding qualitative research*” (cf. Flick 1998 : 238), so in my research process I decided to use the criteria of validity (and more precisely content validity and communicative validation) and triangulation, which can be seen as an alternative to validation. These different criteria will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

The reason why I decided to apply the criteria of validity instead of reliability is that in the discussions about grounding qualitative research, validity receives more attention than reliability (cf. Flick 1998 : 224). Validity asks whether the results that have been gained correspond to the real situation in which the results have been gathered. It “*can be summarized as a question whether the researcher sees what he or she thinks he or she sees*” (cited in Flick 1998 : 224 / 225). A question that follows is whether the researcher’s constructions are grounded in the

constructions of the research partners and therefore in the research field and in how far this is transparent for others. Therefore the production of the data becomes an important part of judging validity (cf. *ibid.* : 225). Before introducing another version of validity which involves the research partners, namely communicative validation, I briefly want to mention content validity, which is seen by some researchers as the most important form of validity in qualitative research. Content validity requires that the selection of the research methods and instruments should meet the complexity of the theoretical construct (cf. Fröhlich 2000 : 455). A general tendency in grounding qualitative research is that there is “a shift from validity to validation and from assessing the individual step or part of the research towards increasing the transparency of the research process as a whole” (cf. Flick 1998 : 229).³⁶

7.1. Communicative Validation

One possibility to specify validity aims at involving the research partners in the research process. This form of validity is called communicative validation or member-checking. Communicative validation is done at a second meeting after the interview and its transcription. As one possibility for communicative validation I introduced the structure-formation-technique (cf. Groeben et. al. 1988, 1.1. Subjective Theories & 5.2.1. Structure-Formation-Technique). In communicative validation, further authenticity is achieved through the agreement of the research partners with the contents of the main statements after the interview. The interviewee can structure his or her own statements him or herself which helps the researcher to find the complex relations he or she is looking for in the research project, for instance when reconstructing subjective theories. For a more general application of such strategies further questions have to be answered like how one can design a procedure for communicative validation that does

³⁶ I did not use the specific content-analytical criteria for grounding qualitative research which Mayring (2000) suggests as these were not applicable in the context of my research project (cf. Mayring 2000 : 111-115).

justice to the issues under study and to the views of the research partners (cf. Flick 1998 : 226).

In my research project I carried out communicative validation in the form of the structure-formation-technique in two cases (cf. chapter 5.2.1.). The results I gained from doing member-checking with two of the four teachers of my research sample showed me that I had summarized their statements out of the semi-standardized interview according to the teacher's own beliefs and attitudes. The subjective views of the teachers became even clearer when they put their own statements into a graphical presentation. To further ground my qualitative research I did not only use communicative validation but also triangulation of data.

7.2. Triangulation of Data

Triangulation in qualitative research means to apply a combination of different methods, study groups, local and temporal settings, and different theoretical perspectives in dealing with a phenomenon (cf. Flick 1998 : 229). As one type of triangulation one can use data triangulation, which refers to the application of different data sources. This form of triangulation has to be distinguished from the use of different methods for producing data (cf. *ibid.*), which I also used in my research project as I collected verbal, visual and other forms of written data using different methods. Triangulation was first conceptualised as a strategy for validating results before it was realised that a single method might limit the insights and results of a research process. Therefore it can now be applied as an approach to further ground qualitative research. "Grounding here does not mean to assess results but to systematically extend and complete the possibilities of knowledge production. Triangulation is less a strategy for validating results and procedures than an alternative to validation [...] which increases scope, depth and consistency in methodological proceedings" (cf. Flick 1998 : 230).

8. Discussion of the Results

After showing how qualitative research can be grounded and introducing the methods of communicative validation and triangulation of data which I used in my research project in the previous chapter, this chapter will discuss the findings that were gathered when investigating the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms of South Africa. In this matter it is important to consider that “findings should not be viewed as the end result, but more as the beginning of new knowledge” (cited in Olivier 2002 : 4).

I shall at this point repeat the research questions which were posed in chapter 1 and 2 to recall which questions my research project wants to answer. Firstly, these were research questions enquiring about the *values* of the teachers:

- **In how far are teachers in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, in the year 2002 aware of multilingualism in their classroom and how sensitive are they towards learners whose mother tongue is not the language of instruction in this multilingual context?**
- **How do these teachers value multilingualism in their classroom?**
- **What significance has / have the mother tongue and other languages, which the teachers speaks in this multilingual context?**

The research questions which were posed in the second chapter look at the *action* of the teachers:

- **What has changed for teachers ever since classes in South Africa have become more and more mixed and are no longer divided into different mother-tongue speakers' groups?**
- **What are the strategies of teachers for teaching in the multilingual context of South Africa?**
- **What kind of qualities has, in the opinion of the teachers, an ideal teacher in this multilingual context and how can such a teacher be equipped with these qualities?**

Before presenting my findings I will give a brief summary of the concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms of South Africa as I developed it in this thesis in chapter 1, 2 and 3 when giving the theoretical background of my research project. In the second part of chapter 8 I shall present my research findings which I gathered through the collection and documentation of visual, verbal and written data (cf. 5. Data Collection and Documentation of Data) and the interpretation of data according to Mayring's Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. 6. Interpretation of Data & Mayring 2000). As I already did in chapter 4 when describing my research sample I shall present Ruth, Jane, Lydia and Sarah individually according to their concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms of South Africa. As my research project aims at the thorough and detailed description of each heterogeneous case I will not directly compare the four teachers, but rather show their individual concepts. In case it would be worthwhile one could show the differences between the four teachers of my research sample when looking at their individual concept of language teaching awareness to prove the variation in the sample as a final step in this chapter.

As I already did when describing the theory I shall again use the five categories **language, awareness, teaching, South Africa and teachers in multilingual classrooms** when presenting the findings of my research project. The results will be offered in the form of eminent sub-categories which I subsumed under the five main categories according to Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. Appendix 7-10 Summarizing Content Analysis). These will be substantiated by direct verbatim quotes from the transcriptions and references from other data I collected in the course of my research project (cf. Olivier 2002 : 4).

8.1. Language Teaching Awareness of Teachers in Multilingual Classes in South Africa

Language teaching awareness is the awareness teachers should have when teaching languages. The point I would like to stress is that all teachers should have language teaching awareness no matter which subject they teach. It is not the responsibility of the language teacher alone. Every teacher is a language teacher even if he or she teaches a content subject like Mathematics or Economics. For the special situation of South Africa in which my research project took place the concept of language teaching awareness is closely linked to the responsibility of teachers when teaching languages. Being a multilingual country with 11 official languages since 1996, the language issue is still widely discussed in post-Apartheid South Africa, especially when looking at language in education policy. It is important to raise the value of each of the 11 official languages, which could be achieved through an additive approach of bilingualism that maintains the mother-tongue of the learners. In South Africa it is increasingly important to speak more than one language so that it will become a characteristic of being South African to be multilingual. Therefore the concept of language teaching awareness is also linked to the linguistic background of the teachers and their own language proficiency. Teachers in South Africa should receive special training to be prepared to teach in linguistically diverse classes, as the module “Teaching Content and Language” aimed at. In the following subchapters, I will also consider the question whether the module TCL might have had an influence on the concept of language teaching awareness of Ruth, Jane, Lydia and Sarah when presenting the findings for each of the four teachers of my research sample.

8.1.1. Ruth’s Concept of Language Teaching Awareness of Teachers in Multilingual Classes in South Africa

Ruth is a white primary school teacher in her late forties. Her mother-tongue is English, and the renown and privileged former white school for girls where she

teaches at grade 2 level is an English medium school (cf. chapter 4.1.). As I had the chance to visit her school and observe her classes on a regular basis, we had gotten to know each other quite well by the time I conducted the interview. It took place at Ruth's home and lasted for about 60 minutes. Owing to our friendly relationship the atmosphere was very relaxed and comfortable which made it seem more like a normal conversation instead of an interview. I did not have to prompt very much as an interviewer as Ruth was very outgoing and talkative. Also in regard to other forms of data I collected, for instance during my observations in her classroom or by making the written data like the questionnaire available, I found Ruth a cooperative research partner.

In the following parts of this subchapter I shall discuss my research findings of Ruth's concept of language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms of South Africa according to each of the five categories. As I mentioned before, I will offer the results in eminent sub-categories, which will be substantiated by direct verbatim quotes as examples from the transcriptions and references from the other research data. As a summary of this subchapter I shall try to answer the research questions looking at the values and the action of the teacher and try to show the dimension in which the module "Teaching Content and Language" might have had an influence on Ruth's language teaching awareness.³⁷

In regard to **language**, Ruth believes that interaction is important (1.)³⁸, and she finds it inspiring to learn about languages and to be able to use it in the classroom (2.). She has an interest in language (3.) and would like to learn other languages like Xhosa to be able to speak the mother-tongues of her pupils beside Afrikaans, which is an additional language she knows (4.). Ruth believes that determination and intelligence is essential in a person in a learning situation, for instance when learning a language (5.), but she also realises the difficulties a learner can have when having to learn in a second or third language. She thinks that it might even

³⁷ This procedure of presenting the results will be repeated in the following subchapters when discussing the concept of language teaching awareness of Jane, Lydia and Sarah.

³⁸ The numbers show which sub-category and which quote(s) belong together.

harm the child and therefore sees the importance of the mother-tongue in learning (6.):

1. *...you yearn for that interaction...³⁹*
2. *...I also did quite a few (modules) on language and that is also very interesting. I could relate, which was such a plus factor for me. I was inspired...*
3. *...I love playing with words and language – and I'm fascinated by maybe the development of language...⁴⁰*
4. *...I would love to learn to speak Xhosa...*
5. *...it just showed me how, through sheer determination and a certain amount of intelligence, they can and will strive in a school where their language is not the target language...*
6. *...What about that poor child for whom it is a second language – and they have to think in their mother-tongue and then translate? It's just going to make them introverted and inhibited...
...how difficult it must be to try and converse, never mind study and understand, in a second or third language...
...why can't the children who are Xhosa speaking brainstorm in Xhosa...*

In the second category awareness, I found the following sub-categories when analysing the interview: Ruth has changed her viewpoint in various respects, for instance which languages can be used in the classroom beside the medium of instruction and in regard to correcting mistakes in creative work like writing assignments (1.) and believes that changes are necessary and possible, even though it is not easy when you have been teaching for a long time (2.). She realises the importance of the cultural background of the learners (3.) and the stimulation they get in their home (4.). She is aware that foundation (5.) but also free flow (6.) is very important. To her mind a teacher needs to be open to be an ideal multilingual teacher (7.):

1. *...this was an English school – and the children were to speak English and we were to encourage them to speak English. And I had that same viewpoint at that stage. But my opinion has changed and I think maybe through studies and seeing who the children are...
...I've also changed my mind totally with their creative work [...] when I first taught at grade 2 level I tried to change everything and correct everything [...]It's fine, it doesn't matter about spelling...*

³⁹ As space is limited, I shall in this chapter give only extracts out of the interview as quotations without the whole context. For the same reason I cannot give my interview questions which precede the answers of my research partners. For the whole interview see Appendix 2 Interview with Ruth.

⁴⁰ These and the following quotes are all taken from the interview I did with Ruth.

2. *...But the changes must come and will come – but it's difficult when you're old at teaching...*
...But I think there are ways. And again, we need to change and adapt to them...
...So if we changed our focus to be multilingual, there are ways and means of doing it...
3. *...I'm realising more and more that I need to understand where they are coming from...*
4. *...If she is hearing that incorrectly at home, maybe there's not the apparatus or material to stimulate that child...*
5. *...In our opinion, she didn't have a good, solid foundation. She had gaps in her education...*
6. *...I have realised how important it is for them to have free flow...*
...They should be allowed to – if you are going to brainstorm, thoughts must just flow...
7. *...So a true multilingual teacher needs, in my opinion, to be very open...*

When analysing the category of **teaching** I found the following sub-categories: Ruth enjoys teaching very much (1.) and thinks that you need to have a love for people to be a teacher (2.). She prefers teaching younger children (3.). Ruth believes that as a teacher one never stops learning (4.) and to further one's education is necessary to become a better teacher (5.). She emphasizes the qualitative education she gained at her teacher training college (6.). Ruth prefers the practical side of further education (7.) and believes that teaching should be close to real life (8.):

1. *...I enjoy all of it. [...] from way back I knew what I wanted to do...*
2. *...To be a teacher, you've got to have a love for people...*
3. *...I realised that the little ones had a draw for me and I enjoyed them very much [...] I was enjoying it so much in grade 2. I [...] feel in love with grade 2...*
4. *...you never, ever stop learning...*
5. *...I really felt it was necessary to upgrade the diploma to a degree...*
...the information helped me to be a better teacher and a better colleague...
6. *...At a well known institution in Grahamstown – a very good name. Every teacher who trained there was a good teacher...*
7. *...I think there's nothing worse than studying something that you can't actually use – and all the modules I did were very practical...*
8. *...When you learn it and sit up and think "It's true – why don't we do this in teaching? It's what happens in the real world"...*

In regard to the fourth category **South Africa**, Ruth states that she is teaching at a privileged school which makes teaching a lot easier (1.). Although her viewpoint changed in many respects she feels that Apartheid culture was and still is

ingrained and that it takes time to overcome it (2.). Opposite to older generations the new generation of the children who have been attending the same school right from the beginning and are no longer separated according to colour or race do not seem to notice different skin colours anymore (3.). Ruth remembers that she did not use to be as empathetic towards second language learners (4.). She still regards English as the language of power, which enables one to have a better future and thinks that it therefore should be the language of instruction in schools (5.). When the integrated system started, Ruth believed that the pupils should speak English and not in other languages as it is an English medium school at which she teaches. For her it is still a challenge to change this attitude (6.). Nowadays pupils are tested if they are not mother-tongue speakers of English (7.), and if they cannot cope with the standard of language they are advised to attend another school in their own mother-tongue (8.):

1. *...Our children are of a middle to upper class type of child – and it makes teaching a lot easier. [...] So I feel very privileged to teach in such a well run, well resourced school – and it makes teaching a pleasure...*
2. *...I think that Apartheid culture is so ingrained ...was ingrained in our generation. But it definitely took time to even hug a black child, never mind kiss a black child – and it's now very natural for me – but it took a while. It's a very sad thing [...]. But it was always ingrained in our culture that they were different – but now we see them all the same...*
3. *...because the children themselves don't see a colour difference...*
4. *...But I don't think in the past I've been as empathetic towards the children who don't have English as a second or even third language...*
5. *...Because English is the language of power to a point – you know if you go through on the Internet, you are going to go through in English – there is just so much that is English. Even our parliament is speaking English. Our country is focusing towards English, being one of the international languages...
...If I was a Xhosa speaking parent, even though I knew that my child's own mother-tongue and culture might suffer, for the benefit of him or her in the future, I would want her to have English as a first language in instruction. Because ultimately it's going to be a better life for her or him...*
6. *...I think I was terribly influenced by one of the higher order teachers, in that we were told from the beginning, when this integrated system started, that this was an English school...
...I think it's so ingrown in me that one must speak the language of the school, which is English. And it's actually quite sad...*
7. *...They are still allowed to come in, but they are tested to a point. We must see their level. We're probably doing the child a disfavour by allowing them to come into the school if they are not at the level that the rest of the children are at...*

8. *...Sometimes they are better off at schools where they can speak their own tongue...
...If they are way behind, it's just going to be too difficult for them to slot in – so we suggest a low level – and maybe they need to go to a school where the standards are not as high...*

In the final and fifth category **teachers in multilingual classrooms** I found the following sub-categories: since schools in South Africa have an integrated system also in Ruth's classes there have been learners with various mother-tongues (1.). Nevertheless no other languages beside English are used on a large scale in class as it is an English medium school (2.). Ruth believes that all learners nowadays have the same foundation through pre-primary classes and grade 1 (3.). The school offers classes for all learners with language problems, regardless whether they are first or second language speakers of English (4.). Learners can function as "interpreters" if the teacher does not speak the language of the pupils in a multilingual classroom (5.). Language and culture should be used as a resource (6.). Especially reading should be encouraged in the multilingual classroom (7.). In Ruth's opinion, dual medium teaching does not support language learning (8.):

1. *...particularly in the last 8 years [...] there are a number of languages...*
2. *...But when we're teaching English, we don't always bring in a word from the vocabulary from another language...*
3. *...But the children that we teach, or have taught, in the last 3 or 4 years, have come right from the bottom – from the pre-primary – so they are getting exactly the same education as the rest (mother-tongue speakers and non-mother-tongue speakers) - the same foundation as the rest – and therefore they are keeping up...*
4. *...we have lessons where we have to take them for language [...] and it not just children whose mother-tongue is not English. It can be English mother-tongue speakers whose language is not fully developed...*
5. *...it's lovely to have children from another language – particularly like Afrikaans – it helps when we're teaching and the children are learning Afrikaans to have the real, pure pronunciation from these little children...*
6. *...They [the learners, R.T.] should feel free to bring in those specific areas of culture. So we do encourage it...*
7. *...So we try as much as possible to encourage them to read. I think a child that is encouraged to read sees and absorbs the written word and therefore can progress at a faster rate. [...] The children who suffer are usually the ones who don't have the reading skills and are not stimulated at home to read...*
8. *...It possibly makes the child who is learning the target language lazy because they will only want to hear their own. [...] the child who needs to learn, for example English, and is having the teacher do her own Afrikaans in between is not going to learn the English...*

After looking at each of the five categories with their sub-categories and quotes out of the interview, it can be seen that Ruth is aware of multilingualism and learners with various linguistic backgrounds in her classroom. As she has changed her viewpoint within the last 8 years and feels more empathetic towards second language learners nowadays I would say that she has a certain sensitivity towards learners whose mother-tongue is not the language of instruction in the English medium school. She realizes that the mother-tongue plays an important part in learning and therefore begins to see language and culture as a resource in her classroom even though she sometimes finds it difficult to change her teaching concepts as she has been teaching for many years. Ruth also realizes that it would be important as a teacher to know the mother-tongues of the learners and has made attempts to learn for instance Xhosa. When working with the worksheet “Getting to know each other’s linguistic background” (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 1, 2) in the module “Teaching Content and Language” Ruth quotes as her most important discovery that she is “very monolingual” (cf. chapter 5.3.)⁴¹. According to Ruth, an ideal multilingual teacher would be best equipped with knowing the mother-tongues of the learners and has to be very open.

It is interesting that this teacher states so openly how strong the influence of the Apartheid culture was on her thinking and acting, and that it took a certain time to overcome these beliefs. Even though she has changed certain viewpoints it became clear in the course of the interview that for her English is still the most important language of instruction as well as in the South African society. She seems to be rather sceptical about bilingual teaching and quotes in an assignment in her study guide when asked about problems she has encountered with bilingual teaching that it “weakens both languages”. On the other hand she writes in an assignment for the module TCL:

...I agree with Neville Alexander that African languages need to be nurtured in order to strengthen cultural understanding [...] Concept development and exploration is far easier and can be taken further in the mother-tongue than in the second language, [...] and a defining characteristic of being

⁴¹ From now on I will also give quotations out of other research data I collected, mainly out of the other written data (cf. 5.3. Other Written Data).

South African would be having the ability to be termed bilingual, if not multilingual...

Nevertheless I would say that the mixed classes she teaches which are no longer divided into different mother-tongue speakers groups have not so much changed her way of teaching or led to the development of new strategies for teaching in this multilingual context. In the questionnaire I developed, Ruth states that her teaching experiences for many years involved all first language learners and that only in the last 8 years second and third language learners have been in her classroom (cf. chapter 5.3.). It is evident how these teaching experiences have had an influence on her beliefs and attitudes as a teacher and also on her concept of language teaching awareness. This teacher is willing to bring different languages and cultures into the classroom and therefore has come quite far within the last 8 years when she describes in a very open way how she had to get used to hugging a black child and that it now seems very natural to her.

Whenever I observed in her classroom, I always witnessed that this teacher is dedicated to teaching. During the course of my research, Ruth was interested to try out new things to break down teaching routines which might not be apt to new challenges and demands when teaching in the multilingual context of South Africa. Therefore I think that attending the module “Teaching Content and Language” might have had an influence on her concept of language teaching awareness. In the questionnaire for instance she quotes that she realized the importance to differentiate between the different levels of language and that “specialist language [...] may well be confusing to the second language learner” (cf. chapter 5.3.). This gives me the idea that Ruth is now more aware when teaching in a multilingual classroom that she is a language teacher no matter which subject she teaches.

8.1.2. Jane's Concept of Language Teaching Awareness of Teachers in Multilingual Classes in South Africa

Jane is a white secondary teacher in her early fifties. Her mother-tongue is English. The secondary school for boys and girls where Jane teaches Mathematics used to be a former white school. It is an English medium school and belongs to the more privileged schools in the city of Port Elizabeth (cf. chapter 4.2.). Even though I did not visit her school on such a regular basis as Ruth's, I also got to know Jane quite well in the course of the module "Teaching Content and Language" and by meeting her for the interview and the member-checking. The interview took place at a private home and lasted as the interview with Ruth about 60 minutes. Also the interview with Jane was conducted in a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere due to the good relationship between researcher and research partner and resembled more a conversation than an interview situation. Jane was very outgoing and talkative which made it easy for me as an interviewer as I did not have to prompt very much. Also in regard to the collection of the other research data I perceived Jane as a cooperative research partner who would always spend her time and energy in the course of my project.

When analyzing the semi-standardized interview according to Qualitative Content Analysis (cf. 6. Interpretation of Data) I also subsumed various sub-categories to my five main categories. In regard to the first category **language**, Jane thinks that interaction is important (1.), which also includes body language (2.). She says that language has to be learned and used in the context of everyday life as this helps one to communicate (3.). Jane realises how relevant the mother-tongue is in learning (4.) and that it would be of help to speak the home languages of her learners (5.). She would want to learn other languages besides Afrikaans, which is an additional language she knows, but this want is not strong enough to make her actually do it (6.):

1. *...the research has been fantastic because you are actually interacting with children and you're gleaning things from them...*
2. *...Their body language and their tone of voice can tell you whether they are chatting or not...*

3. *...because we actually never had a situation where we spoke colloquially to Afrikaans people. We had a teacher who taught us the vocab – and in strange situations [...] and we talked about “going shopping” and “my holiday” – this stilted sort of environment...
...it’s not really helping you to communicate...*
4. *...I know that our black students must learn in their mother-tongue. And this business of changing them over in grade 2, or whatever it is, is ridiculous...*
5. *...I’d love to – but I am utterly useless with languages...*
6. *...You have to want to learn it. I know I have a need to learn Xhosa, but my want isn’t big enough to make me actually do it...
...but unfortunately it’s not important enough for me to move my butt and do something about it. I should, but I’m not...*

In regard to the second category **awareness**, Jane believes that background knowledge of the pupils (1.) and a need to learn other languages (2.) is as important as the cultural background of a learner (3.). She realizes how helpful sharing is, for instance with other colleagues as it was the case in the module “Teaching Content and Language” (4.) and that one needs changes (5.). Jane is aware of how to use language when teaching Maths (6.):

1. *...because he’s got that background – a very good mathematical brain...*
2. *...Perhaps that’s what we have to engender in these kids – a need...*
3. *...you just have to know their background and their culture and what makes them tick. And the taboo subjects...*
4. *...I found it very useful doing that lesson plan, too, together. That was very nice because we picked up ideas from each other – things we wouldn’t have thought of...*
5. *...We need a different type of intervention altogether...*
6. *...so we are aware of misconceptions. And I suppose one is more aware, teaching Maths, of how to use the language...*

In the third category **teaching**, Jane says that she enjoys teaching very much (1.). For her it is essential to participate in further education programs as she feels that she is losing her energy and enthusiasm after teaching for nearly 30 years (2.). Jane is especially interested in research when upgrading her qualifications (3.) as she does not so much want the theory, but rather the practical side of teaching (4.). She believes that certain contents in extra qualification courses should already be integrated into first phase teacher training (5.):

1. *...I'm going to miss teaching tremendously because I find the children very, very rewarding...*
2. *...I think that's why I've started my Honours now. Because I just need something more. I'm getting a bit bored with teaching. Rather, I think that I'm losing my energy, my enthusiasm...*
3. *...I like the research we've had to do...*
4. *...One gets to the stage where you can have enough theory. You've taught for so long and you think: I don't need somebody to tell me the theory of teaching – it's the practical I want. I want good ideas and different ideas. It's all very well saying: you must make teaching relevant. So teach me how to. I want practical things...*
5. *...the courses. Like we've done now (cf. the module "Teaching Content and Language", R.T.). I think those sort of courses should go straight into the teacher training. I think there should be something at the first level teacher training – particularly in South Africa. Because one has to be aware of all the things that we've been learning about...*

In regard to the fourth category **South Africa**, Jane mentions that during the Apartheid era African languages were not learned (1.). As her school is an English medium school she would not use any other languages beside English in class (2.). Jane feels rather ambivalent about the additive approach of bilingualism, which for instance Neville Alexander supports, and thinks that the theory is perfect but wonders whether it is the right method for South Africa (3.). She still sees English as the language of power (4.):

1. *...It's a great pity and it's perhaps historical that we never learnt the African languages...*
2. *...Basically the philosophy of the school is "we're an English medium school – if you want to come here, please make sure you're proficient in English" ... I understand it (Afrikaans, R.T.) and I can speak it, but we don't speak it in class...
...So the people who come to [...] want English...*
3. *...The theory is perfect, but I just don't know if it's right in South Africa...*
4. *...Unfortunately, with English being so powerful, we have this feeling that we don't need to learn other people's languages – because they'll talk our language anyway. I know that's an awful attitude to have, but that's how it is in South Africa, at least...*

In the final and fifth category **teachers in multilingual classes**, I found the following sub-categories: Also in Jane's classroom there are different mother-tongue speakers (1.). Some of the pupils do not speak pure English as they often

⁴² To guarantee the anonymity of the teacher I leave out the name of her school.

mix two languages (2.). As she is always speaking English, Jane feels second language learners are not catered for (3.) as there are no second language classes (4.). Jane feels that in the subject of Maths the pupils are not so much learning language as it is a content subject (5.). Having different mother-tongue speakers in her class has not led to changes as in Maths one uses a simplified form of language anyway (6.). Jane believes that the standard should not be dropped (7.). In multilingual classes she regards group work as important in which learners can help each other (8.). They are allowed to use their mother-tongue when working in groups (9.). Jane feels that dual medium teaching does not support language learning (10.), and she also finds total submersion not very effective (11.). She believes language learning should occur in a motivating way as it is the case in foreign language courses (12.):

1. *...Mainly English. Some Xhosa, but not a majority in the classes. You probably find that you have 6 or 7 that are not English speakers...*
2. *... we must clarify mother-tongue English, but it's not pure English. A lot of the coloured folk speak almost a dialect, would you say? Their English is very, very different in their homes – from the English that we teach at school [...] they have a mishmash of English and Afrikaans – and that is their mother-tongue...*
3. *...Well, we don't cater for them. I think that's the saddest thing of all. I can't cater for them because I speak English all the time. I can explain and paraphrase, but I can't speak Xhosa...
...I just know that we've got to have more support in English teaching that we aren't giving these children...*
4. *...The policy of our school is that it's an English medium school and you must have some modicum of conversational English. They don't provide intervention courses...*
5. *...Whether he's learning much English in my class, I don't know – but he's learning a lot of mathematical terms. And it's not necessarily going to help him conversationally, but it'll certainly help him mathematically...*
6. *...As far as using the language goes, the situation is the same. In Maths we still got to define and speak simply...*
7. *...I am more aware of speaking simply, but I'm also very aware that you can't talk down...*
8. *...that's why we sit in groups. Because then I find that they can ask each other, rather than asking in the class...
...and often you find that they explain to each other in Xhosa...*
9. *...They can talk in whatever language they want to – as long as they are dealing with the subject at hand...*
10. *...although I was in a dual medium school and I taught in a dual medium school for years [...] Even then, there wasn't much contact between the children. There were the Afrikaans speaking children, there were the black*

children and there were the English speaking children – and it was amazing that they did not socialise very much...

11. *...Total submersion doesn't work either, because you have to be credibly intelligent to cope...*
12. *...Now that to me is where we must be teaching a second language – in that sort of fun way. That, to me, is the ideal opportunity [...] And where it is not dependant on the language as to whether you'll pass or fail...*

Looking at the five categories and their sub-categories shows that Jane is a teacher who is aware of multilingualism in her classroom. I would also say that she is sensitive towards learners whose mother-tongue is not the medium of instruction as she realizes that second language learners are often not catered for. Jane tries to overcome communication problems in this multilingual context by using teaching methods like group work and allows her pupils to use their mother-tongue in class, which can be seen as a teaching strategy. I do not think though that this teacher values multilingualism in her classroom to a large extent or sees it as a resource and rather thinks that the ultimate goal for second language learners is to learn English as quickly as possible as her school is an English medium school. Although Jane realizes the significance of knowing the mother-tongues of her pupils, it is not important enough for her to actually learn other languages. She says herself that having learners of various linguistic backgrounds in her classroom has not necessarily changed her way of teaching or how she uses language. As a teacher of Maths one would always try to speak in a simple way and paraphrase. As Jane mentions herself that an ideal multilingual teacher would be “one who can understand the languages in the class of your students” (cf. Appendix 3 Interview with Jane) and who knows the background and the culture, it becomes obvious that Jane herself is not equipped with this kind of qualities. This is especially interesting when remembering her ambivalence towards additive bilingualism and comparing it with what she writes in an assignment for the module “Teaching Content and Language”:

...I agree with Neville Alexander that a language policy of additive bilingualism is the correct path to take in South Africa. I just feel frustrated that the time frame is so extended. There must be a policy of accelerated training for in-service teachers in English and in the African languages. [...] There are not enough teachers who are multilingual...⁴³

⁴³ The quote is taken from the other written data (cf. 5.3.), but due to lack of space this data will not be included in the Appendix.

Even though Jane is aware of multilingualism in her classroom and also of the difficulties for second language learners, she does not seem to be aware that she is a language teacher as well as a content subject teacher. She says herself that in her class pupils would not learn language which she justifies with teaching a content subject. At the same time it becomes obvious that Jane is not one of the teachers whose lassitude and indolence in the education system stops her from upgrading her qualification. Contrary to this I got the impression that Jane belongs to these teachers who are still motivated to learn new matters. After completing the module TCL she writes in the questionnaire (cf. chapter 5.3.) that she has become more aware of her lack of bilingualism and how it effects her communication. Therefore I would argue that her concept of language teaching awareness has undergone a few changes while dealing with the problem of teachers in the multilingual context of South Africa. Her first goal is to “learn how to pronounce Xhosa names properly for a start”.

8.1.3. Lydia’s Concept of Language Teaching Awareness of Teachers in Multilingual Classes in South Africa

Lydia is a coloured secondary teacher in her late forties. Her mother-tongue is Afrikaans. The secondary school for boys and girls at which Lydia teaches Economics is a former Coloured school. It is an Afrikaans medium school which belongs to the less privileged schools in the city of Port Elizabeth (cf. chapter 4.3.). I got to know Lydia in the course of the module “Teaching Content and Language”. When comparing her with the three other teachers of my research sample, she would be the one I was least familiar with as she was less open and outgoing. I also had the chance to visit her school, but to a lesser extent than for instance Ruth’s school. The interview took place at the university and lasted only for about 30 minutes, which was a lot shorter than the other three interviews. The interviewee was less talkative and a lot more shy and less self-confident in general than the three other teachers of my research sample. In the course of the interview I had to prompt quite a lot as Lydia would give quick and short answers to the questions of my interview guide. It was more difficult to make arrangements with

Lydia as her time was rather limited due to the workload at school. This might be the reason why I found her to a certain extent less cooperative in the course of my research project.

When analysing the semi-standardized interview I did not find as many sub-categories to each category as the interview as such was not as long as the three others. In regard to **language**, Lydia thinks that it should be learned at an early age (1.). She realises that it must be difficult for second language learners to attend classes in which the medium of instruction is not their mother-tongue (2.). It would be important to know the languages of the learners when a teacher realizes a child does not understand the instructions or the content (3.). Lydia speaks Xhosa, which is the mother-tongue of some of her pupils, on a conversational level, but she would not use it in class (4.):

1. *...So it's better for those children to start learning Xhosa at an early age – and to be able to speak the language and understand and carry on with it...*
2. *...It is difficult for the children, I suppose, seeing that Afrikaans is not their first language...*
3. *...If you feel that child really doesn't understand the instructions or the content or you as a teacher ...*
4. *...I speak a little conversational Xhosa and I understand it as well...
...Only on a conversational level, but not on a teaching level...*

In regard to the second category **awareness**, Lydia is aware that the language which is used in the classroom does not always have to be correct and that it is also possible to use the learners' language (1.). She realizes that different cultures come together in one class where pupils have different linguistic backgrounds (2.). Often it is a problem for her that the number of pupils in one class is very high which makes it difficult to give special attention to individual learners, for instance second language learners (3.):

1. *...it was really interesting to know that there are other avenues that you can explore as well – if you teach a language, for instance, everything doesn't have to be grammatically correct. You feel that you can use the children's language as well...*
2. *...in terms of how you address the pupils – seeing that you have different cultures as well in your class...*

3. *...This is very difficult because you can't put 46 children in a class – you can't give those children special attention. You need to finish your work. You try to help them...
...the numbers make it difficult. You try to explain to them and give them the correct words and explain how to use them - but in terms of individual attention, it's difficult...*

When looking at the third category **teaching**, it is important to empathize that Lydia is a teacher of a content subject and that she does not see herself as a language teacher (1.). She remembers that teaching used to be more exciting and fulfilling when she first started her job at school (2.) and that as a teacher one sometimes feels frustration (3.). Lydia thinks it is important to offer language courses in the higher education system, for instance at university (4.):

1. *...I don't teach languages as such...*
2. *...I really enjoyed it when I started teaching there. It was quite exciting, compared to what we have today. When we started it was more exciting and fulfilling...*
3. *...and it's frustrating for the teacher as well...*
4. *...But to go to college or university – to be part of that training – I don't know whether that (learning a language, R.T.) is possible. But it is necessary and important...*

In regard to the fourth category **South Africa**, I found out when analysing the interview that second language speakers of Afrikaans do not have to do a language test when they come to Lydia's school and that her school does not have a language policy yet besides being an Afrikaans medium school (1.). Her school does not offer second language classes for learners who do not speak Afrikaans as their mother-tongue (2.). If the language problems are too severe second language learners are sent to another school (3.):

1. *...Our school doesn't have a language policy yet. We are an Afrikaans speaking school and if the pupils come there and their mother-tongue is something else, the policy at this stage is still Afrikaans...*
2. *...We have problems in terms of that (second language classes, R.T.) because those kids aren't staying near the school. They have to travel distances to get to school – so it's difficult for them to stay after school...*
3. *...we usually take them. But if we see that the child really has a language problem, then we rather ask the parents to come and we ask the parents to put them into an English school...*

When analysing the final and fifth category **teachers in multilingual classrooms**, I found the following sub-categories in the interview I did with Lydia: The secondary school teacher realizes that having different mother-tongue speakers in her classroom means that she has to change the way she uses language (1.). Lydia explains that she can also use other languages besides Afrikaans, for instance English, to explain something (2.). Learners are allowed to use their mother-tongue (i.e. Xhosa) in class to help each other (3.):

1. *...Definitely it means you must make changes to your classes in terms of your language...*
2. *...There is a change in how you use language because it doesn't mean that you just have to use Afrikaans. You can use English words as well, just to explain to them. Most of them know (...things) and they don't know the Afrikaans for that. If you use the English word, they will know exactly what you are talking about...*
3. *...Yes, I do allow them because sometimes if they don't understand something those who understand will explain to them in their mother-tongue. For me, it's not a problem, as long as they understand what is expected of them...
...The other learners – Afrikaans speaking – also help them...*

After analysing the semi-standardized interview according to the five categories, one could say that Lydia is aware of multilingualism in her classroom. She realizes that one has to be sensitive towards learners whose mother-tongue is not the language of instruction in this multilingual context. In practice, she often cannot realise this awareness due to the large number of pupils which make individual attention difficult if not impossible. Therefore I would argue that Lydia is not able to esteem multilingualism in her classroom as highly as she might want to and to use the variety of languages and cultures as a resource. In contrast to Ruth and Jane, Lydia is multilingual herself and says that it would be important to speak the languages of the pupils. To her mind an ideal teacher in a multilingual classroom would be a teacher who is fluent in the languages of her learners. Again in practice she acts differently with not using Xhosa in class although she says herself that it makes it sometimes easier to be able to use an English word every now and then.

Since her classes became more and more mixed, Lydia had to change the way she addresses pupils if they come from different cultural backgrounds. Again the numbers of pupils make it difficult to implement changes. A strategy which Lydia

uses in her multilingual classroom is to allow learners to speak in their mother-tongue to help each other. As Lydia says herself in the interview that she is not teaching language as such as she is a teacher of a content subject I would argue that she is only to a certain extent aware that as a teacher in a multilingual classroom she is language teacher no matter which subject she teaches.

Even though this teacher of my sample seems to be rather shy for instance in an interview situation it became clear when analysing other data I had collected like the written assignments for the module “Teaching Content and Language” that Lydia is very engaged in the topic of multilingualism in classrooms. In an assignment about an essay of Neville Alexander promoting the advantages of additive bilingualism (cf. Study Guide Module PNM 518 “Teaching Content and Language” 2002 : Unit 1, 5) she writes that if people would have the knowledge of two or more national languages it would be easier to communicate across the barriers of colour, language and religion. She believes that children’s work can be improved when they use their mother-tongue. Bilingualism would help learners to participate in society and economy which makes it necessary that all official languages are promoted. Lydia also writes:

... If we take into consideration South Africa’s policy regarding multilingualism, then we must ask ourselves as teachers if we are ready and prepared to teach in more than one language. [...] Therefore I think it is every teacher’s prerogative to prepare for the challenge of learning one other traditional language to be able to communicate with their learners in a more effective and constructive manner...

To my mind this shows how involved Lydia is in this topic. She is multilingual herself and is taking the challenge to learn a traditional language (i.e. Xhosa). Therefore I would argue that her concept of language teaching awareness is quite developed, but that external circumstances like class sizes in a less privileged school hinder her to actually realise her knowledge and awareness.

Another aspect which I would like to mention is the assumption which I got in the course of my research project that Lydia as a Coloured and Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker belongs to the group of people in South Africa who might be less advantaged since the end of the Apartheid regime. During Apartheid, Afrikaans

speaking people had more rights and were better off than they are today to a certain extent, especially if they are not white. This to my mind became obvious when talking to Lydia as she seemed to be embittered about many recent changes in South Africa. She still used the terms “them” and “us” when differentiating herself from both Blacks and Whites. One could say that especially the white English speaking population profited after the end of Apartheid as Afrikaans is still seen as the language of Apartheid as well as Blacks who are supported by the affirmative action policy in South Africa. The people who lost advantages after the end of Apartheid are for instance coloured people who are mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans like Lydia.

8.1.4. Sarah’s Concept of Language Teaching Awareness of Teachers in Multilingual Classes in South Africa

Sarah is a black primary school teacher in her early thirties. Her mother-tongue is Xhosa. The joined farm school at which Sarah teaches at grade 2 level is a former black school. It is a Xhosa medium school which is supported by a community project and therefore belongs to the more privileged farm schools in the rural area of the Eastern Cape (cf. chapter 4.4.). As the farm school is a several hours drive away from the city of Port Elizabeth I could not visit Sarah and observe in her classroom on such a regular basis as I did for instance in Ruth’s school. Nevertheless, Sarah and I developed a friendly relationship in the course of the module “Teaching Content and Language” and had gotten to know each other quite well by the time I conducted the interview. This took place at the university and lasted about 60 minutes. Sarah was open and talkative, which made it easy for me as an interviewer as I did not have to prompt very much. Due to a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere the interview resembled more an informal conversation. In regard to the whole period of my research project I found Sarah an interested and cooperative research partner who would make special arrangements to come to Port Elizabeth to meet me for being interviewed.

When analysing the semi-standardized interview, I found the following sub-categories for the first category **language**: Sarah describes how she realised that language is the problem why a lot of learners struggle at school (1.) For her it became obvious that second language learners cannot always be on the same level as mother-tongue speakers (2.) and that the mother-tongue plays an important part in teaching and learning (3.) as well as body language (4.):

1. *...And I am fortunate because at school we realised that language is the problem...⁴⁴*
2. *...Because you can't expect a second language speaker to be in the same level with a person who is in the mother-tongue...*
3. *...they think your mother-tongue is not important because your mother-tongue you are not going to use anyway when you are working. And they believe when you are proficient in the second language you are good as anyone. And everybody honoured you because you can speak the language so fluent...*
4. *...Or else I'll be always using gestures to show body movement, to show that child what I really want to say...*

In regard to the second category **awareness**, Sarah believes that it is important to take into consideration the cognitive development of a child in a learning situation, especially when the child is a second language learner (1.). Sarah is aware of different cultures in a multilingual class (2.) and regards the background and the foundation in education of a child as relevant (3.). Therefore she stresses that learners should also work at home (4.). She thinks that free flow should be supported (5.):

1. *...Not knowing that we're talking about cognitive in order to apply for your academic and apprentice. They are debating only on the speaking or the fluency of the language, not on the cognitive or academic approach...*
2. *...You learn different ways of teaching, you learn different approaches of doing things according to different cultures, according to differences...*
3. *...it is very important to give learners a good background and good skills so that they can use it...*
4. *...He has struggled before. And then I started to send work at home...
...During holiday you'll give them books to read so that they read incidental through learning the phonemes...*
5. *...If it is an oral work or activity, I just give flow for the lesson...*

⁴⁴ As I take the original quotes out of the interview with Sarah these quotes are not always grammatically correct as Sarah is a second language speaker of English.

When looking at the third category **teaching**, Sarah thinks that the classroom atmosphere (1.) but also creativity (2.) is important. The content of a lesson must be relevant to the lives of the learners (3.). As one is always teaching and learning at the same time, Sarah supports in-service training. Further education also enables a teacher to share her knowledge with other colleagues (4.):

1. *...So I had to develop personally the classroom in terms of putting nice pictures and to build that [...] atmosphere for the learners – otherwise learners wouldn't move in, they escaped...*
2. *...And creativity is one things that I've learned as a teacher. [...] I'm developing my lessons and I focus on my creativity...*
3. *...and it must be always relevant to the level of the learners...*
4. *...And then we started with the in-service training meaning attending workshops...
...Because it is not about teaching, it is about teaching and learning. I learned from them, and they learned from me. So definitely my teaching will change...*

In regard to the fourth category **South Africa**, Sarah speaks of the legacy of Apartheid and that she did not have qualitative teacher training as she was educated under the system of Apartheid (1.). For her the aim now is to have “white education” for everyone in South Africa (2.). It is important to close the gap that has been created in the education system (3.) and to develop the community, for instance by educating parents (4.). Having the chance to communicate with the parents of the pupils makes teaching easier (5.):

1. *...If I look back I was not real as good because of the background of my training, also the background of the system when I was a scholar...*
2. *...So white education for all...*
3. *...You need to close the gap if there is a gap...*
4. *...because we've got a community project. So meaning that you are sharing same resources for the parents...
...Then we thought of developing the community because parents are illiterate...*
5. *...my teaching now is kind of simpler because I'm meeting a parent two times a week than before. Before there was no communication. And parents know nothing about what was in the school. But now we've got that bond between parents and the teachers, also teacher and learners...*

When analysing the final and fifth category **teachers in multilingual classrooms**, I found the following sub-categories: Also in Sarah's class there are second

language speakers of Xhosa (1.). Even though the school does not carry out an official test for these pupils, Sarah herself would always test new learners to find out which of them need extra help (2.). The school does not offer second language classes, but Sarah puts emphasis on the fact that most learners, whether they are first or second language speakers, have the same foundation through attending pre-primary classes (3.). Sarah feels that fluency in language often gives the wrong impression how well a learner knows a language (4.). She uses group work as a teaching method in which other learners can function as interpreters (5.). When learning about bilingual education, Sarah realized the damages of subtractive bilingualism and the advantages of additive bilingualism, even though she thinks that English has to keep its standard as a means for communication (6.). To her, it seems significant to have a multilingual teacher especially in the lower grades and that an ideal multilingual teacher would be a confident teacher (7.). Sarah would not use Afrikaans in class, which can also be seen as the legacy of Apartheid (8.):

1. *...I do have one Afrikaans speaker but the Coloureds are not using the language even in class...
...In the beginning it was only Xhosa...*
2. *...it's (i.e. a language test, R.T.) not in the institution of the school. It's something that I'm doing for my benefit. When I've got a new learner I always assess that learner. Because before I teach him or her I should know where the problems [...]. Then I will consider also that I've got learners who need help in those areas (i.e. in learning the language, R.T.)...*
3. *...we've got grade R. That is pre-school learning. There is a good improvement with the preparation for the first term...*
4. *...before we used to think that Xhosa learners who are studying in the white schools, we thought because they speak the language fluent...*
5. *...you are doing your group teaching. You will teach the whole class and then you give the one who understands the activity or the work, then you will leave behind with the one that you notice struggle...
...If I've got a bilingual learner meaning that I've got a learner who can understand or speak the language whom I can't speak. I use that learner as an interpret...*
6. *...because what we're doing from the previous year, we're doing some subtractive bilingualism. And we are not aware of the damage...
...I agree with additive bilingualism because I understand it is hoping...
...And before I started to know about the bilingual [...] I said oh we're losing. We're losing the standard because if everything is going to be in their mother-tongue one don't be proficient in other languages. But now I know the reason for doing it, it's about understanding instructions...*

- ...Because we still have to keep that standard of using a universal language.
We still have communicating in it...*
7. *...So I would love to see a multilingual teacher in the lower grades...
...a multilingual teacher, and that teacher is very confident, is good in
communication. And it helps that teacher to mix easily with other people
because of that confidence of the using the language...*
8. *...So really for me to learn more about the language (i.e. Afrikaans, R.T.), it's
something that I'm not going to apply in the classroom when I'm
teaching...
...I never use it (i.e. Afrikaans, R.T.) ...
...And I'm sure it's because of the system that Xhosa people have that negative
attitude about Afrikaans because we are forced to learn the language...
...We were like in jail, you wanted to express yourself, but you don't know how
to express yourself. And it makes you to have those complex and anxiety,
you have that fear of the unknown because of the system...*

After analysing the semi-standardized interview, it becomes obvious that Sarah is aware of multilingualism in her classroom, but that she does not seem to be more sensitive towards second language learners than towards learners in general who struggle in her class. The reason why Sarah does not value multilingualism in her classroom and does not use it as a resource although she is very multilingual herself might be due to the legacy of Apartheid and the negative connotations Afrikaans as a language has for her. Even though she realizes the importance of a teacher who speaks the languages of her learners in the multilingual context of South Africa she cannot bring herself to use Afrikaans in class.

One gets the impression that having different mother-tongue speakers in her class has not led to any changes as she does not treat second language learners differently to other learners with learning difficulties. A strategy Sarah employs in this multilingual context is to use a bilingual learner as an interpreter. I find it especially interesting how this teacher describes an ideal multilingual teacher in that it would be a teacher who is confident in using a language. This shows how much fear and anxiety she still relates to the Apartheid regime under which she was brought up and educated and which still has an influence on her career as a teacher. In the course of the module "Teaching Content and Language" it became obvious that Sarah's writing skills were far below her oral skills which made it difficult for her to pass the module. On the other hand, she always gave interesting input into the seminar which made her an important course member. Analysing

for instance the questionnaire showed me that by attending the module TCL, Sarah became more aware that the linguistic demands are much higher for a second language learner than for a mother-tongue speaker. Also in the context of her own school she is involved in the discussion about the additive bilingualism approach. Therefore I would argue that Sarah is becoming more aware that as a teacher in the multilingual classroom of South Africa she is a language teacher no matter which subject she teaches.

After discussing the results for each teacher of my research sample in such a detailed way I do not regard it as worthwhile to show the differences between the four teachers in this chapter. Looking at their individual concepts of language teaching awareness proved the variation in regard to my research partners. I will briefly compare the four teachers in the following chapter when concluding this thesis (cf. 9. Conclusion).

9. Conclusion

The previous chapter discussed the results I gained in my research project during my stay in Port Elizabeth, South Africa in 2002. In this chapter I will present the concluding remarks of this thesis in regard to my research before I will make more general remarks about the situation of South Africa and its language policy in the next and final chapter (cf. 10. Outlook). I will also offer suggestions how further research following my research project could be carried out in the Outlook of this thesis.

As I described before I chose the four teachers of my research sample according to a maximum of variation. Therefore it would be worthwhile to briefly mention the differences between my research partners even though they were already evident when I discussed my findings in such a detailed way in the last chapter. Except for their different beliefs and attitudes with regard to their individual concept of language teaching awareness they teach at different school forms, namely primary and secondary school. They speak different mother-tongues (Afrikaans, English and Xhosa) and are multilingual themselves to a different degree. They belong to different ethnic groups (Black, Coloured and White). Especially because they were all educated under the Apartheid regime and belong to different ethnic groups they all received a different level of education in their own school career as a pupil and in their teacher training.

It is important to remember that the four teachers I describe in this thesis should not be viewed as the everyday or typical teacher in South Africa: they are especially motivated as they do extra qualifications next to their teaching job. This means that they are already more sensitive through the different modules they attended in re-training courses. I mentioned before that teaching is often not seen as a professional job and that many teachers in South Africa are frustrated, demotivated and discouraged. These teachers would not do extra qualifications or teacher training courses. As Sarah said in the context of the module “Teaching Content and Language”, there is the tendency for indolence among teachers and that they would still wait for someone else to solve their problems. This is the reason why I cannot generalize the findings of my research project as the teachers

of my sample cannot be seen as the prototype of teachers in South Africa. Therefore I have presented them as individual cases.

This thesis describes in various steps the design of qualitative research, for which I used a circular model of research and theoretical sampling (cf. 4. Description of my Sample). My research design enabled me to consider different theories and helped me to reformulate my research questions at various moments of time in my project. For grounding qualitative research I mainly used the method of triangulation of data (cf. 7.2. Triangulation of Data). I triangulated my data to gain a wider range of results and to prove the findings I got out of the semi-standardized interviews. By bringing together all results for each research partner I could describe each teacher as thoroughly as possible. Developing the research design as it was introduced in this thesis helped me to find answers to my research questions. The reason why I presented the different theories as background for my project in so much detail (cf. chapter 1-3) was to give an accurate description how I have developed the concept of language teaching awareness in the course of my research.

In the previous chapter I discussed my findings about how aware the four teachers of my research sample, who teach in multilingual classrooms, are that they are language teachers no matter which subject they teach. This leads to the formulation of the following hypotheses which I gained in the course of my research project: **Teachers who have language teaching awareness in multilingual classrooms in South Africa are aware that they are language teachers regardless of the subject they teach, even if it is a content subject like Economics or Mathematics. They know that every teacher is a language teacher and have some knowledge of how to teach languages in various degrees. They have language awareness and own some knowledge of how languages and especially second languages are learned. They are acquainted with bilingualism or multilingualism and different models of bilingual teaching. Teachers who have language teaching awareness understand multilingualism in their classroom as a special problem, but also as a resource and know about the connection between language and culture. These teachers are influenced by the context in which they teach, meaning**

South Africa and her complex history, but also their teacher training and teaching experiences over the years and their personal beliefs and attitudes. An ideal teacher in this multilingual context would be multilingual herself, knows the languages of her pupils and realises the importance of the mother-tongue of her pupils in their learning process, for instance in regard to their cognitive development but also for developing their own identity with their own language and culture. Teachers who have a concept of language teaching awareness have certain strategies they use when teaching in a multilingual classroom, for instance to use a bilingual learner as an interpreter.

In regard to the four teachers of my research sample I found out that Ruth, Jane, Lydia and Sarah are developing a concept of language teaching awareness and that they are becoming more aware that they are language teachers no matter which subject they teach, for instance by attending teacher training modules like “Teaching Content and Language”. But it also became obvious that it will take more time for teachers to become acquainted with changes happening in South African schools and society in general, which began with the end of the Apartheid regime in 1994 and are still proceeding in the year 2002 with respect to the language in education policy and the discussions about advantages and disadvantages of the additive approach of bilingualism as Neville Alexander proposes it.

10. Outlook

In the course of my research project in multilingual classrooms in the Eastern Cape I realised that even though a lot has changed in South Africa over the last eight years since the end of the Apartheid regime and the new constitution in 1994, this country and its citizens still have to fight against what is often labelled as the “legacy of Apartheid”. This makes someone with an outside perspective as I have as a researcher conscious of how ingrained Apartheid culture was and still is in some aspects as my research partners told me on various occasions. This can for instance be seen in the debate about which of the 11 official languages in South Africa should be supported and that English is still regarded by some South Africans as the language of power. It also became obvious that some people still blame the past for problems in South Africa, for instance in the school sector and with this belief try to justify that they are not in the position to change these problems.

The legacy of Apartheid can as well be seen in the different conditions the schools in South Africa are in. The lack of resources still leads to some schools being disadvantaged and less privileged. A gap in education, especially among the Blacks which were educated under the Apartheid regime, still causes problems today, for instance among teachers who often lack language proficiency, especially in their second language. Only in recent years people have been realizing the relevance of the mother-tongue in learning and that languages should not be taught without the cultural background. This leads to the debate about the additive approach of bilingualism, which is often painful as it includes the negative connotations mother-tongue education has for many South Africans. As an outsider one wonders whether this approach will lead to the goal of making the future generation of South Africans proficient in their mother-tongue and in an additional language. Will being multilingual really become more and more a characteristic of being South African? Will the status of the African languages be uplifted? Or will it be *English only* after all as many South Africans still see it as the simplest solution for the language problem even though the constitution gives official status to 11 languages? The answers to some of these questions still lie in

the future of a country that experiences such rapid changes like South Africa does at the moment.

The research project described in this thesis also investigated the relevance of teacher training courses in South Africa like the module “Teaching Content and Language” and the question in how far such a course could help to raise the language teaching awareness of teachers in multilingual classrooms. As I experienced in the course of my research, I would say that attending the module seemed to make the teachers in certain aspects more aware of how they use language when teaching in a multilingual context. In order to prove this, further research should be carried out following this research project.

Further research could examine in how far the results one gains in a semi-standardized interview about a concept like language teaching awareness could be proved by observing the classroom behaviour of a teacher afterwards. Also one could examine the perspectives of the learners of how they experience language teaching awareness of their teachers in the multilingual context of South Africa. The learners’ perspectives were excluded in my research project. It would be especially interesting to carry out a research project with teachers who have not taken part in a teacher training course like “Teaching Content and Language” as I chose my sample out of a positively pre-selected group of teachers. What kind of concepts of language teaching awareness have teachers who have not upgraded their education over the last 8 years and might therefore use teaching routines, which are no longer appropriate in the multilingual context of South Africa? These questions could be examined in future research projects.

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