

University of the Western Cape

Department of Linguistics



Title: Analyzing university language policies in South
Africa: critical discourse and policy analysis
frameworks



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Abstract

Analyzing university language policies in South Africa: critical discourse and policy analysis frameworks

At the dawn of democracy, Higher Education in South Africa was in dire need of change. One of the essential initiatives in response to transformation in Higher Education was the mandate from the Ministry of Education for each university to develop a language policy. Along with other initiatives, the language policies were intended to address issues of access and success in Higher Education, especially given the unequal opportunities people of colour had been given to access Higher Education in the country's apartheid past.

Although there is widespread acknowledgement of the barrier which language poses to epistemological access, and concern that in Higher Education the linguistic dimensions of transformation are yet to be institutionalised, the explanation commonly offered hinges on the non-implementation of university language policies. The relevant discourse presupposes that existing language policy instruments are otherwise adequate to transform language practices in the country's universities. As a consequence, there has been relatively little research problematizing the texts of university language policies from the standpoint of policy design and those interests which conceivably make language transformation difficult.

Against this backdrop, this thesis draws on work in policy analysis and critical discourse analysis to analyse the language policies of Stellenbosch University and of the University of the Western Cape. The detailed textual analysis to which both language policy documents are subjected draws on experiential analysis, demodalisation, activation, the use/non-use of conditional clauses and modality.

The analysis reveals that even though the policies express unequivocal commitment to the country's multilingual heritage and to the promotion of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, they betray a pattern of differential commitment to English versus Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Together with the key informant interviews, the analysis suggests that many of the concerns regularly expressed around a transformation of language practices

are issues of policy design which have their origin in both the discourses around the language policy texts, and the policy texts themselves.



Declaration

I declare that *Analyzing university language policies in South Africa: critical discourse and policy analysis frameworks* is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

C. Van der Merwe

January 2016

Signed.....



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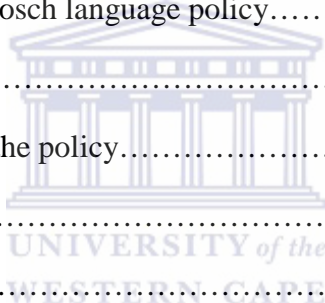
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

“There can be no democracy, no effective service delivery, no effective policing, no effective education through the medium of languages that many do not speak...” (Kaschula, 2013: 8)

Higher Education in South Africa, like other sectors in the country, has been under pressure to transform. Transformation, according to Badat (2009: 456), encompasses the “intent of the *dissolution* of existing social relations and institutions, policies and practices, and the *re-creation* and consolidation into something substantially new”. Under apartheid, universities were ‘colour-coded’, meaning that specific universities were allocated to different races through the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. Education was socially constructed in a manner which kept people of different races apart. Whites were granted opportunities to receive education that would enable them to function in high-status professional careers, whereas those categorised as coloured, black or Indian were not granted the same opportunities. Thus, the goal of transformation in this sector, post-1994, was to address the inequalities experienced by black students in Higher Education in terms of access, funding and quality of education (Odhav, 2009: 38).

To achieve these and other lofty goals, a number of instruments and structures were put in place. These included the promulgation of the Higher Education Act and the establishment of the National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE) (Eckel, 2001; Moja & Hayward, 2000; Odhav, 2009). These and other initiatives had different foci, but one common purpose: to transform Higher Education and create a platform for previously marginalised students to thrive, as is shown below.

The National Commission for Higher Education, in its report of 1996 (NCHE 1996), underscored the need for attention to issues like student access, development, and appointments through “equity, development to spark productivity, democratisation through participation and representation” (Odhav, 2009: 45) – ultimately creating an education sphere in which each South Africans can have equal participation in a supportive environment.

The White Paper on Higher Education (1997) and the Higher Education Act (1997) outlined goals and initiatives to transform Higher Education, moving it toward a single functioning body that would meet the needs of students. The challenge the White Paper on Higher Education sought to tackle was how to “redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to new realities and opportunities” (Council on Higher Education, 1997: 3). The White Paper formulated important goals for the national Higher Education system. It called on the system to “provide a full spectrum of advanced educational opportunities for an expanding range of the population irrespective of race, gender, age, creed or class or other forms of discrimination” (Council on Higher Education, 1997: 9).

Given that under apartheid language was to some extent an aspect of the colour coding of universities (Antia, 2015), it was not surprising that language featured as an integral part of the national transformation agenda in Higher Education. Let us focus on this dimension of transformation. The Higher Education Act (No. 101 of 1997) requires, at Section 27(2), that universities develop and publish their language policy documents. In 2002, the Language Policy for Higher Education, hereafter LPHE, was developed. The policy recognised the relationship between language and cognition, and underscored the need to diversify the languages used in Higher Education to accommodate previously marginalised groups. The LPHE (Ministry of Education, 2002: 4-5) states:

“[l]anguage has been and continues to be a barrier to access and success in higher education; both in the sense that African and other languages have not been developed as academic/scientific languages and in so far as the majority of students entering higher education are not fully proficient in English and Afrikaans.” (Ministry of Education, 2002: 4-5)

Like the provision in the Higher Education Act of 1997 on which it builds, the LPHE directive to universities to formulate their language policies would seem to have been based on the notion that, in part at least, language provides an important explanation for the disparities between access and success rates of especially black students. Many studies, focusing typically on black students, have shown the important relationship between the language of instruction and the success rates of learners/students. Webb (2004: 148) states:

“The languages used for learning and teaching are crucial for learners’ acquisition of knowledge and understanding and the development of their skills, and for learners’

ability to demonstrate their acquired knowledge effectively in assignments and examinations. If learners do not know the language used as the medium of instruction well, they cannot adequately develop educationally.”

On the same topic, Webb (2006: 5) also states:

“As the mediator in cognitive development (acquisition of knowledge, understanding and internalising concepts, developing reasoning skills), affective development (emotional security, self-esteem), and social development, language seriously impacts on ESL (*English as Second Language*) students’ academic development and performance.”

Webb (2006: 5-6) continues to say that “it would probably be fair to suggest that ESL (English as Second Language) students are likely to perform at least 10% below their potential” and that first language English speakers have an “unjust advantage”. Often, the ESL students referred to by Webb here are black students. In some cases, English could even be a third language for these students. It is thus fair to assume that language plays a pivotal role in academic success.

1.2 Statement of the problem

With respect to the language dimension of transformation in universities in South Africa, much of the research to date has provided two major kinds of insight. One line of research identifies implementation of existing policy provisions as the reason language-related goals of transformation in Higher Education have not been attained (Madiba, 2013; Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013; Kaschula, 2013; Makalela & McCabe, 2013). Another line of research interrogates the very conceptualisation of the policies, arguing that such conceptualisation is not very supportive of relevant goals, where in fact it does not undermine the very goals of transformation (Van der Walt & Brink, 2005; Webb, 1999; Moja & Hayward, 2000; Stroud & Kerfoot 2013).

Our knowledge of the language dimension of transformation in universities can be further enhanced by attending to three dimensions. Firstly, in its focus on the language policy as text (*sensu* Lo Bianco, 2009), research has infrequently undertaken a close textual-cum-grammatical analysis of language policy documents. The view has been expressed that textual analysis that does not pay attention to grammatical analysis is not necessarily very revealing, as it may miss out on how grammatical choices encode ideological positions and interests. Indeed, textual analysis that does not engage with grammar has been described as mere commentary (Hart,

2014), and as not necessarily providing adequate evidence in support of conclusions such as the policy text being adequate and implementation being the problem.

Secondly, in its focus on the language policy text, research has not always attended to details of the processes of developing the policy text, with the consequence that the manner in which observed shortcomings of the text reflects intrigues, power play and interests is often unaccounted for. Texts are dialogical, responding in various ways to previous or to future texts (Bakhtin, 1999). The language policy as text is, therefore, shaped by language policy as discourse (*sensu* Lo Bianco, 2009), and the features as well as the perceived failings or successes of the former cannot be adequately understood without attending to the latter,

Thirdly, relevant research has infrequently examined university language policy texts or the processes of their development through the lenses of the established literature in management fields on the subject of policy analysis. As a result, possible theoretical insights for analysing or framing the strengths or weaknesses of these policy documents and processes have not been leveraged.

In view of this, our knowledge is still relatively inadequate with respect to how initiatives around university language policies support or undermine relevant transformation goals.

1.3 Aim and objectives

Mindful of the role of language policy in the Higher Education transformation programme, this study employs a combined public policy analysis and a critical discourse analysis framework to analyse language policies at two South African universities, namely, the University of the Western Cape (2003) and of Stellenbosch University (2002).

The objectives are as follows:

- a) To employ close textual analysis to determine how the university language policies commit to the creation of an inclusive multilingual Higher Education space.
- b) To employ interview data to describe the processes of developing the university language policies and to account for these processes from the standpoint of the policy analysis literature.
- c) To use interview data as well as broader social factors to explain the shape of, and commitments in, the language policy texts.

- d) To explore the implications of findings associated with the foregoing objectives for discussing language and transformation in Higher Education, and for understanding and researching the complexity of university language policies.

1.4 Significance of the study

In addressing the objectives outlined above, this study should enhance our understanding of what actions are required for language policy to be more fully supportive of the transformation agenda in Higher Education. The close textual analysis of the language policies has the potential of problematising these documents, and showing that the concern is with the conceptualisation, ideology and commitment, rather than with implementation of some assumed excellent document. It should, in other words, be possible to describe and critique provisions of the language policies from such standpoint as interests and ideology.

The analysis of the interview data and the broader contexts into which both the policy document and the processes of its development are embedded should make it clear that the policy text is a product of social practice, and that changes intended to make this text more effective equally need to attend to a range of issues in the social context.

The engagement with the established policy analysis literature in management should also draw attention to relevant insights for developing and evaluating language policies, but also show how processes in university language policy development may tend to subvert practices in policy literature.

1.5 Overview of chapters

Chapter Two presents the literature review. It reviews research on language policies generally. It also examines literature that has reviewed, analysed and evaluated university language policies in South Africa.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework of the study. In this chapter, Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics are discussed in relation to language policy.

In **Chapter Four**, the methodology is presented. Here, the approach, the data collection, data types and data analysis of the proposed study are discussed.

Chapter Five presents the results of a close textual analysis of the two policies, using in part Systemic Functional Linguistics. This analysis provides insight into how institutional commitment towards multilingualism (or lack thereof) may be read from close textual analysis, including grammatical analysis.

Chapter Six presents data from key informant interviews and maps the processes of developing the respective university language policies to stages of policy development in the policy analysis literature. An analysis of the interview data also reveals the contestations behind each stage of policy development.

In **Chapter Seven**, the findings of the two previous results chapters are explained by reference to broader social contexts. The chapter attempts to show that there are both national and institutional level factors that inform the language policy text, underscoring the point that “the text is a product of social practice” (Fairclough, 1989: 24). This chapter also summarises the findings of the study, and works out the implications of the research for discussing language and transformation in Higher Education, and for understanding and researching the complexity of university language policies.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter proposes a review of research on language policy as a concept and its function in society. It also reviews research on language policy in South African Higher Education.

2.1 Policy

Public policy is a social instrument used to address problems and present actions to solve, alleviate or mitigate these problems. Many definitions have been presented for public policy. Ranney (1968: 7) defines policy as a “declaration and implementation of intent”. A more substantial analysis is provided by Anderson (2000:4) who defines it as:

“a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern”.

This definition, though concise, includes the important answers to the questions *what, who and how*: a policy is made to deal with a problem or a concern, by either employing one or several individuals to launch specific, tested actions. Anderson’s (2000: 4) definition shows that policy refers to the process of “what is actually done instead of what is only proposed or intended”. So, here we see that policy documents are more than words on paper; policy implies action.

Another definition of policy has been offered by Baker, Micheals & Prestons (1975: 12-15) who describe it as “a mechanism employed to realise societal goals and to allocate resources”. Thus, in this definition, Baker et al view policy as a document in which provisions are made to achieve certain goals.

Though there may be many definitions of policy, there are some commonalities, in that policy is seen as a legislative document in which issues of concern are identified, and actions and actors are put in place to address these issues.

There are three main categories of policy: public policy, non-governmental type policy, and private sector policy (Wissink & Cloete, 2000). Policy can also be distinguished on a geographical level, for example, local policy, regional policy, national policy, and international policy (Wissink & Cloete, 2000). Thus, policy can include broad provisions that apply to a

country, or more specific provisions that apply to a given institution, for example a university. This study is interested in language policy, specifically as it applies to the context of Higher Education.

As with the different definitions of public policy, there are also various definitions of language policy. Language policy has been defined by Shohamy (2006) as follows:

“[T]he primary mechanism for organizing, managing and manipulating language behaviours as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society. It is through language policy that decisions are made with regard to the preferred languages that should be legitimized, used, learned and taught in terms of where, when and in which contexts.” (2006:45)

Shohamy (2006) describes language policy not only as a document that legitimizes languages in society, but also as a document intended to “manipulate” individuals into using preferred languages in specific contexts.

Schmidt (2006: 81) provides the following definition:

“Language policy involves the development of public policies that aim to use the authority of the state to affect various aspects of the status and use of languages by people under the state’s jurisdiction. Language policy gets onto the political agenda when political actors believe that something important is at stake regarding the status and/or use of languages in their society, and that these stakes call for intervention by the state”

In Schmidt’s definition, positions of power (like that of the government) are used to grant status to preferred languages. This definition suggests that language policies need not inherently be political, and that they become political only when there are interests associated with the status or distribution of languages.

Many definitions view language policy as pronouncement/text. However, there is more to language policy than just text. According to Lo Bianco (2009), language policy consists of three dimensions: language policy as discourse, language policy as text, and language policy as practice. Language policy as discourse refers to the contestations and debates that precede, and form part of, the language policy development process. Language policy as text represents the actual document, and lastly, language policy as practice deals with how the policy is performed (Lo Bianco, 2009). This three-dimensional understanding of language policy suggests that

language policy does not take place in a vacuum; rather, it is embedded in the broader social context.

Scholars like Shohamy (2006), Ricento (2006), Tollefson (2002) and Grin (2010) take a critical approach to the analysis of language policies, seeing it as a central factor in the struggle for power between governments/big corporations (the dominant groups) and citizens (the oppressed groups) (Shohamy, 2006: 41; Ricento, 2006: 43). According to Tollefson (2006: 46), “power is implicit in the policy-making process, and language policies are seen as an important mechanism by which the state and other policy-making institutions seek to influence language behaviour.” In this sense, “language is central to social control” (Tollefson, 2002: 6), and dominant groups keep power by creating and enforcing ideologies about language.

A pertinent example would be the ideologies created around English: as the language of success, as a common language, a neutral language, language of access, etc. (Shohamy, 2006: 39). These types of discourses that surround English – discourses that we believe, use, enforce and instil in the next generation – are called naturalised discourses. According to Fairclough (1989) as cited in Ricento (2006: 43 &47):

“ ‘ideology’ refers to unconscious beliefs and assumptions that are ‘naturalized’ and thus contribute to hegemony. As hegemonic practices come to be built into the institutions of society, they tend to reinforce privilege and grant it legitimacy as a ‘natural’ condition.”

These forms of power, through naturalised discourses, shape the way we think about language and our own language behaviours. Naturalised discourses around specific languages manipulate us to believe that the content of language policies (which usually favour English, or other colonial languages, to be used in high functions of society), are in our best interests.

One may wonder why language appears to assume such importance in the calculations of powerful groups. Dominant groups have to be interested in specific languages because such languages are a means of perpetuating dominance. Language is after all the means for accessing resources of power like education, professional employment, political leadership, etc (Shohamy, 2006: 40). Through controlling language, dominant groups are able to control access to opportunity, restricting such access to a small number of people who know the ‘right’ language, as well as the ‘right’ variety of the language. Dominant groups use ideological discourse like associating the word “unity” with a common language, but this can be considered a form of control (Shohamy, 2006: 41). Dominant groups are aware that increasing the status of other

languages will mean “redistribution of wealth” and “realignment of power”, because language equals people (Shohamy, 2006: 40-41).

Let us turn to the field of language policies in education. Here, it is important to firstly acknowledge that education is “a primary site wherein inequality is reproduced as well as challenged” (Paulston & Heidemann, 2006: 94) and within this site, language is viewed as one of the mediums through which inequality is reproduced and challenged.

The important influence that language has in reproducing or contesting inequality in education is explained by Addis (1997) who states that language choices are “the most difficult question that a multicultural and multi-ethnic society has to address” because “language is not a mere medium of reality. It is partly constitutive of that reality.” (Addis, 1997: 138 as cited in Deprez & Du Plessis, 2000). Thus, the choice of medium of instruction in education potentially creates a hierarchy in which some languages, and in turn their speakers, are privileged over others.

In the domain of language policies for Higher Education, Grin is an influential figure who argues against linguistic hegemony in Higher Education language policies. Grin identifies five typical domains of language use at universities: languages taught as subjects; languages of instruction; languages of research activities; languages of internal administration; and languages of external communication (Grin, 2010).



Grin argues that, within these domains, the choices that universities make with respect to languages use are important to the fabric of society, and vice versa. He notes that:

“ the linguistic practices of universities reflect broader sociolinguistic conditions; through their linguistic practices, universities contribute to the shaping of these broader conditions; given their strategic position in the fabric of society, universities’ language choices are per se elements of language policy – whether a university is a publicly-funded or a private one” (Grin, 2010: 4).

Thus, universities are in a position to both endorse and create language policy – and thus to challenge language policy that endorses linguistic hegemony and affect visible change in society.

In conclusion, language policies should not be taken at face value. It should be acknowledged that language policies have the capacity to perpetuate ideologies and to serve those in positions of power. Shohamy (2006) states that:

“[l]anguage policy falls in the midst of these manipulations and battles, between ideology and practice. It is through a variety of overt and covert mechanisms , used mostly (but not exclusively) by those in authority, that languages are being manipulated and controlled so as to affect, create and perpetuate “de facto” language policies, i.e., language practices.” (xv)

Given the issues discussed above, it is clear that language plays a large role in driving inequality in education. Language reflects, but also creates and perpetuates power and ideology. Language policy plays a role in legitimising preferred languages, so that power is maintained within the confines of those language speakers who are at the top of the hierarchy. Thus, it is important to investigate, through critical research, the policymaking processes that result in those language policies that significantly affect lives.

2.2 The South African context of university language policies

The South African Constitution (1996) provides the overarching framework for the discussion of language policies. Apart from the recognition of eleven official languages, the Constitution in section 29 [2] states: “[e]veryone has the right to receive education in the official language of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonable practicable.”

In the sphere of language and Higher Education, the government researched the daunting task of involving eleven official languages in South African Higher Education. Initially, the government sought advice from the Council on Higher Education (2001) which then developed a Language Policy Framework for South African Higher Education (2001). This report noted that only English and Afrikaans were then being used as mediums of instruction at tertiary institutions and that this status quo should be kept intact until such time as African languages are fully developed to function at tertiary level. Under the heading “Multilingualism in a democratic South Africa” the Language Policy Framework report states:

“The ethos of the African Renaissance demands that special attention be given to the development and use of the languages of Africa. The simple fact is that there can be no serious talk of a regeneration of Africa without the full development of the African languages. Higher Education institutions are bound in terms of their traditional research

and development function to take the initiative in this regard.” (Council on Higher Education, 2001: 3)

Here we see that this report requires that indigenous African languages be prioritised and that institutions of Higher Education should “take initiative”. The Language Policy Framework for South African Higher Education (2001) then informed the development of the Language Policy for Higher Education (2002). This document made the following important points:

- The state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status of indigenous languages (Constitution 1996, section 6(2))
- The Ministry will ensure “the development, in the medium to long term, of South African languages as mediums of instruction in higher education, alongside English and Afrikaans” (Ministry of Education, 2002: 15)
- The Ministry requires all Higher Education institutions to develop language policies and will monitor the impact of language policy in Higher Education
- “The Ministry is committed... to ensuring that language should not act as a barrier to equity of access and success” (2002: 10)

Many studies have sought to determine the extent to which these lofty ideals have been achieved through the instrumentality of university language policies. The first theme that emerges from the body of relevant research is that of the lack of commitment from the side of the university or university management to developing or implementing language policies. Madiba (2013: 385) states that the majority of universities in South Africa have developed multilingual language policies, noting that “[h]owever, some of these language policies are still very symbolic and their implementation in teaching and learning remains a challenge”. An example of this is found in a study of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) language policy. Stroud and Kerfoot (2013) state that the UWC language policy “pays lip service to multilingualism through a discourse of language choice specifically (and only) in situations that are considered marked from the perspective of practicability, availability, or academic desirability...”

In studying the language policy of Rhodes University, Kaschula (2013: 11; 2014: 11) characterises the lack of commitment toward the implementation process of the language policy as a lack of ‘political will to drive the process’. The lack of commitment toward the implementation of language policy, especially those policies that open up implementational spaces for African languages, sets back the goals of the transformation project. However, a

number of studies have revealed how some universities have used and developed African languages, albeit in a limited role. In relevant studies (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013; Madiba, 2013; Van der Walt & Brink, 2005; Antia, 2015), African languages are shown to play only a supportive role to English within an implied hierarchy of languages.

In institutions whose language policies have elicited some critical commentary (such as the University of Cape Town and Stellenbosch University), it is not uncommon to view specific projects or units as evidence of implementation. Examples of these initiatives include the establishment of units for African languages, the creation of glossaries and terminology or specific African languages acquisition modules in the Health Sciences at the University of Cape Town (Madiba, 2013). With respect to Stellenbosch University, Van der Walt (2008: 217) notes that “[t]he University also undertakes to develop the third official language of the Western Cape, isiXhosa, as an academic language, but such efforts are currently restricted to corpus planning”. For many universities, implementation may refer to the development (terminology, glossaries, etc.) of an African language in a Language Unit without including it in teaching. It may also refer to the inclusion of African languages in external communication – for example in the logo, advertisement or on the website. These no doubt constitute evidence of implementation, but cannot substitute for the commitment, the depth of consideration and the funding that should go into developing and implementing a language policy.

In other studies, the rather limited role of other languages compared to English is analysed from the standpoint of the typology of various language policy provisions. Antia (2015) describes linguistic practices at UWC from inception to date. In his study, the author uses Patten’s (2001) framework and deconstructs interests in language policies (into real communication, symbolic affirmation, and identity promotion). This is then combined with a typology of policy provisions (e.g. substantive, procedural and delegated). The paper finds that the Afrikaans and isiXhosa provisions in the institution’s language policy serve symbolic interests whilst the provisions on English serve purposes related to real communication and institutional identity promotion. It was found that Afrikaans and isiXhosa provisions were typologically delegated, and the provisions related to English were typologically substantive. Also, it was found that English has a dominant presence in the context of UWC which has a diminishing effect on goals relating to multilingualism within the institution.

Another set of studies on implementation deals with funding – which is widely noted as an impediment to implementation (Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht, 2010;

Van der Walt & Brink, 2005; Kaschula, 2013). Kaschula suggests that funding for languages is placed at the bottom of the state's funds allocations (Kaschula, 2013). This point is underscored by Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht (2005) who state: “[b]eyond the debates on the University of Kwazulu-Natal language policy itself, its implementation has brought with it major challenges...funding has been identified as an overarching issue.” Van der Walt & Brink (2005: 837) also claim that it is a challenge to continue with parallel medium classes in Afrikaans and English because there is “no extra government funding” and thus teachers find it easier to only teach in one language – and that language is always English.

Shifting away from implementation, it is also important to consider how language policies are, in fact, conceptualised. In many studies, reference is made to the mismatch between the provisions of the language policy and the external environment around the university; the environment that supplies most of the institution's students. In all of these studies, the universities have a diverse student body with respect to languages (Stroud & Kerfoot, 2013; Makalela & McCabe, 2013; Madiba, 2013; Van der Walt & Brink, 2005). For instance, the University of Limpopo is located in a rural settlement of Limpopo. The official languages of the province are Sepedi and Xitsonga; but the language of instruction at the university is English – even though it is the second, third or even fourth language of the student population (Makalela & McCabe, 2013). As a result, the English for Academic Purposes classes are overpopulated (Makalela & McCabe, 2013).

The University of Cape Town also functions as an example of a diverse student body with respect to languages. Though located within the Western Cape, where Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English are the official languages, the university employs English as the language of the institution. In recent years many black students have entered the university, but as a result of the monolingual English approach in teaching, the results of the black students still remain 20% lower than that of the white population group (Madiba, 2013). It is as a result of this discrepancy that Madiba (2010) argues for multilingual glossaries for English as Additional Language students to optimise the learning of concepts in all content areas (Madiba, 2010). In the context of UCT, these glossaries have facilitated deep learning of English as Additional Language students and have improved skills such as decontextualisation which is imperative to academic success (Madiba, 2010).

Kaschula notes that “[a] university should be firmly located within the community within which it operates”. From the examples above, it can be seen that the success of a policy does not

necessarily depend on the implementation thereof, but rather on the soundness of a policy. Still on the notion of conceptualisation of language policies, Grin (2010) asks the question whether universities employ an evaluative exercise to determine the consequences and implications of making decisions on language for their respective institutions, especially in the case of English. Grin tackles here the issue of the manner in which universities make decisions on language. His response to this questions is “a resounding ‘no’” (Grin, 2010, 11). His reason for this response: “[t]here is no trace of any single instance of a proper evaluation having been carried out. This does not mean that using more English is necessarily a bad choice.... what it means is that university authorities are liable to make important decisions pretty much at random.” Ultimately, in conducting research for language policy, or developing a policy, the choice of language should be dealt with through careful consideration and research, instead of making decisions based on assumptions.

Another dimension of conceptualisation relates to the different understandings of language and multilingualism in existing language policies. Some researchers have criticised the conceptions of language as bounded entities that need to be kept distinct, regarding this as impracticable in an environment where linguistic hybridity is the order of the day. They therefore hinge the failure of language policy on the fact that such policies do not take into account environmental factors and post-structuralist accounts of language. Multilingualism has a much broader meaning. According to Stroud and Kerfoot, there needs to be “a radical re-conceptualisation of the design of academic language and literacy programmes, and indeed of the very understanding that we have of multilingualism and its role in teaching and learning specifically” (2013: 397). The differing conceptions and practices of multilingualism are clear indications of the desperate need for revisiting and redefining the concept.

It should be acknowledged there are also reports in the literature of successes in the implementation of university language policies, especially from the perspective of using Black African languages in teaching. Such reports include work by Ramani, Kekana, Modiba & Joseph (2007) at the University of Limpopo, by Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht (2010) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and by Antia & Dyers (2015) at the University of the Western Cape. The University of Limpopo have been pioneers in the field of creating a degree in which an African language serves as a medium of instruction. In 2003, they implemented a dual-medium undergraduate degree called the BA in Contemporary English Language Studies (CELS) and Multilingual Studies (MUST). In this degree, learners acquire academic English and academic Sesotho sa Leboa through two separate programmes: CELS and

MUST. MUST is taught and assessed entirely in English, and CELS entirely in Sesotho sa Leboa. What makes this degree so special is that Sesotho sa Leboa is used as a medium of instruction and not taught as a subject. The goal of this degree is for learners to use both of their languages to make sense of, and process academic knowledge.

The UKZN language policy was approved in 2006 with the objective of providing access to isiZulu in the form of teaching, learning and research. The focus areas of this policy include, but are not restricted to, the professional areas like nursing, education, law, psychology and commerce (Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht, 2010: 347). The aim of the policy is to eventually provide teaching in both English and isiZulu in response to the policy's 10-year implementation plan (2008 – 2018) through adopting the Complementary Language Use Approach, which allows for African languages to act as an auxiliary language of instruction to English (Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht, 2010: 348 - 349). One of the major outcomes of this study is that instruction in isiZulu “should enhance student learning and help to improve throughput” (Ndimande-Hlongwa, Balfour, Mkhize & Engelbrecht, 2010: 355).

At the University of the Western Cape, lecture materials in a third year module in the Department of Linguistics are being produced in the three official languages of the institution, namely, English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The account of this initiative (Antia & Dyers 2015) shows there is considerable attention to the complexity of the multilingual literacies of students. Drawing design principles from a model of literacy, Antia and Dyers (2015) develop lecture resources that are not only written but also spoken (podcasts); the resources are not only in the standard varieties of Afrikaans and isiXhosa, but also in the informal varieties with which a sizeable number of the students are more familiar. Antia & Dyers (2015) describe a range of positive effects of this initiative.

The success of these universities are prime examples of the success of using African languages in Higher Education. These successes prove that language policies mainstreaming Black South African languages are very well implementable.

In conclusion, an analysis of the evidence above suggests that there are aspects of university language policies that have been neglected in the literature. The processes of their development and how these processes conform to policy development/analysis literature have not received much attention. In focusing on language policy as text, analysts have neglected a detailed textual analysis supported by grammatical analysis, which has meant that concealed patterns in the language policy texts have been relatively underexposed. Aspects of interest and power play

which are crucial to the success of language policies have, to a large extent, been disregarded. According to Harlech-Jones (1990: 106-107):

“[L]anguage policy and planning is only one part of a complex national planning, and is essentially subservient to political and cultural goals. [In language policy and planning]... groups within larger polities struggle to maintain or achieve dominance for their language...”

It is clear that language policies are a site of struggle and power play. In the South African Higher Education context, the dimension of conflicting interests in language policies does not appear to have received much attention, and to have been used in explaining concerns around implementation.

For this reason, the next chapter on the theoretical framework focuses on the policy analysis and on critical discourse analysis.



Chapter Three

Theoretical Frameworks

This chapter presents the two theoretical frameworks employed in this study: the policy analysis framework and the critical discourse analysis framework. The former is relevant to the second objective of the thesis, namely, to employ interview data to describe the processes of developing the university language policies and to account for these processes from the standpoint of the policy analysis literature. The critical discourse analysis framework will be useful in addressing the other three objectives, viz. to employ close textual analysis to determine how the university language policies commit to the creation of an inclusive multilingual Higher Education space; to use interview data as well as broader social factors to explain the shape of, and commitments in, the language policy texts; and to explore the implications of findings associated with the foregoing objectives for discussing language and transformation in Higher Education, and for understanding and researching the complexity of university language policies.

3.1 Policy analysis



Before we can proceed with the analysis, there are a number of key notions we need to first define. As discussed in chapter two, policy can be defined as “a relatively stable, purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (Anderson, 2006: 18). The matter of concern can relate to a range of issues, including language. The policy specifies a course of action to reach a purpose. Policies are the product of a policy formulation process. Anderson sees policy formulation as the “development of pertinent and acceptable proposed course of action for dealing with a public concern” (Anderson, 2006: 4).

Policy analysis is an aspect of policy studies that “generates and presents information in such a way as to improve the basis for policymakers to exercise their judgement” (Quade, 1975: 4). According to Hanekom (1987: 64):

“Policy analysis is an attempt to measure the costs and benefits of various policy alternatives or to evaluate the efficacy of existing policies; in other words to produce and

transform information relevant to particular policies into a form that could be used to resolve problems pertaining to those policies.”

Policy analysis is thus applicable to both the process of developing a policy and the process of evaluating an existing policy. It is therefore a relevant framework for this study.

Different policy analysts employ different approaches, but the foundational elements of the process are the same (Roux, 2002: 428; McCool, 1995; Bardach, 2009). These include:

- identifying the problem
- specifying the objectives
- deciding on criteria
- selecting alternatives
- analysing alternatives
- comparing alternatives
- implementing chosen alternatives
- monitoring and evaluating results

Once a problem has been identified and defined, there are different elements that need to be taken into consideration when designing an effective policy. The following questions are adapted from Birkland (2005: 161).

- What are the goals of the policy? Should the problem be eliminated, alleviated or terminated?
- Have we weighed the alternatives correctly? Do we know what the outcome of the alternative will be? How do we know this? How can it be demonstrated?
- What types of tools are needed to implement the policy? Will the tools be more or less coercive? Will they rely on persuasion or incentives?
- Who or what are the targets of the policy? Are the targets direct or indirect? Whose behaviour is supposed to change?
- What type of implementation strategy will be employed? How will the policy be implemented? Who will lay out the implementation system? Why?

The elements in policy analysis, together with the questions listed above on policy design, offer a framework for formulating a policy or evaluating an existing policy in terms of its efficacy.

The framework encourages designers or evaluators of policy to be clear about the problem motivating the policy, as well as its goals, targets, tools and implementation strategies.

Policy and policy process are not shielded from influencing actors or factors. These include the individuals or groups who make the policy decisions, and also the internal and external factors that influence policy (Cairney, 2012; Roux, 2002). Policy decision makers may include government and administration (at all levels), political functionaries, public officials, pressure groups and interest groups (Roux, 2002: 429). These actors possess the power to provide input and help make policy decisions. However, their inputs are not always neutral. The issue of power plays an important role in policy formulation. It has, in fact, been claimed that “those with powerful reputations often enjoy favourable policy outcomes without exercising power” (Cairney, 2012:63). Thus, those with power are in positions to construct policy to their advantage.

Policy conditions refer to “the nature or structure of the policy environment and hence the specific problems that policymakers face” (Cairney, 2012: 9). These can be broken up into internal and external factors that influence policy. Internal factors take into account historical factors pertaining to how the history has shaped the context; economic factors that calculate the cost and expenditure of the government; institutional factors that evaluate how policies within the context intersect with one another; etc. (Cairney, 2012: 114). External factors, on the other hand, would, for instance, take into account globalization: how the specific country ties in with the rest of the world, and if the policy makes provisions to accommodate the international linkages or roles of the country (Roux, 2002: 430).

There are two parts of a policy, which may or may not be contained in the same document: the policy provisions and an implementation plan. An implementation plan can be defined as the clear articulation of “how new policies, programmes and services will be delivered on time, on budget and to expectations” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014: 1). An implementation plan is a detailed outline of how the policy is to be realised. The process of creating an implementation plan in relation to the policy is called implementation planning. It can be defined as the “process of determining how an initiative will be implemented and setting this out in sufficient detail to enable the Cabinet to make an informed judgement about whether to proceed in the light of the risks and requirements involved” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2014: 2). Thus, the implementation plan can be seen as having two functions: firstly, it provides a basis for determining whether to implement the policy or not given the risks involved; secondly (after a

decision to go ahead has been reached), it serves as a guide to all actors and structures involved on exactly how outcomes will be realised.

The implementation plan consists of very detailed information. The factors listed below are adapted from a report by the Commonwealth of Australia (2014: 3). Thus an effective plan should:

- Have a clear articulation of what success looks like;
- Be consistent – there should be consistency between what the governments; objectives are, and what inputs and outputs have been put in place to expect what outcomes and benefits;
- Outline the expectation as to how delivery chains link to one another, and how this expectation together with the delivery chain will be evaluated;
- Explicitly outline time frames and policy phases;
- Clearly state how the objectives of the policy will be reached;
- State which standards and quality controls will be used during the implementation process;
- Acknowledge the implementation challenges, like risks or any issues, that may occur and how it will be managed;
- Be specific and detailed on the risks involved – “their source, likelihood of occurrence, consequence and mitigation strategies.” (2014: 3)

The implementation plan has great value in that, if done correctly and thoroughly, it can anticipate the success or failure of a policy. Let us now turn to the actual implementation of policy.

There are two approaches to policy implementation: the top-down and the bottom-up approach (Birkland, 2005: 181; Cairney, 2012: 39). The top-down approach, as the terms suggests, is interested in the goals and objectives that those at the highest level of policy have put in place, and tracks it down through the ranks to the lowest level of implementation (Birkland, 2005). The bottom-up approach, on the other hand, is tracked from the ground up. It is interested in the understanding, goals, motivations and capabilities of those at the lowest level and tracks implementation through the ranks to stakeholders at the highest level (Birkland, 2005). The difference between these approaches are that “[t]op-down models are most concerned with compliance, while bottom-up approaches value understanding how conflict can be alleviated by

bargaining and sometimes compromise” (Birkland, 2005: 185). Ultimately, policymakers structure the policy implementation process in such a way as to enhance the likelihood of implementation success (Birkland, 2005).

Another important theme in policy analysis relates to policy failure and risks. Some of the main reasons policies fail include:

- The non-testing of alternatives prior to a particular policy option being adopted;
- The formulation of inflexible provisions that are unable to accommodate new circumstances;
- The non-coordination of the possible impacts of different policies;
- Unrealistic expectations of what policy can achieve;
- Inaccurate analysis of needs or of causes to which the policy is expected to provide solutions;
- The use of ineffective policy tools (research, consultation);
- Divergent interests in the environment in which the policy is to apply.

In summing up the policy analysis framework and in anticipation of the analysis I will be carrying out, I use Table 1 to identify my envisaged categories of analysis, the phases of the policy development process each category corresponds to as well as the typical questions associated with each category/phase. I also draw on Grin’s (2010) analysis of university language policies to exemplify and elaborate on some of the analytical categories. See Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of phases of policy development process

Categories of envisaged analysis	Phases in the policy analysis literature & typical guiding questions	
Defining the problem	Identifying the problem	What are the goals of the policy? Should the problem be eliminated alleviated?
Consideration of solution pathways/alternatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Specifying objectives - Deciding criteria - Selecting alternatives - Analysing criteria 	Have we weighed alternatives correctly?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influencing actors/factors - Policy conditions (internal/external) 	
Deciding on pathway	Selecting an alternative	<p>What types of tools are needed?</p> <p>Who/what are the targets of the policy?</p>
Implementation	Implementing alternatives	What type of implementation strategy will be employed?
Monitoring and revision	Monitoring and evaluating results	

In Grin’s work on university language policies (e.g. Grin 2010), we find elements of the above policy analysis framework. Grin notes that language committees at various institutions make language decisions based on intuitive knowledge, assumptions and “frivolous beliefs”, when they should be adopting a more methodical approach, involving identifying and defining problems, and constructing, weighing and selecting alternatives (Grin, 2010: 17).

Grin’s approach to identifying the problem is rooted in asking important questions and obtaining sound evidence. The backdrop to this concern is that language is usually pushed to the background in university governance and when it is talked about, it is used in the context of internationalization – how universities can attract international students to enhance their ranking, etc. (Grin, 2010). Fundamental questions of why certain languages should be used for what purposes in instruction, in communication, administration, research are rarely posed. It is all well and good to use languages in different functions within the university context, but it is important to base those decisions on clear evidence, taking into account the impact the university has in the broader social context (Grin, 2010). According to Grin (2010:3),

“The offshoot of all this is that there is relatively little in the way of systematic, theory-based analyses of the more macro-level aspects pertaining to the proper role of different

languages in tertiary education, in particular the social, political and economic issues at hand.”

Many universities choose internationalisation and ranking above developing the cognitive skills and abilities of the students in their own environments, which is usually based on the assumption that international students are better than local students (Grin, 2010).

Grin’s approach also addresses the construction of alternatives – the process whereby options are developed for an agreed-upon problem. Several options need to be identified, analysed and compared in order to identify the most appropriate (feasible, satisfactory) one. Grin presents a tool known as the counterfactual (Grin, 2010). The notion of the counterfactual suggests that when a university/institution decides on policy option B, it is because they have tried and tested policy option A and possibly policy option C, but have come to the conclusion that policy option B delivers the best outcomes. Thus, policy option B can only be accepted if policy option A and C have been *identified* and *tested* (Grin, 2010: 5).

In considering the options at hand, there are several principles to consider. Grin proposes efficiency and fairness. Efficiency refers to the process of identifying which policy option will achieve the best outcome given the resources (Grin, 2010: 6). Efficiency measures the cost and impact that the different policy options, for instance, monolingual or multilingual, will produce and ultimately which option produces the best outcome.

Fairness, on the other hand, deals with the social actors affected by the policy options and the fair distribution of resources between them (Grin, 2010: 6). This concept shows that when making language-based decisions, actors should take into account that all language groups (given the context) should benefit from the policy, and should also take into account the histories and the different stages of development these languages are in, for example English as opposed to African languages.

Another important element while considering alternatives relates to the internal and external levels. Grin terms them the internal effectiveness and external effectiveness. Here effectiveness refers to “the magnitude of effects, or results, or outputs obtained with a given input of resources” and these are considered as the influencing factors on the policy options. The internal effectiveness encompasses the university context and the sphere of education taking into account factors like student demographics, etc. External effectiveness refers to the context outside of university, for instance the expectancy of the community.

3.2 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis or CDA emerged in the late 1980s. Before that, much of linguistics research focused on formal aspects of language, like linguistic competencies of speakers, different varieties of language, language change and communicative interactions, independently of speakers or contexts (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The 1970s represent a paradigm shift in the field of linguistics as the discipline evolved from an emphasis on the structure of language(s), to interactional linguistics that focused on language-in-use, to critical linguistics which is interested in the link between text, society and power (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & O'Garro, 2005).

Though CDA had not been established prior to the 1980s, as early as the 1970s Halliday had already emphasised “the relationship between the grammatical system and the social and personal needs that language is required to serve” (Halliday, 1970: 142). Thus, even before the official establishment of CDA, a need had been felt within linguistics for studying language interactions within the broader social context.

CDA was a response to this need. It was an attempt to “bring social theory and discourse analysis together to describe, interpret, and explain the ways in which discourse constructs, becomes constructed by, represents, and becomes represented by the social world” (Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui & O'Garro, 2005: 366). CDA became characterised as “a distinct theory of language” and “a radically different kind of linguistics” (Kress, 1990: 94 as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:5). It moved away from the notion of language as a structured, formal subject to be analysed in isolation, to language as social practice by making context a compulsory element of analysis.

CDA can be defined as “fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 2). In other words, CDA is concerned with the way in which social inequalities manifests themselves in language or discourse. Hence, the following principles have been developed for CDA (Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Fairclough, 2010):

- CDA is transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary
- CDA is interested in social justice
- CDA sees language/discourse as social practice

- CDA is interested in bridging the gap between text/language and the broader social context
- CDA is interested in the relation between language and power
- CDA is concerned with analysing hidden as well as explicit structural relationships of dominance, power and control as manifested in language
- CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimised by language use or in discourse
- CDA aims to demystify discourses by deciphering ideologies
- CDA focuses on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination

CDA is not a single approach to textual analysis, but an umbrella term for a number of more or less distinctive approaches that draw on critical theory to analyse texts. Some of the main approaches include Norman Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach, Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach and Teun Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. I briefly describe these approaches, before identifying the one to be used in this study.

The socio-cognitive approach by Teun Van Dijk falls within the tradition of social representation theory with its triad focus on discourse, cognition and society (Van Dijk, 2001). Within this approach, the "discourse refers to the textual, conversational, visual or multimodal entities. The "cognition" refers to the various social and personal mental models involved in discourse, and the societal aspect of the approach refers to broader social structures like groups, organizations, movements, etc." (Van Dijk, 2001: 98).

Van Dijk's socio-cognitive theory bridges that gap between text and society through what he calls "social cognition". Social cognition refers to the fact that social inequality, power and ideology are maintained through socially shared representations of discourse in the form of mental models (Van Dijk, 2001:113). An example would be the success of South Africa's African National Congress. In spite of reservations which some South Africans have around policy and other issues, the mental model that many South Africans have in their minds is one of the ANC having delivered the country from the apartheid regime. Thus, South Africans continue to vote for the ANC. Van Dijk's approach provides a good framework for the analysis of issues like politics or racism.

Fairclough's dialectical-relational is based on the idea that there is a relationship between semiosis, including language, and elements of social practice (Fairclough, 2001). This approach

is concerned with how text and society influence and inform each another. Fairclough's approach is predicated on the idea that linguistic phenomena are social because individuals speak, write or act in socially determined ways, but social phenomena are also linguistic because all language activity not merely reflects social processes but is part of that process (Fairclough, 2001). An example of this phenomenon would be the dominance of English in South African Higher Education. English is widely spoken in South Africa and has become the medium of instruction of many universities. The use of English in the important domain of Higher Education enforces the idea of the supremacy of English and thus influences many to acquire the language. Thus, the social phenomenon of English as "the language of mobility" has increased the number of speakers and the increasing number of speakers keeps the language in power. Thus, we see how society influences language, and is influenced by it. This approach draws on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics which argues that "language is shaped by the social function that it has come to serve" (Wodak & Meyer, 2008: 27). Thus, this approach not only focuses on the content, but delves deeper through the use of linguistic analysis. I will return to this approach subsequently.

The discourse-historical approach of Ruth Wodak has a strong emphasis on the historical context as an integral part of the analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). It is important to mention that Wodak sees language (written and spoken) as "a form of social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This approach consists of four levels: one level being descriptive, and the other levels focusing on theory (Wodak, 2001: 67). The first level refers to linguistic analysis; the second level looks at intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between the object under study (texts, utterances, discourses, etc.); the third level, also referred to as the application of middle range theories, represents an interpretive framework of analysis where the linguistic analysis and the relationships between these levels are analysed for their social and cognitive meanings (Wodak, 2001: 67). The fourth level, called grand theories, analyses the broader social and historical contexts that the discursive practices are located in (Wodak, 2001: 67). The discourse-historical approach is mostly applied in the field of politics, racism and immigration and institutional discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2008; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000).

These approaches are different, but have similarities. All three approaches are interested in the link between text/language use and the broader social context. Hence, these approaches use some form of linguistic analysis and various middle ground theories to bridge the gap between text and society.

In this research project, however, I will make use of Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach. This approach emphasises textual analysis, combines Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics with Foucault's social theory of discourse in his approach to CDA (Rogers et al, 2005: 369), and has been employed in language policy analysis (e.g. Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni, 2011). Even though I will be using Fairclough's approach, I will draw on these other approaches when needed. Below Fairclough's model is described in some more detail and a model of grammatical analysis it frequently employs is also described

Fairclough's approach to CDA is based on virtually the same principles and has fairly similar aims as the approaches of his other CDA colleagues. He states that:

“[b]y ‘critical’ discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, event and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, event and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.” (Fairclough, 2010: 93).

If we unpack this definition of CDA by Fairclough, we see that practices, events and texts are shaped by ideologies operating within our minds created by those in power. Also, it is the fact that these ideologies are normalized in society that it remains powerful.

A main concept in Fairclough's framework is that he regards discourse as social practice. What this means is that (a) language is a social process, (b) language and society are interrelated and (c) language is a socially conditioned process (Fairclough, 1989:22-23). These three implications point to the fact that language and society are interconnected – they have a dialectical relationship - in that society influences what we say or write, and what we write or say also influences and maintains the dynamics of society (Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough's dialectical-relational framework consists of a 3-tier analysis: text, interaction and context (Fairclough, 1989). The level of the text is also called “description”. It is here that emphasis is placed on the importance of an extensive textual analysis. The second level or interactional sphere is referred to as “interpretation”. The interpretation stage “makes sense” of the textual analysis by employing various middle ground theories, particular to the problem at hand, to evaluate the textual analysis. In the following stage, called explanation, the

interpretation is then located within the bigger sphere of context. Context is linked to social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation which are essentially an analysis of how the text is a product of social practice (Fairclough, 1989: 24). This framework is explained more simply as: description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough, 1989: 26). At the level of description (the text), analysis is concerned with the formal properties of the text. The level of interpretation makes sense of the textual elements found at the level of the text. Lastly, explanation (or context) is concerned with how these interpretations links with the broader social context and the social effects that it has (Fairclough, 1989: 26).

As seen earlier, Fairclough's approach requires close textual analysis, and such analysis is often informed by grammatical analysis within the Hallidayan framework. Grammatical analysis is employed to unpack ideologies and power relationship. According to Hart (2014:5):

“[m]odels of grammar are useful for CDA because they enable systematic, theoretically driven, comparative approaches to analysis only on the back of which may well-founded observations be made.” (2014:5)

When CDA involves grammatical analysis, it may use the concept of “grammar” as a “reference point for comparing (i) what is expressed in discourse with what is suppressed and (ii) the way something is expressed in text within other available options in the grammar” (Hart, 2014: 2). Thus, an analysis of grammar detects and analyses the information that is available as well as the information that is absent, but also the manner in which the author chose for the message to be brought across. Each of these elements represents conscious choices made by the author, and each, in turn, is potentially representative of an ideological standpoint.

The close textual analysis performed on language policies in this research draws on several sources. One model of grammar used in doing a CDA analysis of the texts of language policies is Systemic Functional Grammar (or SFG) or Systemic Functional Linguistics (or SFL). SFG/SFL is a theory based on “purpose and choice” meaning that it is interested in the speaker's actions, and the changing nature of their language use in domain-specific situations (Hart, 2014: 20). SFG/SFL is interested in “meaning rather than form” (Hart, 2014: 20). The relationship between CDA and SFG/SFL is based on the fact that both of these frameworks view language as a “primary social resource” (Hart, 2014: 6).

SFG/SFL consists of three sub-systems. The ideational function “constitutes a grammar for representation” and serves as the “content” function of the SFG/SFL model (Hart, 2014: 7). This

function gives speakers the opportunity to “construct” their own reality through language (Hart, 2014: 7). The interpersonal function deals with “evaluation” and serves a more “participatory” purpose in which speakers can comment on reality. Lastly, the textual function is responsible for “enabling” the ideational and interpersonal functions in that the textual function breaks up information into coherent pieces (Hart, 2014: 7). In this analysis, however, I will solely be focusing on the ideational function, also known as the experiential metafunction.

The ideational function is realised by the system of transitivity. Hart (2014: 22) defines transitivity as:

“a system of resources for referring to entities in the world, and crucially, the way they interact with or relate to one another. It involves speakers analysing situations and events as being of certain types... three elements of a canonical semantic configuration are distinguished: participants, process and circumstance.”

In transitivity, the process is the nucleus of the analysis. Each of the major process types – material, mental, relational, and verbal – consists of an actor, and in some cases, some processes also consist of a goal (Hart, 2014). Interests or ideologies may be read into the choice of process type: a material process (e.g. walking), which conveys a strong sense of doing, may be interpreted as signalling greater commitment to a given goal than a mental process (e.g. encourage) or a verbal process (e.g. mumble).

Another tool for unpacking how reality is represented, or the ideological underpinnings of representation, is referred to as mystification analysis. Mystification analysis can be defined as “the ability of the clause to defocus or altogether conceal aspects of the realities described in discourse to different ideological effects” (Hart, 2014: 30). The two prominent grammatical devices in this analysis are the passive voice and nominalisation (Hart, 2014). According to Hodge and Kress (1993: 26), “the passive voice enables the speaker to place the actor in the less focal Rheme so that the causal connection between agent and process is at least syntactically loosened”. In this instance, the actor is not seen as the first element of the clause and thus there is a looser connection between the actor and the process. This may be a strategy of weakening/concealing responsibility for a certain action. The agentless passive also forms part of the passive voice. Here, the actor is completely omitted from the clause and, in turn, no one is specified as having responsibility for the process (Hart, 2014). Nominalisations, on the other hand, deal with the reification of process: processes are not depicted as processes. As a result of this, participants or circumstances are in many cases omitted. These elements related to

nominalisation and passivizing clauses result in concealment of information, as well as a neglect of responsibility.

Critical discourse analysis serves as a useful framework for the analysis of ideology and power mechanisms in language policies. In his work on CDA and Language Policy and Planning, Lo Bianco (2009) states:

“CDA has shown convincingly that public texts often carry agendas they conceal and ‘surgical linguistics’ can productively expose both message and mechanisms of concealment.” (2009: 112-113).

In Lo Bianco’s context, language policy forms part of public policy developed by the government, and critical evaluation of these texts is important to ensure the democratic treatment of its citizens. Like Lo Bianco, Shohamy is also of the view that language policies are public texts, and they have been known to have hidden agendas embedded within them (Shohamy, 2006). The use of CDA in the analysis of language policies is therefore legitimate.

There are relatively few other studies that have employed CDA in studying language policies. A study that has employed Fairclough’s dialectical-relational approach is the one by Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni (2011) who used CDA to explore how political discourse in the Naivasha language policy reflects the historical context of Sudan (Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni, 2011: 5). CDA was used to uncover how issues of hegemony, language ideology, power asymmetries and social inequality in language planning processes have been manifested in policy text (Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni, 2011: 3). Through the use of CDA, the study ultimately revealed that the language policy presents a misalignment: English has been made an official language at the national level, even though the language is used by citizens in a limited sense. CDA has shown that the inclusion of English in the language policy was politically motivated, and part of new national identity (Abdelhay, Makoni & Makoni, 2011).

A study in the United States by Johnson (2011) combines CDA and ethnography to analyse the language policies of the School District of Philadelphia. Here, CDA is employed for its emphasis on textual analysis and its capacity to reveal mechanisms like ideology operating in language policy. This study is interested in how federal educational language policy in the USA has been recontextualised in the School District of Philadelphia and its implications for bilingual education (Johnson, 2011: 268). The findings are that, in the process of recontextualisation, the goals of the policy have shifted from the development of multilingual classrooms to the sole use

and development of English (Johnson, 2011). This study illustrates the ability of CDA to prise open ideological agendas hidden in text, and here specifically language policy.

Critical discourse analysis and policy analysis are two frameworks that provide a complimentary view on language policy issues. On the one hand, policy analysis incorporates the practical elements of policy, following a logical flow in the process of policy development. On the other hand, critical discourse analysis interrogates the policy, a public text, from the standpoint of interest and ideology. Combined, these two frameworks provide a lens for analysing language policy beyond the scope of the policy text, to also include the policy process, and the broader social context.



Chapter Four

Methodology

This chapter describes the methodology that is employed in this study; it describes the approach, the data types, how the data will be collected, and how the data will be analysed.

4.1 Approach

This study has employed both qualitative and quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis. What makes qualitative research different from quantitative research is that it is not interested in the numerical aspect of data, but rather in the significance of data (Rasmussen, Østergaard & Beckman, 2006: 93). Qualitative research is seen as an approach that captures the “cognitive and emotional aspects from the respondents” and delves into the understanding and perceptions that the respondents have toward certain issues rather than generalising a population group (Rasmussen, Østergaard & Beckman, 2006: 93-94). Qualitative research focuses on respondents’ world views, norms and beliefs and analyses how these phenomena influence their perceptions of various issues within society. Quantitative research, on the other hand, employs numeric values to analyse data. It is concerned with numbers as evidence, and uses statistical analysis to interpret and gain understanding about a specific phenomenon being studied (Johnson, 2008).

In the study, I use qualitative analysis to analyse interview data through the lens of the policy analysis literature in order to understand the processes of developing university language policy documents, as well as the relationship of these processes to those documented in the policy analysis literature.

With respect to the quantitative analysis, I employ descriptive statistics to determine the number of different experiential/ideational processes that function within each language policy. Each process represents some form of action, some more symbolic than others (e.g. the material process represents a strong sense of doing whilst the mental process relies more on abstract concepts such as ‘encouragement’ or ‘support’). The quantitative analysis will present a narrow, but important depiction of the type of process operating in the policy provisions, by showing which processes are used to realise each provision.

4.2 Data type and data collection

Given that the term ‘language policy’ has several meanings, it is important to clarify which meanings are of interest in this study. According to Lo Bianco (2009), we may speak of language policy as text, language policy as discourse, and language policy as practice. The first notion refers to the actual language policy document; the second to the debates, contestations and discourses preceding or following the document; the third to the language practices following the promulgation of the document. In this thesis, I will be focusing on two of these notions: language policy as text, and language policy as discourse.

In my study, I analyse two types of data: language policy documents and interview data on the processes of developing two university language policies (and the associated discourses). The two language policies analysed are those of the University of the Western Cape (2003) and Stellenbosch University (2002). These policies were downloaded from the websites of the respective universities. Using apartheid-era classifications, the University of the Western Cape would be classified a Historically Black University and Stellenbosch University a Historically Afrikaans University. Examining the two types of institutions can potentially reveal different approaches to language policy and transformation. These policies are available in the public domain (on the websites of the respective universities).

With respect to data on how the language policies of universities were developed (that is, language policy as discourse), key informants in each institution were identified to take part in semi-structured interviews (*see appendix 1 for interview questions*). Key informants were individuals who were involved in or close to the processes of developing the institution’s language policy. Interviewees gave consent for the interviews to be audio recorded, and notes were also recorded by hand. The interviews were transcribed to facilitate analysis. Data from these interviews were supplemented with available literature (published and unpublished) on the subject of the development of the university language policy. The key informants who are all senior academics of the chosen institutions had been assured of confidentiality, and therefore they cannot be profiled.

4.3 Analysis

The overall framework for analysis employed was Fairclough’s relational-dialectic approach to CDA. It will be recalled that the approach has three analytic stages: description, interpretation

and explanation. In our use of this approach, these stages did not operate in water-tight compartments. Textual analysis of the language policy documents involved description with some interpretation; analysis of the interview similarly involved description, but also served simultaneously as interpretation and explanation of the textual analysis; both textual and interview analyses will then be placed in context to derive broader social explanations for observations made within them.

In order to address the study's first objective (the commitment in the language policies to the creation of an inclusive, multilingual space), the two language policies were subjected to a qualitative and quantitative critical discourse analysis. The assumption will be that the language policies are responding to national level directives around the creation of a multilingual Higher Education environment that reflects the realities of a post-apartheid society. The descriptive aspect of the critical discourse analysis will make use of transitivity analysis (from Systemic Functional Linguistics), in order to closely identify how the resources of language have been used to create patterns of commitment.

Another major set of analytical tools to be employed centre around the notion of demodalisation. The situations in which demodalisations occur can be defined by the fact that “they construe stability and non-negotiability by backgrounding specific details of the interaction, such that the issue of interpersonal control becomes both dissimulated and naturalized” (Iedema, 2000: 50). Hence, through this process, different strategies are employed to distance the stakeholder from the desired action and to make the desired action non-challengeable. On the other side of the spectrum is activation (Van Leeuwen, 1996), wherein “social actors are presented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity” (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 43). Thus, it serves the opposite function to demodalisation. Declarations that do not mention actors or that passivizes the clause may be ideological in that it may communicate or conceal specific viewpoints or interests. Thus, whenever responsibility is given to the bigger institutional actors, clauses may be passivized, or in some instances, may not have actors, and these strategies then “distance commander from commandee” (Iedema, 2000: 50)

Conditional clauses as part of the umbrella term of conditionals “state in what kind of possible scenarios a given proposition is true.” (von Fintel, 2011: 2). In most cases, the condition starts with the word “if”. A conditional clause is used to state the requirements that have to be met for a certain action to be performed. In the area of language policies, especially in Africa, conditional clauses have come to be referred to as ‘escape clauses’ (Bamgbose, 1991). These

clauses are, in certain instances, used to weaken the commitment to provisions because they include one or the other requirement for the enactment of a provision. Such requirements are believed to be there so they serve as barriers to implementation. In the analysis of the language policy texts, I explore the positioning of the conditional clauses in relation to the languages they are applied to, as well as the clarity or the ambiguity of the conditional. Through these criteria, suggestions of the level of commitment toward various provisions are revealed.

Quirk et al. (1985) define modality as “the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker’s judgment of the likelihood of the proposition of the sentence being true” (p. 219). Modality can thus be defined as the confidence the speaker/writer has in her statement being true. In the case of the language policy texts, the modal verbs of the provisions are analysed in terms of what they espouse: obligation versus suggestion, etc. In the analysis, I explore which provisions (i.e. relating to what languages) tend to be accompanied by what type of modal verb in an attempt to find a pattern in the commitment levels the university shows toward the different languages.

Related to modality is the notion of hedging. According to Fraser (2010: 201),

“Hedging is a rhetorical strategy. By including a particular term, choosing a particular structure, or imposing a specific prosodic form on the utterance, the speaker signals a lack of a full commitment either to the full category membership of a term or expression in the utterance (content mitigation), or to the intended illocutionary force of the utterance (force mitigation). Simply put, it is attenuation of the full value which the utterance would have, absent the hedging”

Hedging can thus be seen as a ‘strategy’ through which weak commitment toward a statement can be conveyed. In the analysis of the language policy text, hedging is analysed in relation to the provision for which (i.e. what language) it is used and not used.

Each language policy was read several times and annotated/commented upon from the standpoint of these analytical frameworks and then coded to facilitate counting. According to Terre Blanche, et al (2006), coding means “breaking up the data in analytically relevant ways” which entails “marking different sections of the data as being instances of, or relevant to, one or more of your themes.” (2006: 324). The quantitative aspect of critical discourse analysis comes in because observations or features in the language policy texts was counted up (e.g. the number of different process types in a policy or section of a policy).

In responding to the second objective (to employ interview data to describe the processes of developing the university language policies and to account for these processes from the standpoint of the policy analysis literature), the study undertook a qualitative thematic analysis of the interviews. After being transcribed, passages in interviews were coded according to what stages of the policy development process they correspond to.

To address the third objective (on the use of the interview data as well as broader social factors to explain the shape of, and commitments in, the language policy texts), I searched for intertextual and interdiscursive links between the language policy as text and the language policy as discourse (as documented in the interview data, supplementary literature and as can be inferred in national level policies as well as from historical knowledge). The concern here is to explain the language policy as text, to show how commitments in the language policy text are shaped by broader social factors.

For the fourth objective (exploring the implications of findings associated with the foregoing objectives for discussing language and transformation in Higher Education, and for understanding and researching the complexity of university language policies), I reflect on how the findings show that the attainment of certain transformation goals may be compromised by commitments in the language policies. In other words, I problematize the texts of language policies (from the standpoint of transformation). I reflect on the oft-repeated view that the policies are excellent and that the only problem is with implementation. I also reflect on whether conformity of language policy development processes to established knowledge in the policy analysis literature can itself be a smokescreen that conceals interests of the powerful. I also draw on the findings to illustrate the importance of using language policy as discourse to make sense of language policy as text.

Chapter Five

A critical discourse analysis and experiential analysis of the language policy texts of UWC and SUN

This chapter deals with a critical discourse analysis of the two university language policies: the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch University (SUN). Critical discourse analysis takes place at three levels: description, interpretation and explanation. Though these stages of analysis are discretely labelled, they are often interwoven. In this chapter, both description and interpretation stages will be addressed in order to provide a more holistic analysis.

5.1 University of the Western Cape language policy

The language policy of the University of the Western Cape is two pages long, consisting of six sections which are clearly identified through bold subtitles (*see appendix 2*). The sections are as follows:

- Preamble
- Languages of Teaching, Learning and Assessment
- Access to Academic and Professional Discourse
- Promoting Multilingualism
- Languages of Internal Communication
- Languages of External Communication

The provisions related to Language of Teaching, Learning and Assessment are laid out under the following sub-headings:

- Language(s) used in lectures, tutorials and practicals
- Language(s) used in the setting of tasks/assignments/examination
- Language(s) used/allowed in the writing of assignments/examinations
- Language(s) in which text material is available
- Language(s) students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities

Although there is no explicit mention of languages used in research or taught as subjects (cf. Grin 2010), the language policy contains detailed provisions for other domains of communication in the university space. The section titled “The Languages of Teaching, Learning and Assessment” lays out extensive sub-headings on the various domains included within it.

5.1.1 Preamble

The UWC language policy, like many other policies, begins with a preamble that functions as a starting point which indicates the purpose of the policy, and the goal for which the policy was created (Varga, 1971). The preamble can also be seen as an instrument for creating/projecting a certain self-image of the institution or the policy document. It therefore becomes interesting to determine the extent to which this image is, for instance, detached from or connected to the actual contents of the policy. The preamble to UWC’s language policy reads as follows:

“The University of the Western Cape is a multilingual university, alert to its African and international context. It is committed to helping nurture the cultural diversity of South Africa and build an equitable and dynamic society. This language policy relates to one aspect of that commitment. It attempts to guide institutional language practice so that it furthers equity, social development and a respect for our multilingual heritage.” (UWC Language Policy, 2003: 1)

As the following analysis (Experiential Analysis within Systemic Functional Linguistics) shows, this preamble identifies the institution with multilingualism and diversity.

Clause 1	The University of the Western Cape	Is	a multilingual university, alert to its African and international context.
	Identified	Process: Identifying	Identifier

Clause 2	It	is	committed [[to helping nurture the cultural diversity of South Africa]]
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	Identified	Process: Identifying	Identifier
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Clause 3	And	build	an equitable and dynamic society.
		Process: Material	Goal

Clause 4	This language policy	Relates	to one aspect of that commitment.
	Carrier	Process: Attributive	Attribute

Clause 5	It	attempts to guide	institutional language practice
	Actor	Process: Material	Goal

Clause 6	so that	it	Furtheres	equity, social development and a respect for our multilingual heritage.
		*Participant: non-sensate being	Process: Mental	Phenomenon

The processes that occur in the above analysis are the Identifying process, the Material Process, the Attributive process and the Mental process. The Identifying process ascribes an identity to the participant, the Attributive process assigns an attribute or a trait to the participant, the Material process refers to physical activity, and the Mental process relates to perception, cognition and emotion (Egins, 2004). The Verbal process identifies/relays the direct words or

paraphrased words of a speaker, and the Relational Possessive processes refer to a possession of a speaker (Eggins, 2004).

The Identifying process and the Material process signal strong commitment toward a provision – for example: “The university will make multilingual resources available” and “X is a multilingual university”. In the first example, action is signalled through the verb phrase “will make”, and in the second instance, the identity of a “multilingual university” is ascribed to university X. In both of these examples, strong commitment is shown toward multilingualism. It might even be argued that the Identifying process reveals or communicates a stronger sense of commitment than the Material process (because it presents something of the essence of a participant). With a Mental process, the commitment declines. In the example “The university considers multilingualism as a positive resource,” the commitment seems to decline. In the Mental process “considers” there is no indication of action. The university only seems to be showing awareness toward the usefulness of multilingualism as a resource.

Let us now analyse the preamble in light of the above clarification of processes and degrees of commitment conveyed. In clause 1, the linking verb “is” functions as an Identifying process which makes the first participant (“The University of the Western Cape”) the Identified. The Identifying process is defined as ascribing an identity to its subject. In this instance, UWC is giving itself the identity of a “multilingual university”. However, the clause does not end there; it continues by stating that UWC is “alert to its African and international context”. Here, UWC identifies itself as being conscious of its position both locally and internationally.

In clause 2, the verb “is” functions as an Identifying process. Here, the university identifies itself as “committed to helping nurture the cultural diversity of South Africa”. The word “nurture” is usually used in the context of bringing up children and tending to them in a caring and protective environment. Thus, in this context, the university expresses its dedication to care and protect the cultural differences that we are exposed to on a daily basis in South Africa. It not only vows or pledges to achieve this goal, but ascribes an identity to the institution as a helper and a nurturer of cultural diversity. Clause 3, the second clause in this clause complex, uses the Material process “build” that expresses a physical activity. The preamble uses this word to refer to the goal of building “an equitable and dynamic society”. The use of the Material process expresses action and work and a priority toward the goal. However, the action of building a society is metaphorical. The use of the material process “build” creates a powerful metaphor which

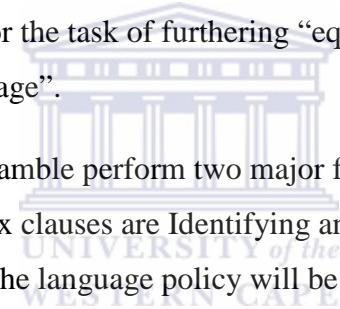
expresses the need for work in order to attain the goal of living in an equitable and dynamic society.

The verb “relates” in clause 4 is identified as an Attributive process. Here, the UWC language policy assigns an attribute to itself: to cater to the “one aspect” of the abovementioned commitment which is answered in clause five. In this clause, the verb “attempts” is identified as a Material process. The participant labelled “It”, referring to the language policy, is derived from the previous clause and the Goal of this clause is “to guide institutional practice”.

In clause 5 of the preamble, the first mention of “language practice” is made. The university makes the task of guiding “institutional practice” the responsibility of the policy by making the language policy the subject of the clause.

The last clause of the clause complex (clause 6) contains the verb “furthers”, which is identified as a Mental process. Again, the preamble identifies the language policy as an actor. In this clause, the actor is responsible for the task of furthering “equity, social development and a respect for our multilingual heritage”.

In sum, the six clauses of the preamble perform two major functions: identifying the University with certain values (two of the six clauses are Identifying and one clause is an Attributive process), and showing the work the language policy will be doing in order for the University’s self-identification to be meaningful (two of the six clauses are Material processes). The following thematic progression summarises the analysis (where T stands for theme; R for rheme).



UWC Preamble

T1 **R1**

UWC → is a multilingual...

T2 **R2**

It → is committed to...

T3 **R3**

This language policy → relates to...

T4 **R4**

It → attempts...

T5 **R5**

It → furthers...

Now that we have seen how the preamble projects the institution’s self-image and views the language policy, we can turn to the analysis of the contents or provisions of the policy,

considering questions such as: to what extent are the provisions detached from or connected to the preamble? What are the different levels of commitment shown toward multilingualism versus English? Through what types of linguistic features are these different levels of commitment revealed?

5.1.2 Beyond the preamble: policy provisions

The analysis of the provisions is not only linked to an Experiential Analysis like the preamble, but also includes an analysis of the modal verbs, responsibility, voice and conditionality.

The provisions of the policy deal with a number of topics. A sample provision on the languages of teaching, learning and assessment is: “[l]ectures, tutorials and practicals for any module will be delivered in the languages formally approved by the Faculty concerned, in accordance with the spirit of the policy”; one provision on access to academic and professional discourse reads as follows: “[a]ll students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy”; with respect to promoting multilingualism, one of the clauses states that “[a]ll students will be encouraged, through enrichment programmes, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa” ; under languages of internal communication there is a provision stating that “[e]ssential information, such as rules, will be made available in the three languages as a matter of priority” ; an example of a provision under languages of external communication states that “[s]ignage on campus will progressively be in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, having due regard to readability and aesthetic considerations”.

5.1.2.1 Experiential Analysis

Doing an Experiential Process Analysis of all the provisions in the policy (not just the samples presented above) gives the picture presented in Table 2. The Table shows the number of clauses per section in the policy along with the number of processes that function within it. This gives an indication of the main processes operating within the UWC language policy, and also the dominance of processes per section. The dominance of processes like the Material processes, the Identifying processes and the Mental processes in the different sections of the policy gives an indication of where the university’s commitment lies. The Mental process, as opposed to the Material process that signals action, can signal awareness on the side of the university to various

problems that need to be addressed. Although evidence of awareness is in itself a positive development, it does not necessarily translate into action. For example “[i]f lecturers are competent users of other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages in addition of the main language of teaching”. (Text underlined in examples provided highlight the specific feature being described). The use of the Mental process “encourage” is different from obligation. Thus, if a lecturer does not consider multilingualism as a valuable resource, they are not obliged by the policy to use it, irrespective of the needs of the students. In this way, awareness does not translate into action.

Table 2: Layout of provisions in UWC’s language policy

Layout of provisions in UWC’s language policy and the processes that function within these provisions						
	Languages of Teaching, Learning and Assessment	Access to Academic and Professional Discourse	Promoting Multilingualism	Languages of Internal Communication	Languages of External Communication	Total
Material	5/11	0/2	1 / 2	9/16	2/7	17/38
Mental	1/11	0/2	1 / 2	2/16	1/7	5/38
Identifying	2/11	0/2	0/2	1/16	3/7	6/38
Attributive	2/11	0/2	0/2	2/16	0/7	4/38
Relational: Possessive	0/11	2/2	0/2	1/16	0/7	3/38
Verbal	1/11	0/2	0/2	1/16	1/7	3/38

As Table 2 shows, in the provisions dealing with “Languages of Teaching, Learning and Assessment” there are eleven clauses. Of these eleven clauses, five use Material processes e.g. “[r]egarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used [[wherever it is practicable to do so]]”; one employs a Mental process “they are encouraged to use these languages in addition to the main

language of teaching”; two make use of Identifying processes e.g. “the language [[in which tasks, assignments, test and examinations should be completed]] shall be English”; two use Attributive processes (e.g. “[i]f lecturers are competent users of other languages”); and one uses a Verbal process “[u]nless otherwise negotiated between a student or a class and a lecturer”.

The second section of the policy provisions titled “Access to Academic and Professional Discourse” consists of only two clauses. In both of these clauses, the processes are identified as Relational Possessive processes – for example, “[a]ll students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy skills”.

The third section, “Promoting Multilingualism”, is just as brief as the previous section, also consisting of only two clauses. Here, the clauses are identified as Material and Mental processes respectively – for example, the Mental process in “[a]ll students will be encouraged, through enrichment programs, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa”. In this clause, the verb is seen as an Identifying process.

“Languages of Internal Communication” is the largest section in the policy, consisting of sixteen clauses. In this section, there are nine Material processes (e.g. “[e]ssential information, such as rules, will be made available as a matter of priority”); two Mental processes (e.g. “[i]f departments for whatever reason deem it necessary”); one Identifying process (e.g. “[t]he main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English”); two Attributive processes (e.g. “provided that it is practicable to do so”); one Relational Possessive process (e.g. “[t]he university shall have staff available to assist”) and one Verbal process (e.g. “[s]hould a speaker prefer to speak in either Afrikaans or Xhosa”).

In the last section dealing with the provisions associated with “Languages of External Communication”, there are seven clauses. Here, there are two Material processes (e.g. “the information will be translated into that language”); one Mental process (e.g. “unless sensitivity to the recipient requires use of another language”); three Identifying processes (e.g. “[t]he languages used for external communication shall normally be English”); and one Verbal process (e.g. “[i]f individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa”).

The overall policy, excluding the preamble, consists of 38 clauses. Material processes account for 44.7% of processes in the policy. This is followed by Identifying processes with 15.8%, Mental processes with 13.2%, and Attributive process with 10.5%. The Relational Possessive process and Verbal process come in at 7.9% each.

The clear dominance of the Material process may signal a strong sense of action in the policy, and this, in turn signals commitment. The Identifying process can also be seen as a powerful process as it is used by the university to ascribe different identities to itself.

An overview of the Experiential processes operating in the policy gives a fairly positive view of the active commitment (in the form of the Material processes) taking place. Let us now analyse these same provisions, using other tools of investigation.

5.1.2.2 A broader view of the UWC language provisions

When different lenses are used to analyse the UWC language policy, a more detailed depiction of the commitment toward multilingualism appears. Indeed, a different picture emerges when the language policy provisions are analysed in terms of conditionality, responsibility, modal verbs, and hedging, in combination with process types. Though the language policy provisions consist of a majority of Material processes, further analysis illuminates the areas of the policy's non-commitment toward multilingualism, especially in the areas of development and inclusion. This analysis, as will be seen, reveals a strong commitment toward English. English is the default language and linguistic resources are strategically used to encode this preference which, on a superficial reading of the language policy, may not be obvious. The following analysis will attempt to reveal the inconsistencies with respect to commitment toward multilingualism and English respectively.

Four perspectives will be used to illustrate the abovementioned argument.

- Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through demodalisation/activation;
- Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through the use/non-use of conditional clauses;
- Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through modal verbs on obligation; and
- Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through choice of process types.

Let us turn to analysis of the data.

5.1.2.3 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through demodalisation/activation.

As seen earlier, demodalisation can be described as clauses or clause complexes that come across as non-negotiable. These can be accomplished through the leaving out of interpersonal

elements in the clause so as to create a distance between ‘commander and commandee’ (Iedema, 2000: 50), or the passivization of the clause. On the other hand, activation is the inclusion of actors and action, thus foregrounding the active nature of a clause (Van Leeuwen, 1996).

Contrary to the picture presented in the preamble, it appears as if English is the preferred language, considering the data on demodalisation and activation. In sample data to be provided subsequently, whenever responsibility is shifted away from the UWC management to smaller actors like the lecturer, the clauses are active. Whenever more powerful actors like the implied UWC management, or the departments are responsible, the clauses are either passive or agentless. Stated differently, in the provisions involving English, suppression of actors/demodalisation may be specifically used to “de-emphasize the interpersonal nature of the must-ness by objectifying [the] control” and to “fix the desired action as non-negotiable objectified and already existing thing” (Iedema, 2000: 50). See the following examples.

Clause 7: The language [in which tasks, assignments, tests and examination should be completed] shall be English.

Clause 12: All students will have access to entry-level courses aimed at strengthening their English oral and aural skills and improving their academic literacy in English.

Clause 13: All students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy in English.

Clause 16: The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English.

Clause 32: The language used for external communication shall normally be English

Clause 37: In all cases, the official version shall be the English version.

In all the provisions above, there is an absence of actors, but a strong sense of action, as these provisions come across almost as orders. As a result of these features, these provisions seem naturalised – as if these provisions should just be followed without question. Strong commitment is shown toward the areas related to the completion of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations; academic literacy; internal communication, and information as seen in clauses 7, 12, 13, 16 and 37. The situation is somewhat different in clause 32, where the use of the hedge “normally” invites the use of other languages in the domain of external communication.

However, the absence of an actor still suggests that this provision is not seen as being up for contestation or debate.

It is important to point out that, although there are provisions on multilingualism which like the above examples exclude actors (and passivize the clause), these provisions lack the force (of imperative-type utterances) of provisions involving English exclusively. Consider the following examples:

Clause 5: Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used [wherever it is practicable to do so.]

Clause 8: Regarding the languages in which texts are available, efforts should be made to provide alternative options in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa,

These provisions exclude the actors and passivize the clause; however, in contrast to the provisions for English, there is less of an imperative tone. In clauses 5 and 8, the use of the modal verb “should” (as will be discussed later in this chapter) suggests the provisions should be taken as a recommendation. In clauses 5 and 8, suggestions are made. In clause 5, the provision states that English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used in the setting of tasks. In clause 8, it states that “efforts” should be made to provide texts in all three languages. However, there are no actors mentioned to own or to be held accountable for these actions. In these provisions, it seems as if the absence of the actors is a tactical move, from the side of university management, to avoid responsibility to implement these provisions. This in turn makes English the default language. Thus, these techniques – the absence of the actors and the passivizing – can be used for different purposes.

In most cases, the provisions involving Afrikaans and isiXhosa have some form of activation. The provisions involving English are notably different to the provisions concerning Afrikaans and isiXhosa. Instead of maintaining a distance between the actor and the stakeholder, some of the provisions below are active, and all include an actor. In the provisions below, a different numbering system will be used as these provisions do not refer to clauses, but the full provisions as they occur in the language policy text.

- a) If lecturers are competent users of other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages in addition to main languages of teaching if such practice facilitates communication or discussion.*

- b) *If individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa, the information will be translated into that languages, and the translated version will be sent to the individual accompanied by the English version.*
- c) *Regarding the languages students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities, departments should actively seek to appoint some student tutors who can assist students in Xhosa and/or Afrikaans, as well as English.*
- d) *If departments for whatever reason deem it necessary, or because research into the needs of the client group reveals a clear need, Afrikaans and Xhosa translations of formal communication should be made available, provided that it is practicable [to do so.]*
- e) *The university undertakes to make language acquisition courses in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa available to both administrative and lecturing staff.*
- f) *However, the university will progressively make important information available in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.*
- g) *Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans, use will be made of informal interpreting, if it is practicable to do so.*
- h) *The university shall have staff available to assists enquirers in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, particularly in advisory session and at registration and in the examination periods.*

In all the provisions related to the use of Afrikaans and isiXhosa, there is some form of activation. In examples (c) and (d), the provisions lists departments as actors. In example (a), the provision refers to the lecturer as the actor, whilst example (b) gives the responsibility toward individuals. Examples (f) – (h), refer to the university as the actors responsible for implementing the provisions, though example (g) is more of an assumed actor.

It seems rather striking that this was not the case with the English-only provisions. A plausible interpretation is that the English provisions give a sense of “it is how it is” – they are non-negotiable. The Afrikaans and isiXhosa provisions, on the other hand, do not have the same effect. The inclusion of the actors gives an interpersonal effect to the provisions, and the active nature of the clause gives a sense that the action still needs to be fulfilled. The provisions pertaining to Afrikaans and isiXhosa come across as negotiable.

The non-contestable nature of the English provisions versus the contestability of the Afrikaans/isiXhosa provisions might be taken to indicate that there is a preference for English in

the UWC language policy. This analysis does not support the multilingual picture of UWC that is portrayed in the preamble – instead, the analysis indicates that UWC is biased towards English, and is dedicated to maintaining the use of English in many domains and ensuring its status as a language of power is not challenged by other languages.

5.1.2.4 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through use/non-use of conditional clauses

In this section, the use and non-use of conditional clauses are discussed. In this analysis, it will be seen that English is the preferred language and other languages are seen as option B.

The conditional clauses in the UWC language policy are used for two reasons: to indicate a need for the use of other languages; and secondly, to denote practicability.

The following conditional clauses are used to indicate that when there is a need, other languages can be used – making English the default language.

- *If lecturers are competent users of other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages in addition to main languages of teaching if such practice facilitates communication or discussion.*
- *Unless otherwise negotiated between a student or a class and a lecturer, the language [[in which tasks, assignments, tests and examinations should be completed] shall be English.*
- *If departments for whatever reason deem it necessary, or because research into the needs of the client group reveals a clear need, Afrikaans and Xhosa translations of formal communication should be made available, provided that it is practicable [[to do so.]]*
- *Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans or Xhosa, use will be made of informal interpreting, if it is practicable [to do so.]*
- *The languages used for external communication shall normally be English, unless sensitivity to the recipient requires use of another language.*
- *If individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa, the information will be translated into that language, and the translated version will be sent to the individual accompanied by the English version.*

In the conditional clauses above, the use of Afrikaans and isiXhosa is made dependent on a need for a language other than English. Thus, it is not readily available; a need first has to be

established. If this interpretation were to be linked to the previous point on demodalisation and what is (non-)contestable, it becomes obvious that the establishment of a need can become a contentious issue. Looking at some of the provisions in this light, one may ask what constitutes and who defines (in) sensitivity, who defines the terms of a negotiation, who determines competence in the use of a language, and so on. Of course, while the debate around these issues is raging, English continues unchallenged.

Other conditional clauses in the UWC language policy communicate that other languages can only be used depending on practicability. It is interesting to note that these conditional clauses are hardly used in relation to English.

- *Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignment, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used wherever it is practicable to do so.*
- *Regarding the languages in which texts are available, efforts should be made to provide alternative options in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, wherever it is practicable to do so.*
- *If departments for whatever reason deem it necessary, or because research into the needs of the client group reveals a clear need, Afrikaans and Xhosa translations of formal communication should be made available, provided that it is practicable [[to do so.]]*
- *Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans or Xhosa, use will be made of informal interpreting, if it is practicable [[to do so.]]*

Though the first two provisions include the use of English, it was seen in the previous section (differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through demodalisation/activation) that commitment to English in almost all spheres of language use is strongly signalled. The conditional clause relating to practicability can be seen as ambiguous as many individuals can define practicability in different ways. The conditional clause on practicability is never used solely in relation to English. This suggests a strong commitment to English.

The use of conditional clauses in the abovementioned examples may raise questions about the university's commitment to the inclusion of Afrikaans and isiXhosa in domains of institutional life. Certainly, these conditional clauses are at odds with the view presented in the preamble of the language policy, establishing UWC as a "multilingual university".

5.1.2.5 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through modal verbs on obligation

The use of modal auxiliary verbs in the provisions provides another lens for analysing differential commitment in the language policy text. In the provisions involving the use of Afrikaans and isiXhosa, the modal verbs used seem to be advisory, or to be linked to goals to be achieved in the long term. Consider the following examples:

- a) *Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignment, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used wherever it is practicable to do so.*
- b) *Regarding the languages [in which texts are available], efforts should be made [[to provide alternative options in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa,]]*
- c) *All students will be encouraged, through enrichment programmes, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.*
- d) *Afrikaans and Xhosa translations of formal communication should be made available*
- e) *Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans or Xhosa, use will be made of formal interpreting*
- f) *In appointing staff who deal directly with students, the university will make their capacity to assist students in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa a strong recommendation.*
- g) *If individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa, the information will be translated into that language, and the translated version will be sent to the individual accompanied by the English version.*
- h) *However, the university will progressively make important information available in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.*
- i) *Regarding the languages [[students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities,]] departments should actively seek to appoint some student tutors [[who can assist students in Xhosa and/or Afrikaans, as well as English.]]*
- j) *Signage on campus will progressively be in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, having due regard to readability and aesthetic considerations*

From the data above, four provisions (examples a,b,d,i) appear to be advisory through the use of modal verb “should”, and six provisions (examples c,e,f,g,h, j) suggest a long term goal through the use of the modal verb ”will”. These modal verbs do not indicate a strong commitment to these provisions. The modal verb “should” suggests that these provisions can be taken as a recommendation, thus no action needs to be taken if it is not preferred. The modal verb “will” in

these examples indicates a long term goal. Note that in examples (h) and (j) the adverb "progressively" is sandwiched between the modal auxiliary and the main verb – thus there is no urgency with respect to the time frame for when these goals needs to be achieved.

However, in the context of English, modal verbs convey the impression of injunction.

Clause 7: *The language [in which tasks, assignments, tests and examination should be completed] shall be English.*

Clause 16: *The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English.*

Clause 32: *The language used for external communication shall normally be English*

Clause 37: *In all cases, the official version shall be the English version.*

In all of these provisions, the modal verb "shall" is used. These provisions are suggestive of an imperative. There is no ambiguity related to these provisions. In these examples, there is an obvious commitment to the use of English in the UWC space. Whereas techniques like modal verbs signalling recommendations or long term goals, and the use of hedges are used for provisions involving Afrikaans and isiXhosa, there is a lack of these techniques for provisions pertaining to English. This is an obvious signal that the university shows preference for the use of English at UWC.

5.1.2.6 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through choice of processes

The choice of processes used with respect to the various provisions is noteworthy. With respect to policy, processes that signal action and commitment are seen as appropriate to the function that a policy is supposed to serve which, according to Anderson (2006: 18) is a "purposive course of action followed by an actor". As was suggested earlier, an Identifying process, in the context of analysing language policy as text, communicates the highest level of commitment since it deals with the identity of a participant. Admittedly, not every clause can possibly have an Identifying process but the fact of ascribing an identity to something can be seen as indicative of commitment, as an identity is not something that is easily negotiable. A process that signals action is the Material process, which is indicative of physical activeness. In opposition to these processes is the Mental process. The Mental process suggests awareness, but this does not necessarily translate into action.

In the UWC language policy, different processes are used in relation to different language provisions.

The provisions involving English use the Identifying process (underlined).

Clause 7: *The language [[in which tasks, assignments, tests and examination should be completed]] shall be English.*

Clause 16: *The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English.*

Clause 32: *The language used for external communication shall normally be English*

Clause 37: *In all cases, the official version shall be the English version.*

However, there are two cases where provisions use the Relational Possessive process (underlined):

Clause 12: *All students will have access to entry-level courses aimed at strengthening their English oral and aural skills and improving their academic literacy in English.*

Clause 13: *All students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy in English.*

The Relational Possessive process indicates a possession. Thus, English academic literacy is presented as a possession. These provisions have strong processes: ascribing an English identity to various language domains and posing English as a possession.

In the provisions pertaining to Afrikaans and isiXhosa, the Material process dominates, as seen below:

Clause 5: *Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignment, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used wherever it is practicable to do so.*

Clause 8: *Regarding the languages [in which texts are available], efforts should be made [to provide alternative options in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa,]*

- Clause 11: *Regarding the languages [students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities,] departments should actively seek to appoint some student tutors [who can assist students in Xhosa and/or Afrikaans, as well as English.]*
- Clause 14: *The university undertakes to make language acquisition courses in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa available to both administrative and lecturing staff.*
- Clause 17: *However, the university will progressively make important information available in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.*
- Clause 21: *Afrikaans and Xhosa translations of formal communication should be made available*
- Clause 24: *Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans,*
- Clause 25: *use will be made of informal interpreting*
- Clause 28: *In appointing staff who deal directly with students, the university will make their capacity to assist students in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa a strong recommendation*
- Clause 34: *If individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa,*
- Clause 35: *the information will be translated into that language,*

However, there is one Mental process:

- Clause 15: *All students will be encouraged, through enrichment programmes, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.*

One Relational Possessive process:

- Clause 27: *The university shall have staff available to assist enquirers in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, particularly in advisor sessions and at registration and in the examination periods.*

And lastly, one Identifying process:

- Clause 38: *Signage on campus will progressively be in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, having due regard to readability and aesthetic considerations*

In all of these provisions pertaining to Afrikaans and isiXhosa, the Material process dominates. This is unlike provisions directed at English in which Identifying processes dominated. On the face of it, the dominance of Material processes in provisions related to Afrikaans and isiXhosa suggests strong commitment. However, this commitment is tempered or watered down by the many associated conditional clauses, hedges, or passivizations.

The fact that in the main body of the UWC language policy uses the Identifying processes in connection with English says something of the identity the institution is projecting. Clearly, this identity is in direct contrast to the identity that emerged from the preamble of this language policy, identifying UWC as a multilingual university. One wonders what strategy is being played out here, in having the preamble communicate a certain identity while the body of the policy communicates a somewhat different institutional identity.

5.1.3 Summary

The analysis of the preamble of the UWC language policy paints a picture of multilingualism being incorporated into all spheres of language use at the university. This is justified by the use of the Material and the Identifying processes to establish UWC as a “multilingual university” dedicated to “help build” an equal society. Presumably, a preamble like this creates a sense of excitement for the content that will follow. It announces a picture of an institution in which multilingualism is infused in all domains and all languages are treated equitably. The preamble promises to “guide institutional language practice so that it furthers equity, social development, and a respect for our multilingual heritage”. However, after an analysis of the provisions, these promises appear to have been ‘textually broken’.

The idea of a “multilingual university alert to its African and international context” only seems to be alert to the latter, as a preference for English is strongly signalled in the analysis of the provisions. Experiential processes, modal verbs, agency, hedging, voice and conditionality are used to show that English is presented as the default language, and that other languages can be accommodated under a number conditions: competence, practicability, and on a long term basis.

It seems that the Identifying and Material processes used in the preamble gave the impression that a greater responsibility toward multilingualism will be enacted. Using a range of linguistic resources to weaken provisions on language diversity only makes such use subject to conditions. In terms of Iedema's (2000) ideas, the linguistic resources used in encoding language diversity

make this objective negotiable, amenable to flouting, etc. This view is in contrast to English provisions which are coded to place English in the default position.

A critical linguistic analysis of the UWC language policy shows the disconnection between the identity it portrays in the preamble and the accompanying provisions. The processes in the policy provisions, with the Material process being well represented (a ratio of 45%), may create a positive image of the commitment the university shows toward the use and development of languages aside from English. However, through the use of conditional clauses, voice and agency, much of the physical action represented in the Material processes have been evaded. In comparison to the iron-clad provisions laid out for English, we notice that the non-commitment the university shows toward Afrikaans and isiXhosa is a conscious choice, not a coincidence or an interpretation. The language policy of UWC pays lip service to its commitment to developing and using Afrikaans and Xhosa in any domain in the university space. From this critical overview of this language policy, UWC still has a long road to go in terms of fulfilling the identity it depicts in its preamble.

In Chapter 7, I will offer explanations for the above observations. For now, though, I present an analysis of the language policy of Stellenbosch University.



5.2 University of Stellenbosch language policy

In the context of the Stellenbosch University (hereafter SUN) community, there is a clear commitment to Afrikaans. In the analysis of the SUN language policy (¹2002) (*see appendix 3*), various linguistic strategies are employed to show this commitment. These strategies include the use of Experiential processes, modal verbs, hedging, conditionality and the presence/absence of actors. Though the SUN language policy includes the use of English and isiXhosa, the commitment towards Afrikaans remains dominant. The analysis of the SUN language policy not only reveals SUN's commitment to Afrikaans, but also shows the nuanced manner in which the university uses the language policy to justify their affection and protection of Afrikaans at every turn. The language policy is not merely a factual document that outlines the use of Afrikaans in

¹ Since the 2002 SUN language policy, two other policies have been approved within the space of a few months in 2015. The revision of the 2002 SUN language policy was implemented on 1 January 2015. However, a change in language policy, allocating English as the primary language of SUN, was announced on 13 November 2015 to be implemented in 2016 SUN academic year. The sudden change in language policy so soon after the 2015 language policy revision was a direct response to the Open Stellenbosch movement and the *Luister* video that was released earlier in 2015.

the language domains at SUN, it also provides several reasons for this decision. Almost each section points to a justification for the use of Afrikaans, while neglecting other languages (especially isiXhosa).

5.2.1 Layout

The SUN language policy (2002) is four pages long, and consists of seven sections which are highlighted in bold. The sections are as follows:

- **The core of the policy and the Introduction**

The core of the policy, together with the Introduction section, serves the same function as a policy preamble. These sections give information on the purpose for which the language policy was created, but they also state the aim the policy intends to fulfil within the university.

- **Principles**

The section on “Principles” consists of the values on which the language policy is based.

- **The multilingual context**

The section, labelled “The multilingual context”, has three sub-sections within it: Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. In this section, the university states the position that each of these languages plays, and also the commitment that the university makes toward each language.

- **Provisions of the language policy**

In the section on “Provisions of the language policy”, the language policy specifies the domains of language use for which it caters, and the languages that are used in each domain.

- **Language policy formation as a dynamic process**

The section on “Language policy formation as a dynamic process” serves as a reassurance that the university takes the process of developing a language policy as a serious task, but also a task that needs constant revision.

- **Language plan**

The small section labelled “Language Plan” only states that this language policy is accompanied by a language plan.

- **A policy directed toward the future**

The last section titled “A policy directed toward the future”, the university reveals how this language policy will address its vision for language within the SUN context.

As seen above, the Stellenbosch University language policy deals with more than just the practical aspects of language provisions. It also encompasses statements of the university’s views and commitment to the three regional languages, and especially to Afrikaans. It would appear that the university does not merely want the language policy to function as a practical document laying out the various languages to be used in the various domains. It also wants the language policy, as a whole, to serve as justification for the institution’s continued commitment to Afrikaans. Almost every section of the policy, except the “Language Plan” and “Language policy formation as a dynamic process” encompasses some sort of commitment to the development of Afrikaans in the university.

5.2.2 The core of the policy

The first two sections of the policy, the core of the policy and the Introduction, can be seen as the preamble of the policy as these sections discuss the goals of the policy. The themes operating in the policy’s Introduction, which are also clearly stated in the core of the policy, relate to the university’s commitment to the Afrikaans language, and the university’s position with respect to engagement with knowledge. These themes will be presented through an Experiential analysis of the core and the Introduction of the policy.

The Core of the Policy consists of two clauses.

Clause 1: The University of Stellenbosch is committed to the use and sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context.

Clause 2: Language is used at the University of Stellenbosch in a manner that is directed towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society.

In the first clause, the verb “is” is identified as an Attributive process. The participant, here, is identified as “The University of Stellenbosch” and their attribute is their commitment to the “use and sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context”. The second clause is identified as a Material process through the verb “is used”. The participant is identified as “Language”. The Goal in this clause points to the fact that language will be used “in a manner that is directed towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society”. The core of

the policy reveals two important factors of the SUN language policy: the university is dedicated to Afrikaans, and the most important function of the policy – transcending language - is the university’s engagement with knowledge. These themes are reflected in the Introduction section of the language policy, discussed below.

5.2.3 Introduction

The Introduction of the SUN language policy differs from a traditional preamble in that it does not employ emotive language. The SUN language policy uses the Introduction section to establish its focus areas. There are two dominant themes that run throughout the language policy: SUN’s commitment to Afrikaans, and the importance of the university’s engagement with knowledge. These two themes are stated in the Core of the policy, as Clause 1 and 2, and are discussed and justified throughout the policy.

The Introduction of the policy is split into two parts discussing the abovementioned themes. Clauses 3-11 deal with the university’s engagement with knowledge locally and internationally, and clauses 12-19 discuss SUN’s commitment to Afrikaans.

Clause 3: The core function of the University of Stellenbosch is its engagement with knowledge.

Clause 3 begins the introductory chapter with an Identifying process. Here, the “core function” of the university is identified as “its engagement with knowledge”. In this opening clause, the university identifies itself as an institution where knowledge production is the nucleus of its identity.

Clause 8: The University takes as a starting point

Clause 9: that the international context is of crucial significance in its engagement with knowledge.

In clauses 8 and 9, the university again uses the Identifying process to establish that the international context plays a “significan[t]” role in its “engagement with knowledge”. In this clause complex, the university, again, establishes the importance of its engagement with knowledge and identifies the international context as a factor that is “of crucial significance” for the abovementioned goal.

Clause 10: At the same time, the University is situated within the local socio-cultural context, both within South Africa and particularly in the Western Cape region.

In clause 10, the university uses the Material process to indicate its local position. In this clause, the Material process is identified through the verb phrase “is situated”. Here, the clause starts with circumstantial information stating that, whilst the university shows some form of commitment toward the international context and towards the engagement with knowledge, the institution also acknowledges its local position. It is interesting to note that while the university uses the Identifying process to state the “crucial significance” of the international context, it only uses a factual statement to recognise its local position by stating that the university is “situated” within South Africa and the Western Cape. Thus, in a sense, it would appear the university is placing its international and knowledge production aspirations above local considerations, and suggesting that issues of language need primarily to support these aspirations. We see that the university not only views “engagement with knowledge” as important, but also views the influence of the international context on knowledge production as a “crucial” element in its identity.

The second part of the Introduction deals with the university’s commitment to the Afrikaans language, but does so within the national discourse on multilingualism. Consider the following clauses:

Clause 12: One aspect of our society is that a variety of languages function within it.

Clause 13: The ascription in the Constitution of official status to eleven different languages amounts to an acknowledgement

Clause 14: that each of these languages is recognized as an asset.

Clause 12 serves as an acknowledgement that South Africa is a multilingual society. Clauses 13 and 14 state that it is as a result of the Constitution that each one these languages are seen as “asset[s]”.

In clauses 15 and 16, the university uses the Material process to state the functions of these languages.

Clause 15: that should be used as a means of developing the human potential of the country.

Clause 16: this important personal, professional and social asset should be exploited on a collective basis by the South African tertiary education sector to achieve this end.

In clauses 15 and 16, the modal construction “should be” is used to express an obligation toward “us[ing]” and “exploit[ing]” these languages. The purpose for which these languages should be used is to develop “the human potential”. But who is responsible for these actions? In clause 16, the university shifts the responsibility to develop these languages by identifying the “South African tertiary education sector” as the agent. Although this document is SUN’s language policy, the university shifts the responsibility to the Higher Education sector. So, on superficial reading, the policy may be praised for its acknowledgment of multilingualism as an asset, but in reality responsibility for translating this asset is passed on. In the next set of clauses, the university spells out what it is prepared to commit to within this discourse on multilingualism as an asset.

In clauses 18 and 19, the university makes its commitment to Afrikaans.

Clause 17: Against this background, the University makes a contribution to the development of Afrikaans as an academic language,

Clause 18: but at the same time takes into consideration the multicultural and multilingual reality of South Africa by, alongside the particular focus on Afrikaans, also taking English and isiXhosa into account.

In clause 17, the university uses the Material process to state that it will commit to the development of Afrikaans as “an academic language”. However, the clause begins with circumstantial information through the prepositional phrase “[a]gainst this background”. The background that the clause is referring to is present in clauses 12 to 16, and in this background, the language policy recites various factual information pertaining to the multilingual reality of South Africa, including the importance of developing these languages for exploiting our human potential. It is, though, against this specific background that SUN pledges its allegiance to only one language, Afrikaans. In clause 18, the university compensates by stating that “at the same time” it considers the multicultural and multilingual context of South Africa, and so “also” includes English and isiXhosa in the university context. The Introduction of the language policy concludes with the mention of English and isiXhosa in the last clause. In clause 18, the university states that it is as a result of the multilingual and multicultural reality of South Africa, that it takes English and isiXhosa “into account”. The manner in which clause 18 is phrased,

especially by including the supplementary clause on Afrikaans and the position of English and isiXhosa in the last position of the clause is symbolic of the status of these languages at the university. Afrikaans is first priority, and the inclusion of other languages is solely for the purpose of adhering to the multilingual reality of South Africa.

5.2.4 Principles

The section titled “Principles” is a section dedicated to the various structures, views and resources that the university “takes into account” in the implementation of the language policy. In this section, the language policy acknowledges various factors that it takes into account for the success of this policy. These factors include the influence of various policies, frameworks, the use and development of the three regional languages, and the incorporation of assets like language services to make the language policy successful. However, the language policy once again makes known its allegiance to the use and development of Afrikaans through the use of the Material process. On the other side of the spectrum, the language policy uses the Mental processes and escape clauses to evade responsibility toward English and especially isiXhosa. The university recognises, respects, and acknowledges the importance of isiXhosa as an asset to the local community; however it has no plan to cultivate the language for use in the various language domains of SUN.

In this section, the first clause is identified as an Identifying process.

Clause 21: The University is a centre of excellence directed toward the production of knowledge through research, learning and instruction.

The language policy commences with an Identifying process ascribing the identity of a “centre of excellence” to the university. This “centre of excellence” is fixed on the goal of producing “knowledge through research, learning and teaching”. However, it should be mentioned that all these functions occur through language, despite the provision above eliminating the role that languages (specific languages) plays in knowledge production, research, learning and instruction.

The use of languages is discussed in this section. The commitment that the university makes toward the three regional languages varies, and can be seen through an Experiential analysis of the clauses as well as through an analysis of conditionality and hedging. Table 3 is an analysis of the differential commitment the university makes towards the three regional languages.

Preceding Table 3 is a text box with the clauses involving the use of the three regional languages.

Textbox 1: The Experiential processes associated with the three regional languages

<u>Afrikaans</u>	
Clause 26:	<i>The University recognises the particular status of Afrikaans as an academic language</i>
Clause 27:	<i>and shares the responsibility for promoting Afrikaans as an academic language.</i>
<u>English</u>	
Clause 28:	<i>The University recognises the status of English as an important local and also acknowledged international academic language.</i>
<u>isiXhosa</u>	
Clause 29:	<i>The University recognises the status of isiXhosa as an important local language, but also as a developing academic language,</i>
Clause 30:	<i>and intends, within the limitations of what is possible, to contribute actively to its development.</i>

Table 3: A linguistic view of the commitment of Stellenbosch University’s language policy toward the three regional languages

	Experiential process	Experiential process	Conditional clause
Afrikaans	In clause 26	In clause 27	None
	MeP “recognises”	MaP “shares”	
English	In clause 28		None

	MeP “recognises”	None	
isiXhosa	In clause 29	In clause 30	“within the limitations of what is possible”
	MeP “recognises”	“MeP “intends to contribute”	

MeP = Mental process

MaP= Material process

In the examples above, each of these three languages are “recognise[d]” by the university (as shown in the underlined sections):

- *The University recognises the particular status of Afrikaans as an academic language and **shares** the responsibility for promoting Afrikaans as an academic language.*
- *The University recognises the status of English as an important local and also acknowledged international academic language.*
- *The University recognises the status of isiXhosa as an important local language, but also as a developing academic language, and **intends, within the limitations of what is possible, to contribute** actively to its development.*

However, different actions are used to enact these provisions as shown in the bolded underlined sections. With respect to Afrikaans, the university uses the verb “shares” to indicate the action the university will take toward developing and using Afrikaans. In this provision, the university announces that they “share” responsibility for developing Afrikaans. In the provisions relating to English, the university only “recognises” English, but provides no action toward the use of this language. In the provisions relating to isiXhosa, the university uses the Mental process “intends to contribute” to indicate the action it will take toward isiXhosa, adding a conditional clause to the provision.

In these clauses, we see that an acknowledgement of a language does not necessarily mean that the university takes responsibility toward the language. The university offers the impression that

it acknowledges the status of the three regional languages, but only prefers to take actual responsibility for Afrikaans.

5.2.5 The multilingual context

The section called “[t]he multilingual context” discusses the three regional languages. In this section, each of these languages is discussed individually with clearly marked headings identifying the different sub-sections. Here, the Afrikaans section is visibly longer than the other sections which, once again, symbolises the commitment that SUN shows toward Afrikaans. The Afrikaans language section is constructed according to three themes: empowering the diverse Afrikaans community through university education, the dominance of the Afrikaans language community, and the various functions of the Afrikaans language in South African society.

The commitment the university shows toward the three languages can be seen in a representation of the Experiential processes operating in each respective language sub-section. In Table 4, a compact visual representation of the processes operating in each sub-section is presented.

Table 4: The statistical distribution of Experiential processes in the section of the SUN language policy called ‘the multilingual context’

	Afrikaans	English	isiXhosa	Total
Material	2/9	2/2	0/2	6/13
Identifying	4/9	0/2	1 / 2	5/13
Mental	2/9	0/2	1 / 2	3/13
Attributive	1/9	0/2	0/2	1/13

Table 4 confirms the earlier observation that the Afrikaans section is very detailed in comparison to the isiXhosa and English sections, as the following examples will show. The Afrikaans section has a dominance of the Identifying process (e.g. “[c]ulturally, Afrikaans is a standard language”), followed by the Material (e.g. “that has for decades functioned as an academic language” and the Mental processes (e.g. “[t]he University is committed to the exploitation of the academic potential of Afrikaans”), and lastly the Attributive process (e.g. “[t]he Afrikaans

language community is demographically, on the grounds of both the number of its users”). The Identifying process can be seen as an influential process as it is used to ascribe an identity to a participant. The Material process, on the other hand, signals some form of action on the part of the participant. However, in comparing these two processes, the Identifying process is much less negotiable.

In the English section, we see an occurrence of two Material processes, and in the isiXhosa section, there is a Mental process and an Identifying process.

Let us look at each of the language sections:

5.2.5.1 Afrikaans

The first theme pertaining to the empowerment of the diverse Afrikaans language community is shown through clauses 37 to 40.

Clause 37: The University is committed to the exploitation of the academic potential of Afrikaans.

Clause 38: as a means of empowering a large and diverse community.

Clause 39: This includes a significant group from disadvantaged communities, a considerable number of non-Afrikaans speakers as well as Afrikaans speakers who have a better command of Afrikaans than English.

Clause 40: The University wishes to empower all such groups through university education in Afrikaans.

These clauses show a progression from a general standpoint to very specific. Clause 37 starts with a general statement on the commitment that the university shows toward “exploit[ing] the academic potential of Afrikaans” to empower a “large and diverse community”. Subsequent clauses make a case for Afrikaans, carefully drawing on themes of diversity, disadvantage and empowerment traditionally employed in the context of redress for black communities.

In the following clauses, the university continues to make a case for its promotion of Afrikaans.

Clause 41: The Afrikaans language community is demographically, on the grounds of both the number of its users and its geographical distribution regionally and nationally, one of the stronger language communities in the country.

Clause 42: Speakers of Afrikaans are in the majority at the University of Stellenbosch among both students and staff.

In these clauses, the university alludes to the demographic importance of the Afrikaans community both nationally and within the institution. Thus, in clause 42, the university narrows down the context to the SUN domain specifically. In these clauses, the university wishes to emphasize that the Afrikaans language community is large and diverse, and by empowering them, they are contributing toward developing the human potential of a large group of South African citizens.

The last theme of this sub-section refers to highlighting the various roles of the Afrikaans language.

Clause 43: Culturally Afrikaans is a standard language

Clause 44: that has for decades functioned as an academic language

Clause 45: and is a national asset as a fully developed cultural language.

Clause 43 to 45 identifies that Afrikaans has developed to such a standard that it has various functions and identities: as a cultural, academic and standard language. In other words, Afrikaans is a standard language, meaning it has been developed extensively; it is an academic language because it is used in education in both Basic Education and the Higher Education sector, and lastly it is a cultural language in that the language has developed on a cultural level, in for instance literature and art. The different roles that Afrikaans has developed into make it an asset in South Africa, especially in the sphere of education. It is a language of status, as it transcends various domains.

The university uses the Afrikaans sub-section to display the qualities of Afrikaans, in order to make a case for the use and development of Afrikaans in the SUN context. The three themes operating in this section validate the argument for the responsibility the university takes toward the use and development of the language.

5.2.5.2 English

There are only two clauses here:

Clause 46: The University of Stellenbosch makes use of English in its engagement with knowledge because of the language's international and local function, the strong

presence of English speakers in the University and the need for academic proficiency in English for students who do not have English as their home language. [MaP]

Clause 47: English functions in combination with Afrikaans in the University. [MaP]

Both of these clauses are used by the university to make a case for English employing the following arguments:

- The language's international and local function
- The strong presence of English speakers in the University
- The need for academic proficiency in English for students who do not have English as their home language.

The above reasons can be seen as factual statements about English. The university does not praise English or display any emotional attachment to it.

5.2.5.3 isiXhosa

The isiXhosa section of the university language policy consists of only two clauses: the first clause is dedicated solely to factual information like the increase of the isiXhosa language especially in the Western Cape (clause 48) but not in the University as was the case for Afrikaans and English speakers. In the second clause (clause 49), the university attempts to show some form of commitment.

Clause 48: isiXhosa is an official language used by one of the larger language communities spread over a large area of South Africa that is on the increase in the Western Cape, among other regions. [IdP]

Clause 49: The University undertakes to contribute by means of particular initiatives to the development of isiXhosa as an academic language.

The university does not specify how it will contribute to the development of isiXhosa. In sum, the arguments advanced in favour of Afrikaans, the commitment shown towards this language, and the length of the Afrikaans section, all of these allow for the conclusion that the university clearly favours Afrikaans.

5.2.6 Policy provisions

The provisions section is in a sense the outcome of the arguments that the language policy provided in the preceding three sections seen above. As may be recalled, this section on “Provisions of the language policy” specifies the domains of language use, and the languages that are used in each domain.

Below, the policy provisions will be analysed according to experiential processes, modal verbs, voice, hedging, demodalisation/activation and conditionality. However, in this analysis, a comparison will be made according to the techniques used for Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa respectively. As the analysis will show, there is a clear commitment toward Afrikaans, indicating that differential commitment to multilingualism is enacted in many ways:

- through demodalisation/activation;
- through the use/non-use of conditional clauses; and
- through the choice of processes used

Let us turn to the analysis.

5.2.6.1 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through demodalisation/activation

In this section, there is a preference for the use of Afrikaans, as opposed to English and isiXhosa. This preference is enacted through demodalisation in the provisions involving Afrikaans, and to a certain degree English. However, in the provisions involving isiXhosa, activation is used.

It would be recalled from the UWC analysis that, in demodalisation, the agent “de-emphasis[es] the interpersonal nature of the must-ness by objectifying the control”, and the agent also “fix[es] the desired action as non-negotiable, objectified and already existing” (Iedema, 2000: 50). As will be seen in the following analysis, the various strategies used by SUN are directly related to the process of demodalisation. Through demodalisation, the agent “naturalises” the action that it requires from the stakeholders, by creating distance between the authority and the stakeholder. The action is expressed ‘matter of factly’ rather than as an order from a higher authority. The university presents the use of Afrikaans at SUN as a naturalised action without room to challenge its authority, as there is also the absence of an actor.

Clause 51: Afrikaans is the default language of undergraduate learning and instruction.

Clause 53: Provisions 1 and 2 mean that, unless otherwise determined, the A-specification of the Language Plan applies automatically in all undergraduate modules.

Clause 58: The default institutional language of the University is Afrikaans.

Clause 61: Provision 5 and 6 mean that Afrikaans is used in all circumstances as the language of internal communication.

The strategies used in this section of the language policy such as the use of categories like “default” and “automatically” whenever Afrikaans is used is characteristic of demodalisation. The policy purposefully uses these words to indicate that this provision is not open for discussion. The impression is created that the statement is non-challengeable. In other words, the university is reserving Afrikaans as its primary language.

There are similar instances of demodalisation in the provisions involving English. In the two provisions below, there is an absence of actors. However, the provisions are not as strong.

Clause 52: English is used in particular circumstances as a language of undergraduate learning and instruction.

Clause 59: English is used alongside Afrikaans as a language of communication for the university.

In the provisions involving English, there is an absence of adjectives and adverbs like “default” or “automatically” seen in the Afrikaans provisions. In clause 52, there is the presence of a hedge, and clause 59 still sees it fit to acknowledge that English will be used “alongside” Afrikaans. These clauses are active, but actors are still absent. There is commitment to the use of English; however, in comparison to Afrikaans, this commitment is weaker.

In the provisions that feature the use of all three languages, the commitment to isiXhosa is the weakest, as a result of ambiguity in the provisions, and exclusions/restriction from various domains.

Clause 56: Afrikaans and English are used in postgraduate learning and instruction.

Clause 57: The academic literacy of students in Afrikaans and English will be developed systematically.

Clause 59: English is used alongside Afrikaans as a language of communication for the University.

Clause 63: Afrikaans, English and, where possible isiXhosa, are the University's language of external communication.

Clause 69: The University of Stellenbosch provides language services with respect to Afrikaans and English, and, in a limited sense, isiXhosa.

In the provisions above, clauses 56, 59 and 63 reflect demodalisation as these provisions naturalise the actions. There is activation in clause 57 and 69 as both of these clauses provide active verbs, and clause 69 identifies “the University” as the actor. Clauses 63 and 69 identify the use of isiXhosa; however, in both of these provisions, isiXhosa is downplayed, to the point of almost excluding the language from the provision. Though the occurrence of demodalisation is irregular, there seems to be commitment toward the use of Afrikaans and English.

The argument that the provisions involving isiXhosa are the weakest is strengthened when one considers how they are framed as contestable, limited only to certain contexts or subject to certain conditions. Consider the following examples:

Clause 64: Provision is made for isiXhosa in some programmes with a view to professional communication

Clause 66: The University promotes isiXhosa as a developing academic language, amongst other ways, through its Language Centre.

In clause 64, the use of isiXhosa is ‘reined in’ and limited only to certain programmes within which it is to be used, not for all purposes, but for building capacity for professional communication (e.g. between doctor and care-recipient). Such framing makes any use of isiXhosa outside of these confines controversial, contestable and in violation of the policy. In clause 66, the university commits to the promotion, but delegates that responsibility to the Language Centre. This reminds one of the point made in Antia (2015) in connection with UWC that allocation of responsibility for language decisions can indicate ideological bias. In Antia’s (2015) research, it was a question of English provisions which the institutional management was interested in taking up centrally and not delegated, but many provisions around Afrikaans and isiXhosa were delegated.

It is evident that the level of commitment toward Afrikaans is the highest, and the lowest toward isiXhosa. The high level of commitment corresponds to the core of the policy which attributes “commitment” to the “use and sustained development” of the language. There is some form of commitment toward English as the preamble identifies the “international context” as one of the main factors to be taken into account.

5.2.6.2 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through use/non-use of conditional clauses.

The differential commitment to Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa can be identified in the manner in which conditional clauses are used with respect to each of these languages. In fact, it is actually the case that there are conditions for situations where Afrikaans is not to be used.

Consider the following examples:

Clause 53: Provisions 1 and 2 mean that, unless otherwise determined, the A-specification of the Language Plan applies automatically in all undergraduate modules.

Clause 55: only after the reasons have been thoroughly considered.

In clause 53, the conditional clause “unless otherwise determined” suggests that unless the Language Plan specifies the use of another language, the default language will remain the A-specification, meaning Afrikaans. Clause 55 is predicated on the condition that a reason first has to be given before this provision can be changed. So the condition for deviating from Afrikaans is very clear, but also amenable to abuse. Considering thoroughly a reason that has been advanced can easily be a means of contesting or refusing an alternative.

Let us consider some more examples:

Clause 59: English is used alongside Afrikaans as a language of communication for the University

Clause 60: as circumstances may require.

In this clause complex (clauses 59 and 60), the university determines when it is feasible for English to be used in addition to Afrikaans. In Clause 60, a vague conditional clause is used to determine the condition when English will be used. By using an ambiguous conditional clause like clause 60, the use of English becomes very negotiable and amenable to contestation. It

establishes a need for a definition of circumstances that require the use of English. The conditional clauses associated with isiXhosa are clear in their objective to exclude or minimise the impact of isiXhosa from certain domains.

Clause 63: Afrikaans, English and, where possible isiXhosa, are the university’s language of external communication.

In clause 63, the university established Afrikaans and English as its language of communication, and states that isiXhosa will be used “where possible”. Clause 63 immediately establishes a hierarchy of languages for external communication, with isiXhosa at the bottom. The clause equally frames the use of isiXhosa as being subject to negotiation (definition of possibility). Interestingly, English, which in clauses 59 and 60 had been similarly restricted, is no longer limited. Clause 63 restricts the use of isiXhosa in the domain of external communication. In this clause, little commitment is shown toward the use of isiXhosa in the domains of external communication.

There is a clear preference for the use of Afrikaans as seen in the use and function of the conditional clauses. This observation is consistent with what was seen as the preamble’s emphasis on Afrikaans as the main language of institutional life at SUN. Each conditional clause seeks to maximise the use of Afrikaans, or restricts the use of other language which in turn places Afrikaans as the default language.

5.2.6.3 Differential commitment to multilingualism enacted through the choice of processes

An Experiential analysis of the policy provisions provides a compact view of the different processes that operate in the policy provisions. The use of processes signals some form of commitment. Although Table 5 cannot be taken as the full picture, it still gives an overview of the level of commitment that is shown toward the policy provisions.

Table 5: Statistical distribution of the Experiential processes in the policy provisions

Material	14/20
Identifying	3/20
Mental	3/20

As Table 5 shows, there is a dominance of Material processes, signalling a strong sense of doing which is associated with a high level of commitment to policy provisions. This may seem as a good indication of the commitment shown toward policy provisions at SUN. However, this table does not show in relation to which languages these Material processes are used. Let us then consider the languages associated with certain processes. As we have seen, and will see in the illustration below, the Identifying processes allows for reading commitment, not so much in terms of what an actor does, but in the very essence or being of an actor.

Consider the following examples:

Clause 51: Afrikaans is the default language of undergraduate learning and instruction.

Clause 58: The default institutional language of the University is Afrikaans.

Clause 63: Afrikaans, English and, where possible isiXhosa, are the University's language of external communication.

All of these provisions are related to establishing Afrikaans as the language of a certain domain. Clause 58 is significant as the university identifies Afrikaans as its “default institutional language”. Using the Identifying process in relation to Afrikaans is fitting as the choice of process attributes commitment to Afrikaans in the core of the policy. As shown in this analysis, and the various analyses above, the university is dedicated to the Afrikaans language.

The commitment toward Afrikaans is extended in the last section of the SUN language policy. In this section, the university establishes its vision for the SUN space and the ways in which language forms part of that ideal space. Here, the commitment towards Afrikaans is clearly established, not only presently, but also as a future-oriented goal.

5.2.7 A policy directed toward the future

In the last section of the policy, the university concludes its language policy with its aims for Afrikaans.

Clause 77: The Language Policy of the University of Stellenbosch seeks to contribute, as a future-oriented policy, to the realisation of the ideal of creating a favourable learning and instruction environment for the benefit of the students;

Clause 78: an environment within which Afrikaans as an academic language and the asset of multilingualism are combined in an imaginative way.

In the last section, the university paints a picture of what a “favourable” academic environment would be like. In this picture, the university positions Afrikaans at the centre as “the academic language”, and presents other languages as “the asset of multilingualism”. SUN puts Afrikaans in the role as the resident “academic language”, and does not name the other languages, or specify the role which they will fulfil in the university domain. It is clear that, to SUN, Afrikaans, as the only academic language, would be regarded as the ideal state of being.

5.2.8 Summary

The preamble of the SUN language policy is clear in its intentions to create an environment in which Afrikaans is developed, used and celebrated at SUN. The preamble is a reflection of the policy provisions. The use of techniques like the choice of processes, the use/non-use of conditional clauses, and demodalisation/activation illuminate a hierarchy of the three regional languages within which Afrikaans is at the top. While the university has identified itself as being conscious of its multilingual position in the province and the country, the language policy does not represent this diversity. SUN emphasizes its engagement with knowledge, and appears to suggest that such mandate can only be carried out on the shoulders of developed languages, especially Afrikaans. This is in spite of the increasing numbers of isiXhosa-speaking and black students at SUN as indicated by the statistics on the university website.

Chapter Six

The process of developing the language policy texts: a policy analysis critique

This chapter seeks to address the following objectives of the study: (a) using interview data to describe the processes of developing the university language policies and to account for these processes from the standpoint of the policy analysis literature; (b) using interview data to determine the shape of, and commitments in, the language policy texts. In part, at least, the shape of the text of a language policy should be seen as determined by the specific processes followed in developing the text. This chapter will report on discourses elicited from key informants on the processes of developing their institutional language policy texts, as a means of understanding the policy development processes and illustrating how these processes may have shaped the eventual policy text. These discourses will be presented in italics. It will also draw on other sources of discourse data such as minutes of meetings (where available), and other publications in which key players reflect on the development of their institutions' language policies.

The following analysis of each institutional process data will, to whatever extent possible, be framed by the five points summarising the policy formulation process as described in Chapter 3:

- Defining the problem
- Consideration of solution pathways
- Deciding on a pathway/ setting of objectives
- Implementation
- Monitoring/ revision

6.1 University of the Western Cape (UWC)

To contextualise the process at UWC, some background of the institution's engagements with language is necessary. Established in 1959 as a "coloured" university, UWC was then a *de jure* bilingual Afrikaans and English institution, but a *de facto* Afrikaans institution (The University

of the Western Cape, 1989). Thus, linguistically, it catered for first language Afrikaans speakers. After the open-admission policy took effect in 1987, a dramatic increase in the number of black students resulted in the university having to reconsider its language practices. As newly-appointed rector in 1987, Professor Gerwel initiated a process that eventually culminated in the language policy document of 2003. This process commenced with the establishment of the Working Group on the Language Question (henceforth WGL) in 1989. This group was set up by a sub-section of the Ad Hoc Academic Development Committee of Senate. The WGL consisted of senior staff members who were tasked with debating and reporting on the language question: what languages should be used in the various domains of UWC. Their work involved the distribution of questionnaires to students and staff members. In addition to the questionnaires, the WGL aimed to organise faculty-wide discussions. From the available evidence, it would seem as if the questionnaires were the only form of research that was actually undertaken. There were four reports produced on the meetings of the WGL between 1989 and 1990. The discussions in these reports evolved from debating the possible influences of Afrikaans and English at UWC, to discussing the effect that English as a sole medium of instruction would have on the UWC community.

In 1995, Professor Cecil Abrahams was appointed as rector of UWC. In 1998, a Language Policy Working Group was established. At this point in time, the university wanted to develop a language policy based on the findings of the WGL. So, the Language Policy Working Group developed a language policy working document. Thus, UWC's language policy efforts preceded the directive from the Ministry of Education that universities should develop their policies.

After the directive in 2002 and the appointment of Professor Brian O'Connell as rector in 2001, the language policy working document was revised into the current language policy of UWC, published in 2003. The Language Policy Working Group continued on as the Language Support Task Team, tasked with evaluating initiatives implemented by the UWC community to further multilingualism, until 2004. We can now attempt to read these processes in greater depth from the standpoint of policy analysis. In collecting data for this section, two key informants were interviewed.

6.1.1 Defining the problem

As seen in Chapter 3 of this thesis, the policy development process typically begins with or is motivated by a problem which is perceived to have arisen and is in need of a solution. From the available discourses, we are able to obtain insight into what was defined as the problem which

the eventual language policy document at UWC was intended to address. In initiating a consultation process for the language policy, Vice-Chancellor Professor Jakes Gerwel said the following:

“We have asked staff to consider whether we should not consider that we have circulars and forms at university in the first place in English, given the national makeup and composition of the institution and also the spirit that drives us to be a national institution.” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 41)

In this quote, Professor Gerwel uses the external context ‘national makeup’, student demography and the identity of UWC as a ‘national institution’ as problems or issues which addressed in a language policy document needed to address. It was around the same time that Professor Gerwel set in motion the WGL. Thus, the changing identity of UWC – as no longer a ‘coloured university’, but one that admits students from all over South Africa – is identified as a reason for a shift toward English.

In the second point, Professor Gerwel raises the idea of unity and, with that, an institutional lingua franca:

“While there is no-one at UWC who does not understand English there is a considerable number of people who still have difficulty with Afrikaans.” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 41)

“It is only practical that, where one wants to build an institution, to use one language which bind people together.” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 41)

In a sense, the interviews conducted with two key informants (who were close to the process initiated by Professor Gerwel) provide a backdrop to these views by Professor Gerwel. Although UWC was (*de jure* or established as) a bilingual Afrikaans and English institution, this was not the case in practice. Informant A notes:

“...all the internal administration documents were in Afrikaans only, and regardless of how serious the academic or bureaucratic terminology there was not a word of English in it.”

“On the exam answer book covers the warnings from the invigilators were printed in Afrikaans and English and the only context in which English actually occurred was as warnings...”

This state of affairs was linked to some of the earliest academic staff members of the institution who were Afrikaner nationalists. But with time, the state of affairs began to be challenged. Informant A states that, upon his arrival at UWC, students started to rise up against the racist ideologies and racist staff at UWC.

“[T]he students basically resented the racist and other right wing attitudes of most of the Afrikaner nationalists who were the lecturers. So when I arrived in August 1984 the students were conducting a class boycott – which lasted, I think, six weeks – to demand that lectures be in English.”

It is against this backdrop that Professor Gerwel’s language policy reform initiative needs to be viewed. In describing the problem as one of everyone understanding English but not the dominant Afrikaans, and in claiming that practicality requires the use of *“one language which binds people together (as cited above)”*, Professor Gerwel’s problem definition and one-language solution appears to have been consistent with some of the agitations (social and ideological) at the time.

But this problem definition was also at odds with certain practical realities. The paradox here was that, although students were demanding classes in English, they struggled to keep up with the classes, and according to informant A, a student delegation approached him in order to draw up lectures in Afrikaans. He comments:

“The students who were 95% Afrikaans-speaking and not fluent in English were demanding that the lecturers lecture in English purely because they knew the Afrikaans nationalists hated English and they wanted to get back at the academics. But since I was English-speaking the antagonism didn’t apply to me and of course when the lecturers would struggle to lecture in English the Afrikaans-speaking students struggled to follow the English. So you had this quite extraordinary complex language politics going on.”

It is a reflection of the idealism and self-sacrifice of these students that they would put themselves at great disadvantage rather than be seen as acquiescing with the apartheid government’s policy on racial (and linguistic) access to Higher Education. However, they acknowledged that they needed assistance in Afrikaans. Informant A notes that, as a result of these “complex language politics”, he suggested a trilingual approach (catering also to the growing number of isiXhosa-speaking students) to, especially, first year curriculum, but each time he was completely “outvoted”.

It would be recalled that the declaration by Professor Jakes Gerwel of UWC as “the intellectual home of the left” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 9) and the open admissions policy also saw black students coming to UWC, and these students – like the Afrikaans-speaking students – were not necessarily well prepared for Higher Education in English. As informant B puts it:

“A lot of the time it was just their home language that they heard. Remember, we were still in that period after apartheid where not many black kids had come out of the townships and attended Model C schools. Many of them still were in the Old Bantu Education System – the DET, the Department of Education Training it was called then – and we at UWC got the poorest students [through our] policy of opening doors for the poorest of the poor.”

Informant B further notes:

“But of course the African students overwhelmingly spoke English as their second language; Xhosa or Tswana or Venda as their home language, and very few knew any Afrikaans at all.”

Besides not knowing Afrikaans, many of these students, coming from the Bantu Education System, were cognitively unprepared for tertiary education.

In sum, there appear to have been two understandings of the language problem to which the language policy was to be a response: there was a more ideological problem which had to do with the image of the institution (the subtext being a rejection of the apartheid ideology), but there was also a problem definition that had to do with the practical issue of linguistic competencies of students, and how to ensure that these students were not denied epistemological access as a result of the responses to the ideological problem. Whether these two problems were construed as complementary or as mutually exclusive will be explored in subsequent sections.

6.1.2 Consideration of solution pathways

According to the policy design literature, after problem identification, possible alternative solutions have to be considered before choices are eventually made. Grin’s notion of the counterfactual responds to this phase of the policy development process. The notion of the counterfactual relates to the selection of an alternative based on the consideration and testing of

various other alternatives. Thus, this phase of the development process excludes intuitive decision making processes.

What constitutes solution pathways can be complex, as this is obviously determined by the very nature of problem definition. Is there a common understanding of the problem or are there multiple and varied understandings? An example of the complexity of solution pathways, or how such pathways may be shaped by the problem definition can be seen in the following account of an informant's interaction with Professor Jakes Gerwel.

Informant A had been concerned about the exclusive use of Afrikaans in internal documents in a university which was founded as a bilingual Afrikaans-English institution, and which had begun to admit many non-Afrikaans-speaking students:

“...I approach Jakes Gerwel showing him copies of all the internal administration documents which were in Afrikaans only and said could the university please – ... follow the official policy that [these documents] be translated into English. so we have them all bilingually. What in fact happened was simply to save money on paper, Jakes Gerwel would order that it be in English only which wasn't my intention, but again financial realities dictated that.”

So, while informant A was concerned about solution pathways that would give expression to the institution's *de jure* bilingualism and accommodate many more people in the institution, Professor Gerwel favoured the consideration of a solution that would serve more ideological purposes, but then uses finances to justify his preference. Professor Gerwel's preference for English, as seen in the view below, would seem to have eventually made it into the final language policy document of 2003:

“My own view on the language future of UWC is that we should move towards a situation where we have English as the language of academic currency and a supportive social environment in Afrikaans and Xhosa as the major regional languages.” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 41)

It is clear that Professor Gerwel prefers UWC to move toward a monolingual English academic environment, with Afrikaans and isiXhosa as “supportive’ languages”. He maintains that this is not a coercive decision because there is “a definite inclination toward English” in the majority of students at UWC “for political and practical reasons” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 54). He opens up implementational spaces for Afrikaans by stating that the policy will be

“flexible”, so that where there is a class of mainly Afrikaans-speaking students, a switch to Afrikaans “will be seriously considered” (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 54).

Let us now examine solution pathways considered at committee level. It would be recalled that under Professor Gerwel’s leadership, a Working Group on Language was set up in 1989 (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 54). It is evident from the second meeting of the Working Group held on 28 November, 1989, that solution pathways considered to address the ‘language problem’ seriously took into account English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. The Group acknowledged at that meeting that they could not really endorse a decision to shift toward English. They also noted that with the increasing number of Xhosa students there was a need to make provision for resources like Xhosa-speaking tutors. The reality or prospect of the Afrikaans-speaking students developing language problems was also acknowledged (WGL 1989, as cited in De Groef, 2009-2010: 50). In effect, even though there was a commitment towards English, it was acknowledged that that “English should not become a hegemonic language, but a linking language” and that UWC had to make firm plans to address “a heightened need for multilingual coursework support” (WGL, 1989a: 4-5 as cited in De Groef, 2009-2010: 51).

Strangely, by the third meeting held on 4 December 1989, the discourse on trilingualism had given way to a discourse on English monolingualism, with the discussion revolving around how to improve students’ “competency in English” (WGL, 1989b: 4). Thus, the purpose of the Working Group on the Language Question issues was now solely focused on English. This new direction was contested, with little success it would seem. Informant A notes:

“I had an urge, and, particularly at the first year level as to the maximum extent financially feasible, lecture notes, tutorial notes in particular should be done trilingually in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa because students, of course, were struggling or failing in huge numbers, and this is obviously made worse by their language, and in the specifics it was not so much academic terminology, which in any case you have to learn even in your home languages, it was things like prepositions are completely different between language, cause huge confusion, and to a certain extent word order. So I served on those committees, and unfortunately, what happened was each time I was the sole one to vote for trilingualism. Each time I was totally outvoted 6 to 1 or 10 to 1, with the others saying that the sole function of the committee was to invent ways of improving students’ command of English.”

We see this same contestation of solution pathways put forward and even trialled in other contexts. Informant A notes that certain recommendations from the committee (presumably the Language Policy Working Group based on the corresponding dates) which were not to the liking of the university management were effectively prevented from seeing the light of day. The informant recalls:

“I remember one of the resolutions of the committee was that where UWC did have expertise in languages other than English, this was a resource that should be preserved. This is an obvious reference of course to departments of Afrikaans, Arabic, Xhosa. The day that recommendation came out Cecil Abrahams fired one third of all the academics in the Afrikaans department and abolished their posts along with many others, about 12 other academic post... So this shows that the recommendations of the committee existed on paper only and the university managers paid no attention to it if it didn't suit their financial purposes, and I think it's important for reality to record that as well as theory and policy.”

But opposition to solutions under consideration did not only come from the University management. Opposition also came from students. Classroom interpreting was under consideration and was even trialled by the Language Policy Working Group.

This information was brought to light when Informant B was asked whether a consultation process was undertaken in developing the 2003 language policy. Informant B recalls the experience of a female lecturer who had made arrangement for her classes to be interpreted into isiXhosa:

“So she would, for example, lecture in English and she'd stop and then a Xhosa person standing in front would then interpret, and what she discovered was that the Xhosa students felt insulted by that process.”

This possible solution pathway was met with negativity. The students interpreted this process as the UWC staff member thinking that they were “dumb” and “couldn't speak English”.

Informant A similarly recalls a personal experience of an initiative that had been trialled as a means of informing or influencing the discussion on alternatives being considered:

“I also got the first year course handouts for the tutorial, what is plagiarism, how to write an essay, and introduction, conclusion, how to use footnotes for the first time done

trilingually too. What had happened was when we did this in three separate piles many Xhosa speakers are clearly ashamed to pick up a Xhosa one although they struggle badly with the English, so what we did was somebody put them all together...”

Thus, multilingual initiatives were met with negative attitudes from students, who, recovering from the aftermath of apartheid education, felt insulted by their own lack of knowledge, but also their perceived lack of knowledge in English.

The issues discussed above relate to the consideration of solution pathways by UWC to the language problem. As illustrated, a few multilingual initiatives were tried, but there was little or no follow-through. Recommendations were made, but they were largely ignored by university management. Eventually, all paths led to English. This idea reflects back to Professor Gerwel’s vision of transforming UWC into a monolingual English space. It is clear that because the problem for which a language policy document was required was variously understood, there were also different understandings of the kinds of solutions required. We have seen that, at both the level of private interactions and initiatives as well as at the level of committee deliberations, a range of alternative solutions were considered to the problem definition: English only/mainly, implementing the *de jure* bilingualism of the institution, and trilingualism in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa. We have also seen how each of these possible solution pathways was contested – by the university management, individual staff members, and by students. From the standpoint of the kinds of engagement with alternatives required in the literature (see Grin’s counterfactuals), there is not much evidence of this engagement taking place. Ideological concerns related to institutional identity seem to overshadow concerns of epistemological access. There is an assumption by the management that everyone can successfully operate in English. Although finance is frequently referred to in constructing a preference for English, the financial cost of students failing, repeating or dropping out was not determined.

6.1.3 Deciding on a solution pathway

As stated in the policy design literature, after various alternatives have been considered and tested, a decision has to be made. Although efforts to obtain the 1998 Language Policy Working Document were unsuccessful, it would appear that the dominance of English as a solution (already evident from the discussion) was maintained in the report. The SFL analysis of the policy in Chapter 5 clearly shows this dominance as well. It would appear that in spite of the strongly English orientation of the discussions and reactions to certain multilingual initiatives,

the recommendations for Afrikaans and isiXhosa, even in supportive roles, were more strongly formulated than what is seen in the approved policy document. Thus, informant B notes:

“I have to say that what we have now on paper...is a slightly watered down version of what we had. We made far stronger recommendations about implementation of multilingualism at UWC. But it went through upper offices, it went into the rectorate and certain people there changed phrases, put in a lot more escape clauses than what we had originally put in. and so finally this watered down version was there and then we asked, ‘Okay, can we proceed with an implementation plan?’ and we were told to wait.”

The same informant describes the current language policy as “a policy that has no peace”, directly referring to the refinement process the policy went through after the language committee submitted a document much different to the 2003 language policy. In terms of the initial document, the interviewee describes it as a policy which had “more of a real drive to get things done, there was meat on the bone”. Since I have not laid hands on this initial document, I am not in the position to comment on how the 1998 language policy working document had more texture.

Thus, we see a slight disconnect between what is claimed to have been in the recommendations of the committee set up by the university management, and the eventual decisions of university management. It is striking that this disconnect is not based on any disagreement over the pride of place accorded English, but on recommendations around the subsidiary role of Afrikaans and isiXhosa. What this type of contestation shows is that judgements about a language policy made on the basis of (broad) conformity of the process to policy design phases may not be entirely appropriate. We have here a case of decision-making (that is, decision on a pathway) not reflecting the work of a preceding consultative process. What the disconnect also shows is that criticisms of language policy documents need to acknowledge that the contents of a given document may have been doctored to reflect certain management preferences, rather than convey the views of the panel that worked on the document. Indeed, there is anecdotal evidence that has been shared at meetings that several university language policy documents are severely ‘doctored’ versions of expert panel drafts. In Chapter 7, we will speculate on possible reasons for this ‘doctoring’.

6.1.4 Implementation

It is customary for a policy to have an implementation plan, typically addressing issues like monitoring and evaluation, governance, sustainability, budget, actors, supporting structures, risk analysis, quality assurance, etc.

The UWC language policy does not have an implementation plan. As stated previously by informant B- , the language committee was told not to write an implementation plan upon submission of the 2003 language policy; they were told to “wait”. The informant continues:

“We are waiting to this day to write an implementation plan for the policy because policies can’t work unless there’s a very clear implementation plan”.

Thus, an implementation plan was not neglected in the policy development process. The committee was explicitly told not write it. A policy and an implementation plan are two documents that should be developed, unless there is a hidden agenda. The delay of the implementation plan suggests that, if there are no instructions in place with respect to implementing Afrikaans and isiXhosa, English which had gradually emerged as the default language would automatically continue to be unchallenged. Thus, in delaying the implementation plan, English is automatically used. Again, this corresponds to Professor Gerwel’s vision of a pro-English university.

A clear challenge to the apparent reluctance of management to embrace implementation of the policy (or specifically, its multilingual component) can be seen in the following account by informant B:

“[W]hen the institutional operating plan came out in 2009- well, that covered 2009 to 2014- I asked in senate ‘Okay, it’s a fine document but there’s nothing in here on the language policy,’ and [the Executive in charge of the operating plan process] looked at me and said, ‘Language policy, what language policy?’ - which just showed me how unimportant it was, and how there was no interest really in the language policy...”

The Institutional Operating Plan not only outlines a vision for key areas of the institution’s life, but also provides the catalyst for the development of implementation plans. Taken together with the instruction to not write an implementation plan, the non-acknowledgment of the language policy must be seen as instructive of just how little importance is attached to this issue. So,

UWC's language policy does not have an implementation plan, not because those involved in its development were not aware of the need for one. We will return to this issue in Chapter 7.

6.1.5 Conclusion

In the analysis above, we have seen how the dominance of English, the subsidiary roles of Afrikaans and isiXhosa, the lack of commitment to these languages in their subsidiary roles, the absence of an implementation plan, etc. are a reflection of discourses in the UWC language policy making process. On this note, let us turn to SUN's language policy development process.

6.2 The University of Stellenbosch

The data pertaining to the policy creation processes of the SUN language policy was collected from one key informant who was part of the policy development process at SUN, and could provide insight into the discourse surrounding the development processes. This interview is analysed below to reveal the underlying discourses (which, as seen in the UWC case, may often not be very apparent in the policy document) and how the development process maps onto stages in the policy design literature.

The 2002 SUN language policy is the first official language policy of the institution. Before this, the university operated under a "statement" that considered Afrikaans as the official language of the university. Thus, with the 2002 mandate of the Ministry of Education to universities to develop their language policies, SUN, like all other tertiary institutions, had to develop a language policy. The 2002 SUN language policy was developed by a team of academics appointed by Professor Brink, the rector of SUN. The revision of the language policy, initiated by the department of Teaching and Learning, occurred soon after. This team made minor changes to the policy. This analysis is based on the 2002 SUN language policy, as well as the first revision of the policy. A second revision of the policy, initiated by Professor Wim De Villiers (the current rector of SUN) resulted in the 2015 SUN language policy, which was published after much of this study had been completed.

Let us proceed to the analysis.

6.2.1 Defining the problem

SUN's 2002 language policy was a follow-up to a previous document, which identified Afrikaans as the institution's main language of instruction. The informant labels this previous

document not as a policy, but rather as a “statement” which declares that “the university is Afrikaans”, even while “welcoming other languages”.

According to the key informant, there were two issues which the policy of 2002 sought to address: the first was essentially to respond to the directive in the LPHE that all tertiary institutions develop a language policy in line with the transformation project in South Africa. Given that the institution’s previous policy statement had identified the institution with Afrikaans, this first issue (responding to the LPHE) concretely came down to this: what needs to change in the new policy?

Professor Brink, who was Vice-Chancellor at the time, created a task team to flesh out the problems of language at the institution, and to advise accordingly on the basis of broad consultation and attention to observable language practices at the time. The informant has the following to say about the establishment of the task team and its mandate:

“He [Vice-Chancellor Brink] created a task team, so if you’re interested in the structures and so on, he decided to get together the academics who work in that area, so my colleagues from General Linguistics...but then he also wanted people from the science faculty so he had academics from the science faculty and then people from the Language Centre. So it was predominantly a group of academics who formulated that first, the first language policy...”

Professor Brink directed his team not to look at the policy as “something that you say okay this is how it’s going to be”. He instructed them to “look at what’s happening on the ground and then derive your policy almost from what’s happening there”. In other words, if anything was going to change in what was then the existing policy statement, such change had to reflect what the practices on the ground were.

Interestingly, this aspect of the problem definition was challenged. According to the informant, many people were opposed to a definition of the problem that entertained the prospect of a change to the then-existing policy statement, especially, a (greater) role for English beyond its ‘involvement’ in widespread code-switching practices. Thus people felt there was no need for change, and that the policy statement at the time was just fine. In their view, they were getting along fine.

Such staff members would no doubt have been the champions of what the key informant considered the second problem which the SUN policy had to address. This second issue,

paradoxically, was the need to make clear what was contained in the preceding document labelled as statement by the informant – that is, to draw attention to Stellenbosch being essentially an Afrikaans medium institution so that prospective applicants are not in doubt as to what to expect on admission. The informant says the following.

“If I think kind of not objectively but in the sense that in that normal reasons that people would give for a policy it was clarity, especially for students in terms of what they can expect. So if you come to the university and say- because the office for prospective students, they go out on these road shows and then people say ‘Yes my child isn’t that good in Afrikaans.’ and then they would say ‘Oh don’t worry’ or the other way round. I’m not saying that that’s what they did but it could feasibly happen. People come to the university with unrealistic expectations in terms of the demands on their own language proficiency, and also there’s a lot of things that we just don’t know. ... so I think it was to bring some clarity for the students. So if it says in the yearbook that a module is Afrikaans then the student could have certain expectations. If they could expect to have materials then in English, they could- they knew that they could pose their materials then in English, because that was also in the plan. They knew that they could write their papers in English. So that was kind of- I think that that was the most important reason.”

6.2.2 Consideration of solution pathways

To be able to carry out its mandate, especially to consider what options for change were available, the task team proceeded with a consultation process that included the voices of all the stakeholders of SUN at the time. The informant recalls:

“Okay, when we got together we had a very clear kind of instruction from the rector. He wanted a snapshot of language – those were his words, a snapshot of language practices on campus. So we developed questionnaire for students and staff, and for administration staff, to get at all the levels of the university. This was a huge process – I mean we tried to get as many students as possible in a wide variety of modules, undergraduate, postgraduate and so on, and lecturers and so on, and the data-. And he wanted that in six months. So we had to do that, and then after that we had to use those results to just gauge the feelings of the students and what the potential would be for certain policy statements...”

The data from the questionnaire addressed questions on the different perceptions that students and staff would have toward changing various provisions in the language policy.

The solution pathways considered revolved around the three languages of the Western Cape (Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa) and the relative roles/statuses of each within the institution. The informant recalls:

“We needed to look at the three languages of the Western Cape, so despite the history of the University in terms of Afrikaans and English we needed to look at the fact that we’re getting in more and more isiXhosa speakers, so we had to take- keep that in mind.”

In effect, then, deliberations of the task team centred primarily on how to account for observable practices at the time (involving Afrikaans, and especially English), and how to determine the institution’s stance on isiXhosa, given the increasing number of speakers of that language at the institution.

6.2.3 Deciding on a solution pathway

As with UWC, it would appear decisions taken essentially reflected the Vice-Chancellor’s reading of the language situation, or his views. Recall that the informant had stated the SUN Vice-Chancellor’s advice to the task team, “look at what’s happening on the ground and then derive your policy almost from what’s happening there”.

The informant makes the following observation about the eventual SUN language policy:

“I think what that policy did was basically describe what was happening anyway, because people have been code switching in classes for a long time and this made it a possibility but I think by giving it a name then they had these options for the different modules, so you had to say in the yearbook that there’s an option for Afrikaans -only and there’s an option for English only, and then there’s an option for Afrikaans and English, which meant that there would be- the class is so big that you could divide them into two groups, one Afrikaans, one English.”

From the above view, we infer that what the task team recommended, and which made it into the policy, was that there be several language options. There would be classes in Afrikaans exclusively, but in addition there would also be classes in English (in certain instances) and in a mixed-medium English-Afrikaans (T-option). The “code switching” the interviewee mentions, refers to the T-option. The informant notes the following of the T-option:

“Then there’s the so-called T-option, the one that caused all the controversy, the tweetaligheid opsie, so T’s for tweetaligheid. So by giving them names, of course people started talking about ‘Okay, but how much Afrikaans in an Afrikaans-only module?’ And there were actually fairly strict guidelines. Even if this were an Afrikaans module then the study material had to be available in English too, and the other way round.”

The controversy around the T-option seemed to circle around the ambiguity of the amount of Afrikaans and English that should be used in a class. It is based on this concern that a code of conduct was developed.

“We developed a code of conduct for the use of language in the class. So there was a feeling that you needed to address the students’ attitudes and the gut feel about certain languages, otherwise the lecturer in a T-option, the hand would shoot up, ‘You’ve been speaking in English now for the past half hour’, or ‘Can you repeat that in Afrikaans?’ So you need to talk about the attitudes in the beginning, and that was why the code of conduct was developed.”

The code of conduct is a document that is supposed to regulate the use of language in a classroom where the T-option is employed – taking into account the attitudes of the students. As noted above, aside from the T-option, there is the parallel-medium option. The informant describes this as follows:

“The A and E means that there are two groups, that’s the parallel medium one, ja. And that you can only do if the class is big enough, so if you’ve got five students then they must put up with whatever languages you can manage. But they also test the students when they come in, in Afrikaans and English, so there is more openness about the fact that you need to know Afrikaans just to get by.”

Apart from decisions on English and Afrikaans, which to some extent gave names to existing practices and officialised them, the task team also made a decision with respect to isiXhosa. Earlier, the informant had been quoted as saying the task team did recognise that SUN was admitting an increasing number of isiXhosa-speaking students, with the implication that somehow the language had to be attended to (besides just being one of the three languages of the Western Cape).

With respect to the task team’s view on a role for (or what to do about) isiXhosa, the informant notes:

And the idea was very specifically not to be unrealistic, not to say ... now another option could be Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa. But that we would make a commitment to developing, I think the word in that time was 'intellectualising' which I think is maybe a little patronising, but okay. So we did then, that was a commitment in the policy and from that a certain kind of initiative were launched, glossaries, and language courses for lecturers and for administrative staff, because that was also identified as one of the areas where people coming into the university, we have to be accommodating in that sense."

In effect, it was considered impracticable to use isiXhosa as a medium of instruction. Rather, the view was that the institution could only commit to developing or contributing to the development of isiXhosa as an academic language. In the previous chapter, we saw several provisions in the SUN language policy that reflected these views.

6.2.4 Revision and monitoring

As stated above, the revision process of the 2002 SUN language policy started soon after the acceptance/commencement of the policy. The impact of many of these revisions would seem to have been more on implementation (Lo Bianco's language policy as practice) rather than strictly on language policy as text.

Interestingly, some of the revisions were politically motivated, as the informant describes below:

"There was a lot of politics involved in terms of Professor Brink's appointment, and people were not happy with some of the changes that he made... but, then he was forced to do a review of the language policy, and that was a process managed solely by the centre for teaching and learning. So the director drove the process, and when we complained and... when we objected to some of the things we were basically ignored. So academics always feel that we're being ignored, it's just one of those things, but I wasn't happy with that kind of process. What they did there was not in the first process ... they also got qualitative data, so people were invited to write and say how they experienced these things and so on, and then the policy was adapted but not really in any meaningful way. I think they just basically made it a bit less strict in terms of the processes that you need to go through if you want to make a module English only, or Afrikaans only or T-option. There weren't that many kind of rules and regulations and people you needed to report to so that process was streamlined."

Recall that earlier it was mentioned that there was a code of conduct developed on how to use languages. In the above quote, when the informant says the effect of this set of revisions was to make the rules “*a bit less strict*”, the reference is to implementation processes.

The revision of how to implement the 2002 SUN language policy was taken further when the new Vice-Rector for teaching was appointed. In the new revision process, it becomes clear that he was trying to enforce his own view. The informant notes as follows:

“And then with our new Vice Rector of teaching, he then again started a review about a year ago, it might be more, because he was convinced that people should use parallel medium so that you don’t have the T-option anymore. So they are trying to get rid of the T-option, that’s my impression. Of course he doesn’t say that. But so parallel medium instruction is what they’re pushing now, to the extent that they’re giving people money if they want to make their courses parallel medium... So actually if you look at it like that, now that I think about it, it’s actually the base from which the policy development happened has been growing smaller and smaller, and smaller.”

This initiative could be seen from the point of view of the vice rector of teaching pushing his agenda toward a fully bilingual university. He uses incentives (funding) to encourage many lecturers to change their modules to the Afrikaans/English option instead of the T-option. According to the interviewee, discarding the T-option results in narrowing the base from which the policy development started. This means that the SUN language policy started out as a means for furthering Afrikaans. The T-option can be seen as a space where Afrikaans could thrive, as it was practiced through code switching. In discarding the T-option, the space for using Afrikaans is growing smaller. So, in making SUN a parallel medium institution, according to the informant, Afrikaans is solely reserved for the class with the Afrikaans option.

As seen from the above analysis, there was a shift in SUN’s language practices, from a more Afrikaans-focused practice to a more bilingual one as a result of various agendas pushed by different agents with different motivations.

6.2.5 Conclusion

The twin goals of this chapter were to understand the processes underpinning the development of the two university language policies (especially as these processes relate to the policy analysis literature), and to use this interview data to in part explain the shape of commitments in the language policies.

We have seen that, to a large extent, the informants' recollections of the development process map onto the stages in the policy analysis literature, namely:

- Defining the problem
- Consideration of solution pathways
- Deciding on a pathway
- Implementation
- Monitoring/ revision

At both institutions (UWC and SUN), there were task teams, consultation and data collection processes, and so on. It was not always clear how processes at each stage conformed to details in the policy analysis literature (e.g. the use of counterfactuals at the stage of considering alternatives). What is perhaps most striking is how, on the whole, the normative policy analysis framework may have been adhered to, yet subverted to serve interests of the powerful. This was particularly evident in the frustrations of the two UWC informants. Recall one informant noting how a committee set up to consider multilingualism in the institution over time became interested only in how to develop the English language competence of students.

It was also instructive to be able to observe a disconnect between the recommendations of the committee set up by the UWC management, and the eventual decision of the university management. It is striking that this disconnect was not based on any disagreement over the pride of place accorded English, but on recommendations around the subsidiary role of Afrikaans and isiXhosa. What this type of contestation clearly shows is that judgements about a language policy made on the basis of (broad) conformity of the process to policy design phases may not be entirely appropriate. We have here a case of decision-making (that is, decision on a pathway) not reflecting the work of a preceding consultative process. Although the literature on policy analysis as described in Chapter 3 of this thesis provides an ideal account of the policy formulation process, it does not always capture the various complexities, contestations and debates that surround the eventual policy document outcome.

Beyond the simple mapping of processes followed to recommendations in the policy literature, what the analysis in this chapter has shown is just how much Lo Bianco's notion of language policy as discourse enables one to highlight the complexities, contestations and debates that

necessarily accompany language policy formulation and that may sometimes be missed on a superficial reading of the ideal account provided in some of the literature on policy analysis. The chapter has shown how in both institutions there was not one, but multiple understandings or definitions of the problem, and how these multiple understandings in turn shaped what options/solution pathways were considered.

In terms of explaining the shape of the policy texts, the Stellenbosch analysis shows how the provisions regarding isiXhosa in the policy text originated from an earlier determination by the task team that it was not realistic to consider isiXhosa as an option in teaching, and that the institutional commitment to this language had to be focused on helping to develop it. The analysis also revealed the politics underlying the various implementation strategies.

The UWC analysis explained what was seen in Chapter 5 as the policy's commitment to English, and how the provisions on Afrikaans and isiXhosa may have been no more than lip service. The request for an implementation plan, and the negative response the request elicited, was seen to signal an intention for as little as possible to be done to implement even the limited roles given to Afrikaans and to isiXhosa.

Thus it can be seen that features of the language policy texts and of the implementation processes derive from deliberate actions by actors who could not have been said to be unaware of alternatives. To connect with the issue of language and transformation in Higher Education which with I started this thesis, if institutional language policy texts are not bringing about practices consistent with transformation (in the sense of enhanced epistemological access), the solution will not necessarily lie in merely revising the texts of the policies. It would have to be the result of fundamental challenges in convictions and attitudes, as the next chapter will further underscore.

Chapter Seven

Summary, Explanations and Conclusions

In this last chapter, summaries, explanations and conclusions are addressed. Following a summary of the main arguments dealing with close textual analysis and policy analysis, this chapter addresses further aspects of the study's third objective – which is to explain the shape of, and commitments, in the language policy texts from the standpoint of broader social factors – beyond the explanations seen in the previous chapter. This chapter therefore corresponds to the third stage in Fairclough's approach which relates to the influence of the broader social context. As seen in the theoretical framework (Chapter 3), this stage establishes how “context is linked to social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation” and “how the text is a product of social practice” (Fairclough, 1989: 24). Thus, the text is located in, and is a product of, a broader social environment. This chapter further serves as a basis for drawing together arguments, and providing some indications as to how these findings can be used as a tool to guide language policy analysis in Higher Education institutions.

In linking concerns of (differential) epistemological access for all students to the issue of transformation, language and language policies in Higher Education, we noted in Chapter 1 that unfortunately it is frequently assumed that policy texts are excellent and adequately supportive of transformation. It is also assumed by various studies (Madiba, 2013; 2013; Kaschula, 2013; Makalela & McCabe, 2013) that implementation is the major reason for language policy texts not producing desired effects (enhanced graduation rates for especially black African students). Therefore, one objective of this study was to subject the language policy documents to close textual scrutiny. It was also suggested that, to attempt to fully understand the nature of the language policy texts, it was important to pay attention to the processes of their development and to engage with the dynamics of these processes from the standpoint of the policy analysis literature.

The close textual analysis of the language policy texts in Chapter 5 has shown how language policy texts can be misleading in their efforts to promote the transformation goals of South Africa. The close textual analysis revealed various strategies that were employed, including demodalisation, activation, choice of process types and conditional clauses, among others. Demodalisation occurs through passivizing the clause or deleting the actor in order to distance

commander from commandee (Iedema, 2000). The following examples from the UWC and the SUN language policies illustrate this strategy:

- The language [[in which tasks, assignments and examinations should be completed]] shall be English (UWC, 2003).
- Afrikaans is the default language of undergraduate learning and instruction (SUN, 2002)

In the provisions above, there is an absence of actors, but a strong sense of action to these provisions which take on the effect of an imperative. As a result of demodalisation, the provisions come across as naturalised, meaning they should be obeyed without question.

Activation is another strategy in which “social actors are presented as active, dynamic forces in an activity” (Van Leeuwen, 1996: 43). Examples from the language policy texts are presented below:

- a) If lecturers are competent users of other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages in addition to main languages of teaching if such practice facilitates communication or discussion (UWC, 2003).
- b) The University of Stellenbosch provides language services with respect to Afrikaans and English, and, in a limited sense, isiXhosa (SUN, 2002).

These provisions illustrate activation. It has been noted, as the examples show, that activation mostly occurs in the provisions relating to the languages that are not primary languages at the respective institutions. In example (a), the responsibility is assigned to the lecturer, and in example (b), responsibility is assigned to the university. The inclusion of an actor provides the provision with an interpersonal element which does not seem as distant as those provisions relating to demodalisation. The effect of activation makes the provisions more negotiable.

The choice of process types is another strategy employed in the language policies. Process types are categorised according to those that represent a strong sense of doing or the strongest sense of commitment to action. In the language policies, the Identifying process has been identified as the process type that represents the strongest commitment. In the language policy texts, the Identifying process has mostly been used with respect to the primary languages of the respective universities.

- a) The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English.
- b) Afrikaans is the default language of undergraduate learning and instruction.

With respect to the other languages, the Material process has frequently been used.

- a) Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used wherever it is practicable to do so.

Although the Material process suggests a strong sense of doing, the Identifying process ascribes an identity to its participant which is much less negotiable. Also, in many of the provisions of the non-primary languages of the institutions, these provisions are, in most cases, followed by conditional clauses. The interpretation of these process types refers to the fact that, those provisions that use Identifying processes come across as much less negotiable than other processes because the provision ascribes the language to part of its identity. This suggests stronger commitment to the realisation of the provision.

The presence of conditional clauses is common in provisions associated with the non-primary languages of the institution, and not readily used in the provisions of the primary languages of the respective institutions. In the instance of the UWC language policy, all the conditional clauses are used in the cases of Afrikaans and isiXhosa, making English the default language. In the context of the SUN language policy, conditional clauses are used in relation to English, and to a greater extent, in the case of isiXhosa. The implication of this finding is that English and Afrikaans are the default languages of the respective institutions. Thus, the conditional clauses are used to conceal the interests of these institutions toward the use of a preferred language.

The different strategies that are employed in the language policy texts reveal the various interests and ideologies that are at play in the domain of Higher Education. Even though university policies may, on a superficial level, coincide with the transformation goals of the country, close textual scrutiny of the language policies show that the commitment toward developing African languages is not as strong as it ought to be. As discussed in Chapter 3, many studies have blamed implementation for the failure of language policies, but as the analysis has shown, the language policy texts in themselves are problematic. These problems can be traced back to the development of the policies. The analysis pointed out that, even though the language policy texts re-echo commitment in the Constitution and other national documents to multilingualism, both

the UWC and the SUN language policies essentially contain provisions that address a section of the interests in each institution.

The analysis of the interview data regarding the processes followed in developing these policies (Chapter 6) was able to offer a first level of explanation for observations in the textual analysis. From the standpoint of the policy analysis literature, the language policies of UWC and SUN largely followed the stages of policy development (defining the problem, consideration of solution pathways, deciding on a pathway, implementation, and monitoring). Nonetheless, there were contestations at, especially, the initial stages of problem definition and consideration of alternatives. In the case of UWC, there were contestations around the issue of Afrikaans versus English as the medium of instruction after the open-admissions policy was introduced. At SUN, problems arose with respect to the candour with which the university communicates its dedication toward Afrikaans to its prospective students. Thus, at each of these universities, the policy development processes included some contestation as to what issues should be taken on board or left out, as well as which solutions were considered valid or realistic.

An important element that relates to these contestations are the voices that were silenced as a result of actors pushing particular agendas. In the case of UWC, the agenda of unity and the new identity of an “international” university were introduced as justification for the change to an English-only instruction mode, in spite of the consequences for many groups who were not first language English speakers. The language policy of SUN advocates a predominantly Afrikaans approach. The commitment towards Afrikaans is concealed by foregrounding the university’s main goal of knowledge production on a local and international platform, even though knowledge exchange takes place through language. It is interesting to note that in both of these cases, isiXhosa is not considered to be the medium of instruction. The choices remain between Afrikaans and English. At each point in the problem consideration stage and solution pathways stage, isiXhosa is side-lined as a language only suitable as a support structure. Thus, isiXhosa is not seen as a language that fits the profile of an international identity or international knowledge exchange.

An explanation for these findings is located in Fairclough’s notion of text as a product of “social practice” in which the broader social context is taken into account (Fairclough, 1989: 24). The search for broader social explanations for observations in the preceding chapters suggests that the two institutions took into account the higher level policies (the Constitution and the LPHE),

as well as the goals in the transformation project. However, the interests of the respective institutions were also promoted.

It would be recalled from the analysis in the previous chapters that the commitment to multilingualism, seen in the preamble to UWC's language policy, is tempered in the body of the policy, leading to the impression of a disconnect between both parts of the policy text. The preamble referred to UWC as a "multilingual university" taking on the responsibility of cultivating a "respect for our multilingual heritage", etc. In the body of the policy, however, the dominance of English was signalled by the use of the Experiential processes (specifically the Identifying process), demodalisation, the absence of conditional clauses, and so on. All of these strategies had the effect of making English the default language in virtually all domains at UWC, with Afrikaans and isiXhosa as secondary languages. Interviews with key informants also indicated a silencing or marginalisation of voices in favour of multilingualism. It may also be recalled that UWC's language policy lacks an implementation plan. How can one explain these observations?

Let us begin with the policy's emphasis on English. It would appear that a politics of identity at both national and institutional levels conditioned the (body of the) policy text to be pro-English. UWC was established in 1959 as a university for people classified as "coloured" under the Extension of University Education Act. Thus, it was an institution created to sustain apartheid policies. Although a *de jure* bilingual Afrikaans/English institution, the institution was virtually *de facto* Afrikaans-speaking, as this language served as the language of the oppressive apartheid government under which the institution was established (The University of the Western Cape, 1989).

UWC was a university that was actively involved in the apartheid struggle through student protests, especially those protests that reflected an aspiration towards an inclusive Higher Education space (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 6). These protests led to the appointment of UWC's first black rector in 1975, a significant move in Higher Education during apartheid (The University of the Western Cape, 1989: 6). An essential outcome of UWC's active involvement in the defiance of the apartheid logic is the open admissions policy – a policy that ensured that UWC was no longer a university reserved for 'coloured' students, but could admit students of any colour. Thus, at its core, the open admissions policy disrupted the very nature of the apartheid idea of 'separate development'.

The open admissions policy had implications for a number of internal processes and practices, none the least of which was language. As mentioned above, Afrikaans was the *de facto* language of the institution, and this was a problem because, aside from the ideological associations attached to Afrikaans, the open admissions policy allowed for a dramatic increase in the number of black students at UWC (Tamminga, 2006).

Several options were in principle available to the university: one option could have been a greater promotion of the use of English in order for it to become really co-equal to Afrikaans (as was presumably intended when the institution was founded as a bilingual English/Afrikaans university). Another option could have been the promotion of isiXhosa – an official language of the Western Cape and the home language of many of the new black African students entering the institution. This language could have been promoted and developed within the framework of a strategic plan that would in the long term make it co-equal with English and Afrikaans in as many domains of the institution's life as possible.

As analysis of the interview data showed (see Chapter 6), these two options were vigorously canvassed in the various committees attending to the language question. In that chapter, we saw that the Working Group on the Language Question set up to debate the various options for the medium of instruction at UWC ended up discussing only the implementation of English. Specific forms of language ideology (cf. Weber & Horner, 2011) would seem to have determined what option was eventually adopted. It was one-nation one-language ideology blended with the ideology of a language hierarchy. The one-nation one-language ideology associates a territory or a national identity with only one language (Weber & Horner, 2011: 16-22). The language hierarchy ideology, on the other hand, distinguishes between the concepts of 'languages', 'dialects' and 'patois', and accords the highest status to 'languages'. Within the latter, an even higher status is accorded certain languages (Weber & Horner, 2011: 16-22). It was this blend that underpinned the assumption that an inclusive Higher Education space was only attainable through one language, namely English, and the idea that if other languages of learning were to be included they should in large measure be subordinated to English.

This strong language ideology promoted by the management also explains why an implementation plan was not attended to, with the consequence that there was no pressure to implement or do anything about the token concessions made to languages of learning other than English. We may recall the following account provided by an informant from UWC:

“[W]hen the institutional operating plan came out in 2009- well, that covered 2009 to 2014- I asked in senate ‘Okay, it’s a fine document but there’s nothing in here on the language policy,’ and [the Executive in charge of the operating plan process] looked at me and asked ‘Language policy, what language policy?’ - which just showed me how unimportant it was, and how there was no interest really in the language policy...”

The interviewee explains such dismissive stance from the standpoint of ideology:

“I think the absence of the implementation plan is the direct result of those pro-English ideologies”

As was seen in Chapter 5, close textual scrutiny revealed the preference for the use of English at UWC. In delaying the implementation plan, this idea is reinforced. Again, this corresponds to Professor Gerwel’s vision of a pro-English university.

The lack of an implementation plan, like the pro-English provisions of the policy, reflects a particular ideology of language that was constructed to support the national liberation struggle (overthrow of apartheid policies) and to serve the cause of the institution’s identity, particularly as championed by the leadership of the institution.

It is worth noting that the nonchalant attitude toward the language policy in the above quote was expressed in 2010, and builds on views that were expressed by the institution’s leadership in the 1980s in favour of English. The attitude to implementing the plan was clearly not a response to apartheid, but an articulation of a certain institutional interest (that English is the only worthwhile language of scholarship, or UWC is an international university). In the process, however, the interests of certain categories of students, for whom the doors of learning had been opened, were not considered.

Having explained the pro-English commitments of UWC’s language policy from the standpoints of national and institutional identity politics, let us now attempt to explain the observed disconnect between the preamble and the body of the language policy. The 2003 UWC language policy is not only located within the institution’s social and political history as well as the project to dismantle apartheid, it is also situated within a project of rebuilding a society post-apartheid, a society in which multilingualism and multiculturalism are made priorities.

The Constitution of South Africa states that “[r]ecognising 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” (Section 6(2) of the Constitution). More specific to the use of language in the sphere of education, section 29 (2) of the Constitution states that “[e]veryone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access to, and implementation of, this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account- (a) equity; (b) practicability; and (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices” (Section 29 of the Constitution).

The framework of multilingualism articulated in the Constitution is reflected in the Language Policy for Higher Education – as is evident in section 6 of the LPHE, which states: “The challenge facing higher education is to ensure the simultaneous development of a multilingual environment in which all our languages are developed as academic/scientific languages, while at the same time ensuring that the existing languages of instruction do not serve as a barrier to access and success” (Ministry of Education, 2002: 5). In explaining the disconnect between the preamble and the body of UWC’s language policy provisions, it would appear that the preamble embodies the national spirit of multilingualism and multiculturalism which we find in the Constitution, the LPHE and other initiatives, which are at the service of the national project of post-apartheid transformation or redress. The national discourse of multilingualism and multiculturalism is clearly reflected in the preamble. For example, it is said in the preamble that the UWC language policy “attempts to guide institutional language practices so that it furthers equity, social development, and a respect for our multilingual heritage”. These values link to the transformation project of South Africa, a necessity for each tertiary institution.

As the formulation of university language policies to reflect the imperatives of a new multicultural society was a directive in the LPHE, UWC’s language policy text appears to have strategically appropriated the spirit of multilingualism in the LPHE in its preamble. The language policy then uses the provisions in the main body of the text for other goals in the attainment of which languages other than English are seen as secondary.

As seen in Chapter 5, the analysis of the language policy document of SUN shows unabashed support for Afrikaans with a limited acknowledgement of other South African languages. Afrikaans is maintained/promoted in all domains of SUN, and English is acknowledged to a lesser extent. For example, the SUN language policy labels Afrikaans as “the default language of undergraduate learning and instruction”, as well the “default institutional language of the

university” (SUN Language Policy, 2002). In Chapter 5, it was also noted that, with respect to mediums of instruction, isiXhosa is completely excluded. This idea is discussed in the interview where the committee viewed the notion of including isiXhosa as unrealistic. IsiXhosa is limited to a support language, developed externally from the university through the Language Centre.

In order to understand SUN’s preference for Afrikaans in relation to the national discourse of multilingualism and multiculturalism, it is important to understand the history of SUN. Thus, in this section, an explanation of the findings in the SUN language policy analysis and key informant interview analysis will be provided.

In 1918, there were three universities in South Africa: the University of Cape Town, the University of Stellenbosch and the University of South Africa (Du Plessis, 2006). The three universities had been English-speaking until 1919, when Dutch was introduced as a second language at tertiary level, and after a while, Afrikaans replaced Dutch (Du Plessis, 2006: 96). From this point on, all universities were bilingual. With the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s, universities where Afrikaans speakers were the dominant group soon became monolingual Afrikaans universities (Du Plessis, 2006: 97). The University of Stellenbosch formed part of this group of Afrikaans medium universities. With this backdrop, several factors may be identified which explain the dominance of Afrikaans in the Stellenbosch language policy.

Firstly, there is the historical significance of the language in Afrikaner history and SUN’s own role in Afrikaner nationalism. As an “Afrikaans-language independent university” (Botha, 2007: 84), the University of Stellenbosch as an institution was connected with the Nationalist Party and its apartheid ideologies (Botha, 2007: 84). Noted leaders from the apartheid movement had ties with Stellenbosch. The first president of apartheid South Africa, DF Malan, resided in Stellenbosch, and Hendrik Verwoerd was a staff member at the university (Botha, 2007: 84). There was also a presence of the secret political organisation, Afrikaner Broederbond, on campus (Botha, 2007: 84). The Afrikaans language, which was used as a political tool, formed the core of this organisation, as well as the whole movement of apartheid (Botha, 2007: 84). It could be suggested that it is because of this background that some staff members felt that the historical status quo of SUN should be maintained

This historical significance has recently been rearticulated by a member of the governing council of SUN, Piet Le Roux, who took to social media to voice his opinion that transformation will never take place at SUN (Hartleb, 2015). Of course, language is an aspect of transformation and

an integral part of the *Luister* video which provoked the debate to which Mr Piet Le Roux was contributing. This suggests that the predominantly Afrikaans 2002 SUN language policy reflects a deep ideological commitment to Afrikaans.

Secondly, it would appear that with the onslaught of English and the threat it poses to other languages, SUN saw it as a duty to safeguard Afrikaans as an academic language and to guarantee the right of Afrikaans speakers to study in this language. Du Plessis (2005) states that the shift Historically Afrikaans Institutions make toward bilingualism suggest motives like “language maintenance” as well as “the need to survive” as opposed to a purposeful decision to change to bilingual instruction (Du Plessis 2005: 109). Recall that the Language Policy for Higher Education had essentially made it impossible for Afrikaans-only universities to continue to exist. The “need to survive” motive is evident in the 2015 SUN language policy that almost completely discards the T-option in order to change to dual-medium instruction to increase the use of English.

This idea of language maintenance and rights has recently been rearticulated in the wake of the *Luister* video, documenting narratives of exclusion at SUN and in the city, and which was initially responded to with an announcement of English being the primary means of instruction. In opposing the decision, many people, including political parties like the Freedom Front Plus, viewed the change in language policy at SUN “unconstitutional” because according to article 29 in the Constitution, individuals are guaranteed education in the language of their choice (Kekana, 2015). Similarly, the Executive Committee of the Convocation of Stellenbosch University (a body consisting of roughly 129 000 alumni) spoke out against this decision. They claim that they are against the decision to deprive Afrikaans-speaking students the opportunity of learning in Afrikaans when 22 out of the 26 universities in the country are English, with Stellenbosch University, The University of Pretoria, North-West University and University of the Free State as the only Afrikaans-medium universities. (Petersen & Evans, 2015).

Thirdly, maintaining the dominance of Afrikaans contributes to appeasing and guaranteeing sources of external funding. According to Du Plessis, “[t]his differentiated approach to language policy adopted by historically Afrikaans-medium universities in the end represents a compromise between the need to reform (and thus maintain Afrikaans, appease their traditional clientele, secure their traditional sources of external funding, etc.) and the need to transform (and increase access, become multilingual and multicultural, etc.)” (Du Plessis, 2005: 108-109). The importance of appeasing traditional sources of external funding cannot be overemphasised.

According to the 2014 SUN financial report (SUN Annual report, 2014), it is estimated that SUN received 24.6% of its income from private donors in 2014, some of whom may wish to use their financial influence to weigh in on what changes are made to the institution's profile.

What the above shows is that the dominance of Afrikaans in the SUN language policy text responds to broader social factors. Such dominance was an inevitable survival strategy. The opening up to English in the policy text would also appear to have been motivated by the recognition of the dominant role this language plays in global knowledge production and dissemination, and for SUN not to be excluded from this global space. Recall that the policy repeatedly constructs a knowledge identity for the institution: for example, the first sentence in the introduction of the language policy states that “[t]he core function of the University of Stellenbosch is its engagement with knowledge”.

It is obvious, then, that as a text and ‘Discourse’ (ways of thinking, acting, feeling), SUN’s 2002 language policy document reflects ties to other texts and discourses. It is a text that is clearly shaped by broader social processes.

With respect to these two universities, in the case of UWC, the disconnect between the preamble of the policy and the provisions of the policy suggest an attempt to comply with national sentiments, but at the same time, to respond to the history of the university. For example, as Chapter 5 shows, the preamble of the language policy paints UWC as a “multilingual university”, but the provisions show a strong predominance of English.

The SUN language policy masquerades its unabashed support for Afrikaans by foregrounding knowledge production as the university's primary commitment. In both of these language policies, there is an interplay between the unique histories of the institution and the national sentiments of “multilingualism” and “multiculturalism”. However, in both of these language policies, the texts responded more to the institutions' respective histories.

The foregoing analysis provides a basis for the fourth objective of the study, which seeks to work out the implications of the findings associated with the preceding objectives, for discussing language and transformation in Higher Education, and for understanding and researching the complexity of university language policies.

The study has shown that, contrary to the widespread assumption of university language policy texts being supportive of multilingualism, the picture painted by the analysis is that there is room for problematising these policy texts. As the two policy documents stand, they cannot be

adequately supportive of the many students for whom English or Afrikaans is a second, third or even fourth language. As Webb states:

“The language used for learning and teaching is crucial for learners’ acquisition of knowledge and understanding and the development of their skills, and for learners’ ability to demonstrate their acquired knowledge effectively in assignments and examinations. If learners do not know the language used as the medium of instruction well, they cannot adequately develop educationally.” (Webb, 2004:148)

It is therefore not surprising, especially considering other forms of disparity, that black African students have lower graduation rates than, say, white students (Alexander, 2000; Heugh, 2011; Bamgbose, 2003; Prah, 2009).

The study has also shown the complexity of language policies, especially the diversity of interests involved and the manner in which some interests are deep-seated. What this implies is that merely changing the text of language policy documents is essentially a cosmetic exercise without paying due attention to these underlying interests. According to Antia & Dyers (2015), not everyone associated with, or connected to, the policy development process necessarily has the same beliefs about language. Antia and Dyers (2015) capture the complexities of this phenomenon and its impact on language policy using Spolsky (2007). Antia and Dyers (2015) explain how actors in a university context (students and staff) share the domain of Higher Education. However, each one has different views, beliefs and interests with respect to language because they also form part of other networks (outside of the shared domain of Higher Education) each of which has its own language practices, beliefs and management (Antia & Dyers, 2015). Higher Education is a point where these different orientations intersect, but each individual still carries with them the orientation of all the other domains they form part of.

An example of this occurrence would be the multiple changes to the SUN language policy. The 2002 SUN language policy commits to the development and use of Afrikaans at the university. It visibly displays the interests of the white Afrikaner community which wants to maintain the status quo. As a result of issues of inclusiveness, the 2015 SUN language policy promoted English to function alongside Afrikaans, with Afrikaans still maintaining its position of esteem. It is at this point that differing understandings come into play. SUN is dependent on Afrikaans as it forms part of the identity, reputation and wealth. The statistics on SUN’s website shows that Afrikaans-speaking students are no longer the overwhelming majority group at the institution as

the black student demography grows each year. Thus SUN is faced with a dilemma: maintaining its image, whilst battling accusations that it is not an inclusive institution.

It is interesting to note that Open Stellenbosch, a movement that endorses multilingualism and multiculturalism at SUN, opted for a change to English, rather than a stronger presence of isiXhosa. It is clear that, all other concerns aside, the concept of “inclusiveness” in Higher Education in South Africa means a strong presence of English.

Towards the end of the 2015 academic year, SUN announced a switch in its primary language from Afrikaans to English. This news has already caused stirrings in the alumni association and some political parties which support Afrikaans. It is clear that these parties have vested interests in the maintenance of the Afrikaans language, irrespective of whether the language is the cause of exclusion. SUN language policies have changed and developed as a result of varying interests of parties who want to maintain the status quo of Afrikaans (many staff members, alumni associations, political parties like the Freedom Front Plus), and those who want an inclusive Stellenbosch through the use of English.

Interestingly, the language policy texts and development processes in this study have to a large extent followed the policy development stages. However, the outcomes did not seem to reflect what would have been expected from a democratic process. In this study, the analysis has shown that it is important to pay attention to issues of power, interests and ideologies that operate at a national, as well as an institutional level. Issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism are addressed in a symbolic manner, as opposed to the concrete commitment to maintain those languages which represent history (the institutional histories of both UWC and SUN with English and Afrikaans respectively), ideology (related to the functions of English and Afrikaans in education as opposed to African languages) and, essentially, comfort. Badat (2009: 456) defines transformation as the “intent of the *dissolution* of existing social relations and institutions, policies and practices, and the *re-creation* and consolidation into something substantially new”. What this means is that we must approach transformation with the intention and willingness to dissolve, in this case, language practices, and recreate them into something that is “substantially new”. However, as the analysis shows, language policies only reflect transformation on a symbolic level, but in reality maintain the status quo. If this mind set is to be maintained, the language reform in Higher Education will remain stagnant.

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Appendix 1

Interview questions on university language policy

Introduction

I am Chanel van der Merwe, a Masters student from the University of the Western Cape in the Department of Linguistics. I am currently engaged in a research project pertaining to language policies in South African Higher Education institutions.

Scope

The scope of the interview covers the following topics: controls for the development of the university language policies, processes associated with the development of the language policy, and implementation.

I really am very grateful for your participation in this interview. Thank you.

Administration – Sign consent form

1. What gave rise to the development of the policy?
2. Were you part of/or close to the development of the language policy?
3. In what capacity were you (invited to be) part of the policy development process?
4. With regards to the other participants in the policy development process, what roles/offices did they hold? What were their respective disciplines?
5. Without prejudice to the response in question one above, at the time the policy development process began, were there specific problems identified which the policy needed to address? If yes, what were these problems?

6. To determine the problem(s) and goals, was there a formal research/consultation process undertaken? Or were problems/goal statements more informally/intuitively arrived at?
7. To clarify the process of developing the policy
 - a. What was the nature of the consultation/research process undertaken
 - b. What were the internal factors that were considered
 - c. What were the external factors that were considered
 - d. What impact did the environment (suburb, city, province) in which the university is located have on the development process?
8. In coming up with specific ideas for the policy documents:
 - a. What areas of activity/life in the institution were considered relevant to be addressed by a language policy? Why?
 - b. Was account taken of other university policies that could have an impact on a language policy? If yes, please describe.
9. For each of the provisions in the final language policy document, were alternative provisions explicitly considered?
10. With respect to the previous questions, how often? (very, occasionally, rarely?)
11. Can you recall an example or two of how for a given provision several alternatives were initially considered/evaluated?
12. Does the language policy have an explicit implementation plan?
13. Were you part of developing the implementation plans (explicit or implicit)?
14. What did participants in the process of policy development consider important to include in the implementation plan (whether explicit or implicit), e.g. time lines, finance, actors, revision, dates, etc?
15. In your view, is the policy being implemented top-down, bottom-up, or as a mixture of both? Explain.

16. If the process of policy development were to be repeated or done today, what would you do differently?



Appendix 2

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

LANGUAGE POLICY

Preamble:

The University of the Western Cape is a multilingual university, alert to its African and international context. It is committed to helping nurture the cultural diversity of South Africa and build an equitable and dynamic society. This language policy relates to one aspect of that commitment. It attempts to guide institutional language practice so that it furthers equity, social development, and a respect for our multilingual heritage.

Languages of Teaching, Learning and Assessment

The languages of teaching, learning and assessment will be discussed under the following headings:

- language(s) used in lectures, tutorials and practicals
- language(s) used in the setting of tasks/assignments/examinations
- language(s) used/allowed in the writing of assignments/examinations
- language(s) in which text material is available
- language(s) students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities.

Languages used in lectures, tutorials and practicals

Lectures, tutorials and practicals for any module will be delivered in the language formally approved by the Faculty concerned, in accordance with the spirit of the policy. If lecturers are competent users of other languages, they are encouraged to use these languages in addition to main language of teaching, if such a practice facilitates communication or discussion.

Languages used in the setting of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations

Regarding the languages used in the setting of tasks, assignments, tests and examinations, English, Afrikaans and Xhosa should be used wherever it is practicable to do so.

Languages used in writing tasks, assignments, tests and examinations

Unless otherwise negotiated between a student or a class and a lecturer, the language in which tasks, assignments, tests and examinations should be completed shall be English.

Languages in which texts are available

Regarding the languages in which texts are available, efforts should be made to provide alternatives and options in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa wherever it is practicable and academically desirable to do so. Texts here refers to support materials such as course outlines, lecture notes and computer courseware.

Languages students use in self-directed learning processes and activities

Regarding the languages students use in their self-directed learning processes and activities, departments should actively seek to appoint some student tutors who can assist students in Xhosa and/or Afrikaans, as well as English.

Access to Academic and Professional Discourse

- All students will have access to entry-level courses aimed at strengthening their English oral and aural communication skills and improving their academic literacy in English.
- All students will have access to support services to assist them in developing their academic literacy in English.

Promoting Multilingualism

- The university undertakes to make language acquisition courses in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa available to both administrative and lecturing staff.
- All students will be encouraged, through enrichment programmes, to develop proficiency in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa.

Languages of Internal Communication

The main language of internal communication for academic and administrative purposes shall be English. However, the university will progressively make important information available in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. Essential information such as rules will be made available in the three languages as a matter of priority. If departments for whatever reason deem it necessary, or because research into the needs of the client group reveals a clear need, Afrikaans and

Xhosa translations of formal communications should be made available, provided that it is practicable to do so.

In spoken debate and deliberation, the objective is to be understood by everyone present. Should a speaker prefer to speak in Afrikaans or Xhosa, use will be made of informal interpreting if it is practicable to do so.

The university shall have staff available to assist enquirers in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, particularly in advisory sessions and at registration and in the examination periods. In appointing administrative staff who deal directly with students, the university will make their capacity to assist students in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa a strong recommendation. In these ways it will attempt to nurture and use the abilities of all in the university community in accordance with its mission statement, and to promote multilingualism, linguistic diversity and racial harmony at UWC.

Languages of External Communication

The language used for external communication shall normally be English, unless sensitivity to the recipient requires use of another language. If individuals request information from the university in either Afrikaans or Xhosa, the information will be translated into that language, and the translated version will be sent to the individual accompanied by the English version. In all cases the official version shall be the English version.

Signage on campus will progressively be in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, having due regard to readability and aesthetic considerations.

Adapted from the original draft discussion document (1998) by the Board of Management of the Iilwimi Sentrum (April 2003)
Approved by Council, June 2003).

Appendix 3

Language Policy of the Stellenbosch University

The core of the policy

The University of Stellenbosch is committed to the use and sustained development of Afrikaans as an academic language in a multilingual context. Language is used at the University in a manner that is directed towards engagement with knowledge in a diverse society.

1. Introduction

The core function of the University of Stellenbosch is its engagement with knowledge. The spectrum of knowledge of the University is compact in the sense that a number of focus areas form its core, and broad in the sense that it covers a variety of academic disciplines and that it also includes learning and teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels and research.

The University takes as a starting point that the international context is of crucial significance in its engagement with knowledge. At the same time the University is situated within a local socio-cultural context, both within South Africa and particularly in the Western Cape region. The University aims to apply locally the knowledge that has been discovered inter alia within the international context, taking into account the differences within the regional community and national society.

One aspect of our society is that a variety of languages function within it. The ascription in the Constitution of official status to eleven different languages amounts to an acknowledgement that each of these languages is recognized as an asset that should be used as a means of developing the human potential of the country. This important personal, professional and social asset should be exploited on a collective basis by the South African tertiary education sector to achieve this end.

Against this background, the University makes a contribution to the development of Afrikaans as an academic language, but at the same time takes into consideration the multicultural and multilingual reality of South Africa by, alongside the particular focus on Afrikaans, also taking English and isiXhosa into account.

2. Principles

The Language Policy of the University is implemented taking the following important principles into account:

1. The University is a centre of excellence directed toward the production of knowledge through research, learning and instruction.
2. The University recognises and respects the core values enshrined within the South African Constitution.
3. The University takes into consideration strategic national policy and the processes of policy formation.
4. The Language Policy takes into account the values and premises set out in the Strategic Framework of the University.
5. The University recognises the particular status of Afrikaans as an academic language and shares the responsibility for promoting Afrikaans as an academic language.
6. The University recognises the status of English as an important local and also acknowledged international academic language.
7. The University recognises the status of isiXhosa as an important local language, but also as a developing academic language, and intends, within the limitations of what is possible, to contribute actively to its development.
8. The Language Policy takes into account the diversification goals of the University.
9. The Language Policy places the University in a position to make a particular contribution to the promotion of multilingualism as an asset.
10. The University accepts the principle that the success of the Language Policy is dependent on the provision of acceptable and sufficient language services.

3. The multilingual context

The University's commitment to Afrikaans as an academic language does not exclude the use of various languages at the University in its engagement with knowledge: apart from Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa, Dutch, German and French are included.

Afrikaans

The University is committed to the exploitation of the academic potential of Afrikaans as a means of empowering a large and diverse community. This includes a significant group from disadvantaged communities, a considerable number of non-Afrikaans speakers as well as Afrikaans speakers who have a better command of Afrikaans than English. The University wishes to empower all such groups through university education in Afrikaans.

The Afrikaans language community is *demographically*, on the grounds of both the number of its users and its geographical distribution regionally and nationally, one of the stronger language

communities in the country. Speakers of Afrikaans are in the majority at the University of Stellenbosch among both students and staff. *Culturally* Afrikaans is a standard language that has for decades functioned as an academic language and is a national asset as a fully developed cultural language.

English

The University of Stellenbosch makes use of English in its engagement with knowledge because of the language's international and local function, the strong presence of English speakers in the University and the need for academic proficiency in English for students who do not have English as their home language. English functions in combination with Afrikaans in the University

isiXhosa

isiXhosa is an official language used by one of the larger language communities spread over a large area of South Africa that is on the increase in the Western Cape, among other regions. The University undertakes to contribute by means of particular initiatives to the development of isiXhosa as an academic language

4. Provisions of the Language Policy

The Language Policy of the University is summarised in the following provisions:

1. Afrikaans is the default language of undergraduate learning and instructionⁱ
2. English is used in particular circumstances as a language of undergraduate learning and instruction.

Provisions 1 and 2 mean that, unless otherwise determined, the A-specification of the Language Plan applies automatically in all undergraduate modules. Any deviation in undergraduate modules from this default position will be allowed only after the reasons have been thoroughly considered.

3. Afrikaans and English are used in postgraduate learning and instruction.
4. The academic literacy of students in Afrikaans and English will be developed systematically.
5. The default institutional language of the University is Afrikaans.
6. English is used alongside Afrikaans as a language of communication for the University, as circumstances may require.

Provisions 5 and 6 mean that Afrikaans is used in all circumstances as the language of internal communication, but that the particular needs of non-Afrikaans speaking staff and students are catered for with the appropriate sensitivity.

7. Afrikaans, English and, where possible, isiXhosa are the University's languages of external communication.
8. Provision is made for isiXhosa in some programmes with a view to professional communication.
9. The University promotes isiXhosa as a developing academic language, amongst other ways, through its Language Centre.

With provisions 7, 8 and 9, the University wishes to emphasise the earnestness with which it treats its position within the multicultural and multilingual context of South Africa. The Language Centre will be launching particular actions to that end through its Unit for isiXhosa, a unit that functions in close co-operation with the Department of African Languages.

10. The University of Stellenbosch provides language services with respect to Afrikaans and English, and, in a limited sense, isiXhosa.

5. Language policy formation as a dynamic process

The University of Stellenbosch considers the forming of a Language Policy to be a dynamic process. For that reason, the University undertakes to test the Language Policy against changing circumstances by:

- doing research on the implementation, application and monitoring of the Language Policy,
- consulting regularly with the wider university community,
- processing and making known the information emerging from this research and consultation, and
- adapting the Language Policy according to circumstances.

6. Language Plan

The Language Policy of the University is accompanied by a detailed language plan that is set out in the Calendar.

7. A policy directed toward the future

The Language Policy of the University of Stellenbosch seeks to contribute, as a future-oriented policy, to the realisation of the ideal of creating a favourable learning and instruction environment for the benefit of the students; an environment within which Afrikaans as an academic language and the asset of multilingualism are combined in an imaginative way.

ⁱThe term "default" is the wellknown sense “automatically”, and, as far as the management of the Language Policy and Plan is concerned, in the sense “the option not needing any further motivation.” Both these senses are well-established.

