CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES/POSSIBILITIES
OF IMPLEMENTING
THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a PhD in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape

Supervisor: Professor Charlyn Dyers

March 2014
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES/POSSIBILITIES OF IMPLEMENTING THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY

Jo-mari Anne Nel

KEYWORDS:
South Africa
Western Cape
Language planning
Policy and implementation
IsiXhosa
Afrikaans
Sign and Nama Language
Language ideology
Power relations
Language ecology
ABSTRACT

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The principle aim of this thesis is to investigate all the challenges and opportunities/possibilities involved in realising the implementation of the official Western Cape Language Policy (finalised in 2002). These challenges and opportunities/possibilities were investigated within various structures of the Western Cape Province of South Africa’s civil service environment in six major multilingual towns in the Western Cape. The historical and political context leading to the creation of this policy is provided in the following three paragraphs.

Following the demise of Apartheid with South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994, the New South Africa brought with it amongst other things the following changes: a new Constitution; new legislation; access and freedom within a system of inclusion; the creation of new provinces; the constitutional breakdown of social, geographical and linguistic barriers; the subsequent migration to different towns and cities of people speaking different languages and their integration there; the creation of district and regional municipalities; freedom of the press. All of these introduced a whole new platform of language interaction and association and therefore general communication (Constitution of the RSA, 1996). In addition, in contrast to the Apartheid policy of only two official languages – English and Afrikaans, eleven languages were declared official languages of the state.

The declaration of 11 official languages in 1996 (English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiNdebele, siSwati and Xitsonga) was an integral part of highlighting multilingualism in the newly designated nine provinces of SA. Each of the nine provinces – the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Gauteng, the Northwest Province, Northern Province (now called Limpopo), Mpumalanga, the Free State and Kwazulu-Natal - had to, in consultation with different provincial stakeholders, draft language policies according to the National Language Framework. In the Western Cape Province, three languages were identified as dominant, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. The Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) was consequently drafted by the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC), a statutory body and a sub-committee of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), after the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act, Act 31 of 1998, was accepted by Parliament in 1998. This WCLP was the first provincial language policy to be completed in the New SA. The policy was accepted and the draft was ready for implementation by 2002.
This thesis presents a critical overview of previous and current strategies being used by all provincial government departments in the implementation of the WCLP. This includes a sample of general public knowledge of the existence of the terms and meaning of the WCLP, different outcomes of studies and language-related projects done by the WCLC, PanSALB, DCAS and the Central Language Unit (CLU) since 2000. It also focuses on the role that different private and public language implementation agencies are playing, or not, in their communication with the multilingual civil society of the Western Cape. Projections for and challenges facing the implementation of the WCLP since its acceptance in the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) in 2004 were also researched carefully, together with an analysis of research already conducted on behalf of the provincial government. Document analysis therefore forms a core part of this methodology, together with fieldwork research conducted in six selected major multilingual towns of the Western Cape. This was done in order to explore the challenges experienced by Afrikaans-, isiXhosa- and English-speaking people at grassroots level, since they needed to become more aware of their language rights as set out in the WCLP.

Drawing on a theoretical and conceptual framework based on studies in Language and Power Relations, specifically studies on the role of Language Ideologies, Linguistic Citizenship, Agency and Voice and Language Ecology on effective Language Planning, Policy and Implementation, the thesis presents, through its document analysis, quantitative and qualitative data, an analysis of the limited or failed implementation of the WCLP in both government departments as well as the civilian populations in six selected multilingual towns of the Western Cape. This was achieved by examining actual language practices at particular language policy implementation agencies such as the post office, the police station, the high school, households, the municipal office, the day hospital and the clinic in each of these towns.

The thesis gathers together all this evidence to prove that the implementation of the WCLP has been hampered by a range of factors such as wide-spread ignorance of the policy, the dominance of particular languages in the province over others, power relations within government structures and relatively inflexible language ideologies held by those charged with policy implementation at different levels. It concludes by providing a number of practical recommendations on how more effective implementation can be achieved.

March 2014
DECLARATION

I, Jo-mari Anne Nel, declare that

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES/POSSIBILITIES
OF IMPLEMENTING THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE
POLICY

is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or
examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have
used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete
references.

I further declare:

* that all sources that had been used had been sufficiently recognized
  by means of complete references;

* that I had made sufficient use of documentation found in
  provincial government departments and that I had permission to do
  so;

* that the research by way of both qualitative and quantitative
  research methods had been obtained with the full consent of all
  subjects and their authorities and had been properly transcribed; and

  * that the Addenda had been added at the back.

Full name: Jo-mari Anne Nel                                  Date: 5 March 2014

Signed: ________________________________
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. I would like to express my sincerest appreciation for the support and guidance of my supervisor, Professor Charlyn Dyers, for believing in me and for her absolute dedication to my studies. Her comments and constructive criticisms on several drafts of the thesis are greatly appreciated.

2. Thank you to all those who took part in my quantitative research: the youth, the adult civilians, the public servants and the business owners from all over the Western Cape who diligently filled in my questionnaires.

3. Thank you to the Western Cape Education Department for granting me permission to do research at schools in the province. Thank you to the principals who allowed me access to the schools and after school sessions and the teachers who assisted me.

4. Thank you to the NGOs and community organizations with which I had worked and which assisted me.

5. Thank you to Mr Pedro Dausab, Ms Fatima Karriem, Ms Nomonde Mantambo, Ms Annerie Pruis, Mr Louis Nel, Ms Charlotte Le Fleur, Ms Audrey le Fleur and Ms Nonzwakazi George for a helping hand during the research process.

6. Thank you to all those provincial government departments’ language practitioners who filled in questionnaires and who granted me group interviews.

7. Thank you to all those provincial government departments for sharing information and for welcoming me in their midst. Thank you to those senior members in provincial government who granted me interviews.

8. Thank you to Professor Richard Madsen from the University of Missouri and his wife, Carole, who did the SPSS analysis and overall graphs for my studies.
9. A very special thank you to my mother-in-law, Mrs Annette Nel, for her continued words of encouragement during my studies and for never giving up on me.

10. Thank you to my family, friends and colleagues for the love and understanding during the course of my studies.

11. Thank you to the National Research Foundation for granting me bursaries via the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape in order to undertake and complete my research.

12. Thank you to everybody in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape (from the secretary to the post graduate students and lecturers, especially to Dr Peck, Dr Williams) who always had a friendly and inviting demeanor during my studies and who added value to my studies, especially during seminars and personal discussions.

13. Thank you to Ms Julia Smuts for her continued support and for editing my thesis.

14. Last, but not least, thank you to my husband, Louis Nel, with whom precious moments were sacrificed so that I could complete my study. Thank you for your love, patience and constant support.

In nederigheid wil ek my tesis aan my voorgeslagte en my huidige familie meld:
I would like to humbly mention my thesis to my forebears and my current family:

Die Cloete-, Schoble- en Farmer-familie;
The Cloete-, Schoble- and Farmer-family;

En so ook aan my skoonfamilie:
And also to my in-laws:

Die Nel- en Wessels-familie
The Nel- and Wessels-family

I am this because of you.

Thank you!
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my thesis to

LOUIS DAVID NEL

My rots, steunpilaar, my anker en my seil, my kollega, my vriend, die een wat
my verstaan, my liefde, my lewe, my minnaar, my man - my alles.

Saam met jou sal ek weer van vooraf begin, sal ek hierdie pad nog ’n duisend-
en-een keer loop, selfs meer, so lief het ek jou…

Dankie dat jy hierdie passie van my deel.

J’aimerais dédier ma thèse à

LOUIS DAVID NEL

Mon rocher, mon soutien, mon ancre et ma voile, mon collègue, mon ami, celui
qui me comprend, mon amour, ma vie, mon amant, mon mari – mon tout.

Avec toi, je recommencerai à zéro, avec toi, je referai ce chemin mille et une
fois, même plus, tellement je t’aime…

Merci de partager cette passion à moi…
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### E. ADDENDA

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A. ADDENDUM: LISTS REFERRED TO IN THE STUDY:

i. Documents referred to in the study

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<td>13.</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>NLF</td>
<td>National Language Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>PGWC</td>
<td>Provincial Government Western Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>PLF</td>
<td>Provincial Language Forum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>PRAESA</td>
<td>Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>PanSALB</td>
<td>Pan South African Language Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>SANLP/F</td>
<td>South African National Language Plan/Framework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>WC</td>
<td>Western Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>WCLC</td>
<td>Western Cape Language Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>WCED</td>
<td>Western Cape Education Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>WCLP</td>
<td>Western Cape Language Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>WCPP</td>
<td>Western Cape Provincial Parliament</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## ii. Glossary of terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>African languages</td>
<td>Languages which originated in Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Apartheid era</td>
<td>The era referred to when the National Party took over government in SA from 1948 and followed a legislation of segregation by the color of the skin, and this Era ended in 1994 with the democratic elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bantustans, group areas, homelands</td>
<td>During Apartheid era, Black people were allocated to Bantustans or homelands according to the languages they spoke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Batho Pele principles</td>
<td>These are principles based on excellent service delivery and access to information for all South Africans, principles by which all civil servants should abide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bilingualism</td>
<td>A state of knowing and being able to communicate in two languages The practice of using two languages (not necessarily with equal competence in both).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Development of a language</td>
<td>The promotion of a language by graphisation, standardisation and elaboration of functions so that the language can be used in the media, education, legal and administrative systems, etc.; and by generally providing scope for the publication of literary works in that language.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dominant language</td>
<td>Language with a higher status than all the other languages, a language which has the most speakers of several languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Editing</td>
<td>The act of effecting corrections to language</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Equity</strong></td>
<td>The quality of fairness, impartiality; even-handed dealing; what is fair and right.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Functional multilingualism</strong></td>
<td>Refers to the choice of a particular language(s) in a particular situation, determined by the context in which the language is used, i.e. the <em>function</em>, the <em>audience</em> and the <em>message</em> for which it is employed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Heritage Languages</strong></td>
<td>Languages not indigenous to a country but brought by immigrants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Historically disadvantaged languages</strong></td>
<td>In the South African context, these are the languages that were assigned low status by former powerful groups and which were, as a result, not used or developed for use in the media, education (after early primary school), or in public or economically significant domains. Little support was given to the development of verbal art forms in these languages. They include indigenous languages, Heritage Languages and SASL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Home language</strong></td>
<td>The primary language one speaks at home and in the home environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Human Language Technologies</strong></td>
<td>The application of knowledge of language to the development of computer systems that can recognise, understand, interpret and generate human language in all forms, i.e. the development of applications that make it possible for human beings to interact with computers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>15.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Indigenous language</strong></td>
<td>A language which is indigenous to the area or...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>country. In this thesis it refers to the Nama Language, an indigenous Khoisan language - A language native to a country.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Interpreting</td>
<td>The act of transposing an utterance from a source language into a target language in spoken form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Language awareness</td>
<td>Sensitivity to how language is used in society, whether the users are accorded their language rights, and how language is used to empower or disempower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Language equality</td>
<td>In terms of the Constitution, all languages are to receive equal respect. The equal treatment of two or more languages, especially with regard to official domains of society such as legislation, justice, public administration and instruction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Language equity</td>
<td>The fairness of language provision and/or treatment of two or more languages. Matters such as the number of speakers and the status of a language may influence policy to determine the domains of use of a particular language. This use may not necessarily be equal. “(A) state cannot usefully employ the languages of all its citizens and may consequently strictly limit itself to practising only in its language(s) that is/are official, or certain languages, in one way or the other” (Turi, 1993:14 - 15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Language planning</td>
<td>Language planning focuses on solutions to language problems by formulating alternative goals, means and outcomes. It involves processes of regulating and improving languages through language development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Language policy</td>
<td>An official decision/decree on the status of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Language rights</td>
<td>Laws determining the situations in which citizens can make language choices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Language units</td>
<td>Government agencies in departments and provinces to deal with specific language issues of that department and/or province arising from the National Language Policy and to liaise with other departments on language matters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Lexicography</td>
<td>The activity or profession of compiling dictionaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Marginalized language</td>
<td>Any official language that is excluded from official use or of which use is discouraged in formal settings, (e.g. education, health care). “Marginalized” usually implies the low status of the language and possibly the speakers. For example, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, isiNdebele and siSwati are regarded as marginalized languages in South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Majority language</td>
<td>The language spoken by the most people in a particular area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Medium of instruction</td>
<td>(language of learning) The language of classroom instruction as indicated by curriculum and language policy. “Language of learning” implies a slight shift to include the concept that more than one language may be in use and learners may be accessing one rather than the official medium.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Minority language</td>
<td>The language spoken by the least number of people in a particular area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Mother tongue</td>
<td>The language of one’s parent or guardian; not necessarily the first language of a speaker or one’s primary language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Multilingualism</td>
<td>In the case of an individual, knowledge of more than two languages, and in society, the presence of more than two languages when communicating with the public - The use of three or more languages by an individual or by a group of speakers such as the inhabitants of a particular region or a nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>National language</td>
<td>A language which functions as a symbol of national socio-political identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Primary language</td>
<td>First language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Second/Additional language</td>
<td>A second language which is learnt after the first language has been acquired – offered at school as an extra subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Standard language</td>
<td>A variety which is codified and which exists primarily in written form, used in formal domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Third language</td>
<td>A third language acquired after the second language has been acquired – usually offered as an extra subject in school to assist with third language acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Terminology</td>
<td>Standardised technical terms established for a specific subject field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>The act of transposing a text from a source.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Working language</td>
<td>The official language preferred by an institution for the purpose of business</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Terms and their descriptions were taken from:*


### iii. Chronological events/processes/language related development in the Western Cape 1994-2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Language-related legislation processes and functions/explanations if needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>PRAESA was established as part of the University of Cape Town’s Faculty of Humanities, dealing with research and development regarding language in education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1994</td>
<td>Drafting of interim Constitution Democratic elections in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>National Language Framework established Establishment of the PanSALB Act Language Task Group established to look into language matters of the Western Cape <em>Batho Pele</em> principles drafted, focusing on excellent service delivery and access to information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Establishment of PanSALB, an overarching language body responsible for language in SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Announcement of LieP of the Department of Education and the Norms and Standards regarding Language Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Adoption of the Constitution of the Western Cape - (Assented to 15 January 1998): Drafting and Acceptance of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998): - The three official languages of the Western Cape are English, Xhosa and Afrikaans, and they enjoy equal status. The Western Cape</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
government, by way of legislation and other measures, must monitor the use of these languages and also take practical and active measures to increase and promote the status of those indigenous languages of the people of the Western Cape of which the status has been historically diminished. Adoption of Provincial Languages Act; Establishment of the Western Cape Language Committee, a statutory body

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>2000 – ongoing</td>
<td>Language projects undertaken by LU, DCAS and WCLC to implement the WCLP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Drafting of WCLP by WCLC – process started Follow-up survey on language planning and policy at municipalities in the Western Cape – WCLC report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Establishment of the Language Policy in Education (at primary schools in the WC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Costing the WCLP (draft)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>WCLP accepted by Provincial Parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Finalisation of the WCLP by the WCLC Launching of WCLP at the Waterfront, Cape Town Provincial Language Services established in the Office of the Premier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>WCLC study of implementation of WCLP in Western Cape municipalities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Detailed report on Municipal Language Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implementation and Monitoring and Evaluation by PanSALB</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Language and Health: A study of Language practices in Hospitals in the WC WCLC Research in the Implementation of the WCLP in three WC hospitals Provincial Languages Services moves to Language Unit in DCAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation project on Implementation of the WCLC in government departments of the Western Cape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>2000 – 2009</td>
<td>Language Projects and Language project reports undertaken by LU, DCAS and WCLC to implement the WCLP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Colloquium on the challenges of implementing the WCLP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>2011- (ongoing)</td>
<td>Several language-related projects executed in the province by the LPIU together with translation and interpreting services rendered by the DCAS.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is a critical analysis of the attempts made to implement the language policy of one province of the Republic of South Africa, i.e. the Western Cape Province with Cape Town as its capital. Table 1.1 contains the acronyms and their meanings that will be used during the course of this thesis, while Table 1.2 indicates the terminology that will be used during the course of the study.

In this chapter a short elaboration of the history of the Western Cape is provided, with particular regard to language use occurring in this province. This covers its colonial history and its history during the Apartheid years (1948-1994) as well as an overview of the language history after 1994, when South Africa held its first ever democratic elections. It was during the latter period that language legislation was instituted in the Western Cape, as is indicated in the chronological events/processes/language related development in the Western Cape between 1994 and 2013 on pages xxviii-xxx. The table provides the chronological events leading to the decision to have three official languages in the province treated equally, according to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996.

The South African National Census of 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2011) has been used in order to establish the language distribution in the province with specific reference to these three official languages, Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Figure 1.1 provides the language use figures for the Western Cape in terms of respondents’ declared main home language or mother tongue.
The chapter briefly discusses the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) and its incremental plan in view of the chronological events and processes leading up to the drafting and acceptance of the WCLP as the first ever provincial language policy in South Africa. The chapter also provides the motivation for doing the research, the research aims and key research questions of the thesis, and the anticipated outcomes of the study. The chapter ends with a short summary of all the other chapters in the thesis. In order to distinguish between myself and those research assistants who were present during the research process and assisted me, I use the first person pronoun to refer to myself throughout the thesis instead of using “the researcher”. These research assistants were post graduate students from the Arts Faculty of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and from the Science Faculty of the University of Stellenbosch (US). Other assistants were graduates who had completed their studies and who had experience in the research process.

1.1 A very brief historical overview of the language situation in the Western Cape

1.1.1 Colonisation, the Union of South Africa and the Apartheid state

When the Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC) officially started their colonisation process at the Cape in 1652 to start a refreshment station (Delmas, 2007: 503; Walker, 2000: 21 and Worden, 2004: 17), they encountered many indigenous Khoi (men of men) and San people at the Cape. These people were organised in different clans, e.g. the Khoi clans known as the Attaqua, the Goringhaikona, the Goringhaiqua, the Gorachoqua, the Cochoqua, the Chainoqua, the Hessequa, the Grigriqua (or Charicuriqua), the Namaqua, the Gouriqua (Fleminger, 2005: 25) and the San people or Sonquas (Smith, Malherbe, Guenther and Berens, 2000:2-3). These groups were already living in and around what the Dutch designated as the “Cape Colony” and had their own indigenous cultures, structures and languages. The Sonqua or San -also known as “Bushmen” - a very problematic term for some according to the Mail and Guardian (5 September 2007) - were hunter-gatherers, while the Khoi were
pastoralists who had many herds of cattle for which the Dutch were keen to trade (Bredekamp, 1982; Mostert, 1993). Today, Nama, according to the research that was done by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) in 2003, is the only surviving Khoi language spoken in South Africa – and outside of the Western Cape it is largely spoken in Namaqualand and Namibia. Most of the original indigenous languages of the Khoi and San are, according to Meshtrie (2002), on the brink of extinction.

For 143 consecutive years after the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape (1652 to 1795), Dutch was the first official language of the Cape Colony (as most parts of the current Western Cape were known) with regard to administration, law, church and education (Fourie, 2011; Gilliomee, 2007; Webb, 2002). This cycle of the Dutch language as the first official language was broken for six years during British rule at the Cape between 1796 and 1802, when Britain occupied the Cape as a result of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe (1799 to 1815). However, the Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1802 (between England and France) and the British returned the Cape Colony to the Dutch in 1803. The Cape Colony was then renamed the “Batavian Republic”. This increased the years of Dutch occupation of the Cape Colony to a critical 146 years, almost 15 decades, during which local Dutch developed and evolved. The indigenous languages, like their speakers, were marginalised, and by the late 1700s were already in decline (Meshtrie, 2002).

Reid (2000: 119-139) states that when language is examined within a “social context”, it is clear that power is the basis for argument, and that power is “created”, “re-created”, “subverted”, and “hidden” using language. According to him, language “reflects”, “creates”, “depolarizes” and “routinizes” power. Using Reid’s ideas of language and power, I therefore assumed that the value of
the Dutch language rose with the power of its users, that there was control over the direction and nature of conversations in public and business spheres and their outcomes, that stereotypes were created and adjusted and lastly that the political or social dominance of one group over another was often accompanied by linguistic dominance. Dutch language speakers could therefore impose their own language on the population at large (which would have included slaves, indigenous peoples and even other Europeans not speaking Dutch) as the standard language. The Dutch language played this role significantly in the Cape Colony during this era and the language started to spread to other parts of the country.

Various research sources, amongst others Vigouroux & Mufwene (2008: 56), have shown that the Dutch language came into contact with the indigenous languages as well as the languages of various slaves brought from the East under the initial leadership of the first Dutch commander of the Cape – Jan van Riebeeck – as part of the Dutch East India Company’s enslavement policies. It also came into contact with the languages of other settler groups, in particular German and French. These different people had to communicate with each other in order to survive, and the blending and merging of Dutch with all these other linguistic influences led to a creolised version of the language which eventually became known as Afrikaans. Afrikaans, a uniquely South African language, initially received derogatory labels such as “Cape Dutch”, “Kitchen-language” (Prah, 2007:6), all of which were terms for the lower status Dutch that was spoken in the kitchen by the slaves and indigenous servants or farmhands – “...the kind of Dutch that you speak with the slave/housemaid, and not the proper Dutch...” (Van den Berg, in Davies and Langer, 2005:145). While the Dutch are largely credited with the establishment and growth/birth of Afrikaans, the version spoken today is an accumulation of many other influences and differs from modern Dutch (Den Besten, 1984:400-410). The first written form of Afrikaans was the translation of parts of the Koran (the holy book of Islam) into Afrikaans in the 1840s. Following the French Huguenots’ arrival in 1688
the Dutch spoken at the Cape also absorbed some French. English and Portuguese also affected and led to further hybridisation of Cape Dutch. In addition, the original Khoi and San inhabitants, as well as the Nguni, Sotho and Tswana people all contributed in their fashion to the lexicography, phonology and idioms of this language.

The Second Anglo-Boer War, which lasted between the British and the two independent Boer republics from 1899 to 1902, had a profound effect on Afrikaans and the group calling themselves the ‘Afrikaanders’ (Gilliomee, 2003: 22). The Boers were bitter after their defeat, and within the Afrikaner community a cultural and political campaign was started to promote themselves and the Afrikaans language, thereby creating a distinct Afrikaner culture and lifestyle (Prah, 2007: 6-8). According to Gilliomee (2003: 13) Afrikaans became an official language in 1925 when the National Party (NP), which was founded in 1914, rose to become a more influential political party. Pure Dutch was no longer recognisable amongst those people speaking the language; however during the 1908-1909 National Convention on the new Union of South Africa English and Dutch were chosen as the official languages of the Union. The NP subsequently introduced themselves onto the political playing fields vigorously and tried to make Afrikaans an official language next to English and Dutch. As a result of their efforts, Afrikaans replaced Dutch as medium of instruction at single medium schools from 1925 onwards. The success story of the Afrikaans language in South Africa had officially begun. The Afrikaners claimed Afrikaans as their language and started to develop the language for use at all levels in government, business, etc. English, at the time, was already a part of the imperialist movement of British expansion in South Africa. Afrikaans, after being recognised as an official language in the 20th century, could, however, not “supersede” English (Prah, 2007: 9).
Gough (1996: 2) mentions that English became the “sole official language” of South Africa and stayed an official language during Dutch rule and continued having this status after Dutch rule came to an end. “Afrikaans” replaced Dutch as an official language of the Union of South Africa when The Official Languages of the Union Act (Act No. 8 of 1925) was passed. This Act replaced the South African Act, 1909. Therefore, from 1925 onwards the Afrikaans language (Dutch between 1910 and 1925) enjoyed 68 years – almost 7 decades – of being an official language of South Africa, alongside English, to the exclusion of all other indigenous languages. All business within government spheres was conducted bilingually during this time. The 1940s saw South Africa participating in World War II under the premiership of Jan Smuts. Strong opposition to the war by the Afrikaners resulted in more support for the leader of the NP, D.F Malan, and the subsequent rise to power of this political party. Meanwhile, in 1944, the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League, as part of the ANC which had been established in 1912, was formed. The result was a conflict lasting for almost 50 years between this organisation and the NP.

The NP won the South African elections of 1948, and because this party was mainly an Afrikaner political party at the time, Afrikaans became the language of government and of public administration. This had a powerful effect on the vitality, growth and status of Afrikaans (Gilliomee, 2003: 13-16). Despite the dominance of English in the economic sphere, Afrikaans also began to play an increasing role in this aspect of South Africa, with Afrikaans employers insisting on the increased use of the language among their employees. According to Gilliomee (2003) the rise of Afrikaans is synonymous with the start of the Apartheid (separate development) government. De Kadt (2005) mentions that the Apartheid era used languages to give Africans ethnic identities (de Kadt, 2005: 3). For the first time Afrikaners were now making decisions with regard to the future of the country and legal segregation along racial lines became the
main thrust of any policy or law that was legislated, passed and implemented. Various resistance groups, which included Black, “Coloured”, Indian and White organisations, began to work together to resist Apartheid. Regarding the term “Coloured”, Dyers (2008b:68) notes that its use “remains problematic because it is fundamentally pejorative. On the other hand it is a firmly entrenched term”. It continues to be used in the new South Africa.

The two official languages of the Apartheid era – Afrikaans and English – were made compulsory subjects in all schools and formed the basis of the Cape Provincial Education system, which in turn had a powerful influence on the socio-linguistic development of the Western Cape. Most of the “Coloured” and White people in the Western Cape area were either Afrikaans- or English-speaking or bilingual users of both languages, and English, as a compulsory school subject, was studied as a second language by everyone in the region except from the minority English home language speakers who had to do Afrikaans or Xhosa as an additional subject. It also served as a lingua franca for speakers of different languages (Dyers, 2000:41). The Apartheid government caused legislative divisions of the Black people of South Africa with the passing of different laws in this regard in the 1950s that had them allocated to separate homelands with the Group Areas Act of 1950, which was promulgated in July 1950. The Bantu Education Act, Act 47 of 1953, and the Education and Training Act, Act 90 of 1979, legalised racially segregated education.

Apartheid rule from 1948 had a negative effect on the economic growth of South Africa (Reddy, 1986: 16), especially with regard to trade. Cape Town suffered enormously, as many ships no longer docked at the port and instead by-passed the Cape. Reddy (1986) mentioned that many highly-skilled
‘Coloured’ and Black people emigrated to some other parts of the world, taking with them the expertise so desperately needed in the growing economy at the time. In addition, the Group Areas Act, Act 41 of 1950, forced people of different ethnic origins to live in demarcated areas where members of other groups were not allowed to live. Multiracial communities who lived in District Six in Cape Town were broken up, and the Black and ‘Coloured’ residents moved to different parts of the “Cape Flats” – a large barren expanse of land in the hinterland of the city. According to de Kadt (2005: 3) the Apartheid government used “African identities to disenfranchise Africans and to prevent the development of a unified opposition movement”.

Gilliomee (2003) writes that the actions of the Apartheid regime contributed to a large extent to the growing negativity towards Afrikaans – the language of government policy implementation and power – despite the fact that Afrikaans was the home language of the majority of the ‘Coloured’s. This also resulted in many ‘Coloured’ families electing to educate their children in English rather than Afrikaans. There was hatred towards Afrikaans as it became known as the “language of the oppressor” (Dyers, 2000:50). In 1974 it was decreed via the Afrikaans Medium Decree that all the Black schools should use both Afrikaans and English as media of instruction, starting with the last year of the Black learner’s primary school education – the so-called 50-50 rule (Gilliomee, 2003: 17). Black children had to be taught Mathematics and Arithmetic in Afrikaans only although teachers couldn’t speak the language. The imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was the spark which was to lead to the conflagration known as the Soweto Riots in 1976 (Dyers, 2000:51).
Even after the end of Apartheid, negative feelings towards Afrikaans still existed, according to Steyn (1995: 105):

"Census figures show that the percentage of Afrikaans speakers is decreasing, while the percentage of English speakers is staying the same – which means growth for the latter. A process of language shifting to English, especially in the Cape Afrikaans speaking community, could not be checked, and the attitude of many Coloured Afrikaans speakers (according to the Census category) towards standard Afrikaans is negative. In 1990 it was reported that some Afrikaners are, to an increasing degree, again, as in the 19th and early 20th centuries, sending their children to English schools. A decrease in language loyalty is also evident from the adoption of more and more untranslated words out of English."

However, according to the South African National Census of 2011 the number of Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa and in the Western Cape raised significantly. This meant that more people had Afrikaans as home language.

With regard to the development or establishment of isiXhosa in the Western Cape, Bekker (2003) writes that the isiXhosa speaking groups moved from the Eastern Cape in significant numbers at the start of the 1990’s. The influx of many speakers of isiXhosa to the Western Cape and its subsequent rise to become an official language in the province has a completely different history and does not include any official influences of power before 1994. The Xhosa people are not indigenous to the Western Cape, yet traces of Xhosa presence in weaving materials had been found in the Great Karoo since the late 1700s (Anderson, 1987). According to Anderson (1987: 67), small groups settled here at various times from 1795 onwards. Several groups lived along the Gamka River from 1795 to 1799. The movement of small groups into Karoo during the late 18th century appears to have been caused by a century of frontier wars with the Europeans in the Eastern Cape between 1779 and 1879, the aftermath
of the *Mfecane* of the Zulu king, Shaka, between about 1814 and 1840 as well as the catastrophic Cattle Killing of 1856-1857. Constant clashes between Xhosa clans and European/British settlers because of issues over land, water and grazing eventually exploded into nine major wars along the so-called Cape Frontier over 100 years between 1777 and 1877. IsiXhosa-speaking people were thus living within the boundaries of the Cape Colony, later to be known as the Cape Province, in this era, according to Anderson (1987).

The former Cape Province was divided into the Northern, Eastern and Western Cape Provinces after the first democratic elections of 1994. With the introduction of the policy of separate development in the early 1950s, the isiXhosa-speaking people of the then Cape Province were allocated to two more or less independent “homelands” which were the Transkei and Ciskei (abolished after 1993). However, many still migrated to the present-day Western Cape in search of employment.

English, as a language that was used with Dutch or Afrikaans in the government of South Africa, was inconspicuously part of the linguistic and political power struggle, acting as an agent of communication between those who did not understand either Afrikaans or Dutch, and eventually became the language of the liberator and Black “unity” (Gough, 1996: xviii). Despite its role in the colonisation process, English gradually attained the status of a “neutral” language or a language “bridging the communications gap” (Chetty & Mwepu, 2008: 330) which could build communication bridges between people speaking different languages. The NP relinquished power in 1994 when the first democratic elections for all the people of South Africa were held and Nelson Mandela became the first democratically elected president of the country.
According to the new Constitution of the RSA of 1996 had to adopt a policy of eleven, instead of only two, official languages. However, according to Chetty & Mwepu (2008) English has since seemed to become the dominant language of communication between government and the people of South Africa and also within business spheres, while Afrikaans still plays more or less a significant role. The other indigenous languages continue to struggle despite gaining official status and being protected by language policies. Consequently, the very lengthy period of power enjoyed by Afrikaans and English, together with the effects of globalisation, has ensured that measures taken to bolster the other official languages may not be as effective as was first thought to be the case.

1.1.2 Language legislation and its institutionalisation in the Western Cape since 1994

1.1.2.1 The Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG)
South Africa’s first democratic elections of 1994 led to numerous changes, amongst others the following: a new Constitution, new legislation, access and freedom within a system of inclusion, the creation of new provinces, the constitutional breakdown of social, geographical and linguistic barriers, the subsequent migration to different towns and cities of people speaking different languages and their integration there, the creation of district and regional municipalities and freedom of the press. All of these newly formed freedoms (captured in the Constitution of the RSA of 1996) introduced a whole new platform of language interaction, association and general communication. In addition, in contrast to South Africa having only two official languages (Afrikaans and English), as was the case under the previous dispensation, 11 languages were now declared official languages of the state and were subsequently drafted into the new Constitution (Section 6).

In November 1995 the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) was established as a language policy advisory group to the Minister of Arts, Culture,
Science and Technology to identify the needs and priorities with regard to the realisation of the constitutional principles pertaining to the language question in South Africa and the implementation of the policies that derived from those principles (Summary of the Final report of the LANGTAG, 8 August 1996). The National Language Policy Framework, which was adopted in 2003 (Guidelines for Implementing Multilingualism in Local Government, 2008-2011: 14) provided plans for the implementation of the policies, which included the development of higher vocabularies and registers of other official languages as a product of the National Languages Services (NLS). According to the Pan South African Language Board Act, Act 59 of 1995, amended in 1999, PanSALB was to serve as the national language body responsible for the development of multilingualism and the protection of language rights in South Africa. PanSALB had to establish language committees in all provinces in order to perform its mandate.

1.1.2.2 The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) and The Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC)

1.1.2.2.1 Constitutional Framework

The Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) was constituted in accordance with the Western Cape Provincial Language Act, Act No 13 of 1998, and recognized as the Provincial Language Committee for the Western Cape in terms of the Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995 (Act of 1995). The WCLC, on 1 June 2001, was listed as a Schedule 3, part C provincial public entity in terms of the Public Finance Management Act, 1998 (Act 13 of 1998). The Committee consists of 11 members with the primary responsibility of advising the Provincial Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation on matters relating to language use in the Western Cape Province, and to monitor the implementation of the WCLP.
In terms of section 12(1) of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998), the WCLC meets at least four times per year, with its subcommittees meeting when necessary. The powers and functions of the Committee as prescribed by the Act are translated into strategic objectives which are reflected in a Strategic Plan and an Annual Performance Plan submitted to and approved by the Minister. The Standing Committee of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) invites the general public to nominate persons to serve as members on the WCLC when the WCLC’s service contracts expire. In full compliance with the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (Act no 13 of 1998), the Standing Committee short-lists candidates that meet the requirements and submits these names to the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation for final selection. The demographics and percentage of language speakers (using the figures of the South African National Census of 2011) are taken into account to ensure a linguistically balanced WCLC that will be able to deliver on its mandate. During the time of the study, the then current members of the WCLC had been nominated to serve the next three-year term effective until 2012 and in 2013 another WCLC had been elected. According to section 17 of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act, 1998 (Act 13 of 1998) the officials in the CLU of the DCAS manages the affairs of the WCLC and execute the administrative duties of the WCLC, which includes “...managing and all arrangements for the effective functioning of the Western Cape Language Committee. Certain financial functions are also performed by the departmental finance component.” (WCLC Strategic Plan 2010-2015: 9-10) and the CLU is responsible for implementing language-related projects in the province for both the WCLC and the DCAS. These had been and are still being reported in their respective Annual Reports (DCAS and WCLC Annual Reports, 2001/02-2012/13).

1.1.2.2.2 Certain differences between the WCLC and other provincial language committees of PanSALB
There are, according to sections of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act, 1998 (Act 13 of 1998) and the Pan South African Language Board Act, 1995 (Act of 1995), certain differences between the WCLC and other PanSALB language committees which are the following, amongst others:

- the WCLC members serve for three years, while other language committees of PanSALB serve for five years;
- the WCLC consists of 11 members while the other language committees of PanSALB are 15; and
- the WCLC is financially dependent on the finances of the DCAS while the other language committees depend on PanSALB.

**Graph 1.1** below is a diagram illustrating language legislation and institutionalisation in the WC since 1994, where many processes with regard to languages and language use have been followed in order to ensure that three official languages have been recognised in the Western Cape after 1996, as mentioned briefly in 1.1.2 above. It shows the gradual evolution of the WCLP (via a number of institutional bodies and processes) following the drafting and acceptance of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996):
Graph 1.1 Diagram to illustrate language legislation and institutionalization in the Western Cape since 1994

THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

LANGTAG

NATIONAL LANGUAGE FRAMEWORK

PANSALB ACT

D AC

NATIONAL LANGUAGE SERVICE

NATIONAL LANGUAGE FORUM

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION

WC CONSTITUTION

NL BODIES

PROVINCIAL OFFICES

WC LANGUAGES ACT

DCAS

LEXICOGRAPHIC UNITS

WC LANGUAGES POLICY

LANGUAGE UNIT

WCLC

LOCAL POLICIES

LiEP (part of national legislation; yet guide provincially)

LOCAL LANGUAGE POLICIES (MUNICIPALITIES)
1.2 The Western Cape Provincial Language Policy (WCLP)

As mentioned in 1.1.2.1, the declaration of 11 official languages in 1996 (English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Sepedi, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiNdebele, siSwati and Xitsonga) by the Constitution of the RSA (1996) played an integral role in highlighting multilingualism in the newly designated nine provinces of South Africa. Each of these nine provinces – the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Gauteng, the Northwest Province, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, the Free State and Kwazulu-Natal – had to, in consultation with different provincial stakeholders, draft language policies according to the NLF. Each province was required to develop legislation for its own official and other languages.

The South African National Census of 2011 delivered the following data on the province:

**Figure 1.1**

**LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHICS IN THE WESTERN CAPE: CENSUS 2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language (first)</th>
<th>WC</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>2 820 643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>1 149 049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiNdebele</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>15 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiXhosa</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>1 403 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IsiZulu</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>24 634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepedi</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>8 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>64 066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>24 534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign Language</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>22 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SiSwati</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshivenda</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>4 415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xitsonga</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>9 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>127 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 675 604</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Copied from: Census 2011, p 23, 25)
The Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) was drafted within a National Language Framework/Plan. The National Language Plan (NLP) was presented by the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) in February 2003, and that plan advocated the establishment of language units, a national language forum and the South African Language Practitioners’ Council as being essential to the professional and effective implementation of the policy. It recommended terminology development, expansion and improvement of translations, editing and interpreting services, training and language awareness programmes, audits and surveys, the greater use of technology and the promotion of (South African) Sign Language as well as Khoi and San languages. This NLP was launched in March 2003 (National Language Framework/Plan, 2003). The WCLP recognised the importance of developing South African Sign Language (SASL) as well as the Nama Language.

1.3 The incremental policy implementation of the WCLP

After the WCLP was passed by the WCPP in 2004, it was officially published in 2005 by the WCLC. In this glossy publication, it was proposed that following an “incremental approach” (WCLP, 2004: 8) to realise implementation, required a series of actions to support and promote language policy implementation activities in the Western Cape provincial government departments and private practice over the following due years, ending in the 2009/10 financial year.

The implementation plan was an elaborated one (see the WCLP Original Elaborated IP in Addendum B) which will be discussed at large in Chapter 4. However, the WCLP Original Elaborated IP involved staffing which included the establishment of a CLU located within the DCAS, which would act as the most central point for driving and monitoring language policy implementation, including translation, editing and interpreting services to all provincial government departments as well as developing awareness-raising instruments.
or campaigns in collaboration with different provincial government departments, PanSALB, and other stakeholders. The CLU was established in 2000, but in 2008 it was changed to become Language Services (LS) which is currently divided into two components, namely the Language Policy Implementation Unit (LPIU), which deals with language policy implementation projects in the Western Cape, and the Interpreting and Translation Unit (ITU) which deals with all translation, editing, proofreading and interpreting of the government departments (DCAS Annual Report, 2008/09). As the costing of such units is so high, the Language Services (LS) has to make sure that each department in government adheres to the WCLP in establishing its own language units in order to serve the public of the Western Cape by acting as an agent for the WCLP and by suggesting various strategies to government departments by way of the Provincial Language Forum (PLF), which was established in 2007 and which is spearheaded by the LPIU. The PLF meets on a bi-monthly basis with language professionals and language practitioners (LPs) appointed in provincial government departments as well as those who might join the forum from the municipalities. This is being done in order to determine and give solutions to problems the language practitioners in the different provincial government departments and in municipalities might experience. It is also a forum where terminology development is being done in order to create some form of uniformity amongst the translators in the different provincial government departments as well as possible training that need to be given to these language practitioners (DCAS Annual Report, 2010/11: 56).

In the WCLP Booklet (2004: 38-42) the WCLP Original Elaborated IP involved language professionals that would be appointed within the different government departments in order to deal with the implementation process, together with language co-ordinators in small and medium-sized departments to manage language matters. Liaison between these language co-ordinators
and with the CLU would happen with regard to quality control, terminology development, and monitoring of language policy implementation procedures. These units were also encouraged to liaise with other language role-players such as the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), the WCLC, the National Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) and the South African Translators’ Institute (SATI) as well as SASL and the Khoi and San Languages. Provincial government departments were required to encourage staff members to learn the three official languages of the Western Cape and SASL. Training programmes for language acquisition in respect of the three official languages would be organised by departments. It was considered important that frontline staff be required to undergo language acquisition training in order to assist the public in their choice of an official language. Awareness-raising campaigns would be hosted throughout the provincial government to promote multilingualism, encourage the three official languages of the Western Cape and SASL and create an awareness and sensitivity of language needs and rights of staff and clients. Each department would be proactive in promoting multilingualism and staff and clients would be encouraged to claim their language rights.

This WCLP Original Elaborated IP as well as the WCLP Basic IP will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4.

The WCLP operates only within provincial government department structures and the only time that the WCLP serves in the private business sphere is when provincial government actually makes language-related recommendations to public entities such as banks, post offices, municipal offices, etc. to take the customer’s language into consideration in their operations (WCLP, 2004: 30-35). It is important to note that the WCLP does not make provision for the rest of the (national) home languages of the Western Cape population as shown in
the South African National Census of 2011 i.e. Sesotho (64 066 home language speakers or 1.1% of the total population), isiZulu (24 634 or 0.4% of the total population) and Xitsonga (9152 or 0.2% of the total population). Of course, in this time of globalisation, there are pockets of speakers of many African and world languages (Dyers and Wankah, 2012), creating what some scholars might call a superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) of languages in the province.

Many language-related seminars, discussions, talks, debates and conferences had been held in an attempt to discuss, on a consultative basis, several ways in which the Western Cape public could be served in their own languages, using the WCLP as a guideline. These were attended by several academics, members of the WCLC and of the PLF, as well as by influential community leaders with a vested interest in language (DCAS and WCLC Annual Reports 2001/02 - 2012/13). These people were normally the ones who had ideas on what the linguistic needs in their communities were, and the CLU used these ideas to work within the DCAS on strategies on how to reach out to communities regarding their linguistic needs. Note should be taken that the WCLC has major involvement in language-related school projects with learners at these schools although education is a national competency, and has made extensive research possible with regard to language in the Western Cape. The focus of the WCLC was further on the youth not attending schools in order to also determine language-related needs and to raise language awareness (DCAS and WCLC Annual Reports 2001/02 - 2012/13).

The CLU also relied heavily on research that done by well-known researchers and academics such as Isabel Cilliers, Ana Deumert and Nkululeko Mabandla, Kathleen Heugh, Neville Alexander and researchers working for the Project for Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) in order to determine the needs in the Western Cape communities and which had been reported and used for language-related activities (WCLC Annual Reports 2001/02 - 2008/09). This
allowed the CLU to plan ahead for each financial year of the WCLC or to be able to form a basis from which to advise the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport (Annual reports: DCAS & WCLC: 2001/02 to 2012/13). According to the incremental plan which was mentioned above, it would eventually be the strategic goal of all 13 provincial government departments, including the Department of the Premier, to make sure that all provincial government departments are in full compliance with implementing the WCLP by the end of the financial year 2014/15 (ending 31 March 2015), according to the Colloquium, which was held in February 2010 (LEAP News, 25 April 2010: 19; DCAS 2010 Colloquium Report, 2010: 3; DCAS Second Five Year Strategic Plan, 2010-2015: 46).

1.4 The Study
1.4.1 Theoretical Framework of the Study
The theoretical framework for this study is provided by the relationship between language and power (Fairclough, 2000; Wodak, 1989; Bourdieu, 1991). It will therefore look at language policy (for which I draw on frameworks by Spolsky, 2004 and Shohamy, 2006) in terms of a range of factors impacting on its development and implementation. These include linguistic citizenship (Stroud, 2001), language ideologies (Kroskrity (ed.) 2000), agency and voice (Pavlenko, 2004) and language ecology (Haugen, 1972).

The thesis, with its focus on the implementation of a particular language policy, i.e. the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP), is rooted within a theoretical framework of studies on language and power. This framework has been adopted in light of the fact that language policies are never neutral documents but are always infused with ideologies derived from the socio-historical and political backgrounds of the spaces and people for whom these policies have been designed as well as those who design these policies. These are present at every
stage of policy development – planning, drafting and implementation (Dyers, 2000: 45), and the WCLP is no exception.

1.4.2 Research aims

Within the historical framework provided, the principal aim of this thesis is therefore to present an overview of all the challenges faced in implementing the WCLP at different levels, and to offer an analysis of underlying factors such as language ideologies which play a role in the success or failure of the implementation strategies. The thesis presents a critical analysis of data on language practices and policy implementation in six selected towns of the Western Cape: Bellville, Moorreesburg, Stellenbosch, Bredasdorp, George and Beaufort West; as well as in all provincial government departments.

The thesis therefore presents a critical overview of the implementation plan and current strategies being used by the 13 provincial government departments in the implementation of the WCLP. A critical analysis of the top down approach that is being followed with regard to the implementation of the WCLP will be provided when challenges and solutions to these challenges are investigated. It includes an analysis of the WCLP itself as well as of its Implementation Plan (IP). It further includes a sample of general public knowledge about the existence of the WCLP. In addition, it examines different outcomes of studies and language-related projects that had been undertaken by the WCLC, PanSALB, DCAS and the CLU since 2000 in order to ascertain whether or not the public is in effect being served in the languages of their choice when communication with public servants takes place.

It further focuses on the role that is being played by different language practitioners and their senior management, as well as on the key implementers of the policy (the WCPP, the DCAS and the WCLC) in realising the policy’s
goals. Projections for and challenges facing the implementation of the WCLP since its acceptance by the WCPP in 2004 are also critically analysed.

### 1.5 Research Questions

The following research questions are addressed in the thesis:

1.5.1 What are the challenges that civil society from different language backgrounds at grassroots level experience in six different towns in the Western Cape with regard to the practical implementation of the WCLP? What are the causes underlying these challenges, and what possibilities might be created by the language implementation agencies for people at grassroots level?

1.5.2 Taking into account that Afrikaans is the most spoken language in most of these towns according to South African National Census of 2011, what do the people at grassroots level experience with regard to their home languages and what would be the challenges for or status of isiXhosa amongst its speakers within these areas/predominantly Afrikaans-speaking regions of the Western Cape?

1.5.3 What roles do language ideology, power and power relations as well as linguistic citizenship play in realising the implementation of the WCLP in the provincial government departments of the Western Cape and how do these influence the status of the official languages in this province?

1.5.4 How successful have the provincial government departments of the Western Cape been in implementing the existing language policy in these communities of the Western Cape and what further challenges do they face to ensure the effective implementation of this policy?

### 1.6 Motivation for the study
I need to clarify my own position with regard to this study. I was employed as a Principal Language Practitioner by the LPIU in the DCAS between 2006 and 2011 and was therefore in a very advantageous position to access the necessary documentation as well as my targeted research populations. I was aware, however, that I would need to remain completely objective throughout the process of investigation, research, compilation of outcomes and the writing of the thesis so that the analysis of the collected data would not be affected by my own subjective and even ideological position on multilingualism in South Africa especially in the Western Cape. The motivation was therefore directly related to the work that was being done by the LPIU, as it was vitally important for this unit to learn about all the issues affecting the implementation of the WCLP, the level of awareness of the policy, whether the policy met the needs of the people at grassroots level and how the private and public domains were responding to the different languages spoken by the people of the Western Cape. The research also enabled me to obtain a holistic view regarding the diverse and hybrid multilingual practices of various people from different linguistic, cultural and educational backgrounds, and to draw some conclusions in this regard.

1.7 Research Hypothesis

The central hypothesis of the thesis is the following:

The realisation of the visions of the WCLP may be unattainable for a variety of reasons, such as the dominance of particular languages in the province over others and relatively inflexible language ideologies held by those charged with language policy implementation at different levels.

Jonathan Poole (1991) has done extensive research in the selection process of official languages in particular areas, and according to his calculations the policy-makers have made the correct choices with regard to official languages in the Western Cape, especially when it comes to the languages that government
uses when dealing with the public. However, it is possible that a massive efficiency-fairness conflict might exist in the application of the WCLP’s implementing strategies in local authorities, public places accessible to the Western Cape public and among youth, especially those in schools, when it comes to the equal status treatment of its three official languages, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. This position might be the same for SASL and the Khoi language (the Nama Language), the indigenous language in the Western Cape which has almost been wiped out (Meshtrie, 2002). The real language situation might impact negatively on the role an official language should play in a multilingual community and might decrease the vision of a multilingual Western Cape.

It is also possible that the language ideologies and attitudes of the majority of people at grassroots level and also in those holding management positions in the Western Cape from different socio-economic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds could have a significant effect or impact on various challenges regarding the implementation of the WCLP.

1.8 Scope of the Investigation:
Fieldwork research was conducted in six selected towns in the Western Cape Province of the Republic of South Africa to explore the challenges experienced by Afrikaans-, isiXhosa- and English-speaking people at grassroots level as they become more aware of their language rights contained in the WCLP. Information was sourced from 700 respondents which included the youth, civilians, public servants and business people. In order to determine which challenges were experienced at provincial government department level, information was sourced from the seven provincial government departments as well as from two senior managers. Information was sourced from respondents representing the WCPP, PanSALB, the WCLC and the DCAS who are responsible for implementing the WCLP. The entire scope of the investigation
included information sourced from the people at grassroots level, the language practitioner who stands between them and their language issues, the language practitioner and his/her senior management up to those holding the very senior positions in the Western Cape Provincial Government (WCPG).

1.9 Conclusion

The chapter provided an overview of the language situation in the Western Cape from the early days of colonisation to the present. In particular, it focused on the WCLP and its IPs as products of the new democratic South Africa with its 11 official languages. The chapter also covered the research aims and research questions, the motivation for doing the study and which assumptions have been made about the likely outcomes of the study. It chronicled the developments following the drafting of the policy and where the WCLP fits within the provincial structure of the Western Cape, starting with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996.

I conclude with a brief overview of the rest of the chapters of this thesis:

Chapter 2, the Literature Review, provides the theoretical framework for the study, and also includes a review of the current language policy implementation structures of the WCLP.

Chapter 3 presents the Methodology focusing on reliability and validity of all the research methods and research tools that were used.

Chapter 4 provides a critical document analysis of the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) and its two Implementation Plans, i.e. the Original Elaborated Implementation Plan as well as the Basic Implementation Plan.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the quantitative data of the questionnaires which were given to the civilians (youth and adults) in graph and figure format, using the SPSS.

Chapter 6 is the start of three chapters devoted to the qualitative data, and deals with the data collected from the key implementers of the WCLP, namely the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP), the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) and the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS).
Chapter 7 focuses on the responses from the language practitioners (LPs) and their senior managers (SMs).

Chapter 8 deals with the qualitative responses of the civilians (adults and youth) and the different discourses about language that ordinary civilians have, with all the contestations and contradictions that such data typically contains.

Chapter 9 provides an overall summary of the findings, while Chapter 10 deals with the conclusions and recommendations that might inform more realistic approaches to language policy implementation.

A very comprehensive set of Addenda as well as the Selected Bibliography follow Chapter 10.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Several scholars have argued in recent times for an acceptance of the fundamental relationship between language and power. Blommaert (1996), Tollefson (1991) and Luke and Baldauf (1990) all see language planning as a central part of the policies of governments through which human behaviour can be regulated and certain ideological positions regarding language can become centralised and accepted. According to Blommaert (1996: 215):

“…language planning carries implicit assumptions about what a ‘good’ society is, about what is best for the people, about the way in which language and communication fit into that picture, and about how language planning can also contribute to social and political progress.”

Conceptually, therefore, the thesis interrogates different theoretical explanations or definitions of language policy, its relationship with language ideologies, language ecology, globalisation and South Africa’s Apartheid history, the orientation of policy writers towards multilingualism and also the way in which the policy does not take account of the “third space” perspective – the code-switching, blending and mixing of languages so typical of especially urban communities. Consequently this chapter also includes a critique of essentialist treatments of languages as if they were “bounded entities” (Heller, 2007) that are never influenced by their proximity to other forms of communication.
2.1 Language policy: A critical overview of approaches to language policy

We live in a society within which the internet is a powerful and readily available tool when searching for the explanation of words and terms. Dictionary.com describes the noun “policy” as:

a) “…a definite course of action adopted for the sake of expediency, facility, etc.: We have a new company policy.”

b) “…a course of action adopted and pursued by a government, ruler, political party, etc.: our nation's foreign policy.”

c)”…action or procedure conforming to or considered with reference to prudence or expediency: It was good policy to consent.”

All the short descriptions above suggest (i) the presence of prominent people in a given society who are either behind or in control of policy and policy-making, and (ii) policy is therefore a means to an end, which in all cases means an end with a positive outcome which satisfies all parties involved in the process. Policy therefore also seeks the implementation of its aims:

“A policy may or may not be found in any corpus juris, text(s) or document(s). It may or may not be explicitly stated. It may be de jure and/or de facto. It may be a priori or post priori of a report, a research project, a finding or a political or government statement or Act of an assembly or of a parliament. Always polity-specific, policies may or may be people-driven or people-centred. But, in all, policies are meant to address and to solve a myriad of problems: personal, group, political, socio-economic and cultural, within the overall context of macro-economic development more so with the multidimensional realizations of globalization...” (Emenanjo, 2002:2).

Emenanjo (2002: 2) suggests that the intention of policies and policy-making is one of the ways in which people within specific management positions try to find a solution to a cited problem that might exist within a community, the workplace, a province, a state, a country, etc. These policies are guided by contemporary sense-impressions or experiences as well as by constantly changing global trends and developments. A policy therefore paves the way for whatever the leaders of a specific committee, institution, society, etc. would
ideally wish to address, deal with, manage or plan, and carries with it the weight of the intention or vision of the said committee, institution, society, etc. Emenanjo (2002:3) in a recent paper on language policies and cultural identities argues that language policies must be democratic enough to accommodate all cultural diversities, all linguistic varieties and all repertoires identified in any nation.

Thomas (1998) states that

“...not only is policy designed to change a given situation but the situation is changing anyway and giving rise to changing pressures for changes in policy. The fact that policy is constantly developing in this way makes it useful to think of policy itself as a process.” (Thomas, 1998:5)

According to Thomas (1998:5), the need for a policy arises when a change needs to be made regarding an already existing situation, given that that particular situation is being "pressured" to change. As policy forms a continuous flow of efforts in order to bring about change and in itself needs to be changed and developed; a policy is a process as well.

2.1.1 Definitions of language policy

Many policies exist in a given society, company or country, for example company policies, foreign policies, monetary policies, and policies related to conduct or behaviour, but none is as widely researched, debated, discussed and criticised as those policies dealing with language within a multilingual society or speech community. In this subsection, I therefore present a critical overview of specific definitions of language policy.

Crawford (2008:1) describes language policy as:
1. “What government does officially – through legislation, court decisions, executive action or other means – to (a) determine how languages are used in public contexts, (b) cultivate language skills needed to meet national priorities, or (c) establish the rights of individuals or groups to learn, use, and maintain languages.

2. Government regulation of its own language use, including steps to facilitate clear communication, train and recruit personnel, guarantee due process, foster political participation, and provide access to public services, proceedings and documents.”

The above definition reveals that governments and their power are at the core of language policy and that a government regulates “its own language use” and is responsible for making sense to the public in order to “meet national priorities”. The main objective is “clear” communication across the board to ensure “political participation” especially within a democratic government and by using language to make sure that people have proper access to services rendered by such government. Consequently a language policy is a political document and is dependent on a government to be implemented. The relationship between language policy and government is also underlined by Trask (1997: 127), who sees language policy as “…an official government policy regulating the form, teaching the use of one or more languages within an area controlled by that government… ” Jarvad (2001: 18), cited in Haberland (2005: 228), indicates that English has taken over the Danish language domain, causing Danish to lose its linguistic domain to English. He agrees with this sentiment by referring to language policy as the government’s regulation of language choice (the interlingual dimension) and regulation or judgement of language use (the intralingual dimension). These two dimensions are described by Bergenholtz and Gouws (2006) as follows:

“A specific interlingual language policy serves as a protectionist language policy that prescribes the promotion of one or more language(s), either by means of language-directed legislation or by means of financial and political support for selected organisations that promote a particular language or culture.” (2006: 24)


and

“An intralingual language policy is the choice or recommendation of, the warning against, or the banning of certain linguistic constructions, collocations, phrases or words in a particular language.” (2006:25)

In this regard these two researchers agree with Crawford (2008: 1) that there is government control and management of languages within a demarcated area where people are being told officially what languages to value for government purposes via legislative decisions or a constitution, and that these languages are being used in order to communicate with the public. These chosen languages are also being promoted by way of formal teaching and thus “proper” linguistic use – in other words, the government would spend funds and make resources available to its constituency for such languages to be taught and used.

Smitherman (2000: 188) broadens the power structures involved in the creation of language policies by noting that

"A language policy is a law, rules or precepts designed to bring about language change. Such a policy is encoded in mechanisms of language planning undertaken by governments, schools and other institutional bodies."

Language policy would therefore be utilised to correct linguistic imbalances and bring about change in the communication of community members with each other and with those in powerful positions. Bergenholtz (2006: 3) adds to this need for policy, which he terms “language regulation” when he writes:

“Despite the fact that most linguists support people’s intrinsic right to the integrity of their own language, all communities throughout the world urgently need to regulate their use of language in order to ensure that communication is
possible and, at its best, also successful. Such language regulation, as expounded by linguists and communication scientists, is referred to variably as “language planning”, “language policy”, or both, and even at times as “communication policy”. (Bergenholtz, 2006: 3)
It seems that language policy is therefore regarded as forming part of a critical plan in which language would be regarded as the cornerstone of manipulated change by a government, which is at the epicentre of where the change should start within the society it serves. This regulation of language is a central component of communication between the government and the people, or between different political parties which make up this government when they reach out to their constituencies in order for them to stay in power.

Taking a different stance from these definitions, Ager (1996: 28) contends that language policy results from “...the contributions of sociolinguistics, policy studies and language planning”, while Bergenholtz (2006: 27) argues that “...the formulation of a language policy should presuppose the existence of a communication policy ....should always be supplemented by a language policy, albeit, in some cases, only an intralingual one.”. It seems that Ager (1996) sees the birth of a language policy as something that educated people put together by using research that had been done about languages in order to establish a plan for languages; the role of the sociolinguist is therefore taken into account when decisions about language are made in government. Furthermore, for Bergenholtz (2006: 12) there is a difference between a communication policy which “covers the process of communication” and language policy which is a more formal policy. Communication policy would consequently refer to the way in which people express themselves when they want to be heard or understood.

I would argue, however, that these definitions of language policy are somewhat limited. Judging from the literature, language policy appears to be more than the efforts on the part of governments to institute rules and laws to govern their respective nations’ languages. Language policy, resulting from language
planning, seems to focus on language regulations, language engineering, language management and language development (Blommaert, 1996; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Alexander and Heugh, 1999). It is shaped by political ideologies (Blommaert, 1996) set within the power structures of a given society or country making these policies or “formal language planning” “inevitably a top-down, highly technical process.” (Wright, 2002: 1)

Furthermore, Bernard Spolsky’s much broader theory of language policy (Spolsky: 2004:39-44) stresses how people’s language behaviour is being “manipulated” through language policies:

“...language has become a tool for the manipulation of people and their behaviors, as it is used for a variety of political agendas in the battle of power, representation and voice” (Spolsky, 2004: 23).

Spolsky (2004: 45) underscores his statement by writing that language policy “...acts as a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between ideologies.” In order to understand the term “manipulate”, I had to resort to synonyms for the term, hence to manipulate anything means to “..."influence, use/turn to one’s advantage, exploit, maneuver, engineer, steer, direct...” (Concise Oxford Thesaurus, Third Edition, 2007), powerful concepts which are indeed related to making decisions about language use in order to get to a certain desirable outcome with regard to language use eventually. Webb (2002) in principle agrees with the assertion that language policy decisions are actually political decisions that can only be taken by national governments as these decisions are “constitutional language stipulations” to be used by the South African government for “expression to its visions and values, and the tasks it wants to perform in the language management of the country as the main SA languages are deeply imbedded in the political history of the country” (Webb: 2002: 7).
Within the context of government and language it seems that the relationship between manipulation and management of language is inextricable, and it is imperative also to quote Spolsky on language management, which he refers to as “...the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written, in a formal document, about language use...” (Spolsky: 2004: 11), with explicit reference to something with specific outcomes, specific plans. Spolsky broadens the description of language policy further when he states that

“...LPs can address such issues as the languages that should get status and priority in societies...”, ...“...which languages will be considered as “official”...” and “...it can also assist in legitimizing the revival of marginalized and disappearing languages such as aboriginal languages as well as languages that society considers important for its economic and social status, such as business languages like English.” (Spolsky, 2004: 47).

With regard to the value of politics and government interference in language policy, Spolsky, in his reference to the emergence of a nation-state in the age of modernity, states that this nation-state was the dominating political unit in colonies of European countries and Europe itself at the end of the nineteenth century, and that it was responsible amongst other things for “... viewing language as a closed system” and the emergence of “...descriptive linguistics...” (Spolsky, 2004: 25). Questions arose about the “...boundaries of groups...” and about “...membership, i.e. who is/are eligible to belong and to be equal members residing in the same territory.....” and “...language turned from being free of classifying people into groups utilized a variety of identifiers, language being only one of them.” (Spolsky, 2004: 26). In viewing languages as “closed”, I would imagine that these languages had been treated as standardised versions or pure versions of a said language for writing and documentation purposes. Language groups had been formed, as a result of which some groups spoke the more formal version of a language, while others, for a variety of reasons, spoke varieties of said language – varieties of the same language were one of the
aspects which would lead to people being identified with regard to their background, race or social status, as was the case with South Africa whereby, during Apartheid, people were moved to demarcated areas according to their specific race.

The nation-state is designed to foster strong feelings of nationalism, which, according to Guibernau (1996: 43)

“...is a sentiment that has to do with attachment to a homeland, a common language, ideas, values and traditions, and also with the identification of a group with symbols (a flag, a particular song, piece of music or design) which define it as ‘different’ from others. The attachment to all these signs creates an identity; and the appeal to that identity has had in the past, and still has today, the power to mobilize people.”

Guibernau’s emphasis on “a common language” as a fundamental part of nationalism is reminiscent of the role of Afrikaans for the Afrikaner nationalists in Apartheid South Africa, but at the same time mentions the role of English for the liberation movements during Apartheid South Africa as “the language of liberation”. For Blommaert and Verschueren (1992) nationalism is one of the most influential political ideologies in language planning activities. Ndhlovu (2008: 59) also refers to language policy that may “serve different political needs simultaneously”, consists of “essentially political documents” which had been “forged with compromise“ and is “based on a series of assumptions and expected likely outcomes, reflecting at least some degree of political exigencies…”

In colonies conquered by nation-states such as England and the Netherlands (as was the case with South Africa and first the Western Cape), the manipulation of language happened as a result of the indigenous and slave populations and of their languages not being regarded as important enough to receive official status
or to be developed with regard to grammar, lexicon, terminology, etc. This is captured by Spolsky (2004: 27) when he argues that nation-states

“...created the situation whereby language turned into a symbol of political and national identity and belonging, often in addition to other symbols of belonging. Language then was interpreted as a powerful symbol and indication of belonging and membership and identifier of inclusion and exclusion.”

In other words, only one or two languages in largely multilingual states were given recognition and were allowed the development which enabled them to become standardised and all-powerful. As Spolsky (2004: 29) notes:

“It was the domination of one or two languages over others that became an oppressive and discriminatory device in most nation-states. Thus, language has become a major tool for political and oppressive actions, for manipulating and controlling the social order of nations-states and, naturally, the lives of groups and individuals.”

In order for language to serve as a vehicle of manipulation and control by the state, language policy emerged: “With the rise of the modern nation state, language policy has become a common method of determining membership of and access to the state’s institutions” (Spolsky and Shohamy, 1999: 50). In the case of the Western Cape, the languages that played these roles were Afrikaans (developed from a combination of Dutch and other languages) and English. This necessarily gave these two languages official status and considerable power over the indigenous languages of South Africa, whose speakers had to learn to use these two languages for many of their socio-economic and educational needs.

Spolsky’s theory (2000: 39-42) on exactly what language policy would mean in the broader political context is divided into four major areas:

- language practices (ecology);
- language beliefs (ideology);
policies resulting from language management (planning); and

• particular domains of language policy, namely education, family, workplace, local government, and religion, being some major overlapping social contexts that contribute to the overall and specific linguistic uses and practices of a given community. This implies that there is a complex ecological relationship among a wide range of linguistic and nonlinguistic elements, variables, and factors within which the language policy must function (Spolsky: 2000: 39-41).

Spolsky (2004: 219) sees language policy also as being influenced by “the number and kinds of languages, the number and kinds of speakers of each, the communicative value of each language both inside and outside the community being studied.”

Tollefson (1991: 2) criticises language policy as a way of institutionalising language as the basis for differentiations or distinctions between social groups (1991: 16) or social classes – language policy consequently draws a distinction between people from different social backgrounds and language

“…is built into the economic and social structure of society so deeply that its fundamental importance seems only natural. For this reason, language policies are often seen as expressions of natural, common-sense assumptions about language in society.”

Shohamy (2006: xvii) has a different view on language policy and contends that:

“Language Policy falls in the midst of major ideological debates about uniformity and diversity, purity and variations, nativity and ‘foreign-ness’ as manifested in policy documents…language policies should be interpreted through a variety of mechanisms that are used by all groups, but especially by those in authority.”
In my view, Shohamy is arguing here that any given speech community or society is made up of groups who speak different languages and varieties of the same language, but that these groups are dominated by those in authority who determine what the best or standard language should be.

Southerland and Katamba (1997: 541) state that the standard language is a “superposed variety ... employed by the government and communications media, used and taught in educational institutions, and ... the main or only written language”. Criticism with regard to official languages according to Shohamy (2006: 63) means that there will always be more languages spoken in a community than those which are regarded as official, since an official language “rarely represents the whole population, as there will be always those whose languages are left out.” Consequently governments create official languages as a “tool” with which to manipulate political situations (Shohamy 2006: 62). In an earlier publication, Shohamy (2006: 51) further acknowledges the distance between language policy and its implementation when she states that:

"Language policies are mostly manifestations of intentions while less attention is given to the implementation of policy in practice..."

This definition of language policy does not bode well for any language policy that needs to be implemented by any government, as Shohamy (2006) clearly sees no point in having a language policy which is merely a set of intentions with no readily available plans available to make language policy work or let it be implemented.
With regard to South Africa and the other Anglophone states of Africa, the role that English plays in language policy should not be overlooked or underestimated. Bergenholz (2003: 9) is correct in saying that English “tends to dominate all discussions of language policy” in most countries. As the major language of the globalised world, its widespread use has a direct impact on the use of other languages, and governments frequently need to negotiate its role in relation to the other languages of the countries (Dor, 2006). Phillipson (2003) captures this often problematic relationship when he writes that:

“Governments are responsible for language policy in their countries. Many act vigorously to promote a single national language. ’ ‘....the advance of English while serving the cause of international communication relatively well, and often bringing success to its users, can represent a threat to other languages and cultures. English is influential and popular worldwide because this brand of language connotes pleasure, employment, influence, and prestige. English is often referred to as a ‘global language’, but even if many decisions affecting the entire world’s population are taken in English, the vast majority of the world’s population has no proficiency in the language.” (Phillipson, 2003: 7)

As it is a government’s responsibility to make sure that language policy is being developed and implemented in its own country it seems to Phillipson (2003) that making use of just one specific language for government communication purposes would be the norm as English has many positive attributes attached to it, viz. the status that this language maintains throughout the world. It seems as if the use of English as a solution to a government’s communication problems might not always be to the advantage of the population the government serves, as this language is not generally understood and spoken by everyone.

2.1.2 Types of language policies
According to Shohamy (2006: 47-48) there are different types of language policies, because nation-states have become more varied and diverse yet “…at the same time more global and international...” Language policy exists at “...all
levels of decision making about languages...” even in the household, in the environment where children grow up and in different institutions. Therefore language policy includes not only “…languages to be used, but also includes decisions on grammar, vocabulary, genre and the style appropriate to a given context.” Language policy therefore has to reflect decisions made during language planning as well as the status of languages as determined by the government, whether or not it has official status and/or is protected by different laws and regulations.

Schmidt (1998), cited in Tollefson (2002: 181-182), distinguishes four types of language policies, which are policies promoting

- pluralism;
- linguistic nationalism;
- monolingualism or centralism; and
- assimilation.

The policy of pluralism encourages the use of more than one language (as in the case of South Africa), while linguistic nationalism has to do with the state making use of one or more languages to unite a nation (as in the case of Cameroon, which uses both French and English). A monolingual or centrist policy refers to the exclusive use of one particular language for all the major functions of the state (usually the language of powerful or dominant groups, as in the case of Mandarin in China), while a policy of assimilation encourages subordinate groups to adopt the language(s) of the dominant language speakers in a country as their own (as in the case of English in the United States of America and French in France).

Ndhlovu (2008) adds another type of language policy, one which focuses on minority and marginalised languages as well as on endangered minority languages. It has to be added that he views Afrikaans and English as the only
two languages in South Africa that are not minority languages. Schiffman (1996) talks about the tolerance policies which allow (but do not officially promote) any or all languages to function in any or all domains of life. According to him the majority language does not have exclusive rights and under these tolerant policies there are covert policies which make no mention of any language in legal documents, administrative codes, etc. He also talks about promotion policies and explains that the constitutional and legal life of the polity is conducted in the language of a dominant group (e.g. the linguistic majority) and most, if not all, the resources are devoted to the promotion of this language.

2.2 How the WCLP is situated within the definitions of language policy mentioned above

The WCLP, like the South African Language Policy and Plan (SANLP), may be looked upon as policy designed by state-appointed language planners at the behest of the ruling government, with the specific intention of redressing the linguistic imbalances of the Apartheid era (1948-1994). Emerging from Apartheid and following the first democratic elections in South Africa, the newly accepted RSA Constitution of 1996, South Africa had been demarcated in nine provinces, all with specific provincial powers, which included establishing their own constitutions and legislature within the framework of the national Constitution.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Western Cape - being the only province which was not provincially governed by the African National Congress (ANC) after the first democratic elections in 1994 but by the NP, was the first province to establish its own Constitution and a Western Cape Provincial Cabinet. This enabled the province to pass the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998), according to which the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) was established. The WCLC then took the responsibility to draft the
WCLP, after many consultations with community representatives, academics and established language bodies between 2000 and 2003 (WCLC, Annual Report, 2002/03:15). The various duties of the WCLC included the following:

- ensuring the “equal status” of the three official languages of the province;
- monitoring the use of the official languages by the provincial government as well as local governments of the Western Cape;
- promoting multilingualism;
- actively promoting the development of previously marginalized indigenous languages, including South African Sign Language (SASL);
- advising the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation in the Western Cape on language matters; and
- advising the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) on language matters affecting the province.

Note should therefore be taken of the constitutional foundation of the WCLP. It is also important to note that “local government” in South Africa refers to the municipal areas a province is divided into. Local government forms the first pillar of government, with provincial in the middle and national at the top.

The WCLP would therefore be situated within the boundaries of some of Spolsky’s major areas, namely within the provincial government departments, referring to 13 government departments in the Western Cape. There are three languages that were selected to serve as official languages, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. In addition, the South African National Census conducted in 1996 indicated that Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa (in that order) were the most spoken languages in the province. People had lived in historically demarcated areas where the Whites stayed in more affluent areas, and the
‘Coloured’ people and Blacks also stayed apart from each other, so forming their own language practices.

As people were living apart from each other, they would obviously develop varieties of languages, e.g. in the case of Afrikaans, different varieties developed which resulted in stereotypes about the language and language beliefs or ideologies about language use. As population groups lived separately from one another, it would have been inevitable for them to start forming beliefs and creating stereotypes about each other. With the arrival of the new dispensation in 1994, these differences, ideological beliefs and grouped environments within which people of the Western Cape had been living and to which they had been exposed needed to be addressed so that people could accepting one another and breaking down ideological barriers that existed between them. One of the ways in which to create this would be the development of a language policy via specific legislative structures as mentioned in Chapter 1. The WCLP therefore serves as a vehicle to bring about redress and reconciliation in a post-Apartheid South Africa, by recognising other languages and addressing linguistic imbalances in order to bring about better service delivery according to the WCLP goals, and especially goal 2.4.

2.3 Language planning

Different types of policies naturally take their cue from the language planning which is done before the actual policies are written. According to Baker (2006: 50-53) it is now usual to talk about three types of language planning:

- **Status planning**: In this type of planning, decisions are made to improve or change the status of a language. This could mean declaring the language a national language, giving the language official status or approving it as a medium of instruction at schools in particular areas of a country. However Antia (2000: xv) points out that a language could also
be demoted to a lower rank, lose its official status or even be banned from use;

- **Corpus planning**: If a formerly marginalised language achieves a new status, steps have to be taken to develop it so that it can fulfill its new functions. Standardisation of its spelling and grammar rules may need to take place for it to be taught effectively at schools, and terminology development is crucial. However, it could also be the case that a language that already has a well-planned corpus may achieve a better status precisely because it is seen as a well-developed one that can be used at many levels; and

- **Acquisition planning**: this type of planning involves taking steps to promote the spread of the language among speakers of other languages. Such steps may help to ensure the survival of the language, but also to promote broader multilingualism which in turn can promote greater ethnolinguistic tolerance and understanding.

The WCLP clearly incorporates all three types of language planning, given that it aims to improve the status of isiXhosa in the Western Cape as well as to initiate steps to improve its corpus development. In addition, the ideal of trilingualism espoused in the policy fits into acquisition planning.

Dyers (2000: 45) notes that there are normally three stages in the life-cycle of language policies: planning, formulation and implementation. The planning stage, as was noted above, involves important decisions about the choice of languages and the different roles they will play in a community, local government, province or state. Very often these decisions focus solely on standardised languages and overlook other varieties or dialects. The next stage is the “formulation stage”, where these important decisions and how they will be achieved are captured in a policy document (although not all language policies are written documents, some remaining tacit or understood). In the case of the
WCLP, national government selected which languages in each province would be regarded as official. According to the demographics of people in the Western Cape of 1996, Sesotho, isiZulu and other languages were not selected in this province as official, because national government, via its National Language Policy Framework, had made the initial rule of three official languages per province.

The last stage in the cycle is the implementation stage and this is the most important stage of implementing language policy. Here, the support and the awareness of the wider community for the actual implementation of the policy are crucial, and it is during this phase that policies experience many challenges.

2.4 Language policy implementation
2.4.1 Theories of implementation
Paudel (2009: 36-54) recognises three types of implementation theory and is of the opinion that there have been many theories of policy implementation since the 1970’s. In this sub-section I will focus on three, namely the First Generation Implementation Theory, the Second Generation Implementation Theory and the Third Generation Implementation Theory.

The First Generation Implementation Theory was a “more systematic effort in the 1980s to understand the factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of public policies” (Paudel, 2009: 38), showing how “size, intra-organizational relationships, commitment, capacity and institutional complexities mould responses to policy”.

The Second Generation Implementation Theory “taught researchers the importance of time-frames” and the explanation of “success or failure … on an
explicit or implicit model of policy implementation process”. (Paudel 2009:39)

In the 1990’s two schools of thought regarding implementation theories eventually developed from this theory, namely the “Top-down perspective” and the “Bottom-up perspective”. This is how Paudel (2009: 40) differentiates between these two theories of implementation. For the top-down perspective he cites Elmore (1978) who writes:

“(The top-down implementation perspective) begins at the top of the process, with as clear a statement as possible of the policy-maker’s intent, and proceeds through a sequence of increasingly more specific steps to define what is expected of implementers at each level. At the bottom of the process, one states, again with as much precision as possible, what a satisfactory outcome would be, measured in the terms of the original statement of intent”.

According to Paudel (2009) someone in a very powerful position at the top, probably an important senior manager, would be responsible for policy implementation by delegating the process. From here the policy goes through several ranks (lower than the senior’s) to be implemented according to incremental steps, which might be small or large, while at each rank level it seems there are expectations of implementation. At the lower end (bottom) there would be those, normally not powerful individuals, implementing the policy, or not.

In contrast, the bottom-up perspective

“...has as its starting point a problem in society. The focus is on individuals and their behavior, and in this respect street-level bureaucrats are made central in the political process.” (Paudel 2009: 41)

Paudel (2009) makes it clear that the civilians are responsible for this approach as they are experiencing challenges where they live and want something to be done about them. Their focus is not necessarily on senior managers as they are dependent on the government to assist them. They therefore take their plight to
the leaders in their communities and from there onwards these leaders represent them in getting the said policy implemented, until the senior member is reached.

Both these perspectives of policy implementation come with their own challenges, amongst others the scope of the implementation process as well as the reality or real practical circumstances within which implementation takes place. The top-down perspective also has at its core what “ought to happen” (Paudel 2009: 46) or what is being prescribed, while the bottom-up perspective deals more with describing the implementation process.

The Third Generation Implementation Theory, according to Paudel (2009: 45) quoting McLaughlin (1987: 177), explains that in this implementation theory the implementers (who work as individuals) and policy-makers (who believe in structure and organisation) are being “integrated”, that such a relationship is not conducive to policy implementation. The realisation of such implementation has not yet taken place.

Although the WCLP was written after consultation with the public of the Western Cape by those who represent the provincial population (Afrikaans, isiXhosa, English, SASL and the Nama Language) in the form of a committee, I do believe that the implementation process that was being used for realizing the goals and intentions of the WCLP was a top-down process and I will be discussing the policy as such.

2.4.2 Implementation strategies

Paudel (2009: 36) sees implementation as “…carrying out, accomplishing, fulfilling, producing or completing a given task”. To implement a language
policy therefore means actually to put that which the language policy states into practice – the measures taken to make sure that whatever the language policy states is being filtered through to those individuals affected by it, whether or not the stipulations of the language policy are met. Implementation should include plans for policy implementation, different strategies on how to introduce these plans, a time framework for successful implementation and which mechanisms should be used. Implementation should also include rewards or incentives for those who implement the language policy successfully and (enforceable) penalties for those who do not.

These plans, strategies, timetables and mechanisms give the “authoritative backbone” to language policy implementation, as well as “the motivation to use the language by the people affected” (Schiffman 2006: 1-4). These plans, strategies, timetables and mechanism should further be completed, evaluated, enforced and cross-checked, and Schiffman refers to these as “taking concrete steps”. According to him, policy-makers, who in many instances are novices “hand down decrees”, “make grandiloquent statements, promulgations” and then sit back “and expect things to just happen”. Schiffman (2006: 2) is further of the opinion that a government may covertly want its language policy to fail, which is why they allow “amateurs” to manage language policies.

To implement means furthermore to reach the goals of the language policy. Implementation is highly dependent on funding, however, funding would probably be available for the time when the policy is accepted, supported by the RSA Constitution of 1996 and passed by the Cabinet or the provincial government, but funding may become a problem once the government changes or when other financial expenditures take preference – and this could hamper language policy implementation. Implementation therefore requires greater communication and a clear chain of command to indicate clearly who is
responsible for what – which is why the language policy should be structured in such a way that it is easily understandable, clear, concise and not confusing according to Schiffman (2006). Schiffmann (2006: 1-2) notes that it does not matter what a language policy looks like, it will certainly fail in its intended outcomes if it is not carefully implemented. According to him the implementation plan to be followed according to him should include

- a plan (who will be in charge and who makes the final decisions);
- the bodies of state (those who have authority and power to take these steps);
- vigilant monitoring of the process (timetables, enforcement, funding, record keeping – he calls these “the devil in the details”);
- the resources (funding, publication, cost of evaluation, etc.);
- the timetable according to which various aspects of the plan should be followed or to take first priority;
- evaluation (to make sure whether or not the policy is being implemented and to assess the processes); and
- addressing and correcting any problems with the implementation.

The WCLP Implementation Plan is strategically planned as part of the WCLC’s Strategic Plan, and this Plan is “linked to” the Five Year Strategic Plan of the DCAS (WCLC Strategic Plan, 2010-2015: 16). The WCLP has also been written with the involvement of the WCLC and the DCAS. This specific implementation plan will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 4.

### 2.4.3 Challenges of implementing a language policy

Schiffman (2006), Honadle (1976), Dunbar and Villaruel (2002) and various other scholars all contend that the major problem for policy writers lies in its implementation. Honadle (1976: 6) contends that
“Implementation is the nemesis of designers, it conjures up images of plans gone awry and of social carpenters and masons who fail to build to specifications and thereby distort the beautiful blue prints for progress which were handed to them. It provokes memories of “good” ideas that did not work and places the blame on the second (and second-class) member of the policy and administration team...”

According to Honadle (1976: 6), should the implementation process fail, blame may be laid on the lower ranking officials at the bottom of the implementation pyramid, where the implementation plan follows a top-down approach.

Schiffman (2006: 3) also mentions that it is important for the processes of the implementation to be overseen by someone who could work out solutions for any “unforeseen difficulties”. Dunbar (2002: 22) asks what would happen should language policy implementation fail and what measures (including private models of implementation and enforcement) should be taken. People who are dissatisfied with the way in which their language is being treated in the implementation process (Dunbar specifically refers to minority languages) could engage in costly litigation, but this is mainly out of reach for poor communities whose languages are being neglected. Another tool of implementation that could serve as an agent for the protection of minority languages is the establishment of a language board such as PanSALB.

Studies of the “problems” of implementation seem to boil down to two issues, both involving motivation: the reluctance of people (organisations, their staff members, officers of the government, etc.) to carry out the mandate they have been tasked with, and the reluctance of speakers of particular languages to accept the conditions that planners have specified for their community. The biggest challenge for a language policy such as the WCLP could therefore be the top-down implementation structures and the underlying motivations and ideologies of the different role-players that deal with its implementation.
2.5 Language policy and its relationship with power and ideology

As a starting point to this key section, I want to examine a number of definitions of ideology on the one hand, and language ideology on the other. According to Mullins (1972: 66) ideology is

“...a logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one’s social condition - especially its prospects for the future- to a programme of collective action for the maintenance, alteration or transformation of society.”

While Mullins emphasises the role of ideology in either maintaining or transforming societies, others emphasise that ideologies cannot exist outside the power relations in societies. Fairclough (2003:9) stresses this when he writes that

“Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). ”

Irvine (1989: 255) comes even closer to the link between ideology and the manifestation of power when he defines ideologies as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with the loading of moral and political interests”.

If the concept of ideology is loaded with “moral and political interests”, it therefore holds that language ideologies also operate within the interests of powerful groupings in society. As Dyers and Abongdia (2010: 123) argue:
“Ideologies are constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group: i.e. they are rooted in the socio-economic power and vested interests of dominant groups”. This can clearly be seen in Rumsey’s definition of language ideologies (1990: 246) as “shared beliefs of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”.

One could argue that this means that perceptions of particular languages exist amongst a variety of linguistically different people that have been shaped over time by particular histories and influence subsequent attitudes towards different languages. For Schieffelin, Woollard, and Kroskrity (1998: 56-59) language ideologies are connected to learned social, moral and political values which could lead to the formation of attitudes towards language in general. A final, cynical comment on the relationship between language ideology, language policy and the actual language practices of people comes from Spolsky (2004: 15): “Language ideology is language policy, with the manager left out...language practices are what people actually do...”

These definitions of language ideology may indicate that the challenges facing the WCLP are rooted to a large extent within the language ideologies of every single person involved in the drafting of the policy, i.e. the WCLC and those tasked with its implementation, i.e. the DCAS and the WCPP.

Spolsky (2004: 40-51) indicates that there are different factors determining language policy, i.e. “the sociolinguistic situation, the national ideology, the existence of English as a world language and the notion of language rights.” This is an indication of one of the challenges if not the crucial challenge in the implementation of the WCLP. The use of English during the sittings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament that are sometimes screened gives the idea that English is being regarded as the “provincial language”.

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Now that the definitions have been provided, the relationship between power, ideology and language policy can be discussed further. A central figure in such studies is Cobarrubias (1983: 63-66), who describes four key ideologies of language planning. These are ideologies of

- **linguistic assimilation** – everyone should learn the state’s dominant language, as in the case of Mandarin in China;
- **linguistic pluralism** – more than one language is recognised, as in the case of South Africa with its 11 official languages;
- **vernacularization** – the revival and elaboration of an indigenous language which then becomes an official language, as in the case of Hebrew in Israel; and
- **internationalism** – the use of a non-indigenous language for wider communication, business and international trade, as in the case of many African countries which rely on English, French or Portuguese for these functions.

Linguistic assimilation, if rigidly imposed, poses a threat to other languages and language varieties, and can lead to the *invisibilisation* of such languages and even their speakers (Skuttnab-Kangas, 2000). The new South Africa’s desire to raise the status of the previously marginalised indigenous languages has lead to 11 official languages, and this makes it a clear case of linguistic pluralism. But this ideology in no way ensures effective implementation of policies based on it. As an example of vernacularization, the role of Hebrew as official language in the modern state of Israel is central to Israeli nationalism. Finally, internationalism poses many problems for the indigenous languages of a country. Such countries may recognise these languages, but once major functions are performed in languages such as English, the indigenous languages will always be dominated by the international one.
In addition to the ideologies provided by Cobarrubias, Ruiz (1990) writes about the different orientations towards multilingualism and how these are revealed in language policies. He defines three key orientations – language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource:

- If multilingualism in a society is viewed ideologically as a problem, it is seen as expensive, divisive, working against national unity and emphasising differences rather than similarities. Language policies which start from this orientation sees language barriers as obstructions to social and educational development, and therefore people need interventions in the form of, e.g. classes in English as a second language (or whatever the dominant linguistic entity of the country is). We see such policies in a number of post-colonial African states such as Niger, where French is the official language, but is spoken by only 15% of the total population (Alidou, 2007);

- If multilingualism is seen as a right, people should be allowed to use their own languages in various domains, which makes this part of the human rights paradigm. Language policy here has to do with the transmission of heritage, the reduction of the gap between home and school and the benefits of ethnic diversity. This is perhaps the dominant orientation of the South African National Language Policy Framework; and

- In the resource view of multilingualism, language policies reveal a strong belief that the diverse linguistic and cultural systems in a country are assets which can benefit the nation in areas such as trade. Countries with large numbers of migrants speaking particular languages can therefore use these migrants and their linguistic resources to do business with their countries of origin. But this economic view of linguistic diversity is just one side of the resource orientation. Grin (1996:157) stresses the symbolic, non-material and non-market value of multilingualism, which “contributes to our quality of life, in the same way that bio-diversity does”.


A final perspective I would like to offer here is Hornberger’s ecological orientation towards language (Hornberger, 2001), where language policies take an ecological, resource view of indigenous, immigrant, ethnic and foreign languages as living and evolving in relation to each other and to their environment and as requiring support lest any one of them become endangered:

“...languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their environment; for ease of reference, I will call these the language evolution and language environment themes. A third theme is the notion that some languages, like some species and environments, may be endangered and that the ecology movement is about not only studying and describing those potential losses, but also counteracting them; this I will call the language endangerment theme.” (Hornberger, 2001:31)

To some extent, this may be seen in the WCLP’s desire to protect and promote the Khoi and San languages of the province. The complex inter-relationship between languages is captured in the concept of language ecology, which is defined as “…the study of interactions between any given language and its environment...” (Haugen, 1972: 325). In other words, what are the different statuses conferred on particular languages or language varieties in certain environments? Which languages have the greatest power? Which languages have the greatest support?

Hornberger (2006: 1) contends that an understanding of the language ecology of any given society helps us “…to explore ideologies underlying multilingual policies”. The actual interaction of the different languages listed in the WCLP, as well as varieties that blend and mesh some of these languages in a type of truncated (Dyers, 2008a) or distributed (Stroud, Pennycook, Vigouroux, Dyers, Bock and others: 2008) multilingualism is an important indicator of how these languages and varieties are used and valued by the people of the Western Cape. The challenge, however, lies in how language policies which treat languages as
separate, bounded entities, can respond to the realities of people’s hybrid language practices.

2.6 Linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship

The concepts of language ideology, linguistic human rights (LHR) and what Stroud (2001) calls participatory citizenship also have an effect on the challenges that might be experienced when the Western Cape Provincial Government (WCPG) implements the WCLP. Spolsky (2006: 43) refers to the direct efforts to manipulate a language situation, which draws on laws and legislation, as language management – the type of language management we have seen in South Africa and the Western Cape since the acceptance of the new RSA Constitution of 1996. Policies are therefore inherently political in nature. According to Spolsky (2006: 43), the effects of a language policy “is neither guaranteed nor consistent” and he further contends that it has “little or no effect on language practices”.

However, language rights and the related linguistic citizenship have important roles to play in language policy implementation in the new South African democracy. While language rights are seen as an extension of human rights, linguistic citizenship refers predominantly to a view on language and politics that takes as a central point of departure the desirability of constructing agency and maintaining voice across media, modalities, and context (Stroud, 2003).

The WCLP was written within a linguistic human rights (LHR) paradigm, underpinned by the RSA Constitution of 1996. The policy seems to incorporate the belief that equality of use can be achieved among the three official languages of the Province, which Poole (1991) contends were the right choices. However, Starkey (2002: 7) states that although “…diverse language communities can live together..., different language communities may not have equal power...”
There are three sides to the LHR paradigm:

- the anti-imperialist view (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999), which sees English as a “killer” of other languages, by causing people to shift from other languages, leading to the decline and death of these languages;
- the pro-English view (Chew, 1999): English plays an empowering role in people’s lives, and many are willing to sacrifice their home languages in the interests of economic advancement and international competitiveness; and
- the moderate view: In Africa, the advancement of people is increasingly seen as the acknowledgement of African languages plus English for international communication. (Banda, 2000).

However, Stroud (2001:347) argues that the LHR paradigm still treats languages as distinct and separate entities, and does not take account of how these languages are constantly being blended to create new varieties, particularly among the young. Such a paradigm also excludes migrants from other areas e.g. Sesotho- and Setswana-speakers in the Western Cape as well as migrants from several African countries, i.e the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, etc. who do not speak the dominant languages of the Western Cape.

For this reason, Stroud argues for a paradigm of participatory citizenship and agency, which includes linguistic citizenship, rather than the narrow view of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR). Language, from the perspective of linguistic citizenship, is both the means and the target for democratic “effort”, and multilingualism is both a facilitative and constraining factor in the exercise of democratic citizenship and voice. The focus is on linguistic diversity and differences. Linguistic citizenship therefore contributes towards the political

It could be argued that another major challenge in implementing the WCLP may be to consider whether or not there exists a tacit ideology in the corridors of power that language policies constitute mere political “window dressing”, referring to use the language policy for political gain or a political agenda (Spolsky and Shohamy, 2000:3) and whether only one language really has value and power in late-modern South Africa.

2.7 Language policy, globalisation and the hegemony of English

According to Bech (2000:13) globalisation means that “…we have been living for a very long time in a world society, in the sense that the notion of closed spaces has become illusory. No country or group can shut itself off from others.” “World society”, then, denotes the totality of social relationships which are not integrated into or determined by national-state politics. For Dator, Pratt and Seo (2006: 66) globalisation refers to the “…spread of certain ideas, values, practices, such as ‘democracy’ and ‘human rights’…” and the “…speed and extent of globalization has increased with each change in modes of transportation and of communication…”

Not only is physical contact possible, but it happens mostly via the internet and the worldwide media. Globalisation therefore incorporates different people all over the world who make contact with each other physically and who have to find a way in which to treat each other with what is perceived as respect towards each other who have different cultural beliefs and practices and thus adhering to or creating certain concepts such as “democracy” and “human rights” to find common ground and to try to understand each other.
Globalisation is therefore “...much, much more than a set of economic factors ... also the flow of popular culture and of new ideas...” (2006:13) In a globalised world, there needs to be a choice of a language that can be used as a common form of communication between different people of different backgrounds in order to trade with each other and to build economies, and because there is contact with different people all over the world, there would be cultural interchange that would result in “the most popular culture” and thus “new ideas”.

For De Swaan (2001: 8) “...English is the language of global communication...” in the present world, and this position is currently unchallenged by other languages. Crystal (1997) in his analysis of English as a global language states that it is not the number of speakers that makes a language global, but who the speakers are. In the case of the international or global language, English plays an important role, as it is the language of business, international communication, technology and power (Crystal 1997). Crystal (1997: 3) also states that a language achieves a genuinely global status when it “develops a ‘special’ role that is recognized in every country...the notion of a ‘special’ role has many facets...” English is mostly the language of the internet or the World Wide Web (Crystal 2006) and therefore the language that most people in the world have as a second or a third language and to which most people are being exposed. Crystal (2006: 21) calls the overwhelming use of English on the Internet “Netlish” which is “plainly derived from ‘English’”.

When nations draw up their language policies, the role and function of English has to be taken into account (Banda, 2000: 51; Batibo, 2005). Dor (2004: 97) refers to this state of affairs as negotiated multilingualism, and notes that this type of multilingualism arises from the contestation between the forces of globalisation and local conditions. English is seen as the global lingua franca of the information age, yet at the same time local languages have to be used,
maintained and developed. For Dor (ibid.) there is, therefore, a constant tension between Englishization and local languages, and countries have to negotiate where to use these different languages, e.g. English for higher education and international trade, but local languages for school education and local or cross-border trade.

In South Africa, it seems as if that English is the dominant language of power, i.e. “...an important vehicle for socio-economic cohesion in our country” as well as “...a linguistic bridge for communication amongst black South Africans in a changing society...” (Chetty and Mwepu, 2008: 330). Even in a province with substantial numbers of Afrikaans home language speakers such as the Western Cape (South African National Census of 2011: 23-25), it is therefore necessary to determine how this hegemony of English affects the implementation of the WCLP.

The hegemony of English positions it as more than merely a national and international lingua franca. In my opinion the dominance of English within the South African context poses serious challenges to the implementation of the WCLP. When the WCLP was drafted, English was the language in which the WCLP was written, not Afrikaans or isiXhosa. Consequently the Afrikaans and isiXhosa translations of the WCLP emanated from the English text, which is, of course, steeped in its own particular cultural traditions.

2.8 Language policy and South Africa’s Apartheid past
None of the above aspects that influence language policy can be considered without reference to the effects of the Apartheid era on the language demarcation in the Western Cape, almost two decades after Apartheid’s official demise in 1994. Banda (2000) refers to the Apartheid legacy and its effect on language practices in South Africa, and states that it will be a long time before
proper multilingual communication will happen, as people of the same language and ethnic groups are still living in those areas which were demarcated to them during Apartheid. Consequently, as Dyers (2008b) argues, these areas may offer conditions necessary for language maintenance instead of for their decline and death in the face of the hegemony of English.

The six towns that were visited were still divided into the different suburbs which host different racial groups. In Apartheid South Africa, the Group Areas Act of 1950 compelled people of different ethnic origins to live in different parts of the same town or city. This generally resulted in White people living in the more affluent, more economically viable areas, with access to the best the towns could offer, ‘Coloured’ people living in worse but still tolerable surroundings, and Black people being given the worst parts of the towns to inhabit – the so-called locations (Black townships). Separate development was promulgated for these groups in order to uphold the beliefs and ideologies of the Apartheid system between 1948 and 1993 (although it could be argued that this applied even before 1948). With the new dispensation in SA since 1994, towns have largely retained their old Apartheid group area nature, with little sense of integration. One difference is that middle class, educated Black and ‘Coloured’ people have moved into former areas that were reserved for Whites only, but the majority of the population continues to live much as it did before, although poorer White people have moved into the areas previously demarcated for Blacks and ‘Coloureds’ (Dyers 2008a). In addition, South Africa, like the rest of the world, has seen a great deal of translocal and transnational migration (Dyers 2008) which has substantially changed the populations of these towns. Worth mentioning is the new housing development that came when the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) was started in 1998 and which lead to the building of very small houses that appear to look all colourful, and are being called “smartie-box houses”. These areas are also commonly known as the “Smartie Town” of those specific towns that I visited carrying what I perceived as indicative of a derogatory status (Blommaert, Muyllaert, Huysmans and Dyers,
Consequently not only the Apartheid legacy would have an influence on the way in which language policy implementation would have to be implemented, but also taking in consideration the circumstances of those who were after 1994 grouped together as a result of housing needs.

2.9 Conclusion
In this chapter the theoretical and conceptual framework for the thesis had been provided. The chapter commences with definitions of policy and language policy in order to clarify what the language policy-makers have to focus on. It further considers the relationship between language policy and politics, language and power or power relations, language policy and the ideological beliefs and agendas held by those who make the policy as well as those for whom the policy is designed. A major focus is on the politics attached to a language policy and how power relations within government could influence language policy implementation, both as a tool for human linguistic manipulation as well as for linguistic human rights and linguistic citizenship. The hegemony of English both in South Africa and as a language of globalisation and its subsequent influence on language policies in developing countries are also discussed here. The existence of different schools of thought regarding language policy implementation is acknowledged, as well as the fact that the process of implementation is the most difficult part of policy making owing to a variety of reasons. The South African context and its impact on realising the goals of the WCLP is also emphasised. In the next chapter the research methodology is presented.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
In this chapter I present the methods and tools used to carry out the research, provide an overview of the size and shape of my research population, and discuss how the data was analysed, the ethical procedures followed and finally the limitations of the study and the various challenges I faced in conducting this wide-ranging research.

The research for this study took place between 2009 and 2012 during which time I designed questionnaires for both qualitative and quantitative research and travelled to towns in the Western Cape to conduct research at grassroots level. I also conducted interviews with implementation agencies in the Western Cape provincial government departments. The research process included the Colloquium on the Implementing Challenges of the WCLP, which was held by the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) and the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) in 2010, which aftermath is important for the study.

As was stated in Chapter 1, the thesis is a critical analysis of the attempts to implement the language policy of one province of the Republic of South Africa, i.e. the Western Cape Province, with Cape Town as its capital. The researcher therefore needed to interrogate various documents and role-players to gain detailed insight into how effectively this policy was being implemented in provincial government departments, whether the prescriptions of the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) were filtering through to the public and how aware members of the broader public were of the policy, where it comes from, what information and attitudes they have about languages in the province and
their understanding of their language rights according to the policy. The objective was also to obtain information from senior management and key implementers of the policy, to establish what these implementers’ ideologies were with regard to language policy implementation, and how, ultimately, all of these factors affected the challenges of implementing such a broad-based and detailed language policy.

The aim of this research study was to, as stated in Chapter 1, provide a critical analysis of the top down approach that was being followed with regard to the implementation of a multilingual policy, the WCLP, when identifying challenges and solutions to the challenges of implementing a multilingual policy in the Western Cape and to offer an analysis of underlying factors such as language ideologies which play a role in the success or failure of the implementation strategies.

3.1 Documents produced by DCAS and WCLC used as background information to the study and how these were used during the study

Document analysis is a key skill in historical interpretation. It is not a mere summary or description of what happened, but rather analyses the motivation, intent and purpose of a document within a particular historical context (Bowen; 2009:3-7).

For the purpose of this study, I made use of the following:

- **written document analysis**: newspapers, maps (demographic), press releases, reports, advertisements, Census reports and signage with regard to inclusive and/or exclusive language usage in provincial government departments;
• analysis of posters and signage: how general communication and
derminalations was done in public places, and how effective these were for
the general public; and
• document analysis of previous research reports based on the WCLP:
examples here included the research that was done in Western Cape
hospitals and in municipalities regarding the implementation challenges
of the WCLP.

As part of the process of WCLP implementation many research projects had
been completed by 2012. In order to get perspective of what research projects
were executed by either the DCAS or the WCLP with regard to the WCLP, I
interrogated different documents that were available between 2009 and 2012.
They were the following:

• In 2000 a limited empirical study of language policy and planning in
local authorities in the Western Cape was undertaken by the WCLC,
with a follow-up survey in 2001;
• In 2003 research on the costing of the implementation of the WCLP was
done by DCAS;
• In 2004 a WCLP Basic Implementation Plan was drafted and started to
be implemented (Discussed in Chapter 4);
• In 2006 the WCLC undertook a study of the implementation of the
WCLP in the Western Cape municipalities, and in 2007 a detailed report
was produced together with PanSALB;
• In 2006 another survey regarding the WCLP implementation in local
municipalities was completed;
• In 2007 communication difficulties between deaf children and their
hearing parents/guardians/hostel parent were investigated and written up
in a report;
• In 2007, the WCLC financed research on language practices in three
hospitals in the Western Cape;
In 2008 a study conducted on behalf of PanSALB surveyed language practices in local municipalities;

In 2008/2009 the Monitoring and Evaluation Component in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) in the Western Cape financed an implementation analysis of the WCLP in its state departments. This very detailed report revealed the degree of implementation of the WCLP by various government departments. This report was merely mentioned in subsequent annual reports and never officially approved;

In 2011 the WCLC undertook to continue monitoring the implementation of the WCLP by conducting further research on the rendering of interpreting services at the Western Cape Provincial Legislature (WCPL). The aim of the report was to establish how legislators experience the quality of interpreting services in the WCPP.

Other ways of getting information were also used in order to obtain more information on the WCLP and what implementation challenges existed. These were the following:

- having been part of the Language Policy Implementation Unit (LPIU) of the DCAS between 2006 and 2011;
- minutes of meetings (which had been consulted, not referred to in the study): WCLC and DCAS between 2006 and 2011;
- attendance of language related projects executed by WCLC and the DCAS between 2006 and 2011 and having been a project manager in this regard;
- monthly and quarterly reviews of the DCAS CLU;
- the outcomes of a Colloquium on the challenges in implementing the WCLP was held in February 2010. More than 100 people across the
Western Cape attended this Colloquium. I made notes of the points of view of different departments and language institutions, the WCLC, PanSALB, the Premier, the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, several members of the PLF, other provincial government departments and senior managers as well as of the WCPP;

- meetings that were held after the 2010 Colloquium which I also attended as well as the report on the Colloquium;
- inclusion of two Five Year Strategic Plans of both the WCLC and the DCAS (Addendum F and Addendum G); and
- access to Annual Reports of the WCLC and the DCAS between 2000/2001 and 2012/2013.

All these documents have been taken into consideration in the thesis, but I specifically performed a document analysis of the WCLP itself, its two implementation plans and the two five-year strategic plans of the DCAS with regard its implementation which will be discussed in Chapter 4. A qualitative approach was followed when considering data from previous research conducted in the Western Cape and analyses from governmental documents (e.g. Census surveys, etc.). This included articles written and/or research already conducted in connection with language issues in South Africa or in the Western Cape.

The thesis tried to draw conclusions on how language ideology might have contributed to the challenges and possibilities influencing the implementation of the WCLP. Ultimately, practical recommendations on how the language policy implementation agencies could ensure additive implementation of the WCLP were created and in this way equal access to language use at grassroots level provided. The thesis also examined what exactly the LPs and their management as well as the DCAS, as the lead department in the WCLP implementation, the WCLC, as the statutory body and advisory panel as well as the WCPP, as the highest level in the implementation pyramid of the WCLP, experienced with
regard to challenges in implementing the WCLP and how these challenges filtered through to the communities in the multilingual towns visited. The focus was on whether or not challenges at all levels of WCLP implementation experienced were indeed linked to ideology and power in the hierarchical structures of the provincial government of the Western Cape, and if so, how. I could study these various documents presented to me by the DCAS and the WCLC, especially their annual reports and their strategic plans, minutes of their meetings, research reports, quarterly and monthly reviews.

It was however very difficult to study the two Five Year Strategic Plans as well as the Annual Reports objectively, as I was an employee in the DCAS at the time. I used other documents to refer to whenever I had no other references, especially the Annual Reports of the DCAS. I was constantly aware that the monthly reports, quarterly reviews and the eventual Annual Reports were a reflection of what was happening in the DCAS and that the reporting on the language related events could probably be made more successful than they really were. Consequently I read with caution and objectivity. I had attended the 2010 Colloquium and so made use of my field notes. I requested the audio-recording of the 2010 Colloquium which was made by the DCAS, but I did not obtain permission to use this. I also attended every meeting of the CLU as a member of staff until 2011 when I left. I did not obtain permission to use the minutes of the meetings in my study; however, I used these minutes merely to keep track of what the DCAS was doing to implement the WCLP, correlating this with the annual reports and the Five Year Strategic Plans and indeed to gain an idea of what the WCLP implementation challenges were that had been experienced. I also got hold of reports on research projects that had been done in the Western Cape and these I could read for background information.
In my research I literally focused on the WCLP, the two Five Year Strategic Plans, i.e. 2005/06 to 2010/11 (first Five Year Strategic Plan) and 2011/12 to 2014/15 (second Five Year Strategic Plan) as is discussed in Chapter 4.

3.2 Validity and reliability of the research

I have taken the following definitions of validity and reliability for the purpose of my study from the Colorado State University’s Glossary, including their references:

“Reliability: The extent to which a measure, procedure or instrument yields the same result on repeated trials.

Validity: The degree to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure. A method can be reliable, consistently measuring the same thing, but not valid.

Internal Validity: (1) The rigor with which the study was conducted (e.g., the study's design, the care taken to conduct measurements, and decisions concerning what was and wasn't measured) and (2) the extent to which the designers of a study have taken into account alternative explanations for any causal relationships they explore (Huitt, 1998). In studies that do not explore causal relationships, only the first of these definitions should be considered when assessing internal validity.”

[Definitions taken from Colorado State University Glossary; http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/guide.cfm?guideid=66]

It seems according to all definitions above that reliability is concerned with the accuracy of the actual measuring procedure of the research process and validity is concerned with the success of the study in measuring the data that was captured. Validity further seems to include the entire experimental concept and establishes whether the results obtained meet all the requirements of any scientific research method. Validity also refers also to the degree to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure. Validity is the strength of the researcher’s conclusions. Cook and Campbell (1979: 37) define validity as the "best available
approximation to the truth or falsity of a given inference, proposition or conclusion."

In this regard a random sample of groups was used, giving me a statistically reliable number. I guarded against sloppy and inconsistent design of the research tools that I used. I was concerned about both external and internal validity during and after the research process, which meant that the results of the study could be generalised (external validity), and this meant that the research findings were transferable from one Western Cape town to the other, given more or less the same conditions. I found validity in keeping personal notes from the start of my study to make sure that my initial assumptions on the WCLP did not change. I used various texts and documents to support and to verify what I studied. My field notes, transcripts of interviews (which were typed up by an independent researcher), other notes and minutes, recordings (audio) and the fact that I made use of other researchers to help me made the research valid.

More important for the purpose of this study was the internal validity of the study. I wanted to compare knowledge about and awareness of the WCLP with the communication challenges of the people at grassroots level, to find out how civilians had been affected, either negatively or positively. I looked at the questionnaires’ design, the care taken to make sure that everyone had filled in everything, the size of groups and decisions pertaining to these such as controlling the size of groups and making sure the environment in which the questionnaires were filled in was relaxed and quiet.

According to the Colorado State University Glossary as mentioned before reliability implies that whatever conclusions are drawn, a particular study should be inherently repeatable. Should other researchers perform the same experiment
or perform the same trials I did with the respondents under the same conditions, these researchers should be able to generate the same results.

### 3.3 Quantitative and qualitative approaches followed

To increase the findings of my research being regarded as valid and reliable I made use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

#### 3.3.1 Quantitative approaches: The Questionnaires (Addendum D)

Quantitative research methods allowed me to undertake large-scale studies that resulted in verifiable data. The aim was to clarify features, count them, construct them and arrange them in statistical models to explain what was observed. Cresswell (2004) in this regard observes that

“...quantitative methods involve the processes of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and writing the results of a study...specific methods exist in both survey and experimental research that relate to identifying a sample population, specifying the strategy of inquiry, collecting and analyzing data, presenting the results, making an interpretation and writing the research in a manner consistent with a survey or experimental study...” (Cresswell, 2004: xxiv)

For the study I made use of questionnaires to the youth (between 17 and 35), the civilians (older than 35), public servants and people who work in business. When designing the questionnaires for obtaining the quantitative data I was guided by the WCLP implementation plan itself. As quantitative data tended to be more objective in nature, it enabled me to test the hypotheses thoroughly.

The questionnaires were received back as soon as the respondents had finished with them. None of the questionnaires was completed without all independent assistant/s being present. These independent researchers were located in the Arts Faculty of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) as well as in the Science
Faculty of the University of Stellenbosch (US). They were all post graduate students who knew how to be part of a research process.

The design of the questionnaires was in line with what had been put forward in the WCLP (contained in a glossy booklet) in 2005, namely the policy itself as well as its incremental plan. The questionnaires also tried to determine which challenges the general public faced in their day-to-day linguistic dealings with private companies, government business and social lives. The data from the questionnaires was statistically analysed, which meant that questionnaires had to be designed for this type of analysis. A system of 1-5 was used in order to calculate how respondents had reacted to the questions according to the Likert scale (Likert, 1931):

1. strongly disagree
2. disagree
3. undecided
4. agree and
5. strongly agree.

The Likert Scale, named after its originator, Rensis Likert, is an ordered, one-dimensional scale from which respondents choose one option that best aligns with their view. Because the Likert scale is a uni-dimensional scaling method, I assumed that the ideas or opinions measured regarding the WCLP and subsequent language relations in each town were one-dimensional in nature (Burns, N. & Grove, S.K. 1997). This scale was used as it was the most common scale employed when dealing with such a huge research population. A benefit of this scale was that the questions posed were easy to understand and in that way these questions led to consistent answers, which in return led to consistent data gathering as well as to making reliable assumptions.
A characteristic disadvantage was that only a few options were offered, with which respondents might not have agreed fully. However, space was left on the questionnaires should the respondents feel they had something else to add. These additions were treated as part of the overall data gathering. The Likert scale method, also called the summative scale, resulted in the questionnaires being summed up using numerical assignments and tables to the responses given.

At the post offices, police stations, clinics and hospitals in the towns visited where the public servants were taking part in answering the questionnaire, adult civilians also filled in the questionnaire. These adult civilians visited the abovementioned places. I could get a sense of the language challenges they experienced in places where the public servants had to serve them in their preferred language as stipulated by the WCLP. The public servants at these public institutions provided the researchers with a private place in their respective office spaces or venues to make sure that questionnaires were completed in a relaxed atmosphere. In cases where there was a shortage of respondents, the researchers were assisted by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), churches and schools in all the towns. The idea of involving as many institutions as possible had to do with getting a variety of adult civilians to take part in the study: unemployed, employed, partly employed, skilled, semi-skilled, coming from different backgrounds and ranging in age from 35 to 80 as well as matric learners, students and employed youth that were between the ages of 17 and younger than 35.

The WCLP makes provision for the development of South African Sign Language (SASL) and the Nama Language (as part of Khoi and San languages in WCLP, 2004:30). Questionnaires were accordingly also handed out to those people speaking either the Nama Language as a first language or to deaf respondents who use SASL as a first language. These respondents were part of
the respondents who are part of the NGOs and were not particularly sourced at specific locations in order to get their opinions. The respondents speaking the Nama Language had Afrikaans as their second language and could answer the questions in Afrikaans; in cases where these respondents were illiterate, individual interviews were conducted in Afrikaans using the questionnaire, and ticking off was done by explaining to the respondents how it was to be done beforehand.

3.3.1.1 Validity and reliability of the completed questionnaires
Independent researchers from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Stellenbosch (US) assisted with the research process. In the case of deaf respondent using SASL, an interpreter was used and the interpreter ticked off the questionnaire as a result of the communication with the deaf person. In both data gathering situations, consent letters were signed by the respective respondents and interpreters to add reliability and validity to the response given.

During the process of examining the results, I took into consideration the external validity of the research process by examining the results carefully and by looking for any other possible causal relationships that could have been present in subsequent findings. In analysing the quantitative data based on the questionnaires, I was greatly assisted by statistics specialist Dr Richard Madsen of the University of Missouri during one of his regular research visits to the Department of Statistics at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). He found that no other unknown factors would have contributed to the results and findings of this study.
The questionnaires were typed and then translated into the three official languages of the Western Cape in order to give the members of civil society the confidence to express themselves in the official language of their choice.

a. Designing these questionnaires

Before designing these questionnaires, I had to determine the purpose and objectives of what I wanted to investigate and correlate those with my research questions and hypotheses.

(i) Questionnaires for the youth, adult civilians and public servants (not language practitioners, but social workers, policemen, etc.) and private business owners in rural towns of the Western Cape

Questionnaires were handed out to the above people in order to determine their language attitudes towards the three official languages of the Western Cape, what their language practices were in general and whether or not they were aware of the WCLC, the WCLP, etc. At the end of the questionnaire an open space was left to respond to whether or not they wished to add more information on the use of their home language in their towns. The latter part of the questionnaire was treated as qualitative research.

(ii) Questionnaires for the language practitioners in provincial government departments

The WCLP Original Elaborated IP was used as a guide for drafting questions for the language practitioners of the Provincial Language Forum (PLF). Their responses to language use in different environments were used to determine their language attitudes. In these questions the focus was specifically on how they perceive the challenges of language policy implementation in their different departments. The questionnaire was entirely open-ended, and therefore provided qualitative data.
After I had determined what to ask the respondents, I drafted a series of closed and open statements for them to respond to. As I was covering such a vast area (ideology, language attitudes, discourses etc.) it was difficult to keep the questionnaires short and I was grateful for the good and patient co-operation of the respondents. The language I used was simple and easy to understand, even by respondents with limited formal education. I chose simple English statements as a start and translated these into simple Afrikaans, while the isiXhosa translation was done by a qualified English/isiXhosa translator. I steered away from confusing the respondents in this way and hoped to achieve the best possible results to obviate the respondent asking any questions pertaining to the statement being made.

b. Validity of questionnaires

I established whether or not these statements were valid and whether the content of these questionnaires would measure the challenges experienced by the respondents. I had to determine whether or not the questionnaires were relevant to the population I was planning to cover, I believe that the questionnaires to a large extent served this purpose and also elicited sufficient interest on the part of the participants. I was satisfied that I could rely on high schools as well as on the youth and student organisations in all of the towns visited to enable me to reach the youth (17-35 years old, younger than 35), and I believe that I covered all levels of society. I had to ask myself, when determining the validity of the questionnaires, whether or not the data elicited by them provided me with appropriate samples, and I am of the opinion that they did. Even if I had obtained a bigger sample, I believe the outcome would have been the same.

I also had to ask whether or not the questionnaires were comprehensive enough for me to collect all the information needed to address the purpose and goals of the study. As the questionnaires were so long, I thought this might impact
negatively on my study, but this was not the case, even when I field-tested them on my co-researchers and found that each questionnaire took 45 minutes to complete. I timed the questionnaires and budgeted for a completion time of an hour or maybe longer – and it worked. A final validity issue was that the questionnaires needed to look like questionnaires to the research population, and they passed this test as well, i.e. numbering, complete sentences, question marks at the end if necessary, etc. all of which contributed to a professional end product.

c. Reliability of Questionnaires
I obtained approval from my supervisor that these questionnaires were indeed valid, so after making a few changes, we proceeded to print them for distribution. Unfortunately I did not do a pilot test or study of the questionnaires as Baker (1994: 182-3) insists should happen, but (as was noted above) I gave copies to five colleagues of mine to fill in to test for spelling, content and grammatical mistakes and to determine the fastest time they could be filled in. Advantages of this effort were that I could determine where I repeated a question, whether or not I was ethical enough in my approach to the people and whether or not the questions were appropriate.

d. Questionnaire administration
I was assisted by an independent researcher or researchers who accompanied me to assist with the process and to make sure that I was not being biased or assisting anyone in completing the questionnaires:
(i) Questionnaires for the youth, adult civilians and public servants (not language practitioners, but social workers, policemen, etc.) and private business owners in rural towns of the Western Cape

The matric learners at different high schools were sent into a hall after school and each received a questionnaire to be completed in absolute silence. I was present to administer the process. We were available if any of the matrics needed any assistance. The teachers at these different high schools subsequently took over the process in order to maintain proper discipline, and the questionnaire was treated as a test for the matriculants.

I also contacted and worked with youth and student organisations in each town in order to achieve a broader cross-section of the youth respondents. In this regard one or two of the leaders of the NGOs assisted us and these groups were more mature. The youth respondents therefore included matriculants, college and university students, young people who were neither employed nor at any academic institution and young professionals. I further contacted and worked with several community organisations in each town to get different opinions from respondents older than 35. I arranged with the local police station, post office, municipal office and hospitals/clinics so that the researchers and I could hand out individual questionnaires to them as public servants as well as to the civilians who made use of their services during the day. It was further arranged that we could make use of venues at these institutions in order to create the best possible environment and atmosphere for answering the questionnaires. With regard the questionnaires to the business people in town, we made a list of most of the businesses we could find on the internet, called the business managers and requested them to receive a research assistant/two research assistants and I on a specific date and time (an hour long) in their offices, where each one filled in a questionnaire under our supervision.
(ii) Questionnaires for the language practitioners in provincial government departments

Permission was sought and granted by a senior official in charge of the Language Policy Implementation Unit (LPIU) in the DCAS as well as the Director of Arts, Culture and Languages of the DCAS to grant me permission and a slot in their provincial language practitioners’ bi-monthly meeting at which I could address the language practitioners in order to explain to them that I needed information with regard to the challenges of implementing the WCLP. This was done in order to obtain a representative sample of all the provincial government departments to complete the questionnaire. They assisted me in the most professional manner and seven out of the 13 provincial government departments filled in the questionnaire, which I collected after the meeting. These questionnaires were treated as qualitative research, since language practitioners had to fill in open-ended questions. These findings were collated and typed out by an independent researcher from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) whom I had appointed and she was instructed to make sure that she typed out exactly what was written down, including spelling and language mistakes - names of anybody mentioned in the questionnaires had to be crossed out. I checked and double-checked that the information she had typed up was correctly done in the language of the respondent. Responses in languages other than English were translated into English for the purpose of the study.

3.3.2 Qualitative approaches: Interviews conducted

Creswell (1998: 22) points out that in qualitative research the goal is to achieve, as best as possible, understanding of what he describes as “a deep knowledge of some social setting or phenomenon”. Striving for understanding requires spending extensive time in the field. He believes that verification is critical to evaluating the quality of qualitative research. He identifies eight procedures for verifying qualitative research findings and recommends that any research study should employ at least two of these
procedures: “...prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer review, debriefing, negative case analysis, clarification of researcher’s bias (reflexivity), member-checking, rich descriptions and external audits...”(Creswell, 1998: 22). In essence it is not the place of qualitative research to answer how many; qualitative research is about asking ‘what for’ and ‘why’. “Qualitative approaches to data collection, analysis, and report writing differ...use of purposeful sampling, collection of open-ended data, analysis of text or pictures, representation of information in figures and tables and personal interpretation of the findings all inform qualitative procedures” (Cresswell, 2004: xxiv).

The qualitative tools I used included the use of open-ended questions as part of my questionnaires posed to the different groups, as well as group and individual interviews. The aim was to draw out the vital clues that explain behavior and attitudes by developing a discussion – getting people to say in their own words how they see or view a particular idea or subject. Questions were sometimes so open-ended that the respondents spoke to one another while I as a researcher stood by, attempting to control the situation as best possible. I was therefore aware of my role as the leader of the group, and in all group discussions I had a post graduate assistant who was independent from the group to assist me. I tried very hard at all times not to be subjective or biased.

Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed and that is “…how people make sense of their world and the experiences they have in the world” (Merriam, 2009: 13). This means that qualitative researchers study things in their “natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to
them.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 3). The idea of research in this case was to be open-minded about the outcome as well as to be objective and to make sure that I interpreted conversations held, field notes kept, minutes of meetings, photographs, newspaper articles as well as interviews and tape recordings: all aspects of the research process which had placed me present at all times.

3.3.2.1 Interviews without structured questions
Where respondents were unwilling to be recorded, i.e. during the interviews with the provincial manager of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) and the Department of Health, detailed notes were taken and approved by these respondents before they were used in the study. Unstructured interview questions were posed to individual interviewees and I sometimes simply used the introduction of the structured interview questions to break the ice. These interviews were held with senior management, the WCLC, the DCAS and the WCPP. They did not know what I was going to ask, as I had only forwarded the Abstract of the thesis to them as one of the preconditions giving me permission to do the study in their departments.

Interviews conducted with or without a tape recorder was therefore conducted with the following, using unstructured interview questions:

- the WCPP;
- the senior management of two of the provincial government departments;
- the DCAS;
- the WCLC; and
- PanSALB (Western Cape).

3.3.2.2 Interviews with structured questions (Addendum E)
Interviews with or without audio-recording were also conducted with five provincial government department groups (numbering between two and six participants), using structured interview questions. Where no audio-recordings were used, i.e. in the group interviews with the Department of Health, detailed notes were taken and approved by the respondents before the notes were used in the study. The extensive responses of the many respondents, especially during the group interviews, and the points of view of other researchers studying the same topic, were used. This means that more than one person was involved in this research process, and their sources can be verified.

These structured interview questions (see Addendum E) were posed to the language practitioners and their middle management during group interviews. These questions focused specifically on the commitment of provincial government departments to language policy implementation and the challenges they were experiencing. It was one of the preconditions set by the managers of provincial government departments for the research to be conducted. Senior managers wanted to know exactly what was being asked and these questions were forwarded to them.

However, it was almost certain that the structured questions would serve merely as a guideline, and most of the time it was difficult to keep to these questions since group members veered into different directions, sometimes giving a lot more information than was asked for.

### 3.3.2.3 Validity and reliability of interviews conducted

Using structured and unstructured questions, I conducted individual and group Interviews. The WCLP implementation is largely the duty of the WCLC, DCAS and other provincial government departments. Audio recordings were done
during the group interviews, using the WCLP as a research guide to steer the group interviews into the research topic direction. The transcribed interviews were analysed by using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Transcriptions of these recordings were done by an independent research assistant from the University of Stellenbosch whom I had appointed. He had to focus on every aspect of these interviews, the hesitations, sighing, etc. of the respondents when listening to the audio recordings.

Given that the implementation of the WCLP appears to be largely a top-down process, Figure 3.1 shows the pyramid of implementation for the WCLP. At the top of this pyramid is the WCPP (Provincial Parliament of the Western Cape), followed by the DCAS (as lead department), the WCLC (as the monitoring and advisory statutory body in the province) and the other senior managers of other provincial government and language practitioners. The idea was to get to know how the WCLP implementation is being challenged and whether or not the public at large is benefitting from its implementation. I consequently started at the top and tried to direct the research process down to the lowest ranking officials, as is shown in Figure 3.1 below:
Figure 3.1: Layers of WCLP implementation: top to bottom

1Explanation of Figure 1.1

1Explanation of Figure 3.1: At the top is the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, which was instituted because the Western Cape put together its own institution (based on the RSA Constitution of 1996). This allowed the Western Cape to have its own Parliament and based on this Parliament (the WCPP) they could make their own laws with regard to policies, i.e. the Western Cape Language Policy for implementation in all 13 provincial government departments which includes the following: the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Community Safety, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, the Department of Health, the Department of Human Settlements, the Department of Local Government, the Department of Social Development, the Department of Transport and Public Works, the Department of the Premier, the Provincial Treasury and the Western Cape Education Department. The DCAS hosts the Western Cape Language Committee, which was instituted because of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act of 1998 and consequently it is the duty of the DCAS to make sure that the WCLP is implemented according to its implementation plan. The WCLC reports to the WCPP and tries, via the DCAS, to monitor and advise on language related matters to other provincial government departments.
3.4 Research Population

I relied on the South African National Census of 2011 data (Statistics South Africa, 2011) provided in Chapter 1 (Figure 1.1) in order to determine the language demographics of the Western Cape.

During the group interviews I made use of inter-rater reliability which, according to Stemler and Tsai (2008) is the extent to which two or more individuals within these groups agreed or disagreed. Inter-rater reliability in this study was therefore dependent upon the ability of two or more individuals to be consistent, and who did not necessarily speak the same first language. This type of reliability is assessed by having two or more independent judges who made sure that the researcher understood the responses correctly (James, L.R, Demaree, R.G, & Wolf, G 1984). An independent research assistant of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) sat nearby to help me and keep notes of the proceedings of the interviews. I used these notes at a later stage as I had to compare her notes with mine for the results to be consistent.

With regard to questions that involved only a “yes” or “no” response during the group interview, we determined that the most just answer given to a mere “yes” or “no” was determined by way of counting or negotiating the final answer, e.g. where there were five people in a group and two said “no” but three “yes” it would be obvious to take the “yes” as the final answer. However, this scenario did not occur that often. With regard to a strong opinion, the research assistant helped me to score group members out of ten - and the closest answer to ten was then taken to be the most correct one; this was our idea of using inter-rater reliability and to make sure that the answer brought forward was the most
correct one. We did not regard emotions or subjective feelings - we simply scored with what we had before us.

Reliability was therefore striven for by listening to the audio tapes many times in order to make sure that interviews were correctly captured. I had transcriptions made of the tape recordings so that I could be sure that my interpretation of this firsthand information was correct and that no incorrect or indiscreet assumptions were made. I do think that the tape recording is a valid indication of what was said; hence I have to use these as validation of what happened. Now and then I had to probe the respondents for an answer, but most of the time the respondents revealed what they wanted to reveal. I have in this regard tried to be as unbiased as possible, given my position as an LP at the time. Campion, Palmer and Campion (1997) found that the manner in which data is collected and evaluated impact significantly on the interview validity. I took notes during the interview and I tried to make sure that the respondents were comfortable. Conway, Jako, & Goodman (1995) showed that one-to-one interviews with standardised questions appeared to have the highest reliability. Other researchers also hold that interviews give fairer outcomes than many other widely used selection tools (Huffcut & Roth, 1998; Moscoso, 2000).

3.4.1 The selection of key informants within the WCLP implementation structures (WCLC, PanSALB, and DCAS)

Key informant surveys are important tools for planning and evaluating that which takes place within community structures. A survey was conducted to gather views on the WCLP of those individuals or institutions which were supposed to be driving the implementation of the WCLP, namely the WCPP, the DCAS, the WCLC and PanSALB. I had to get information from those who had drafted the policy (WCLC) and who those who controlled the budget (WCPP and DCAS) and what challenges these institutions experienced with regard to the implementation of the language policy.
The key informant interviews were recorded individually, as planned and discussed in individual interviews in an effort to keep the information confidential and to protect the key informant. These were:

- one employee of the DCAS (individual interview: Interview Respondent 15);
- one member of the WCLC (individual interview: Interview Respondent 16); and
- one member of the WCPP (individual interview: Interview Respondent 17).

Note should be taken that I am not able to speak or read isiXhosa and the services of an isiXhosa speaking researcher were used when I could not communicate in either Afrikaans and/or English with research participants who preferred to speak in isiXhosa.

3.4.2 Key informants within the WCLP implementation structures (the senior managers)

From all the e-mails, telephone calls, faxes and letters I sent to all senior managers in the 13 provincial government departments with a long explanation on what my study was all about, only two people in the position of senior management responded. These two interviews were both unstructured and focused on all implementation challenges of the WCLP. The following interviews were therefore conducted and recorded:

3.4.2.1 Senior Management

- one senior manager of the Department of Community Safety (CS) (Interview Respondent 13: individual interview); and
• one senior manager of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning (DEADP) (key informant: individual interview: Interview Respondent 14).

The others were not responding to meetings previously planned or to e-mails forwarded or phone calls made. Excuses included being on holiday, not being able to talk to me, being recently appointed, in meetings, being appointed in a temporary position, being in an acting position as well as not honouring an appointment.

3.4.2.2 Language Practitioners and Middle Management

Group interviews were conducted with language practitioners who had been appointed in provincial government departments to implement the language policy, according to the Basic IP (see Addendum C). Group interviews were agreed to by provincial government departments and they were:

- Group interview with the Department of Health (DOH) (Interview Respondents 1-5);
- Group interview with the Department of Social Development (DSD) (Interview Respondent 5 and 6); and
- Group interview with Treasury (Interview Respondents 7-12)

I followed the same principle by forwarding the questions to the language practitioners and their management; yet I received no response to my invitation from the other provincial government departments.
3.4.2.3 Questionnaires of language practitioners

- seven questionnaire respondents from the Provincial Language Forum (PLF) - (Questionnaire Respondents 1-7), originating from the following provincial government departments:

The Department of Health (DoH), the Department of the Premier (DotP), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (DEADP), the Department of Transport and Public Works (DTPW), the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) and the Department of Social Development (DSD).

3.4.3 Civilians residing in selected towns in the Western Cape

The Western Cape is made up of one metropolitan municipality for the provincial capital Cape Town, and six district municipalities which are subdivided into 24 local municipalities. These towns were demographically far from each other, had different population groups, they reflect different businesses catering for different needs, and, in addition, the district municipalities within which they fall differ significantly from each other. These towns are the location for the administrative offices of the district municipalities to which they belong. Accordingly they would provide a broader view on the WCLP implementation challenges and opportunities. Research was therefore done in the following towns in the Western Cape: Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, George, Moorreesburg, Bellville (including Wesbank Township) and Beaufort West.

These towns were selected for the purpose of the study because:

- they are towns and in which more than two languages are spoken, according to the South African National Census of 2011;
they fall into the six district municipalities of the Western Cape: Overberg (Bredasdorp), Cape Winelands (Stellenbosch), Eden (George), West Coast (Moorreesburg), City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (specifically Bellville/Wesbank – a township which is part of Bellville, because Bellville is such a huge place) and the Central Karoo (Beaufort West);

- they are geographically a good distance away from each other;
- they are the main business centres for surrounding communities; and
- they are the location of the administrative offices of the district municipalities to which they belong.

For information on language practices and knowledge of the WCLP and the WCLC, the general public of the Western Cape was approached with questionnaires so that their responses would represent the voice of the communities. I therefore obtained data from ordinary civilians, private business respondents (owners and workers here) as well as the public servants (policemen, nurses, social workers and post office personnel) in these multilingual towns.

As part of the overall public population, I also interviewed (with the help of interpreters):

- one deaf respondent, using South African Sign Language (SASL); and
- one Nama Language respondent, using the Nama Language.

None of these respondents were known to me.

Public servant respondents were either bilingual (Afrikaans/isiXhosa; Afrikaans/English or English/isiXhosa) or multilingual (Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa). Civilians did not have to be bilingual or multilingual. According to the South
African National Census of 2011 the percentage of the Western Cape population older than 20 with no schooling was 5.7% or 162 781. Some primary education received at some stage, namely education up to Grade 7 or less, was tabled at 431 742. I therefore assumed that all participants who completed the questionnaires were literate up to reading and writing level, while illiterate participants were assisted in an individual, private and objective manner. This included tape recordings which were later transcribed and used in the research findings, employing the questions in the questionnaires as guidelines. The following respondents received questionnaires:

- from high schools in each town: Grade 12 learners as well as young people/students not attending school falling between the ages of 17 and under 35 years old: (530 youth members);
- from post offices: six public servants and ten civilians;
- from the police stations: eight public servants and ten civilians;
- from the clinics: eight public servants and six civilians;
- from the hospitals: eight public servants and seven civilians;
- from any five other private businesses (companies): 25;
- five owners of private businesses: five; and
- other adult civilians recruited by NGOs in these towns: 77

Figure 3.2: Total questionnaires distributed in 6 multilingual towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The youth (between 17 and 35):</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult civilians (older than 35)</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public servants (post office, etc):</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private business:</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quantitative and qualitative data was collected from selected individuals via questionnaires in order to build up case studies of the opinions of people at
grassroots level about the implementation of the WCLP in their respective towns (See more details on these questionnaires in 3.5.1 below).

3.5 Research tools
Research tools are defined as those research materials that are necessary to do research about a specific topic or hypothesis and these research tools should be quickly attainable and at a reasonable price to contribute to successful research and eventually the idea was to

“…present[ing] the stories and experiences voiced by study participants as accurately and comprehensively as possible...” (Guest G, MacQueen, K, & Namey, E, 2012: 16).

I made use of the following research tools:

3.5.1 Questionnaires (Addendum D)
As mentioned before, questionnaires were designed which included the following important sections:

3.5.1.1 Public servants, private business owners and workers, civilians (adults and youth)
Being concerned about face validity, I assured myself of challenges that might occur during the research process, and asked myself the questions listed below regarding the questionnaires before printing these to be filled in by respondents. I also took account of what to do when unforeseen challenges with regard to questionnaires might be encountered during the process:
• Was a **consent form** attached to each questionnaire? This was attached to the front page of every questionnaire and I had to follow certain steps in order to get the respondents to sign this, stating their names while taking in consideration the anonymity of the respondent and at the same time ensuring that whoever reads the final research analysis would be satisfied that these questionnaires had not been rigged. The solution in this case was to assure the respondents that their names would not appear in the study and to convince them in this regard. I also gave my number and e-mail address to all respondents in the event that at any time within the next month after completing the questionnaires they should decide that I could not use their information. Only two telephone calls in this regard were received, and the questionnaires concerned were then discarded so as not to be used at a later stage or to make up numbers;

• Was an **ethics statement** (see Addendum D) attached to each questionnaire? This was the second part of the questionnaire, and was also read aloud in Afrikaans and English as part of making sure that a relaxed atmosphere was created and to break the ice. I explained to the respondents that this was an academic study and that all respondents received the information of the supervisor to have the chance to phone should they feel that my helpers and I had not followed the correct research protocol, causing the respondents to feel threatened or have some kind of negative experience. To my knowledge, as well as to the knowledge of my research helpers and assistants, no phone calls were received by my supervisor in this regard. With regard to isiXhosa-speaking respondents who had difficulty in understanding either Afrikaans or English, I had assistance from public servants as well as, in one case, a respondent from the audience;

• **Was the use of a pencil permitted?** In this case I decided not to allow the use of a pencil for completing any questionnaire purely because a pencil could be erased to fit with my own ideological beliefs and could so render the quantitative results flawed and dishonest;
- Did all respondents have pens available? I took my own pens (1 000 black, blue, red) along just in case respondents were poor and did not have their own pens; these pens were given to all respondents once they had completed the questionnaire not as gifts, but as part of the process of completing the questionnaire;

- What needed to be done with illiterate respondents? In many cases there were illiterate people who took part in the study. Special arrangements had been made to accommodate them as I could make use of helpers who would ask questions softly and ticked off the answers, so as not to exclude anyone from the study. Having a notebook and tape recorder ready was the solution to this challenge;

- What needed to be done to assist isiXhosa-speaking respondents? This was handled by arranging for the presence of an interpreter, who was always available as well as by making sure that they could complete the questionnaire in isiXhosa, but this did not happen;

- What about the age of respondents? Respondents were categorised into different age groups although there was actually no way in which to determine what ages would be taking part; eventually the largest group was that consisting of young people and they made up a huge part of the study; they were more willing to participate and it was much easier to get their points of view. Eventually they were grouped into two age groups: one group younger than 35 and the other group older than 35. These included everybody who took part in the study. As the study progressed, all the civilians were put together as one group in Chapter 8;

- What about the language proficiency of respondents? Provision was made for indicating the language used, viz. IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and English. This was done because the WCLP specifically concentrated on these language groups, and any combinations of these on the questionnaire were to be ticked off. Where respondents were speakers of other languages; there was a block on the questionnaire to indicate this;

- What about their extent of knowledge of the WCLP and the WCLC? Respondents were asked about their knowledge of the WCLP and the
WCLC. They were also asked about their knowledge of their language rights; and

- What about their actual language practices? Respondents were asked about their language practices at home, in town, in their personal environments, in public and private places, their attitudes to language as well as whether or not they had been at a provincial government department and in which language they were served.

At the end of the questionnaire, just in case these respondents still wished to add anything that I might have left out due to human error which might be significant with regard to their respective languages in the towns visited, I left open spaces for them where they could add any additional information, as can be seen below:

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD: __

At the very end of each questionnaire I thanked the respondents and assured them once again, in block letters so as to accentuate trust:

[THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRES THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH.]

The validity of these findings was further checked against the journal kept of personal observations made during the filling in of questionnaires. Respondents finished at different times and those who finished early were escorted quietly out of the venue. The whole research process of filling in questionnaires by private business respondents, public servants, adult civilians and the youth took six months to complete, in various towns and with various respondents. My research assistant and I left with a feeling of satisfaction and only referred to these questionnaires once the data had to be captured by another independent
researcher of the University of Stellenbosch (US) and Dr Madsen from the University of Missouri and his wife, Carol.

3.5.1.2 Provincial Language Forum: the Language Practitioners
As was mentioned before, I handed out questionnaires to the language practitioners (LPs), who are all members of the Western Cape Provincial Language Forum (PLF) and who were situated in provincial government departments and ranked rather low on the WCLP implementing pyramid, with the request that they be complete. The reactions to specifically formulated questions based on the WCLP original Elaborated IP (see Addendum B) as it appears in the WCLP Booklet came from seven of the 13 provincial departments of the Western Cape: the Department of Health (DoH), the Department of the Premier (DotP), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (DEADP), the Department of Transport and Public Works (DTPW), the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) and the Department of Social Development (DSD). The other departments preferred, for a variety of reasons, not to respond to the questionnaire and the reasons they provided were, in rank order, the following (taken from my field notes):

- Not having the time;
- Not wanting to fill in the questionnaire because of a lack of knowledge;
- Not having a mandate to answer any questions about the WCLP;
- I had to request rather formally their SMs or middle management for permission; and
- Not feeling they were in any position to be part of an academic study which could hamper their position should their contributions be made public.
I also considered the WCLP Basic IP (see Addendum C) when the structure of the questionnaire was drafted. Questionnaires were open-ended and respondents could therefore fill in information pertaining to the specific needs within their respective provincial government departments, since everyone’s situation there was unique and in order to give respondents the time to respond on their "yes" or “no” answers; the aim was to get respondents to elaborate in their answer sheets.

3.5.2 Interviews

3.5.2.1 Individual Interviews

Interviewing is an especially important means of data collection because, as Weiss (1994: 1) explains, “interviewing gives us a window on the past”. We can also, by interviewing, learn about settings that would otherwise be closed to us: foreign societies, exclusive organizations, and the private lives of families and couples...” The research plan was completed and the sample of interviews was selected according to the outcomes of the research. Data was collected by conducting interviews (one-on-one conversations guided by a questionnaire specially prepared to send the interview in a specific direction regarding the challenges and possibilities of implementing the WCLP) with those interviewees who had agreed to participate in the study. As was mentioned earlier in the chapter, individual interviews were held with key implementers of the WCLP and the senior management in provincial government, and these were unstructured.

These interviews featured open-ended questions whose answers took the form of a narrative by the interviewee about his/her experiences regarding the WCLP. Weiss (1994: 2) prefers qualitative interviews because he believes that the qualitative approach of interviewing will give researchers, and eventually readers, a more complete picture of the perspective of the subjects of the study.
A simple outline of topics was prepared to guide the course of the interview. Not all interview questions were the same as one interviewee’s position in provincial government differed from that of another. The research guide technique as favoured by Weiss allowed me, my research assistants and the respondents to form a relationship within the interview and led to the process having the feel of a conversation as opposed to a structured academic procedure.

I recorded the interview as follows: taping and recording the session while taking notes on the side as a precaution just in case the technology let me down. All recordings were transcribed and, where necessary, translated. I did my best to establish a friendly relationship with the interviewee to enable him/her to relax and forget about being recorded. Either consent forms (see Addendum D) were signed or permission was given regarding the recording, and these ensured that the interviewee’s contribution to the research was confidential. The reasons for the research were also fully explained. The interviewee was also given a copy of the ethics statement (see Addendum D). In that way a positive relationship was established in order to obtain the maximum input from the interviewee.

Questions were open-ended, giving the interviewee ample room to discuss the topic. Interviewees were selected because they had some insight to offer into the topic. The intended questions therefore allowed them to speak freely about their experiences regarding the implementation of the WCLP. I never intentionally interrupted any interview. Where the interviewee began to veer away from the subject at hand, I tried in a very subtle way to steer him/her towards the topic by making use of the research guide. Individual interviews
were conducted with key implementers: the WCLC, the DCAS, PanSALB and the senior management personnel in the provincial government department, namely the Chief Director of Community and Safety (CS) and the Director of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning (DEADP).

3.5.2.2 Group interviews
A major advantage of group interviews is that they capitalise on communication between research participants in order to generate data (Kitzinger, 1999: 5). Although group interviews are often used simply as a quick and convenient way of collecting data from several people simultaneously, groups explicitly use group interaction as part of the method. Group interviews were held with provincial language practitioners and their middle management (without which there could not have been an interview) in order to look for challenges mentioned in the questionnaires in order to get behind all the ideological beliefs with regard to language policy implementation that might have existed here as well as to focus on the challenges that language practitioners mentioned in their questionnaires. These group interview respondents were not the same people as the questionnaire respondents and they received structured questions (see Addendum E) that they could answer. Group numbers ranged between two and six. The interviewees were given numbers so as not to cause confusion in the analysis of the data. Transcriptions of these group interviews can be found in Addendum L.

Group interviews were conducted in Cape Town with those appointed in provincial government departments dealing with language policy implementation. These interviews took place in an intimate setting, comfortable enough for interviewees to voice their opinions about the WCLP, the challenges that they and especially the LPs experienced in their working environment and possible solutions to these challenges.
3.5.3 Participant observation

I have taken part as a participant and an observer in my studies, because I had worked for the DCAS for five years. This gave me full insight into the study about the WCLP.

Participant observation is being described (Mack, N, Woodson, K, MacQueen, M, Guest, G and Namey, E, 2005: 23) as “…a research method in which the researcher actually takes part in the social phenomenon being studied”.

This in effect means that the person who does the study is actually involved in the domain where the study takes place and gives an objective or subjective idea of exactly what the outcome of the study is. Mack et al (2005: 23) states that the researcher becomes an active participant observing in what is going on during the research process which could pose many disadvantages, amongst which is a lack of objectivity. However, they are of the opinion that frequent consultation of participant observation data throughout the duration of a study can inform instrument design, save time, and prevent mistakes.

My participant observation data consisted of the following:

- detailed minutes taken during staff meetings between 2006 and 2011;
- detailed observations made during public meetings with the public on behalf of the provincial government departments between 2006 and 2011 and later;
- detailed observations with regard to meetings with the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation between 2006 and 2011;
- observations during various WCLP implementation sessions;
- contact with the Provincial Language Forum between 2006 and 2011;
contact with the WCLC on a yearly basis between 2006 and 2011;
detailed field notes completed every day that I had been involved in interviews or the administration of questionnaires to different groups when visiting the designated towns and conducting research and in the DCAS;
self-conducted and analysed research undertaken during the time of my employment in the DCAS between 2006 and 2011; and
detailed study of monthly reports, quarterly reviews, Annual Performance Plans of the DCAS and minutes of meetings between 2006 and 2011 as well as Annual Reports of both the DCAS and the WCLC between 2005/06 and 2011/12.

It has to be mentioned that although I left the DCAS in 2011, I could still access annual reports of the DCAS (2012/13) afterwards as these are being put on the internet for public use. All these participant observation data provided a context for the other data collected. In other words, these helped me to make even more sense of the rest of my quantitative and qualitative data.

3.6 Data analysis
3.6.1 The quantitative data
The quantitative data provided by the closed questions on the questionnaires used with the civilian population was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), which is a software package used for conducting statistical analyses, manipulation of data and generating tables and graphs that summarise data (Field, 2009). SPSS contains several tools for manipulating data, including functions for recording data and computing new variables, as well as for merging and aggregating datasets. SPSS also has a number of ways of summarising and displaying data in the form of tables and graphs, depending on the researcher’s personal taste. (SPSS Programming and Data Management, 4th Edition: A Guide for SPSS and SAS Users Copyright: 2007)
Questionnaires were each given an identity number using SPSS so that the information, should there be any mistakes, could be traced back to the questionnaire and tallied correctly. Data collected from the questionnaires was then analysed according to the hypotheses of the study to assist the researcher in producing the outcomes of the research. The numbers were allocated to the questionnaires according to the identity numbers (ID) used in the SPSS so as to correlate with the data on the spreadsheets. This was done in order to check whether or not data had been transferred correctly.

In the analysis of these questionnaires, I was fortunate to be able to make use of the services of a visiting Professor in Statistics from the University of Missouri, who worked closely with me to help me analyse my quantitative data over a period of four months.

3.6.2 Analysing the qualitative data from the open-ended question at the back of the civilians’ questionnaire (youth and adults)

I made use of an independent research assistant from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) to type up all the open-ended responses and checked these carefully once this had been done. Those respondents who wrote in English sometimes made spelling and language errors, which were not edited. The responses of the Afrikaans answers were translated into English. It is important to note that, although questionnaires were available in isiXhosa, none of the respondents requested a questionnaire in isiXhosa and none wrote in isiXhosa. Answers to this question may be found in Addendum H: responses from adult civilians and Addendum I: responses from the youth. Both these groups responded to an open-ended question included at the back of the questionnaire, as was explained in 3.5.1.1 above.
3.6.3 Analysing the qualitative data from the questionnaires of the PLF

In answering this questionnaire I had a long discussion with the language practitioners on what to do and informed them that should they have any questions, they could ask softly. This group did not need to be given any pens. They had the choice of filling in the questionnaire in their own languages. All but one decided to fill in the questionnaire in English. Although some of these language practitioners took time to answer the questions fully, many simply wrote “yes/no” or “don’t know” in response to the various questions, which was quite disappointing. However, this could also be an indication of the position of the language practitioner in the discourse chain of language policy implementation. All spelling errors were kept as is. Translation, where required, was done by the same independent researcher who had typed up the answers that were given at the back of these questionnaires. I checked and double-checked whether or not the typed up answers were the same as those filled in on the questionnaires, and mistakes were rectified. The answers to these questions may be found in Addendum J.

3.6.4 Analysis of the qualitative data in interviews

In order to analyse the quantitative data – the research reports as well as the transcribed individual and focus group interviews – I made use of content analysis (CS), discourse analysis (DA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Content analysis (CA) allows researchers to see which themes are the major and minor ones in the discourse, and is determined by seeing which themes repeatedly come up in documents, written responses and interviews. Discourse analysis (DA), on the other hand, looks at what people do with language in particular contexts: How do they use words and expressions? How effective are they at capturing fully what they want to convey? How do they use languages and language varieties? It was particularly important for me to see what language choices were made in my qualitative data and what this revealed about
respondents’ attitudes and ideologies about language. It would also show me whether the WCLP actually captured the language realities of these respondents or whether it was striving for some imaginary and possibly unattainable ideals such as language equity.

CDA, according to Fairclough and Chouliaratı (1999), can be characterised as an approach to analysing texts and/or interviews which lies in assumptions and in viewing texts and interviews from a higher stance, and to gain a comprehensive view of the “problem” and ourselves in relation to that “problem”. In Linguistics, according to Fairclough (1999: viii), CDA “…starts with the perception of discourse (language, but also other forms of semiosis...as an element of social practices, which constitutes other elements as well as being shaped by them...careful linguistic and semiotic analysis of texts...and interactions...therefore has a part to play in social analysis...”. In other words, CDA reveals what is going on “behind the scenes”.

I looked at the setting of the interview space and at the repetitions of words, phrases, clauses, pauses, etc. I also looked at how people reacted to questions that were asked, although they received the questions before the time of the interview. Sometimes people paused over specific statements that other members in the group had made; at other times they would simply look or stare at each other. Sometimes people would fumble over their words, using loose sentences and phrases that wouldn’t make sense at all. In some cases the interviewee would fiddle with the microphone of the tape recorder just to skirt an issue that I was touching upon or she/he would look at the time on the watch constantly, thus showing signs of nervousness.

The open-plan offices at provincial government departments made it almost impossible to be private, and so others who were not part of the interview
process would seem to be listening in and did not necessarily form part of the setting; yet, there seemed to be no problem on the part of the interviewees. The level of voice was sometimes raised, then to be calmed down by someone in the group - sometimes there were hesitations, as if the respondent was weighing up words carefully. Sometimes someone would stumble or repeat unnecessarily. Finally, I used my personal observations recorded in a daily journal together with photos of multilingual signage as part of my analysis of interviews.

Transcripts of interviews may be found in the following addenda:

- Transcripts of group interviews: Addendum L;
- Transcripts of interviews with senior management: Addendum M; and
- Transcripts of key implementers of the WCLP: DCAS, WCLC, PanSALB and WCPP: Addendum N.

Transcripts of what happened at a specific significant moment during the Colloquium of 2010 may also be found in a brief transcription in Addendum O with a detailed rendering of what happened after the Colloquium in Addendum P. Addendum Q contains the Signing of Pledges to implement the WCLP.

### 3.7 Research ethics

The research was carried out according to strict ethical guidelines as laid down by the Senate Research Committee of the University of the Western Cape (UWC). This included giving participants as much information as possible, obtaining their consent to use their data, guaranteeing anonymity and the right to withdraw from the process at any time, as well as the right to see any documents using their data.
The purpose of the research was explained clearly to the respondents before the questionnaires were answered or before group interviews were conducted. They subsequently gave their informed consent. As with all qualitative methods, researchers involved in participant observation should make a personal commitment to protect the identities of the people they observe or with whom they interact, even if informally, and about this aspect I took great care and used tact. The ethics statement was included in every questionnaire, interview and discussion session and may be found in Addendum D. In many interviews oral consent to use the data was given on the recording and the rest of the interviewees signed the consent form.

3.7.1 Permission to conduct research at high schools:
After the towns had been selected for the research, a list of all the high schools in these towns was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) and permission was sought from this department to conduct research at particular high schools so as not to interfere with the education of the matriculants. Stellenbosch, Bellville and George each had more than three high schools and a selection had to be made so to be inclusive of all three languages of the Western Cape. Moorreesburg had only one high school and all school going respondents were drawn from here. The letter that was drafted to the Chief Director: Education Management received attention. A letter of permission from the WCED (Addendum K) was sent to me in December 2010, giving permission under the following conditions:

- Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
- The programmes of Educators are not to be interrupted.
- The Study is to be conducted from 18th January 2010 to 30th September 2010.
- No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
- Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr R. Cornelissen at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number.
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
- Your research will be limited to the list of schools as submitted to the Western Cape Education Department.
- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed.

I was therefore committed to honour the abovementioned prescriptions.

3.7.2 Permission to conduct research at implementation agencies:
A permission letter to implementation agencies to conduct research at their various institutions was drafted and forwarded to managers and/or heads of post offices, municipalities, hospitals, clinics, police stations and the offices of selected private companies. These agencies were also called telephonically to confirm appointments and from there the research process flowed smoothly.

3.7.3 Permission to make use of the research done by the DCAS and WCLC:
A letter was drafted to the chairperson of the WCLC and the Head of Department (HOD) of the DCAS seeking permission to refer to outcomes of research undertaken at these institutions. I obtained permission from the Director: Arts, Culture and Language Services to use as much of the information at hand as I required in order to complete my studies. I was given permission to have only 1 interview per person from the DCAS, the WCLC and PanSALB respectively, which I honoured by contacting all staff involved in the WCLP implementation process in order to grant me an interview.
3.7.4 The letter of consent (in Afrikaans, isiXhosa or English) to be signed by the respondents:

Respondents were required to sign a letter of consent in their preferred language if they had agreed to participate in the research. Participation was entirely voluntary and anonymous and participants had the right to withdraw from the research at any time and have their contributions deleted. This letter of consent may be found in Addendum D.

3.8 Limitations of the research

Given the extent of the research and the different participants, as well as the bureaucratic system it was inevitable that there would be some challenges in carrying out the study, some of which could not be overcome owing to circumstances beyond my control. My subordinate position at the time as an LP in the LPIU of the DCAS hindered the research process at times, with some members of the middle and senior management who dealt with the WCLP refusing to grant me an interview or ignoring my requests for interviews. It is very important to note that the DCAS senior personnel did not accede to any request for an interview during the time I spent with them and I therefore had to rely on someone with extensive knowledge and experience with working in the LPIU to obtain the necessary information.

Problems with the group interviews included my inability to deal with the inherent difficulties of measuring particular events or behaviour of individuals. In many cases, therefore, the only measuring device available was my own observations of human interaction or human reaction to varying stimuli. As
these methods are ultimately subjective in nature, results may be unreliable and multiple interpretations are possible. Most of the time the interviewees were not first language English speakers and expressing themselves coherently in English was therefore problematic. Where people spoke in Afrikaans, I had the data translated as closely to the original discussion as possible.

As regards the document analysis, it is also possible that the records available from the provincial government departments, which instituted most of the research that was conducted, could have been biased and inflated to serve certain political agendas. Most of my documents came from the DCAS and the WCLC and clearly reflected dominant language ideologies since all research outcomes were available in English only. These documents therefore had to be interrogated as objectively as possible.

3.9 Conclusion
This chapter dealt with the research methodology that was used in this study. The study made use of both quantitative and qualitative methods, which included questionnaires, individual and group interviews, document analysis and participant observation; in other words, it aimed for a triangulation of the research methods. The use of SPSS to analyse the quantitative data and discourse analysis as well as critical discourse analysis to analyse the qualitative data were also discussed. The chapter also addressed the ethical procedures that were followed as well as the limitations and challenges of carrying out such detailed research. The next chapter will look at the four most important documents I interrogated before I went to the six multilingual towns, with specific reference to a detailed discussion on the WCLP and its IP.
CHAPTER 4

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: The WCLP and the WCLP Implementation Plan (IP)

4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a document analysis of the Western Cape Language Policy (Addendum A) and the WCLP Implementation Plan (Addenda B and C). These documents are aimed at provincial and local government structures. The key department in the implementation process is the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) and the statutory body tasked with overseeing the IP is the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC), which falls under the DCAS.

It should be noted that two major strategic plans were drawn up after the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) accepted the WCLP. These looked at how the WCLP would be strategically incorporated into the DCAS within two exclusive periods 2005/06 to 2009/10 (first Five Year Strategic Plan) and 2010/11 to 2014/15 (second Five Year Strategic Plan). Copies of the parts that were discussed are found in Addenda F and G. In order to understand the framework within which the implementation plan of the WCLP falls, I would like to mention these two five year strategic plans very briefly as these were there to guide the WCLP IP during the periods mentioned.

Olsen (2012: 1) defines strategic planning as “…an organization's process of defining its strategy, or direction, and making decisions on allocating its resources to pursue this strategy…”

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These two DCAS Five Year Strategic Plans show that, at provincial level, a top-down approach exists in respect of implementing language policy in the Western Cape, which:

“...assumes that policy goals can be specified by policy makers and that implementation can be carried out successfully by setting up certain measures.” (Paudel, 2009: 40)

This top-down approach could lead to insufficient participation in the implementation process from administrators in government departments and other key entities as well as from ordinary citizens, and according to Winter (2003: 13) cited in Paudel (2009) it has to do with making implementation possible via a series of systems with a special interest in policy makers at a higher level, where there would be an expected assumption of control over the implementation process. Paudel (2009) further quotes Elmore (1978: 185, 189,191) who argues that the top-down approach emphasises “formal steering of problems and factors”, therefore focusing on factors that are

“...easy to manipulate and lead to centralization and control. Interest will be directed towards things such as finding formulas, formal organization structures and authority relationships between administrative units, regulators and administration controls like budget, planning and evaluation requirements.” (Paudel, 2009:40)

By taking into account what is said above, it is evident that these two Five Year Strategic Plans were envisaged as the first level or part of the top-down approach towards implementing the WCLP depending on the direction in which the DCAS would continue with regard to its implementation strategy so that, by
the end of 2014/2015 (i.e. on 31 March 2015), the WCLP would be fully implemented in all 13 provincial government departments. The first DCAS Five Year Strategic Plan, which focuses on the execution of language related projects, states what is experienced in the DCAS, including that it

“...deals with an increased number of language enquiries internally and externally as well as cooperating with stakeholders in executing language related projects...” (DCAS Five Year Strategic Plan, 2005/6-2010/11: 25)

as well as that

“...there is a dire need for status development of the Xhosa language and executing sustainable projects promoting multilingualism. National and local government require assistance with executing language projects provincially and language planning respectively.” (DCAS Five Year Strategic Plan, 2005/6-2010/11: 25)

In the second DCAS Five Year Strategic Plan it is stated that the CLU in the DCAS dealt with the internal language-related matters as well as with the execution of what is called “language-related projects”:

“The success of service delivery to ensure equal access to the inhabitants of the Western Cape will depend on the provisioning of language services in all three official languages. These services include interpreting, translation of official documents in the provincial government, raising awareness and by ensuring quality control, terminology development and high standards of language usage.” (DCAS Five Year Strategic Plan, 2010/11-2014/15: 40)

It clearly has “service delivery” in three languages in mind and that success in this regard depended on the use of the three official languages in the province. The strategic plan gives a history of what happened since the IP had been approved by the WCPP, namely a huge amount of research conducted
practically every year in order to determine whether or not the IP had happened in all provincial government departments and what the implementation challenges were. All these efforts were captured in reports and documents in DCAS and WCLC Annual Reports published between 2000/01 and 2012/13.

Both strategic plans showed that tangible things were happening and had to happen with regard to the implementation of the WCLP. However, it would simply take up too much space to analyse these two documents thoroughly and therefore I have restricted myself in this chapter to an analysis of the WCLP and its IP. The chapter concludes with general remarks about the different documents that were discussed and how they reflect particular language and political ideologies.

4.1 The Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP)
In Chapter 1 I mentioned that, after five years of consultation with the public of the Western Cape, this language policy (the first of its kind in South Africa), having been compiled by the WCLC and approved in June 2004 by the WCPP, was introduced to the public on 17 February 2005 by the DCAS. This language policy was informed by the RSA Constitution of 1996 to determine the three official languages for the Western Cape and was drafted by the WCLC, which is a statutory body established in 1998. The WCLC operates as part of the language committees that PanSALB needs to establish in all provinces – so as not to have two language committees in the Western Cape, but just one (DCAS Annual Report, 2000/01). One of the differences between the WCLC and the language committees affiliated to PanSALB in the other provinces of South Africa is the years that WCLC members serve before another WCLC should be selected again.
In analysing the WCLP, I will pose a number of key questions. Please note that, for reference purposes, I refer to the booklet of the WCLP which had been and still is distributed to the people of the Western Cape and in which the WCLP Original Elaborated Implementation Plan (Addendum B), as I have called it, is detailed at the back (WCLP; 2004:30-36).

4.1.1 What kind of policy is the WCLP?
As was mentioned in Chapter 2 definitions of language policy included amongst others what Schiffman (1996:1-2) refers to as “a definite course or method selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions” as well as “…decisions (rules, regulations, guidelines) about the status, use, domains, and territories of language(s) and the rights of speakers of the languages in question.”. He distinguishes further between covert and overt promotive and tolerance policies regarding language where promotive policies

“…encourage the use of (a) particular language(s) by constitutional, administrative and legal guarantees; devote and/or guarantee resources (money, personnel, space) for a language; specify and reserve domains of use (school, courts, administration) for a language.

These

“…may be covert: covert promotion policies de facto promote one (or more) language without explicitly mentioning it/them; overt promotion policies name the language(s) in legal code, constitution, etc. and what its rights and territories (or the rights and territories of its/their speakers) shall be, etc.”

The WCLP could qualify as an overt promotive policy document, drafted, written and completed between 2000 and 2004 for the use of the people of the Western Cape on all levels of communication. The provincial government of the
Western Cape had provided the domain for the policy writers to write this policy in accordance with the RSA Constitution of 1996 and the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act of 1998 and therefore the reason for the policy was politically driven, relating as it did to the constitutional demands of South Africa.

It is important for the purpose of my study to quote Janssen and Neutelings (2001: 171) on their view of policy documents that “are often said to be too long, too vague, unreadable...” and that the “…problems related to the quality of the text cannot be attributed to a lack of proficiency on the part of the policy makers...” (Jansen, Janssen & van Reenen 1993, cited in Janssen and Neutelings 2001: 171). In general, with regard to the writing style in the WCLP, it seems as if the policy structure is a simple yet effective one if approached according to the written documents normally developed by government; it includes a short introduction, specific goals which need to be reached with regard to the promotion of the three main languages spoken in the Western Cape (Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English), South African Sign Language (SASL) and indigenous languages (with particular focus on Nama).

4.1.2 Who wrote the policy?
The writers of the policy were all members of the WCLC, which was established as a result of the acceptance of the Western Cape Languages Act (1998). This statutory body consisted of middle-class, educated people who held important positions within the education system. These were:

- academics representing Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa;
- representatives of the DCAS; and
- special language representatives for SASL and the Nama Language.
These members were selected to serve on the WCLP via written nominations from the public (WCLP and DCAS Annual Reports, 2000/01). The WCLC is a statutory body was established mainly in order to establish a language policy in the province after the second democratic general elections were held in 1999, and therefore was created by a higher political power in order to give effect to language control and management (Spolsky, 2000).

It is important to note that the WCLP was written after consultation processes were conducted with the wider community of the Western Cape, that those who served on the WCLC were representatives of these communities and that they were tasked to inform their communities with regard to the language policy. Furthermore, several language-related functions were held between 2000 and 2004 in order to ensure that the people of the Western Cape were made aware of their language rights and to celebrate their languages (WCLC Annual Reports: 2002/2003, 63-71; 2003/2004: 48-53). It was also during this time that the WCLP had been awaiting approval by Cabinet.

4.1.3 What was the purpose of the policy?
The idea of giving a policy a purpose has to do with making decisions and providing rules or regulations and guidelines “...about the status, use domains and territories of language(s) and the rights of speakers of the languages in question” (Schiffman, 1996:2). The bureaucratic processes of actually presenting the language policy in written format is given a legislative foundation in the purpose section of the policy, which follows after the summary and of which the purpose is

“...to give effect to sections 6 and 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), section 5 of the Constitution of the Western Cape (Act 1 of 1998), the Western Cape Languages Act (Act 13 of 1998), the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1995), the National Language Policy Framework (2003), the Batho Pele principles, iKapa eihlumayo (growing and sharing the Cape), the development strategy of the Western Cape, the South African Government's call for social cohesion and the development of the provincial and national economy.” (WCLP; 2004:30).
The purpose of the WCLP (see Addendum A) is therefore centered within many provincial and national Acts as well as the National Language Policy Framework (NLPF) of South Africa, in order to legitimise its birth (WCLP; 2004: 30). Also mentioned are the “Batho Pele” principles, the “iKhapa ehlihlumayo” strategy of the Western Cape, the “South African government’s call for social cohesion” and “the development of the provincial and national economy.” All of these immediately politicise the WCLP and place it between the provincial government and its residents.

The WCLP further states exactly why specific languages should be promoted in the province. A goal, according to the BusinessDictionary.com interpretation, is

“...an observable and measurable end result (a final outcome of a process) having one or more objectives (the result desired) to be achieved within a more or less fixed timeframe”.

The end results of what the WCLP wished to achieve right after its purpose or legislative framework are listed in the following extract on its “Goals”:

“2.1 To promote the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English, by the provincial and local governments of the Western Cape;
2.2 To elevate the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of historically diminished status used by the people of the Western Cape, such as the Khoi and San languages;
2.3 To ensure that the Western Cape is a caring home for all by promoting multilingualism;
2.4 To support the Batho Pele initiative of impartial service delivery by promoting equal access to public services and programmes by removing communication or language barriers;
2.5 To give increasing effect to the equal constitutional status of the three official languages of the Western Cape;
2.6 To empower and affirm speakers of previously marginalised languages;
2.7 To eradicate the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa in the public service by resourcing and promoting the development and awareness of its official status;
2.8 To foster respect and protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence;
2.9 To ensure social cohesion and improve relationships by promoting language diversity;
2.10 To contribute to *iKapa elihlumayo* (growing and sharing the Cape) through training and service in languages understood by different language groups;
2.11 To promote and ensure respect of other official languages (e.g. seSotho) and heritage languages in the Western Cape;
2.12 To create awareness about the needs of the hearing impaired;
2.13 To develop language resources by enabling and supporting the training of language professionals.
2.14 To encourage language use that is accessible to all.” (WCLP, 2004:2.1-2.14:30-32)

This goal section may therefore be divided into two different sections, namely

- the goal of creating wider multilingualism; and
- achieving specific political goals.

The multilingualism goals are regarded as the crux of the WCLP and actually repeat what the RSA Constitution of 1996 states with regard to languages in provinces. First, the WCLP strives firstly to create multilingualism (no definition is provided), and it is presumed that multilingualism refers to the idea that people should be able to communicate by using any of the three preferred languages – that provision should be made by the powers that be in order to provide better service delivery to the people when multilingualism in the province is being created because if people do not understand a language, they may not be able to take advantage of better services. The focus is to make it possible for the people of the Western Cape to be able to enter a state-run section, place or institution and be assisted in “three” languages (or the language of their choice) and for the state-run departments to be able to assist these people in their languages (2.1 and 2.3).

Secondly, the multilingualism goals deal with recognising isiXhosa’s inferior status to Afrikaans and English in the province and with trying to eradicate the serious marginalisation of the language, especially in the public service. It also tells us exactly how and why this will be done (2.7). The WCLP calls isiXhosa-
speakers disempowered and not affirmed (2.6), as isiXhosa is considered a marginalised language in the province.

Thirdly, multilingualism goals focus on the Nama Language (the Khoi language in the Western Cape), SASL (for the Deaf), as well as other languages (Sesotho, etc.) and heritage languages (French, Dutch, etc.), which are all languages that should be recognised. The WCLP would also make an effort to create awareness about the needs of the hearing-impaired and to develop language resources by enabling and supporting the training of language professionals and to encourage language use that is accessible to all. But there is a need for the WCLP to make sure that these languages are also elevated and promoted (2.2, 2.11 and 2.12).

The second major set of goals of the WCLP may be regarded as political goals and deal with the fact that the WCLP refers to language rights and to fostering respect for different languages (2.11). In the second section concerning the goals, the WCLP turns into something politically laden, as it is no longer purely about languages when it uses highly emotive language relating to the marginalisation of people and their languages under the Apartheid system (1948-1994) and its discriminatory laws. Here we note the use of political jargon: “empowering”, “affirming”, “social cohesions”, “improving language diversity”, etc. (WCLP, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.13, 2.14; 2005). Furthermore, the use of an African language in the English text (“…to contribute to iKapa elihlumayo…”) also provides evidence of adherence to a particular political ideology and the desire for greater inclusivity. Indeed, the practice of giving African language names to state-sponsored projects has become commonplace in South African and in the Western Cape society.

The overall purpose of this section is to ensure that South Africans, especially those people living in the Western Cape are being reminded of the political struggle and hardships that they have gone through and that their languages were marginalised or discriminated against previously. This is done with
specific reference to isiXhosa (WCLP 2.7), as it is a fact that Afrikaans and English were the two languages that were privileged with regard to development during the previous dispensation (Webb, 2000).

In the purpose and goals relating to the WCLP it is evident that this document is politically driven – that there is indeed a political motive behind the language policy in the Western Cape and in South Africa in general, and that when politics is involved there are ideological beliefs from those who draft the policy and those who have to follow the policy. As Blommaert (1996:217) contends: “Whenever we indulge in ‘language’ planning, we should be aware of the fact that we indulge in political linguistics.”

This places the onus on the politicians via their employees to make sure that the WCLP is being advocated and adhered to. It seems as if the WCLP has to strive to bring unity amongst the speakers of different languages in the Western Cape, and in this way it becomes a tool for nation-building.

4.1.4 What provisions are made for the use of official languages by the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP)?

Policy provisions regarding the “three” official languages of the province are aimed specifically at the WCPP, for which the WCLP reserves a special section:

“3.1 The official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. These languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees. The Western Cape Parliament must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sittings of the Provincial Parliament and any of its committees. Sign language interpreting must be provided where necessary.

3.2 The official record of debates of the Provincial Parliament must be kept in the official languages in which the debates took place. Translations of any sections of the record into any of the relevant official languages must be made available by the Secretary to the Provincial Parliament within a reasonable period after the debate.

3.3 All legislation, official reports and resolutions of the Provincial Parliament and its committees must be made available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament
may make practical arrangements to cause legislation, official reports and resolutions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.

3.4 A bill introduced in the Provincial Parliament must upon introduction be available in at least two official languages. A system must be implemented which rotates the choice of two languages equitably amongst the three official languages of the Province. The Secretary to Parliament must keep a centralised register in order to regulate the rotation of the languages in bills to be introduced to the Provincial Parliament.

3.5 A notice of motion or a formal motion in the Provincial Parliament must be available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament may make practical arrangements to cause motions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.” (WCLP, 2004:3.1-3.5:32-33)

The use of the words “may” in two of the provisions above (bold and underlined), plays a specific role in indicating where it can be followed or not, to my understanding. It seems as if there is a link between the “may” and “must” in 3.1; if the “may” be applicable, the “must” should be there. 3.1 states that “These languages may be used in any debates and other proceedings of the WCPP and its committees”, thus giving the politicians of provincial government the choice to make their speeches in Afrikaans, isiXhosa or English, and at all times, interpreters should be present. Does this mean that the presence of an interpreter in the WCPP is simply a measure taken in case someone speaks his/her home language?

The same goes for 3.5, which states that “The Provincial Parliament may make practical arrangements to cause motions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.” These two statements make it easier for the politicians either in written or verbal format to deliver their speeches in what they deem to be the most appropriate for the situation at hand and to serve the people. It is, however, not compulsory for the members of the WCPP to use their own languages in sittings or debates—they have a choice. It also seems as if the use of the word “may” indeed opens the door for an interpreting unit or to appoint interpreters to be established at the WCPP in order to fulfill the specific function of providing a link between members who may not understand all the official languages of the province.
However, if one looks at the rest of the provisions one finds that these are compulsory (using the word “must” most of the time), to the extent that, although isiXhosa is mentioned as a third official language, it is not compulsory to have everything available in “three” official languages; and one can choose two out of the three. The indication here is not that English would be the language used in the WCPP; the indication is that any of the three languages may be used, and if that happens, 3.2 (second part on translations) should be followed. So, it seems that there is an ideological shift towards keeping the status quo that has existed in the province for a long time and focusing on the two languages that are already enjoying significant status. The WCLP in this regard feeds the ideological beliefs of those it wants to free from ideological beliefs, especially regarding isiXhosa.

At the highest point of government in the province, it seems as if the ideology of bilingualism in using Afrikaans and English is being pushed forward and advanced in the provincial legislature to the detriment of isiXhosa. Via the WCLP there is an unattainable desire in this regard to create the idea that Afrikaans and isiXhosa would be the two dominant languages used in the WCPP, and not English, but this idea is quashed in 3.3, where only “one” official language is referred to – which would inevitably be English. This entire section seems to be very contradictory and confusing to anybody following closely what the WCLP prescribes for the WCPP, where the use of all “three” languages used is at the mercy of the politicians who need to show the way with regard to language preference and status in the province. If these politicians speak in their own language, an interpreter needs to be available - just in case the language is not understood by all present. What is lacking is the way in which it seems to be portrayed that the work needs to be done in an easy manner and for anything other than that, there is no easy way to follow or any financially viable guidance.
4.1.5 What is required of official notices and advertisements?

Part of government’s role is to make sure that the public is involved in and made aware of government practice, especially in realising transformation, reconstruction, development, etc. (Webb, 2000). The WCLP has certain stipulations with regard to the official notices and the advertisements that the provincial government places in the local newspapers or in the *Provincial Gazette*:

> “4.1 All official notices issued by the provincial government for general public information, must be issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. Local government must give due consideration to the language preferences of their residents in this regard.” (WCLP, 2004:4.1:33)

There is a difference between what is expected from local government institutions (municipalities) and the state institutions when it comes to the choice of language in which the local people should be informed about official business. On the one hand the provincial government should issue all its information in the “three” official languages; while on the other hand the provincial government cannot give the local government body an instruction to do the same – the local government (municipalities) has the choice of making an assumption with regard to the language preference of the people and informing them in that language. In this section, which is regarded as an important section as regards the public’s knowledge of what is happening in the province, the WCLP does not have any influence in local government’s (a municipality’s) use of language. Municipalities could use their own language of preference, which could have a negative effect on isiXhosa – no municipality in the province can claim that its inhabitants are monolingual as the Western Cape is completely multilingual in every municipality (the South African National Census of 2011). This begs the question as to whether or not the bi- or multilingual ideology concerning language usage will be enforced should the municipalities need to provide the citizens with important information, as it seems to be the idea of the WCLP that it is important for provincial government to make sure that
everything is being printed in “three” languages; yet at grassroots level such as in municipalities and the services they render, choices can be made. This surely contradicts the spirit and ideas or goals of the WCLP, as it seems not to have any influence on language choices made by the municipalities in the province. Furthermore:

“4.2 All official notices and advertisements published by provincial and local governments must, in case of publication in the Provincial Gazette, be published in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English. When published in other newspapers, it is sufficient to publish such documents, notices or advertisements only in the language in which the newspaper concerned appears. If there is no newspaper published in a particular language, such notices or advertisements must be published in that official language in another newspaper.” (WCLP, 2004:4.1:33)

The publication of official notices and advertisements in local newspapers can be controlled in the WCPP and can be done in “three” languages. To give the local newspaper agencies the responsibility to create a platform for the publication of advertisements in the “three” languages is to shift the responsibility of the WCLP somewhat further than the official notices and advertisements of government. Local Afrikaans newspapers (such as Die Burger and Die Son) and English newspapers (such as The Cape Argus and Cape Times) publish advertisements in Afrikaans and English, while Die Burger also publishes English advertisements on occasion. There is no significant isiXhosa newspaper for advertising in isiXhosa in the Western Cape. Again, the WCLP has to rely on the willingness of local newspapers or on having the necessary funding in order to advertise in isiXhosa. As these newspapers have the right to publish in the language of their choice, it is evident that they will support their readers by advertising in either Afrikaans or English. Thus the status quo of Afrikaans and English is upheld, and this contributes to strengthening the ideology of Afrikaans and English as the two main or major and most developed official languages in the province.
4.1.6 What is required of communication with, and services to, the public?

“5.1 Every organ or institution of the provincial or local government must, in its oral, written and electronic communication with and rendering of services to the public, ensure that these are carried out in the most appropriate manner, with the assistance of interpreters and translators and other technical means such as simulcast and subtitling, in any of the three official languages of the Western Cape, depending on the language usage and needs of the residents.” (WCLP, 2004:5.1:34)

The WCLP states specifically that the communication between the public and the state is of utmost importance during “rendering of services to the public.” It is geared to making sure that the Western Cape public is aware of how meaning can be achieved in a multilingual situation or where the provincial or local government comes in contact with its citizens via interpreting or translation in “any of the three official languages of the Western Cape depending on the language usage and needs of the residents”. However, in the very next section (see 5.2 below), the modal verb “must” is replaced by the much weaker “may”. My question is whether or not this is a way of avoiding legal action or any complaint arising from a failure to deliver communicative services in the three official languages, or whether the use of “must” in 3.1-3.5 refers to services in a more controlled environment and more easily accessible venue to serve the needs of a small number of politicians. In such controlled environments staff can be employed to interpret, but such limited actions might be referred to as mere “window dressing”, or something to be printed in an Annual Report for political gain later – the minute that the space is bigger, the real problems of making something compulsory is retracted:

“5.2 Any member of the public in the Western Cape may
(a) use any one of the three official languages of the Western Cape in his or her communication with any institution of the provincial or local government, and
(b) be served in any of the three official languages at or by any institution of the provincial or local government where there is a substantial need for communication and services in that language based on the language needs and preferences of the community, and it can reasonably be expected of the institution concerned to communicate and render services in that language, with due consideration to the National Education Language Policy.

5.3 In the case of written and electronic communication between the provincial and local governments and residents, the provincial official language of the residents' choice must be used. If the provincial or local government initiates the communication, the language profile of the
The interaction between the provincial government and the public seems to be the following: should a member of the public be assisted, this person “may” use any of the “three” official languages; yet, should the provincial or local government render services, these should (“must”) be rendered in the language of the people concerned, and it all depends on the language of the people being served and also on the “needs” of the residents. The use of interpreters to convey the message of provincial government and to determine needs is therefore underlined, as the idea is to make sense to the public and to understand the public. Language audits would be the key determination for which languages should be used when speaking or delivering services to the public but nothing else is determined should a language audit one day should indicate that there are indeed more than three major languages in the province.

4.1.7 What provisions are there for internal communication by provincial and local government?

With regard to internal communication in the offices of the provincial and local government departments, it is made imperative through the use of the modal verb “must” that “sufficient consensus” should be reached on the working languages for internal oral and written communication:

“6.1 Provincial and local governments must in their various structures each reach sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal oral communication, intra- and inter-departmentally, subject to the proviso that no person shall be prevented from using the language of his or her preference, at any given time.
6.2 Provincial and local government structures must in their various structures each reach sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal written and electronic communication, intra- and inter-departmentally, provided that every effort be made to comply with the language code of conduct.” (WCLP, 2004:6.1-6.2:35)
The use of the term “consensus” may lead quite simply to the use of English, the common *lingua franca* of the province and the first or second language of most departmental employees, as the easiest way to deal with one another internally. While this provision supports the ideology of democratic negotiations in the choice of the language of internal communication, this could actually strengthen the ideological position of English as the language that is being used internally by the provincial and local government. There appears to be no pressure on these departments to use any of the other official languages for internal communication, and it appears as if the idea of accepting English as the language of internal communication is not being challenged.

Furthermore, it seems much easier for local and provincial government to determine within the confined spaces of their offices how to “reach consensus” with regard to the use of language than to do so when dealing with the general public, hence the use of the term “may” in 5.1 and 5.2. In 6.2 there is also mention of a “language code of conduct”. Does that mean that there should be a unified Language Code of Conduct, and what would this have to comply with? So far this policy does not really make definitive rules with regard to the language use of the three official languages. Surely there is a difference between a Language Policy and a Language Code of Conduct. I found this part of 6.2 very vague indeed, as it has nothing to do with the “consensus” to be reached on “language use”. However, the WCLP in this regard does show the public officials who speak different languages how to behave respecting each others’ languages and trying to find a middle route in order to do what is most important: to get the job done that is bestowed by them by the provincial government.
4.1.8 What are the provisions for local government (the municipalities)?

“7. Local governments must determine the language usage and preferences of their communities within the enabling provincial language policy framework. Upon the determination of the language usage and preferences of the residents, local governments must, in consultation with their communities, develop, publicize and implement language policies.” (WCLP, 2004:7.1:35)

Although local governments are allowed to base their language policies on the “usage and preferences of their communities”, albeit “within the enabling provincial language policy framework”, the implication of 7.1 appears to be that the WCLP can only “advise” local governments in developing language policies and in monitoring that they adhere to the three official languages policy. Yet the WCLP does not have any major influence on such decisions, as any municipality could choose not to follow the stipulations of the WCLP. Again, the question could be asked what the role of the WCLP would be in this case and how the language policies of municipalities in the Western Cape relate to the WCLP. Why then are municipalities not obliged simply to use the WCLP instead of designing their own policies?

It seems therefore as if the WCLP draws a line between local and provincial government with regard to Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English being used alongside each other in both written and oral format. It seems furthermore that with this section the WCLP has indeed limited rules and regulations with regard to multilingualism and that the WCLP caters for the borders of Cape Town central, where all of the provincial government departments are situated and where there is a need for documentation in three languages to satisfy political demands and ideologies. Accordingly, while provincial government departments may be expected to adhere to the policy, municipalities have far greater freedom of choice, leading to the undermining of the intended goals of the WCLP.
4.1.9 What provisions are there for communication with the private sector?

“This part of the WCLP supports the idea that people may do business in Afrikaans and isiXhosa as well as English. This part of the WCLP also encourages more language policies for private enterprises and for developing languages of trade and tourism. This means that the WCLP should be used as an instrument not only to ensure that people are being served in their own languages at places of business but also that business people are aware of the language diversity in the province and therefore need to develop their own language policies in their respective businesses, not taking it for granted that one language should be used in the business sphere, but to also provide for the use of other languages. The issue of multilingual business practice is being addressed. However, businesses are not situated in Cape Town Central only, but also in the rural areas. The use of the modal verb “shall” in both clauses is somewhat weaker than the verb “must”. I interpret this as meaning that the provincial government will have to take the first step to establish multilingual awareness in business circles.” (WCLP, 2004:8.1-8.2:36)

4.1.10 What is the policy on signage?

“The WCLP requires that signs need to be put up in the “three” official languages in offices, and that all three languages also be used on road signs and those signs
giving directions to the normal person using these roads or going to specific places. There is, however, an escape clause regarding taking full responsibility for all signage to be in three languages, as may be seen in the choice of the words “equitably” (which does not mean “equal”, but “fairly” and “impartially”) and that “due consideration” needs to be given to the preferences of local communities. Once again, municipalities can determine the language(s) they prefer, leaving room for signs to be put up in one language only or even two, thereby retaining the status quo of bilingualism. In this instance, the WCLP again does not actively enforce the use of multilingual signage in the Western Cape.

4.2 Remarks on the above analysis

The WCLP states that people in the Western Cape need to be made aware of language policy and of their language rights when communicating with local and provincial government structures. There appears to be an underlying ideology here on the part of the policy writers that simply having the WCLP in place means that practical actions will automatically follow. Yet the WCLP does not state how people should adhere to its stipulations, and there appears to be no possibility of action against those who do not follow these. In fact, this element is left out completely.

In addition, it seems as if the WCLP is static. Nowhere in the presentation of the WCLP does it state that there is room for changing its prescriptions or goals; it seems as if the WCLP and the policy makers do not take into account the migration patterns of people or the possibility of speakers of other languages migrating to the Western Cape, should these numbers increase over an extensive time period, say 100 years.
The WCLP furthermore stands on its own and is not visibly connected to anyone in particular; it states merely that it was “compiled” by the WCLC. It does not state who takes ownership of it as it was written for provincial government departments stationed in Cape Town. It seems as if the WCLP is dependent on the provincial government departments for its implementation within the communities. The WCLC is merely the statutory body responsible for overseeing and monitoring its implementation – and there is no indication of exactly how this monitoring and oversight would be done. Nowhere in the WCLP is there any description of the specific duties of the WCLC regarding its implementation. Furthermore, the WCLP stands on its own next to those language policies of the different municipalities and needs not necessarily influence these municipal language policies, even though municipalities may use the WCLP as a guideline.

A very important aspect of the WCLP is that it simply does not include any punitive measures to be enforced should employees in the service of provincial or local government not adhere to the WCLP regulations. Also, it seems that the availability of the ever-present “escape clauses” (the use of “may” in the policy instead of “must”) allow implementers not to follow the stipulations of the policy to the letter. It is as if the WCLP stipulations seem to be carefully drafted with regard to enforcing any linguistic rights and in that way giving those in powerful positions or those dealing with the Western Cape public free reign to do with language use in the province as they please. It may be assumed that the WCLP does not make possible the realisation of its instructions to make provision for all three official languages being used in the different spheres of provincial and local government, as those who are in positions of power have the choice of making recommendations regarding language use according to the perceived community language needs; even in the event that they fail to make provision for those members of the public not necessarily understanding them, they would get away with it.
It is evident from my analysis that the WCLP simply attempts too much by trying to create equity of use for the three official languages, especially in a province where ideologically there are two well-established languages of power – Afrikaans and English. The question may be asked whether or not the status of Afrikaans and English in the province could affect the ongoing development of isiXhosa, even when facing with a language policy. The fact that isiXhosa is specifically named in the WCLP, particularly with regard to eradicating discrimination against this language, is indicative of policy makers being acutely aware of the lack of status of isiXhosa and how this language may be stigmatised in provincial and local government spheres. These efforts to elevate the status of isiXhosa actually give the implementers of the WCLP, or even the language policy implementers at local government (municipal) level, the key to discriminate against isiXhosa, albeit unintentionally, and not only by way of their own choice but also by the choices that people might make. Consequently the WCLP is in many cases all about choice or preference when it comes to communicating in the province and isiXhosa might be the language that suffers discrimination.

The WCLP therefore looks wonderful on paper but upon closer scrutiny is nothing more than a political document or “statement of intent” (Desai, 1999) which tries to serve as something that was a first for the country, a first to be consulted and approved by Cabinet, a first to be introduced and for which plans are being made. Clearly, the document is something of which the Western Cape can feel proud by saying that it was the first province to have a policy designed to protect and promote the three official languages in the interest of democracy and linguistic rights.

Another aspect that may weaken the WCLP and attempts to implement it is that it groups people according to their different first or home languages and focuses on standardised versions of these languages only. In other words, it ignores the
fact that people speak differently, mixing their languages, or even that they come from different social backgrounds. In addition, it also ignores the fact that languages are not homogenous, bounded entities (Heller, 2007; Pennycook, 2010) and that in Africa the mixing and blending of all linguistic resources is commonplace, particularly in urban environments (Dyers, 2013). It also ignores the other languages being spoken in the province. However, it is clear on what to do with SASL, and with regard to the use of the Nama Language in the province; these two languages need to be “promoted” and “developed”.

4.3 The implementation plan (IP) of the WCLP

There are two schools of thought with regard to language policy implementation, one that shows the way from the top downwards, i.e. the top-down approach to language policy implementation, and the other from the bottom up, i.e. the bottom up approach to language policy implementation (Paudel: 2009:39). Winter (2003:213) suggests that these two approaches are in conflict with one another and cause a division amongst researchers with regard to which one would be the best for implementation to be successful.

Paudel (2009:39), however, mentions that “describing and analysing the relationships between policy and practice” should be deemed more important. Smith (1973: 197) writes as follows:

“There is an implicit assumption in most policy studies that once a policy has been formulated the policy will be implemented. This assumption is invalid for policies formulated in many Third World nations and for types of policies in Western societies. Third World governments tend to formulate broad, sweeping policies, and governmental bureaucracies often lack the capacity for implementation. Interest groups, opposition parties, and affected individuals and groups often attempt to influence the implementation of policy rather than the formulation of policy.”
Smith furthermore notes that policy implementation is seen as

“...a tension generating force in society. Tensions are generated between and within four components of the implementing process: idealized policy, implementing organization, target group, and environmental factors. The tensions result in transaction patterns which may or may not match the expectations of outcome of the policy formulators. The transaction patterns may become crystallized into institutions. Both the transaction patterns and the institutions may generate tensions which, by feedback to the policymakers and implementers, may support or reject further implementation of the policy”.

In order for such tensions to be minimised it seems as if the WCLP policy makers decided to do some careful planning to ensure greater success for its IP.

4.3.1 First implementation plan (IP): the WCLP Original Elaborated Implementation Plan (WCLP Booklet, 2004:37-42)

The WCLP Original Elaborated IP (Addendum B) may be found in the WCLP booklet which is introduced by the heading: “How will we implement the Western Cape Language Policy?” (WCLP Booklet, 2004:37-42). I call this IP the WCLP Original Elaborated IP as it was the first IP and was written in collaboration with the WCLP. I also noted that sections pertaining to the WCLP Original Elaborated IP were not provided with numbering, as was the case with the WCLP – this IP therefore mainly consists of headings in capital letters and bullet format to indicate what needed to be done regarding WCLP implementation. As this non-numbered WCLP Original Elaborated IP was the first IP printed for distribution to the public at large, this can be referred to as the “initial stage” of implementation. Blase, Fixsen, Naoom, & Wallace (2005) call this the “Paper Implementation of Policy”, describing it as

“...a specified set of activities designed to put into practice an activity or program of known dimensions. According to this definition, implementation processes are purposeful and are described in sufficient detail such that
independent observers can detect the presence and strength of the “specific set of activities” related to implementation. In addition, the activity or program being implemented is described in sufficient detail so that independent observers can detect its presence and strength. As noted earlier, when thinking about implementation the observer must be aware of two sets of activities (intervention-level activity and implementation-level activity) and two sets of outcomes (intervention outcomes and implementation outcomes). (Blase, et al, 2005:5)

According to this definition the “set of activities” in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP consists of different sections, also being described in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP as “specific actions mentioned below” (WCLP Booklet, 2004: 37), namely staffing, training and awareness, language surveys, translation and interpreting, a code of conduct, money matters and communication by provincial government.

To elaborate, the general function of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP was to set aside specific activities or plan a structure that should be followed in order for the WCLP to be implemented successfully. However, I noted that there were no timeframes attached to this particular IP. In my analysis, I will address the different segments of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP.

The following extract comes from the introductory notes of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP, and concepts that will be discussed in the sub-sections below have been underlined:

“According to the Western Cape Language Policy the following aspects regarding language and communication need to receive attention in order to guarantee the successful, gradual realization of practical multilingualism in the Western Cape Provincial Government.
An incremental approach should be followed with regard to the implementation of the language policy by provincial government departments. This requires that the specific actions mentioned below be undertaken to support and promote the language policy implementation activities.” (WCLP, 2004:37)
The DCAS and WCLP had developed the IP as a follow-up process to the WCLP and submitted this plan to the provincial Cabinet for approval in 2004. An analysis of the underlined terminology provides useful insights into the ideologies of the writers of the original IP.

a. An “incremental approach” to be followed

An “incremental approach” is defined by Chapin, Nelson-Becker, Gordon, and Terrebonne (2002: 2) as

“step by step, small changes to existing policies that may extend or modify the scope of the policy but generally are consistent with the existing policy’s goals.”

An incremental approach would therefore be a series of small steps toward an agenda and these small steps would be “less likely to be questioned than a large and swift change” (Burgess 2004: 4).

This way of planning language policy implementation supports the ideology that small steps should be taken towards realising the dream of policy implementation with reference to existing policies and programmes, such as the RSA Constitution of 1996 and Census data. The same language system that successfully implemented the use of Afrikaans and English to elevate isiXhosa to equal status was used, thereby not changing the status of the historically official status of Afrikaans and English, but merely adding isiXhosa to this group. Afrikaans and English would therefore continue as usual, enjoying the privileges that came with being official languages in the Western Cape, and isiXhosa now needed to fulfill its role as official language as well. To be an official language means that the government of a country has decreed that specific languages should be treated as more important than others, and that the provincial official documents should be printed in these languages.
b. The “successful, gradual realisation of practical multilingualism” in the Western Cape Provincial Government

The policy writers believed that gradual implementation was the approach to observe. This raises a number of questions: If the process is implemented over a number of years, will isiXhosa ever catch up with Afrikaans or English, as these will continue to function as languages of power in the province? Is the cost of the implementation another factor that favors gradual implementation? Is this being done so as not to antagonise the Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities who might see the use of isiXhosa as an unnecessary and possibly unwelcome imposition?

The phrase “practical multilingualism” is another odd choice and there is uncertainty as to what it really means in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP. It could mean multilingualism in practice or the use of three (or more) languages within a multilingual setting, and this situation needs to be made a reality by way of practical examples of interpreting (consecutive and simultaneous interpreting) and the translation of documents.

c. “Specific actions” would be undertaken to support and promote “language policy implementation activities”

The writers of the implementation plan saw implementation as requiring specific actions via activities that need to be undertaken. This had to do with the physical awareness of the existence of language rights, language awareness, language programmes on specific days or dates, etc. and could be an indication of their ideology that everyone should be made aware of the policy before it could be implemented.
Questions regarding the WCLP Original Elaborated IP

As mentioned before, the WCLP Original Elaborated IP (Addendum B) did not have any numbers and so I took the liberty of numbering it. I asked specific questions about this IP in order to create a flow of information.

4.3.1.1 Who wrote the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?
The same policy writers mentioned in 4.2.2 above wrote this particular IP, as it formed part of the WCLP that was and still is distributed to the people of the Western Cape.

4.3.1.2 How will staffing be structured in order to implement the WCLP “incrementally”?
Implementation staff would consist of the following: language professionals forming a Central Language Unit (CLU) situated in the DCAS would be appointed to assist with implementing the WCLP in all the other provincial government departments by offering interpreting and translations services. They would furthermore be a support unit for outsourcing language-related requests, i.e. interpreting and translation requests, which means that all provincial government departments would have to have a budget to pay for outsourcing.

"Larger” departments would appoint appropriate staff to be responsible for the WCLP IP, while “medium” and “small” departments in their “language units” would appoint a “language co-ordinator” to manage “language matters”. It is not clear what is meant by “language matters”. It is also not clear how a “unit” can be regarded of consisting of only one person. It is the duty of language co-ordinators in each provincial government department to “liaise” with each other regarding “quality control, terminology development and the monitoring of language policy implementation”. Working on the assumption that one would be appointed as a minimum in each provincial government department, I took it
that these 13 (including the DCAS) provincial government departments would discuss matters pertaining to languages and then to take their concerns to the WCLC, PanSALB, etc. These discussions would probably lead to getting knowledge of the different challenges experienced with the WCLP IP and to bring these to the attention of interested parties who could take them further.

The DCAS CLU would be the unit that would take responsibility for WCLP implementation or for guiding the other provincial government departments. The CLU, being centrally located, would accommodate the WCLC; and would have a bigger language unit, and therefore a bigger budget than the “medium” or “smaller” language units. The CLU would also be regarded as an overseer, the principal planner, managing interrelations via language issues of practitioners driving the process, providing translation and interpreting services to all provincial departments, and would be in charge of language issues from the top downwards, laying down the rules and regulations, applying intervention and implementing language management (Spolsky; 2004:8) pertaining to the WCLP Original Elaborated IP to all the other departments, which would then look up to them. Indications of how “medium” and “smaller” departments are being selected according to the costing of the WCLP and the proposals that were made were presented in the Emzantsi Associates report of 2003 (WCLC, Annual Report: 2002/03:62-63).

4.3.1.3 How will training, awareness and language surveys contribute to implementing the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?

3. a. Training

- Departments must encourage its staff to learn the three official languages and Sign Language.
- Training programmes for language acquisition of the three official languages must be organized by departments.
- It is important that frontline staff be required to undergo language acquisition training in order to assist the public in the official language of preference.

b. Awareness

- Awareness raising campaigns will be hosted throughout the provincial government to promote multilingualism, encourage the use of the three official languages and Sign
language as well as to create an awareness and sensitivity of language needs and the rights of staff and clients.

- Each department must be proactive in promoting multilingualism and staff and clients should be encouraged to make use of their language rights.”

c. Language Surveys

- Surveys regarding language needs and preference of staff and clients are to be conducted periodically for use in determining language practices of departments.
- Language proficiency surveys must also be conducted on a regular basis to determine the linguistic needs and capabilities of staff and serve as basis for developing methods to improve language skills in government. (WCLP, 2004:38-39)

The training and awareness would include using three languages so that all staff members would be able to assist speakers of these languages. Departments would have the responsibility of being training grounds for staff, and would have to host their own language awareness projects. It would be the task of the provincial government departments to fulfill its part of what is supposed to be WCLP implementation and this has been spelled out specifically. The staff, it was assumed, would not be able to communicate properly with the public unless they had been trained. A huge premium was placed on training, which would take time, but in the mean time there was no indication of how the provincial government departments would deal with language-related issues until the training programmes had been completed.

The WCLP Original Elaborated IP prescribes the hosting of awareness campaigns throughout the province in order to make people aware of multilingualism. It further underlines the fact that people should be sensitive towards each others’ languages and should show respect in this regard. The WCLP Original Elaborated IP in this regard makes provision for the promotion of multilingualism to take place, firstly at provincial government level and from there spreading to the rest of the province. What the WCLP Original Elaborated IP means by “staff and clients making use of their language rights” is not really clarified, and appears to be left to the discretion of the departments and individuals, possibly indicating that people should feel free to use their language of preference.
The policy is clear on the need for regular language surveys as well as for language proficiency surveys to determine the staff’s ability to communicate in “three” languages. This seems to be a logical outcome of the desire to promote broad-based multilingualism in these departments.

4.3.1.4 How will translation and interpreting services contribute to implementing the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?

4. TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

- Departments must make available translation and interpreting services when necessary, e.g. at public events and internal meetings.
- All documents for translation and/or editing will be forwarded to the central Language unit via departmental language coordinators. Documents will be translated and edited in-house or outsourced to a capable pool of translators.
- Departments must submit requests for the provisioning of interpreting services to the Central Language Unit timeously in order to allow sufficient time for arrangements. Sign Language interpreting for deaf persons must also be accommodated. (WCLP, 2004:39-40)

The duties of the language practitioners in other provincial government departments are not clear. It is only stated that it is the duty of provincial government departments to make sure that translation and interpreting services are made available at public events and during internal meetings. I have to sketch a scenario here: at any public event either simultaneous or consecutive interpreting “must” take place, with no less than four interpreters being required to be available to interpret. With 13 provincial government departments hosting events during the year, this may be an impossible prescription of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP to adhere to. At internal meetings there “must” be interpreting, where again two or four interpreters “must” be available to interpret what is being said. With many internal meetings taking place in provincial government departments, I can foresee a challenge here: there will simply not be enough language practitioners or interpreters available to fill this demand placed on provincial government departments regarding the rendering of interpreting services at public events or during internal meetings. The
question is: which language will be used as a unifier or as the “main” language for communication in each scenario?

With regard to documentation – which is an important aspect about which the implementation plan is clear – translation “will” be done. This translation seems to be done by either the CLU or, if the CLU is incapacitated, the provincial government departments will have to “pay” for services via the CLU, which has a “pool” of translators available on its database. The CLU will therefore take responsibility for the administrative aspect regarding the translation of any documentation from provincial government departments.

The questions arising here are the following: What kind of pressure is being placed on the shoulders of those LPs working in the CLU? Are they capacitated or not to deal with all the demands? Why can’t the other provincial government departments do the outsourcing themselves or appoint their own LPs to deal with their translations in order to understand what WCLP implementation is all about? Why keep this function specifically in the CLU? How will the WCLP Elaborated IP be administered successfully? How is uniformity amongst LPs assured? What structure would be put in place to deal with the myriad of administrative challenges that could happen? And finally: Were all these questions taken into account when this Elaborate WCLP IP was drafted?

It seems as if the CLU will have to take responsibility and accept the blame at a later stage during either the interpreting or translation process if implementation goes wrong or if challenges arise with the outsourcing process or if the CLU just does not have the capacity to deal with the work of the other provincial government departments, even if the CLU do outsource their documents.
4.3.1.5 How will the establishment of a Code of Conduct contribute to implementing the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?

5. CODE OF CONDUCT

- A code of conduct regarding language use and multilingualism must be developed by a forum of all departmental language coordinators and adhered to by departments.
- Each provincial department in collaboration with the central Language Unit has to apply the language policy to its unique circumstances.
- Departments must continuously ensure that all staff and clients are sensitized to the value of multilingualism as a tool for building social cohesion, promoting economic development and consolidating democratic government through respect for language and cultural diversity.
- Departments have to ensure that notices are placed in all buildings and offices, informing the public that it promotes multilingualism and that officials will make every effort to use the official language preferred by the clients.
- Departments must ensure that all staff members accommodate the language use and preferences of other officials with courtesy.
- During the recruitment and selection process for filling vacancies preference should be given to persons with proficiency in all three official languages. (WCLP, 2004:39-40)

An interdepartmentally created Code of Conduct compiled by at least 13 language coordinators (seeing that there are 13 provincial government departments) would be developed and this Code of Conduct is the closest that the WCLP Original Elaborated IP gets to rules that should be followed. The word “must” is used as an indication that there should be a Code of Conduct and that the WCLP should be adhered to. The Code of Conduct recognises that the provincial government departments are unique, hence it does not lay down very strict rules, but it does maintain that multilingualism should be visible via signage which would indicate that the departments would then be seen as multilingual and in this way would be inviting to the client. The idea exists that seeing a language on the walls or on signs is an indication of multilingualism and that following a Code of Conduct will cause people to be more sensitive towards different languages. The Code supports the idea that intervention must take place when the rules of language management are not being followed and the CLU will make sure that this does not happen. The idea being supported is that a language is visibly meaningful or regarded as significant when a translated sign is observed by a client. Another idea being supported is that when a client sees a sign in his/her language, he/she will be comfortable to
speak his/her language at provincial government departments, creating certain communication expectations by the client. The Code of Conduct also states that preference should be given to staff who can speak all three languages fluently. I sketch another scenario here: this recruitment preference may create a situation where no positions will be filled because in the Western Cape a bilingual system was inherited, and it may be that creating positions requiring competence in all three languages at the level of an LP is too ambitious.

4.3.1.6 How will the availability of a budget contribute to implementing the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?

6. MONEY MATTERS

- Departments must make financial resources available to facilitate language planning and training, language policy development and implementation, language resources and language audits in order to meet the obligations outlined above. (WCLP, 2004:40)

The financing of language matters shifts to departmental pockets, where documents have to be outsourced to be translated. Important to note here is that each provincial government department would get a specific budget for languages and this budget would be used either to outsource documents for translation purposes or for other editing purposes in said department. The word “must” is again used here and refers to what is outlined in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP.

4.3.1.7 How will the WCLP Original Elaborated IP be realised regarding communication by provincial government departments?

7.1 External communication

External communication refers to oral and written communication with the public of the Western Cape. All communication with the public must be in the three official languages of the province or the language of preference of the target audience. Where three official languages are used, it is important to establish what the language of preference of the target audience is and not make assumptions based on the language or languages by the majority of the people in the area. The language policy indicates the following in written and oral communication:
a. Written communication
The following information has to be published or made available in the 3 official languages of the Western Cape, i.e. Afrikaans, Xhosa and English.

- All legislation, official reports and resolutions
- All official notices
- Research reports or an executive summary thereof
- All exhibitions or marketing material
- All advertisements
- All public materials related to HIV/AIDS
- Signage (including instructions to and directions at events)
- Electronic communication with the broad public; individual responses/replies should be written in the language in which the letter/request was received. (WCLP, 2004:40-41)

The WCLP Original Elaborated IP focuses on the tangible implementation of the WCLP, for specific people: those who can read, who can make their opinions heard or who are interested in what is going on in the province. All written material that has anything to do with provincial government needed to be in three languages. It supports the idea that language is on its way to being recognised as an official language once it is being read by those understanding the language and once it is in written format. It supports the idea of the written word being given a higher status. It further supports the belief that once a reader reads his or her language, he/she feels empowered to complain should he/she not receive written communication in his/her language and hence would then insist on receiving written material in his/her language and hence would then insist on receiving written material in his/her language; in this way it entrenches the ideology that this is how Afrikaans and English were able to claim their official status. It further supports the belief that there is an expectation from the isiXhosa-speakers to insist on receiving material in isiXhosa as the key to isiXhosa’s “equality” to English and Afrikaans, that there are many isiXhosa-speaking people in the province who would love to read their own language when dealing with government documentation.

With regard to oral communication, the following was noted:

b. Oral communication

- Public meetings and events must be held in all 3 official languages or the language of preference of the target audience. Officials should obtain the services of an interpreter where there is a need.
• All campaigns must be held in all 3 official languages or the language of the target audience.
• Language preference should be considered in offering training and presenting workshops as well as sourcing of speakers and facilitators from different language groups. (WCLP, 2004:42)

It seems as if the policy makers have taken into account the reality of the absence of trilingualism in the province and that this situation is being catered for. The use of the word “must” is essential, as it is a sign of obligatory action; provision is made for an interpreter to be used when the need arises where there is a multilingual group of people present being talked to who do not understand one language. “Interpreter” and “where there is a need” or “language of the target audience” are all there to indicate the need for an interpreter. The use of “language preference”, however, creates the sense that the WCLP Original Elaborated IP tries to draw parallel with the language policies of the municipalities in this regard.

Regarding internal communication, the IP states:

• All forms and official communication with staff have to be translated and made available in the 3 official languages of the Western Cape.
• Working languages per department: the principle of multilingualism should always be borne in mind. Also, officials should be encouraged to have a linguistic etiquette, i.e. accommodate speakers who cannot understand a specific language.
• Meetings: the language preference and competence of the people attending a meeting should be taken into consideration. This has to be established before the meeting starts. Effective communication will take precedence above language preference. Language should be used to promote inclusion and participation in decision-making. (WCLP, 2004:41-42)

It is a huge task that the WCLP Original Elaborated IP has for translators regarding forms. The WCLP Original Elaborated IP supports the idea that Afrikaans and English are normally used to complete forms and that there will always be people who would be able to receive, read and understand the received completed forms in those two languages. In an ideal situation forms
will also be available and can be received in isiXhosa. This supports the idea that there are three groups for which provision is being made, not necessarily for those who are illiterate or cannot write, which is a noble idea. However, one of the challenges regarding these translated forms may just be that they will be completed using all official languages and that those people dealing with the forms may not be fluent in the official language used, which might cause a problem.

What is meant by “linguistic etiquette” is uncertain, and may simply mean that if the client cannot be understood by the government employee, then the latter has to make an attempt to find someone either to interpret or to convey the message or make another plan in order to assist the client.

With regard to meetings, it seems that on the one hand language is being taken into consideration by asking at the start of the meeting which language should be used, together with checking the attendees’ “competence” in the language that would be used. However, “effective communication will take precedence over language preference”. In a situation where, for instance, at a meeting where English is accepted as the language of the meeting while one person is not able to understand English and his/her language preference is isiXhosa, this would be taken as not promoting inclusivity and English will be used regardless. The isiXhosa speaker, in the absence of an interpreter, could then be sidelined. There is a difference between using a language of preference versus inclusivity and getting the message across for participation purposes; it seems that one would rather lose one or two of the participants than most of them and resultantly the language of the majority’s preference is used. The idea of a language of preference of one particular person in a group session seems in this case not to be an option or even relevant.
4.3.1.8 How significant is the conclusion of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP?

8. IN CONCLUSION

The initial phase of language policy implementation, whilst presenting its share of obstacles and achievements, will prove to departments the value of a policy of multilingualism via improved service delivery and a satisfied community in line with Batho Pele objectives. Through active implementation of the policy departments will contribute to the vision of a multilingual community in the Western Cape that respects one another’s languages. The acceptance of the Western Cape Language Policy and its implementation plan by provincial government is significant, as the Western Cape is at the forefront in adhering to the constitutional principle of affording everyone the right to use the language of his or her choice. Finally, through the realization of this basic right the Western Cape Government will move a step closer in truly making the Western Cape a home for all. (WCLP, 2004:42)

This huge section focuses on the fact that there might be obstacles and achievements, both negative and positive outcomes with language policy implementation. It strives to establish a trilingual Western Cape community and certainly believes that, if all of 1 to 7 above take place, the Western Cape would be a pleasant place to be as everyone would be able to understand each other. It mentions the Batho Pele service delivery objectives that provincial government departments need to strive towards all in order to eliminate the discriminatory past of the province and that of the country. It supports the eventual aim of language policy implementation in the Western Cape, which has specific outcomes attached to it and its appointed specific role players and stakeholders:

“...essential implementation outcomes are: 1. changes in adult professional behavior (knowledge and skills of practitioners and other key staff members within an organization or system), 2. changes in organizational structures and cultures, both formal and informal (values, philosophies, ethics, policies, procedures, decision making), to routinely bring about and support the changes in adult professional behavior, and 3. changes in relationships to consumers, stakeholders (location and nature of engagement, inclusion, satisfaction), and systems partners.” (Blase et al. 2005:12)

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2 The Batho Pele principles in short consist of: Consultation, Setting service standards, Increasing access, Ensuring courtesy, Providing information, Openness and transparency, Redress, Value for money.
Finally, the WCLP Original Elaborated IP: it is evident that this IP had specific plans for the provincial government to implement the WCLP – and to be specific about what needed to be done, and how this should be done; it was clearly written without even any thought being given to having practical examples in place, i.e. what it would cost or how it would be structured, using words such as “must” and “will” while and trying to be prescriptive in its ideal to make sure that which the WCLC had put together with the DCAS would be implemented fully. This WCLP Original Elaborated IP, after being printed in the WCLP (2004:37-42), was distributed to the public, and is still being distributed every year by the DCAS in an effort to inform the public as stated in the DCAS quarterly reviews and annual reports.

However, a second WCLP implementation plan had to be drafted and presented when a lack of practicality of whatever had been planned and presented in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP became clear to both the DCAS and the WCLC after they had done extensive research projects by the 2004/05 financial year.

4.3.2 Second Implementation Plan (IP): The WCLP Basic Implementation Plan (IP)

A WCLP Basic Implementation Plan (IP) for implementing the WCLP was set up and prepared by the DCAS in August 2004 (see Addendum C). This WCLP Basic IP provided, among other things, greater detail on the salaries of language practitioners and the costs of implementation.

In the WCLC Annual Report (2002/2003:63) it was clearly reported that the following had happened after the costing analysis:

“It is envisaged that the costed implementation plan for the Language Policy, including implementation of a major interpreting programme in the Department of Health, will be forwarded to top management and then to the Cabinet for approval. If accepted, the impact on service delivery will be highly significant.
Broadly estimated long-term (10 year) cost of implementation for the province as a whole is R205 million upon full implementation in 2013/2014, excluding the Language in Education Policy of the Department of Education. This will constitute a projected 0,8% commitment of provincial budgetary resources in that year.”

This WCLP Basic IP was intended to be one indicating the steps towards an incremental approach in a five year plan for all the provincial governments and after 2009/2010 the increase on the financial implications would be calculated at the amount given in the previous year plus 5% per annum. In this section I will discuss the WCLP Basic IP, indicating the differences from the WCLP Original Elaborated IP in the form of questions.

4.3.2.1 Who wrote the WCLP Basic IP and how does the WCLP Basic IP differ from the WCLP Original Elaborated IP with regard to its introduction?

1. INTRODUCTION

The basic language policy implementation plan is derived from the findings of the comprehensive language policy implementation plan recommended and its cost was calculated by Emzantsi Associates as per annexure A.

The restraint on government financial and human resources has compelled the development of this basic language policy implementation plan to give an indication of minimum start-up costs and actions required for implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy. Departments are strongly encouraged to expand on this basic implementation plan according to their specific needs and the availability of resources. The establishment of language units in departments and language capacity building of staff will contribute to service delivery objectives and improve the quality of service delivered to the Western Cape community. (WCLP Basic IP; 2004:1)

The DCAS CLU wrote the WCLP Basic IP. In this introduction of the WCLP Basic IP it is reported that a cost analysis of the WCLP IP had been done and that a specific independent company, Emzantsi Associates, did the costing analysis for provincial government as a guideline to determine language needs in provincial government departments in order to implement the WCLP successfully. This research outcome had resulted in provincial government and subsequently the CLU compiling a WCLP Basic IP (after the printing and distribution of the WCLC glossy booklet containing the WCLP Original
Elaborated IP) in order to adhere to the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act of 1996, based on which the WCLC and subsequently the WCLP had been established and developed. It was also the idea that the WCLP Basic IP would then give an indication of how much it would cost to implement language policy at the basic level. The focus was on minimum expenditure; however, the idea of improving service delivery was not minimised.

It seems as if the WCLP Original Elaborated IP was being reduced in many ways to start with the WCLP Basic IP because of cost involvement and how the WCLP Basic IP could best serve the interest of the provincial government departments with regard to money spent or budgets planned.

The WCLP Basic IP prepares the reader for the route that it would take with regard to language policy implementation right from the first paragraphs, namely that it had undertaken a costing exercise by an independent company (in order to create validity) to set up the financial figures for the next three years. It calls this specific WCLP IP “basic” – and it makes sure that departments need to be “encouraged” to create their own language units according to their “specific needs”. This is the very first difference between the WCLP Original Elaborated IP and the WCLP Basic IP: whereas the WCLP Original Elaborated IP started with legislation and beautiful words of encouragement to the public, this WCLP Basic IP starts with “research” and how the research has affected the “practicality of implementation”. It states that an independent company had made a cost analysis of the WCLP Basic IP – and it seems as if that is enough reason to “restrain” the provincial government’s resources. It also suddenly states a “minimum start-up” and “encourages” provincial government departments to implement the WCLP Basic IP – it no longer has the same urgency as the WCLP Original Elaborated IP about the staff that “will” be appointed.
4.3.2.2 How does the WCLP Basic IP differ from the WCLP Original Elaborated IP with regard to the processes to be followed?

2. RECOMMENDATIONS

An incremental approach should be followed with regard to the implementation of the language policy by departments. The following serves as a guide to departments:

a) Surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients to be conducted for use in determining language practice of each department.

b) Appoint suitable staff to drive language policy implementation in each department.

c) Provision for functional training or capacity building programmes in respect of language acquisition in each department.

d) Make financial resources available to facilitate language policy implementation.

e) Top management to set tone in department by embracing the promotion of multilingualism.

(WCLP Basic IP; 2004:1-2)

All of a sudden the WCLP Basic IP has “recommendations” instead of the “How will we implement the WCLP” stated in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP. However, it mentions the step-by-step approach towards implementing the language policy and in this section it gives the departments concrete examples as to exactly what is expected of them in implementing the WCLP, all of which involves elaborate plans with regard to determining language preference, the appointment of staff, training of staff in languages, financial planning with regard to languages and the senior management in promoting multilingualism from the top to the bottom. These serve as recommendations and are not necessarily obligations:

The language policy requires that the specific actions mentioned below be undertaken to support and promote language policy implementation activities in departments. There are four main result areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESULT AREA</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Training and awareness raising to promote the language policy and its implementation</td>
<td>* Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC), Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Language Awareness programmes in departments.</td>
<td>* WCLC and DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Awareness raising campaigns and events, e.g celebration of language and cultural diversity.</td>
<td>* Awareness raising workshops targeted at senior management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Develop implementation plans per department</td>
<td>1.2 Departments with assistance from DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Capacity building programmes</td>
<td>1.3 Cape Administrative Academy or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Establishing of language Units  outsourced
3. Provision of translation services  2. Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit
4. Provision of interpreting services  3. Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit

(WCLP Basic IP; 2004:2)

The fact that the WCLP Basic IP is presented in table format is an indication that this is the simplest way in which it is being taken to the provincial government departments to enable them to understand what is required. In order for the process to start off, it focuses on training and awareness campaigns, the establishment of own language units and capacity-building programmes. It states who should be doing what with regard to the WCLP Basic IP, and there is a shift towards making departments accountable for the implementation of the WCLP. In the WCLP Original Elaborated IP it was stated exactly what should be done with regard to training; in these “recommendations” of the WCLP Basic IP, it is a different story, as it seems that the responsibility of the different provincial government departments regarding training, etc. has been shifted to become the responsibility of one CLU, which has to “assist” or “support”, something which in this regard could prove to be impossible to achieve. Language surveys mentioned in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP are absent in the WCLP Basic IP, and so it seems as if the burden of carrying the WCLP Basic IP rests on the shoulders of the DCAS and its CLU, which is impossible even to comprehend.

According to the WCLC Annual Report (2002/2003:62) the WCLC discussed the financial implications of the implementation of the WCLP and the recommendation of small, medium and large departments in the provincial government, as is stated below, was supported:
3. ESTABLISHMENT OF LANGUAGE UNITS

In the costing exercise pertaining to the full implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy by government, provincial departments were categorized into small, medium and large departments depending on their size and service delivery functions. The recommended sizes of departmental Language Units as per the aforementioned costing report were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department (Category)</th>
<th>Size of Language Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Education (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport (Large)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public works (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community safety (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of the Premier (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Legislature</td>
<td>Existing Unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, due to present limited resources and in order to incrementally roll out the Western Cape Language Policy Implementation Plan, the following minimum staff requirements are recommended per department:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department (Category)</th>
<th>Size of Language Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Education (Large)</td>
<td>Existing Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport (Large)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public works (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community safety (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government (Small)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism (Small)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (Small)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of the Premier (Small)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Legislature</td>
<td>Existing Unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The Department of Education was excluded from the costing analysis, as the Language in Education Policy (LiEP) will be subject to a separate study once it has been finalized. It is suggested that staff be appointed at Language Practitioner level. The minimum salary of a Language Practitioner is level 8. These staff members will be responsible for all language related matters, including outsourcing of translations and interpreting where necessary. (WCLP Basic IP; 2004:3-4)

In this section the WCLP Basic IP states that language practitioners should be appointed in different sized departments. What a language practitioner should be doing or what his/her job description is, is not mentioned, but it may be assumed to include dealing with language-related questions from the public, interpreting,
editing, translation and the execution of language-related projects in the province – those which the relevant department would be undertaking.

The section also makes note of a “Contact Person” whose duties are not spelled out exactly. The WCLP Basic IP does not indicate what criteria had been used to differentiate between small, medium and large departments, but it refers to the needs of the people at grassroots level as well as to the importance of the department within the provincial government, using the costing analysis that was done. I am not sure to what needs the WCLP Basic IP is referring as all language (translation and interpreting) is important, regardless of what size a document is or how long an event lasts.

The recommended sizes of the costing analysis are used and are being compared to what the very minimum requirements of staff appointment should be. Limited resources are given as the reason for the downscaling of staff numbers from, for instance, *three* to *one*. This is an elaborate plan to establish language units within all provincial government departments in Cape Town, but there is an uncertainty as to how practical it would be to have only *one* language practitioner in one provincial government and whether it would be a trilingual language practitioner to do the work or who should be chosen. A number of questions could be asked in this regard: What would the duties of that particular language practitioner be? In the case of a contact person, what would the duties of that person be and who would be appointed? What status is connected to being a contact person and that of a language practitioner? Would they earn the same salary, although their duties would differ? There is a discrepancy with regard to the appointment of staff and how the WCLP should be implemented according to its WCLP Original Elaborated IP format, even once it has changed to the WCLP Basic IP. It is as if numbers had just been put in this WCLP Basic IP, without thinking of exactly what activities need to be undertaken or what structure to follow.
The WCLP Basic IP and the WCLP Original Elaborated IP have the same prescriptions with regard to communication (external and internal communication), although the WCLP Basic IP gives an indication of numbers and figures with regard to salaries to be paid (See Addendum C).

The WCLP Basic IP appoints six DCAS staff members to deal with the translation and interpreting services for all provincial government departments, and in the event that they are not able to handle the demand, these departments need to pay for outsourced services organised by the DCAS. The WCLP Basic IP included what they called Language Capacity Building by Departments (Addendum C), which gives provincial departments the choice of two options on course development costs, and ends with the time frames of implementing the WCLP Basic IP. The words used here are “immediately”, “ongoing” and “annually”, which indicates that there is an ongoing Basic Implementation Plan every year, but details of how this is to be monitored are absent from the plan or being evaded.

It is important to note that I found significant other differences between the WCLP Original Elaborated IP and the WCLP Basic IP and these are:

- The WCLP Basic IP does not mention any surveys to be done or recruitment procedures to be followed when appointing language professionals;
- The absence of a Code of Conduct in the WCLP Basic IP. Why this is not included is a mystery, as I consider it imperative; it could be because of the prescriptive nature of the Code of Conduct which was not acceptable, especially because the DCAS might be the lead department with regard to language policy implementation, but is not in a position to prescribe;
The **money matters** as explained in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP differ from the WCLP Basic IP in that they deal not only with the positions that need to be filled, but also money that needs to be paid and planned for. Suddenly there is a minimum number of staff mentioned in the WCLP Basic IP, and departments can choose; which staff member to select and for what purpose is a mystery. Three staff members as indicated in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP made some sense, but only one, as mentioned in the Basic IP, did not make sense at all;

The **conclusion** of the WCLP Basic IP also differs as it makes excuses for why there is merely a “basic” implementation plan and serves as an “encouragement” to “prove” to different departments that “improved service delivery and a satisfied community in line with the Batho Pele Objectives” is possible and of “value” (See Addendum C).

In addition, there are **timeframes attached** to the WCLP Basic IP, which are not included in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP.

The workload implementing the WCLP does not differ in the two IPs. The policy requirements in No. 3 of the WCLP Basic IP are still the same as the WCLP Original Elaborated IP 7.1 (my numbering). If the staff complement is reduced in the WCLP Basic IP, why not reduce their workload too? Surely there would be challenges in implementing the WCLP when one person is appointed per provincial government department.

These differences could have an enormous impact on the attitude of the other departments. As there is no Code of Conduct in the WCLP Basic IP, budget challenges could be used as an excuse not to implement. What exactly is meant by that, seeing that so many differences exist between how to implement the WCLP when comparing the WCLP Original Elaborated IP and the WCLP Basic IP, considering staff complements, etc. and the possibility that service delivery could be hampered as a result of implementation responsibilities that stay more or less the same.
4.4 Conclusion
In conclusion, this chapter has dealt with a discussion of the WCLP, and what I understood this language policy to be all about – within the framework of an overtly promoting policy document. I have established who wrote the policy, whom it was written for, what it is intended to achieve by way of its policy goals and what its provisions are for the provincial government of the Western Cape, including the WCPP, local government and private business.

It came to my attention that there are two implementation plans, one being the WCLP Original Elaborated IP printed at the back of the WCLP booklet being distributed in the Western Cape by the DCAS at basically every language-related event or project that is being held by this department on an annual basis, as well as a WCLP Basic IP, which was handed in with the WCLP to be approved after a costing analysis of implementing the WCLP was undertaken by an independent research group. I therefore had no choice but to discuss and compare both these implementation plans. I have made many assumptions, have drawn many conclusions and have asked many questions in this regard by focusing on the omissions on some important aspects between the two IPs and by also discussing the practical challenges which could be encountered should any of these IPs be followed.

Upon closer inspection during my visits to the provincial government departments, I established that it was indeed the WCLP Basic IP that was being used in the implementation process in the two Five Year Strategic Plans. This WCLP Basic IP was proposed and accepted by the provincial Cabinet, together with the WCLP – as part of the incremental implementation that became “more” incremental. Noteworthy in this chapter is the way in which the key implementers of the policy and the policy makers – the DCAS, the WCLC – try to implement the WCLP in other provincial government departments with no apparent workable structure or solution to any challenges that might be
experienced, be it with regard to staff, finances, administration, practicality, etc. In fact, no mention is made of any challenges that might occur in the ten year planned period of implementation – no risk analysis is done in any of the IPs.

The chapter has inevitably steered me into the direction of a myriad challenges that can be experienced without me even undertaking research in the rural towns or in provincial government departments. It is accordingly with the WCLP and its Basic IP in mind, together with many challenges that these two documents were already commencing, that I have taken my research (both quantitative and qualitative) to the rural towns of the Western Cape and to provincial government departments (all structures), as is discussed in Chapters 5-8.
CHAPTER 5

THE QUANTITATIVE DATA: Analysis and Discussion

5.0 Introduction
This chapter presents a discussion of the statistical analysis of the quantitative data. This data was obtained from the research population’s responses to the key questions regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP). The questionnaires used to obtain this data can be found in Addendum D. These questionnaires were used to assess whether or not the Western Cape public is aware of the WCLP and what it entails; to assess if and how the policy meets the needs of the people at grassroots level in their day-to-day communication with each other by determining how the main implementation agencies – i.e. households, municipalities, the school, the post office, the police station and hospitals – play a role in implementing the WCLP; to obtain a holistic view regarding multilingual practices of various people from different backgrounds (linguistic, social cultural, religious and educational) who have access to these public arenas; to focus on how private businesses (banks, restaurants, social places, companies, stores, the media) implement the WCLP; and to obtain a view of the role of government departments in implementing the WCLP. The questionnaires, however, do not provide answers as to why people have different attitudes to the use of their respective languages, although much of this may be inferred from the types of answers provided.

The quantitative data supplies answers to these questions by giving each of the respondents the option to make statements regarding the following: their age, language proficiency, their employment status, their knowledge of the WCLP and their language practices in their personal environment and in public and private places in their home towns. It was important to draw correlations between their knowledge of the Language Policy and their day-to-day activities in public places in order to determine not only whether or not implementation
problems exist but also to determine whether or not language attitudes and the power of language play an important role with or without the existence of a language policy. At grassroots level it was important to determine the existence of factors other than a formal, written language policy when it comes to language usage and/or assistance in the personal environment of members of the public. The chapter concludes by relating the quantitative findings to the hypotheses of the study. All tables relating to these findings can be found in Addendum R.

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, all respondents were given an explanation with regard to the difference between the options contained in the questionnaire that were before them. The respondents were given the opportunity to answer according to the Likert scale of strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), unsure/do not know (3), agree (4) and strongly agree (5). “Strongly disagree (1)” meant that the respondent had a very good feeling that the statement that was before him/her was not exactly what he/she thought at that moment. It simply meant that I had assumed a certain fact and the fact was definitely not the case in reality, in addition to which there was a lot of negative emotion attached to the statement. “Disagree (2)” meant that I was wrong in making the statement, but the respondent was not emotionally involved in it. “Unsure/I don’t know (3)” was about the respondent not being sure about the statement I made or not knowing or not being aware of anything that was before him/her. “Agree (4)” meant that I was correct in making the statement and that the respondent agreed with the statement as he/she felt that I might have had a point in making the statement. “Strongly agree (5)” had a strong emotional effect attached to it and the respondent felt that what the researcher said in the statement was definitely a true reflection of what the respondent felt at that moment.
An example of this might be the following (and this question would be relevant to finding out if the respondents were aware of the content of the WCLP, as the WCLP is required to give recognition to isiXhosa as an official language):

“isiXhosa is an official language in the Western Cape.”

Should a respondent have made a cross in block 5, it would mean that he/she was absolutely certain of the statement; if he/she ticked 4, he/she was sure that it might be the case; if he/she ticked 3, he/she was really uncertain or did not know for sure; if he/she ticked in block 2, it would mean that the respondent felt that it was not true; and if 1 was ticked, the respondent was absolutely sure that this was not the case.

The statistical significance or percentages to prove statements were the following: 700 respondents took part in the research. Of the 700, 530 (75.71%) were matriculants (Grade 12) at schools in the Western Cape and other young people not attending school, but being unemployed or students. In Beaufort West there are only three high schools, in Bredasdorp only two, in Moorreesburg only one. In the other three towns where there were more than three, schools from predominantly Black, ‘Coloured’ and White communities were targeted. Where schools were not visited, questionnaires were handed to youth organizations in these different towns. 110 civilians (15.71%) were given questionnaires in the different towns and these civilians were selected from different civilian organisations and non-governmental organisations or church groups and even from parents of schoolgoing children. 30 public servants (4.28%) working at the towns’ post offices, police stations, hospitals, clinics completed questionnaires. 30 owners of private businesses (4.28%) in these towns also took part in the quantitative study and they were selected based on general information taken from sourcing of businesses in these towns.
The sample of the young people was larger as they had been in organisations and/or institutions in the Western Cape and it was easier to include in the overall sample.

5.1 Results of questionnaires

5.1.1 General information - tables and discussion:
The questionnaire contained a section dealing with the demographic statistics with regard to the respondents. This section included:

- age (under 35, regarded as youth);
- gender;
- language proficiency;
- whether respondents were deaf or not;
- whether the respondents speak Nama or not; and
- whether the respondents were unemployed or not.

These statistics can be found in the tables in Addendum R.

5.1.1.1. Gender, age and employment status
Female respondents (59%) outnumbered males (43, 29%) but not to a very large degree. The youth total formed the largest part of the study and therefore the young people younger than 35 formed the largest sample. The public servants working for government and public institutions were employed, as well as the owners of private business. The civilians were mostly unemployed. The youth is considered as schoolgoing or attending college and not in a position to work and therefore they formed part of the group of unemployed people.
5.1.1.2 Language proficiency

The language proficiency of the respondents provided quite remarkable data. Most of the respondents were from towns in which Afrikaans and isiXhosa were dominant home languages, and where English was taught as the main second language. This resulted in 506 (72.28%) being able to speak English, while 91 respondents (13%) were proficient in isiXhosa and English, and 404 (57.7%) in Afrikaans and English. It should be pointed out that while English is taught as a second language at the schools in these towns, isiXhosa is not being offered at many of these schools. Those who reported speaking only one language were as follows: 11 for English, 120 for Afrikaans and 11 for isiXhosa. A further 39 respondents reported being proficient in more than three languages - Sesotho and isiZulu, combined with isiXhosa. The language proficiency of respondents played an integral part in making certain assumptions in the study which is why it is important to note the significance of the English language in these towns, where Afrikaans still holds significant power and influence (Plüddemann, P, Braam, D, Broeder, P, Extra, G and October, M; 2004) as the influence of Afrikaans is extensive.

5.1.1.3 Deafness

Those respondents that were deaf completed their questionnaires by making use of a SASL translator who assisted them in the making of crosses in appropriate boxes. This could be an indication of many more deaf people living in towns in the Western Cape who do not necessarily reside in Worcester, one of the towns in the Western Cape where many deaf people reside and where deaf learners attend school, as a result of which it is possible that communication with the Deaf has to be dealt with in these towns, as the WCLP requires.

5.1.1.4 The Nama Language

A total of five Nama speakers took part in the study, but used Afrikaans or English to complete the questionnaires. Nama speakers are in the absolute
minority in the Western Cape. In fact, their language can be considered to be highly endangered in this province, as it does not feature in any school, public or private institution and the likelihood of their language being spoken at home is extremely low.

5.1.2 The WCLP

5.1.2.1 Awareness of the existence of the WCLP booklet and content
It was important to determine whether or not the respondents were aware of the language policy of the Western Cape. One section on this particular topic had to do with a direct statement in this regard, with a follow-up question following later in the questionnaire. The idea was to try to make sure at the beginning of the questionnaire that the respondents were aware that it dealt with languages and specifically with the WCLP. That is why the following question was made part of the general questions in the beginning, to be asked in detail at a later stage in the questionnaire. The question was: *Have you seen a copy of the Western Cape Language Policy before?*

Please find below the statistics in graph form. The mean of these questions was determined as well as the median, and the analysis of these follows below:

**Graph 5.1 Awareness of the WCLP:**
Mean/Median responses by question number of WCLP

group Business Civilian Public Youth
In general, only 35 out of 652 respondents (5.36%) who answered the question had seen a copy of the WCLP, which means that there had been a huge lack of exposure to it. The WCLP is contained in a little booklet, printed on glossy paper and in three languages, with the implementation ideas appearing at the back. These had been copied for distribution all over the Western Cape since 2005 according to several project reports by the DCAS (WCLP Annual reports, 2006/07-2010/11). It was the expectation of the research that the distribution would have reached the communities at grassroots level. As a result of the distribution of the policy that obviously had not reached as far as the towns I visited the assumption exists that a general lack of information regarding what the language policy entails and/or why it was written and what it deals with. There cannot be any language policy knowledge or preparation, understanding and execution of what is being prescribed regarding language policy implementation if the basic idea of having a language policy is not, and never was, communicated at the level of the civilian.

I assumed the consequences of these issues discussed above would be a lack of understanding as to what it means to have a language policy in the province. My question in this regard was whether or not this policy had been created for the entire Western Cape public or for an unknown, select few.

It was hoped that those in service of state organs, institutions or at local government level would be aware of the WCLP, considering that they were the implementers as well as those dealing with the public on a daily basis using different languages. It was shocking to find out that a huge percentage (83.33%) of public servants working in the post offices, police stations, hospitals and clinics in the Western Cape towns were not aware of the policy. Consequently not knowing about the language policy is, in my opinion, equal to not serving the public in its own languages, therefore not attempting to implement any policy that has to do with language use. Because, if they had received the WCLP
copy, they would have known how it should be implemented by them as public servants, since the implementation plan is part of and copied at the back of the booklet about the language policy.

Incidentally, complete ignorance exists regarding the language plans of the Western Cape provincial government, which is evident in the answers of 94, 63% of the respondents. This begs the question as to where the information regarding the language policy is being kept and whether or not it is possible that the information regarding the policy is being distributed to selected government departments (Annual Reports of the DCAS and the WCLC between 2000/01 and 2012/13), and not directly to the people of the Western Cape or, which is important, to the public servants. It may be assumed that the WCLP distribution stops at a certain level in the provincial and local government, or that it stops at their major offices, or that it is being kept in boxes somewhere, or that the booklets are not being printed or distributed at all (even though a copy is available on the internet).

Lack of awareness about the existence of the policy may be the very first implementation challenge concerning the policy, as the public servants hold the key to implementing the WCLP. Should any of them be aware of the policy, they might be able to enable its implementation from grassroots level upwards by responding to language usage demands in the private and public places they serve from the people who visit their offices. Should people be aware of or know about the WCLP and its contents, incidentally, they will be put in the position of making use of some of what it prescribes. It is therefore possible that the people residing in the rural towns of the Western Cape are being neglected with regard to information about language rights and are ill informed about the existence of the WCLP and its implementation plan.
5.1.2.2 Descriptive statistics regarding the WCLP, the WCLC and the official status of languages:

As the WCLC had drafted the WCLP, I tested the respondents’ awareness of the existence of this body. After all, it is the WCLC that needs to monitor and oversee the implementation of the WCLP and this is the body that would therefore be responsible for taking action should any of the residents of the province complain or have issues regarding their language rights, language use or any matter related thereto. I needed to determine whether or not the respondents were particularly aware of isiXhosa’s official status as I wanted to test whether they would then be aware that Afrikaans and English remained official languages due to these languages’ official status during the Apartheid regime. This was done in order to test the position of isiXhosa in schools in the past and currently. I also needed to assess the position of isiXhosa at school level, especially amongst predominantly Afrikaans and English medium schools, and whether or not learners were exposed to it at least as a subject.

The questionnaire contained a section dealing with the descriptive statistics with regard to the WCLP. This included the following:

- whether or not respondents were aware of the WCLC;
- whether or not respondents had any knowledge of which languages enjoyed official status in the province, assuming they knew what ‘official status’ meant;
- whether or not respondents were aware of the existence of SASL, which is the language of the Deaf and of the Nama Language, which is the Khoi language spoken in the Western Cape (DCAS Annual reports) and which the WCLP specifically mentions (a language which needs to be preserved); and
- whether or not the respondents are taking isiXhosa as a subject at school level or had taken it when they were at school.
The mean of these questions was determined together with the median, and the median was used to make a generalised analysis, which follows below. Below the graphs there will be an analysis on the respondents with regard to their knowledge about the WCLP:

### a. Awareness of the existence of the statutory body the WCLC

The youth, adult civilians and business owner groups were unsure of or did not know whether or not the WCLC had drafted the WCLP. This seemed to be a strange result especially regarding this question, as the assumption was that there would first be a committee to draft a policy, and the name of the committee was a dead giveaway in answering the question, or the respondents really did not know. The public servants were, surprisingly, also unsure about or did not know whether or not the WCLC had drafted the WCLP. This correlates with the previous assumption that they had not seen a copy of the WCLP before. It could be assumed that these public servants who were supposed to be part of the implementation process did not know where the WCLP had come from, and consequently they would not be aware of language matters or the language use prescriptions of the policy. This general ignorance about the WCLP was at odds with its own claim that there had been broad consultations with the general public with regard to the drafting, compiling and the final submission for acceptance to the Western Cape Cabinet (WCLP summary, 2004).

### b. Awareness of the official status of three languages in the province

The youth, adult respondents and business owners strongly agreed that Afrikaans and English were the official languages of the Western Cape, yet appeared to be unsure about the status of isiXhosa as the third official language as contained in the WCLP. This response could be linked to the history of Afrikaans and English as the official languages in the province (and indeed in the country) for a very long time. The public servants, however, all strongly agreed that Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English were the official languages of the
Western Cape. That could be an indication of their knowledge of the RSA Constitution of 1996 as well as of the official status of isiXhosa in the country, something they could relate to the province, despite the fact that they did not know about the policy.

A number of assumptions regarding the responses of the general public toward isiXhosa as an official language can be made: respondents’ ignorance of its change in status in the province and the country; a lack of knowledge regarding the language clauses in the RSA Constitution of 1996; and a lack of awareness of the number of people speaking isiXhosa in the country and also in the province (it is the second largest language in the province, according to the South African National Census of 2011). Even among those who are isiXhosa speaking, there is a general lack of awareness and even interest in the status of isiXhosa in this province, possibly owing to greater exposure to Afrikaans and English in daily and weekly newspapers, in magazines, over the radio, in legislation, on television, in schools, in shops, etc. and less exposure to isiXhosa. Ideologies, particularly those of a language hierarchy, could also play a role here, combined with the economic power of English and Afrikaans as opposed to that of isiXhosa.

c. isiXhosa as a subject at school level
The youth, adult civilians and business owners further strongly disagreed that isiXhosa is/was taught as a subject at school level. Most of the respondents, who obviously came from predominantly Afrikaans or English backgrounds because of the demographics of the rural towns, indicated that they did not have or had never received isiXhosa as a subject at school. This could also explain the uncertainty around the status of isiXhosa in the province.
The Nama Language and South African Sign Language (SASL)

I carefully explained to the youth, adult civilians and the business owners what the Nama Language and SASL were before they answered the questionnaire, expecting them not to know these languages. However, even in answering questions about these languages they were unsure whether or not the WCLP protected the Nama Language and SASL, or whether or not SASL was an official language of the Western Cape. This gave an indication that the youth, adult civilians and business owners had little contact with any of the Nama speakers in the province and least of all with the Deaf.

The public servants should, in their respective roles of employment within the state, be responsible for language policy implementation, as

“...groups, individuals and institutions or positions of authority in the state of government the success or failure of a programme are ultimately decided by the level of responsibility of some kind of person(s).”

With regard to the public servants, I could make the assumption that stemming from the fact that they did not know much about the WCLP or the WCLC, it came as no surprise that they were unsure of or did not know whether or not the WCLP protected the Nama Language and SASL or whether or not SASL was an official language of the Western Cape. So the only time that they could have been exposed to knowing about the existence of the Nama Language, for example, would have been if they knew about the Language Policy and they would have asked questions about it, as the Nama Language is regarded as an indigenous language (WCLP; 2004). Regarding SASL, there appeared to be little exposure of public servants to deaf people, which was quite surprising, given the reliance of the Deaf and hard of hearing on a range of public services.
5.1.3 Language practices in the personal environment (LPPE)

The next section of the questionnaire dealt with language practices in the personal environment. It was important to find out using this section exactly what the respondents had to say about language practices in their day-to-day lives and what role the stipulations of the WCLP could possibly play with regard to their experiences, if any. The personal environment for the purpose of the study included:

- a respondent’s response to finding him/herself in a position where his/her preferred language was not spoken back to him/her;
- the status of English as a language;
- communication with the respondent’s Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa speaking friends;
- which language was being used to communicate with those who could not speak any of these three languages;
- which languages were being used at home; and
- inter-generational changes in language practices in the home environment.

The adult civilians did not answer questions about language practices during family visits and school-related questions as they were already adults and not school learners at the time of the research. The public servants and business owners did not answer the next section of the questionnaire dealing with descriptive statistics about language practices in public and private places.

5.1.3.1 The youth between 17 and 35 (N: 530)

The mean of these questions was determined, together with the median, and the median was used to make a generalised analysis. Below, please find the statistics in graph form. Below the graph there is an analysis on the respondents with regard to their language practices in their personal environment:

Graph 5.2: Language practices in the personal environment:
a. **Preferred language use in town**

According to the table above, the youth respondents were unsure of or did not know whether or not their preferred language was commonly used in their town. There is a contradiction here as people actually use different languages or varieties in different contexts, hence the confusion. It could also be that the young people were unsure of themselves when entering a public place where people have to speak to them in the language they ‘preferred’. I had to explain the term “preferred” to the respondents and according to my field notes taken at the time, some of them indicated that they “speak a mixed language” and that they prefer this and could not express themselves in “correct language”, and asked whether they had to choose among the three official languages for the purpose of the study, upon which I indicated “yes”. So in this regard I assumed that that could probably be the reason why they would be unsure, because of the standardised use of Afrikaans, isiXhosa or English when they were being assisted in town.

b. **Speaking to friends from different language groups**

The youth strongly agreed that they would use English should people not be able to understand them otherwise, such as Afrikaans- or isiXhosa-speaking friends. On the other hand, they strongly agreed that they would speak Afrikaans to their Afrikaans-speaking friends, yet strongly disagreed about speaking isiXhosa to their isiXhosa friends. This is probably the reason why English is regarded as the language used for building a bridge between speakers of different languages and a gatekeeper or a liberator (Chetty and Mwepu; 2008: 333). English was studied as a subject at school level by 100% of these learners as either a home language or an additional language according to the principles of the education system, which state that two languages should be studied at high school level according to the Language in Education Policy of 1998 (LiEP). These young people also possessed some knowledge of the language, should they need to use it when confronted with a multilingual situation. The youth strongly disagreed, however, that they would speak another language to those not understanding
their own language, viz. other than Afrikaans or isiXhosa or English, thus reinforcing the bilingualism existing in the province. Very few of the respondents were actually fully trilingual (isiXhosa, Sesotho, English for example), but, typically, many knew words and phrases in other languages and blended these into their conversations.

c. Language practice at home

The respondents agreed strongly on the fact that the language spoken by their parents and grandparents was still spoken at home. They disagreed that there had been a language change in their home environment since they were born, and they strongly agreed that when other family members visited their homes, only one language would be spoken in the house. The fact that they still used the same language at home as had been the case for so many years was an indication of the mother tongue ideology which

"... is the language community of the mother tongue, the language spoken in a region, which enables the process of enculturation, the growing of an individual into a particular system of linguistic perception of the world and participation in the centuries old history of linguistic production." (Tulasiewicz and Adams, 2005: 5)

d. Language at school level

Schooling is an important aspect of our society and it is here that the youth are being educated to take on the future of the province, even with regard to languages and their attitudes towards languages. At school level there are also other people, such as the governing bodies and the staff, who, together with the education department, determine the medium of instruction and the languages that should be taken as subjects (LieP, 1998) and in this regard be given a certain status. The youth agreed that their subjects were taught at school in their first language, but, while they strongly agreed on studying both English and
Afrikaans as school subjects, they strongly disagreed to studying isiXhosa as a subject at school level. The study showed in addition that Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English were being taken as subjects by first-language speakers at school level. Given the “compulsory two languages” plan by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED), the study showed that a learner, who selects Afrikaans or English as one of the languages, would not select isiXhosa as an additional language to be studied. However, referring to the fact that the study showed a huge outcry by the youth in their qualitative responses to studying isiXhosa as a subject at school, I assumed in this regard that isiXhosa, as a subject for Afrikaans and English speaking learners, would have to be introduced at second additional language level, in other words at basic communication level as soon as possible.

This is possibly an indication of the ideology of bilingualism and how learners had been historically exposed, and were still being exposed, to Afrikaans and English as the two most important languages in the province and of how they perceived the isiXhosa language – in other words, as the least important of the three languages in the province in terms of language hierarchy. IsiXhosa was not a compulsory subject in most of the schools where I carried out my research, and this lack of status further entrenches the views of the youth about its relative value in relation to English and Afrikaans in the province.

English was regarded as essential for the job market, thereby entrenching its importance in the province for the future of the learner. It was constantly portrayed as having the power to open doors for the future for young people, exposing learners to an enormous variety of communicative tools and serving their needs in the province. Even the Western Cape provincial government uses English for its TV broadcasts (Parliamentary service, Channel 408, DStv). This almost unassailable status of English means that a choice has to be made
between Afrikaans and isiXhosa as additional language at school, and at present Afrikaans is the preferred choice.

5.1.3.2 The adult civilians (N: 110)
A discussion of the statistical findings (refer to tables in Addendum R) on the adult civilians with regard to their language practices in their personal environments is presented below:

a. Preferred language use in town
According to Table 5.2 the adult civilians agreed to having been in a situation in town where their preferred language had not been spoken to them, as a result of which they used English, or a mixture of English and other languages, particularly when dealing with officials in often intimidating environments such as banks and government departments. English was therefore the default alternative when they were not understood, and they appeared not to be aware of their right to request assistance in either Afrikaans or isiXhosa.

b. Speaking to friends of different language groups
The adult respondents also agreed that they would speak English to English-speaking friends, they agreed to speak Afrikaans to their Afrikaans-speaking friends, and they were unsure of or did not know whether they would speak isiXhosa to their isiXhosa friends. That could be an indication of the fact that the adult civilians communicated with their friends primarily in Afrikaans and/or English and did not have the ability to communicate in isiXhosa.

c. Language practice at home
The respondents strongly agreed on the fact that the language that their parents spoke was still spoken at home and also strongly agreed that the language that their grandparents spoke was still spoken at home. This is an indication that intergenerational transfer of the home languages is taking place in the home, and
offers some support for the mother tongue ideology. They were unsure of or did not know whether or not there had been a language change in their home environment since they were born.

5.1.4 Language practices in public and private places (LPPPP)
The next section of the questionnaire dealt with descriptive statistics about language practices in public and private places such as the post office, police station, hospital, clinic, municipal offices, bank and private businesses. It included questions on

- the language/s respondents used when addressing state employees while visiting a government department;
- whether or not respondents felt that the notices were in English or Afrikaans or isiXhosa only or in two languages; and
- whether respondents knew that it was possible to ask for the services of an interpreter when they were struggling to communicate with government officials.

This particular section had to be closely linked to whether or not the respondents felt that the notices were in Afrikaans or isiXhosa or English only or in two languages and whether the services of an interpreter were required during communication with government officials. I have grouped the adult civilians and the youth together, as their responses to this section were more or less the same response. The business owners did not answer questions on the next section of the questionnaire dealing with descriptive statistics about language practices in public and private places.

5.1.4.1 The youth (N: 530) and adult civilians (N: 30)
The statistical findings on these questions regarding language use in public spaces are presented below in Graph 5.3. Also refer to Addendum R:

Graph 5.3: Language practices in public and private places:
Mean/Median responses by question number of LPPPP group

Business Civilian Public Youth
a. Language of preference when communicating with public servants

The results showed that both the youth and adult civilians agreed that the language of their preference was spoken to them at the post office, the police station, the hospital, the clinic, the municipal offices, the bank, at private businesses and during communication with state employees. This was probably the case because most of the respondents who took part in the study were either first-language or second-language speakers of both Afrikaans and English.

b. Language of notices for public assistance

The results showed the following with regard to languages in which the signage appeared in town. The signage included notices on notice boards, billboards, etc. Both groups indicated that signage had not been in either Afrikaans or isiXhosa only. They only revealed an uncertainty about or no knowledge of English-only signage or signage in only two languages.

c. Status of interpreting services

Neither group knew of or was unsure whether or not interpreting services were being used should they have communication challenges. In my field notes I specifically made note of how respondents who could not speak Afrikaans or English would be assisted by someone in the office or by a caretaker who would be able to help them in their situation at the hospital, and that this situation had frustrated them. I further gathered that interpreting services were mostly not available in public places.

5.1.5 Language attitudes

The questionnaire was also used in order to ascertain the attitude of respondents towards different languages in some aspects of the environment in which they were living. Specific focus was placed on the following:
• the importance of communication and the use of English;
• the importance of language issues over issues such as housing, electricity and job creation;
• willingness to acquire a third language; and
• the most common language in the home town and its use in church sermons.

The public service respondents did not respond to these questions.

5.1.5.1 The youth (N: 530), adult civilians (N: 30) and business owners (N: 30)

The statistical findings on the questions regarding language attitudes are contained in Addendum R. Below are the findings in a comparative graph (Graph 5.4):

Graph 5.4: Attitude to languages in the environment:
Mean/Median responses by question number of ALE group

Business Civilian Public Youth
a. **Attitude towards communicating in other peoples’ languages and the role of English**

The youth, adult civilians and the business owners all agreed that communication in other peoples’ languages is important, and that to be able to communicate in other peoples’ languages is as important. However, they all agreed that English was being used as a means of communication, or *lingua franca*, should they not understand someone else.

Such contradictory statements from the general public are very common when doing this type of research, and are a reflection of how people’s attitudes are shaped and modified by daily events and experiences. There may be powerful ideologies promoting the use of English, but ordinary people can also hold their own counter-ideologies on the value of other languages, leading to this kind of contradiction. I assumed that English is the prestige language for these respondents, although the other languages may be more important for them within different contexts.

b. **Importance of language versus the importance of housing, electricity and other essential services**

Responses here ranged from uncertainty about language issues to their being of less importance than other essential services. People either did not see the evident link between language and the other services, or lacked the meta-language to express themselves on language issues.

c. **Willingness to acquire a third language**

All three groups believed that they would never be able to learn a third language, which may indicate negative attitudes towards particular home languages owing to the language hierarchy within the towns.
d. Language in town and in church is connected

Both the youth and the adult civilians agreed on the same language being spoken in their home towns; however, the business owners disagreed. I assumed, therefore, that this was an indication of more than one language being spoken in town. The business owners probably conducted their business in one language only.

5.1.6 Visiting government departments

Finally, the respondents needed to answer questions with regard to their relationship with public servants. They had to answer the following:

- whether or not they had visited a government department before; and
- whether or not they had been served in their preferred language during this visit.

5.1.6.1 The youth (N: 530), the adult civilians (N: 110), public servants (N: 30) and business owners (N: 30)

Graph 5.5 below shows the comparative data for this section. Also refer to Addendum R:

Graph 5.5: Visiting government departments:
Once again, I found quite a number of contradictory responses. Young people in particular disagreed in their written responses that they had access to services in their own language at government offices. However, in the follow-up question, most responded that they had been served in their preferred language. I therefore assumed that they did not understand the question or were not aware of what exactly provincial government departments were. The adult civilians were unsure of their visits to government offices and as a result they were unsure about being served in their preferred language. The business owners were unsure about their visits to the government offices. However, in the follow-up question as to whether or not they were served in their preferred language, they agreed that this had happened. It is possible that the youth, adult civilians and business owners were not in touch with what was being labeled as government departments owing to either a lack of exposure or a lack of understanding of the local and provincial government spheres. Should this be the case, they would not be aware of the places in which they could insist on their linguistic rights in the province as stipulated by the WCLP.

The public servants, from whom I expected much clearer responses, were actually most unsure about having been served in their preferred languages, which raises the question as to whether or not they had to revert in many departments other than the ones they actually worked in, to their second language, viz. English.

5.2 Challenges for members of civil society from different language backgrounds with regard to the practical implementation of the WCLP

The following challenges have been identified with regard to implementing the WCLP in local and provincial government institutions in the towns that were visited:
5.2.1 Level of public awareness of the WCLP in towns that had been visited

One of the hypotheses of the thesis is that the public are not aware of the WCLP, which constitutes one of the key challenges in implementing the WCLP. The findings discussed in this chapter clearly support this hypothesis, as the majority of the respondents had no knowledge of the existence of the WCLP or of what the WCLP contains. One of the most important factors in implementing a language policy is an awareness of that policy among the population. If that awareness does not exist, or knowledge of the existence of a language policy fails to reach the public, effective implementation is impossible. It is the duty of the language policy-makers (in this specific case, the DCAS of the Western Cape and the WCLC) to ensure that the public is informed of the policy and how it should impact on them directly.

Part of the implementation process of the WCLP is creating awareness and making sure that the public are properly informed. The respondents not only did not have knowledge of the language policy, but they also did not know that they had language rights and what these language rights are. What I found particularly disturbing is the fact that public servants, people who are supposed to work with the general public, are not aware of the existence of the WCLP. If they are ill-informed about the policy, then it is not surprising that the public is also largely ignorant about it. Lack of awareness and of information therefore constitutes key factors in the possible failure of the policy. This serves simply to reinforce the status quo and the existing language ideologies prevalent in the Western Cape.

It is, of course, obvious that language issues in the Western Cape are of less immediate importance to the general public than more immediate challenges to their existence, such as housing, unemployment and the provision of education and health services. Yet all these issues are mediated via language, and if people are unable to communicate their needs effectively, and in that way claim their
linguistic rights as well as their linguistic citizenship (Stroud; 2001) they will have great difficulty in accessing a range of state services as well as the employment sector effectively.

5.2.2 Status of isiXhosa in towns that had been visited

The data in relation to isiXhosa clearly reveals the research population’s lack of exposure to it as a school subject in most of the schools I visited. Learning the language at school is surely one of most important ways of creating an awareness of isiXhosa as an official language of the Western Cape. The question needs to be asked: How is it possible that the province could be in possession of a provincial language policy that serves the three official languages of the Western Cape, yet the third official language (despite its large number of home-language users) is highly marginalized at school level?

The WCLP cannot be implemented effectively in the province if the public status of isiXhosa is not improved to accommodate its speakers. The current state of affairs is a clear reflection of the past official policy of bilingualism in Afrikaans and English, and even those who are home-language speakers of Xhosa do their best to acquire one or both of these languages. These two languages are in a way the languages of power and they are holding on to that position in no uncertain terms. The speech communities in the different towns have to be able to compete within the global world and in that way they also have to make sure that they are part of the economic power in the province, and expanding this to the entire country, and, with regard to English, possibly globally.

At this juncture it seems as if the position and status of isiXhosa is not on this path of economic empowerment for its young isiXhosa-speakers and those studying it as a subject at school level, and in effect these learners are not being
empowered with their matric certificates in the way Afrikaans and English learners are. I assumed that isiXhosa being an official language is more of a symbolic idea or initiative than an actual means of empowerment for the Black population. On paper isiXhosa looks impressive as an official language next to Afrikaans and English, but that is where matters remain as there is no indication that isiXhosa is growing in power (educationally and economically) in the province. However, this situation for isiXhosa could be resolved via the Department of Basic Education’s introduction of an African language to be taken from Grade 1 to 12 from 2015 to

“...promote and strengthen the use of African languages by all learners in the school system by introducing learners incrementally to learning an African language from Grade 1 to 12 to ensure that all non-African home language speakers speak an African Language” (The Incremental Introduction of African Languages in South African Schools Draft Policy, 2013: 5).

The question remains whether or not the isiXhosa-speaking population in the Western Cape would, considering that their language has official status, be prepared to fight for its wider use beyond being just a symbol of officialdom, in the same ferocious manner that the Afrikaans-speaking community has fought, in order for the playing fields to be equal.

5.2.3 The growing status of English in the towns that had been visited

It is further evident from the data that English is the predominant lingua franca for the respondents; this is of course not Standard English, but a highly localised form of English, blended with local varieties of Afrikaans and isiXhosa. In addition, it is the preferred language of education for many parents as well (Plüddemann et al, 2004). The WCLP does not fully acknowledge the growing power of English (particularly localised English) in the province and this further hampers the implementation of the policy. Instead, the basic aim of the WCLP is to create trilingualism when there is communication between the provincial
government and the public, mainly by making use of written texts. The WCLP’s major aim is for people to be able to communicate in the language of their preference, with, of course, special treatment for those who are deaf or hard of hearing and those communicating in the Nama Language, as well as to read information in Afrikaans, isiXhosa or English.

Despite the fine aims of the policy, I feel that ideologies on the power and status of English nationally as well as internationally have an almost paralysing effect on the effective implementation of the WCLP. Many people appear to see it as the main language of the future while they are much more pessimistic about the futures of other South African languages, apart from the continued modification of the latter through ongoing blending with English. It became evident to me during my research that English was being mixed with a variety of other languages, such as isiXhosa and Afrikaans, which has resulted in different blends and mixes in the urban settings that make sense to those who speak it, so that they can make sense of each other’s languages. Graddol (2000) argues that while many of the world’s minority languages may die out, there is also an ongoing process of linguistic hybridisation which will lead to new language varieties. Pennycook (2004: 231) also contends that as languages are open systems, constantly moving and changing instead of being static, bounded systems, language shift is simply a normal process leading to new forms of language diversity. This seems to me to be at the heart of why language policies are so difficult to implement – they deal with languages as bounded systems instead of acknowledging their shifting, constantly changing nature as they are mixed and blended with other codes.

5.2.4 Language use in personal and public environment in towns that had been visited
There are indeed multilingual practices by various people from different backgrounds (linguistic, social cultural, religious and educational) who have
access to public areas, and people find ways in which to make understanding of each other possible.

5.3 Conclusion
The chapter provided an analysis of the quantitative data collected for this study with regard to the day-to-day lives of the people in the towns where the research was carried out and how people interact with each other in their personal lives as well as in public places. Amongst many other findings on language use in the personal environment, in public places and in government institutions, the chapter stressed the non-importance of isiXhosa as a third official language next to Afrikaans and English and that isiXhosa’s marginalization is still happening to a large degree in the everyday lives of ordinary citizens. The chapter also examined whether or not the WCLP plays a significant role in their lives.

The questionnaires proved that more than ten years after the first draft of the WCLP was produced and more than five years after the acceptance of the WCLP by the Western Cape Provincial Cabinet, neither the public nor the public servants (who are supposed to have been briefed on the WCLP) have any knowledge about the existence or the content of the WCLP. People therefore generally do not insist on their language rights and as such the need of the language policy disappears. It is this ignorance that I regard as the most crucial challenge in implementing the WCLP.

If the public require services in their preferred languages at government institutions in accordance with the stipulations of the WCLP with regard to verbal communication with public servants, more often than not there are no interpreters available to help them. Without such provisions, there is no point in claiming that a language policy exists, many members of the public will stay largely ill-informed on a range of issues, and better service delivery is not
guaranteed. A lack of proper communication with the wider public is often, at the heart of such often violent confrontations, as has been seen by recent service delivery protests across South Africa. The multilingual needs of the broader population is sorely lacking when it comes to the issues prioritised by the provincial government.

Those tasked with the implementation of the WCLP have therefore largely failed to ensure its implementation in places where there is interaction between public servants and ordinary citizens, and therefore the policy remains – at grassroots level, where understanding of government issues and general information could be regarded as important for the different communities irrespective of their environment – just another state document with little or no impact on the daily routine of ordinary citizens.
CHAPTER 6

THE QUALITATIVE DATA PART I: Responses from the most senior implementers of the WCLP

6.0 Introduction

Now that the quantitative data and document analysis have been presented, it is time to dig below the surface of these statistics and documents in order to discover the underlying ideologies about language as well as the contradictions, contestations and variations in the spoken and written responses of different categories of respondents. Blackledge (2005: 32) contends that language ideologies “are positioned in, and subject to, their social, political and historical contexts”, and are inscribed in many “chains of discourse” (ibid: 209). Language policy is one of these discursive chains, and cannot be divested from the politics and history of either the country or institution which draws up such policies. In this regard Blommaert (1996: 217) notes: “Whenever we indulge in ‘language’ planning, we should be aware of the fact that we indulge in political linguistics”.

In my presentation of the qualitative data in my study in Chapters 6-8, I have elected to start with an analysis of interviews with representatives of the three key implementers responsible for the WCLP IP, namely the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) and the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP).

As an employee of the DCAS at the time and as a participant observer, and in the absence of any other research about the WCLP that had been done by other researchers not necessarily sourced and paid for by the provincial government, I had to rely heavily on the 2010 Colloquium on the WCLP Implementation Challenges held by the WCLC and the DCAS Central Language Unit (CLU), at
which the WCPP was represented by the then Minister in the Provincial Legislature and Chairperson of the Standing Committee and where the WCLC openly and directly linked the challenges facing the implementation of the WCLP to the lack of involvement of the WCPP. The aftermath of this Colloquium will also be discussed in order to get a closer look at how power structures within WCPP influence the DCAS and the WCLC and at how in turn they influence WCLP implementation horizontally in respect of other provincial government departments and their senior management and language practitioners, and subsequently downwards to grassroots level: the people of the Western Cape. Transcripts of interviews with these representatives of the WCLP’s key implementers can be found in Addendum N. I elected to do a thorough critical discourse analysis of these interviews as well as of the Colloquium and its aftermath. As was reported in Chapter 3, these interviews were relatively unstructured, to allow for a free flow of information. The DCAS respondent was a former employee who had worked for more than a decade on the WCLP IP process, while WCLC respondent was the chairperson of the WCLC at the time of the interview.

The chapter then attempts to unpack the power relations between these two sectors and how this might impact on the implementation of the WCLP. According to Shohamy (2006:54) “...language policy has become a major tool used by those in authority seeking to manipulate language behaviour and practice”, and in this chapter I attempt to uncover the different attitudes and ideologies held by these most senior respondents regarding the implementation of the WCLP as well as the relationships between these different role players.

My attempts to collect data from the most senior personnel of the WCPP was completely unsuccessful, despite the fact that this body represents the highest layer of power in the province and has to provide the budget for the implementation of the WCLP. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, several
forwarded questionnaires and several requests for an interview during the course of the study were either ignored or channelled to such an extent that it proved to be impossible to gain access to anyone. One outcome of my efforts was that I had to forward the Abstract of the thesis in pdf-format, upon which a Committee would then make a decision as to whether or not to grant me an interview, but even that effort amounted to naught. However, I was able to obtain an interview with the most senior person in the Corporate Section of the WCPP which deals with languages, which is how I could make the WCPP part of the study. This had an impact on the amount of information the person concerned was able to give me, and that is noted in the chapter.

The chapter ends with a summary of how the different discourses on power relations, structural and political challenges which might lead to challenges in implementing the WCLP.

Chapter 7 subsequently unpacks the qualitative data collected from the Language Practitioners (LPs) of the WC, who are all members of the Provincial Language Forum (PLF) of the Western Cape. Their responses will be followed in Chapter 8 by those of ordinary citizens, both adult and youth, who are intended to be the actual recipients of the benefits promised in the policy. In this way, it is hoped that the “chains of discourse” Blackledge (2005) referred to above can be made visible all along the line, from those with the most power, as noted by Spolsky and Shohamy (2000) as well as Ager (1996), to those with the least, as was shown in Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3.

The discourses uncovered here through the written responses to the questionnaire as well as the interviews should also provide considerable evidence of the language ideologies which impact on the success or failure of the IP.
6.1 The interview with a representative of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS)

The Head of the Department (HOD) of the DCAS and the Director: Arts, Culture, and Languages as well as the Head/Deputy Director of Languages granted me permission to conduct interviews with anyone I wished in the department with regard to my studies. However, none of the DCAS SM members responded to any of my numerous requests by e-mail, by phone or in person to grant me an interview. I then had no choice but to rely on the information given by a DCAS employee who had worked in the DCAS for more than a decade, had acted as a Head of Languages several times and had sat in on many finance focus meetings with the Chief Director, was at the time part of the Language Policy Implementation Unit (LPIU) at the DCAS, had an extensive knowledge of and experience with the WCLP and had also taken part in the discussions and formulation of the WCLP and its IP draft in 2000.

Upon my arrival for the interview at his open plan office, I could see that the interviewee was clearly well prepared, with plenty of documentation in front of him, giving me the impression that he knew what he was talking about. During the interview I was offered information that went well beyond the scope of my questions, and I felt that, in doing this, there was complete honesty with regard to responses, with no own agenda. He spoke his mind fluently, emphasising his words now and then with nervous hand gestures. For the sake of continuity of the study, this respondent is called Interview Respondent 15 (IR15). All reference to words and phrases indicating ideological beliefs or points of discussion are indicated in bold.

IR 15 started off by offering his insights into the workings of the DCAS CLU and how these were structured in terms of implementing the WCLP.

*IR 15: As the lead Department for the implementation of the WCLP, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport houses the Central Language Unit for the Provincial*
Government of the Western Cape and as such took over the responsibility for providing translation and interpreting services to the WCPG from the Department of the Premier. This meant that additional staff had to be appointed to perform the tasks attached to the responsibility. These were: Two Assistant Directors and three language practitioners in 2005. A fourth staff member, responsible for Afrikaans/English, was appointed in 2009 to assist with editing in English. These staff members were in addition to an initial staff complement of five when the Language Unit was established in 1999.

This extract shows that, at the beginning of the process, the department firmly believed that language policy implementation was important, with specific higher ranking posts being developed to oversee and institute language policy.

**Researcher:** What did this organising of the two units mean for the Department?

**IR 15:** This meant that the Language Unit, in future known as Language Services, was divided into two sub-units, i.e. the Language Policy Implementation Unit responsible for providing advice on and executing projects aimed at the implementation of the Language Policy and the Translation and Interpreting Unit which would be responsible for managing and co-ordinating translation and interpreting services in the Department, as well as other Provincial Government Departments and Institutions. One Assistant Director was to have been responsible primarily for the work related to the implementation of the Language Policy as it was felt that a dedicated person with rank was required to handle inquiries from and interaction with other Provincial Government Departments and institutions. Over the years, the incumbent has unfortunately been reduced to very little more than an administrative assistant and part-time project manager, with supervisory duties pertaining to staff in the LPIU. The second Assistant Director was to head the newly established Translation and Interpreting Unit, as well as handle all supervisory duties related to staff in that unit.

Despite these claims, I found no dedicated “structures” in other provincial government departments relating to the implementation of the WCLP, other than that LPs were made part of the Communications Directorate.

However, IR 15 acknowledged, and was critical of, the fact that there was an absence of practical implementation structures in place in the DCAS, especially with regard to the responsibilities of LPs:
IR 15: From the start, however, there was uncertainty with regards to the responsibilities of language practitioners deployed in the two units. One language practitioner deployed in the LPIU had the responsibility of arranging all aspects of interpreting requests, as well as having to do translations and editing on a regular basis, while another language practitioner was responsible for executing projects, in spite of having been deployed in the Interpreting and Translation Unit. These two language practitioners also carried the heaviest workload. Other language practitioners were only required to do translations or projects depending on which Unit they had been deployed in. None of the staff in the Translation and Interpreting Unit could interpret and were allowed to refuse requests to do so in spite of having been sent on short courses to develop their skills as interpreters. The language practitioner for Afrikaans/English appointed in 2009 had interpreting experience, but unfortunately left the department in June 2011, leaving the Department totally ill-equipped to deal with any interpreting-related requests. This is illustrated by the fact that the Department, through me, had arranged all interpreting for the Premier’s Co-ordinating Forum until I left the Department in September 2010, after which I was still contacted in my private capacity to arrange freelance interpreters for the Premier’s Co-ordinating Forum. An extensive survey of language preferences of staff of the Department was conducted in 2010, which led to the compilation of a language code of conduct for the Department. Unfortunately the responsible official left the Department in June 2011 and no work has been done on the adoption and implementation of the code of conduct at the time of completing this questionnaire. Multilingual signs were also put up at the Department’s Head Office, but, once again, the official responsible for managing the process left the Department in June 2011.

“Structural” challenges lead to insecurity and “uncertainty”, an inability to be able to perform satisfactorily, appointments that couldn’t sustain the workload, inadequate training or training in short courses, the latter not being positive for good practice. The question one might ask here is why these LPs had been allocated to the Communications Department/Directorate, as was mentioned in my discussions with the senior management. Could their sense of having unclear job descriptions, as well as being “unskilled” or “untrained” and having to be “sent on short courses” all have been contributing to the failure of the IP? Why is the department simply appointing graduates with degrees in languages and no skills in interpreting or translation in provincial government departments, given that these are the two key and most crucial skills required to make the multilingual LP work effectively? IR 15 also highlighted the high staff turnover rate of LPs - most likely as a result of them not being able to cope with heavy workloads, or them being assigned tasks in which they had no actual practical training.
IR 15 was furthermore quite open about the “haphazard” way in which budgets for the IP were drawn up, and how most departments contributed no effective projects in realizing the aims of the policy, referring to it sarcastically as “window dressing”:

IR 15: In terms of the staggered implementation plan for the Language Policy adopted by the Provincial Cabinet, all provincial government departments received a budget for the implementation of the Language Policy. The reporting cycle also requires departments to submit projections for the following financial year based on plans accompanied by detailed budget projections for the execution of such plans.

Researcher: What serious challenges were experienced with this?
IR 15: In practice, however, forecasts for the budget required for the following financial year were done at the last minute, in a haphazard way and with no apparent co-ordination or overall goal or long or medium term strategy underpinning the submissions that would ensure the effective implementation of the WCLP. Officials were asked to think up projects without any strategic guidance, and consequently very few of the projects truly contributed to the effective implementation of the WCLP. Barring the Chief Director, very few of the management had any real knowledge of the implementation of a LP and were more concerned with window dressing than actual implementation. The Language Unit itself had virtually no strategic or administrative leadership at all, which is evidenced by the high staff turn-over rate and the unhappiness of the staff. In the space of one and a half years no fewer than five staff members left the Unit and reference can in these cases be made to their exit interviews for reasons for finding alternative employment.

He called the IP a “staggered” implementation plan that needed to be introduced following certain steps. Challenges with regard to the IP included the absence of “structure” or structural challenges, even on the part of members of the DCAS senior management who are supposed to draw up a budget or even a “plan” to implement the policy as an example to other departments, as the Minister of Arts, Culture and Recreation so aptly mentioned in his interview with a newspaper about the WCLP (See Addendum S). “Haphazard” planning seemed to have caused unrealistic and unplanned futuristic views, quickly thought up “language related projects” or functions which did not serve any long term solution to language problems in the province. The role of the Chief Director of the DCAS also came under scrutiny as he referred to this person’s knowledge of implementing the WCLP by using the term “barring” - as if the Chief Director was the only one who was in a specific position to know what to do and maybe
give guidance on the WCLP IP and thus withholding valuable guidance from the CLU.

The lack of strategic or administrative leadership shows that internal structures in government departments could be the determining factor in the success or failure of the IP. The LPs in other departments seemed to be there merely because of what the WCLP IP prescribes. The “window dressing” referred to by IR 15 and in my subsequent research on the WCLP had to do with the production of DCAS and WCLC annual reports which needed and still need to be visible proof of what was being done for the implementation of the WCLP by way of pictures taken during conferences, seminars, workshops, language classes offered, special days that had been celebrated, and so on (Annual Reports of WCLC and DCAS 2000/01 - 2012/13), and thus not necessarily focussing on the actual communication challenges at grassroots level.

Furthermore, IR 15 stressed that the CLU have to outsource documents as the language practitioners are overworked and cannot cope, leading to resignations and thus understaffing.

IR 15 gives rise to a number of other questions which this thesis hopes to answer:

- Whether or not the WCLP implementation process is being managed properly in the DCAS and if not, what is being done in order to address this issue and by whom;
- Whether or not the WCLP implementation is being allowed to fail by the deliberate withholding of knowledge on how to implement the policy or
not taking the necessary steps to create a workplace most conducive for WCLP implementation;

- What the relationship is between the DCAS and other provincial government departments, and what was done to determine the needs of these other departments;

- What was actually used to determine the “size” of the other departments, considering that translations (Annual Performance Plans and Annual Reports, Strategic Plans, etc. which are all huge documents, no matter the staff complement) and interpreting services need to be “outsourced” by the CLU and paid for by these provincial government departments.

Another impression that I formed from this interview was the almost experimental way in which the DCAS was trying to implement the WCLP, another indicator of underlying ideologies. If there was true commitment to the values espoused in the WCLP, there would have been much better planning and implementation, instead of these rather “haphazard” efforts or guidance and advice being withheld. Of course this could also simply have resulted from inexperience on the part of those concerned with implementing a trilingual policy, a process that would not be assisted by underlying ideologies favouring the use of one language, i.e. English.

6.2 The interview with the Chairperson of the WCLC

The Head/Deputy Director of Languages gave me permission to have an interview with the WCLC Chairperson only and not the other WCLC members. This interview was conducted in quite a relaxed atmosphere, and again I felt that the respondent was being completely open and honest. For the sake of continuity of the study, this respondent is called Interview Respondent 16 (IR16). All reference to words and phrases indicating ideological beliefs or points of discussion are indicated in bold.
IR 16: “Laat ek heel voor begin en sê dat as jy gaan kyk na die Taalkomitee as ’n statutêre liggaam wat beteken ons word aangestel, ons word benoem deur die gemeenskap, maar deur die Minister van die Departement Kultuursake en Sport, met die doel om die implementering van die Taalbeleid te monitor, so, dit is nie ons taak om die Taalbeleid te implementeer nie, maar ons moet toesien dat die implementering wel moet plaasvind en indien dit nie plaasvind nie, redes voorsien oor hoekom dit nie sal plaasvind nie, andere moet daaroor verslag doen…”

[Let me start at the beginning and say that if you were to look at the Language Committee as a statutory body, which means that we are appointed, we are nominated by the community, but through the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport, with the aim of monitoring the implementation of the Language Policy, so, it is not our task to implement the Language Policy, but we have to see to it that the implementation does take place and should it not take place, give reasons why it will not take place, others have to report on it…]

From the extract above, it is clear that while the WCLP has the task of monitoring the implementation of the WCLP; it is not mandated with the actual implementation. This reduces the function of this body to that of an oversight committee with no real powers. This effectively reduces its influence over whether or not provincial government departments implement the WCLP. IR 16 acknowledged the difficulties of implementing the policy, given that it was something completely new both for the provincial government and for the broader population. Nevertheless, a comprehensive awareness-raising process was undertaken to acquaint the broader public with the policy, as was also discussed in Chapter 4:

IR 16: “So, die uitrol van hierdie taalbeleid was nogal ’n moeilike proses gewees. Dit was iets nuuts gewees, so voor ons kon implementeer, moes ons eers mense bewus maak. En mense, ons het begin met ’n baie omvattende en intensiewe bewusmakingsprogram, eh...die uitdeel van pamflette, radio-advertenties, koerant-advertenties en ons het maar deur middel van die media gegaan en soveel as moontlik mense daaraan bekend gestel en toe het ons begin om dit te implementeer op die verskillende vlakke van die regering, daar is die...ons het heel eerste begin op die provinsiale vlak...”

[So, implementing this Language Policy was quite a difficult process. It was something new, so before we could implement it, we had to make people aware of it. And people, we started with a very comprehensive and intensive awareness programme, eh...distributing pamphlets, radio advertisements, newspaper advertisements, and we worked through the media and introduced as many people to it as possible and then we started implementing it at the different levels of government, there is the.....we started with the provincial level…]
While IR 16 indicated that a good relationship existed between the CLU and the WCLC, he indicated that the WCLC’s relationship with the DCAS (as a provincial government department) was not conducive to the maximum implementation of the WCLP IP:

IR 16: “Binne die Departement van Sport, Kultuursake en Taal...ehm...ek dink nie die samewerking en die vertroue wedersyds tussen die Taalkomitee en die Departement van Kultuursake en Sport is...in Engels sé hulle is...in Engels sé hulle... is conducive is bevorderlik vir die maksimum ontwikkeling van die Taalbeleid nie en daar kan baie meer gedoen word en daar kan baie meer energie ingesit word, ja...er...daar is ’n verhouding en ja, dit is ’n goeie verhouding en ja, dit is ’n gesonde verhouding en ja, ons ontvang fondse elke jaar, maar die fondse is nie naastenby genoeg nie en hulle weet dit.”

[In the Department of Sport, Cultural Affairs and Language...ehm...I don’t think the co-operation and the trust between the Language Committee and the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport is...in English they say...in English they say...is conducive is conducive to maximum development of the Language Policy and a lot more can be done and a lot more energy can be put into it, yes...er...there is a relationship and yes, it is a good relationship and yes, it is a healthy relationship and yes, we receive funds annually, but the funds aren’t nearly enough and they know it.]

In the extract above, IR 16 actually highlights a lack of co-operation as well as trust between the WCLC and the DCAS. In addition, he stressed just how inadequately the WCLP IP was funded – something the politicians knew only too well, as may be seen from the interview with IR 15. IR 16 lashed out angrily against the politicians for not having the political will to implement the policy, citing this aspect as one of the major reasons the WCLP was so problematic to implement:

IR 16: “Ja, ja ek wil...jy weet, ’n mens...veral soos die is mense geneig om te gaan na finansies om te se dit is as gevolg van geld maar ek wil nie eens begin met finansies nie, want ek dink dat finansies is nie die verlaatste oorsaak hoekom daar mislukking is nie. In die heel eerste instansie vir my...as jy gaan kyk waar is die Taalbeleid sukses vol of dan meer suksesvol toegespas, dan sal jy sien dis in die departemente of in die munisipale owerhede of in die openbare plekke waar daar ’n politieke wil was, dit is juist die ding wat...”

[Yes, yes I would like to...you know...a person...especially (in a case) such as this we would like to refer to finances to say that it is because of finances, but I don’t even wish
to start with finances, because **finances are not the most important reason why there is a failure.** In the first instance for me...if you look at where the Language Policy was successful or rather more successful, then you will see it is in the departments or in the municipal authorities or in public places where there is a **political will**, and that is the thing that...]

IR 16 did not want me to focus on finances as this aspect to him was secondary. In other words, where the authorities were ideologically in favour of the implementation of the WCLP, attempts to implement it were far more successful. He actually acknowledged the “failure” of the implementation of the WCLP. He then proceeded to unpack where some provincial government departments fell short of the requirements of the WCLP IP:

IR 16: “Met ander woorde as die hoof van die Onderwysdepartement die politieke wil gehad het om die Taalbeleid te wil laat werk, dan sou hy strukture in plek geplaas het en dan sou hy die nodige fondse gevind het om dit te laat werk...en dit vir my is die heel belangrikste...waar die politieke wil ontbreek het, soos ek gepraat het van die polisie, het jy baie min sukses gesien...dit is wat ek graag wil noem by nommer een ...die tweede ding vir my het gegaan oor bestuur en leierskapsvaardighede weereens..... ‘n provinsiale departement waar daar goeie bestuur toegepas is nie net die taalbeleid nie, maar ook ander beleide met sukses toegepas word, maar nou goed vind nr een die tyd, die energie en die fondse om ‘n ding te laat werk. Er want dit is wat ‘n goeie bestuurder doen – hy vind net eenvoudig die mekanismes om die ding te laat werk en ons moet vir mekaar se dat in sommige staatsdepartemente is daar baie swak leierskap bestuur; gevolglik het jy daar...in sulke gevalle van die taalbeleid het daar baie weinig van gekom.”

[In other words, if the head of Department of Education had the **political will** to let the Language Policy work, then he would’ve put structures in place and then it would’ve found the necessary funds to make it work...er...this is the most important thing for me....where there is no political will, as I have referred to regarding the police, you would’ve seen few successes. That is what I wish to mention at number 1. The second thing is that for me about it concerned **good management and leadership skills**, again...a provincial department where there is good management, not only with the language policy, but also with other policies, but then again, find, number one, the **time, the energy and the funds to make this thing work**. Because that is what a good manager does – he simply finds mechanisms for making this thing work and we have to tell each other that in some government departments there is very weak leadership; and therefore nothing came of the language policy in such cases.]

Consequently IR 16 made clear connections between “political will” (which he mentioned four times in the interview), “budget” allocation for the IP,
determining the resources made available for it and the essential role of good leadership and management skills that could make the policy work. The respondent also revealed the highly unequal power relationship between the WCLC and the DCAS in that the former, for its existence and role, is dependent on funding from the latter and as such from the provincial government itself, in order to fulfill its mandate to monitor and give advice on the WCLP implementation:

IR 16: “Dis fondse wat net genoegsaam is om jou te laat...dis soos ‘n pensioen aan ‘n ou mens, ‘n pensioen hou jou net aan die lewe van maand tot maand, maar daar is niks vir ontwikkeling en uitbreiding nie.”

[The funds are just enough to let you...it is like a pension to an elderly person, a pension only keeps you alive from one month to the next, but there is nothing for development and expansion.]

Researcher: So, julle hande is eintlik afgekap ...[So, your hands have actually been chopped off...]

IR 16: “Afgekap, ja. Op die oomblik ontvang ons...ek wil sover gaan om te sê dat ons ontvang ’n pensioen net om te oorleef. Net om liggaam...om vergaderings by te woon; om notules af te handel, om insette te lever, maar daar is nie fondse sodat ons werklik kan navorsing doen oor die taalbeleid nie, kan aanbevelings maak nie, kan aggressiewe projekte loods nie, er... nuwe projekte ontgin nie, er... al hierdie goed vra geld en ek dink, met ’n klein bietjie meer beter leierskap en net ’n paar fondse te herskuif en slim beplanning kan ’n mens baie meer doen.”

[Chopped off, yes. At the moment we get...I would go as far as to say that we receive a pension just to survive. Just enough to keep body...to attend meetings, to finalise minutes, to make input, but there are no funds for us to really do research about language policy, make recommendations, initiate projects, er....start new projects, er...all these things need money and I think, with a little bit more planning, and somewhat better leadership and by reshuffling funds a little one can do a lot more.]

It was clear that IR 16 felt that he did not see the funding issue as central to the success or failure of the WCLP IP. In this regard, one would have to agree that language policies are frequently merely cynical tools in the hands of the powerful, designed to impress the population and to fit in with particular political agendas instead of genuine commitment to the language and communication needs of the population. The WCLC is assigned to oversee the successful implementation of the WCLP, but with no proper budget to allow them do their work properly and with no punitive measures available should
there be no adherence to WCLP implementation. It was also unclear how the WCLC could accept complaints about not implementing the WCLP in a specific provincial government department and then report these to the Minister, who is in effect responsible for the responsibilities of all provincial government departments with regard to languages.

IR 16 also supported a level-by-level approach to the implementation, and felt that there were major weaknesses on two of those levels, namely “municipalities” and “public institutions”. These two are the most important levels at which the WCLP should be implemented, yet, as will be seen in Chapter 8, they are almost completely ineffective.

6.3 Participant observation at the 2010 Colloquium on the Implementation Challenges of the WCLP

This section is based on my field notes taken down while participating at the above Colloquium held in 2010 at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), and during a subsequent meeting. This event captured much of the tensions between the different parties tasked with the implementation of the WCLP. What I also found quite significant was that the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, the Chairperson of the WCLC and the Premier of the Western Cape stayed at this event only long enough to finish their speeches before the actual discussions could take place, leaving only the then Member of Parliament in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature, who was also the Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Arts, Culture, Sport and Recreation, to respond on the part of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP). During the discussion, the WCLC member serving as Chairperson of the Colloquium was extremely critical of the lack of implementation at grassroots level, as may be found in the Extract from *The 2010 Colloquium on WCLP Implementation Challenges* (Addendum O), using highly emotive comments such as
“Niks gebeur op voetsoolvak nie; Mense verduur pyn” [Nothing is happening at grassroots level, people are suffering];
“...navorsing is gedoen oor taal wat hand in hand loop met ideologiese kwessies – dit kan ontplof” [Research has been done on language and the ideological issues associated with it – it could explode].

To this, the Member of Parliament responded rather cynically that all politicians made promises that they often could not keep, and that huge differences existed in terms of languages in different towns and areas in the province, e.g.: “In een dorp kry jy 100% Afrikaanssprekers en 1 polisieman is Xhosasprekend”. [In one town you will get 100% Afrikaans-speaking people and one policeman that is isiXhosa speaking]. However, she committed herself to reporting these issues to the WCPP. Despite this commitment, the Chairperson of the Colloquium responded by shouting in anger and frustration:

“If politicians don’t have the will, then what?! English?! This is a problem for the matrics. Yet, we promote English like that (showing documentation). The WCLC is on a shoestring budget. We (indicating the WCLC members in front) are being restrained with regard to implementing the language policy; and the politicians do nothing – they don’t have the will!”

This speaker seemed to be driven by the ideology that legislation would eventually lead to implementation, which was clearly not the case. This is in line with other studies (Abongdia, 2013; Vigouroux 2012) which show the belief many people have that the existence of language policies can actually guarantee language rights. The speaker furthermore underlined other crucial reasons why implementation couldn’t take place, like a lack of power (“restrained”) of the WCLC and their “shoestring budget”.

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These outbursts led to an urgent meeting one month later on 25 March 2010, as may be found in the Aftermath of the Colloquium (Addendum P), between the then Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, the HOD of the DCAS, the DCAS CLU and all the WCLC members. There was no agenda and no one knew what to expect. At this meeting the Minister started off by expressing his appreciation for the work done by the WCLC, but then proceeded to castigate the WCLC for their outbursts against the politicians at the Colloquium:

Minister: “I am here to talk about firstly my appreciation of the job that you as the WCLC is doing with regard to language in the Western Cape. Sometimes we fail to say thank you. But there are certain things that were said during and after the Colloquium that were directed towards the chairperson of the Standing Committee. Remarks were made. Just to get the politicians off my back, I have to hold this meeting. Politicians are sensitive, not mature. Some stuff that was said, are not being appreciated - especially after the chairperson on mother tongue education spoke (that is his view on that)...We have to fight with PanSALB for the survival of the WCLC. The WCLC is the only committee that is active and running with its own language policy in this country. I just wanted to clear the air.”

Yet the Minister was actually also calling the “politicians”, i.e the Members of Parliament in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature, “not mature”, which is in effect a very negative remark. His sole agenda for calling the meeting was “to get politicians off my back”. Clearly the Minister had been contacted in connection with the outburst and he had to make sure the WCLC was called to order – his task. His statements were an indication of his position regarding the WCLP implementation, i.e. that should he as the Minister ever be requested by the WCLC (the very people who sat in front of him) to be critical of provincial government’s implementation of the policy or where the Members of the WCPP might fail in their implementation, be it financially or not having the “political will”, he would be in no power position to do or say anything critical.
The Minister, in a seemingly irritated way, referred to the WCLC member’s outbursts at the Colloquium as “some stuff that was said”. There seemed to be no respect for the fears and concerns of the WCLC’s with regard to a gathering which was held especially to highlight where the WCLP implementation challenges indeed were. The Minister seemed not to be open for any suggestions in this regard. Actually, nowhere in the opening or during or at the end of this meeting did the Minister request any report or synopsis or oral reportback resulting from the Colloquium from either the WCLC or the CLU.

Furthermore, the WCLC’s position as not particularly being a PanSALB language committee per se (as mentioned in Chapter 1), was also mentioned as a volatile one as there seemed to be processes at play when “fighting” with this national language body was happening at the time and maybe always since the WCLC’s inception. Clearly the Minister had to mention the strained relationship between the WCLC and PanSALB, of which I was totally oblivion at the time. At the end of his introduction to the meeting, the Minister then blamed his castigating of the WCLC on the WCPP under whose authority he operated. He then, as everyone was seemingly shocked, quiet and totally caught off guard, complimented the WCLC and their language policy.

In support of the Minister’s “clearing the air” and to get back to the point at hand, i.e. to castigate the WCLC, the HOD of the DCAS, who was supposed to also be part of the DCAS chain of command of implementing the WCLP, proposed that there should be

“…a Code of Conduct/Code of Ethics for the WCLC. This would serve as setting parameters or a framework of roles within which the WCLC could operate and the WCLC members should sign this. This will keep the WCLC members to follow certain protocol when addressing the public on issues pertaining to language”.

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This was supported by the Minister, who promised to work on this in conjunction with the WCLC. In response to this the WCLC Chairperson could do little but promise that the WCLC would aim to be

“...more visible, interact with more networks by means of a newsletter, a website update so that we can create more data. We will do a few projects in conjunction with the Western Cape to render a language service. There should be conversational examples in newspapers. We will continue to interact with all departments to make sure that the language policy is adhered to. With your support we are looking forward to make the WCLC the best provincial committee around.”

These exchanges gave me the impression that the WCLC was not in any significant power position to criticise the DCAS or any provincial government department with regard to language matters in the Western Cape or to make public suggestions. The WCLC was given a rap over the knuckles by the Minister for publicly criticising the politicians and provincial government negatively with regard to the WCLP implementation challenges, and the HOD supported the Minister in proposing a “Code of Ethics” that the WCLC should abide by. It was suggested that the senior management of the DCAS draft something on the “following of protocol” in how to speak to the public on language matters. This could be regarded as an effort to keep the WCLC on track and to punish them should they try to portray the politicians, who are the ones handling the budget of the Western Cape Provincial Government, negatively in public.

6.4 The interview with a representative of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP)

For the sake of continuity of the study, this WCPP respondent is called Interview Respondent 17 (IR17). This respondent was not a Member of Parliament or part of the top senior personnel in the WCPP, but he had the
authority to answer most of the sections that pertained to the WCLP (2004: 3.1-3.5). He came across as someone that was very polite, extremely well behaved and very professional. During the interview his words showed signs of insecurity, however, as he couldn’t answer many of the questions I asked, with specific reference to what the WCLP prescribes for the WCPP. He talked about the Afrikaans/English interpreter whose position had been vacant for some time and touched upon the WCPP’s relationship with the DCAS in this regard:

**Researcher:** So you do not have an Afrikaans/English one at the moment.
**IR 17:** Not yet. But that is on **pipeline**
**Researcher:** Is this part of the WCLP Implementation that Parliament is doing?
**IR 17:** Yes

**Researcher:** Please tell me how the Provincial Parliament implements this...this policy?
**IR 17:** Ok, urn interpreting services, translation services - also terminology development aah urhm in many languages er the language practitioners are being employed; er and there are also freelance interpreters and translators available in er Provincial Parliament

**Researcher:** So you do have a data basis then from which you work?
**IR 17:** Yes.

**Researcher:** To make sure that the communications gets over to the parliamentarians and visa versa?
**IR:** But we work through the DCAS

**IR 17:** I will sort of respond specifically on the WCPP Unfortunately at the moment from the time that I have been here until currently I haven’t er attended any of those er committee meetings and therefore I cannot sort of accurately answer that question, but what I know, that the... the... in trying to implement the LP things are sort of being done, but they are slowly happening ...

The relationship between the DCAS and the WCPP is mentioned here. The fragmentation within the WCPP was also highlighted, indicating that challenges existed with regard to all that needs to be done by a few LPs appointed here. He indicated structural problems that existed, and called the process to ensure that the language policy works “slowly”:

**Researcher:** So it’s slowly?
**IR 17:** Yes
Researcher: Also, when this happens, does the Western Cape Parliament make provision for interpreting services for members?

IR 17: I think they are not all used equally in the committees and isiXhosa is still limited.

He alluded to isiXhosa not being treated equally in committees of the WCPP and I think this could be because of the relationship with the DCAS that might have an impact on the “slow” progress being made with regard to isiXhosa in the WCPP, although the WCPP has its own language unit.

IR 17: But the internal language practitioners like myself, and we also have others currently in legal services for example and er Treasury so we are all under the Department of the Premier so at least we have sort of a group of language practitioners although not enough to handle the whole sort of work which is needed to implement the language policy.

It seemed as if their group of appointed LPs could not cope with the whole workload or language demands in the WCPP. IR 17 further said that the norm was to publish documents in three languages, especially the Gazette, or the Bills and their amendments, and that he was specifically appointed to make translations and editing possible, as there had been challenges before with regard to the isiXhosa used in the translations and that isiXhosa got attention at a “later stage” when “they tried”:

Researcher: I want to know: the legislation that you have...do they make....you just mentioned the legal department - do they make those available in isiXhosa and Afrikaans as well?

IR 17: As far as I know, since I have been here, the documents that I have seen, yes they are available in ... you see, like the Gazette, for example the amendments and the...

Researcher: The bills as well?

IR 17: Yes, so, that is what I can say...
**Researcher:** When a bill is introduced in the Provincial Parliament is it available in at least two official languages? Maybe Afrikaans/English, English/Afrikaans or maybe Afrikaans/isiXhosa

**IR 17:** No, that I know. When I came here there was ... er it was the regulations - it was insisted that they cannot be published without er isiXhosa...So they needed to put isiXhosa in so and that is what they did they they tried although the isiXhosa was er inserted at a later stage because there was some incorrect er versions in it therefore I did the editing and proofreading but then yeah so it is a must that those three official languages of the WC er must appear in such a document.

He felt that people at least tried to work with isiXhosa due to their commitment to legislative processes, but that, because many people did not have a “feeling” for languages it might be an unattainable dream that equality of the three official languages might exist at the very top level of the WCLP implementation pyramid and that this lack of feeling might be the reason for the “slow” process:

**IR 17:** Yeah, but the thing is – here even I can not sort of – I don’t know everything yet and therefore I cannot say there is or there is not such kind of a system you see but one thing I know for sure that er the government of the Western Cape is based on the National Language Framework and the provincial language policy. Even the department has a language policy; this is all that the departments that they’re doing that they are trying to implement the language policy. But then the thing is if you are not in this language field you are just an ordinary person you won’t be able to see or feel it you see and, yeah, so that is why I said earlier that it is something that is slowly being done, you see?

IR 17 is clearly alluding here to people’s language attitudes towards isiXhosa and their lack of motivation to work with, or learn, the language. This could be an indication of their ideologies about a language hierarchy in the Western Cape, with English at the top of the ladder, followed by Afrikaans and with isiXhosa right at the bottom.
Although IR 17 did not experience any personal challenges with implementing the WCLP in the WCPP, he still referred to challenges that were hidden or beyond his capability or mandate to discuss:

*Researcher:* The practical challenges yes?

IR 17: It’s a difficult or tricky question because so far in fact in all my years in this field and because I worked at the Dept of Agriculture before and then I worked at Stellenbosch University and now here. Personally *I haven’t encountered any sort of challenge or obstacle* that is sort of er hindering me in implementing the language policy. Instead I do get support from my colleagues, you see, so I wouldn’t know of any sort of practical challenges...

*Researcher:* Yeah?

IR 17: You see, *except those that are sort of behind the curtain.*

*Researcher:* Exactly which?

IR 17: You see, you see, as I said it is *slowly being introduced* and *all that stuff what makes it being slowly* ... I don’t know. I don’t have any idea but in my personal opinion *this is almost 20 years in democracy* so to me it is supposed to be *something that has been implemented a long time ago* and *they do not sort of foster it.*

He did not wish to elaborate on whatever challenges they were encountering at WCPP level, but he did show a kind of irritability with the political powers here who, after “20 years of democracy” still had not seen to it that language was being made a priority in the province. I sensed that he did not think a language policy was required for isiXhosa to be uplifted in the WCPP. (See Addendum S with regard to interpreting challenges regarding isiXhosa in the WCPP). In his opinion, the whole “staggered” approach or “slow” implementation of the WCLP was being hampered by “hidden” reasons. I got the impression that at the very top of the implementation process the language issues in the province, and the WCLP specifically, was not being regarded as important enough. I had to prompt him with regard to the use of English in the WCPP:
Researcher: OK, so everything is conducted in English in Provincial Parliament?

IR 17: Yes

Researcher: Is that not a challenge?

IR 17: Yes it is a challenge as I’m saying, but what I’m saying is the challenges that one could also interpret as obstacles you see er those are the things that I haven’t experienced myself.

He again assured me that there was no problem with the use of English in the WCPP, as he himself did not experience any challenges in this regard; this could be because he is fluent in the language, and yet, he was irritated by the “slow” progress of language policy implementation.

This interview gave me the impression that the WCPP regards other issues facing the province – housing, poverty, unemployment and crime, for example – as far more important than language issues. The attitudes and ideologies surrounding language at the very top of the hierarchy in the WCPP might therefore filter through to the rest of the structures within the bureaucracy, from the provincial government departments right down to the lowliest clerk in a municipality. It further gave me the impression that the WCLC had little influence over the WCPP with regard to implementing the WCLP.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I provided a critical discourse analysis of interviews conducted with the most senior role players in the actual implementation of the WCLP. I focused specifically on the relationship between the DCAS and the WCLC. I also used my field notes on the 2010 Colloquium and related meeting where I was present, both as participant and observer, to reveal the relationships between these two key implementers. I found that the idea of having a language policy was welcomed at the very beginning by all provincial government structures, but that structural and administrative challenges at all levels of appointment in
the DCAS LPIU exist in a very real form. I further found further that it is possible that knowledge of and/or information on how to implement a language policy is being withheld from the very senior positions within the DCAS and that ignorance in implementing language policy could challenge WCLP implementation. I also found that the existence of power relations between the DCAS and the WCLC was an intricate one, where the DCAS, being the one that is the institution which is responsible for the financing of the monitoring and oversight role of the WCLC, provided insufficient funding, which hampered the tasks of the WCLC.

Although the WCLC has to play the role of a monitoring agent, they appear to have very limited powers regarding actual implementation processes in the provincial government, given the attitude of the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation to these issues. In this instance it is very unclear how the WCLC can accept complaints about not implementing the WCLP in a specific provincial government department and then report to the Minister, who is in effect responsible for all provincial governments with regard to language policy implementation. Furthermore, the members of the WCLC receive financial compensation for attending meetings and they get remunerated for their travel and subsistence expenses – and these amounts vary from the rank the WCLC member holds as there is a difference between what the Chairperson would get and what other members would get (WCLC and DCAS Annual reports 2000/01-2012/13). The nature of this relationship is puzzling since it is possible to view this kind of relationship as having an influence on the objectivity of the WCLC members when they are trying to play their monitoring role. The question to be asked is: How efficient the WCLC members are being appointed and getting stipends for attending meetings from provincial government or being paid?

I have also looked at the WCPP by focusing on the challenges that they experience and it seems to me that the DCAS is being used by the WCPP for the
outsourcing of documents. The respondent of the WCPP could not give me information on how the WCPP adheres to the WCLP, and this is an indication of the non-existent or rather insignificant relationship between the WCLC and the WCPP. Instead, he referred to hidden challenges which could be hindering the implementation of the WCLP, which included an overt preference for English as the main provincial language and people’s covert negative attitudes towards especially isiXhosa people.

I came to the realisation that the WCLC is not in any significant power position to criticise the DCAS or the provincial government with regard to language matters in the Western Cape or to make public suggestions confidently. This also meant that, if the WCLC does not have power within the DCAS to which it is affiliated by law, the chances of it having any sort of power within the other 13 provincial government departments with regard to policy implementation is most unlikely. I address this matter further in Chapter 7 with reference to the challenges that are being experienced with the LPs and members of the SM – where it seems the WCLC is unable to interfere.

This leaves me with a final conclusion that the WCLC’s role in implementing the WCLP consequently has little relevance in finding or even solving the critical language-related issues that the youth, adult civilians and even the public servants at government institutions have encountered at grassroots level and in the rural towns that were visited, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.
CHAPTER 7

THE QUALITATIVE DATA PART II: Responses from the Language Practitioners (LPs) and two Senior Managers

7.0 Introduction
This chapter is based on responses from the Language Practitioners (LPs), who are all members of the Western Cape Provincial Language Forum (PLF). As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the reactions to specifically formulated questions came from seven of the 13 provincial departments of the Western Cape: the Department of Health (DoH), the Department of the Premier (DotP), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning (DEADP), the Department of Transport and Public Works (DTPW), the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) and the Department of Social Development (DSD), and consequently they are referred to in this chapter as Questionnaire Respondents 1 to 7 (QR 1-7). The other departments preferred, for a variety of reasons mentioned in Chapter 3, not to respond to the questionnaire, which may also be an indication of how low the WCLP and its IP rank on their list of priorities. Note should be taken that I have drafted my questions according to the prescriptions of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP (Addendum B) in order to obtain some answers with regard to policy implementation challenges.
I also elected to do a thorough Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of interviews with two groups of LPs, whose responses I deemed to be representative of most of the LPs. This was done in order to hear the voice of these LPs and assess their position in the implementation process given that they were appointed in accordance with the WCLP IP of 2004, the different ideologies they held, and their attitudes towards the communities they are supposed to serve and to focus on how these influence the implementation difficulties attached to the WCLP. These interview respondents, who came from the Department of Social Development (DSD) and Treasury, will be referred to as Interview Respondents 5-12 (IR 5-12). It should be noted that the transcriptions of these group interviews may be found in Addendum L.

In addition, this chapter also includes an analysis of the interviews with two senior departmental managers, the only senior managers (SMs) willing to be interviewed. These were the Chief Director of Community Safety (CS), whose position is immediately below that of the Head of Department, and the Director of Communications in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning (DEADP). These senior managers will be referred to as Interview Respondents 13 and 14 (IR 13-14) respectively. They had to be consulted with regard to their position in the chain of discourse regarding the WCLP implementation. It should be noted that the transcriptions of these interviews may be found in Addendum M.

7.1 Analysis of questionnaire responses
Against the background of the important position of English in the South African national government (Webb; 2002) and the incremental plan for implementing the WCLP, the questionnaire responses of the LPs were put together in categories that cover their relationship with the public by focusing on the following: verbal and non-verbal communication with the public, language use in signage, official notices and advertisements, the position of isiXhosa as a
third official language, interpreting and translating services, the provision of South African Sign Language (SASL) services to deaf people, the attitudes of members of SM towards language issues and the relationship of the LPs to private enterprises.

7.1.1 Dominant discourses found in written responses to the questionnaires

The original responses collected from Questionnaire Respondents 1-7 (QR 1-7) may be found in the Provincial Government Language Practitioner's Responses to Questionnaire (Addendum J), including the questions. Although some of these respondents took time to answer the questions fully, many simply wrote “yes/no” or “don’t know” in response to the different questions, which was quite disappointing. However, this could also be an indication of the position of the LP in the discourse chain of language policy implementation. The following discourses were uncovered:

7.1.1.1 The position of the LP within the WCLP IP

One of the key responses to this question was that the LPs saw their job primarily as being that of translators of specific documentation and signage in the provincial government. To ensure that all official documents for internal use are in the three official languages, translated versions are offered by most departments, and if they are not in a position to do these on their own, they outsource the task to another department to do for them and to whom they make a payment upon completion of the task. These translations are normally for internal use only or for use by those who have access to computers. With regard to these publications, official notices and advertisements published by the provincial government department for general public information are being issued in Afrikaans and English, but mostly in English, and the absence of
publishing anything in isiXhosa seems to be of little concern. It seems that some translation is nonetheless being done, especially at the Department of Health.

The WCLP (2005:9) states that three languages should appear equally on road signs and direction signs in the province. However, some of these LPs questioned the significance or presence of trilingual signs:

QR 2: “The signs at our office only has names, no titles on the doors; so there is nothing to translate.” (DOH)
QR 7: “Yes. Yes, it is - most of it – is costly – it also takes time” (DSD)

Considering the regulations with regard to publications, official notices and advertisement as prescribed in the WCLP (2005:4.1-4.1), the LPs indicated that English was the preferred language of communication in written format since official notices and advertisements circulated or published in the Provincial Gazette were usually in English:

QR 2: “Since September 2011 adverts (in Afrikaans and Xhosa) stopped. I followed it up. The decision was based on false information for I was supplied with false information on ads not in Afrikaans anymore. My supervisor said we are in any case too understaffed to take on translations of adverts. No Xhosa ads, no papers to print and not printed in other newspapers in Xhosa.” (DOH)
QR 2: “Dit word gewoonlik net in Engels gedoen en indien jy daarvoor vra, wag jy ‘n tydperk + kry jy dit dalk in ‘n ander taal.” [No, it is usually done in English and should you request it, then you wait for a long time and would probably get it in another language.] (DOH)
QR 4: “More language practitioners required. Bigger budget for translations required.” (DCAS)
QR 7: “Translation of these off notices take time – but it does happen waiting on Xhosa translations – no great standard sometimes confusion over which Xhosa to take – a better standardized version of isiXhosa an acceptable one is needed, lang pracs [language practitioners] should agree” (DSD)

Indeed, it seems as if official notices according to these respondents are being published in English only and that the main reasons for reverting to English notices could include:
• not having any LP available in a particular government department to assist with the duty of translating these notices and advertisements into the other two official languages;

• a critical shortage of qualified LPs in departments;

• a lack of time to make translations possible even when there is a LP available; and

• an acceptance of English as the main language for these notices and advertisements as the norm.

However, one respondent indicated that translations of notices and advertisements might be requested but that one had to wait a very long time, presumably because the translation still had to be done for the specific client who requested it in the first place. A very real challenge to the translation of these notices and advertisements from English into isiXhosa may be seen in Respondent 7’s remark on the reason why translations were sometimes time consuming. This is the seemingly confusing standardised version of isiXhosa, as signage and advertisements could require a specific standard (“better standardised version”). I assumed that the respondent felt that there was no properly formulated standardised version for professional and formal signage and advertisements that could be used to accommodate all the dialects of isiXhosa.

With regard to the translation of advertisements being published for display in local newspapers, the following responses were received:

QR 3: “Vertaal dit in die taal van die koerant.” [Translate it in the language of the newspaper] (DEADP)
QR 4: “Only Afr + Eng newspapers” (DCAS)
QR 5: “Jy kry dikwels Engels advertensies in Afrikaanse koerante.” [Often you find English advertisements in Afrikaans newspapers”] (DTPW)
QR 7: “Lately there are news adverts in English in the Afrikaans newspapers. I have not seen an Afrikaans advert in an English newspaper” (DSD)
These responses appeared to indicate that many of the provincial government departments did not use these LPs to translate their advertisements that appear in local newspapers. Staff shortages appeared to be a major factor in these decisions, as the LPs also have to work on editing of important documents and transcriptions of meetings, and even do interpreting. As a result, departments tend to make use of services at the DCAS Central Language Unit (CLU) for which their departments have to pay. As Respondent 6 noted: “Almost all Afrikaans documents are sent to the Central Language Unit” (DEDAT). But there also appeared to be a lack of funding for such outsourcing, as can be seen from the following response:

QR 2: “Since I have started working here, I have not forwarded anything. I once needed or wanted to, but centre said no. When I applied for funds to outsource it myself, I was told that our budget went to tele-interpreting and no funds are available for our office for the rest of the financial year.” (DOH)

Respondents were asked about how their respective departments make sure that the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa is being eradicated, and many of them, besides stressing that translations do take place and that the language is being used as often as possible, indicated a more long-term approach towards this issue. These included the possibility of more isiXhosa media exposure, people talking about isiXhosa and multilingual camping projects where youth could interact with the intention to learn and being exposed to the language.

QR 1: “Trilingual notices, translating as many documents as possible in Xhosa” (DotP)

QR 7: “We try to translate, but there are too many problems with terms and people speak different isiXhosa” (DOH)

QR 2: “(The Manager) writes Xhosa lessons in an internal Health magazine to teach employees basic Xhosa.” (DOH)

QR 2: “The question should be raised in parliament why the signage makes Xhosa the second language at Khayelitsha Hospital. It must be prescribed by top management for notices to appear in isiXhosa in English newspapers.” (DOH)
There was also a call for mother tongue education, which presumably includes isiXhosa as the language of instruction at schools. The fact that isiXhosa consisted of various dialects or varieties as stressed by one respondent is seen as a challenge with regard to the isiXhosa translation process, and I consequently assumed that this could be added to reasons why isiXhosa suffers marginalisation. In all the discourses above it seems to be difficult to give attention to a previously disadvantaged language, like isiXhosa, when the more developed Afrikaans and English were already part of the Western Cape’s provincial government establishment.

The responses of the LPs indicated that English was the preferred language when communicating in writing:

QR 2: “Mostly only English is used, but I see that the certification stamp in our office is only in Afrikaans. For official letters going out to all employees, the text is translated into all 3 languages. But for internal correspondence (between employees) English is used if there are more than two parties not speaking the same language”. (DOH)
QR 4: “Not officially. But English serves the purpose. Languages are used to convey info in the shortest amount of time (to save time, English is resorted to.” (DCAS)
QR 2: “If it is to go out to all employees and concerns admin, except circulars. If it is an internal advert (e.g. about an internal function or a special day such as Aids day) it will only be in English.) (Strained capacity?)” (DOH)

LPs spoke English to the public and it seems that there was apparently little regard for the other languages of the public as English was being used as the lingua franca within a multilingual situation. This response did not reflect the positive multilingual situation hoped for by the WCLP. In addition, English was the preferred language for internal communication among the departments and its use is widely regarded as a much easier option, e.g.
QR 4: “Instead of serving community in the own language, officials use the language that suits their own needs best.” (DCAS)

The responses to English confirmed the following argument by Beukes (2004: 26):

“The usefulness of English as a lingua franca in South Africa is indisputable. The sociolinguistic survey by PanSALB confirms the position of English but also points to the potential usefulness in this regard of other languages. According to Heugh (2000), the survey suggests that about 36% of South Africans can understand English, 30% understand isiZulu, 29% Afrikaans and 21% isiXhosa.”

7.1.1.2 The problematic nature of LPs also serving as interpreters

With regard to interpreting services at public events and internal meetings, the following responses were received:

QR 2: “The promoters usually go to their ‘own’ areas to work with the people. Our workforce is as diverse as the public and mostly events are organised taking language into account. In meetings we are sometimes asked to interpret (e.g. when Xhosa sangoma is present.)” (DOH)
QR 6: “We do make provision for interpreting services in events when needed” (DEDAT)
QR 7: “Not sure. None – I think it cost too much” (DSD)

Interpreting services from English to either isiXhosa or Afrikaans for the benefit of the Western Cape public were sometimes made available when the provincial government departments held public events with the public or at internal meetings, although it seemed as if it did not happen that often since interpreting was regarded as costly. In addition, there was a lack of well-trained, skilled interpreters. In the DOH it was apparent that the doctors and nurses had a system dealing with the many languages spoken in the province via telephone interpreting when required. This was, however, a costly exercise according to one respondent, as not all three languages were necessarily being catered for.
Apart from the cost, there were also some organisational challenges with regard to implementing a tele-interpreting system at provincial hospitals.

**QR 2:** “Tele-interpreting at hospitals: staff (nurses) who have been assigned to be training in tele-interpreting to be responsible for training others are mostly not bothered and most hospitals don’t know about service. Only those nurses and doctors who often have to work with patients whose language they can’t understand seem to care about the language rights of patients. The top management at most of the hospitals and those in charge of districts have also ignored requests from Health’s top management to help our language unit/Folio translators to identify the language needs at the various hospitals. Tele-interpreting services of Folio might not be renewed as our auditor-general says it is a waste of money, because it is not used.” (DOH)

**QR 2:** “Tele-interpreting was rolled out to 50 health facilities in WC last year. The service is hardly used, but it is much needed. It could have been done properly with a little effort but my boss cannot cope with all her work. The facilities for the roll-out were chosen randomly by the head of our language unit, because there was no support from hospitals to identify where the need is.” (DOH)

The use of interpreters was therefore inadequate, and Respondent 2 highlighted a tension that exists between management on the one hand and committed nurses and doctors on the other. Management appeared not to prioritise language services, and particularly striking here was the comment that the Auditor General sees tele-interpreting as “a waste of money, because it is not used”. In other words, despite funding for tele-interpreting being budgeted for, hospitals were not using it but continued to rely on “just anyone on the staff” who could speak a patient’s language to do some interpreting. Yet, prioritising language services could clearly make a vast difference to communication between overwhelmed hospital staff and their patients and so actually reduce the workloads and shorten consultation times. I have to question why those in power continued to marginalise the language needs of the patients, and why there is actual resistance to the implementation at these levels.

**7.1.1.3 A lack of skills in South African Sign Language (SASL)**
With regard to a question on SASL awareness, it appeared that not much was being done other than to make sure that awareness of SASL was being created via (in one respondent’s words) “through the media”. With regard to a question in connection with whether or not a policy actually existed with regard to SASL and the receiving of deaf people in different provincial government departments, the following answers were received:

**QR 1:** “No. Has not happened yet” (DoTP)

**QR 2:** “Not sure. Our language unit supervisor organises interpreters upon request. Mostly within the transformation unit for ‘disability’ functions. No service is available to the public, although I have heard that there have been informal programmes where nurses learn basic sign language...” (DOH)

**QR 3:** “No. Dit behoort ge-implementeer te word, met “tolke” wat opgelei is. Ek kan gelukkig lippe lees.” (POS) [It should be implemented with “interpreters” as are trained. Fortunately I am able to do lip reading.] (DEADP)

**QR 4:** “Used for communication with the Deaf. Write or e-mail when no interpreter is available.” (DCAS)

**QR 5:** “Get someone who is interested so that you can assist the client” (DTPW)

**QR 7:** “We get interpreters, but not many deaf people attend” (DSD)

It seems as if language-related difficulties when receiving deaf people were being addressed as they would arise, and the absence of clear guidelines on dealing with a deaf person visiting a provincial government department placed the LP in a difficult position. The needs of the deaf person were being catered for, however, at public functions (Questionnaire Respondent 2) and were being streamlined under “disability”. The use of SASL in these provincial government departments was, according to these responses, not being employed as it should according to the stipulations of the WCLP owing to a lack of staff or to the acceptance that deaf people would not visit and hence no preparations were made for them.

### 7.1.1.4 LPs often have to perform other duties not in their job description

With regard to a question on the duties of LPs, the following responses were received:
QR 6: “The language practitioner also assists in other duties; not only languages” (DEDAT)
QR 7: “We do other work, like copying, organising, report writing, teaching about soc dev” (DSD)

It seems that the LPs were used not solely to translate, edit and interpret, but also to perform other administrative duties not necessarily linked to the achievement of the WCLP goals. This could mean that their actual job description was sufficiently vague to allow for this kind of exploitation and that far too little leadership was taken in identifying the language-related tasks LPs should be doing. It was clear from this that LPs were ranked rather low in the hierarchy of jobs in any provincial government department, and also pointed to an underlying ideology that language work could be done by anyone who happened to be highly proficient in particular languages.

7.1.1.5 Relations with Senior Management/Manangers (SM/SMs)

Many of the LPs wrote down serious complaints and/or issues or challenges with regard to the position that members of senior management (SM) took in their respective departments. With regard to the attitude of SMs towards WCLP implementation, the following were particularly striking responses:

QR 2: “Management disregards our unit and are inaccessible to us. Only the management of Communications really promotes and supports the language policy, but we hardly have contact with our own bosses and therefore have very little power or voice to be listened to; so, it is just business as usual.” (DOH)
QR 4: “Lack of willpower. Lack of willingness to implement policy” (DCAS)

It seems that many of the members of SM were ignorant, apathetic or unwilling with regard to implementing the WCLP from the top down. The LPs believed that these negative attitudes stemmed from other issues such as staff shortages or financial challenges. In addition, policy implementation, for these LPs, was hampered by an actual lack of willpower to make the policy work, and
willpower or motivation to make something work could be directly attributed to particular ideologies.

There was also a hierarchical distance between LPs and their senior management, which in practice lead to inadequate or even non-existent adherence to the WCLP. If this was the case, senior management were actually the key implementers of the WCLP, a number of questions might be asked:

- What has been done to ensure that they apply themselves to this task;
- Why is putting the IP into practice such a struggle for these people, or has government rather cynically put these policies into place knowing full well that they are doomed to fail owing to a lack of proper resourcing, qualified manpower, skills and will in this area;
- How practical are the implementation demands of the policy; and
- To what extent does the non-involvement of senior officials affect those people who do not understand their tasks?

Whatever the case may be, there seems to be an indication of a “struggle” with regard to focusing on language matters within provincial government, and this struggle is directly linked to the LPs’ relationship with senior management and their handling of language issues in the Western Cape.

7.1.1.6 Other minor discourses uncovered

Apart from the major discourses discussed above, the written responses to the questionnaire also revealed the following minor discourses:

a. A lack of research on public surveys, as well as the language proficiency of departmental staff:
The WCLP requires that language surveys be conducted in order to ascertain the language proficiency of staff in the provincial government with the intention of making service delivery possible when staff members go out to communities. The data, however, showed that only two language proficiency surveys had been conducted by two different departments in order to determine the levels of language proficiency in these departments. However, one of the respondents indicated that this was not necessary as the language proficiency of staff members could be obtained from their CV’s when they accepted their job. A follow-up question asked how many surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients had been conducted to determine language practices per department. Most of the LPs indicated that, apart from one department, little research was done in their respective departments with regard to surveys in order to determine the language preference of their clients (the public) or to determine the language preference of their internal staff. Although the WCLP determines that consensus should be reached on the use of an internal language in any department, the majority of the interviewees indicated that they made use of English as the official medium of internal communication.

b. The non-existence of a language code of conduct in provincial government departments:

On the question as to whether or not a language code of conduct exists in every provincial government department (as was proposed in the WCLP Original Elaborated IP) in order to ensure adherence to language use and multilingualism, the respondents were not sure of the status quo, although some indicated that efforts were indeed being made to communicate effectively. Only one department had a language code of conduct:

QR 2: “Not sure. All three official languages are spoken in our offices. The department will fail if it cannot get prevention messages across to the public in the public’s languages. Texts are even translated to French and Portuguese where necessary. Getting a message across to the public means life and death in this department; the
public is not denied its language rights in this department. I have not come across an instance where a person was denied communication based on language, but I am sure there are a lot of problems (still) at Health facilities.” (DOH)

QR 2: “The 3-language rule is adhered to when communicating with the public, except for vacancy advertisements.” (DOH)

QR 4: “Work in progress. Draft copy available.” (DCAS)

QR 5, 6 and 7: “Yes. We use the Western Cape Language Policy” (DTPW, DEDAT, DSD)

It therefore seems as if the WCLP serves as a Language Code of Conduct in most of the provincial government departments.

7.1.2 Summary of all discourses prevalent in the written responses to the questionnaires of the LPs

The discourses that were uncovered in perusing the responses of the LPs with regard to their role as part of the WCLP IP may be summed up as follows:

- LPs are appointed to translate specific documentation and signage in provincial government departments;
- The interpreting that is sometimes required from these LPs is inadequate or employed only for provincial government events;
- LPs do not serve as promoters of SASL, as challenges with regard to the needs of deaf people in the province are solved when they occur;
- Furthermore, LPs are expected to carry out other more administrative duties owing to a lack of proper job descriptions;
- Challenges also appear to exist in their relationship with senior management, which impacts on the implementation of the WCLP; and
- English is used to solve many language-related problems, as this is regarded as the easiest way out. This serves to strengthen the position of English as a vehicle for verbal and written communication between the LPs and the public and amongst LPs themselves (if they speak different languages).
All of these weaken the position of the other two languages, which of course challenges language policy implementation in the Western Cape.

7.2 A critical discourse analysis of interviews held with language practitioners (LPs)

Transcriptions of the five recorded group interviews that were conducted with LPs may be found in Addendum L. For the discussion of this specific section of Chapter 7 specific reference is made to the two group interviews that were held with the Department of Social Development (DSD) and Treasury respectively. These two departments were singled out for analysis here, as I had detected similar ideologies towards language in the other group interviews that were held.

A request was sent out to each provincial government department for a group discussion with anyone in the language-related field, which was of course principally aimed at the LPs. The idea was to show how other public servants in the Communications Section of each provincial government department relate to the LPs (as part of the WCLP IP requirements) and at the same time to language policy implementation. All respondents received the list of possible questions to be asked before the interview via their manager. From the DSD only two isiXhosa LPs, Interview Respondent 5 and Interview Respondent 6 (IR5 and IR6), were present – their managers were for some inexplicable reason unable to attend. Upon being asked where the Afrikaans LP was, they indicated that the Afrikaans LP had resigned about a year before, and upon being queried about why there would be two isiXhosa LPs and one Afrikaans LP, they indicated that in view of the fact that an isiXhosa translation was usually more demanding and takes longer than Afrikaans translations, two isiXhosa LPs were appointed in order to meet deadlines. This revealed the belief that the task of completing a translation depended on the number of people dealing with the difficulty, length
or volume of a text instead of the translator’s linguistic ability regarding both the source text and the target text.

This further supports the view that LPs should serve as terminology developers or lexicographers, for which they are not qualified when they translate from English to isiXhosa, and hence two isiXhosa LPs could support one another in an attempt to come up with the equivalent of a specific term. Afrikaans, in contrast, is sufficiently developed to have resources available to the translator, and it is “easier” for an Afrikaans translator to translate to English – hence the need for only one Afrikaans translator. The two interview respondents appeared rather nervous until we had shut the door of their office. We sat in a circle. They were both very soft-spoken individuals who came across as very caring people. Both respondents continued to show signs of nervousness, since they sighed a lot during the interview session and fiddled with their hands, sometimes hesitating when answering a question. As the interview progressed, I took their caring nature, lowered tone of voice and sighs as indications of them being very unhappy in the workplace. Although they had received the questions beforehand, they had not prepared their answers, causing the interview to be more unstructured in the end, although not different from that conducted at Treasury. They stumbled over their sentences while trying to avoid some of the crucial aspects of their work that made them unhappy. Both of them seemingly struggled during the interview process because of their emotional state and because they were stressed about the challenges they experienced in the workplace on a daily basis. It took me a fairly long time to persuade them to open up to me. Their attitude in the group discussion made me feel sympathy for their situation as they apparently had many problems with regard to communicating with their clients (the communities).

The interviewees indicated their relationship with the WCLP by using specific words and phrases, while hesitating and weighing up their descriptions carefully
before speaking, and as such made negative references to the implementation process of the WCLP in their department, particularly with regard to their relationship with senior managers.

It took me a very long time to be given an interview with the Treasury group. However, I knew the isiXhosa LP (IR 7) from the PLF of which we were both members at the time, and arranged the interview and the prepared questions through her. Upon my arrival I was greeted by them all and I was shown the trilingual signs that had been put up against the doors and walls of the corridors in their department. On our way to the interview office, I was told in hushed tones by the isiXhosa LP (IR 7) that they would not be speaking in the group, as one person was nominated to speak on behalf of the group. I did not know what to make of this as I had asked for “group participation” and I was not in any position to alter any of my questions to accommodate only this “lead spokesperson”. In the end there were six participants, one male (IR 8) and five females (IR 7, 9, 10, 11, 12), one of whom was in a wheelchair (IR10). There was a huge round table where I, the isiXhosa LP (IR 7) and the spokesperson (IR 8) sat, while the other two (IR 11 and IR 12) sat next to each other on a low round couch pushed to the side of the table, as if they were not really part of the discussion. IR 11 and IR 12 both appeared to be very uncomfortable and did not say a word, as they had been instructed to do; the one introduced the other with a hand gesture and a shoulder shrug. They then leaned back and said nothing for the rest of the interview until I probed them at the end to get more information. IR 10, in the wheelchair, pushed herself noisily between me and IR 7, so that I was positioned between her and IR 8. She was clearly there to defend quite strongly and loudly whatever IR 8 had to say.

The introduction to and duration of the interview was accompanied by some interesting emotions, feelings, hand gestures, body language patterns, hesitations, silences and face pulling among the participants (especially from IR
8 to the rest of the group) during the entire process, and gave me some insights into the actual group dynamics. IR 8 was the most important or “main” person from whom to obtain information; power relations existed in this group, where he was patronising in his gestures and behaviour towards his fellow group members (calling IR 7 “this lady”), stopping the interview abruptly at the end, not allowing especially IR 11 to have her say, which was indicative of his “higher” status in the Communications Directorate. There was no sign of an Afrikaans LP, since this position was taken up by IR 8, who said he was the one doing translations into Afrikaans or he would outsource these to the DCAS.

Both the DSD and Treasury were asked about the Signing of Pledges to Implement the WCLP (Addendum Q) or the pledge-signing ceremony as a symbolic commitment to them implementing the WCLP, and the DSD’s response was most telling:

IR 6: Yes we were part of that signing because we are part of the... Language Forum...so we were there in the Western Cape obviously as part of the Western Cape and then we... yes. (DSD)
Researcher: Yeah, it’s I I am sure that Mr XXX, the Deputy Director of Language Services - they undertook that they would actually come to social development for the pledge to be signed...
IR 6: No, not yet. No, they didn’t come... they didn’t come but they said they would come to the management and we have no idea whether they did or not. (DSD)

The DSD indicated that they were part of “witnessing” the second signing process. These two DSD respondents, even in the symbolic display that language policy should be implemented (and of which they formed part exclusively because of their involvement in the PLF), could not vouch for their senior managers’ presence at the Colloquium in 2010, which was an indication of the low level of their appointment in the hierarchy. This is further indicative that senior management’s position in the chain of language policy discourse was higher than those of the LPs, which made the existence of communication gaps between the two groups highly likely.
The fact that IR 16 stated over and over “No” and “They didn’t come... they didn’t come” in an almost pleading manner revealed her view that if “someone” did not show up to take the symbolic lead with regard to language policy implementation in order to reprimand or make suggestions to senior management, nothing could move forward.

The bureaucratic system in the departments and the top-down management structure appeared not to encourage individual initiative with regard to policy implementation – people had to wait for instructions from senior management before they could proceed with anything. Overall in the above extract it seemed as if this process of recommitment to the WCLP did not work out as had been planned by the DCAS, rendering the promise that was supposed to have been made by senior management the second time around pointless. These interview participants were keen to indicate that their senior management’s role within these bureaucratic structures had been accompanied by particular attitudes that did not prioritise language issues:

IR 5: Uhm yeah, I think in terms of the urhm the implementation of the policy, departments in general have not had urhm willingness from the managers, so that language has not become... part of the management uhm priority. It it it taken more as the the leisurely...
Researcher: Yes?
IR 5: ...thing and not as a main as as the service itself to the people
IR 5: Because they they... they don't see...people think it's not their role, its not their conscience the departments think it's not their conscience, so why do they invest in it?
They won’t get any re... (stumbling) re...
Researcher: returns?
IR 5: ...returns. So they don’t invest in it, yeah.

IR 5 seemed to make a link between the “willingness” from managers and the attitude they display towards language as “the leisurely thing” – something that did not require proper attention or take up an important space within the daily
routine of the senior managers’ work. This kind of attitude towards language negates its role as the most important aspect within any communicative setting.

He further drew on the belief that language, if it was being treated with a “conscience”, could be an “investment” that would give “returns”, linking this to the financial value and positive impact that language practice could have on the economy of the Western Cape, if implemented correctly. But without senior management’s participation in this specific economic “investment” (which in this case appeared to point mainly to interpreting) the Western Cape would not be reaping rewards by investing in the appointment of many LPs to serve the communities and to be used as an “investment” here or by providing genuine services to the communities. IR5 therefore saw LPs as moving outside the offices of the provincial government departments and into communities as professional language facilitators, contributing to the upliftment and enhancement of these communities and their economic development. In this way LPs could serve their communities in the same manner as teachers, nurses, social workers, etc. do.

With regard to Treasury, these LPs appeared to have “no knowledge” of the implementation of the policy, except that there is a “budget” for “the languages”, which in itself was a vague statement as no explanation was given as to what was being done for “languages” with the budget and the presence of a “supervisor” who had to deal with the language policy:

*IR 7: Erm, well *I don’t know about the implementing of the language policy, but what we do have is a budget for the language, for the language unit...erm...because in our department I am the only person who is dealing with languages; *I suppose maybe if I had maybe a supervisor...*a person that is maybe always attending the meetings cultural affairs meetings with me or with other managers...er...say with... with XXX and them...at the moment *what I know is that we do have a budget for the languages.* (Treasury)*
These two groups believed that the “willingness” of senior management and “a supervisor” to oversee the WCLP implementation would necessarily be advantageous to language policy implementation in their respective departments. Yet at the same time poor relationships with senior managers were seen by them as working against WCLP implementation, given these negative attitudes and a sense of confusion about what their actual roles as LPs were:

IR 6: It’s with the management. The main problem is with the... if the management can buy the... I mean the main reasons why do you want to implement the policy, why do we want people to be served in three languages, then the support it will be able to... (DSD)
IR 5: I think we... because we have inherited a system that has urhm elevated two languages over another, it’s become a norm everywhere. Even in signage you will see English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, and nothing of isiXhosa, because it it its taken for granted that they know... they know... they know a tafel a tafel is a table in English, they will know - we don’t really have to say i-tafele to them, we don’t have to have it in isiXhosa when they know it, so... (DSD)
IR 6: I I I think the difference the difference between DCAS and us is that urhm we...our supervisors as well, doesn’t have any idea of what is going on with the language services. They don’t have a clue; that’s the main problem. (DSD)
IR 5: Yeah. People... they cite their rights directly to their constitution. We have constitutional rights. Otherwise I don’t even... I am not even sure that they know where those rights are in the Constitution that they can claim (DSD)
IR 5: With the willingness of managers releasing funds for all the projects that we think should be implemented, yes, maybe (DSD)

IR 6 pondered “why” serving people in three languages were necessary if there was no leadership to support this idea and consequently she questioned the reason behind having a language policy. IR 5 responded to her that there was an “inherited bilingual” system still operating in the province. There was a belief that having three official provincial languages (by law) would necessarily result in isiXhosa being treated with the same respect. IR 5 stressed that there could be a reason why this was not happening, citing that many senior managers, to whom he referred to as “they”, held the ideological belief that there was a “closeness” between Afrikaans and English and isiXhosa, so, when Afrikaans was used, the isiXhosa speaker would draw connections between words and find the isiXhosa equivalent immediately, as isiXhosa was believed simply to put an
“i-” before either the Afrikaans or English word (i-tafele and “tafel” in Afrikaans for “table” in English). This further strengthened the ideological belief about isiXhosa not having its own terminology that is in general known to the isiXhosa interpreters and translators, which challenged appropriate WCLP implementation.

There is clearly a lack of communication and respect between these LPs and their senior managers, who ”don’t have a clue” about the demand for language services in the province. Some of the LPs also seem to believe that simply “knowing” your language rights or even demanding the use of your language in a multilingual setting would necessarily result in a language policy being implemented. IR 6 believed that the DCAS knew what they were doing in their department with regard to language policy implementation and that, because there seemed to have been a difference between this lead department and the other departments, there would obviously be implementation challenges in their departments that might be laid at the door of the senior managers. This attitude is linked to the belief that the lead department in WCLP implementation would necessarily have an impact on the other departments, and that structural operations are important for language policy implementation.

It seemed as if these LPs understood their job description in terms of them working largely as translators of annual reports, annual performance plans, signage at offices and strategic plans and administrative work. Beyond that, their voices seemed to be silenced:

**Researcher: Are you doing Xhosa and English?**
IR 5: Yes, I am doing isiXhosa (DSD)

**Researcher: And English/Xhosa? And translating?**
IR 5: Yes...(DSD)

**Researcher: OK. And you are…?**
IR 6: I’m xxxx language practitioner at Social Development. I’m doing translations. (DSD)
IR 7: Erm, well I don’t know about the implementing of the language policy, but what we do have is a budget for the language, for the language unit….erm…because in our department I am the only person who is dealing with languages… (Treasury)
IR 5: It becomes a problem. You will find out that that er money directed to us it is just for administrative stuff. (DSD)

With regard to Treasury, the fact that a “budget” for languages was instituted did not mean much for language policy implementation as IR 7 was the “only one” dealing with languages. The belief that the appointment of one or even two LPs (as stated in the IP in Chapter 4) to fulfill the “translation” needs in one provincial department would be sufficient for WCLP implementation was cited as a “problem”, since the workload of these LPs would then also include administrative duties. This issue points to a limited understanding of all the language-related tasks LPs can fulfill beyond translation.

IR 6 further noted that:

IR 6: Oh, and we assume that everyone can read (DSD)
IR 6: Because the minute that you hand out your written stuff you assume that everyone can read (DSD)
IR 5: It is…It's been coming from an era where most of us did not or could not go to school, especially our parents (DSD)
IR 5: Even they cannot even read their own language, so the least is,, they can speak it at least, so they need to... yeah the service (DSD)

IR6 stated that an assumption existed that everybody in the province “can read” whatever was translated or given to them in print form – a point which she seriously pondered for a while, sighing and putting her hands up in the air out of frustration, indicating that it was of no use if you had translated any kind of information for the community of the Western Cape (in the form of flyers and such) - especially when you were faced with many unschooled people. Printed documentation that was being read and understood by everyone would not necessarily lead to language policy implementation, as challenges in this regard would be experienced due to the poor educational provisions of the Apartheid
era. In addition, IR 5 pointed out that those who could read (probably meaning Afrikaans or English) could not necessarily read their own language (isiXhosa or even Afrikaans). Consequently these people at grassroots level could be conversant in the language and yet not be able to make sense of what would be on paper as they did not have formal schooling.

Indications that these annual reports were not really needed for consumption by the people at grassroots levels made their jobs as LPs rather pointless. These documents appeared only to be accessible to politicians and other state officials. These LPs were critical about their role in the IP and showed certainty that their efforts to “make available documentation in all three languages” were not being read by the people at grassroots level:

*IR 6: Because the main focus here is translations and if you look at when we translate those apps or annual reports, are the communities reading the annual reports and the APPs? Not at all. (DSD)*

Different opinions about the community of the Western Cape (especially the rural communities) came from the LPs; one of those instances in the province where Afrikaans was being used as the only language, even to those not speaking the language:

*IR 5: OK, you see Western Cape is mainly especially in the communities where outside the metro where these projects work, uhm... they are mainly rural communities which... are either or and mainly Afrikaans-speaking or isiXhosa speaking. And in those that are Afrikaans exclusively Afrikaans-speaking... the minority communities that are of isiXhosa speakers there ...have not seen something to the... to the.... nothing in terms of language rights (DSD)*

*IR 5: Yeah, they they are completely communicated by the dominate language in that community (DSD)*

*IR 5: In Afrikaans yes - Yeah they get left out (DSD)*

*IR 6: It is not always like that. Really, it is supposed to be like that, but I think Afrikaans is given the... the... the priority more in the WC (DSD)*

*IR 5: And one of the... explanations is that they do not know English. So, if you were to say to them that they should at least urhm think about those who speak isiXhosa or who don’t know Afrikaans, they will say we also don’t know English...so there is no
common ground. You can’t speak English and then they both hear, you must speak Afrikaans for them and isiXhosa for them, so they occupy the same land. (DSD)

IR 5: We’ve actually received a lot of complaints from…as the Language Committee… received a lot of complaints from police officers in exclusive Afrikaans areas, who are forced into writing statements in Afrikaans that they do not know. Their superiors are Afrikaner are Afrikaans speaking and the people who come into the post office are…(DSD)

IR 5: Yeah, but but they get forced to write by the supervisors in Afrikaans, and… but… what they do not know they’re not competent in Afrikaans and…er… as a result they have seen their lives, their professional lives being a misery… in the work force as well…

Accordingly it was clear that these LPs served as mostly office-based language practitioners who did not go out to the community with the sole purpose of serving the community by offering translation and interpreting at state institutions accessed by the general public. This in turn had silenced the voice of the isiXhosa community. This voicelessness in itself caused the communities to be “dominated” by Afrikaans, and thus the “symbolic power” of Afrikaans (Bourdieu, 1991: 167) is made visible and is prioritised over isiXhosa. This may also be seen in the complaints from police officers who are isiXhosa-speaking but are forced to write their reports in Afrikaans when they are employed in ”exclusive Afrikaans areas”, a reference to the rural areas of the Western Cape.

IR 5 clearly believed that every-Afrikaans speaking person would necessarily understand English and held the ideological belief that English should be the “common language” when Afrikaans and isiXhosa speakers were grouped together in one venue. The fact that it was only the Afrikaans group that would object to English being used in that particular setting is a sign, according to IR 5, that isiXhosa speaking people “have not seen”…”anything…nothing in terms of language rights.” Afrikaans-speaking people (as the majority of the complaints to PanSALB have shown) also appeared to demand their language rights far more frequently than other groups.
According to IR 5 two languages dominated the linguistic landscape – not just one. Consequently isiXhosa was suffering and it seemed as if one official language (Afrikaans) was fighting for its survival against the dominance of English. With this in mind, I focused with regard to the input received from Treasury on exactly how “dominant” Afrikaans and English have become in translations and which ideological beliefs could be extracted here. I found the accepted view was that an English document needed only be accompanied by a much shorter Afrikaans and/or isiXhosa summary:

IR 8: No, it is quite thick and pages and I think we attempt it…and I have to speak for somebody else now…one of these documents many years ago and I don’t know how much it cost us…and…and we got only one request from that, so we think efficiently and effectively as well in the sense that… erm… how to deal with this, especially with the thick documents. I know that we our publications are annual report, and the APP are being translated, but still with the …with the main publications, we don’t always. (Treasury)

IR 8: It’s…it’s… students that require documents from us…for their theses…so it’s people that understand the economic terms, the financial terms…(Treasury)

A thorough translation from English to isiXhosa was deemed unnecessary in the face of just “one request” that had been received after the “cost” effectiveness of such translation was deemed not worthy of the effort. “We” and the “attempt” seem not indicative of the willingness to consider those who would actually like to have Treasury’s documentation in either Afrikaans or isiXhosa. IR 8 furthermore held the belief that English is the language of “thick” documentation, and that the other two languages should not be used to do “main publications”. Students (who are obviously in a position to understand English) would mostly prefer the English translations for their academic purposes.

A specific interview question dealt with whether or not signage had been printed in three languages and/or whether any problems or challenges existed in this regard. Translation of signage at provincial government offices was produced as an indication of how these government departments were implementing the
WCLP and how this gesture promoted trilingualism. Everyone indicated that I could take a walk around the provincial government department I was visiting and could view the different signage they had put up in all three languages, of which I was not permitted to take any pictures:

IR 8: Well, I have a statement on there ...erm it is all three languages. We also go outside, although it is not in three languages, we are going to put the big frames by the lift and this is Treasury in all three languages and they do have the letterhead as the Premier wanted in all three languages and we will now have them in three languages but we do have frames just to show that this component, this is the management style. (Treasury)

IR 8’s response was clearly an indication of signage being put up as window dressing – because it was required by legislation. He believed that the normal person at grassroots level would view the appearance of signage in his department as a guarantee to a member of the public of being served in his or her preferred language of communication. This also seems to indicate the way in which the prescriptions of the WCLP were being used as a political tool within the provincial government departments on behalf of the “Premier”.

The central role of English once again became clear in the following extract:

IR 12: Now I notice that they have extended the Afrikaans and Xhosa for some departments ...that they sort of at the time...they saying that they don’t have the time
IR 12: Yes but they sort of now I am saying they are not prioritising the other languages. (Treasury)
IR 12: Only English. It’s only centralised services. They translate, but it is not a priority for them and I don’t think our Internet has it...has the option to read the content in Afrikaans or isiXhosa, only some of the content...some is most in English, one or two in Afrikaans....(Treasury)
IR 8: Even the outlook and our systems, everything that is there is in English, the e-mail, we have an option to do English (Treasury)
IR 7: Not necessarily as I know, even with...with the documents, like xxx has just said now, neither English document then they don’t ask maybe for the documents in isiXhosa. (Treasury)
It seemed furthermore that culture also needed to be taken into account when interpreting services for isiXhosa were required. The absence of a standardised version of isiXhosa was being used as a challenge when implementing the WCLP, as the following extract shows:

IR 7: Well the problem that we are having, say, when we outsource a document, say for instance the annual report, because I am the only person that is doing that and I am not only doing the translations so we outsource the document to Cultural Affairs and Sport, so they give it to a person maybe in the North West or in the Eastern Cape, so now the problem comes when you are supposed to submit the deadline, ma be call most of the time...you will say, OK, I need this document, say...and I must outsource this document to Cultural Affairs, then at Cultural Affairs, they don’t just give it to somebody here in Cape Town, they would say, OK, the person that is relevant rather to the terminology is in the North West and the person that we are using and the person that is on the list of freelancers is in another province, so they send the document to that person; then we struggle now to get the information back; we follow up and the money will come to me and then I must go to xxx and xxx must go to somebody else them I think there is a problem. (Treasury)

This extract highlighted the terminology disputes that existed between different dialects of isiXhosa and the sense that this might hamper the further development of isiXhosa for usage at all levels. A lack of isiXhosa terminology development was used as an excuse not to translate more documents into the language. Terminology development issues created disputes over the use of a word in context in the absence of proper language tools for isiXhosa in the Western Cape where terminology development can take place and/or where translators or interpreters could access terms.

Furthermore, it is apparent that isiXhosa-speaking people in the Western Cape do not necessarily request documentation in isiXhosa, as a result of which therefore translating documents in isiXhosa might be seen as unnecessary and an obvious waste of money:
IR 7: Not necessarily as I know, even with...with the documents, like xxx has just said now, neither English document then they don’t ask maybe for the documents in isiXhosa. (Treasury)

IR 6: It’s like here we came with a strategy work where we don’t always focus on translations to implement the language services to give the the it’s like our social workers, our receptionists and all those who all those people and give them courses so that they can be able to speak isiXhosa because the main problem if you look at the social workers they go to our communities maybe it is an Afrikaans speaker who will go to a Xhosa speaker and then that that person, ur that there are things that ur because language goes with culture there are things that she won’t understand about the person you see and then she will take as if as maybe that person is rude when she doesn’t want to answer this and this but I think the social workers need to understand their clients more better. But now here when we introduce that, they think as if in fact we were told it is not our core function, so what’s the point for wasting money on (DSD)

The inheritance of a bilingual English-Afrikaans system was considered to be still so strongly entrenched that there was insufficient awareness that isiXhosa was the third official language:

IR 5: I think we... because we have inherited a system that has urhm elevated two languages over another, it’s become a norm everywhere. Even in signage you will see English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, and nothing of isiXhosa, because it it its taken for granted that they know... they know... they know a tafel a tafel is a table in English, they will know - we don’t really have to say i-tafele to them, we don’t have to have it in isiXhosa when they know it, so...(DSD)

The absence of appropriate interpreting services served to increase the domination of English as the common language and the main language of business. It seemed as if there was an underlying realisation that the use of English could be alienating many people, but that very little could be done about this. IR 6 even argued that people were “supposed” to be able to know English, and that those who did not know the language, were stigmatised as being “illiterate” or “stupid”:

IR 6: I I I think the the main problem is when they look at urhm urhm what they are supposed to to to implement the policy there there they shall take as if everyone is supposed to to speak their language and now English English. It’s like it’s like... they will say you are supposed to know English. They don’t even take it as your right to
even read er...er...and be served with the language that you understand better, you know, so that’s the main problem. So when you want to be served in your own language they take you as if you are Illiterate or whatever...(DSD)
Researcher: …or stupid?
IR 6: Yes (DSD)

The question could therefore be asked whether or not a language policy is required if English is everywhere in the provincial government and has risen in importance and use by public servants. IR 6 also questioned whether having a language policy would necessarily lead to people asking for service in their language, and whether or not having language rights mattered, if everything is done in English anyway.

7.3 Summary of all uncovered discourses prevalent in the interviews with LPs

In the second part of Chapter 7 I have come to the following conclusions: With regard to the official undertaking that the WCLP would be implemented, there seemed to be an uncertainty or unawareness of this pledge. All the public servants were under the impression that WCLP implementation centered within the limitations of translations done in provincial government departments (annual reports, annual performance plans, signage at offices and strategic plans), although some of them actually seemed to feel that they were needed elsewhere in the field and should not be office bound. Interpreting services, should be required, were being outsourced but they were costly and that caused major concern as interpreting was part of getting the message across to the communities if you wished to have good service delivery, which is at the cornerstone of the policy. Afrikaans and English were still being advantaged at the expense of isiXhosa whose official status was something on paper; reasons for the challenges in isiXhosa ranged from challenges experienced with a standardised version, lots of dialects, cultural obligations when dealing with the language and terminology development issues. Many issues had been raised with regard to the LPs’ relationship with members of their senior management and their role in implementing the WCLP, which in my understanding they do
not grasp, and I did not get any indication that these LPs could take their concerns to the WCLC.

Finally, it does not seem as if the WCLC has any impact on the plight of the LPs at all, since this body is not in contact with the LPs at provincial government level, as was alluded to in Chapter 6.

7.4 A critical discourse analysis of interviews with Senior Management
Despite the fact that only two senior managers were willing to be interviewed, I believe that these interviews reveal much of the predominant ideologies and attitudes within provincial departments that impact directly on the implementation of the WCLC. It must be borne in mind that the LPs fall directly under the authority of these senior managers, and that these relationships therefore play a crucial role in the provision of effective language services in the three official languages as stipulated in the WCLP and IP. Transcripts of their interviews may be found in Addendum M.

7.4.1 Interview with the Chief Director of Community Safety (CS)
It was quite an effort to obtain an interview with this respondent, but in the end he received me in a very friendly way. What soon became apparent, however, was that he did not know much regarding the WCLP, although he showed me the Booklet in his hand. He tried to fiddle with the microphone of the tape recorder all the time, waving his hands about to disturb the sound, but I stayed calm. In addition, he spoke incoherently and most of the time I thought he did not know what he was talking about or why I was there. For the sake of continuity of my thesis, I have called this respondent Interview Respondent 13
(IR 13). All reference to words and phrases indicating ideological beliefs or points of discussion are indicated in bold. The following is more or less the entire interview, which I began with the pledge that all departments were required to sign with regard to the WCLP:

**Researcher:** Did you sign that...did your department sign that pledge five years ago...Safety and Security? Community and Safety ...

IR 13: **I will not be able to say yes we did or did not sign,** because I am sure... that it was on a political...

**Researcher:** a ministerial?...

IR 13: ... level but if Minister Jacobs, you know, pledged something like that ...I ...I want to say that **I could be 99% sure that the Minister of our Department would have signed** ....but I mean...I ...unfortunately I was not part of it and I can’t say.

**Researcher:** Last year they...they also signed it again...because of the...

IR 13: **is it...?**

**Researcher:** Implementation problems that they have experienced in the departments...and they ...were you at all in any shape or form involved in the language colloquium about the WCLP.

IR 13: **No I was … I was not.**

I sensed a lack of communication between the DCAS and this provincial government department, as senior management was not aware of any pledges that had been signed between the Ministers (both) and his department, but he was so committed to his Minister that he vouched “99%” certainty that it had happened in his department. I then probed him on his understanding of the WCLP:

**Researcher:** Er..is there...what do you understand by the WCLP...if I can...just be so frank and ask....

IR 13: **...Yeah...No, I mean I studied it.** To me ...I....I always see things like that...not in a theoretical document because then it’s...it’s something dead...to me it was always **about empowering our communities and from day one in 1996, and I mean...I can vouch for that what happened, there was in the whole of the country there was actually a movement to use just English, where we were empowering the people and things ...we exclude people if we don’t use English. But I think it quickly dawned on all different departments and I mean on ours as there was so much working with communities...and 1...I ...I sat in meetings where you could actually see how we disempower people by insisting on speaking English...where people who...who didn’t feel comfortable in raising a question the public meeting be it in even our own private ...er...er...not private but internal workings where you...you...try you and... and get everybody to contribute to a particular programme be it the Aids awareness...
programmes be it whatever and you...if you stated right in the beginning that this would only be in English, that because we you know...that everybody has an opportunity to understand yes maybe everybody understood what is going on, but you didn’t get participation from...from a wide variety of people.

When asked about what he understood the WCLP to entail, he seemed not to have a clue - he spoke in general about a policy. He fumbled over his words and then he started telling me about the use of English only and how they had been disempowering people by using the language, immediately trying to make me feel at ease that he had undertaken a lot of empowerment since the New South Africa emerged. He did not convince me that he knew anything about my research question, and then I tried to rescue the situation by focusing on that particular ideological belief of his that everybody understood English. It seems that IR 13 was aware of the use of English in his meetings and of the challenges that posed and tried to convince me that it was an idea that they had and that the departments, speaking on behalf of the other provincial departments, could not continue using English as it was a “bad” thing to do. However, I regarded this rambling as skirting the real issue of exactly what the question was that I had asked; and that was what he understood by the WCLP:

Researcher: That was one of my questions... was the ...er...was how do you deal with the status of English and how do you...how do you er...actually implement the WCLP.
IR 13: Ja. [Yes]
Researcher: Do you make use of interpreters? Do you make use of translators?
IR 13: So, I mean in...in... practice what you will find, is that...er...you start off with all your documents and I mean if you go into our annual report you started it was in all three languages, but then certain things do kick in to say you know it’s costs and it’s this and it’s that and then you end up say OK we will do it in an English document but we immediately we have it translated – we have it available normally on a CD typed format and we...in the booklet itself we...we publicise that er...this document is also available in one of the other languages.
Researcher: And that is...that is your standard structure... that you do... that you do have English as the provincial language?
IR 13: Yes, let’s say in our department – Yeah...I mean, I just looked at our annual report again and that is of course about practicality and saving money. But I think we go out of our way in any meeting that we allow you to speak in whatever language and the lucky position that we have is we have people that can translate into whatever language have public meetings and that is something that we have a lot with us we always make sure that there is translators available and that people can stand up and speak in isiXhosa, or can speak in Afrikaans or if somebody spoke in English and somebody in the...in the....in the audience indicate that he or she don’t understand or
maybe missed the subtleties or something like that, then a person will be able to say let’s…let’s translate it. I think we very quickly dawned on us that…er…you can’t just push the English er…as…a er…call it a political correctness type thing…er…and we now include but in fact we are now excluding the people.

I realised that he was fumbling again and that he tried very hard to convince me that he knew what he was talking about or telling the truth. I further thought that he might be trying to get away from this English-fits-all ideology that he still held. I asked him whether or not English was “the provincial language” and he said “Yes, let’s say in our department” immediately. He tried to justify this by stating challenges such as “practicality and saving money”, that they “go out of our way in any meeting that we allow you to speak in whatever language”, and yet, this member of senior management did not even recognise what is meant by “interpreting”, as he referred to it as “translation”:

“...we have people that can translate into whatever language have public meetings...”

In order to test him further about his knowledge of interpreting, I then decided to ask him how they implemented the WCLP, in my opinion a quite easy question to ask, before getting to the challenges posed. He just said “Ja” [yes] and kept quiet for a while, hesitating, as if to think, and then I had to prompt him with whether or not they use translators or interpreters, in an effort to persuade him to talk. But, when he answered this question I was 100% sure that this member of senior management was totally ignorant about what was going on with regard to language issues in his department.

He held the belief that English should not be forced on everyone, as it was not “a political correctness type thing...er...and we now include but in fact we are now excluding the people”...a “wide variety of people”. Yet he justified the use
of English throughout the interview. He made it very clear to me from the beginning of this interview that he had been part of this new South Africa from 1996 and he pointed out his extensive knowledge of his area of expertise; that the use of English was seen as something that did not benefit them as a department; and that using other languages would be the politically correct thing to do. He completely sidelined all the questions I asked him by focussing on the translation of the annual report in three languages, which was the only document he concentrated on.

I thought I would give him the benefit of the doubt by praising him about the way in which they implemented the WCLP regarding translations and I was amazed by his lack of knowledge when I asked him about their challenges:

**Researcher:** OK, so you actually talked about how you actually implement the Western Cape Language Policy which is commendable er...what.....what would your dept...what would...act...what are the challenges except the costing that you sort of now mentioned...what...what other challenges are there?

IR 13: Er...be...er...er...obviously from where I stand, I would love to have it immediately printed in all the three languages and have it available, but there is...(sorry) always the time constraints, say for instance you work on your annual report, that is a very, very...er...valuable document that we must have, but there is deadlines, so you must have it ready by that time and you can’t say, but you can start so long before that, because you must wait for the auditor’s report, you must wait for the so...you are on tight deadline, and yes, oh, maybe you can er...bypass any challenges if you really want to, but that is... that is a type of challenge that one could say

**Researcher:** Does...does that link a bit to...to staff shortage? Is that why you cannot really...er...

IR 13: No, we can have the ...we can have the ready, but to have it translated by the time that we have to translate it into...into...er the formal structures be it at parliament or wherever, sometimes you’re not ready because we go out to...we ask translators to do the work and they only get it by that day and we work really hard to get everything finalised because of the deadlines.

**Researcher:** This is of interest – how many translators or interpreters did you employ in your department?

IR 13: We do not employ people ourselves.

**Researcher:** Are you doing it freelance, do you...?

IR 13: Yes, we do. We have a communication directorate and they will either go to Cultural Affairs to assist or if or by...

**Researcher:** I come from Cultural Affairs and Sport – I have worked there for five years, so I know the background and that is where I got my passion from...to...to give something back...
IR 13: Yes

Researcher: Er...with your freelance interpreters and your freelance translators...obviously that is...that is costly – is there a specific budget in place for...for your...?

IR 13: We don’t budget per se for that item per se, say so much of my budget is for translation services, for Afrikaans, for this and that and others, but I mean I have a budget for communication and we know that part of any of publication or things we must have it translated so erm, it is built in the Communication budget, but not as a separate thing “translations”, it’s in Communications

Researcher: In communications...?

IR 13: Yeah

This senior manager made excuses as to why English was being used in his department after he told me that it was not the right thing to do, but believed that translation is “time consuming” and “costly” and that “deadlines” were not as easy to meet. It seemed as if there was no knowledge of how long it would take to translate a document. He fumbled over his words, saying things that did not make sense at all; speaking about “the Auditor-General” as if to impress on me the importance of his “deadlines” as well as the task of the manager to get everything in order for the Cabinet.

This senior manager (the Chief Director in his department) was also not aware of what was going on in his Communications Department with regard to translations or even interpreting. Indeed, it was apparent to me that he knew very little about the WCLP implementation in his department. I viewed this as an indication of this manager’s attitude towards language matters and communications in his department. He did not even know about the most recent pledge signing.

At the end of this interview, the following assumptions could be made: This was a Chief Director, who served just under the HOD of his Department, yet knew nothing of the amounts that had been put aside for the purposes of language
policy implementation services in his department. Chief Directors have extensive “finance focus” meetings on a monthly basis and his lack of commitment and even the nonchalant way in which he approached the issue bordered on the ridiculous, which once again highlighted for me the challenges that the LPs experienced in provincial government departments. The relationship between this Chief Director and his Communications Section as well as his relationship with the people of the Western Cape regarding language issues were therefore seemingly non-existent. The level at which the other two official languages of the province ranked within his department could be questioned and it would probably be correct to assume that English dominates in this department, despite its having a Communications Department.

7.4.2 Interview with the Director of Communications: Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning (DEADP)
I was able to gain access to this interviewee quite easily – she was the only one who was really positive in giving me an interview and she had a great deal to say before the time. We walked around for almost half an hour to find a specific place to sit, and by the time we had found a place, we had talked a lot about my studies and that I wanted to know about challenges implementing the WCLP. Unfortunately she could not prepare a private space for us and we sat down in an open plan office. She seemed very friendly and welcoming. She requested that the phones be taken off the hook, so that we could talk. Two other people were sitting close by, but this had no effect on the interview itself. During the interview, as she fumbled over her words and expressed her views on language, she kept looking into the direction of those listening to her.

During the interview the respondent fumbled a great deal and became irritated by the fact that I was asking so many questions. I needed to ask questions because of the ideologies she held about language in her department, and at times I had to prompt her as a manager in order to ascertain her true feelings
with regard to language issues in her department. For the sake of continuity of my thesis I have called this respondent Interview Respondent 14 (IR 14). All reference to words and phrases indicating ideological beliefs of this manager are indicated in bold.

The following is an extract of a very long interview from which a couple of ideological beliefs have been extracted:

**Researcher:** …You know what the Western Cape Language Policy entails?
**IR 14:** Yeah, well, it’s basic...yeah, well in my understanding it is basically to to provide for for equal …equal status of the provincial languages which is English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa

**Researcher:** Of course, of course Yeah and then they also have a sort of a an encouragement to promote South African Sign language amongst the deaf people and the promotion of Nama and Khoi languages that are being spoken in the Western Cape. Do you...how do you implement the language policy. I know that you implement the WCLP. How do you implement it? That is what I am interested in now.

**IR 14:** As far as possible, as far as financially possible I, say financially possible because budget plays a huge role in whether or not...or to.... it plays a huge role in the extent to which we implement it in our department...urhm to the extent of printed materials such as corporate publications, annual reports, uhm...and your performance plans, your strategic plans, uhm...we make them available in all three languages uhm...when certain campaigns whether the internal, external, depending on the budget for that particular campaign will have materials available in all three languages.

**Researcher:** So, your people at grassroots level are the ones that are working with the finances and they are trying to implement the language policy from that side, is that what you are saying?

**IR 14:** No, what I just said...the challenge comes when .....as our...as a communications unit, we get a certain ...we get x amount specifically for translations for that particular financial year and this is where...and we have to basically support all of our other units or directorates with that particular budget for ...for any ad hoc requests or whatever the case. Now, each directorate or each unit, when they’ve got specific campaigns, campaigns that are specific to their line functions, right, then they’ll have for instance, they’ll have uhm uhm uhm budget for an event linked to that campaign, or they have budget for the the materials or whatever the case, however, very rarely in their respective budgets is provision made for translation services.

**Researcher:** And for... for interpreting services?

**IR 14:** And for for interpreting services, not at....I can tell you something that interpreting services is something that we have never budgeted for or that we have used for in this department

**Researcher:** What, what would those campaigns be, it is Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning, what would your campaigns be?

**IR 14:** Ja, Ja, look, usually our campaigns are more geared towards...urhm it’s your climate change issues, your waste management issues, your pollution management issues, uhm... it will be...it will be developmental issues as well uhm...planning, very
very technical legislative planning, projects that we work on. So, when I do say campaign it is not necessarily for the broader Western Cape public, urhm sometimes it is just targeted at municipalities, municipal officials, or sometimes it is it’s it’s urhm only targeted at a certain sector of the youth of the youth market.

It seemed as if there was a communications gap between the DEADP and the management of DCAS, since the commitment to language policy was not signed as a symbolic gesture that indicated an awareness of language. The ideological belief revealed here was that of a hierarchy of language, with English ranked as the most important language, irrespective of the languages spoken by the majority of the population. This senior manager knew what the WCLP “basically” entailed when she said: “basically to provide for equal ...equal status of the provincial languages which is English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa...” The fact that she fumbled seemed to me an indication of her not really grasping what she was saying, as if she was reading it from a book. However, she mentioned challenges with regard to “budgets” but that these challenges only related to “translation services” during “campaigns” or “events”. Surprisingly, when I asked her about interpreting services for the people of the Western Cape, she stated immediately that interpreting services “have never been budgeted for”. The question could be asked then, which language/s do they use at these campaigns and events?

I could not understand why these “climate” issues were not being addressed as important ones for the broader public of the Western Cape to understand in the languages they used. This senior manager believed that their responsibility stretched to the municipalities, from where the municipalities would be the link to the communities, and that they would make materials or “tools” available for the municipalities.

Researcher: ...so whose responsibility is that then to make sure that the information gets filtered through to to the people in the languages that they understand?
IR 14: *In terms of filtering the information through where available in the three languages or where or where available in or where available full stop. uhm...we try as far as possible to equip the municipalities with the necessary tools urhm... so, if you are talking about providing them with...pro...providing ...the various audiences or the target groups with the the the relevant material from our department ...it it it would come from us...it would need to come from it would be our responsibility to provide it in those specific three languages, because I can tell you that...erm...yeah we....*  
Researcher: *So what you do, what you do...do you have a specific language in which you put those reading materials, put that forward?*  
IR 14: *It’s It’s It is predominantly...usually it is...predominantly the the the the predominant language is is English. It has been English all along...*  
Researcher: *Although most people do not understand it in this province?*  
IR 14: *And that is still... it is simply because it is the most preferred business language erhm, and whatever the case...there are there are instances where it is being translated into Afrikaans erhm but its predominant... it is predominantly English...*
formally stated which one in terms of the structure and in terms of the job description

Researcher: It is not a person that can speak isiXhosa if she would or if he would...
IR 14: No, not necessarily, not necessarily at all, because you will notice that with any with any with any during any recruitment process for argument’s sake, they will say erm...erm...erm...must be...must be...**fluent in two of the official languages of the Western Cape**

Researcher: And it’s normally?
IR 14: And can that be they always assume that it is English Afrikaans, what about Xhosa Afrikaans for argument’s sake, what about Xhosa English?

She indicated that there was only one LP in their department (according to the WCLP IP they had the correct number of staff in their department to implement the policy) and that they “**did not have a language unit**”. The fact that the advertisements stated that LPs need to be “fluent in two official languages” had led them to appoint an Afrikaans/English LP as that was their quota as prescribed by the WCLP IP.

The structure of being branded a “smaller” department troubled her as this came with its own challenges:

IR 14: Uhm talking in consid consid consideration outside of the modernisation where they sort of created a a a or proposed generic standard for communication units or for certain units within within uhm all the departments...taking into consideration that we were presented with a specific almost one-size-fits-all generic structure for our component uhm but even prior to that, there was only always been one language practitioner on this structure. So, it’s partly because of its it’s it’s financial, it’s partly because I think that whoever puts together the organisational uhm structure for departments and that would sit with uhm the organisational directorate... they are sort of the implementers at the end of the day of the of the structures, depending on what we recommend, of course...but urhm... It is all to the misconception that because we are the smaller department we require we require fewer language practitioners and language services which is... I can tell you now so not the case because the type of information that we work with is of such a nature ....

Researcher: What role does English play in your department your day-to-day communication?
IR 14: On a daily basis- if we talking about the internal use if we are talking about internal use of language just amongst officials here I would say it is a cross between English and Afrikaans...urhm... but in terms of formal correspondence, English definitely ...urhm...there...you have maybe one or two urhm... I...I would say a maximum five in the in the entire department who predominantly make use of
Afrikaans when they do… their… their formal correspondence. And this is now for correspondences between ourselves and with and with the uhm…

Researcher: …other departments?
IR 14: With other departments or with the public or whatever the case may be, but again, if I would even…if I would give a very rough estimate…very rough estimate, I would say 98% English

Researcher: Do you ever go out into the communities to speak to the people of the Western Cape?
IR 14: Uhm, yes, it will be, again it will be again it will be linked to the… again it will be linked …linked to the …to other directorates er when they are busy with their specific projects, for instance, uhm was it in February for arguments sake…urhm… they went out to…one one one of our units went out to to a uhm a a school in Khayelitsha

IR 14 responded to something very interesting. Their department had been branded a “smaller department” (please see WCLP IP Chapter 4) which required only one LP in order to fulfill their organisational duties. She believed this was a misconception on the part of those who put these structures together, and this forced them to rely on the use of English, because of necessity and because of their “budget” or finances. Internally they made use of a “cross between English and Afrikaans”, so, they had found a way in which to deal with their internal communication; yet with other departments they did their business in English. The repetition of the words “a rough estimate” indicates the belief to be correct. When asked about the communities in the Western Cape that they were supposed to serve, the respondent insisted that they went out to Khayelitsha, which to her did not seem to fall under the City of Cape Town, but somewhere outside it.

IR 14 appeared to hold the ideological view of Afrikaans and English as being conducive for use in a multilingual setting as she stressed that, when her officials went out to the communities they served every term, they would “tailor their presentations” for “the particular group” to whom they were presenting their workshops to. Her careful and rather hesitant choice of words led me to believe that isiXhosa was not considered at all. I was shocked at the nonchalant way in which the second largest language group in the Western Cape was treated, and at how this language was catered for. She in fact skirted this issue
and ignored my question when I asked her about the involvement of her officials with the communities of the Western Cape.

IR 14 expressed the opinion that language matters were not taken seriously, and that no punitive measures were taken against departments that did not implement the WCLP. In addition, she felt that the LPs were receiving such a low salary that it was in any event not “worth” the effort to appoint them:

IR 14: But the the only concern or the main concern I would say that I would have with that is that is that... its taken less seriously. Even though we know that there is a language policy that we know that we have to adhere to and that has to be implemented ... there isn't such an urgency attached to it. It’s not sort of like... it’s not sort... there isn’t anything formal to say that ...well if you don’t do x, y and z in a particular fi financial year, then...
Researcher: No watchdog?
IR 14: There’s no watch dog, precisely precisely there is no watchdog
Researcher: No punishment, no punitive measures?
IR 14: Exactly, like we know for instance at the end of the financial year, if you have not spent a particular budget it gets taken away and that is your punishment: less budget for the following year, so it’s not that same sort of urhm urgency attached to it and that’s...
Researcher: And that’s the major challenge implementing the the the WCLP?
IR 14: It is, because because look... as much as we can say uhm it needs to be implemented and whatever the case we know that...er... for this dept... I can’t speak for other departments... for this dept it’s ....not financially viable and how are we going to motivate for additional funds if we don’t have sort of something that is in place that says 'you must...you must...’”
Researcher: ...do that...? Do you think there is a shortage of language practitioners?
IR 14: Yes, definitely. I think in the provincial government yes, but I just that also in terms of I just think that where uhm... for the most part, language practitioners are appointed on on level 8 salaries, and ...
Researcher: Yes?
IR 14: To me, it’s not...its not...I don’t think any of them think it’s worth it, and that any of them think it’s worth it and that is why people would would rather like to... I mean like the people are on DCASs database where they can charge
Researcher: On freelance?
IR 14: On a freelance basis, because it is it is worth more at the end of the day they do it like that, but I mean, if you appoint a language practitioner on a level 8, and I, mean with this department alone, they will it’s it’s so much documentation it’s so much technical information is not worth it.

This senior manager mirrored what I thought might be the attitude to WCLP implementation all along: for members of SM in provincial government – there
is “no urgency to it”, “there isn’t anything formal” to enforce the IP. An example was made of how punishment could be meted out by taking unspent money away from the provincial department’s budget, which is laughable and showed the extent to which language matters had been prioritised. Furthermore, and as a justification of what was perceived with the problem with language policy implementation by viewing a position as Director, an attitude towards the low ranking or unworthy position of the LP was expressed, stating that it is a lowly paid job at level 8 (where level 4 is the lowest and level 12 the highest in provincial government). She therefore held that it was better for LPs to work on a freelance basis where more money could be made. It was further stressed that the WCLP IP was not at all realistic in prescribing the appointment of only one LP per department, as this resulted in a very heavy workload - something which the LPs also complained about.

I could not resist asking whether or not she regarded the policy as mere “window-dressing”:

IR 14: Partly, I will say partly, because it is there and it is... It is being implemented but not on the on the on the scale that it should be and it could be... And urhm...yeah I would say that that that that...Look it is a good thing that it is there and
Researcher: There?
IR 14: That is out there and it gives you...but uhm...how can I say it it will stay remain window dressing until such time that there is some kind of a watchdog that there is some kind of ...like you said earlier some sort of ...
Researcher: punitive measures in place?
IR 14: Exactly. Exactly. Uhm it is just going to be...I know that there is...urh urhm I've heard of certain departments that do not do translations for instance our our for instance annual reports and our annual performance plans... we it's it's legislative requirements for us to table these documents and we have to have it available in all three languages, even though we don’t print in all three languages but we make sure it is translated into the other two languages so that it is electronically it is available in certain instances.
Researcher: Do you have other things to look at? Do you have to look at housing, you have to look at...
IR 14: And that’s what I was going to get to now
Researcher: electricity...?
IR 14: Exactly
Researcher: The basic needs?
IR 14: ...So where’s the balance? So where’s the balance you know what I mean? For a lot of people for a lot of departments, even, cultural urhm cultural, heritage or
Although the WCLP is “a good thing” and “essential”, it amounts to nothing unless there is a “watchdog” to oversee the process or unless there are “punitive measures” in place. The importance of a “watchdog” to monitor the departments during the year to see whether or not they are doing their best to implement the policy could not be underestimated. However, there appeared to be no effective commitment from departments to the IP, and only punitive measures could lead to tangible results.

Furthermore, the opinion that many other departments regarded “culture” and “heritage” – of which language (which she referred to as “whatever the case”) – forms part, as “a fluffy little sideline thing”, indicated the discontent with the DCAS as a provincial government department, which saw “social issues” (of which language and effective communication strategies are surely a part) as being far more important. Immediately afterwards the respondent contended that language issues “should be taken into consideration”, but that it was going to “cost”. She did not say how and in this silence I read that the idea had not even been considered.

7.5 Summary of all uncovered discourses prevalent in the interviews with Senior Management

The senior manager from CS caused me to think that there certainly appeared to be a lack of knowledge with regard to the WCLP and its IP at senior management level in provincial government departments. The senior manager at the DEADP made me think that there were many more issues concerning the implementation of the WCLP, and those were a lack of punitive measures, no
watchdog to implement the policy, the existence of a definite hierarchical
difference between the LP and senior management, and that the branding of
“smaller” and “medium” and “large” units as mentioned in Chapter 4 came with
their own challenges. Overall I got the idea that languages were not ranked
important enough at senior management level, so the LPs in their questionnaires
and in their group interviews might have had a point about complaining about
WCLP implementation (be it translations or interpreting) at SM level, where
there was “a lack of willpower”, “a lack of interest” or “a lack of funds”.

7.6 Conclusion
The findings contained in the questionnaires and what had been said during the
interviews in interview groups place the LPs somewhat lost between the WCLP,
its implementation plan, their senior managers and the communities they are
required to serve. There seemed to be a break in the chain which should lead to
language policy implementation reaching the communities of the Western Cape,
owing to either the ideological beliefs that these language practitioners hold, to
their voice being silenced by senior management, or to their being office bound
to do translations for a faceless reader or to interpreting from time to time. It
seemed that there were too many implementation challenges at provincial
government level for both the language practitioner, who was appointed as part
of the WCLP IP, as well as for senior management to be able to assist with
trilingual verbal and nonverbal communication from and with the public;
rendering the language policy totally insignificant for the majority of the people
of the province.

I have come to the following conclusions with regard to the position of a senior
manager in implementing the WCLP IP in his/her provincial government
department, and these are as follows: I assumed that the noble idea of starting
language policy implementation by way of a symbolic effort did not have the
desired effect, either the first time in 2003 – when it was something new – or
the second time in 2010 – when implementation obviously started and
implementation challenges had to be determined. I furthermore assumed that the idea of signing the pledge in order to uphold the ideals of a language policy would not necessarily constitute a commitment. Furthermore, I got a sense that signing a pledge to commit to something did not necessarily mean that public servants (who did not sign the pledge, but whose managers did) knew what to do in order to make good on that particular commitment. The question arises whether or not the major challenge of implementation does indeed lie with the provincial government departments committing themselves symbolically or not.

I assumed with regard to the second signing process that there could be a break of communication between the DCAS, which was supposed to take this symbolic gesture further in an effort to convince other departments to follow suit, or there was much more to signing a commitment to language policy implementation.

I found the senior managers a lack of basic knowledge of the WCLP and its IP. However, the fact that one LP was required for these departments made the WCLP rather impossible to be implemented; it was clearly being pushed by the senior managers into the Communications Section where it disappeared in the workload of the LP as a translator and not an interpreter. Yet it might be said that the DCAS and the WCLC could be held responsible for the decision to appoint rather too few LPs in provincial government departments to translate their Annual Performance Plans, Strategic Plans and Annual reports, rendering them overloaded with work and generally unhappy. The WCLP IP was therefore being followed; yet, it seemed to not be the correct way to approach language policy implementation.

English was seen as the most important language in provincial government, and interpreting was seen as not important or not known to senior management. The fact remained, interpreting seemed to be non-existent.
Strict rules in the guise of a watchdog seemed to be required to regulate language practices with the public; otherwise there would be just translations of huge documentation. It seemed that in the absence of a form of punishment in the sense of taking a budget away as part of punitive measures instituted against senior managers or defaulters not implementing the WCLP, implementation did not take place. The fact that punitive measures were not part of the WCLP IP might serve as an incentive not to do the best with regard to languages, except to reduce the duties of the LP (and overloading the one or two appointed) and pushing language-related work to the Communication Sections’ budgets. Regarding communication with the public – whether or not the public understands is not the primary concern of the senior manager – they are following legislative instructions to make sure the WCLP is implemented between the walls of their provincial government departments and not in the communities which need language services.

Furthermore, culture, heritage and language issues, especially language as part of the DCAS, did not rank above other social issues pertinent in the communities. The municipalities seemed to be the bodies tasked with translation of information pamphlets, not these provincial government departments. The ideologies held by interviewees with senior managers underpinned what the LPs had to say about their involvement in language matters. Indeed, the challenges of implementing the WCLP were found in the offices of these senior managers and could be linked to the challenges that the LPs regarded in their questionnaire and during their interviews; still, senior management does what the WCLP IP prescribes with regard to its staff complement, causing me to believe that further implementation challenges lurk at all levels in the Western Cape provincial government. The findings that I encountered in the entire Western Cape provincial government, i.e. those discussed in Chapter 6 with regard to the DCAS, the WCLC and the WCPP, and in this chapter with regard to the LPs and the senior management in provincial government departments, need to be taken
into consideration when discussing the discourses I uncovered in the open-ended question regarding communication in their home language with the public servants, amongst others. In the next chapter I will therefore give critical consideration to the impact of such attitudes as well as to subsequent ideologies that are held by the civilian population of the Western Cape, as they are at the bottom of the WCLP implementation pyramid of implementation - in need of the language services the policy promises.

CHAPTER 8

THE QUALITATIVE DATA OF THE CIVILIAN RESPONDENTS: Analysis and Discussion

8.0 Introduction and background

This chapter offers a critical consideration of what the qualitative data of the civilian population (adults and youth) reveals about the key questions regarding the challenges experienced in implementing the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) since its acceptance by the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) in 2004. The chapter provides a discussion of the major discourses most prevalent in the written responses to the open-ended question in the questionnaires from the respective research groups.

A particular focus of the analysis was the responses received from the civilians surveyed regarding communication in their home languages (isiXhosa, Afrikaans or English – the three official languages of the Western Cape) which the WCLP seeks to promote. Through the discourses in the written and oral responses, a great deal was learned about the predominant attitudes and ideologies towards these three languages, particularly when those holding them came into language contact with those tasked with being involved in the implementation of the WCLP, e.g. the public servants. These discourses are
linked at the end of each section to what is envisaged with the WCLP’s goals (WCLP; 2005 2.1 - 2.14) in order to focus on the challenges implementing the WCLP in the concluding remarks. Blackledge (2005:32) states that “language ideologies are about more than individual speakers’ attitudes to their languages, or speakers using languages in different ways.” It is these ideologies and underlying discourses that I wish to uncover in this chapter where the focus would be on “beliefs”, “values” and “practices” of languages amongst and of those who took part in the study.

Note should be taken of the way in which the responses were copied down for the purpose of the research from the questionnaires. Those respondents who wrote in English sometimes made spelling and language errors, which have not been edited. The responses of the Afrikaans answers are presented in italics and followed by English translations in normal font. It is important to note that, although questionnaires were available in isiXhosa, none of the respondents requested a questionnaire in isiXhosa and none wrote in isiXhosa.

What was really striking about this data was the greater passion and eagerness of the youth respondents, who appeared to be far more confident and eloquent in formulating their responses than the adult population. This may be linked to the fact that they had not been hampered by growing up in an Apartheid state but in one where freedom of speech has been treasured. Responses to the question may be found in Addendum H and Addendum I.

8.1 Open-ended written responses

8.1.1 Discourses on isiXhosa

A. Adult respondents

The dominant discourse with regard to isiXhosa was that isiXhosa speaking respondents were proud of the language and its official status.

i. "I'm proud of my language has come accepted and declared official.”
   [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and Afrikaans, Unemployed]
“I want to add especial my language, Xhosa; that’s important to use Xhosa speak, writing, special if you go out must speak Xhosa is like the sweetness if you speak Sotho, yes, I understand I, hear you or Sign Language and the most of the people they like to speak Xhosa Ukuthetwa isiXhosa, but they don’t want to learn isiXhosa. Pls, guys must learn isiXhosa.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa only, employed fulltime]

Although Respondent (i) is “proud” that isiXhosa was given official status and seemed to be accepted by people, this did not mean that the language was being learned (Respondent ii). Respondent (ii) felt that people did not want to learn isiXhosa. I assume that Respondent (ii) feels that learning isiXhosa will ease communication difficulties that are being encountered as there is probably a struggle in holding conversations with others who do not possess basic knowledge of isiXhosa. One has to wonder, however, why this pride in isiXhosa was not reflected by the respondents’ use of English in writing down their responses. Factors that could have influenced language choice were that these respondents had largely been educated in English or felt that responding to a questionnaire of this nature required the use of a high status language.

B. Youth respondents.
I uncovered three prominent discourses as well as a counter-discourse on isiXhosa in the written responses of the Youth, which are as follows:

8.1.1.1 isiXhosa is regarded as ‘too underdeveloped’ for use in higher functions and the print media

i. "I wish Xhosa speaking could be taken seriously. Some people think that Xhosa is for people who are stupid. But it's not. It's a language and its must be respected." [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ii. "When I'm starting to talk/communicate in my language at town, they look at me like I'm a stupid. Even the street names are written in that language which is Afrikaans and that's hard for me to read. It's a very bad thing for me." [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]
iii. “What is wrong with isiXhosa? Why can’t we get information like with Aids in it? We are also smart, not only English and Afrikaans people.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

iv. “They speak about health stuff in English. You are stupid if you don’t get it in English. Here in Beaufort West they do it also in Afrikaans. I take the flyers in those languages, because I have to prepare for the school for my subject. They don’t use the Xhosa words that we use in our house. It is difficult. Our words differ for things.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa, student]

Respondent (i) talks about how serious the plight of isiXhosa is. He focuses in his response on isiXhosa not being viewed as a language in his mind and so not possessing the status of a language per se. Inadvertently, he challenges those who do not view isiXhosa as a language and also focuses on what he sees as the root of the problem of his language. There seems to be an underlying uncertainty about what constitutes a language and it seems as if he, at some point of his life, viewed Afrikaans and English in a certain light and made certain assumptions about exactly what would be regarded as a language and how his language, isiXhosa, compares. It seems as if he has made up his mind that isiXhosa cannot possibly be regarded as a language by people in positions of power if isiXhosa falls short of what is happening or what is being done for Afrikaans and English at an official level, whether during Apartheid or afterwards. IsiXhosa cannot possibly be regarded as a language, hence the deduction is made that “no language status” is equal to “is for people who are stupid”. He wants people to stop thinking that, he wants to emphasise it and wants to set the record straight: “But it’s not.” It is uncertain whether or not he knows what “respect” for a language is, and yet he thinks that when you start off by recognising a language as such, a whole process might follow that will eventually lead to respect and when respect is present, language status and intellectual status of those speaking that particular language will follow. It seems like a long process for Respondent (i), but it is actually his way of projecting isiXhosa alongside the other two official languages of the Western Cape.
Respondent (ii) brings us closer to what Respondent (i) wrote by giving an example of the way in which the isiXhosa speaker is viewed by those not speaking or understanding the language: “…they look at me like I’m stupid.” It is as if he wants to emphasise the reality of what happens if he opens his mouth and speaks his own language. When he looks at his surroundings, he makes the assumption that possibly he is not fitting in at all as not even the street names are projecting any connection with his language; therefore he notices that there is a lack of physical visibility of his language in his environment. He further states his feelings of absolute alienation with regard to how his language is being overshadowed verbally and non-verbally and how this makes him feel, which elicits a negative feeling inside him.

Respondent (iv) escalates the responses of Respondents (i) and (ii) to questioning her language at all levels, because it seems that she is way beyond feeling that her language is not a real language or is only for stupid people. It appears that she has done more than the previous two respondents, as it seems that she has found sense in her language, accepting that there is nothing wrong with her language, and she poses the question why nobody else sees this and asking for clarity. However, she does not buy into the negative, like calling the speakers of isiXhosa stupid; she says: “We are also smart…” She recognises that Afrikaans and English people are regarded as smart (and note that she does not say “some” or “many”), and that for “being smart” you need to be having access to certain linguistic privileges, such as information in your first language. It seems as if she feels that information is being given to so-called smart people, while certainly to her the Xhosa people are also smart, so they deserve to be given information in isiXhosa as well. She thinks that information is not given in isiXhosa for the sole reason that the isiXhosa-speakers are not regarded as smart enough, nothing else.

Firstly, in the discourses above it seems as if isiXhosa is not being regarded by either the print media or many people of the Western Cape as a language worthy of its official status (with official status being connected to expression by way of
the print media as one indicator) since isiXhosa-speaking youngsters believe that using this language in public (orally) is connected to them being immediately regarded as people with diminished intellectual capacity. Secondly, should isiXhosa-speakers speak in English or Afrikaans, their intellectual capacity is regarded as being “higher” and they are granted access to important issues which are worthy of knowing. It is for this reason that people in important positions in society communicate about more intellectual issues (which include discussing the basics of growing up, different social issues, general information availability, issues that have to do with general information) in either Afrikaans or, especially, in English. Vitally important issues such as HIV/Aids, pregnancy and other health issues are usually portrayed and even discussed in English and Afrikaans.

When these discourses were uncovered, it was strange for me to find, however, that, seeing that this is the view that these respondents held at the time of the research, all of them preferred to fill in the form in English and answered the open-ended question in English and not in isiXhosa, a form which had been made available to them in isiXhosa, with the offer to answer the open-ended question in isiXhosa being ignored. I could deduce from the respondents that the publication houses in South Africa predominantly use Afrikaans and English in their publications dealing with important issues, which of course benefits speakers of these languages and which supports the non-use of isiXhosa in reading material. As Gottlieb (2010: 195) in support of publications in Afrikaans states:

“…the continued publication of same-content magazines in English and Afrikaans shows that Afrikaans remains a powerful language of commerce, thus maintaining, a certain covert prestige”

and

“…although the great (black) majority of the population speak one or two of the so-called African languages, and Afrikaans is the language of the widest geographical distribution, English is more favoured than ever
in all types of communication inside South Africa, including the media... “ (Gottlieb, 2010: 192)

This is merely a reiteration of the fact that there are many more publications appearing in both Afrikaans and English than in isiXhosa and that this might have an impact on how these young people view themselves academically, since Respondent (iv) also writes about challenges posed by the concept differences within isiXhosa dialects, especially when being used in the informal setting of the household. As a result, even if pamphlets were available in isiXhosa, they would have been printed in the standard variety, which was far removed from the actual home language (HL) of the people (cf Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). In this regard there could be communication problems via the written word, should the meanings of different terms and expressions not be written in a text that is understandable by all by virtue of using the language that they themselves understand amongst each other.

8.1.1.2 General discrimination against, and avoidance of, isiXhosa

i. “What I would like to add is that most of the people here in Western Cape are avoiding the Xhosa language, they use English & Afrikaans; especially Afrikaans you can use while you can't speak Afrikaans. And that most of jobs coloureds and whites are employed." [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

ii. "Most of people in this place where I stay they discriminate my language and they avoid it, they used to speak Afrikaans mostly and English as a result our parents & brothers they can not get a job because of this.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

iii. "When I visited hospital police station or post office, etc. it depends on what language the first person I saw speaks and if he/she is not speaking isiXhosa I speak to him/her in English. So if a person cannot speak isiXhosa, I speak to him/her in English because it is the second language I know and that doesn't mean that I cannot learn or speak other languages." [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

iv. “If the can be a signs that are written in Xhosa…especially in town and hospital there is no such sign that written in Xhosa because other people are suffering with other languages they know Xhosa especially those who live in Thembalethu.” [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]
Respondents (i) and (ii) both mentioned the term “avoid” or “avoiding” relating to isiXhosa i.e. not wanting to have anything to do with the language per se or sidelining the language in daily conversations. These two respondents had been exposed to those people speaking Afrikaans and English or both, and they have come to the conclusion that, in some sort of way, their language had been “avoided” – it seems as this term is used to soften the attitude of the non-isiXhosa speakers towards the language who prefer to revert to either Afrikaans or English when coming across an isiXhosa speaker in the community. It seems as if the isiXhosa speakers have accepted that their language is being avoided or sidestepped by English and Afrikaans home language speakers and that consequently they have to view this avoidance behaviour within their reality and living with it. This presents them with a problem: on the one hand there is the non-acceptance of Respondents (i) and (ii) of the fact that isiXhosa is not being learnt by non-isiXhosa speakers and on the other hand they have to accept the avoidance of their language by other isiXhosa speakers. By accepting this issue, they have to prepare for its immediate consequence, which is not finding a job later in life if they do not speak another official language and not being able to communicate in their first language. In the end it is about having food on the table or thinking about the future, which seems to indicate that should your language, isiXhosa, be avoided, you keep quiet and rather make sure that you are able to communicate in the language of the avoider in order to make ends meet or to be accepted in the company of the avoider. It seems as if these two respondents have accepted that backs are being turned when it comes to communicating in their language.

Respondent (ii) also mentions the consequence of avoiding isiXhosa. Avoidance of the isiXhosa language leads inadvertently to discrimination within the isiXhosa-speaking family – brothers, sisters, parents; it has an effect.
Respondent (iii) exclusively states that she makes use of English when she enters a local or provincial government department and realises that she will not be attended to in isiXhosa (again, acceptance of the fact and dealing with it); she literally has to make that decision while on her way to the person behind the counter. She makes that sacrifice in order to make it easier for the person behind the counter, when she realises that she will have communication problems at the provincial or local government, to fall back on another language she knows in order to be assisted. Respondent (iv) focuses more on the result of discrimination against isiXhosa, and he calls it “suffering” when there are no signs or visible directions available in isiXhosa in his home town.

In the above discourses, the young people are aware of their family members’ difficulties with the use of language when looking for work (De Klerk, 2004). Apparently job opportunities are intrinsically linked to the language you speak in the Western Cape and many of the young people learn Afrikaans and English to be able to get a job, especially Afrikaans. If they know Afrikaans, they get a job, they are paid and they can look after their families. The youth, because of the lack of understanding and the lack of learning isiXhosa in town or at school, teach themselves Afrikaans and English (Heugh, 1999) to survive in order to look for jobs when they leave school and to be able to make money as most of the jobs are in the hands of private bosses or government, as it is the general feeling that the employers are either Afrikaans- or English-speaking and that their ability to speak Afrikaans or English or both has a positive influence on their looking for employment. The assumption that English will help them to be served at public places is still a reality (Respondent ii).

Interestingly, however, there were a few counter-discourses on the issue of the appearance of isiXhosa on public signage, e.g.
v. "In notices it depends on who write the notices e.g. govt. notices are trilingual and it also depends on who lives in that area (race)" [Male, teenager, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English, student]

vi. "In ons dorp word sommige kennisgewings in drie tale versprei. By ons staatsdienste hang dit ook af met watter tipe ras jy praat; dan moet jy ‘n taal praat wat die een verstaan, maar meestal gebruik ek my huistaal Afrikaans.” [In our town the signage are displayed in three languages. At our government services it depends on with which race you talk with. Then you have to speak a language he/she can understand. But most of the time I use my home language, Afrikaans.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

Respondents (v) and (vi) revealed that there was, nonetheless, use of the isiXhosa language in public signage and at helpdesks, in favour of the use of either the Afrikaans or English language. The use of notices in isiXhosa specifically depended upon the people who were in a position to make this possible as well as upon whoever lived in the area, according to one respondent, which could portray a linguistic tolerance in the community for isiXhosa as well as development and/promotion of isiXhosa. This could be because of the need for isiXhosa which existed within the community, and could also be an indication of some areas within the provincial and local government where translation of signs does take place in order to assist a multilingual community (Shohamy; 2004).

8.1.1.3 A desire to learn isiXhosa among Afrikaans/English HL users

i. “Ek wil net sê dat ons op skool Xhosa as ‘n vak moet kry, ek wil graag Xhosa praat”. [I just want to say that we shoud get isiXhosa as a subject at school, I would like to speak isiXhosa.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

ii. "Dat by ons skool ook ander tale geleer moet word sodat ons kan kommunikeer met ander rasse." [That at our school we would be taught other languages so that we are able to communicate with other races”] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. “Dat daar sal op WKOD-skole ‘n derde taal aangebied moet word. Dit sal almal in ‘n Unity kan unite! Dan sal jy Khosasprekendes kan verstaan!” [A third language will have to be offered at WCED-schools.
iv. "Ek voel baie gemaklik as iemand met my in my moedertaal kommunikeer. Ek respektereer ander mense wat hul eerste taal praat, maar sal ook graag die taal wil aanleer. As jy in vandag se wêreld kan isiXhosa praat, sal jy enige werk aanvaar word. Dit is belangrik om soveel as moontlik tale te praat, want dit tel in jou voordeel." [I feel comfortable when someone communicates with me in my mother tongue. I respect other people who want to speak their own language, but I would also like to learn the language. If you are able to speak isiXhosa in today’s world, you will be accepted for any job. It is important to speak as many languages as possible, as it will be to your advantage.]

v. "Persone wil 'n derde taal aanleer, bv. soos ek om dit eendag te gebruik in werksgebiede, ens." [People wish to learn a third language like me for instance who wish to use it in an employment setting.]

vi. "Alle leerders moet by skole -drie tale geleer word. Die skool moet dit as 'n vak aanbied, sodat wanneer leerders die skole verlaat en na 'n hoë instansie gaan, hulle met almal kan kommunikeer en dit kan voordeel trek tot jou beroep eendag." [All learners should be taught a third language at school. The school has to offer it as a subject so that when the learners leave school one day and go to a higher institution, they will be able to communicate with everyone and this could serve as an advantage to your career one day.]

vii. "Dit voel partykeer of ek nie toelating het tot baie geleenthede nie wat na my toe sal kom kan benut nie, agy dat ek nie al drie primêre tale in die wes-kaap kan praat nie. Om dit te verhoed wil ek hê die regering of wel die instansies moet ons as jongmense die geleentheid gee om die tale aan te leer." [It seems sometimes that I do not have access to many opportunities which could cross my path and which I might not be able to make use of because of the fact that I cannot speak all three primary languages in the Western Cape. To prevent this, I want the government or actually the institutions to give us the opportunity to learn these languages.]

viii. "Ek weet dat wat ek nou gaan voorstel 'n vreeslike moeilike taak vir die department van onderwys sal wees, maar ek dink skole moet daarop begin fokus om ten minste 3 tale aan te bied op die skool. Dit sal die leerders help om hul verstand beter te gebruik en met meer selfvertroue die lewe daarbuite ver van die huis af aan te pak. Dit is nie dat ons as leerders/student nie meer as een taal wil leer nie; dit is net dat ons nie die geleenthede kry nie." [I know that what I will propose right now would be a very difficult task for the Department of Education. But I am of the opinion that schools should focus on offering 3 languages at school. It will assist learners to use their brains better and to have more confidence when they are out there away from home. It is not that we
learners/students do not want to learn more than one language; it is just that we don’t get the opportunities.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ix. "Isixhosa terug in skole, dit is goed om 'n swart taal te praat. As jy gaan studeer, handboeke in Afrikaans. Boek voorsien wat ons kan koop, om self 'n swart taal aan te leer." [isiXhosa back into schools, because it is good to speak a black language. When you go and study, textbooks are in Afrikaans. Provide books for us to buy, to acquire a black language on our own.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

From these responses it seems as if there is a huge desire amongst the Afrikaans and English speaking youth to learn the Xhosa language. isiXhosa is being regarded by these youth respondents as a language that can be offered as a subject (Respondents i, ii, vi) and in that regard it can be coupled with all the benefits that could be derived from knowing the language, such as being able to communicate with Xhosa people (Respondent ii), understanding them and uniting with them (Respondent iii), being able to find a job (Respondents iv, v, vi) and in that regard being able to create a work environment where isiXhosa is also being spoken, being able to use isiXhosa in your career when you enter the workplace and having more self-confidence (Respondent ix) when it comes to communicating with isiXhosa-speaking people.

These Afrikaans- and English-speaking youngsters have in their different environments looked at the benefits of being able to communicate in two languages and wish to expand their linguistic environment beyond that of bilingualism, and they feel they need the school to provide that particular platform for them. They see the school as the learning ground or start-up point where they are already learning their two compulsory official languages, and should the opportunity arise for them to master a third language, this should also be made compulsory, as it could only be to their benefit - for when they start growing up, making new friends and entering the workplace. The youth seem to look beyond the status of a language as merely having it as a subject, but also realise how this language could expand their horizons in the Western Cape,
something which is a positive sign for isiXhosa. The need exists for people to be taught isiXhosa for simple survival as well as for communication. There does not seem to be any attitude of negativity towards learning isiXhosa presently, only a cry of youngsters who need a platform from which to start learning the language:

  x. “I would like to communicate with different people who had different languages so that I can know how I can learn other languages because I want them to communicate with me and know my language. I’m proud of my language.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

  xi. “I am proud of my language. I like to communicate with peoples who don’t understand my language.” [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

Respondents (x) and (xi), who are isiXhosa speakers, indicated a great willingness to communicate with others in their language, of which they were very proud. It seems that there is a feeling of pride in isiXhosa and a willingness to use it as a communication tool when communicating with those who do not necessarily understand it well. It seems that this feeling of pride in using isiXhosa as a communication tool is to be expressed, since their language is also important to them as their language gives them a voice. There is furthermore a call by the isiXhosa-speaking youth to those not speaking their language to learn it or acquire skills in their language, because they are also proud of their language and they would also like their language to be learnt by others in order for their language to be used as a communication tool when they find themselves in a multilingual situation. There is a connection between language and pride, language and empowerment and linguistic citizenship (Stroud; 2001). Furthermore, it seems as what Plüddemann (1997:25) says is relevant to the situation in which the isiXhosa speaker finds him- or herself in, i.e. that multilingualism should be striven for at schools, where isiXhosa can be learnt at a particular educational level: “There is a general consensus that a key to the promotion of multilingualism in schools is the systematic elaboration, standardization and use of the African languages in education and society”.

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However, there were also a few counter-discourses to these very positive responses, which reflected a fear of learning isiXhosa:

xii. “Sometimes people are afraid to learn or speak another language. It is difficult to understand basic concepts or lessons if it is not in your own language.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

xiii. “Ek praat Afrikaans, maar dit is stadig maar seker besig om vervang te word met Engels en isiXhosa in Suid-Afrika en ek is bang vir Xhosa ...” [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

xiv. “Ek is te bang om Xhosa te leer. Dit is swaar.” [I am too scared to learn isiXhosa. It is too difficult.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

All three respondents above indicated that there is a fear to learn isiXhosa, to grasp the language and to make sure that one knows how to communicate when coming across a person who cannot speak any other language than isiXhosa. These fears expressed by Respondents (xii)–(xiv) towards the learning of isiXhosa may be a reflection of the fact that historically isiXhosa has not been used as a medium of instruction at high school level at most of the schools in the Western Cape (Heugh, 2005) and a general feeling that learning an African language might be challenging and difficult.

In the responses it is assumed, however, that fearing to learn isiXhosa seems to not have anything to do with the fear of the language itself, and I can read in the response of Respondent (xii) that it could be connected to the fear of other peoples’ language, not necessarily your own. Learners could feel awkward when they started learning their second language; fear in this regard would refer to being scared of making a fool of oneself (especially within the classroom setting), the possibility of not being able to pronounce the click sounds (as Afrikaans and English do not, with the exception of Namaqualand variation of Afrikaans, have any click sounds) and also being scared to start learning
isiXhosa as an adult. Respondent (xiii) expresses his fear not necessarily of learning the language but of the effect that the use of isiXhosa and English might have on the use of Afrikaans, with which he is uncomfortable. The last respondent (xiv) simply states the obvious difficulty with which he will be confronted should he start to learn isiXhosa, and ascribes that to a fear for the language itself. It does not seem that these respondents connect their fears to any avoidance of or discrimination against isiXhosa; they are simply afraid to learn the language for different reasons or because of fear of the unknown.

All these responses are indicative of a positive attitude towards learning isiXhosa at school level. Reasons include being able to communicate with HL speakers of isiXhosa and, as the second speaker indicates, building greater unity among people from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Another major issue is their belief that the acquisition of isiXhosa will help respondents in their future careers. The issue here is how this positive response towards learning the language is matched with the responses from the WCED and educators in providing good language education in isiXhosa, given the problems faced by many schools in terms of language teaching. These statements above could mean that there does not appear to be a convincing effort from the provincial government of the Western Cape (Education Department) to make sure that speakers of different languages, especially those who speak Afrikaans and English, communicate in basic isiXhosa, as the Department still has a bilingual or additive bilingual policy (Heugh, 1999).

The issue of ignoring or defying the formal existence of their language finds discourse of the non-recognition and fear of the isiXhosa language as some respondents referred to as “true” language, or as an avoidance of the isiXhosa language by those who do not speak or know the language, those who wish to cling to either the historic bilingual past of the Western Cape or those who do not learn to speak isiXhosa in order to communicate with the isiXhosa speakers,
but rather expect these speakers to learn Afrikaans and/or English. As Ndhlovu (2008:70) puts it:

“With respect to the South African post-apartheid language policy regime, economic rationality has been used as the rallying ideology for the country’s hidden policies that have perpetuated the marginalization of the nine African official languages.”

It seems that the responses above are still reminiscent of a feeling of discrimination against isiXhosa at provincial education level as well as in the environment of the speakers of isiXhosa.

8.1.2. Discourses on Afrikaans

A. Adult respondents

Afrikaans respondents expressed their concern about signage not being available in the language, leading to a lack of understanding and citizens’ potentially missing important information:

i. “Ek wil graag hê dat hulle in Afrikaans moet vertaal dat ek kan vêstaan.” [I want them to translate in Afrikaans, so that I can understand.] [Male, 60+ years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

ii. "My tekens is dat hulle moet in Afrikaans vertaal word dat ek kan verstaan." [The signage - I want them to be translated into Afrikaans, so that I can understand.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, employed fulltime]

Others, who lacked competence in Afrikaans, noted how important it was to know this language in the Western Cape in order to secure employment:

iii. “I stay in George where my language does not speak it is a must to speak Afrikaans. Because I stay with Coloured people. Yet Xhosa people do not have a chance to get jobs unless you understand Afrikaans.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, full time employed]
iv. "In Western Cape Province Afrikaans is more important than the other languages looking for a job without knowing Afrikaans it is very hard to find a job even the buildings are written in English and Afrikaans which is not good." [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, employed part-time]

v. "I would like to raise first that Western Cape is the province that specify with Afrikaans, so I have a comment on that. Because sometimes when we looking for jobs if you cannot speak Afrikaans, you don’t get a job." [Female, 36-69 years old, isiXhosa and English, employed fulltime]

Respondents (iii) and (iv) state that it is compulsory for each of them to speak Afrikaans to people in the hometown, as there are no job opportunities for these respondents should they not understand or speak Afrikaans, and I assume that they are being forced by their circumstances to learn the language. Respondent (v) underlines the importance of Afrikaans in the province, and besides making it clear that the use of Afrikaans is important when applying for a job, focuses on the visibility of Afrikaans in the town as well. Afrikaans therefore holds “symbolic power” over the other languages (Bourdieu; 1991:164), making Afrikaans the language that is expected to be known since Afrikaans is tolerated as the language of the majority in the Western Cape (Plüdderman et al. 2005:19).

B. Youth respondents

Many prominent discourses as well as counter-discourses on Afrikaans were present in the written responses of the youth.

8.1.2.1 The continued power of Afrikaans in rural towns, in the face of the increasing influence of English as a lingua franca:

i. "I would like it if all the languages were taken seriously and treated with the same respect, but it is no use fighting over which language to speak but it should be addressed that English is the language that people who speak different languages should speak to communicate because
here in the Western Cape it seems as if Afrikaans has filled that row leaving people confused at time because they do not understand the language especially when you are looking for work." [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

ii. “Most times I struggle with my Mathematics, because the teacher communicates in Afrikaans and I am English. In exams when I write an exam, I can only recall upon Afrikaans explanations and then I get confused. I would really like English as the main language, because it is understood commonly and internationally.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. “Not many people in Bredasdorp speak English so it is quite difficult for me to stay true to my first language. I don’t mind though; it makes me fluent in English and Afrikaans.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iv. "The Afrikaans if you cannot talk it you cannot get a job in George." [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

v. "Daar moet meer Afrikaans gepraat word, bv as jy met mense van die regering praat." [There should be more Afrikaans when communicating, e.g when you speak to people in government.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

Respondents (i) and (ii) show that Afrikaans in their experience has gained a better position and holds more influence in their hometowns, as it seems that English is not the language to know when you speak to people – please note “speak”. It also seems as if young people feel strongly that Afrikaans is the most important or major language to have as your first option according to Respondents (iv) and (v). Those who are in positions of power, such as the teacher in Respondent (ii), who clearly follows the medium of instruction which is Afrikaans, in relation to isiXhosa learners, who creates learning challenges when the learner is being presented with a choice to answer a questionnaire in English. Although there is a sense that isiXhosa should also be treated with respect, some felt that Afrikaans remained a language that held more influence in the rural towns where these respondents live and that bilingualism is encouraged. Afrikaans therefore holds a certain influence in the rural areas and may be regarded as a language of influence here.

Afrikaans and English have historically always enjoyed socio-political power positions within the South African context (Ndhlovu, 2008), this being the case
even after the new democratic dispensation was introduced in 1994 and after the drafting of the RSA Constitution of 1996. In the rural towns I visited it seemed that Afrikaans was being treated as the most important language in which to be conversant in when you are a young person and that if you did not know Afrikaans, you were not in a position to negotiate meaning or necessarily find a job. Despite this, there were a number of counter discourses which appeared to dispute the continuing power of Afrikaans:

Counter-discourse (i): **A fear that the language may eventually die out:**

vi. "Ek hou baie van Afrikaans en wil nie hê dit taal moet uitsterf nie. Ek dink almal in RSA moet Afrikaans kan praat." [I like Afrikaans and I do not want it to become extinct. I think everyone in the Republic of South Africa should speak Afrikaans.] [**Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student**]

vii. “My eerste taal is Afrikaans maar ek praat Engels omdat my familie almal Engels is en ek praat beter Engels as Afrikaans, maar ek sal my kinders Afrikaans grootmaak omdat almal praat amper Engels en Afrikaans is besig om te verdwyn en dit is Suid-Afrika se moeder-taal.” [My first language is Afrikaans; however, I speak English because my family is English and I speak better English than Afrikaans. But I will raise my children in Afrikaans because almost everybody speaks English and Afrikaans is in the process of disappearing and it is the mother language in South Africa.] [**Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student**]

Respondent (iv) points out that the reason that she does not want Afrikaans to die out or become extinct is because she likes it very much; she actually offers an alternative to assist the survival of the language which is to suggest that everyone in the country should be able to speak Afrikaans. Respondent (v) also feels that Afrikaans is in the process of disappearing owing to the influence of English (See Addendum S). Plüddemann et al (2004) conducted a study on language vitality in the Western Cape and found that although Afrikaans was the language spoken most prevalently in the rural Western Cape and in Cape Town, the majority of Afrikaans- and English-speaking children are bilingual. They found that English was the main language of education in primary schools in Cape Town and its surrounding areas and that the influence of English had
started to extend to the rural areas. This could be the reason why, despite the continuing power of Afrikaans as medium of instruction and in the media, there is a discourse of fear that Afrikaans (the home language of a substantial majority of people in the Western Cape) might disappear.

Counter-discourse (ii): A concern that Afrikaans might not be used as an academic language in future

viii. “Ek is bekommerd dat Afrikaans nie meer as onderrigtaal in die toekoms by universiteite gebruik sal word nie.” [I am concerned Afrikaans will not be used as a language of instruction at universities anymore.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

ix. “Ek voel Afrikaans moet meer blootstelling kry by universiteite asook by besighede.” [I feel Afrikaans should get more exposure at university level as well in business.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

x. “Om meer universiteite te maak wat Afrikaans bedien vir leerders wat by Afrikaanse skole is” […]to create more universities which would use Afrikaans to serve those learners who have been in Afrikaans schools.] [Female, teenager, isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English, student]

There is a concern that Afrikaans will not survive as an academic language (Respondent viii) or as a language of business (Respondent ix). These young people feel that Afrikaans is losing ground at university level owing to the communicative needs of speakers of other languages. This could also be because of language policy at the universities in South Africa, possibly because Afrikaans is losing prominence as a language of instruction at specifically the University of Stellenbosch (US) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC) if one looks at their language policies. Stellenbosch in particular is the university where Afrikaans students could previously receive classes in Afrikaans and which in recent times has been constantly in the news regarding its medium of instruction:

“Today, the University of Stellenbosch is more or less the lone post-secondary holdout in revising its language-in-education policies in the post-apartheid
transition period, as it continues to offer the majority of instruction in Afrikaans and explicitly protects the centrality of that language in its policy statements” (Novick. 2008:14)

These fears are inspired by English being taken as a first or second language of instruction, with English being the language of instruction at institutions of higher education which historically offered classes in Afrikaans. Fears may be fuelled by the fears of parents, which in turn may be fuelled by the media where in recent articles debates about whether or not Afrikaans is an African language have occurred. However, in a recent article in Die Burger (9 May 2013) the University of Stellenbosch (US) (See Addendum S) is apparently devising plans for the lecturer to choose the language of instruction, with subsequent interpreting from the lecturer’s language to either Afrikaans or English for those not understanding the lecturer’s language. This should have serious future implications for Afrikaans as the medium of instruction at this institution.

English is seen as an inclusive academic language, given that South African universities and colleges have as their medium of instruction (Webb, 2004; Dyers, 2000), by virtue of its global hegemony and power and that students prefer English.

8.1.2.2 A strong affiliation to, and preference for, Afrikaans as a means of communication and a marker of identity among the Afrikaans HL respondents:

i. “Ek sal graag my taal laat voortleef en my nageslag ook grootmaak in my taal.” [I would like my language to survive and I would like to raise my children in my language.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ii. “Ek is Afrikaanssprekend en is mal oor hierdie taal. Ek sal hierdie taal nie vir enige ander taal in die wêreld verruil nie. Ek is trots op Afrikaans en wil graag eendag my eie kinders daarin grootmaak. Kaapse Afrikaans is die beste!” [I am Afrikaans-speaking and I am crazy about
this language. I will not exchange this language for anything in the world. I am proud of Afrikaans and would like to raise my children in Afrikaans one day. Kaapse Afrikaans is the best! [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. "... ek sal dus my kinders in Afrikaanse taal grootmaak..." [I will therefore raise my children in Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iv. "My taal is vir my baie besonders dis my gebore taal. My taal praat my taal en ek as leerder is baie trots daarop my taal vir Afrika, my taal bly my taal. Vir my is dit: ek kan met my taal baie ver gaan al verstaan baie mense nie ons gebore taal nie. My taal is my droom, my toekoms vir meer. My taal gaan vir my nog baie oopmaak, ek’s nie skaam om oor my taal te praat nie, ek hou baie van Kaapse Afrikaans." [My language is special to me - it is my birth language. I speak my language and I, as a learner, am very proud of my language of Africa, my language stays my language. To me it means the following: I can go very far with my language, even though people do not understand our birth language. My language is my dream, my future. My language will still open many doors for me; I am not ashamed to speak about my language. I like Kaapse Afrikaans a lot.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

v. "Ek is tweetalig, maar ek verkies Afrikaans." [I am bilingual, but I prefer Afrikaans.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

vi. "Ek verkies om met mense te kommunikeer wat dieselfde taal as ek praat; maar verstoot ook nie ander wat sukkel om my taal te praat nie. Ek sal graag ’n derde taal wil aanleer." [I prefer to communicate with people who speak the same language as I do. I will not ostracise people who cannot speak my language. I would like to learn a third language.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

vii. "Ek voel dat my taal (Afrikaans) vir my die beste is en dat ek goed kommunikeer met mense wat dieselfde taal as ek gebruik. Ek vergemak myself wanneer ek Afrikaans praat, Engels is vir my so aggressief, want sommige woorde kan ek nie goed genoeg uitsprek nie en sommige verstaan ek nie. So, ek behou Afrikaans as my eerste taal." [I feel that my language (Afrikaans) is the best for me and that I communicate very well with those who use the same language as I do. I make myself comfortable when I speak Afrikaans. English is so aggressive, because some of the words I cannot pronounce well enough and some of them I don’t understand. So, I opt to keep Afrikaans as my first language.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

viii. "My eerste taal Afrikaans is vir my baie gemaklik want ek het daarmee grootgeword en ek verstaan dit beter en ek sal Engels praat as dit nodig is." [My first language, Afrikaans, is very comfortable to me as I have been raised in it and I understand it better and I will speak English when necessary.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]
Respondents (i)-(iii) wish to raise their children in Afrikaans, providing that as a reason for their hope of giving Afrikaans a future. Respondents (ii) and (iii) specifically mention the emotion they feel towards the language, i.e. pride and affinity. Most of these respondents would like their children to speak Afrikaans to enable it to survive, as a result of which their children would be raised in Afrikaans. These respondents were not thinking beyond their children growing up in a multilingual society and stressed the importance of the mother tongue being used to obtain the best linguistic advantage; I sensed that they felt knowing one language properly (the mother tongue) would be a good skill to have before you started learning another. They were proud of Afrikaans and what it had achieved as a language and of its development in the country. For them it was a special language; a language of Africa. I also sensed a deep feeling of appreciation for Kaapse Afrikaans, one of the varieties of Afrikaans. Respondent (ii) goes so far as to mention that Afrikaans would open doors for her and that the language is definitely not something to be ashamed of – this could refer to the negative history that has been portrayed about Afrikaans in the history of this country.

Respondents (vi) and (vii) prefer Afrikaans, and Respondent (vii) further states that it is an easy language to speak and that there is comfort in speaking it with those who can understand it. It is experienced as a relaxed position to be in when no communication problems as such are presented, embracing a freedom of expression when Afrikaans is used.

8.1.2.3 Afrikaans as a popular common language for effective communication

i. “Ek praat in ’n mate goed Afrikaans en kan goed kommunikeer met ander mense wat dieselfde taal as ek kan praat.” [In a way I can converse well in Afrikaans and I can also communicate well with those who speak the same language as I do.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]
ii. "Dis vir my lekker om Afrikaans te praat, want almal verstaan Afrikaans; daarom kommunikeer ek net met mense wat Afrikaans kan praat.” [It is fun for me to speak Afrikaans, because everybody understands Afrikaans; that is why I communicate only with those who can speak Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

iii. "Ek dink jy het die reg om jou eerste taal te praat, want jy is al gewoont daaraan, maar jy moet ook omsien na ander wat nie jou taal verstaan nie en eerder jou tweede taal praat of hulle reghelp.” [I think you have the right to speak your first language, because you are used to it, but you also have to look out for someone who cannot speak your language and rather revert to your second language or correct them.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iv. "Wanneer ek met iemand in my taal praat moet ons mekaar kan verstaan en ons uitdrukking gee vir mekaar as die een nie verstaan nie.” [When I speak to someone using my language, we have to understand each other and give an explanation to each other if the one does not understand.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

v. “In my taal is dit beter om te praat, want ek help baie mense om afrikaans te praat bv sumalie’s.” [It is better to speak in my language, because I help many people to speak Afrikaans, e.g. the Somalians.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

There seems to be a feeling here that the respondents can communicate effectively when speaking Afrikaans to those speaking their language as well as when they do come across those who do not understand Afrikaans; they can make sense of the conversation owing to their effective handling of the language. This effective handling of the language goes hand in hand with enjoying the language, as Respondent (ii) states, and with being used to the language, as Respondent (iii) states. Effective handling therefore seems to be associated with being used to speak it and with enjoyment of the language. The importance of effective communication is underlined when Respondents (iii) and (iv) come across people who cannot speak Afrikaans as effectively as they do. They seem to go the extra mile, in their minds, to make sure that the other person will understand them in the end. Respondent (v) is so convinced of the ease, comfort and enjoyment of Afrikaans that he had taken the task upon him to teach even foreign nationals Afrikaans, probably because of the important or major role that Afrikaans plays in the rural Western Cape and because it is felt that Respondent (iii) has the “right” to speak Afrikaans.
8.1.2.4 An insistence on services in Afrikaans as well as a ‘standard language’ ideology:

i. “Baie kere wanneer jy in die dorp is, en jy stap by ’n winkel in waar hulle nie Afrikaans praat nie, sal ek liever loop of vra om met iemand anders te praat.” [Many times when I am in town and I walk into a shop where they don’t speak Afrikaans - I would walk away or ask to speak to someone else.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ii. “Wanneer ek in ’n situasie is, wil ek hê dat die persone wat my help, dat hulle my gaan help in my taal” [When I find myself in a situation, I want the people who are helping me, to assist me in my language.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. “Dat baie mense se kinders kan nie eens hule huistaal reg praat nie. Want dit vind plaas in ons area.” […]that many peoples’ children are not even able to speak their own home languages properly; this is happening in our area…” [Male, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

iv. “Ek hou van Afrikaans praat, maar baie mense mors die taal op, bv die Kaapse mense praat baie anders as ons hier in die dorpe.” [I like speaking Afrikaans, but many people mess up the language, for example the people form the Cape speak very different than us here in town.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

v. “Ek hou van suiwer Afrikaans praat met mense; dus hoekom ek daarvan hou dat mense suiwer Afrikaans praat.” [I like speaking Afrikaans properly; that is why I like people to speak pure Afrikaans/proper Afrikaans.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

Respondent (i) demands to be served in her preferred language, displaying an assertive behavior and an awareness of being a client when being assisted in public. She knows that language is important and that to be understood is important. Respondent (ii) has a wish when being served as a client to be served in her language. These two respondents are both using their privilege of being the client to their advantage when they are being assisted.

It could be assumed that being assisted in Afrikaans is not the only issue that counts – the use of “proper” Afrikaans is still important. This is evident in the
view of Respondent (iii), who supports the ideology of correct language usage and perfect administration of the first language - it is something that is being observed in the area where people apparently do not speak properly or use the standardised, dictionary version of Afrikaans. This can be seen as “messing up” the language (Respondent iv) and an example is given, namely referring to Kaapse Afrikaans, which is a variant of Afrikaans spoken in the Western Cape. It is seen as different - there seems to be a difference between the Afrikaans being spoken in the city and Afrikaans in rural towns, with the stance that Afrikaans in the towns I visited (Kaapse Afrikaans) is regarded as “messing up” or ruining the language, denoting negativity.

When people (speakers of different varieties of Afrikaans) come together they speak differently when making language contact in Afrikaans. This is not acceptable, according to Respondents (iii) and (iv); although they like Afrikaans, but it should be proper Afrikaans (Respondent v) and is called “pure” Afrikaans. The idea of the standardised version of Afrikaans being regarded as better than the other varieties poses the question: where do these youngsters hear this – from their parents or peers, or is this embedded in the ideology of proper Afrikaans being taught at schools and according to correct grammar, language rules and spelling (cf Shohamy, 2004)?

The notion of speaking Afrikaans correctly and properly (a type of “standard language ideology”) which is liked is forever present amongst different speakers of the language in the rural areas. If you do not speak “proper” Afrikaans, it means that you are “messing up” the language or that you do not speak it correctly. There is clearly evidence in this study about the background difference being portrayed between the Afrikaans that people speak at home and what is being portrayed in the classroom, the media, etc.

8.1.3 Discourses on English
“In multilingual societies language choice, use and attitudes are intrinsically linked to language ideologies, relations of power, political arrangements, and speakers’ identities.” (Blackledge, 2005: 35).

With this statement in mind, I uncovered major discourses about the use of English.

**A. Adult respondents**

That English was a major language of power in the province was apparent from the discourses uncovered. Some respondents argued for the exclusive use of English in particular settings such as the workplace, while others were more in favour of bilingualism which included English and one of the other languages.

*i. "I get very annoyed and upset when I phone the police or any institution and there is a black person who doesn't understand English or Afrikaans and then they can't help me in Afrikaans or English or hang on for another person to help me. Sometimes I get disconnected because of no airtime or I just leave everything." [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, unemployed]*

*ii. “Ek voel op die skole moet daar as Engels in eerste en tweede taal aangebied word, en by skole moet kinders hul moedertaal onderrig word."[I feel that English should be taught at our schools as a first and additional language and that children should be taught in their mother tongue.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]*

*iii. “I am glad I did take part in answering these questions. I would like to learn the two languages that I can know, like English and Xhosa.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, unemployed]*

Respondent (i) expressed her frustration at what she regarded as the inability of Black people who cannot assist her in English or Afrikaans. What is not clear from the extract is whether she is actually referring to their accent, rather than their proficiency in English. Here we see the complex link between language and identity (Blackledge, 2005: 35), because language can serve as “markers of identity”, and in others “they are a means of social control.” The reference to Black people shows the power that these two languages hold in the Western Cape, owing to their official status during and before the era of Apartheid.
Her response may also be an indication of racism, as she labels a specific population group as being unable to provide proper service to the general public. Respondents (ii) and (iii) respectively wish that their children should be taught two languages at school and that they themselves could learn two languages. Respondent (ii) also wants the medium of instruction at schools to be the mother tongues of the children.

However, a small minority offered the counter-discourse that there was a need for three languages at all levels in the province in order to promote better intercultural communication:

i. "Ek vra drie tale" [I am requesting three languages.] [Female, 20-35 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

ii. “I would like to learn more languages because it makes me not too comfortable when someone speaks the language that both of us can't understand each other.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, unemployed]

Some respondents expressed their discontent at the dominance of English in the workplace, despite the fact that there was a stipulation in most jobs for people to be bilingual or multilingual:

“Mense doen aansoek vir poste en toon aan dat hul Afrikaans magtig is in hul aansoeke en dan praat hul slegs Engels in die werkopset (veral swart werknemers.” [People apply for jobs and then they indicate their ability to speak Afrikaans and then they speak only English in the workplace (especially the black employees)] [Male, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, unemployed]

While this respondent complains about what he perceives to be dishonesty about proficiency in Afrikaans among particularly Black employees, it may very well be that such people have basic proficiency in Afrikaans but are able to express themselves better in English. Afrikaans is probably losing its power and status
as a language that is not really being spoken by the isiXhosa speaking people who apply for jobs. There is apparently no regard for isiXhosa and the expectation is that isiXhosa-speaking employees should make sure that they connect with the English- and Afrikaans-speaking employees. This is in line with Bourdieu’s notion of the imposition of the dominant language and culture:

“Cultural and linguistic unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate and by the rejection of all other languages into indignity.” (Bourdieu, 1998b:46) cited in Blackledge (2005:39)

It seems further that unequal opportunities exist in the workplace owing to communication difficulties and that is closely linked to an infringement of the linguistic human rights (Stroud, 2005) of the civilians in the Western Cape. These respondents cannot “influence” each other’s “environments” at any level, as they do not possess “competencies” in each others’ languages (Starkey, 2002: 20).

B. Youth respondents

Here, too, the youth responded with far more vigour than the adults, providing the following discourses on English:

8.1.3.1 English as dominant lingua franca in intercultural communication

i. "When I visited hospital police station or post office, etc. It depends on what language the first person I saw speaks and if he/she is not speaking isiXhosa I speak to him/her in English. So if a person cannot speak isiXhosa, I speak to him/her in English because it is the second language I know and that doesn't mean that I cannot learn or speak other languages." [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

ii. “Wanneer jy iemand wil help wat nie jou taal kan praat nie, dan kan jy die iemand help om Engels te praat sodat die een wat nie jou taal kan praat nie beter verstaan in Engels.” [When you want to assist someone who cannot speak your language, then you could assist the person in English so that the person who cannot speak your language, understands better in English.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. “Ja, ons dorp moet die buitelandse mense, bv soos inwoners van Zimbabwe en Sumaliens en Chinese praat ons mee Engels aangesien dit die enigste taal is wat waar ons mekaar beter sou verstaan.” [Yes, our town should teach English to the foreigners such as the Zimbabweans,
During intercultural communication in the rural towns of the Western Cape, English plays an important role. Many assumptions are made when first making contact upon encountering someone, such as looking at the person who is supposed to assist you, making assumptions about the person’s ability to speak your language and then making a choice, as Respondent (i) describes her communication in her first language; she would probably use English, depending on the physical appearance of the public servant. Respondents (i) and (ii) assume that if a person cannot understand a particular African language, that person will by default be able to communicate in English. Respondents (iii), (vi) and (v) use English to get past different language barriers especially with foreign nationals and those not understanding Afrikaans - even the Chinese and Somalians who are living in the Western Cape will need to be able to communicate in English, so far has the hegemony of English extended. There seems to be no problem with other languages, as English is there to keep the conversations going, in however basic a form and even if it is difficult, as Respondent (v) puts it. Whoever phones call centres needs to be able to be assisted in English, as it is an ongoing reality that English has been and is being used in many formal and informal communication settings in the Western Cape in public spaces by people in positions of power. This could be because
“...English has long been the language of government and bureaucracy...most South Africans will have had some encounter with the language and therefore possess knowledge in different measure.” (Novick, 2008:6).

It may also be because

“When considering other aspects of world languages, English is unique in several categories. English is the language most spoken by non-native speakers (approximately 350 million). English also is the language with the most words, due primarily to its ability to both adopt words from other languages, and to add newly forged words, mainly in the area of technology. English also is the most published language and the most often studied second language.” (Sewell, 2008: 75)

The idea that “English serves as an important vehicle for socio-economic cohesion in our country” (Chetty & Mwepu: 2008: 333) makes it convenient for the speakers of the Afrikaans and isiXhosa languages to resort to English as a medium of communication should people not be able to speak the language of the person behind the counter, and this gives English preference in communicating in a multilingual situation. It could also mean that English holds a dominant linguistic and cultural position over both Afrikaans and isiXhosa, and that dominance is one of the key factors that the WCLP wishes to avoid. Bourdieu (1991: 246) calls this dominance “symbolic violence” which is

“the ability of certain social groups to exercise control over others by establishing their view of reality, their norms- both cultural and linguistic, and their cultural practices – as the most valued ones.”

And it is this cultural and linguistic dominance that prevails in the reality when young people try to overcome communication difficulties should they wish to make sense of what others might say who do not necessarily speak the same language as they do. But cultural and linguistic dominance is not the only challenge; there is also the ideology of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2003: 4-6).
8.1.3.2 Challenges with regard to understanding (speaking, reading) English and a subsequent dislike of it

i. “In die Engelse taal vind ek dit moeilik om myself uit te druk en gebruik soms verkeerde woorde.” [I find it difficult to express myself in the English language and use the wrong words sometimes.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ii. “Few people in my area understand English when not spoken in only its simplest form.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

iii. “When starting to learn in Central High School I choose English as the language that they should teach me in. The rest of the time they speak Afrikaans to us English speaking. That is what makes us fail at the end of the year.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

iv. “Yes because I see all things in South Africa are written by English/Afrikaans and even the advertisements are written all in English and most of the people even Xhosa people they speak English and Afrikaans and even me I want to speak Afrikaans but I don’t know and my family they do not speak Afrikaans and all the time we speak Xhosa even English we don’t speak.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

v. “Mijn eerste taal is Afrikaans en dit is besig om al hoe minder gepraat te word, omdat ek meestal Engels moet gebruik sodat mense my kan verstaan. As ek kyk op televisie is die meeste programme in Xhosa en Engels, 20 uit 100 programme is Afrikaans en dus nogal moeilik om Engels te praat, want ek kan myself nie duidelik maak soos ek dit in my huistaal sou doen nie.” [My first language is Afrikaans and the language is being spoken less and less, because most of the time I have to make use of English so that people are able to understand me. I see on TV that most of the programmes are in isiXhosa and English, 20 out of 100 programmes are in Afrikaans, and it is very difficult to speak English, as I cannot express myself as clearly as in my first language.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

vi. “Die mense moet meer Afrikaans praat bv. in die Kaap. Ek kan goed Engels praat, maar ek hou nie daarvan nie.” [The people should speak Afrikaans more, e.g. in the Cape. I can speak English well, but I do not like it.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

vii. “I don’t see any reason to speak English to anybody at home or in the town. IsiXhosa is my language, and I feel at home. Yes, for English classes and for the exams and so on, but English is difficult. I do not like it; it kills my history.” [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

Respondents (i)-(iii) state the difficulty of the English language in their respective towns. Amongst other things it is mentioned that it is difficult to
converse in English if not in its basic form. Incorrect usage of words and expressions causes problems and because it is a difficult language, it leads to failure in the exams at the end of the year. Respondents (iv) and (v) indicate the predicament that they have with English in their day-to-day lives. Not only is English being used in most of the written material in the country, but most channels on TV are broadcast in English, which forces the respondents to learn English or to develop language skills in favour of English.

It seems as if English is being treated as a necessity by Respondents (i)-(v), yet it also seems that this does not necessarily mean that the language is liked. There is no indication that anyone is proud of English as a language or will be, but the respondent needs the language to communicate; tension between liking a language and making sense in a conversation. English is used as a reason to get along (Respondent ii). English is good for the school and to have on a matric certificate at the end of the school year, but is not welcome when speaking to people in town or at home (Respondent iii). It was assumed that a particular school governing body, according to Respondent (iv), gave school learners the choice of which language they preferred as a medium of instruction, but that, although Respondent (iv) had indicated that she wished to be instructed in English, she was still struggling with the language, endorsing Respondent (iii)’s statement that the formal use of English was “difficult”. Difficulty with or an inability to use English as medium of instruction makes for learners failing at the end of the year, or so Respondent (iv) claims. There are challenges relating to the English grammar or vocabulary, with general expression in English.

Chetty and Mwepu (2008: 333) state that

“The discourse about English in the South African context draws on an interesting spectrum of metaphors including the following: English as a liberator, a gatekeeper, a killer of other languages...”

In the above discourses, the young people experienced problems with English for a range of reasons:
First, there was a sense among respondents that their home languages were increasingly being replaced in public domains as well as in the media by English, resulting in feelings of anger at the language as a “killer language” (Phillipson 1999) and the subsequent devaluing of other languages on the one hand, and of their speakers on the other. As was stated by one young man (iii) above: “It kills my history”. Secondly, pride in the home languages which had resulted in an actual dislike of English was also seen, in the words of Chetty and Mwepu (2008:331), as “a gatekeeper”, preventing learners from achieving academic success, as was stated by Respondents (ii) and (iii) above. Thirdly, a general lack of exposure to English, possibly coupled with inadequate teaching and learning of the language or even a “general lack of academic skills and intellectual growth among blacks in high schools and tertiary levels” (Banda: 2000:51), has led to problems in fluency and expression in English as well as to poor achievements of learners from homes where African languages were spoken (Alexander, 2005; Heugh, 2005). Respondents (iv) and (x) above complained about having to write English examinations despite the teachers only communicating in Afrikaans. Among the counter-discourses above we see a call for a much greater and even exclusive use of English in education so that learners can experience less linguistic confusion, especially in preparation for largely English-medium universities.

However, these negative discourses on English were countered by a discourse calling for the increased use of English in these towns and in education:

viii. "My language should be taken more seriously in my town not just my language but any language, but if we use English as a medium of instruction must be English only, not two languages. If we put two what will happen to the other nine, every the signs are in two languages English and Afrikaans that's why I say there must be just one official language." [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

ix. “Ek is spuit om nou in 'n Afrikaanse klas te wees; Hoekom was daar nie eenmaal Engelse klasse nie, want die meeste universiteite is Engels.” [I am sorry that I am in an Afrikaans class. Why can’t there just be
English classes; after all, most of the universities are English?.) [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

x. “Most times I struggle with my Mathematics, because the teacher communicates in Afrikaans and I am English. In exams when I write an exam, I can only recall upon Afrikaans explanations and then I get confused. I would really like English as the main language, because it is understood commonly and internationally.” [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

All these respondents call for just one language to be used, and this language is English, as it is perceived to be inclusive and is being used at universities as well as internationally and is the language of upward mobility and the academics (Alexander, 2005) and the primary language of government, business and commerce (Gough, 2009:2). Contrary to English being the “killer”, it is seen by the “…African majority….as the language of liberation and black unity (as opposed to Afrikaans…” (Gough, 2009:2)

It seems that the social status and the position that English holds has not changed for many of the young respondents and that they have given up on the whole idea of having two languages (LIEP; 1997: 6.3) to learn. It could be possible that the respondents have decided to rather focus on English as this language would give them a chance in life internationally and nationally.

Chetty and Mwepu (2008) are of the opinion that students at university level choose to study in English, that Black parents merely elect for their children to be taught not in an African language and that “…any attempt to reject English as the medium of instruction may not be supported by parents. English plays a central role in education and it is perceived as a powerful instrument against marginalization.” (Chetty and Mwepu, 2008: 338-339).
There was a dislike towards the English language and the respondents did not necessarily “like” using English in their daily conversations with those not speaking their language or they found the use of English easy; I found that many of them were not that friendly towards the role and influence of the English language in their day-to-day lives. It seems that for many respondents there was no choice but to speak the language, because there was a stronger tendency to communicate than there was to like the language in which the communication took place.

The use of English exclusively caused them to fail or made communication difficult. English is therefore not necessarily the language that they find helps them in society and in the learning environment, although Alexander (2005) suggests that English is the language of upward social mobility especially for the Black middle class, no matter how difficult it is to communicate in. English fills the role of the most important language in that it should be used as the only language, no matter what the home language of the respondent is. As Gottlieb (2010: 190) puts it:

“South Africa is still a tribal multi-racial country, divided along ethnic, linguistic and racial lines. And as in any class society, social mobility is linked to language of power, in this case - hardly surprising - English.”

He is of the opinion that English is the language that holds the key to realizing your dreams when you want to move up in society and better yourself, and it is this key characteristic of English which puts the people of South Africa and indeed the Western Cape at a crossroads when choosing between their home language and English; which brings along power and subsequent wealth; so, “upward mobility” is something to strive for - in English.

8.1.4 Minor discourses:
A number of minor discourses emerged from the data on adult respondents. Firstly, I found the ideology of language purism (Kroskrity, 1993) present in the following responses:

i. “I feel that everyone should learn his/her own first language first properly before learning other languages. It is important to know your home language.” [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

ii. “How can you learn another language, if you can’t speak your own properly?” [Female, 20-35 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

Of note here is the emphasis on first speaking your own language “properly” before you can learn another language. Secondly, there were comments about raising awareness on the issue of people’s language rights, as if a language rights perspective was all that was needed to create linguistic equality in the province.

iii. "Ons moet mense meer bewus maak dat hulle die reg het om hul taal van keuse bedien kan word. Ook groter geleenthede skep vir meeretalige projekte." [We have to make people more aware of the fact that they have the right to be served in their own languages. We should also create more multilingual projects.] [Female; 36-59, Afrikaans and English, employed fulltime]

Unemployment, rather than language issues, was a central concern to some respondents:

iv. “I want the government to give us a job. Because I got matric and computer skills, I don't have a job.” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, Xitsonga, Tsivenda, unemployed]

v. “I can thank the government to give us job.” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, Xitsonga, Tsivenda, unemployed]

I specifically requested that information should be relevant to the language and language difficulties that adult civilians experienced on a daily basis, yet some respondents requested jobs. They perhaps felt that as I was working for the
government, their message would get through to it via my questionnaires. Language, in this regard, did not feature on their list of important issues as they were all conversant in three, even four languages.

Communication across cultural and linguistic boundaries has to take place on a daily basis in these multilingual towns, which does not only include communicating with English-, Afrikaans- or isiXhosa speaking people, but also with those people speaking other African languages, or communicating with the Deaf. The following minor data came from the youth respondents:

8.1.4.1. Alienation, discrimination and an inferiority complex is part of everyday life when communication across languages takes place:

i. "Ek's bly ek word meestal bedien of gehelp by winkels, ens. in my eie taal, maar ek sal graag isiXhosa wil aanleer. My slegste ondervinding was toe ek in die hospitaal was en ek is in 'n kamer met net Africans en ek weet nie wat hulle praat nie, maar ek het wel afgelei dat die 1 iets van my gesê het, toe lag hulle." [I am glad that I am being assisted or served in shops, etc. in my own language, but I would like to learn isiXhosa. My worst experience was when I was in hospital and I was in a room where only Africans were and I did not know what they were talking about, but I assumed that I had said something about me, and then they laughed.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

ii. “I am a Zulu speaking (person), I can speak English, and Afrikaans people expect us to know Afrikaans and English and they know nothing of our language and they don’t even try speaking it; that is very unfair, I think.” [Male, teenager, isiZulu, isiXhosa and English, student]

iii. “Other places have all languages notices and signage and people that are translating…and interpreting what you are saying? What about us???” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

iv. "Almal verskil van tale en almal verstaan nie soms al die tale nie en dis ongemaklik om in mense se geselskap te sit en jy verstaan hulle nie. Dis beter as jy verstaan wat iemand praat.” [Everybody’s languages differ and not everyone understands all the languages sometimes. It is uncomfortable to sit in peoples’ company and not being able to understand them.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]

v. "Ja, partykeer word ek as 'n persoon diskrimineer deur die taal wat ek praat, wat mens minderwaardig laat voel.” [Yes, sometimes I am being discriminated against as a person when speaking my languages and that makes one feel inferior.”] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans and English, student]
Although isiXhosa has replaced English as the second largest language in the Western Cape (the South African National Census of 2011) the language “...effectively remains a minority or dominated language (cf. Alexander 2001b) and Xhosa speakers continue to be a social minority, both nationally and in the Western Cape.” (Plüddeman et al., 2005: 19). According to my study, factors such as alienation, discrimination and an inferiority complex seem to be interlinked with one another as a result of not knowing or fully understanding one or more of the languages these young people encounter. Young people do feel inferior and even alienated if they cannot express themselves - inferior to the other person and maybe inferior to the situation they find themselves in, especially when they are being excluded. These feelings may create negative attitudes or emotions towards the languages or even towards speakers of those languages that the young people cannot understand. Bilinguals also express more emotion in the home language or mother tongue or native tongue than in the second language they had acquired (Pavlenko, 2005).

8.1.4.2. Freedom of association equals linguistic exclusion and grouping together of same-language speakers

i. "If I don't know their language and they don't know mine, I don't have to communicate with them." [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]  
ii. “Dis vir my lekker om Afrikaans te praat, want almal verstaan Afrikaans; daarom kommunikeer ek net met mense wat Afrikaans kan praat.” [It is enjoyable for me to speak Afrikaans, because everybody understands Afrikaans; that is why I communicate only with those who can speak Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]  
iii. “Is when I speak my own language with my friend who can understand me why people pass by us complain even if we not talking with them…” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa only, student]

Respondent (i) has taken the stance that she does not care for communication with those not speaking her language of preference. She simply keeps out of these people’s way and associates herself with those people whom she understands and whom she can talk to. There is a feeling of not settling for
another language should it so happen that there is more than one language in a specific conversation group. Respondent (ii) decided to make sure that she and her friend keep exclusively to the company of those who speak their language. Respondent (iii) indicated that there are instances where those who cannot speak isiXhosa complain should they go ahead and exclude them linguistically.

8.1.4.3 South African Sign Language (SASL) is not being developed as a subject at school level

i. “In some local schools like Settlers and Milnerton, sign language can also become an extra subject.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

The qualitative research has shown that development of SASL is significantly diminished, as SASL is not being taught as a subject at school level, according to Respondent (i).

8.1.5 Discourses, counter-discourses and the inadequacies of the WCLP

How do these discourses relate to the WCLP and how does the WCLP respond to the challenges faced by these respondents? In this section I attempt to answer these questions.

The WCLP is focussing exclusively on the equal use of Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa - especially to eradicate the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa. However, English is used when the adult civilians feel they have to speak to those who cannot speak their home language and in that moment it is more important to express yourself (even basically) than to make a fuss about the other person not able to speak your home language. This is unlike the general attitude of the youth, who are able to mix and blend the languages they are
exposed to on a daily basis. The power of English comes through very clearly in
the discourses, and this can pose a challenge when the government tries to
implement the language policy.
parents have a negative attitude towards African languages, and Banda (2008)
also states that it is evident that the Black children in South Africa risk cultural
alienation when they study at previously White schools because they believe
that their success in society and upward social mobilisation is possible when
they study in either English or Afrikaans. The idea of people being able to
speak only two languages is also still part of the ideology of the adult civilians,
unlike the ideal of trilingualism expressed in the WCLP. Many adult civilians
felt that it would be to their advantage and to their children’s advantage if they
were able to speak English and one other language of the Western Cape.

The adult civilians had particular ideas about language in their towns. They were
quite aware that the majority language spoken in the Western Cape was
Afrikaans and that English was the second language in most cases. That had an
effect on the status of isiXhosa as the third official language. Taking into
account goals 2.1 - 2.14 of the WCLP, it appears as if one specific goal is being
addressed, which is to:

“…promote the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely
Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English, by the provincial and local governments of the
Western Cape (executive, legislative, judicial and administrative functions of the
provincial government).” (WCLP, 2004:2.1)

However, there seems to be no influence of this in the schooling system, where
the governing bodies decide which language choices should be made according
to the LIEP (LIEP, 1998). Challenges also seem to exist when the youth
communicate in other provincial departments or in public places; consequently
the WCLP cannot make suggestions with regard to language choices here. This
is but one of the inadequacies that implementing the WCLP at school level faces.

The WCLP also has as one of its goals the promotion of multilingualism in the Western Cape “...to ensure that the Western Cape is a caring home for all by promoting multilingualism...” (WCLP, 2004: 2.3). According to the study, it does not seem as if multilingualism is being promoted amongst the youth, not in their environment or at provincial government departments, while bilingualism is, as learners are mostly exposed to two out of the three official languages of the Western Cape. There are specific ideas about using two languages in provincial government departments or schools or in the learners’ environments, and the role of English was noted as the language that should be either with Afrikaans or isiXhosa. It seems as if bilingualism was accepted in the learners’ environments, and this included English (however basic it can be) and another language (the home language), and this finding supports what Gottlieb (2010: 197) states: “One might say that South Africa has ten tribal languages, plus English”.

Those respondents that were isiXhosa speaking felt that they had no choice but to deny themselves the use of their first language when communicating in town; however, they did not seem to mind switching to English, in most cases. Bilingualism (English and Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa) and not multilingualism therefore still seems to be firmly rooted within the ideology of the young people, as it was shown that the use of two languages is still very much prevalent when people communicate, as they indicated in their responses. I am aware that people in the Western Cape mix and blend their languages with other languages when they communicate, but it has come to my attention that they refer mainly to two specific languages when they speak about the communication with people around them. The idea of people being able to speak only two languages is also still part of the ideology of the young people, but
proper implementation of the WCLP might encourage the use of more languages – or at least they are aware that in their actual practices, they are not restricted to two languages only, but mix and blend all the linguistic resources at their disposal.

In studying the responses of the youth at the end of the questionnaires it was found that English is used when the young people feel they have to speak to those who cannot speak their home language and at that moment it is more important to express themselves (even in a basic way) than to make a fuss about the other person not able to speak their home language; the youth get by sometimes by switching their languages and helping each other.

The WCLP is intended to challenge bilingualism and start redirecting people into multilingualism, the learning of three or more languages. However, it seems that the ideologies associated with bilingualism (even when one language is being understood at a very basic level), is enough for many young people to get by with and get their business done. The influence of specific ideologies may be seen in the responses from the youth in that their responses appear to focus more on the speakers of the three official languages than on the languages themselves.

The youth felt comfortable in making use of English when they looked at someone and make the assumption that the particular person could not speak their language. So, although they felt that their language should be treated with respect and should be accommodated, at the same time they felt that English served as a lingua franca. English clearly enjoys a more frequent use within the vocabulary of the youth, and its dominance can pose a challenge when government tries to implement the language policy. Given the different styles, varieties or dialects of English being spoken in the Western Cape, this does not
necessarily mean that the English of an Afrikaans home language-speaker is better than the English of an isiXhosa-speaker.

Many respondents were also quite aware of the position of English when communicating with migrants from other countries in the Western Cape. Conversations with these migrants are generally in English, but it has been observed that many of them are also learning basic Afrikaans and isiXhosa in order to do business and generally so as to survive in the province (Nchang, 2013). There is a discourse of acceptance of others not speaking isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English, with specific reference to foreigners in the country. As some of the young people battle the fears of their language losing prominence in the province, others are teaching Afrikaans to foreigners (people who speak other languages, having come from other countries). There is also the discursive category of “us” versus “them” which has a profound effect on how people look at each other in the towns before they start to communicate with each other, and in the end, if they are unsure, they opt for English. If there is communication across cultural and linguistic differences, people will find a way in which to make sure the message gets across and they do not need a language policy to guide them.

There is also the presence of a one nation, one language ideology, as in the case of Iceland, according to Vikor (2000:125) who states that a “linguistically homogenous nation-state” exists and also in France (Blackledge; 2000: 34-35). English would then become a default “one language”. The three languages in the Western Cape, however, exist in a hierarchy, with Afrikaans and English trading top two places, depending on where you find yourself, and isiXhosa right at the bottom at all times. It is possible that we are dealing with young people whose lives have been made easier by the Internet and the written and TV-media (which is predominantly in English). This puts more pressure on the ideal of giving equal status to Afrikaans and isiXhosa in terms of the WCLP.
Other goals of the WCLP are

“...to empower and affirm speakers of previously marginalized languages; to eradicate the serious marginalization of isiXhosa in the public service by resourcing and promoting the development and awareness of its official status; to foster respect and protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence; to ensure social cohesion and improve relationships by promoting language diversity...” (WCLP, 2004: 2.6-2.9)

The WCLP in its goals (WCLP, 2004: 2) clearly states that it aims to promote the status of isiXhosa as an official language and to eradicate the serious marginalisation of isiXhosa in the public service. It also states that it aims to promote its development and make people aware of its official status (2.7). But the discourses and counter-discourses regarding isiXhosa in the Western Cape in the responses of the young people reveal a discourse of displacement among the isiXhosa-speaking youth, owing to the sometimes deliberate avoidance of their language in public spaces such as the media and the many schools in the province where isiXhosa is not offered as a subject, either at first language or second language level. This causes them to feel that the status accorded to their language exists on paper only.

The question could therefore be asked how it would be possible to implement a language policy if the Afrikaans- and English-speaking youth of the province are not being given the opportunity to speak or learn the third official language, isiXhosa, at school. The question is also whether or not the WCLP could influence the school language policies when, according to its goals, it has no connection with school language policies. If it is the idea of the WCLP to promote isiXhosa and to elevate its status in an attempt to promote multilingualism, then surely it should be able to influence some spheres in the provincial government to follow suit; however, this does appear to be happening
when looking at the responses of the youth. Although Education is a national department, where decisions about language matters are being taken at a national level while the WCLP is focusing on a provincial level, it is still not clear how the WCLP could make an impact at provincial education level.

With regard to the youth’s ideological beliefs about Afrikaans indicated in the study, it could be a challenge for the WCLP to be successfully implemented if there is a choice, especially at high school level, between maintaining the strong ideological feelings about Afrikaans as a language of pride, ownership and culture and making room for the other two official languages, especially for isiXhosa. However, many other social hurdles will need to be overcome, including racism and ethnolinguistic intolerance, before the youth of the Western Cape can communicate with one another more freely. A language policy alone will not make people talk to each other, and the existence of social and spatial barriers (with different groups still living according to the former “Group Areas” dispensation in different townships) can influence language policy implementation negatively.

Another goal of the WCLP is:

“To elevate the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of historically diminished status used by the people of the Western Cape, such as the Khoi and San languages” (WCLP, 2004:2.2).

Although there had been an active ten year long language project run by the DCAS between 2000 and 2010 (DCAS and WCLC annual reports between 2000/01 and 2010/11) during which Basic Nama classes were offered to adult civilians across the province there was no indication in this study that anything had been done to make sure that the youth were being exposed to Khoi and San languages; most of the respondents were not aware of these languages, not even of the existence of the Nama Language.
Furthermore, although Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:79) are of the opinion that sign language is not necessarily part of language policy it is indeed not the case with the WCLP as this policy furthermore has as its goal

“...to create awareness about the needs of the hearing impaired...” (WCLP, 2004:2.12).

The WCLP thus mentions that SASL would be developed as a language in a way, but SASL is not being taught as a subject in those schools which need it as a subject. The outcry for SASL to be announced an official language (The Tatler, Thursday, 15 September 2011: 6) and also President Zuma’s promise to make SASL official in The Argus of 5 December 2012 (See Addendum S) is yet another indication that there are serious concerns with this language of the deaf and that awareness around the language is just not enough.

These negative situations regarding the use of SASL in the Western Cape and creating awareness around the Nama Language are yet another implementation challenge of the WCLP.

8.2 Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at how the civilians experienced their communication challenges with public servants as well as with their employers. There appears to be exclusion in the workplace when isiXhosa is not being spoken by the employers. The power of Afrikaans and English as dominant languages in the province for many years (and strengthened during the Apartheid years) has had a negative influence on achieving equality for all three languages in the province, as is the expressed aim of the WCLP. Discourses uncovered here included an alarmingly negative attitude with regard to the use
of isiXhosa, as well as the serious marginalisation and neglect of the language, coupled to a lack of sufficient recognition, according to its speakers. This was in spite of the desire of some Afrikaans and English speaking youth respondents to learn the language.

The reality of the economic position of civilians in society determines their underlying needs, and they are not in a position to negotiate meaning when they are communicating; they are not being protected by specific language rules and regulations prescribed by the WCLP when they are in the work place. They have to make do with a basic knowledge of the language at their disposal and with what they know. Knowledge of English to some extent plays a part in the lives of the adult civilians, as this is the language that makes it possible for them to find employment.

At the time of this study there was no indication of greater equality in the treatment of isiXhosa. There seems to be a huge correlation between finding a job and the ability to speak Afrikaans and English. There is further a connection between employers who are largely Afrikaans- and English-speaking, which drives speakers of isiXhosa rather to communicate in these languages in the domain of work. In no specific communication from the adult civilians did anyone indicate that isiXhosa is of any importance to them whether they look for jobs or with regard to the education of their children. Furthermore, when civilians visit their provincial departments, the language spoken there is not necessarily the language of the client. The conclusion therefore could be that the WCLP has no influence over the day-to-day situations that the adult civilians, unemployed or employed, experience when they try to communicate in a multilingual setting.
The WCLP was written within a linguistic human rights (LHR) paradigm, underpinned by the RSA Constitution of 1996. The policy also seems to believe that equality of use can be achieved between the three official languages of the Province. However, Starkey (2002: 7) states that although “…diverse language communities can live together…, different language communities may not have equal power…” Stroud (2009) also argues that the LHR paradigm still treats languages as distinct and separate entities, and the WCLP does not take account of how these languages are constantly being blended to create new varieties, particularly among the young. Such a paradigm also excludes migrants from other areas (e.g. Sotho- and Tswana-speakers in Cape Town as well as migrants from several African countries) who do not speak the dominant languages, and Stroud argues for a paradigm of participatory citizenship and agency (which includes linguistic citizenship) rather than the narrow view of LHR.

The WCLP views languages as individual, separate entities and does not take into account the different mixes and blends that occur when people speak. The WCLP is not there to serve the needs of the youth, namely to open the doors for people to learn a third language, but it is written for a specific audience, namely the public servants who need to put its ideals into practice to serve their communities. The WCLP focuses on the formal use of the three official languages of the Western Cape; consequently it seems as if it cannot be implemented to serve the needs of the youth, especially at provincial educational level.

It seems, therefore, that achieving the goal to “support the Batho Pele initiative of impartial service delivery by promoting equal access to services and programmes by removing communication or language barriers” (WCLP, 2004: 2.4) remains an elusive one in the multilingual communities of the Western Cape.
CHAPTER 9

A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

9.0 Introduction

This chapter brings together all the findings of the study. It considers how the different types of data collected and analysed – the document analysis, quantitative and qualitative data – provide a comprehensive answer to the central research questions of this thesis.

9.1 An overview of the findings from the document analysis

9.1.1 The Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP)

In Chapter 4, I concluded that the WCLP, as drawn up by the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC), is a document that reflects many of the political ideologies of the new democratic dispensation in South Africa. In addition, it appears to be infused with an underlying ideology that simply having a policy in place means that practical actions to implement it will automatically follow (Abongdia, 2013; Vigouroux 2012). Yet the policy makes no stipulations on how its aims can be achieved and does not appear to have any powers to punish those who ignore its desired outcomes. I also noted that the document appears to
be in a finalised form, allowing no room for the inevitable changes that take place in respect of population demographics and language distribution in the province with the ongoing translocal and transnational migration in the late-modern era of globalisation (Jacquemet, 2005: 258-259).

I also considered the ownership of the policy, given that it had been drawn up by the WCLC, which is merely a statutory body situated in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), with rather vague oversight and monitoring functions, yet the WCLP is dependent on the provincial government for its implementation within the communities. In addition, the policy simply serves as a guideline to municipalities, which means that municipalities do not necessarily have to follow it to the letter. Like many similar policies, I also found the wording of the WCLP to be full of a number of “escape clauses”, e.g. the use of “may” in the policy instead of “must”, which allow for the broadest possible interpretation of the policy and actually work against its implementation.

I came to the conclusion that the WCLP simply attempts too much by trying to create equity of use for the three official languages, given the history of the Western Cape with its dominant languages of power – Afrikaans and English. This means that isiXhosa will continue to play a minor role in the province, given the power of especially English in the government departments, at the Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP) and in the minds of ordinary people. According to Weber and Horner (2012: 16) this reflects a particular ideology of a hierarchy of languages, with English undoubtedly at the top, followed by Afrikaans, and with isiXhosa far below the other two languages. Such a hierarchy, of course, places the standardised languages at the top and gives no consideration of the blended varieties spoken by so many people. Despite the fact that this policy is, in the words of Shohamy (2006: 54), a “manifestation of intentions”, I noted that it at least focused people’s attention on SASL and heritage languages such as the Nama Language.
9.1.2 The WCLP Original Elaborated IP and the WCLP Basic IP

My analysis of these two documents provided the first evidence of the contradictions and contestations existing around language policy issues. Central to this was the fact that the Original Elaborated IP was also written by the WCLC and was therefore infused with the same spirit of idealism and optimism about how broader multilingualism or trilingualism could be worked towards in the province. It had specific plans for how the Western Cape provincial government could implement the WCLP and was specific about what needed to be done and how this should be done, apart from being clearly and simply formulated. What it lacked, however, was practical examples, i.e. what it would cost or how it would be structured. It also used words such as “must” and “will” in trying to be prescriptive in its ideal to have its goals implemented fully.

Whereas the WCLP Original Elaborated IP started with legislation and beautiful words of encouragement to the public, the WCLP Basic IP starts with “research” and how the research had affected the “practicality of implementation”. It includes a cost analysis, and refers to a “minimum start-up”. The urgency of the WCLP Original Elaborated IP has now been replaced by a much more basic plan which simply “encourages” departments to implement the policy. In addition, the Basic IP was written by the DCAS Central Language Unit (CLU) and differs from the WCLP Original Elaborated IP in a number of ways: it gives no indication of surveys to be done, or recruitment procedures for language professionals, it lacks a Code of Conduct, and it appears to approach funding matters very differently, possibly because of budgetary constraints (even though the workloads described in both documents do not differ). What it does include, however, that is missing from the elaborated IP is timeframes for implementation.
I argued in Chapter 4 that these differences could have an enormous impact on the actual implementation of the policy – they could impact on the attitudes of the departments towards policy implementation, and budgetary challenges could be used as an excuse for not giving their full attention to implementation issues.

9.1.3 Conclusions regarding the document analysis
The document analysis clearly showed the differences between the idealism and ideologies infusing the WCLP and the WCLP Original Elaborated IP on the one hand and the harsher realism in the Basic IP on the other. But it also points to changes in attitudes and ideologies surrounding the policy – having been the first to use a language committee to draw up a hopeful and ambitious provincial language policy in the spirit of Batho Pele, the provincial government appears to have been more interested in capturing the spirit of the new democracy than in actually providing the resources necessary to make policy implementation a reality. Once the policy had been launched, there appeared to be a noticeable withdrawal of interest from government structures in the WCLP, leaving the DCAS LU to do the bulk of the work, but without the necessary numbers of language practitioners and administrative support, or the actual funding required. Thus weaknesses in the actual implementation plan may actually have set the policy up to fail, and I argue that there is a clear link between these weaknesses and the rest of my data.

9.2 The quantitative findings
The quantitative findings proved that more than ten years after the first draft of the WCLP and more than five years after the acceptance of the WCLP by Provincial Cabinet, neither the public nor the public servants (who were supposed to have been briefed on the policy) had any knowledge of the existence or the content of the policy. People therefore do not feel empowered to insist on their language rights. I argued at the end of Chapter 5 that this ignorance was the most crucial challenge in implementing the WCLP.
The chapter clearly showed that providing services to the public in their preferred languages was extremely problematic, given the shortage of available interpreters. I further pointed out that without such provisions, there was no point in claiming to have a language policy, as the public at large was likely either to stay ill-informed on a range of issues, or to understand only part of the information provided through either Afrikaans or English. I pointed to the worrying trend in service delivery protests in South Africa, and argued that a lack of proper communication with the wider public was often at the heart of such often violent confrontations. The multilingual needs of the broader population were sorely lacking when it came to the issues prioritised by the government. In the final analysis, it appeared that the policy was having little or no impact on the lives of ordinary citizens.

9.3 The qualitative findings

9.3.1 Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), the Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC) and Western Cape Provincial Parliament (WCPP)

In Chapter 6 I reported finding that power relations between the DCAS and the WCLC were quite intricate, given that the DCAS provided the funding for the monitoring and oversight role of the WCLC, which was regarded as insufficient by the WCLC, a body with limited powers. I saw the nature of this relationship as having an influence on the objectivity of the WCLC members when they were trying to play their monitoring role.

My analysis of the responses from the WCPP appeared to indicate that they relied on the DCAS for language services, some of which had to be outsourced. Here, too, I found a lack of any tangible relationship of trust with the DCAS for the outsourcing of documents. The respondent of the WCPP could not give me
information on how the WCPP was adhering to the policy, which was an indication of the non-existent or rather insignificant relationship between the DCAS and the WCPP, although reference was made to “hidden challenges”, which included the use of English as the provincial language, as well as to people not having a “feeling” for languages at the highest level of the implementation. I also found the relationship between the WCLC and the DCAS/WCPP problematic as the WCLC could not criticize either one of the two institutions in public.

I consequently concluded that the DCAS’s role in implementing the WCLP made little impact on discovering or even solving the critical language-related issues that the youth, adult civilians and even public servants at government institutions had encountered at grassroots level and in the rural towns I visited.

9.3.2 Language practitioners (LPs) and two senior managers

The findings in Chapter 7 indicated that there was a break in the chain that was required for providing effective language policy implementation in the Western Cape, owing partly to ideological beliefs held by the language practitioners, and to their subordinate positions to those in senior management, which effectively silenced their voices. In addition, they were mostly office-bound unless being required to do some interpreting, and for the rest they were busy (mainly) with translations, while occasionally also being required to do some administrative work. English was seen as the most important language in provincial government, and interpreting was seen as not important to the members of senior management I interviewed. Despite the signing of pledges by senior managers, this had not necessarily translated into them knowing what to do in order to make good on that particular commitment.
It was also quite disturbing to find that the members of senior management had a lack of basic knowledge of the WCLP and its implementation plan. It may also be said that the DCAS and the WCLC could be held responsible for the decision to appoint only a limited number of LPs in provincial government departments to translate their Annual Performance Plans, Strategic Plans and Annual Reports, which rendered these LPs overworked and demotivated.

To sum up, I found that there was a limited degree of implementation of the WCLP in government departments, particularly with regard to the use of trilingual signage on doors, but that these departments were not reaching the communities which needed language services such as interpreting, especially in crucial domains such as hospitals and provincial courts.

9.3.3 Adult and youth civilians

In Chapter 8 I looked at how civilians experienced their communication challenges with public servants as well as with their employers. According to these results, I found that isiXhosa continued to be marginalised in the workplace, especially when employers did not speak the language. Afrikaans and English remained dominant in employment situations and grassroots level communication. It appeared that the citizens of the towns I visited were not really in a position to negotiate meaning when they were communicating, and lacked the ability to demand their language rights in the workplace and when visiting municipal or state departments. The civilians also did not indicate that isiXhosa was of any major importance to them when seeking employment or with regard to the education of their children. Discourses included largely negative attitudes towards isiXhosa as well as its marginalisation in these towns, although some youth respondents showed a desire to learn the language.
I was therefore forced to conclude that the WCLP had no influence over the day to day communication of the civilian population in the towns I visited.

9.4 How do these three sets of findings support or contradict one another?
I found the WCLP an idealistic, ambitious and somewhat unrealistic language policy, infused with more linguistic ideology than linguistic realism, especially with regard to the contestation and contradictions around the two IPs I have mentioned above. The very poor implementation from the top downwards to the bottom or even sideways to the other provincial government departments may be ascribed to reality setting in, i.e. finances, the dominance of English and Afrikaans, the nature of the employment market, the education of especially Black parents opting for English schools, etc. The top-down approach to language policy implementation seems not to work.

9.5 Conclusions
9.5 A summary of the most important findings
9.5.1 The WCLP and its IP
I have found that there is an important aspect of the WCLP which cannot be changed or ignored: the WCLP is a product of politics in the Western Cape, settling within the RSA Constitution of 1996, the Western Cape Constitution (1998), the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (1998) and the institution of the Western Cape Language Committee - it is established within the legislative framework of the Western Cape and is therefore a political document serving in many respects the needs of those people in powerful positions. The language policy seems to be to the benefit of these powerful people when they occasionally visit the people of the province via “public events” or when they need to see ordinary civilians in confined spaces, where interpreting services would be required for the occasion, although even here challenges are experienced. This could be the reason for ordinary civilians not being aware of this document.
I found that the WCLP was not applicable to the national entities, namely policing, justice and education in the province; consequently in courts, at police stations and schools, to mention but a few important places where the ordinary civilians have to benefit from, the WCLP policy goals are not important and the ordinary civilian suffers.

I also found that the role that a statutory body such as the WCLC plays in making the WCLP part of the legislative process is one of the major tasks ever performed by this committee, although the duties of the committee are not stipulated in the policy. There is, however, a problem when punitive measures for not following the WCLP are absent from the document, rendering the WCLC a toothless institution having no real impact on the lives of ordinary civilians by and large. The WCLP furthermore makes provision for “local government” in its prescriptions; yet the WCLP stands apart from the language policies of local government, making the WCLC and the WCLP even more invisible to the ordinary civilian.

The WCLP has such great intentions for the public – to make trilingualism an everyday life experience in general; yet the policy “protects” or makes excuses for its implementers to a certain extent should implementation not take place, by using specific verbs in the policy itself, verbs such as “may” instead of “must”, as one example. Furthermore, the WCLP at times refers to “any two of the official languages”. In both these examples I found that the main crux of the policy, namely to eradicate the serious marginalisation of and discrimination against isiXhosa, does not happen when confronted with an historically very developed Afrikaans and English presence in the province.
The presence of bilingualism amongst the people of the Western Cape is further underestimated by the policy and the policy-makers as is the ever-increasing popularity of English, especially because English is used by the WCPP in television broadcasts and live screenings. I found furthermore that the WCLP was static, that there was little room available for the development of other languages – which might impact on the policy 100 years from now – and that the focus of the policy implementation was on the standardised use of documents within the corridors of provincial government departments.

If it had been the idea of provincial government departments to implement the WCLP “incrementally” by that meaning that a minimum of one or two language professionals were required to be appointed in each of the provincial government departments as the WCLP Basic IP states, then the WCLP would be implemented by 2014/2015. This supports my assumption throughout the thesis that the WCLP was written purely for the purpose of provincial government’s communication with the public at large and as such was written with the politicians’ “public meetings” with the Western Cape population in mind. Should there be a meeting arranged with the public (in a setting which is controlled – a specific venue) interpreters would be made available (or not) to make sure that people in the province are able to communicate their challenges to and with the politicians or with provincial government. However, where the people of the province need real, practical, outcomes based and crucial assistance, where people need to be served in their different languages (even only in isiXhosa) regarding housing, environmental affairs, social matters, and service delivery in hospitals, clinics, day hospitals, etc. the ordinary civilian might encounter communication problems, as the WCLP does not make provision for interpreters in these venues/situations.

I found that even the appointment of staff in provincial government departments would be insufficient for what the WCLP requires, with minimum or maximum
numbers of staff, as the duties of staff are not spelled out specifically in the WCLP Basic IP. However, what should be translated and where there should be interpreting services, even with minimum staff, I found was not necessarily attained owing to various challenges in provincial government departments. I found differences between the WCLP Original Elaborated IP contained in the booklet and the WCLP Basic IP, which was written for the purpose of an example; and yet these two IPs do not guarantee any framework whereby the WCLP goals could be reached. This is a crucial aspect of the policy implementation plan which is lacking, since implementation is regarded as “ongoing” and “incremental”. Again, I found that the implementation of the WCLP stopped at provincial government department level and with the appointment of LPs, while the ordinary civilian in his/her daily routine, where language-related challenges might appear, is excluded.

9.5.2 Awareness of the WCLP and official languages of the province

One of the hypotheses of the thesis is that the public is not aware of the WCLP, which constitutes one of the key challenges in implementing the WCLP. I found that the majority of the respondents had no knowledge of the existence of the WCLP or of what the WCLP contains. It was therefore obvious that language issues in the Western Cape are of less immediate importance to the general public than more immediate challenges to their existence, such as housing, unemployment and the provision of education and health services. Yet all these issues are mediated via language, and if people are unable to communicate their needs effectively by way of implementing the WCLP, then they would have great difficulty in accessing a range of state services as well as the employment sector effectively.

I also found that there were two types of provincial government appointed public servants dealing with the ordinary civilian: the LPs, appointed via the WCLP Basic IP (for translation and interpreting services in offices in Cape
Town), and the general public servants (at government institutions in the rural towns, like hospitals, etc). The latter did not know about the WCLC or the WCLP, which underlined the total disconnection between the WCLP’s goals and the ordinary civilian, of which the public servant are part. In general I found that the ordinary civilian was in the dark regarding his/her language rights and/or the WCLP. Ordinary civilians were ignorant about the status of isiXhosa as an official language in the province, and very much aware of the position of Afrikaans and English, although in many cases this was a reflection of their ideological beliefs regarding these two languages.

The civilians were basically not aware of three official languages of the province, only of two. Generally no knowledge of the Nama Language and SASL existed, but this did not surprise me, as in order to know about the WCLP you would need to know about these two languages as well as about the three official languages. Very few of the respondents were actually fully trilingual (isiXhosa, Sesotho, English for example), not Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English; however, many knew words and phrases in other languages and blended these languages into their conversations. As respondents did not know about interpreting, I found that interpreting services were mostly not available in government institutions or public places. I also found that civilians were not aware of requesting interpreting services should they, for some reason, find that they were linguistically excluded. Overall, if civilians had been exposed to the WCLP and its content, there would have been a different outcome to this study; they would have known about the Nama Language and about South African Sign Language (SASL), and would also have known that isiXhosa was an official language in the province and that they could be assisted in their preferred language at public institutions or government places.

There is a general lack of awareness and even interest in the status of isiXhosa in this province due to a number of factors discussed in Chapter 5. However, the ordinary civilians, especially the youth, want to be more exposed to isiXhosa, be
it in schools, when they communicate with friends, etc. Being aware of the fact that the WCLP does not serve the national entity, Education, it is important to mention the desire I found the civilians expressed to learn this language at an official, controlled and educated level – in school. In this way I found that these civilians valued the position of a language at school entry level. The youth who had been studying Afrikaans and English at school level, had this desire – not to choose between three languages, but to study all three languages at school. I found that lack of exposure to isiXhosa on all levels, i.e. books, television, in schools, in the media, etc., are but some of the reasons why this language could never be “equally” treated next to Afrikaans and English. If “equal” treatment of isiXhosa in the provincial government means that official documentation should be translated into Afrikaans and isiXhosa, then surely the idea of appointing LPS or having documents outsourced for this purpose does imply that these languages “are equal” – simply count the translations that are being done. However, current treatment of isiXhosa “equal” to that of Afrikaans and English in the learning environment might be a problem.

I found that either English was serving as a standard language or that a non-standard mix of different blends of languages was being used as the language in a multilingual situation or that the language would open doors for everyone, although amongst many ideologies about languages, some of the Afrikaans speaking civilians felt that their language was threatened and for some isiXhosa speaking civilians the presence of English in information pamphlets served as their being regarded as “stupid” and not being regarded as important. English therefore fulfils the role of “main” language when a situation is created where neither Afrikaans nor isiXhosa would be understood.

There are indeed multilingual practices by various people from different backgrounds (linguistic, social cultural, religious and educational) who have
access to public areas, and people find ways in which to make understanding of each other possible.

Without the provision of interpreting services at provincial government institutions such as hospitals, I cannot see any point in having a language policy, as the absence of interpreters means that people would inevitably be disadvantaged. That said, having interpreting services for only three languages, if these are indeed rendered at any public event, excludes the other languages (although they are in the minority). Therefore the multilingual needs of the broader population are ignored when it comes to the issues prioritised by the provincial government.

9.5.3 The key implementers of the WCLP: WCPP, the DCAS and the WCLC

Although the provincial governments seemed to have great expectations for the implementation of the WCLP, there were serious challenges at all levels of the implementation structure, stretching from the WCPP, which was unable to make enough resources available for the eradication of the marginalisation of isiXhosa, to the DCAS and the WCLC, who were dependent on this top structure to provide them with funding to implement the policy.

Furthermore, I found that huge problems existed with the implementation plan when I analysed the responses of the language practitioners (LPs) and the senior managers, indicating that the WCLP caused more practical implementation headaches than it solved – especially when looking at language-related issues at grassroots level and even when demands had to be made regarding the translation services LPs were required to render (whether or not they had been employed or the services had been outsourced). The essence of these services had been questioned by the LPs, who regarded their services as not of great
value to the ordinary civilian. More so, the language attitude of senior management with regard to the language policy, the negative response of the WCLC respondent, and the structural challenges indicated by the DCAS respondent indicated to me that the WCLP, although being written for the public and for the public servant alike, serves as a document for window dressing, especially with regard to translations of government documents, signage at the doors and in corridors of provincial government and on the roads, to sporadic interpreting sessions when “public events” are staged. With regard to the language used internally, I found that people used English most of the time as the language required for discussion in meetings and as the source language. Consequently there seemed to be a lack of planning and strategic management regarding the WCLP, and this lack started from the top, while its effect was felt at the lower end of the pyramid, i.e. the LPs and the public servant at grassroots level. The ordinary civilian is hugely disadvantaged by this. I have consequently found that the WCLP implementation is not managed properly, largely as a result of the DCAS and WCLC not being able to establish a trusting relationship with one another to the extent that these two institutions can control and expect implementation of the WCLP or that senior management withhold crucial information on how to implement the policy properly.

I found there to be a “lack of political will” which stemmed from the WCPP and as such influenced the WCPP’s relationship with the WCLC and the DCAS as well as with the other 12 provincial government departments with regard to languages. The budget that was awarded involved the appointment of LPs as part of the Communication Directorate, and as there was no clear delineation of a language practitioner’s responsibilities, this group was inevitably overworked, thus requiring more money to be paid for freelance services. I found as a result that the benefit of, amongst other things, translated APPs and annual reports for the use of ordinary civilians and for the reasons language practitioners who had been appointed in provincial government departments were questionable, as those appointed LPs in provincial government departments could not expose
civilians at grassroots level to the WCLP directives and goals if and when they had to provide services in the language of preference of those being served. This meant that the ordinary civilians at grassroots level could not take advantage of precisely what the WCLP’s good intentions were.

Authorities were largely in favour of implementing the WCLP and also of the WCLP itself; however, when it came to practical implementation, failure was the outcome and key respondents admitted to this.

I also found that the WCLC was not in any position of power to prescribe the implementation of the WCLP to other departments or even in rural towns. This committee’s reliance on funding from provincial government did not give it any licence to complain about language matters. It was only required to oversee and monitor, which could mean in most cases agreeing with the government of the province. Even in the DCAS the WCLC saw itself as being at the mercy of what was being prescribed to the Minister or to the senior management concerned. The position of the WCLC I found after they had drafted the WCLP was being compromised when they were unable to be more than a group of people getting together to discuss language matters and to monitor whether or not amongst other things translation of provincial government department documentation had taken place. Consequently the WCLC’s role of a monitoring agent and an overseer cannot be traced to the ordinary civilians of the province, as they were basically in no position to tell the Minister about challenges reported to them. Furthermore, members of the WCLC cannot be in any position to criticise the hand that feeds them, as they have to be loyal here, and therefore I found their relationship within the provincial government structure and as benefitting from part of the budget of the DCAS to be having an influence on their objectivity.

As a “public” committee which needs to voice their concerns in the media or elsewhere where they are to “present” the different official languages, as well as
the Nama Language and SASL, I cannot see this committee on its own taking on the responsibility of challenging the provincial government in the face of the myriad communication problems experienced by many of the ordinary civilians of the province. The WCLC’s existence therefore seems pointless, since they are not allowed to criticise the government at all when they receive challenges from the rural towns, as was seen by the meeting that took place after the 2010 Colloquium. Yet, the establishment of this committee was needed for the drafting of the WCLP, and therefore I have to question the relevance of the WCLP, especially at grassroots level, where language issues are crucial or imperative in service delivery in the province.

9.5.4 The senior management and language practitioners appointed in provincial government departments to implement the WCLP

Ranking at the lowest scale of WCLP implementation, I found that office-bound language practitioners did translations and served as interpreters as far as they could manage; but owing to their job descriptions being unclear, they could also be used as administrative personnel. There was a huge lack of communication between them and their senior management and many questioned why they had been appointed, as it did not seem to be for the benefit of the ordinary civilians. I further found that the LPs used English as their form of internal communication, and that there would be no interpreting services in a multilingual situation, mainly because of either a lack of interpreters or the influence of English as the provincial language at public events and/or meetings. I found that LPs really struggled to make sure that the very basic implementation of the WCLP took place. I found the LPs to be rather lost between what they would like to achieve, given the WCLP as the basis for their appointment and what they are being requested to do. I also found that no relationship existed between the LPs and the WCLC, where the latter could have influenced their respective departments, and that these LPs normally got together via the PLF to voice their concerns about language-related matters.
Senior management, who are in a better position to implement the WCLP, I found to be lacking information on the WCLP, using English all the time, not making provision for interpreting services, generally showing disrespect towards Afrikaans and isiXhosa in the province, not caring for the implementation of the WCLP owing to a lack of punitive measures attached to the policy, regarding language issues as less crucial to the social issues with which they are confronted, and indeed displaying that which the LPs had indicated: a lack of willingness, funding and interest in paying regard to the other two official languages, namely Afrikaans and isiXhosa, especially isiXhosa, in the rendering of services. I found that an urgent need existed amongst the members of senior management to have the work done (i.e. documentation to be prepared for the WCPP) in provincial government departments and that as a result it seemed preferable just to do it in English, subsequent to which there would be either summaries made available or no translations at all.

The contact of both these groups with the general public or with civilians I found to be by and large non-existent, and consequently the WCLP does not really have any influence in ordinary public institutions.

**9.6 Conclusion**
In response to the research questions asked in Chapter 1, I conclude the following:

There are myriad challenges in implementing the WCLP in the Western Cape Province and there are several causes that underlie these challenges. Language ideology, power and power relations, as well as linguistic citizenship actually play a role in the implementation of the WCLP, especially in the provincial government departments of the Western Cape, thus influencing the official status of isiXhosa and Afrikaans negatively, since English is being pushed
forward as the language of provincial government. In analysing all levels of government together with the responses of the civilians, I have come to the very final conclusion that the provincial government departments of the Western Cape have been rather unsuccessful in implementing the existing language policy within the communities of the Western Cape and that they can expect many more challenges before final implementation happens in 2014/15. However, they have been successful in the appointment of language staff according to their IP, but even these appointments are to a great extent problematic.

In conclusion, there is a chain of implementation of the WCLP, from the WCPP to the ordinary civilians of the Western Cape (see Table 3.1). The break in this WCLP implementation chain which I discovered during the course of my study leads to a communication breakdown reaching the multilingual communities of the Western Cape. Even more worrying is that this break in the communication chain occurs in every aspect of the WCLP: from the document itself to its IP (even both IPs), and then from here this communication break starts at the WCPP (the top) and filters right through all the different hierarchical levels until it reaches the level of the LP, the lowest of the WCLP Basic IP. This break in communication regarding the WCLP is particularly due to ideological beliefs about language that all of these implementers of the policy (be it key or otherwise) hold, as well as to several challenges at all levels. The fact remains, the ordinary civilian is being disadvantaged by the non-implementation of the WCLP (even in the document itself), as their language needs – which have to be addressed when they go to hospitals or clinics or when they have questions about housing, the environment, agriculture, community safety, social development or any other services rendered at local or provincial government level in the respective towns which I visited – are not being addressed if there are either no interpreters or no translated documentation available that focuses on their specific language needs.
The findings have therefore shown that there seems to be a lack of administrative competence with regard to realising the intentions of the WCLP and the actual achievement of its goals at all levels of the provincial government of the Western Cape, resulting in the civilians of the province, for whom the policy was written, being disadvantaged in their communities and even resulting in the provincial government itself experiencing various challenges in implementing the policy in its provincial offices. I am certain that the WCLP is an ambitious language policy, written with many goals and prescriptions and having great intentions; yet it cannot be implemented owing to various challenges, the most important one being it being implemented by way of a Basic Implementation Plan.

The question now remains: in the face of all the obstacles and challenges that I have pointed out and that are so devastatingly alarming at times, what recommendations can be proposed to the provincial government of the Western Cape, from the top downwards, in order to make sure that the WCLP becomes that which it is supposed to be? The answer to the multilingual situation of the Western Cape is: to make the Western Cape Province truly a “home for all”.
CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0 Introduction

At the start of this research journey, while I was still employed in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport Central Language Unit (DCAS CLU) and more specifically as part of the Language Policy Implementation Unit (LPIU), the central assumption of my thesis was that the realisation of the visions of the Western Cape Language Policy (WCLP) might be unattainable for a variety of reasons. One of the reasons was that even though the WCLP was specific in what needed to be done to the three official languages in the Western Cape, including South African Sign Language (SASL) and the Nama Language, I doubted whether or not the WCLP would be implemented as its prescriptions indicated as I thought that what Shohamy (2006) said could be true:

“It is often the case that even when policies are stated explicitly it still does not guarantee that the language policy will in fact turn into practice and there are situations when the use of languages are in opposition to declared policies.” (Shohamy, 2006: 51)

Other reasons for me being doubtful of the successful implementation of the WCLP included the dominance of particular languages in the province over
others and relatively inflexible language ideologies held by those charged with policy implementation at different levels. I also assumed that it was possible that the language ideologies and attitudes of the majority of people at grassroots level and also of those holding management positions in the Western Cape coming from different socio-economic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds could have significant impacts on the implementation of the WCLP.

This chapter provides the answers suggested by the findings of this study to the four major research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. For the benefit of the reader, these questions are repeated here:

The following research questions are addressed in this thesis:

1. What are the challenges that civil society from different language backgrounds at grassroots level experience in six different towns in the Western Cape with regard to the practical implementation of the WCLP? What are the causes underlying these challenges, and what possibilities might be created by the language implementation agencies for people at grassroots level?

2. Taking into account that Afrikaans is the most spoken language in most of these towns according to the South African National Census of 2011, what do the people at grassroots level experience with regard to their home languages and what would be the challenges for or status of isiXhosa amongst its speakers within these areas/predominantly Afrikaans-speaking regions of the Western Cape?

3. What roles do language ideology, power and power relations as well as linguistic citizenship play in realising the implementation of the WCLP in the provincial government departments of the Western Cape and how do these influence the status of the official languages in this province?
4. How successful have the provincial government departments of the Western Cape been in implementing the existing language policy in these communities of the Western Cape and what further challenges do they face to ensure the effective implementation of this policy?

Once these questions have been answered, I offer a range of recommendations on how the problematic implementation of the WCLP may be addressed before the thesis is finally concluded.

10.1 Summary of findings related to the research questions

10.1.1 Research question 1 (Challenges for civilian population)

Chapters 5 and 8 provided the findings of the challenges experienced in terms of policy implementation by civilians in Moorreesburg, Bellville, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, George and Beaufort West (the six towns I surveyed). The overall indication was that the WCLP and its IP were not making any impact on the language needs of civilians. In the first place, there was widespread ignorance of the WCLP, which meant that people were not aware of their language rights. Many did not know that isiXhosa was now the third official language in the province, while provisions made for SASL and the promotion of the Nama Language were also unknown to them. IsiXhosa continued to be largely marginalised in these towns, where Afrikaans was still seen as a significant language of power, followed by English. In addition, the civilians had to make do without interpreting services especially in hospitals, or with severely limited services being rendered by untrained interpreters and ordinary civilians. Given this lack of awareness among the broader public about their language rights, the WCLP was rendered largely meaningless in the lives of these civilian respondents.

It appeared that one of the causes of this ignorance could be a lack of proper consultation processes as the DCAS and the WCLC respectively claimed had taken place. Another cause could be that language issues had not been taken seriously enough by the provincial government departments, with the latter
employing only a minimum of largely office-bound language practitioners, which creates an impression of mere “window-dressing” in the new democratic South Africa.

10.1.2 Research question 2 (Challenges for the status of isiXhosa)

In Chapter 4, my analysis of the choice of words and phrases used in the WCLP pointed to challenges for isiXhosa to take its rightful place next to the more developed Afrikaans and English. This was also reflected in the responses by civilians, amongst others, who revealed that isiXhosa continued to be marginalised and that the WCLP did not protect or develop isiXhosa in these towns.

10.1.3 Research question 3 (The effect of ideologies and power relations)

In Chapters 6 and 7 the study revealed that the WCLC, which is responsible for overseeing the implementation of the WCLP, has no specific position of power that might make it a significant force in implementation strategies. In addition, I found that ideological beliefs held about language (particularly about the power of English) by senior management, effectively paralysed any possible attempts at implementation. Moreover, I discovered that there were many power struggles at all levels in the current strategic framework of the implementation pyramid. All of these contestations and power struggles are therefore effectively sabotaging the effective implementation of the WCLP.

10.1.4 Research question 4 (Challenges in government departments)
Chapter 7, in particular, pointed out many of the challenges experienced in government departments regarding the implementation of the WCLP. The appointment of the bare minimum of language practitioners in these departments has hardly any impact on the actual civilian population or even on the multilingual language needs of such departments. Senior management apparently does not view this as a problem, given that they appear to believe that English is the solution to all these language-related issues. The lack of power of the WCLC is another factor here, as is the fact that the WCLP does not contain any punitive strategies if there is no adherence to it.

10.1.5 Conclusions on the four research questions
Taken as a whole, the findings of the research questions indicate that the central assumption with which this study began have been proven to be correct, namely that the realisation of the visions of the WCLP may be unattainable for a variety of reasons, such as the dominance of particular languages in the province over others and relatively inflexible language ideologies held by those charged with policy implementation at different levels. Nevertheless, I wish to offer some practical recommendations that might improve the situation. I believe that the WCLP cannot be implemented by way of a Basic Implementation Plan if the policy makers and policy implementers wish to adhere to all the policy’s goals and intentions. My recommendations will therefore be as ambitious as the WCLP itself.

10.2 Recommendations
As someone who was closely involved in the implementation processes, and who would like this study to be of actual service to the provincial government of the Western Cape, as well as to other provinces, I offer the following recommendations as possible routes for eliminating some of the challenges facing the implementation of the WCLP. The very first change that should happen is the status and role of the WCLC. Monitoring and advising the Minister on language matters do not give real solutions to real communication
challenges at grassroots level, which is what the WCLP wants to achieve in the end. This body should be operating independently and should be allowed to be critical of the Western Cape provincial government in implementing the WCLP. Their appointments should be reviewed so as not to have meetings and play an advisory role, but to be hands on with regard to language matters in all 13 provincial government departments. They cannot operate if they are dependent on funding from the very people they need to criticize however – this issue should be relooked and changed to make their role meaningful and for the benefit of the people of the Western Cape.

10.2.1 The WCLC and the DCAS LU should ensure that the WCLP is adapted in order to serve the entire population of the Western Cape Province, and not only selected groups.

I found that the WCLP, which I regard as an ambitious policy that the DCAS and the WCLC are trying to implement by way of a WCLP Basic IP, is not there to serve the needs of the civilians at grassroots level realistically, and therefore suggest that it must be rewritten, especially to rid the policy of its escape clauses which try to push for the use of either Afrikaans and English or English only. The following issues in particular should be addressed:

- The static, finalised nature of the WCLP must change, making for a much more dynamic document open to changes, because there are other languages and varieties being used in the Western Cape;
- Escape clauses should be removed, with due consideration for the practicality of implementation strategies, given that more than sufficient research has already been carried out in provincial government departments (especially by the CLU and the WCLC) as well as by this study;
- The policy should be rewritten so that it serves the needs of local municipalities as well as provincial government departments;
- The DCAS CLU and the WCLC should focus on the most important target beneficiaries of the policy, viz. the civilians, who battle daily
language and communication challenges in hospitals, day care centres, clinics, municipal offices and housing offices, and also with social workers, etc. Other key target beneficiaries should include the doctors, nurses, social workers, language practitioners and anybody working with the public of the Western Cape on a day-to-day basis;

- The target beneficiaries should also buy into the aims of the WCLP and become committed to its aims. This could be done by way of public education and/or programmes via any means necessary (posters, flyers, radio talks, etc.);
- Punitive or positive reinforcement measures should be included in the policy not as a means of punishment, but rather as encouragement to use the WCLP to the advantage of the people the language policy is supposed to serve.

The WCLP as it is written and as it intends can simply not be implemented by using a WCLP Basic IP – it is too ambitious and the need for language services in the Western Cape is too great.

10.2.2 The DCAS LU and the WCLC should inform the people of the Western Cape of their language rights and the existence of the WCLP once again, as well as what interpreting and translation services entail.

The fact that most members of the public are not aware of this document and of how it can serve their needs is an indication of the power structures that are in place and that somehow work against keeping the people informed of their language rights. In order to achieve more success with the WCLP, the civilians need to be made aware of the policy, and not just by handing out a booklet. The entire distribution and awareness campaign needs to be the product not only of competent implementers of the policy in the DCAS, the WCLC and the WCPP, but also of implementers who really think that communication is the key to solving problems in communities.
I therefore recommend the following:

- An aggressive awareness campaign seems to be the one to follow by distributing the WCLP to all the schools in the Western Cape, to all the social groupings, churches, libraries, hospitals and medical centres, clinics, police stations, schools, youth development centres, municipal offices, etc. in the province in order to ensure that these are distributed to the adult civilians and to all public servants. Care should be taken to make sure the distribution of the WCLP is tracked, and to make sure that everyone in the province is being educated on the content of the policy. The WCLP should be made visible by means of posters, advertisements in newspapers, newsletters, pamphlets, flyers, distribution to motorists, etc. Everybody should know the document exists, as knowledge about it would create the platform for language policy implementation. Knowledge about the policy would also make people aware of their language rights. This is going to cost money and manpower, but at least the people at grassroots level would know about the policy; and

- With these efforts also comes an education regarding language policy, and in this regard I recommend that several radio talks be hosted in order for a far wider scope involving civilians to listen to what the WCLP is all about, who the key implementers are and the processes that could be followed with WCLP implementation.

There is no assurance that making civilians aware of the existence of the WCLP will indeed encourage them to insist on their language rights. Our communities have been so disempowered in the past that this is not possible without encouraging active linguistic citizenship – this is where voice and agency come into play, and where people should not be forced to use only standard languages, but also whatever linguistic resources they have in order to communicate. How
would the civilians then be encouraged to use any means of communication resources at their disposal? This could be achieved by instilling a sense of sensitivity to their form of language use as a start, not only the formal use of languages, especially amongst those public servants who deal with these civilians on a daily basis.

10.3.3 Administrative changes should be made to the existing “language units” situated in the different provincial government departments in order to realise the goals of the WCLP

10.3.3.1 The establishment of a Department of Languages (DOL)

I have decided to illustrate the administrative and structural changes in a way that would make sense to the WCLP IP. I am obliged to refer to these by way of sketching scenarios and by using tables. Unfortunately there is no escaping the political structures that impact on the WCLP, and without which the WCLP IP cannot work effectively.

I can see no proper language policy implementation (if WCLP IP exclusively refers to translations and interpreting to be done in the Western Cape) if the workload that is resting upon the key implementers and others reside within a department that does not even include the name “Languages”. The idea of grouping languages with “Culture” and/or “Sports” in the DCAS is not conducive to positive feelings towards language policy implementation or even the recognition of language as important. I feel that the emphasis will always be on culture and sports (where language related projects can be planned) and never on languages per se, although it is the assumption that language and culture belongs together.

The idea of the WCLP is to build the province and the country; it is an ongoing process of communicating: you build the languages, you also create jobs, people
are informed and those who cannot read or write could be understood, assisted and encouraged.

I am fully aware that these recommendations would cost money; however the impact should not be underestimated:

- I recommend the establishment of a Department of Languages (DOL) in Cape Town; that would be the ideal setting within which the WCLC and all the other language units in the different provincial government departments could operate in order to uplift and highlight the importance of language. People need to understand what is going on in their lives regarding service delivery in the province, so I recommend the structuring of everything that has to do with language around a single entity (interpreting, translation, contact with language centres and interested groups, terminology development, language skills development, etc.). I recommend that all of us realise that we are in a very good position to have more than five languages present in any given multilingual situation in the Western Cape and that we create an environment where these languages can be accommodated; and

- I recommend that the WCLC’s task of monitoring languages in the Western Cape should be operated from the DOL and anticipate that this would then not revert to only monitoring and advising, but would also provide input on a wider provincial scale than has been done in the DCAS, i.e. on housing, rural development, transport, etc. As a committee they would then have an office in the DOL from where they could operate independently, be more visible, be in contact with the interpreters and translators servicing all provincial government departments, and know what is going on in the province regarding languages, etc.

Figure 10.1 provides a model of the type of continuous implementation of the WCLP that I envisage in the proposed DOL:
At the top of the proposed structure is the Western Cape Provincial Parliament, which was instituted because the Western Cape put together its own institution (based on the RSA Constitution of 1996). This allowed the Western Cape to have its own Parliament, based upon which this Parliament (the WCPP) they could make their own laws with regard to language, namely the Western Cape Language Policy for implementation in all provincial government departments, including the new Department of Languages, which would serve the language needs of: the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, the Department of Health, the Department of Human Settlements, the Department of Local Government, the Department of Social Development, the Department of Transport and Public Works, the Department of the Premier, Provincial Treasury and the Western Cape Education Department. The Western Cape Language Committee, which was instituted because of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act of 1998, would be hosted in the DOL. It would be the duty of the DOL to make sure that the WCLP is implemented according to its implementation plan. The WCLC reports to the WCPP and would try, via the DOL, to monitor and advise on language-related matters to other provincial government departments by looking at what is happening in both the translation and interpreting unit (tele-interpreting included) of the DOL.

Figure 10.1: Continuous WCLP implementation movement: interactive implementation within a provincial bureaucratic system

WCPP- WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT

DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES, 14TH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT

WCLC - MONITORING AND ADVISING AGENT SITUATED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES
This illustration above therefore shows a continuous movement in the provincial government for the purpose of WCLP implementation, not only between translators and interpreters, but also among the other provincial governments, thus making contact on different levels. There would be interaction between people who care for languages and those who are able to advise and lead. In the end the civilians are the ones who would benefit from this – as the WCLP intends. But how should such a structure be approached?

10.3.3.2 The establishment of a translation and an interpreting unit in the newly established DOL

Proper communication with the wider public is in my opinion of vital importance. Blackledge (2005, 34-35) states that

“...very often, multilingual societies which apparently tolerate or even promote heterogeneity in fact undervalue or ignore the linguistic diversity of their populace. A liberal orientation to equality of opportunity for all may mask an ideological drive towards homogeneity, a drive which potentially marginalises or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform.”

With a WCLP and its revised IP in place and housed within a proper structure where jobs are created to the advantage of the province on so many different levels, proper implementation becomes not only likely, but also advantageous to both the public servant and the public and then we do not “ignore” our language diversity or let people of the Western Cape just accept “homogeneity”. We will be saved from instigating marginalization or exclusion of our languages, whatever the languages and their varieties might be. The doors of information
sharing will be open to all - if there is an incremental step to be taken, and then surely steps should be taken to the advantage of the people.

A translation unit as well as an interpreting unit housing a tele-interpreting unit can be established within the DOL to cater for the many language needs that the civilians and the provincial government departments might have. In the translation unit the different translations can be performed in different styles of translation, focusing on the very formal translations for the provincial government as well as on more informal translations for the purpose of the civilians, especially using more “relaxed” terms, phrases and writing styles in order to get the message across (consider the magazine *LoveLife*’s approach to reaching the youth). The translation unit would also house the editing and publishing unit.

The interpreting unit should consist of two sections:

- a tele-interpreting unit, which should be available 24 hours per day and should be of service to everyone. The absence of interpreters at provincial government institutions in Cape Town and especially in the rural areas makes it impossible for people to be served in their preferred language or even in their different varieties of languages. It is essential to appoint and train such interpreters in order to assist both public servants and the public. This service could be used even by doctors when dealing with their patients, and the Department of Health would certainly benefit; and

- an interpreting unit for the purpose of provincial government when they go out to the communities. The DOL could assist the DCAS and the WCLC when interpreting is being planned for services in the rural areas where there might be a lack of available interpreters.
Although it seems as if these two functions are not placed together in my illustration, they could operate as one unit as well. The idea is to cater for both informal and formal use of language when dealing with the civilians. If there are no interpreters available, then the DOL could try to work in conjunction with learning institutions to train such professionals and to cooperate with each other.

Grin (2003:85) highlights the use and necessity of an approach in which people could cooperate with each other or work together in order for language policy to work:

*There is no doubt that the behaviour of actual or potential language users is crucial for the success of any policy measure. Language use cannot be mandated, and there are many examples of well-intentioned revitalisation policies that have failed to produce any results, because of their top-down perspective, which ignored the role of actors. This does not mean that the authorities must [...] make language decisions in their place. However, should we not expect the state to select measures in such a way that they actually engage actual and potential users, and result in effective minority language use?* (Grin 2003: 85)

I can sketch the recommendations of the operations for the “users” of this proposed DOL by way of a figure that I have drawn showing the end result, when following the above interaction, to look like this:
In this regard, I recommend:

- an interplay between the different spheres of the implementation of the WCLP, as is illustrated in Figure 10.2 above, since unfortunately we need the bureaucracy to implement language policy – they have the money and they can make things happen; and
- that the DCAS CLU and the WCLC pay attention to both the manpower that would be needed and the funding or financial resources to...
implement the WCLP properly. To have just a report focusing only on salaries, such as the *Emzantsi Associates* report (which is a very thick document that explains the use of many interpreters), is definitely not enough to ensure that communication challenges are being met; the public needs the provincial government to help them with their communication problems in their daily lives when they pay visits to their local provincial or government institutions.

The appointment of people with degrees in languages (universities should be training interpreters, translators and other language professionals), as well as the professionalisation of these jobs to such an extent that they are treated with the same respect as social workers and teachers is essential. The appointment of other interpreters who can deal with the communities’ way of communication should also be taken into account. They would be informing civilians at every public meeting or event on how to use interpreters by focusing on the major role the interpreter has to play. In this way communication challenges could be sorted out and the indigenous languages spoken in the Western Cape would be receiving more prominence.

I believe that interpreting is the way forward, as a result of which the status of interpreting should be more prominent and people should become familiar with what is involved in interpreting. Different levels of appointments should be created for the different kinds of interpreting (consecutive and simultaneous). It would also serve those who speak a mixture of languages, blending their languages with others – something the appointed interpreters should be aware of. The appointment of interpreters who are aware of how the civilians mix and blend their languages would therefore be to the advantage of the tele-interpreting unit. The tele-interpreting unit should be made available to any civilian calling and should be accessible 24 hours per day. Multilingual interpreters are possibly the most desirable to appoint otherwise English and
another language should be required. These languages would include isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, Sesotho, isiZulu, etc., but the appointments should be made according to the population demographics in the province and also according to the migration of people from other countries and other provinces. I would like to use the following scenarios, in no particular order of importance, so as to illustrate the practicality of such a Department of Languages:

a. The Tele-interpreting Unit

In the tele-interpreting unit interpreters with experience in the different varieties, blends and mixtures of languages spoken in the Western Cape render this service to everyone in need. This service would be available 24 hours of the day.

**Scenario 10.1**

An isiXhosa-speaking person walks into the doctor’s consulting room. She wants to be assisted. The doctor is Afrikaans-speaking and there is no clerk to ask to interpret according to the Interpretation Code of Conduct. She picks up the phone and calls the tele-interpreting unit, where a full-time employed interpreter, who signed a confidentiality contract with the Department of Languages, is waiting to assist. In this way, both doctor and patient have been accommodated. On her way out, the patient takes pamphlets that have been translated into her language and she can now read about her disease. She also understands the prescription she received from the doctor.

The same scenario may be sketched when making enquiries about social grants, when applying for housing, etc. If someone shows up who cannot be assisted in the language of the public servant, the public servant calls the tele-interpreting unit and assistance can be rendered.

b. The Interpreting Unit:

**Scenario 10.2**

All provincial or local government departments have to meet with the public. All of them forward their different locations, time of meetings, etc. to the DOL by way of a contact person (as part of his or her normal duties). The DOL, having invested in interpreting equipment systems, etc. or having a contract with a specific company for a contract period, makes sure that the relevant language professionals be organised to go to these meetings in the province via government transport. So, when a provincial government has a meeting with the public at a civic centre, instead of outsourcing and paying a great deal of money
towards the services of two freelance interpreters, they call the DOL where, a roster had been drawn up of all the interpreters required for the week at all provincial events. The interpreters (not those at the tele-interpreter unit) take with them, thanks to the very close relationship between them and the translators, pamphlets pertaining to the needs of the communities they are about to serve. They are there when they are needed. In this way there would always be interpreters available in order to serve the ordinary citizen of the Western Cape. The translators and interpreters form a team working together, and services are rendered to both the politicians and local government.

**c. The Translation Unit:**

**Scenario 10.3**

It is time for the APPs and the annual reports to be translated, edited and quality-checked. All translators are there to ensure that translations do take place and are placed on the Internet. The translators provide provincial government documents in all three official languages in the Western Cape and make sure that documents are published timeously.

If language related projects with people are undertaken on particular days when the provincial government needs to address the public, it would be easier to translate documents, since terminology development would take place amongst various language practitioners in different language groups, thus guaranteeing a sense of uniformity.

**Scenario 10.4**

There are isiXhosa speaking people coming into town, migrating from other parts of the country, and they have no idea where to go to. Their proficiency in English and Afrikaans is not good, and they need directions. They look up, see the signs in three languages on billboards and are able to follow them.

I foresee that they will feel welcome in the Western Cape. They can go to the nearest local government office to apply for housing and can be directed via several signs to where they are supposed to be, in isiXhosa. These signs would have been translated by the DOL translators upon request.

**d. Other:**
Scenario 10.5

*Each large multilingual town sends a record of their language professionals, to be advertised and collected via CVs, to the DOL to be placed on a database in case the DOL cannot fulfil the mandate of the WCLP via the translation and interpreting units. There are discussions with the local government on housing projects in a specific township at a specific venue.*

The DOL uses its database of different language professionals in different towns which they had drawn up, and consult this in order to assist these towns, especially if DOL interpreters in Cape Town cannot return home each evening. Language professionals (interpreters) are then hired occasionally on a freelance basis. Local government should be advised to send in requests in good time.

Scenario 10.6

*The different language practitioners of the DOL help each other with terminology development once a month or every two months in order to create terminology lists.*

These terminology lists will ensure not only quality control, but also uniformity when documentation for all provincial government departments is being translated. These lists can be placed on the website of the DOL to be utilised by any civilian in the Western Cape or any other language practitioner in the country. Lexicography units can access these as well and they in turn could contact the DOL to discuss newly developed terms or better alternatives. The idea is not to work in a vacuum but to share both knowledge and language experiences.

Scenario 10.7

*With the appointment of new language professionals the DOL makes sure that new appointees are trained in the uniformity of the provincial government departments, and in that way these appointees are also made to feel welcome.*

All language professionals should be appropriately trained to deal with translations and interpreting. One cannot expect a translator to interpret or an
interpreter to translate. However, there would be a need to “train” staff in the department itself.

**Scenario 10.8**

*The Language Centre at the University of Stellenbosch has developed a training programme or a discussion document on what is on offer in their experience and would like to share their information and also to research certain aspects of translation and/or interpreting. They have a central place for being heard and they are in contact with the Head of Languages - as we all can learn from each other.*

The different language centres in the province can provide monetary resources in consultation with PanSALB and the WCLC to make sure that there is an extensive awareness campaign to inform the Western Cape civilians about their language needs by way of information sessions and what is on offer in provincial government. Regular contact takes place between academic institutions and the DOL in order to determine what is happening in the Western Cape, since the main focus here is on languages and not on culture or sport or related events. Actually, the language practitioners do not participate in any project management or public events organisation except to either interpret or to translate pamphlets, flyers, advertisements, etc.

**Scenario 10.9**

*Appropriate language professionals – both interpreters and translators who signed a Translator’s and Interpreting Code of Conduct – will be taken care of by a Wellness Centre, which will deal with their stresses on a daily basis.*

Having been a language practitioner (interpreter and translator) and being around language professionals for more or less ten years, I have experienced many of the stresses that come with the profession. There would be a need for unpacking of the psychological impact of topics on especially the interpreter,
and this Wellness Centre will be necessary because healthy staff will be happy staff.

In all these scenarios I sketched above, service delivery would be rendered to most of the civilians of the Western Cape (and even those in power structures who need translations done) and I am sure there are several other scenarios which had not been mentioned, for instance how to deal with the deaf in the province and how to keep the Nama Language awareness campaign going. However, the idea is that service delivery in languages would be made a focal point of communication with the public, the public servants and those in powerful positions alike, and so fewer WCLP implementation challenges are likely to be experienced. Otherwise, we might not have a language policy for the Western Cape and the document would seem useless or simply amount to window dressing.

10.3.4 The implementation “pyramid” of the WCLP should be changed

Of course there would be middle and senior management level appointments, but these would have very clear job descriptions. Roles and responsibilities with regard to the implementation of the WCLP would need to be determined in the DOL. In this regard employment would be created in the province and solutions would be found to the challenges of a multilingual society. Language issues would become social issues, and the myriad challenges experienced at local and provincial government when trying to communicate would be solved, at least at a very basic level.

I recommend the following ranks with regard to language professionals: junior personnel, consisting of language practitioners; middle management, consisting of senior language practitioners and administrative personnel (control language
practitioners); and senior personnel, consisting of two unit managers and the Head of Languages, to be appointed as follows:

Figure 10.3: The job descriptions reflect the following key performance areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>DIRECTOR/HEAD OF LANGUAGES</strong></th>
<th><strong>UNIT MANAGER: TRANSLATION</strong></th>
<th><strong>UNIT MANAGER: INTERPRETING</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Planning: Strategic and Business</td>
<td>Operational Planning</td>
<td>Operational Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>Financial Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hansard Reporting</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Interpreting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translating</td>
<td>Training to new appointees</td>
<td>Training to new appointees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>CONTROL LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER</strong></th>
<th><strong>SENIOR LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER</strong></th>
<th><strong>LANGUAGE PRACTITIONER</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Checking/Quality Control</td>
<td>Interpreting/Translating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editing</td>
<td>Translating</td>
<td>Publishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>Interpreting</td>
<td>Awareness of Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreting Services</td>
<td>Proofreading</td>
<td>Terminology Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminology Development</td>
<td>Terminology Development</td>
<td>Contact with public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff Supervision</td>
<td>Mentoring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>WELLNESS COMPONENT</strong></th>
<th><strong>HUMAN RESOURCES</strong></th>
<th><strong>WCLC (INDEPENDENT)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Health</td>
<td>Financial Management</td>
<td>WCLP Monitoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk sessions</td>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>WCLP Advising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
<td>Human Resources Management</td>
<td>WCLP Contact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WCLP involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WCLP research</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The very basic organogram in implementing the WCLP would look like the one provided above, with the WCLC offices, Wellness Centre, Finances and the Human Resources positioned separately from the operations of the DOL (note that the numbers are given in order to show relation to the WCLP implementation process and serve only as an example) as a starting point:
Figure 10.4 Department of Languages: Basic Organogram
Figures 10.3 and 10.4 are based on what I think would be appropriate appointments in the DOL. The contact with this department with the other provincial departments would take place as illustrated in Figures 10.1 and 10.2. Of course, in the case of any public events being planned by the provincial government departments, the DOL would be required to offer translation and interpreting services, not necessarily to plan these events, as the current CLU is doing in the DCAS. This department would operate on the same principle as the rest of the provincial government departments, and would assist lexicography units as well as other language groups. The proposed DOL could furthermore have 6 Language Centres that operate more or less in the same way as indicated in Figure 10.4 in the multilingual towns that I visited, so that these language professionals could be of service in their own communities when required by the local government, and appointments could be made locally. In this way the threat of using English only as the provincial language will be averted. English would still be an important language as a source language, but it would not be the only one used to communicate with the communities. IsiXhosa will never lose its status as a marginalized language in provincial government if drastic steps are not taken. The filling of a huge gap by having isiXhosa interpreting available to those in need who seek assistance should not be underestimated.

10.5 Proposal with the current DCAS structure in mind (see Addendum G for the current DCAS organogram)

Should it happen that the DOL-proposal I make above is structurally impossible to set up, as I know that a department like the DCAS has more than 600 employees, and therefore not suitable for provincial government – to the extent that they might have a problem with the employee numbers or scope of the Department of Languages – I would like to opt for a second proposal: a Directorate of Languages (quite smaller), to fit within the already available structure of the DCAS, operating as I discussed in 10.3.
My point is to make sure that the focus is on language and language only. The Directorate of Languages would then start by bringing together all current LPs in all provincial government departments, to be housed under one roof, after which other appointments could be made. The organogram would then look like this (see below) rendering the same services that I discussed in Figures 10.3 and 10.4 (note that the numbers are given in order to show relation to the WCLP implementation process and serve only as an example):
Figure 10.5: Directorate of Languages (DOL) in the DCAS: Organogram
10.6 Conclusion

In this thesis I have addressed what I consider to be some of the major challenges in implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I have linked my findings to a number of conclusions, and have offered several recommendations which could turn the current situation around. In conclusion, I believe that the scope of the policy has to a large degree been underestimated by those in power, and in consequence of this, I hold that the policy will need to be reworked. It is unfortunate that the most basic implementation plan is being used in implementing the policy and hence causing the WCLP to linger on in the offices of provincial government, where the adult civilian and the youth cannot be exposed to the policy’s intended ideals and goals.

It is also unfortunate that the structural challenges which obviously hinder WCLP implementation are bound to the offices of the hierarchy in provincial government and in that way neglecting the input of other language institutions, organisations, etc. which operate closer to the civilians. There are so many implementers of the WCLP who desire that this policy should work (the LP, the DCAS and the WCLC) and there are so many opportunities with regard to solving the communication challenges that exist in the different towns in the Western Cape; yet so many WCLP implementation challenges exist. In the meantime, those seeking assistance in provincial and local government institutions cannot be served in the language of their preference.

Anybody who believes that the WCLP as a policy has been a success or that it will be implemented by 2014/2015 (year ending March 2015) as was promised at the Colloquium of 2010 (DCAS Colloquium Notes, 2010:2-3) and shown in the DCAS Second Five Year Strategic Plan (Addendum G) is mistaken, as one cannot implement the WCLP by using a Basic IP. Anybody who believes that the current top-down approach of implementing the WCLP is working positively towards eliminating communication challenges in the Western Cape is also mistaken. The
WCLP policy makers and its implementers need to relook at the policy’s wording, focus on, see and close the gap that currently exists between the civilians in the province and themselves, as I am not sure whether or not the environment within which the WCLP is intended to be operating is conducive to or even positive for reaching its ultimate goals. Sheer competence and a regard for the communication difficulties that the people of the Western Cape suffer in the face of an existing non-implementable language policy could be the most important aspect in successfully implementing the WCLP.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:


Vigouroux, C. 2012. Informal Economy, Migration and Language Practice: A Tale from Cape Town. Seminar presented on 28 August 2012 at the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.


**Lexicons used**


**Provincial Government documentation consulted:**

Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 5 Year Strategic Plan (2005/6-2010/11)
Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 5 Year Strategic Plan (2010/11-2014/15)
Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport: The official language policy of the Western Cape, 2004
Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport: Basic Implementation Plan, 2004

1998: Western Cape Languages Act. Cape Town: DCAS.
2001/02-2011/12: Annual Reports of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, (Language Unit section). Cape Town: DCAS.
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2004/05: Western Cape Provincial Language Policy. Cape Town: DCAS.
2006/07: Western Cape Language Committee. Survey on Language Use in Municipalities the Western Cape. Cape Town: Unpublished report of the WCLC.
2008/09: Western Cape Language Committee: Survey on Language and Health in Three Hospitals. Cape Town: Unpublished report of the WCLC.

National Government documentation consulted:


Newspaper clippings referred to:

Rapport, 4 September 2011: p 4: “Afrikaans en Xhosa het dieselfde vrese”
The Tatler, Thursday, 15 September 2011: 6: “Sign Language 'should be the 12th official language”
Weekend Argus, 17 September 2011: 4: “MECs on the carpet for non-attendance”
The Argus, 5 December 2012: “Call to give sign language official status”

Internet Searches conducted:


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<td>B</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy Elaborated Implementation Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Second Five Year Strategic Plan of the DCAS to implement the WCLP</td>
</tr>
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<td>H</td>
<td>Adult Civilian Responses to Open-ended Question at the back of the Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
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<td>I</td>
<td>Youth Responses to Open-ended Question at the back of the Questionnaire</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>Transcripts of Key Implementers of the WCLP: DCAS, WCLC and WCPP</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Extract from the 2010 Colloquium</td>
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<td>Signing of Pledges to implement the WCLP</td>
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<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Qualitative Findings of Chapter 5: SPSS: University of Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Some newspaper clippings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Western Cape Language Policy

Compiled by the Western Cape Language Committee, a statutory body of the Western Cape Provincial Government

1. The Policy

1.1 To give effect to

- sections 6 and 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996);
- section 5 of the Constitution of the Western Cape (Act 1 of 1998);
- the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act (Act 12 of 2001);
- the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act 59 of 1996);
- the National Language Policy (National Language Policy Framework 2000);
- the Khoisan Language principle;
- the Khoisan Languages (growing and sharing the Cape) development strategy of the Western Cape;
- the South African Government’s policy for social cohesion;
- the development of the provincial and national language policies.

2. Objectives

2.1 To promote the use of the three official languages of the Western Cape, namely Afrikaans, English and Xhosa, by the provincial and local governments of the Western Cape.

2.2 To elevate the status and advance the use of those indigenous languages of historically disadvantaged status used by the people of the Western Cape, such as the Khoi and San languages.

3. The Language Policy

3.1 To ensure that the Western Cape is a caring home for all by promoting multilingualism.

3.2 To support the Khoisan languages development and promote the revitalization of Khoisan languages.

3.3 To give increasing effect to the equal constitutional status of the three official languages of the Western Cape.

3.4 To empower and affirm speakers of previously marginalized languages.

3.5 To eradicate the serious marginalization of Khoisan in the public service by ensuring that Khoisan are represented proportionately.

3.6 To protect and promote rights to language diversity, including the right to speak, read, write and learn in the language or languages of their choice.

3.7 To foster respect and protect language rights, thereby avoiding the use of language for exploitation and domination based on gender, race, class, age, religion, culture or sexual orientation, or language that condones violence.

3.8 To ensure social cohesion and improve relationships by promoting language diversity.

3.9 To contribute to the Khoisan languages development and sharing the Cape through training and services in languages understood by different language groups.

3.10 To promote and ensure respect of other official languages (e.g. Sesotho) and heritage languages in the Western Cape.
2.12 To create awareness about the needs of the hearing impaired.
2.13 To develop language resources by enabling and supporting the training of language professionals.
2.14 To encourage language use that is accessible to all.

3.1 The official languages of the Province are Afrikaans, Xhosa and English. These languages may be used in any discussions and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees. The Western Cape Parliament must make provision for interpreting services for members from and into the three official languages during sessions of the Provincial Parliament and any of its committees. Such language interpreting must be provided when necessary.

3.2 The official record of debates of the Provincial Parliament must be kept in the official languages in which the debates took place. Translations of any sections of the record of any of the relevant official languages must be made available by the Secretary to the Provincial Parliament within a reasonable period after the debate.

3.3 All legislation, official reports and resolutions of the Provincial Parliament and its committees must be made available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament must make practical arrangements to cause legislation, official reports and resolutions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.

3.4 A bill introduced in the Provincial Parliament must upon introduction be available in at least two official languages. A system must be implemented which rotates the order of two languages equitably amongst the three official languages of the Province. The Secretary to Parliament must keep a centralised register in order to regulate the rotation of the languages in bills to be introduced to the Provincial Parliament.

3.5 A notice of motion or a formal motion in the Provincial Parliament must be available in all three official languages. The Provincial Parliament may make practical arrangements to cause motions drawn up in one official language to be available, within a reasonable period, in the other two official languages.

4.1 All official notices issued by the provincial government for general public information, must be issued in Afrikaans, Xhosa and English. Local governments must give due consideration to the language preferences of their residents in this regard.

4.3 All official notices and advertisements published by provincial and local governments must, in case of publication in the Provincial Gazette, be published in Afrikaans, Xhosa and English. When published in other newspapers, it is sufficient to publish such documents, notices or advertisements only in the language in which the newspaper concerned appears. If there is no newspaper published in a particular language, such notices or advertisements must be published in the other official language in another newspaper.
5.1 Every organ or institution of the provincial or local government must, in its oral, written and electronic communication with and rendering of services to the public, ensure that these are carried out in the most appropriate manner with the assistance of interpreters and translators and other technical means, such as signboards and sub-titling in any of the three official languages of the Western Cape, depending on the language usage and needs of the residents.

5.2 Any member of the public in the Western Cape may use:
   (a) any one of the three official languages of the Western Cape in his or her communication with any institution of the provincial or local government, and
   (b) be served in any one of the three official languages at any institution of the provincial or local government where there is a habitual need for communication and services in that language based on the language needs and preferences of the community, and it can reasonably be expected of the institution concerned to communicate and render services in that language, with due consideration to the National Education Language Policy.

5.3 In the case of written and electronic communication between the provincial and local governments and residents, the provincial official language of the residents' choice must be used. Subject to the overall language audit, provincial and local government publications shall be issued in the language(s) of the target audience.

5.4 International communication on the part of provincial and local governments will usually be in English or in the preferred language of the country concerned.

6.1 Provincial and local governments must in their various structures ensure that there is sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal oral communication, intra- and interdepartmental, subject to the proviso that no person shall be prevented from using the language of his or her preference, at any given time.

6.2 Provincial and local government structures must in their various structures ensure that there is sufficient consensus on their working languages for internal written and electronic communication, intra- and interdepartmentally, provided that every effort be made to comply with the language code of conduct.

7.1 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local governments must determine the language code and preferences of their communities within the enabling provincial language policy framework.

Upon the determination of the language usage and preferences of the residents, local governments must, in consultation with their communities, develop, publicise and implement language policies.
8.1 Provincial and local governments shall encourage and advise private enterprises to develop and implement their own language policies in accordance with the framework of the Provincial Language Policy.

8.2 Provincial and local governments shall endeavour to promote the most important languages of trade and tourism such as German, French and Japanese. Provincial and local governments shall advise non-governmental organisations and the private sector in this regard, e.g. in regard to planning and the formulation of policy.

[Diagram of building: University of the Western Cape]
ADDENDUM B: THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY: THE ORIGINAL ELABORATED IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

HOW WILL WE IMPLEMENT THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY?

According to the Western Cape Language Policy the following aspects regarding language and communication need to receive attention in order to guarantee the successful, gradual realisation of practical multilingualism in the Western Cape Provincial Government.

An incremental approach should be followed with regard to the implementation of the language policy by provincial government departments. This requires that the specific actions mentioned below be undertaken to support and promote language policy implementation activities.

CENTRAL LANGUAGE UNIT (Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport)

- The central Language Unit responsible for driving and mobilising language policy initiatives across the Western Cape Government will be situated in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport.
- The central Language Unit will also be responsible for providing translation and interpreting services to all departments as well as developing awareness raising instruments in collaboration with departments.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE (Other departments)

- Language professionals will be appointed to expand other departments’ capacity to deal with language policy implementation whilst medium and small departments will have a language coordinator to manage language matters.
• The language coordinators in departments will liaise with each other and the central Language Unit on a regular basis regarding the implementation of language policy. These units are also encouraged to liaise with other language role players in the public sector (for example, the Pan South African Language Board, Western Cape Language Unit, and the National Department of Arts and Culture).

Training
• Departments must encourage its staff to learn the three official languages and Sign Language.
• Training programmes for language acquisition of the three official languages must be organized by departments.
• It is important that frontline staff be required to undergo language acquisition training in order to assist the public in the official language of preference.

Awareness
• Awareness-raising campaigns will be hosted throughout the province. The public will be encouraged to use the three official languages and Sign Language as well as create an awareness and sensitivity of language needs and rights of staff and clients.
• Each department must be proactive in promoting multilingualism, and staff and clients should be encouraged to make use of their language rights.

• Surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients are to be conducted periodically for use in determining language practice per department.
• Language proficiency surveys must also be conducted internally by departments on a regular basis to determine the linguistic needs and capabilities of staff and serve as basis for developing methods to improve language skills in government.

• Departments must make available translation and interpreting services when necessary, e.g. at public events and internal meetings.
• All documents for translation and/or editing will be forward to the central Language Unit via departmental language coordinators. Documents will be translated and edited in-house or outsourced to a capable pool of translators.
• Departments must submit requests for the provision of interpreting services to the central Language Unit immediately in order to allow sufficient time for arrangements. Sign Language interpreting for deaf persons must also be accommodated.

• A code of conduct regarding language use and multilingualism must be developed by a forum of all departmental language coordinators and adhered to by departments.
• Each provincial department in collaboration with the central Language Unit has to apply the language policy to its unique circumstances.
• Departments must continuously ensure that staff and clients
are sensitised to the value of multilingualism as a tool for building social cohesion, promoting economic development and consolidating democratic government through respect for language and cultural diversity.

- Departments have to ensure that notices are placed in all buildings and offices, informing the public that it promotes multilingualism and that officials will make every effort to use the official language preferred by the client.
- Departments must ensure that all staff members accommodate the language use and preferences of other officials with courtesy.
- During the recruitment and intake process for filling vacant positions, preference should be given to persons with proficiency in all three official languages.

- Departments must make financial resources available to support the language planning and training, language policy development and implementation, language research and language activities in order to meet the obligations outlined above.

External communication

Written communication

The following information has to be published or made available in the three official languages of the Western Cape, i.e. Afrikaans, Xhosa and English:

- All legislation, official reports and resolutions.
- All official notices.
- Research reports or an executive summary thereof.
- All exhibitions and marketing material.
- All advertisements.
- All public materials related to HIV/AIDS and other health issues.
- Signage including instructions to and directions at events.
- Electronic communication with the broad public. Individual responses should be written in the language in which the letter or request was received.

Oral communication

- Public meetings and events must be held in all three official languages or the language of preference of the target audience.
- Officials should obtain the services of an interpreter when there is a need.
- All campaigns must be held in the three official languages or the language of preference of the target audience.
- Language preference should be considered in offering training and presenting workshops as well as sourcing of speakers and facilitators from different language groups.

Internal communication

- All forms and official communication with staff have to be translated and made available in the three official languages of the Western Cape.
• Working languages per department: the principle of multilingualism should always be borne in mind. Also, officials should be encouraged to have a linguistic etiquette i.e. accommodate speakers who cannot understand a specific language.
• Meetings: the language preference and competence of the people attending a meeting should be taken into consideration. This has to be established before the meeting starts. Effective communication will take precedence over language preference. Language should be used to promote inclusion and participation in decision-making.

The initial phase of language policy implementation, whilst presenting its share of obstacles and achievements, will prove to departments the value of a policy of multilingualism via improved service delivery and a satisfied community in line with Santa Kelo objectives. Through active implementation of the language policy, departments will contribute to the vision of a multilingual community in the Western Cape that respects one another’s languages.

The acceptance of the Western Cape Language Policy and its implementation plan by provincial government is significant, as the Western Cape is at the forefront in adhering to the constitutional principle of affording everyone the right to use the language of his or her choice.

Finally, through the realisation of this basic right the Western Cape Government will make a step closer in truly making the Western Cape a home for all.

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE
ADDENDUM C: WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY: BASIC IMPLEMENTATION PLAN
1. INTRODUCTION

This basic language policy implementation plan is derived from the findings of the comprehensive language policy implementation plan recommended and costed by Emzantsi Associates as per annexure A.

The restraint on government financial and human resources has compelled the development of this basic language policy implementation plan to give an indication of minimum start-up costs and actions required for implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy.

Departments are strongly encouraged to expand on this basic implementation plan according to their specific needs and the availability of resources. The establishment of language units in departments and language capacity building of staff will contribute to service delivery objectives and improve the quality of service delivered to the Western Cape community.

2. RECOMMENDATIONS
An incremental approach should be followed with regard to the implementation of the language policy by departments. The following serves as a guide for departments:

a) Surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients to be conducted for use in determining language practice of each department.

b) Appoint suitable staff to drive language policy implementation in each department.

c) Provision for functional training or capacity building programmes in respect of language acquisition in each department.

d) Make financial resources available to facilitate language policy implementation.

e) Top management to set tone in department by embracing the promotion of multilingualism.

The language policy requires that the specific actions mentioned below be undertaken to support and promote language policy implementation activities in departments. There are four main result areas:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESULT AREA</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1. Training and awareness raising to promote the language policy and its implementation** | Western Cape Language Committee (WCLC), Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) Language Unit  
WCLC and DCAS Language Unit |
| Language Awareness programmes in departments.                              | Departments with assistance from DCAS Language Unit                           |
| • Awareness raising campaigns and events, e.g. celebration of language and cultural diversity. |                                                                                  |
| • Awareness raising workshops targeted at senior management.                |                                                                                  |
| Develop implementation plans per department.                               |                                                                                  |
| Capacity building programmes.                                              |                                                                                  |
Establishment of Language Units

In the costing exercise pertaining to the full implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy by government, provincial departments were categorised into small, medium or large departments depending on their size and service delivery functions. The recommended size of departmental Language Units as per the aforementioned costing report are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Establishment of Language Units</th>
<th>Cape Administrative Academy or outsourced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Provision of translation services</td>
<td>Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Provision of interpreting services</td>
<td>Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department (Category)</td>
<td>Size of Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport (Large)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public Works (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs &amp; Development Planning (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (Medium)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of the Premier (Small)</td>
<td>Contact person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, due to present limited resources and in order to incrementally roll out the Western Cape Language Policy implementation plan, the following minimum staffing options are recommended per department:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department (Category)</th>
<th>Size of Language Unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health (Large)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Education (Large)</td>
<td>Existing unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport (Large)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public Works (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs &amp; Development Planning (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (Medium)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is suggested that staff be appointed at Language Practitioner level. The minimum salary level of a Language Practitioner is level 8. These staff members will be responsible for all language related matters, including outsourcing of translations and interpreting where necessary.

3. POLICY REQUIREMENTS

According to the Western Cape Language Policy the following aspects regarding language and communication need to receive attention in order to guarantee the successful, gradual realisation of practical multilingualism in the Western Cape Provincial Government.
3.1 EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION

External communication refers to oral and written communication with the public of the Western Cape. All communication with the public must be in the 3 official languages of the province or the language of preference of the target audience. Where 3 official languages are used it is important to establish what the language of preference of the target audience is and not make assumptions based on the language or languages spoken by the majority of people in the area. The language policy indicates the following pertaining to written and oral communication:

a) Written communication

The following information has to be published or made available in the 3 official languages of the Western Cape, i.e. Afrikaans, Xhosa and English.

- All legislation, official reports and resolutions.
- All official notices.
- Research reports or an executive summary thereof.
- All exhibitions and marketing material.
- All advertisements.
- All public materials related to HIV/AIDS.
- Signage (including instructions to and directions at events).
- Electronic communication with the broad public. Individual responses/replies should be written in the language in which the letter/request was received.
b) Oral Communication

- Public meetings and events must be held in all 3 languages or the language of preference of the target audience. Officials should obtain the services of an interpreter where there is a need.
- All campaigns must be held in all 3 official languages or the language of preference of the target audience.
- Language preference should be considered in offering training and presenting workshops as well as sourcing of speakers and facilitators from different language groups.

3.2 INTERNAL COMMUNICATION

- All forms and official communication with staff to be translated and made available in the 3 official languages of the Western Cape.
- Working languages per department: the principle of multilingualism should always be borne in mind. Also, officials should be encouraged to have a linguistic etiquette i.e. accommodate speakers who cannot understand a specific language.
- Meetings: take into consideration language preference and competence of the people attending a meeting. This has to be established before the meeting starts. Effective communication will take precedence above language preference. Language should be used to promote inclusion and participation in decision-making.

4. FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS
### 4.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF LANGUAGE UNITS IN DEPARTMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health (6)</td>
<td>R1 159 728</td>
<td>R1 217 712</td>
<td>R1 278 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (existing unit)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport (5)</td>
<td>R966 440</td>
<td>R1 014 760</td>
<td>R1 065 495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public Works (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs &amp; Development Planning (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance (1)</td>
<td>R193 288</td>
<td>R202 952</td>
<td>R213 099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of the Premier (2)</td>
<td>R386 576</td>
<td>R405 904</td>
<td>R426 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Legislature (existing unit)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td><strong>R4 252 336</strong></td>
<td><strong>R4 464 944</strong></td>
<td><strong>(a)R4 688 178</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

- The above base costs were calculated at salary level 8 (basic salary and benefits) and increased annually to allow for salary adjustments of 5%. Operational costs are included at 40% of salary package per staff member.
- The DCAS Language Unit will attend to departmental implementation of the language policy as well as monitoring and evaluation of implementation in other departments.
- The Language Unit of 5 staff members presently at DCAS provides administrative and executive support to the Western Cape Language Committee in the execution of their mandate.
- The staff and resources of the Language Services presently located at the Department of the Premiers should be transferred to DCAS.
## 4.2 PROVISION FOR TRANSLATION SERVICES BY DEPARTMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>R348 000</td>
<td>R366 000</td>
<td>R384 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport</td>
<td>R174 000</td>
<td>R183 000</td>
<td>R192 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public Works</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs &amp; Development Planning</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and Tourism</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of the Premier</td>
<td>R58 000</td>
<td>R61 000</td>
<td>R64 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Legislature</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTA L S:</strong></td>
<td><strong>R1 102 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>R1 159 000</strong></td>
<td><strong>(b)R1 216 000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**
- Escalation of translation costs calculated at 5% per annum.
- Average rates for translation: Afrikaans & English = R0,30 per word; Xhosa = R0,60 per word
### 4.3 PROVISION FOR INTERPRETING SERVICES BY DEPARTMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>R795 000</td>
<td>R756 000</td>
<td>R794 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affairs and Sport</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services and Poverty Alleviation</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Public Works</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs &amp; Development Planning</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Government</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Development and</td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
<td>R133 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Department of the Premier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R195 000</td>
<td>R126 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provincial Legislature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>R2 940 000</td>
<td>R2 142 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES:**

- The above figures include interpreting fees as well as purchasing of basic, portable interpreting equipment of approximately R75 000 in year 2005/6.
- Escalation of interpreting costs calculated at 5% per annum.
- Average rates for interpreting: R200 per hour or R1 500 per day
- It is recommended that each department purchase a basic whisper interpreting system with 20 headsets at a once-off cost of approximately R75 000.
- The nature of interpreting services and equipment required will depend on the circumstances of each event. The rental of additional equipment will be required in certain instances.
- Staff appointed as language practitioners may be trained as interpreters to fulfil this function.
4.4 LANGUAGE CAPACITY BUILDING BY DEPARTMENTS

Language capacity building entails training staff to acquire basic conversational skills in Xhosa, Afrikaans and English in order to contribute to the improvement of service delivery by departments.

It is recommended that 5% of the staff complement of each department be trained, focusing on frontline staff. There are two options available in terms of language capacity building:

OPTION 1:
- Implementation by Cape Administrative Academy – course development costs and presentation to be determined by the Academy.

OPTION 2:
- Procure services of external service provider. Market average = R500 per course level per student (10 weeks, 2 hours per week)

Should option 2 be chosen, the estimated cost per level of language capacity building programme would be as follows:

| Western Cape Provincial Government staff complement | 70 000 |
| 5% of total staff complement                      | 3 500  |
Average cost per course level per student  

R500

**Article II.**  TOTAL (3 500 x R500):  

R1 750 000

(a)
5. **TIMEFRAMES FOR IMPLEMENTATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESULT AREA</th>
<th>RESPONSIBILITY</th>
<th>TIMEFRAMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Training and awareness raising to promote the language policy and its implementation</td>
<td>WCLC and DCAS Language Unit</td>
<td>Immediately &amp; ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Awareness programmes in departments.</td>
<td>WCLC and DCAS Language Unit</td>
<td>October 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Awareness raising campaigns and events, e.g. celebration of language and cultural diversity.</td>
<td>WCLC and DCAS Language Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Awareness raising workshops targeted at senior management.</td>
<td>Departments, DCAS to assist</td>
<td>By December 2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop implementation plans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Capacity building programmes.</td>
<td>From April 2005 &amp; ongoing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Establishment of Language Units</td>
<td>Cape Administrative Academy or outsource</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Provision of translation services</td>
<td>Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Provision of interpreting services</td>
<td>Departments with support of DCAS Language Unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From April 2005 & ongoing
6. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it is important to reiterate that this is a basic language policy implementation plan derived from the comprehensive language policy implementation plan (Annexure A) prepared by Emzantsi Associates.

This scaled down, simplified implementation plan should facilitate the start-up and gradual phasing in of the Western Cape Language Policy considering the resource constraints in provincial government. However, departments are encouraged to work towards achieving the objectives set out in the comprehensive implementation plan (Annexure A).

The initial phase of language policy implementation, whilst presenting its share of obstacles and achievements, will prove to departments the value of a multilingual policy via improved service delivery and a satisfied community in line with Batho Pele objectives. Through active implementation of the language policy departments will contribute to the vision of a multilingual community in the Western Cape that respects one another’s languages.

The acceptance of the Western Cape Language Policy and its implementation plan by provincial government is significant, as it embodies the spirit of 10 years of freedom celebrated at present. The Western Cape will once more be at the forefront in adhering to the constitutional principle of affording everyone the right to use the language of his or her choice. Finally, through the realisation of this basic right the Western Cape government will move a step closer in truly making the Western Cape a home for all.

Prepared by: Renée Scott
ADDENDUM D: QUESTIONNAIRES USED DURING THE RESEARCH:
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HIGH SCHOOL LEARNERS/ YOUTH YOUNGER THAN 35:

Dear Respondent

Welcome and thank you for taking part in my research studies.

This Questionnaire aims to do the following: get information from respondents in Beaufort-West, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, Moorreesburg, George and Bellville about the challenges, possibilities and opportunities of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I will explain the questions to you first, and then go over my own ethics statement to you as well as yours, and then I will request that you sign the consent form below to give me permission to use your contribution anonymously to complete my research. Please feel free to ask for assistance, should something be unclear.

Ms Jo-mari Nel
UWC
PhD (Ling) Student

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I ……………………………………………………………(FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT), residing in ………………………………………(NAME OF TOWN) hereby grants Jo-mari Anne Nel, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape, student number [HIDDEN], permission to analyze and use my responses to her research regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy and other language related questions in the Western Cape.

I am well aware that my contribution to her research may be retracted should I feel so after the research and that I can request that in such instance. I was given the opportunity to ask questions about her research before taking part in her research in a stress-free, risk-free environment.

I was in no way threatened or persuaded to manipulate her research. I have responded to her questions honestly, truthfully and to the best of my abilities.

I have given my consent to her to use my response in her research. I am competent to give my consent for taking part in this research, which I am doing voluntary.

This ethics statement has been explained to me before the research was done.

Signed:……………………………
Date:……………………………
Place:………………………………
**SECTION 1: COMPULSORY QUESTIONS:**

**PERSONAL INFORMATION: PLEASE MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>GENDER =&gt;</th>
<th>1. MALE</th>
<th>2. FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>AGE GROUP =&gt;</td>
<td>1. 14-19 TEENAGER</td>
<td>2. 20-35 YOUTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>I AM DEAF. I USE SIGN LANGUAGE TO COMMUNICATE WITH PEOPLE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>I SPEAK NAMA FROM TIME TO TIME. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>CURRENT EMPLOYMENT =&gt;</td>
<td>1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
<td>2. PART-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I HAVE SEEN A COPY OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY BEFORE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>I KNOW MY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. PERSONAL ETHICS STATEMENT BY THE RESEARCHER, JA NEL, TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Jo-mari Anne Nel (née Cloete), student number at the University of the Western Cape, residing currently at 78 Heath Road, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa would like to make the following ethical statement with regard to my research which will be conducted in the Western Cape: I will conduct the research about the Language Policy in the Western Cape as part of completing my PhD (Ling) studies according to the International Ethical Standards as being quoted above by the Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) as being quoted above. The research process, be it via questionnaires and/or interviews and/or focus group discussions will be conducted in such a way that would allow the following important aspects be covered regarding the individual respondents/focus groups/interviewees, namely that:

- permission be sought to conduct research at various institutions, state departments, committees, organizations, and companies in the Western Cape;
- ethical statements be attached to all questionnaires and be explained and/or signed by respondents before interviews/questionnaires;
- consent be given by the respondents to be used in the research;
- in the case of participating learners, letters of consent requesting permission from their parents to use the data collected from them, be handed out and returned;
- privacy and confidentiality be adhered to when it comes to all responses;
- no harm be done to respondents in order to get their responses;
- the idea of autonomy (respect for the respondent as a person) be reigning throughout the research procedure;
- the respondent be receiving full disclosure of the research topic (its nature, risks, benefits);
- the respondents be allowed to ask questions before filling in the questionnaire and/or undergoing the interview;
- the respondents be informed and taking part in the research in a risk-free, stress-free environment;
- the research questions be understood;
- participation be voluntary;
- respondents be competent to be able to give their consent to be part of the research population;
- respondents give their consent to be part of the research, be it in written or oral form.

I declare that:

- I will not use deception to jeopardize the integrity and outcome of my research;
- I will do an honest and full risk analysis of the research;
- I will not unfairly coerce the respondents into participating;
- I will apply the principle of justice as being described by the IRB during the research;
- I will make questionnaires available in all three official languages of the Western Cape;
- I will make use of a Sign Language interpreter when doing the research and that this interpreter be aware of the ethics (confidentiality) involving interpreting;
- I will use critical analysis when using unpublished documents in the Western Cape.

I declare further that I am psychologically and physically fit to conduct this research to complete my PhD (Ling) at the University of the Western Cape, under the supervision of Professor Charlyne Dyers Linguistics Department), contact details (tel no. or e-mail)

I agree to conduct the research in line with the published ethical rules of the international disciplinary association Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB). I am aware that UWC reserves the right to stop or suspend any research undertaken by its staff or students, or by outsiders on its property or in association with it, if the research appears to be unethical. I therefore also abide by the rules of this university regarding conducting research.

Respectfully yours

Mrs. JA Nel
**SECTION 2: THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY:**

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy was drafted by the Western Cape Language Committee.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Afrikaans is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>English is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>isiXhosa is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the official languages of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the languages being protected and developed by the Western Cape Language Policy.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION 3: LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN MY PERSONAL ENVIRONMENT:**

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>I have been in a situation in this town where the language of my preference was not spoken back to me.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>My other friends speak other languages than English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. I speak their language to them.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Un-decided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### SECTION 4: LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLACES:

Please answer all these questions as honestly as possible and to the best of your ability. Remember, **this is not a test.** There is no right or wrong answers. Please tick in the appropriate box once for every question.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OUTCOME: TO DETERMINE LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION SITUATION IN TOWN AT POST OFFICES, POLICE STATIONS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS, MUNICIPAL OFFICES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>post office</strong>, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>police station</strong>, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>hospital</strong>, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>clinic</strong>, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>municipal office</strong>, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F.</strong> In town, when visiting the <strong>bank</strong>, I communicate in my first language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **H.** My mother/father/primary caretaker(s) speaks the same language as I. |
| **I.** My grandparents speak the same language as I. |
| **J.** The language used at home changed from one language to another since my parents were born. |
| **K.** When the family comes together, we speak one language only. |
| **L.** My school teaches/taught me my different subjects/learning areas in my first language. |
| **M.** I take/took isiXhosa as a subject/learning area at school. |
| **N.** I take/took English as a subject/learning area at school. |
| **O.** I take/took Afrikaans as a subject/learning area at school. |
| **P.** I take/took another language as a subject/learning area at school. |
| **Q.** I have/had been in a situation at school where I couldn’t express myself in my first language. |
with the person behind the counter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In town, when visiting private businesses, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

H. In town, when being spoken to by government officials or government leaders, I feel comfortable to communicate in my first language with the person on the podium.

I. Notices/signage is in English only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

J. Notices/signage is in two languages only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

K. Notices/signage is in Afrikaans only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

L. Notices/signage is in isiXhosa only.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

M. There are no interpreting services that can help me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

N. I have to take someone with me just in case I don’t understand the language spoken to me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TO LANGUAGE AND THE ENVIRONMENT.**

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, **THIS IS NOT A TEST**. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>know</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
SECTION 6: VISITS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS:

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I have visited a provincial government department before</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Un-decided/don’t know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th>I was served in my preferred language.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Un-decided/don’t know</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD REGARDING COMMUNICATION IN YOUR FIRST LANGUAGE:

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRES THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH.

****

WESTERN CAPE
Questionnaires for Research on the Western Cape Language Policy:  
Challenges and Possibilities

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVILIANS**

Dear Respondent

Welcome and thank you for taking part in my research studies.

This Questionnaire aims to do the following: get information from respondents in Beaufort-West, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, Moorreesburg, George and Bellville about the challenges, possibilities and opportunities of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I will explain the questions to you first, and then go over my own ethics statement to you as well as yours, and then I will request that you sign the consent form below to give me permission to use your contribution anonymously to complete my research. Please feel free to ask for assistance, should something be unclear.

Ms Jo-mari Nel  
UWC  
PhD (Ling) Student

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

I ……………………………………………………………...(FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT), residing in ……………………………………….(NAME OF TOWN) hereby grants Jo-mari Anne Nel, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape, student number [REDACTED], permission to analyze and use my responses to her research regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy and other language related questions in the Western Cape.

I am well aware that my contribution to her research may be retracted should I feel so after the research and that I can request that in such instance. I was given the opportunity to ask questions about her research before taking part in her research in a stress-free, risk-free environment.

I was in no way threatened or persuaded to manipulate her research. I have responded to her questions honestly, truthfully and to the best of my abilities.

I have given my consent to her to use my response in her research. I am competent to give my consent for taking part in this research, which I am doing voluntary.

This ethics statement has been explained to me before the research was done.

Signed:……………………………  
Date:……………………………...  
Place:………………………………

**IMPORTANT:**  
FILL IN NAME OF TOWN YOU ARE STAYING IN:
# SECTION 1: COMPULSORY QUESTIONS:

**PERSONAL INFORMATION: PLEASE MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>1. MALE</th>
<th>2. FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>GENDER =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>AGE GROUP =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY =&gt;</td>
<td>1. AFRIKAANS ONLY</td>
<td>2. ENGLISH ONLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>I AM DEAF. I USE SIGN LANGUAGE TO COMMUNICATE WITH PEOPLE. =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>I SPEAK NAMA FROM TIME TO TIME. =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>CURRENT EMPLOYMENT =&gt;</td>
<td>1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
<td>2. PART-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I HAVE SEEN A COPY OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY BEFORE. =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>I KNOW MY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE. =&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. PERSONAL ETHICS STATEMENT BY THE RESEARCHER, JA NEL, TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Jo-mari Anne Nel (née Cloete), student number at the University of the Western Cape 8904726, residing currently at 78 Heath Road, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa would like to make the following ethical statement with regard to my research which will be conducted in the Western Cape: I will conduct the research about the Language Policy in the Western Cape as part of completing my PhD (Ling) studies according to the International Ethical Standards as being quoted above by the Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) as being quoted above. The research process, be it via questionnaires and/or interviews and/or focus group discussions will be conducted in such a way that would allow the following important aspects be covered regarding the individual respondents/focus groups/interviewees, namely that:

- permission be sought to conduct research at various institutions, state departments, committees, organizations, and companies in the Western Cape;
- ethical statements be attached to all questionnaires and be explained and/or signed by respondents before interviews/questionnaires;
- consent be given by the respondents to be used in the research;
- in the case of participating learners, letters of consent requesting permission from their parents to use the data collected from them, be handed out and returned;
- privacy and confidentiality be adhered to when it comes to all responses;
- no harm be done to respondents in order to get their responses;
- the idea of autonomy (respect for the respondent as a person) be reigning throughout the research procedure;
- the respondent be receiving full disclosure of the research topic (its nature, risks, benefits);
- the respondents be allowed to ask questions before filling in the questionnaire and/or undergoing the interview;
- the respondents be informed and taking part in the research in a risk-free, stress-free environment;
- the research questions be understood;
- participation be voluntary;
- respondents be competent to be able to give their consent to be part of the research population;
- respondents give their consent to be part of the research, be it in written or oral form.

I declare that:

- I will not use deception to jeopardize the integrity and outcome of my research;
- I will do an honest and full risk analysis of the research;
- I will not unfairly coerce the respondents into participating;
- I will apply the principle of justice as being described by the IRB during the research;
- I will make questionnaires available in all three official languages of the Western Cape;
- I will make use of a Sign Language interpreter when doing the research and that this interpreter be aware of the ethics (confidentiality) involving interpreting;
- I will use critical analysis when using unpublished documents in the Western Cape.

I declare further that I am psychologically and physically fit to conduct this research to complete my PhD (Ling) at the University of the Western Cape, under the supervision of Professor Charlyne Dyers Linguistics Department), contact details (tel no. 0219592666 or e-mail cdyers@uwc.ac.za). I agree to conduct the research in line with the published ethical rules of the international disciplinary association Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB). I am aware that UWC reserves the right to stop or suspend any research undertaken by its staff or students, or by outsiders on its property or in association with it, if the research appears to be unethical. I therefore also abide by the rules of this university regarding conducting research.

Respectfully yours

Mrs. JA Nel
### SECTION 2: THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY:

**PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.**

**PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>STATEMENT</th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy was drafted by the Western Cape Language Committee.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Afrikaans is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>English is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>isiXhosa is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy protects the Nama Language.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the official languages of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the languages being protected and developed by the Western Cape Language Policy.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### SECTION 3: LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN MY PERSONAL ENVIRONMENT:

**PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.**

**PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.**

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<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>I have been in a situation in this town where the language of my preference was not spoken back to me.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>I use English if people I speak to don’t understand my language.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>I speak English to my English speaking friends.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>I speak Afrikaans to my Afrikaans speaking friends.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>I speak isiXhosa to my isiXhosa speaking friends.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>My other friends speak other languages than English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. I speak their language to them.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Everybody at home speaks the same language.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>My mother/father/primary caretaker(s) speaks the same language as I.</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. My grandparents speak the same language as I.

J. The language used at home changed from one language to another since my parents were born.

### SECTION 4: LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLACES:

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

| OUTCOME: TO DETERMINE LANGUAGE COMMUNICATION SITUATION IN TOWN AT POST OFFICES, POLICE STATIONS, HOSPITALS, CLINICS, MUNICIPAL OFFICES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. In town, when visiting the post office, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| B. In town, when visiting the police station, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| C. In town, when visiting the hospital, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| D. In town, when visiting the clinic, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| E. In town, when visiting the municipal office, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| F. In town, when visiting the bank, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| G. In town, when visiting private businesses, I communicate in my first language with the person behind the counter. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| H. In town, when being spoken to by government officials or government leaders, I feel comfortable to communicate in my first language with the person on the podium. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| I. Notices/signage is in English only. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| J. Notices/signage is in two languages only. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| K. Notices/signage is in Afrikaans only. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| L. Notices/signage is in isiXhosa only. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
| M. There are no interpreting services that can help me. | 1. Strongly disagree | 2. Disagree | 3. Un-decided/don’t know | 4. Agree | 5. Strongly agree |
N. I have to take someone with me just in case I don’t understand the language spoken to me.


SECTION 5: ATTITUDE TO LANGUAGE AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, **THIS IS NOT A TEST**. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>It is important for me to communicate with people in their own languages.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>It is important for me to communicate with people who don’t speak my language.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>I will always use English if I need to speak with another person who cannot speak my language.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Issues like housing, electricity and job creation are more important than language issues.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>I will never learn a third language – two languages are enough.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>In my hometown I stay in an area where everybody speaks the same language all the time.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>All our church sermons are in the same language.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
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SECTION 6: VISITS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS:

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, **THIS IS NOT A TEST.** THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

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<th>A.</th>
<th>I have visited a provincial government department before</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>I was served in my preferred language.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
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________________________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRES THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH.
Welcome and thank you for taking part in my research studies.

This Questionnaire aims to do the following: get information from respondents in Beaufort-West, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, Moorreesburg, George and Bellville about the challenges, possibilities and opportunities of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I will explain the questions to you first, and then go over my own ethics statement to you as well as yours, and then I will request that you sign the consent form below to give me permission to use your contribution anonymously to complete my research. Please feel free to ask for assistance, should something be unclear.

Ms Jo-mari Nel
UWC
PhD (Ling) Student

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I ..........................................................(FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT), residing in ..................................................(NAME OF TOWN) hereby grants Jo-mari Anne Nel, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape, student number [***], permission to analyze and use my responses to her research regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy and other language related questions in the Western Cape.

I am well aware that my contribution to her research may be retracted should I feel so after the research and that I can request that in such instance. I was given the opportunity to ask questions about her research before taking part in her research in a stress-free, risk-free environment.

I was in no way threatened or persuaded to manipulate her research. I have responded to her questions honestly, truthfully and to the best of my abilities.

I have given my consent to her to use my response in her research. I am competent to give my consent for taking part in this research, which I am doing voluntary.

This ethics statement has been explained to me before the research was done.

Signed:__________________________
Date:__________________________
Place:__________________________
### SECTION 1: COMPULSORY QUESTIONS:

**PERSONAL INFORMATION: PLEASE MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>GENDER =&gt;</th>
<th>1. MALE</th>
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<td>2. 20-35 YOUTH</td>
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<td>F.</td>
<td>I AM DEAF. I USE SIGN LANGUAGE TO COMMUNICATE WITH PEOPLE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>I SPEAK NAMA FROM TIME TO TIME. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
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<td>H.</td>
<td>CURRENT EMPLOYMENT =&gt;</td>
<td>1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
<td>2. PART-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I HAVE SEEN A COPY OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY BEFORE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>I KNOW MY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. PERSONAL ETHICS STATEMENT BY THE RESEARCHER, JA NEL, TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Jo-mari Anne Nel (née Cloete), student number at the University of the Western Cape, residing currently at 78 Heath Road, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa would like to make the following ethical statement with regard to my research which will be conducted in the Western Cape: I will conduct the research about the Language Policy in the Western Cape as part of completing my PhD (Ling) studies according to the International Ethical Standards as being quoted above by the Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) as being quoted above. The research process, be it via questionnaires and/or interviews and/or focus group discussions will be conducted in such a way that would allow the following important aspects be covered regarding the individual respondents/focus groups/interviewees, namely that:

- permission be sought to conduct research at various institutions, state departments, committees, organizations, and companies in the Western Cape;
- ethical statements be attached to all questionnaires and be explained and/or signed by respondents before interviews/questionnaires;
- consent be given by the respondents to be used in the research;
- in the case of participating learners, letters of consent requesting permission from their parents to use the data collected from them, be handed out and returned;
- privacy and confidentiality be adhered to when it comes to all responses;
- no harm be done to respondents in order to get their responses;
- the idea of autonomy (respect for the respondent as a person) be reigning throughout the research procedure;
- the respondent be receiving full disclosure of the research topic (its nature, risks, benefits);
- the respondents be allowed to ask questions before filling in the questionnaire and/or undergoing the interview;
- the respondents be informed and taking part in the research in a risk-free, stress-free environment;
- the research questions be understood;
- participation be voluntary;
- respondents be competent to be able to give their consent to be part of the research population;
- respondents give their consent to be part of the research, be it in written or oral form.

I declare that:

- I will not use deception to jeopardize the integrity and outcome of my research;
- I will do an honest and full risk analysis of the research;
- I will not unfairly coerce the respondents into participating;
- I will apply the principle of justice as being described by the IRB during the research;
- I will make questionnaires available in all three official languages of the Western Cape;
- I will make use of a Sign Language interpreter when doing the research and that this interpreter be aware of the ethics (confidentiality) involving interpreting;
- I will use critical analysis when using unpublished documents in the Western Cape.

I declare further that I am psychologically and physically fit to conduct this research to complete my PhD (Ling) at the University of the Western Cape, under the supervision of Professor Charlyne Dyers Linguistics Department), contact details (tel no. or e-mail ). I agree to conduct the research in line with the published ethical rules of the international disciplinary association Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB). I am aware that UWC reserves the right to stop or suspend any research undertaken by its staff or students, or by outsiders on its property or in association with it, if the research appears to be unethical. I therefore also abide by the rules of this university regarding conducting research.

Respectfully yours

Mrs. JA Nel
### SECTION 2: THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY:

OUTCOME: TO ASSESS PERSONAL LANGUAGE PREFERENCE INFORMATION, THE STATUS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES WHEN COMMUNICATING AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE RESPONDENTS ARE AWARE OF THE WCLP

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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy was drafted by the Western Cape Language Committee.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Afrikaans is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>English is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>isiXhosa is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>The Western Cape Language Policy protects the Nama Language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the official languages of the Western Cape.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Sign Language is one of the languages being protected and developed by the Western Cape Language Policy.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>My school offers/offered isiXhosa as a subject or language.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### SECTION 3: ATTITUDE TO LANGUAGE AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, **THIS IS NOT A TEST**, THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>It is important for me to communicate with people in their own languages.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>It is important for me to communicate with people who don’t speak my language.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>I will always use English if I need to speak with another person who cannot speak my language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Issues like housing, electricity and job creation are more important than language issues.</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>I will never learn a third language – two languages are enough.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>disagree</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>In my hometown I stay in an area where everybody speaks the same language all the time.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>All our church sermons are in the same language.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>My clients come from different language groups in the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>My company/private business had been contacted by Government (local and/or provincial) regarding the Western Cape Language Policy requirements.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>I had been contacted by Government to promote the most important languages on trade and tourism, such as German, French and Japanese in your business.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>I have given my staff basic language training in the official languages of the Western Cape in order to deal with clients</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>My company/private business has taken part in language proficiency surveys to determine the language needs of my staff and clients.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Unecided/don’t know</td>
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SECTION 4: 
VISITS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS:

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

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<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I have visited a provincial government department before</th>
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<td>B.</td>
<td>I was served in my preferred language.</td>
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ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD:

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. 
PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRES THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH. NAME OF COMPANY/PRIVATE BUSINESS: (THIS INFORMATION IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE RESEARCH) 

..................................................................................................................................

429
Questionnaires for Research on the Western Cape Language Policy:
Challenges and Possibilities

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS

Dear Respondent

Welcome and thank you for taking part in my research studies.

This Questionnaire aims to do the following: get information from respondents in Beaufort-West, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, Moorreesburg, George and Bellville about the challenges, possibilities and opportunities of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I will explain the questions to you first, and then go over my own ethics statement to you as well as yours, and then I will request that you sign the consent form below to give me permission to use your contribution anonymously to complete my research. Please feel free to ask for assistance, should something be unclear.

Ms Jo-mari Nel
UWC
PhD (Ling) Student

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I …………………………………………………………….(FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT), residing in ……………………………………….(NAME OF TOWN) hereby grants Jo-mari Anne Nel, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape, student number [REDACTED], permission to analyze and use my responses to her research regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy and other language related questions in the Western Cape.

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This ethics statement has been explained to me before the research was done.

Signed:……………………………
Date:……………………………
Place:………………………………
## SECTION 1: COMPULSORY QUESTIONS:
PERSONAL INFORMATION: PLEASE MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX:

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<td>I SPEAK NAMA FROM TIME TO TIME. =&gt;</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>I HAVE SEEN A COPY OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY BEFORE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
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<td>J.</td>
<td>I KNOW MY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
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Respectfully yours,

Mrs. JA Nel
SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION:

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX, YES OR NO OR EXPLAIN FURTHER: PLEASE DO NOT TICK IN ALL BOXES AT THE SAME ANSWER.

OUTCOME: TO ASSESS PERSONAL LANGUAGE PREFERENCE INFORMATION, THE STATUS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES WHEN COMMUNICATING AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE RESPONDENTS ARE AWARE OF WCLP AND LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>EXPLAIN</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Have you seen a copy of the Western Cape Language Policy before? If your answer is yes, please explain what it is briefly.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Do you know what your language rights are in the Western Cape according to the Western Cape Language Policy? If your answer is yes, please explain it briefly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Do your clients come from different language groups in the Western Cape?</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Can you speak/communicate in English? If no, do you speak Afrikaans to those speaking English? If no, do you speak isiXhosa to those speaking English?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Can you speak/communicate in Afrikaans? If no, do you speak English to those speaking Afrikaans? If no, do you speak isiXhosa to those speaking Afrikaans?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Can you speak/communicate in isiXhosa? If no, do you speak English to those speaking isXhosa? If no, do you speak Afrikaans to those speaking isiXhosa?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Can you speak/communicate in any other language? Please indicate. If no, do you speak English to those speaking this language? If no, do you speak Afrikaans to those speaking this language?</td>
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</table>

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS SECTION. PLEASE PROCEED TO SECTION 2.
SECTION 2: THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY:

OUTCOME: TO ASSESS PERSONAL LANGUAGE PREFERENCE INFORMATION, THE STATUS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES WHEN COMMUNICATING AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THE RESPONDENTS ARE AWARE OF THE WCLP

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<td>B</td>
<td>Afrikaans is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>English is an official language of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>Sign Language is one of the official languages of the Western Cape.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>When I deal with an Afrikaans speaking client, I speak Afrikaans to that client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I make sure that the Afrikaans speaking client gets served in such a way that communication does not get lost.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that the message gets lost when dealing with an Afrikaans speaking client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>When I deal with an English speaking client, I speak English to that client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>L</td>
<td>I make sure that the English speaking client gets served in such a way that communication does not get lost.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that the message gets lost when dealing with an English speaking client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>When I deal with an isiXhosa speaking client, I speak isiXhosa to that client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
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<td><strong>O.</strong></td>
<td>I make sure that the isiXhosa speaking client gets served in such a way that communication does not get lost.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P.</strong></td>
<td>I sometimes feel that the message gets lost when dealing with an isiXhosa speaking client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q.</strong></td>
<td>When I deal with a client speaking isiZulu or Sesotho, I speak isiZulu or Sesotho to that client.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R.</strong></td>
<td>I have been in a situation in my job/position where I did not speak the language of the client that spoke to me.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.</strong></td>
<td>I have been trained by my department in any of the official languages or any other language of the Western Cape in order to deal with clients (even the basics)</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T.</strong></td>
<td>I have trained myself in any other language in order to deal with the clients not speaking my language.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.</strong></td>
<td>I adhere to a linguistic etiquette in my work place as suggested by my management/supervisor.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>W.</strong></td>
<td>I have you taken part in language proficiency surveys conducted by my department.</td>
<td>1. Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2. Disagree</td>
<td>3. Undecided/don’t know</td>
<td>4. Agree</td>
<td>5. Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION 3:
VISITS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS:
PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY.

REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX ONCE FOR EVERY QUESTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I have visited a provincial government department before</th>
<th>1. Strongly disagree</th>
<th>2. Disagree</th>
<th>3. Un-decided/ don’t know</th>
<th>4. Agree</th>
<th>5. Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>I have visited a provincial government department before</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I was served in my preferred language.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Dear Respondent

Welcome and thank you for taking part in my research studies.

This Questionnaire aims to do the following: get information from respondents in Beaufort-West, Bredasdorp, Stellenbosch, Moorreesburg, George and Bellville about the challenges, possibilities and opportunities of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy. I will explain the questions to you first, and then go over my own ethics statement to you as well as yours, and then I will request that you sign the consent form below to give me permission to use your contribution anonymously to complete my research. Please feel free to ask for assistance, should something be unclear.

Ms Jo-mari Nel
UWC
PhD (Ling) Student

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I …………………………………………………………….(FULL NAME OF RESPONDENT), residing in ……………………………………….(NAME OF TOWN) hereby grants Jo-mari Anne Nel, a PhD student in the Linguistics Department of the University of the Western Cape, student number [REDACTED], permission to analyze and use my responses to her research regarding the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy and other language related questions in the Western Cape.

I am well aware that my contribution to her research may be retracted should I feel so after the research and that I can request that in such instance. I was given the opportunity to ask questions about her research before taking part in her research in a stress-free, risk-free environment.

I was in no way threatened or persuaded to manipulate her research. I have responded to her questions honestly, truthfully and to the best of my abilities.

I have given my consent to her to use my response in her research. I am competent to give my consent for taking part in this research, which I am doing voluntary.

This ethics statement has been explained to me before the research was done.

Signed:……………………………
Date:……………………………
Place:……………………………

IMPORTANT:
FILL IN NAME OF TOWN YOU ARE STAYING IN:

--------------------------
SECTION 1: COMPULSORY QUESTIONS:
PERSONAL INFORMATION: PLEASE MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE
APPROPRIATE BOX:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>GENDER =&gt;</th>
<th>1. MALE</th>
<th>2. FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>AGE GROUP =&gt;</td>
<td>1. 14-19 TEENAGER</td>
<td>2. 20-35 YOUTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>I AM DEAF. I USE SIGN LANGUAGE TO COMMUNICATE WITH PEOPLE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>I SPEAK NAMA FROM TIME TO TIME. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>CURRENT EMPLOYMENT =&gt;</td>
<td>1. FULL-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
<td>2. PART-TIME EMPLOYED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>I HAVE SEEN A COPY OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY BEFORE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>I KNOW MY LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE. =&gt;</td>
<td>1. YES</td>
<td>2. NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. PERSONAL ETHICS STATEMENT BY THE RESEARCHER, JA NEL, TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Jo-mari Anne Nel (née Cloete), student number at the University of the Western Cape 8904726, residing currently at Heath Road, Rondebosch, Cape Town, South Africa would like to make the following ethical statement with regard to my research which will be conducted in the Western Cape: I will conduct the research about the Language Policy in the Western Cape as part of completing my PhD (Ling) studies according to the International Ethical Standards as being quoted above by the Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) as being quoted above. The research process, be it via questionnaires and/or interviews and/or focus group discussions will be conducted in such a way that would allow the following important aspects be covered regarding the individual respondents/locus groups/interviewees, namely that:

- permission be sought to conduct research at various institutions, state departments, committees, organizations, and companies in the Western Cape;
- ethical statements be attached to all questionnaires and be explained and/or signed by respondents before interviews/questionnaires;
- consent be given by the respondents to be used in the research;
- in the case of participating learners, letters of consent requesting permission from their parents to use the data collected from them, be handed out and returned;
- privacy and confidentiality be adhered to when it comes to all responses;
- no harm be done to respondents in order to get their responses;
- the idea of autonomy (respect for the respondent as a person) be reigning throughout the research procedure;
- the respondent be receiving full disclosure of the research topic (its nature, risks, benefits);
- the respondents be allowed to ask questions before filling in the questionnaire and/or undergoing the interview;
- the respondents be informed and taking part in the research in a risk-free, stress-free environment;
- the research questions be understood;
- participation be voluntary;
- respondents be competent to be able to give their consent to be part of the research population;
- respondents give their consent to be part of the research, be it in written or oral form.

I declare that:

- I will not use deception to jeopardize the integrity and outcome of my research;
- I will do an honest and full risk analysis of the research;
- I will not unfairly coerce the respondents into participating;
- I will apply the principle of justice as being described by the IRB during the research;
- I will make questionnaires available in all three official languages of the Western Cape;
- I will make use of a Sign Language interpreter when doing the research and that this interpreter be aware of the ethics (confidentiality) involving interpreting;
- I will use critical analysis when using unpublished documents in the Western Cape.

I declare further that I am psychologically and physically fit to conduct this research to complete my PhD (Ling) at the University of the Western Cape, under the supervision of Professor Charlyne Dyers Linguistics Department), contact details (tel no. or e-mail ). I agree to conduct the research in line with the published ethical rules of the international disciplinary association Review Boards for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB). I am aware that UWC reserves the right to stop or suspend any research undertaken by its staff or students, or by outsiders on its property or in association with it, if the research appears to be unethical. I therefore also abide by the rules of this university regarding conducting research.

Respectfully yours

Mrs. JA Nel
NAME OF DEPARTMENT:……………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION 2: GENERAL INFORMATION: PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. PLEASE TICK IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX, YES AND ANSWER THE QUESTIONS IN THE APPROPRIATE BOXES. PLEASE DO NOT TICK IN ALL BOXES AT THE SAME ANSWER.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NOT SURE</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION THAT ARE BEING EXPERIENCED?</th>
<th>WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITY WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION WHICH COULD STILL BE CREATED BY PARLIAMENT?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Are official notices and advertisements published by your provincial or local government department for general public information being issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English? How often?</td>
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<td>2. When official notices and advertisements are published by your provincial or local government department when being published in the Provincial Gazette, are these published in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
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<td>3. When official notices and advertisements are published by your provincial or local government department, are these published in the major language of the newspaper?</td>
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<td>4. During communication services to the public, does every organ/institution of your provincial or local government department ensure that communication with the public is carried out in the most appropriate manner, with the assistance of interpreters and translators or subtitling in any three of the official languages of</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NOT SURE</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Does your provincial or local government department make any provision for any member of the public to communicate in any one of the three official languages?</td>
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<td>6. In case of written communication between local and provincial government and residents, does the provincial or local government department use the provincial official language of the residents’ choice?</td>
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<td>7. Is the international language of communication in your provincial or local government department English or the preferred language of the country concerned or both?</td>
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<td>8. Does your department have a working language for internal communication?</td>
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<td>QUESTION</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. In the provincial and local government structures, does your department reach sufficient consensus on your working language for internal written and electronic communication, provided that every effort was made to comply with the language code of conduct?</td>
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<td>10. Did your department determine the language usage and preferences of the community you serve, within the enabling provincial language policy framework?</td>
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<td>11. Did the local government department consult with the communities to develop, publicize and implement language policies?</td>
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<td>12. What is your policy regarding Sign Language?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>What do you do when a deaf person is a client?</td>
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<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NOT SURE</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION THAT ARE BEING EXPERIENCED?</td>
<td>WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION WHICH COULD STILL BE CREATED BY PALIAMENT?</td>
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<td>13. How do you eradicate the serious marginalization of isiXhosa?</td>
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<td>14. How do you promote language diversity?</td>
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<td>15. How do you create awareness about the needs for the hearing impaired?</td>
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<td>16. Is your signage in the three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
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<td>17. Is staff being trained to acquire any official language? How many? Are they able to assist clients in any of the three official languages?</td>
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<td>18. Is your front line staff trained or have they been trained in all three official languages (even the basics?)</td>
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<td>QUESTION</td>
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<td>19. How many surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients had been done to determine the language practice per department?</td>
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<td>20. How many language proficiency surveys had been done in your department?</td>
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<td>21. How many interpreting and translation services had been made available by your department at public events and internal meetings?</td>
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<td>22. How many documents for translation and/or editing had been forwarded to the Central Language Unit by your department?</td>
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<td>23. Is a Language Code of Conduct regarding language use and multilingualism developed and adhered to by your department? <strong>Please provide a copy.</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>24. Are notices placed in all three official languages in your department?</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Does your department, in filling posts, give preference to applicants who are proficient in all three official languages, or just two?</td>
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<td>26. Does your department make financial resources available to facilitate language planning, training, etc.</td>
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<td>27. Is all oral communication in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
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<td>28. Is all written communication in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
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<td>29. Is your internal communication with staff members in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUESTION</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do officials have a linguistic etiquette, i.e. to accommodate speakers who cannot understand a specific language?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does your department encourage and advise private enterprise to develop their own language policies in accordance with the Provincial Language Policy?</td>
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<td>Which ones?</td>
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<td>How did you do it?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Does your department endeavour to promote the most important languages on trade and tourism, such as German, French and Japanese?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Has your department received a copy of the Cabinet approved Provincial implementation plan?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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33
<table>
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<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NOT SURE</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION THAT ARE BEING EXPE</th>
<th>WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION WHICH COULD STILL BE CREATED BY PARLIAMENT?</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>34</strong> Did your department develop a development plan?</td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>35</strong> Has a budget been allocated to your department for the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy?</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>36</strong> Has your department made provision in the budget for the appointment of language practitioners?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>37</strong> Are the language practitioners that have been employed to assist with the implementation of the objectives of the policy used solely for the policy or also for other purposes not linked to the achievement of the policy’s goals?</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUESTION</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NOT SURE</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION THAT ARE BEING EXPERIENCED?</td>
<td>WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITIES WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION WHICH COULD STILL BE CREATED BY PALIAMENT?</td>
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<tr>
<td>38 Is the WCLP being supported by Management?</td>
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<tr>
<td>39 Has your department made provision in the budget for additional resources to drive the implementation of the language policy?</td>
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<tr>
<td>40 What steps has your department taken to establish the language proficiency of staff?</td>
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<tr>
<td>41 Does senior management within the Department support the implementation of the policy? If so, how and if not, what would you like to see from management?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>42 What provision is being made to ensure that all official documents for internal use are in the three official languages?</td>
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<tr>
<td>43 What provision is being made to communicate with clients in their preferred language?</td>
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<tr>
<td>44 What provision is being made for SASL interpreting for the Deaf employees or clients visiting your department?</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 What provision is being made to ensure that signage in your department</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>What overall challenges are being experienced in the implementation of the policy?</td>
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<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>What support and/or assistance do you require from the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport in dealing with these challenges?</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>How has the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport promoted an awareness of multilingualism and respect for the three languages in the WC?</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>What improvements can be recommended by your department (to the DCAS)?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRES THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH.

IGNORE SECTION 3 IF YOU ARE NOT PLF, WCLC, PANSALB OR DCAS
PLEASE GO TO SECTION 3:
SECTION 3
DIRECT QUESTIONS FOR KEY INFORMANTS (PLEASE ANSWER AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE – FULL SentENCES NOT REQUIRED)

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION: PLEASE ANSWER ALL THESE QUESTIONS AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR ABILITY. REMEMBER, THIS IS NOT A TEST. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

A. What would you regard as CHALLENGES to implementing the Western Cape Language Policy and WHY?
B. What OPPORTUNITIES and/or POSSIBILITIES would be created when implementing the Western Cape Language Policy and WHY?

ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU WISH TO ADD:

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THIS RESEARCH IS BEING DONE FOR ACADEMIC PURPOSES ONLY AND FOR THE COMPLETION OF A PHD, AND REQUIRE THEREFORE INFORMATION AS THOROUGHLY AS POSSIBLE TO DO PROPER RESEARCH.
ADDENDUM E: STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO LANGUAGE PRACTITIONERS AND THEIR MIDDLE MANAGEMENT

I would like to welcome you, ........, to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy over the last five years. This information will be used for completion of my PhD on this issue in which I particularly look at the different departments, PanSALB and the Western Cape Language Committee’s efforts to implement it and the problems or challenges they are experiencing.

I would like to make sure on tape that you have signed the consent form and also that you have agreed to take part in the study. …Thank you. Your anonymity is assured in this interview.

First of all I would like to thank you for this opportunity to hear from your side what problems you are facing. If you could please introduce yourself (who you are, from which department)

- Five years ago a pledge was signed with the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport to make sure that the language policy gets implemented by the provincial departments. Last year it was signed again. Did you sign it?
- Are you aware of what the WCLP entails?
- How do you implement the WCLP in your department and since when?
- Is there a budget for the implementation of the policy in your department? How big is this budget in comparison to the imperative needs that your department has to fulfill?
- Which challenges do you experience in implementing the WCLP?
- What role does English play in your department’s day to day communication?
- Do you think other languages like Afrikaans play a role in the administrative workings of your department/in service delivery to the people?
- How do you overcome the challenges brought to you by people not understanding English, if English is your medium of communication?
- How do you make sure that isiXhosa gets promoted in your department?
- What about the other languages spoken in the Western Cape? How do these languages get affected in your department and how do you deal with the lack of communication?
- Could you provide me with an annual report and a strategic plan of your department so as to look at the plans for implementing the language policy? (Optional question)

I thank you for participating in this questionnaire and also to be part of my studies.

END OF INTERVIEW
FIVE-YEAR STRATEGIC PLAN
PYFJAAR- STRATEGIESE PLAN
ISICWANGCISO QHINGA
SEMINYAKA EMHLANU

2005/06 - 2009/10
PART B: PROGRAMME AND SUB-PROGRAMME PLANS

The language component deals with an increased number of language enquiries internally and externally, as well as cooperating with stakeholders in executing language-related projects. There is a dire need for status development of the Xhosa language and executing sustainable projects promoting multilingualism. National and local government require assistance with executing language projects provincially and language planning respectively.

The Language component provides administrative and executive support to the Western Cape Language Committee in the execution of its legislative mandate. It strives to contribute to the vision of creating a multilingual community in the Western Cape that respects one another’s languages. Currently the central language service is provided to provincial departments from the Department of the Premier and the intention is to transfer that responsibility to this department.
(d) Language matters

The policies directing the activities of the Language component includes the National Language Policy and Plan and the Western Cape Language Policy and implementation plan together with the provincial policies embodied in Ikapa Elhumayo and Batho Pele.

This component's main priority for the next five years will be to ensure active implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy by provincial government whilst continuing to provide administrative and executive support to the Western Cape Language Committee in carrying out its mandate. This will contribute to the Ikapa Elhumayo objectives of human capital development, social cohesion and job creation and support Batho Pele by improving the standard of service delivery by provincial government to the community.

The following are the priorities and objectives:

- Promote multi-lingualism in the Western Cape.
- Ensure the effective implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of the Western Cape Language Policy.
- Cooperate with the Department of Education with regards to language practices in our schools.
- Provide a professional, effective, and efficient support service to the Western Cape Language Committee.
- Co-ordinate terminology development in the Western Cape.
- Promoting and developing the Nama language and Sign Language.
- Successfully incorporating the language services component from the Department of the Premier.
LANGUAGE SERVICE

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa and the Constitution of the Western Cape, the Western Cape Provincial Government must by legislative and other measures regulate and monitor the use of its official languages. These languages enjoy equal status and practical and positive measures must also be taken to elevate and advance the use of these indigenous languages of the people of the Western Cape whose status and use have been historically diminished.

Since the enactment of the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act, 1998, and the acceptance by Provincial Cabinet of the Western Cape Language Policy, the Department has been tasked to implement the provisions of the policy. Cabinet accepted the Language Policy in principle in 2001, but requested an audit and cost analysis. The language audit was conducted in March 2002, the costing analysis in March 2003 and the official Language Policy launched and implemented in April 2003 with a roll-out plan to all departments. In 2006 another audit was conducted in provincial departments and municipalities and the following year a workshop on language and diversity was held to address challenges regarding the implementation of policy. Since 2007 the Language Service provides language services, i.e. translation, interpreting, editing and quality control to all provincial departments.

In 2008, the Western Cape Language Committee, in cooperation with the Department, conducted a language study in the Department of Health and in 2009 an monitoring and evaluation survey was undertaken on language policy implementation by all provincial departments. From this survey it is clear that much still needs to be done by provincial departments to implement the Western Cape Language Policy.

The success of service delivery to ensure equal access to the inhabitants of the Western Cape will depend on the provisioning of language services in all three official languages. These services include interpreting, translation of official documents in the provincial government, raising awareness and by ensuring quality control, terminology development and high standards of language usage.
province. This placed a further obligation on the Department to ensure that such individuals have access to services through Sign Language.

The table below gives an indication of the level of education of the residents as reflected in the 2007 Community Survey. Although it is not an indication of linguistic abilities it can be used as a guideline in anticipating the way in which services can optimally be delivered to the resident of the Western Cape through language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No schooling</td>
<td>503 614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>530 468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 1 (NFGC)</td>
<td>472 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 11 (NFGC)</td>
<td>500 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 10 (without university exemption)</td>
<td>558 821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 12 (with university exemption)</td>
<td>149 672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate Diploma</td>
<td>39 710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BVCN</td>
<td>17 584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's degree</td>
<td>105 617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master's degree</td>
<td>39 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Degree (Bachelors/POS)</td>
<td>47 459</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to address the challenges inherent in the above-mentioned environment, the Language Services in the Department has been divided into two components, namely the Language Policy Implementation Unit and the Translation, Editing and Interpreting Unit. The former is responsible for working and Goldman with the implementation of the Provincial Language Policy and supporting language-related events and events in line with existing legislations. While the latter provides language services to provincial government departments and institutions.

LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

The Act also stipulates that the municipalities are responsible for the local administration and funding of libraries, the provision of librarians and facilities and the maintenance thereof, and Library Service component is responsible for the provision of library materials, training and professional development.

The Constitution of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) devotes a full page to libraries, other than national libraries, and the exclusive legislative competence of provinces. The provision with some municipalities is that they have no further financial responsibility for the rendering of library services. The Local Government: Municipal Structure Act, 1994 (Act 117 of 1994) and the Local Government: Municipal Transition Act, 2000 (Act 32 of 2000) also do not provide for public libraries and their funding by municipalities.

As is the case of streaming and digitalisation, the beneficial implementation of the constitutional transition without adequate funding allocation presents a key challenge for the Department. In line with this, the Department submitted the Draft Provincial Library and Information Bill in 2009 for approval. The draft Bill provided for new Library and Information legislation aligned with the constitutional provisions and mandates. However, the Provincial
5.2 Organisational environment
The Department has completed its macro structure and four new senior management posts were approved by both the Provincial Cabinet and the national Minister of Public Service and Administration. A Chief Director Sport, an additional Director for the Branch Sport and Recreation, a Director Museums and Heritage and a Director Strategic Management are the additional posts created on the Macro Structure. These posts would provide capacity to the Department to address the demand for the services of the Department. The micro structure including the review of the regionalisation model of the Department is being held back until the outcome of the Modernisation process has been finalised. The proposed new micro structure for the Archives Service was completed in 2009. The Modernisation Programme, which is in an advanced stage, proposes the shift of the Human Resources (excluding the Departments of Health and Education), Internal Audit and Enterprise Risk Management functions to a shared Corporate Services within the Department of the Premier from 1 April 2016.
Analysis per sub-programme:

Sub-programme 2.1: Management
To provide strategic managerial support to Cultural Affairs.

Sub-programme 2.2: Arts and Culture
To facilitate the development, presentation, and promotion of arts and culture in the Western Cape through the curation of exhibitions and events, support arts and culture structures, activities and programmes, and to support within the Western Cape Cultural Commission to execute its legislative mandate.

Sub-programme 2.3: Museum and Heritage Resource Services
To provide and increase heritage through museums, services and organisations, provide for the conservation, promotion and development of culture and heritage, and further assist Heritage Resource management by implementing the national standards of the South African Geographical Names Council Act, 1995 and the South African Heritage Resources Act, 1999.

Sub-programme 2.4: Language Services
To provide multilingualism in the Western Cape as part of the building of pride and understanding amongst our people, actively develop the previously marginalised indigenous languages, facilitate the implementation and monitoring of the Language Policy and assist the Western Cape Language Commission (WCLC).
School Sport Mass Participation Programme (SSMPP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of grant</th>
<th>School Sport Mass Participation Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>To promote mass participation, development, camps identification and selection, as well as continuing training in sport and recreation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance indicator</td>
<td>Number of schools participating in mass sport and recreation activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context</td>
<td>This programme is for schools in mass sport and recreation. It is included in the sport and recreation curriculum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>The programme is designed to improve the participation of students in sport and recreation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. Public entities

The strategic direction for the three public entities is provided by the executive authority to ensure alignment with the Provincial Strategic Plan and Objectives as well as the provisions of the legislative requirements of such public entities.

Heritage Western Cape is treated with very specific legal responsibilities as the provincial heritage resource authority under the National Heritage Resources Act, 1999.

The Western Cape Cultural Commission has been created with legal responsibilities regarding the preservation, development, and promotion of cultural resources in terms of the Western Cape Cultural Commission and Cultural Resources Act, 1999 and the provisions of the Western Cape Constitution. It is also supervised by the Minister for the management of certain cultural facilities that the Minister has under his control.

The Western Cape Language Commission has the responsibility to develop a provincial language policy and to promote and educate the implementation of that language policy and to report on this to the Minister and to provide advice to other members of the Western Cape Cultural and provincial departments and institutions on this matter as set out in the Western Cape Language Act, 2008 and the Western Cape Constitution.

In all three cases, the Department provides the professional administrative and financial support to these entities to execute their legal mandate; i.e., the Department deploys staff who is liaised with specific responsibilities to assist and support these public...
entities. This is done to provide the most economic, efficient and effective service and, especially, to prevent unnecessary duplication of services.

However, the Department intends to embark on a review of the provincial public entities and institutions over which it has oversight in order to ensure improved institutional performance, management and service delivery. In the case of Heritage Western Cape, whose mandate is derived from national legislation, this review will also have to take into account the legislative review process and recommendations that the national Department of Arts and Culture has embarked upon in 2005. In the case of the Cultural Commission and the Language Committee, the provisions of the Constitution of the Western Cape will also have to be taken into account as well as other national and provincial legislation that may apply, such as the Government-wide Immovable Property Management Act, 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of public entity</th>
<th>Website</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Current annual budget (R thousands)</th>
<th>Date of last audit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape Cultural Commission</td>
<td>Western Cape Cultural Commission</td>
<td>The strategic study of the Western Cape Cultural Commission is to:</td>
<td>Western Cape Cultural Commission</td>
<td>2011/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• examine the implementation of the national and provincial cultural policies and programs.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• identify the museum, theatre, and library services</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• identify the planning, implementation, and monitoring processes</td>
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<td>• assess the sustainability of the system</td>
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Western Cape Cultural Commission:
- The Western Cape Cultural Commission was established in terms of the Province's Cultural Policy to provide for the development, promotion, and protection of cultural heritage in the Western Cape.
- The Commission is responsible for the implementation of the cultural policies and programs in the Western Cape, including the promotion of cultural activities and the maintenance of cultural heritage sites.
- The Commission also provides funding and support to cultural organizations and events in the province.
- It is accountable to the provincial government and is subject to audit by the provincial finance department.

The Western Cape Cultural Commission is responsible for:
- The Western Cape Cultural Policy
- The Western Cape Heritage Strategy
- The Western Cape Arts and Culture Strategy
- The Western Cape Language Strategy
- The Western Cape Museums Policy
- The Western Cape Cultural Education Strategy
- The Western Cape Cultural Tourism Strategy
- The Western Cape Cultural Events Strategy
- The Western Cape Cultural Funding Policy
- The Western Cape Cultural Sustainability Strategy

The Western Cape Cultural Commission is accountable to the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport, who in turn is accountable to the Provincial Legislature.

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ADDENDUM H: ADULT CIVILIANS (35-80 years old)

Open-ended Question: Any additional information that you would like to add regarding communication in your first language:

Please note that original mistakes have been kept, including punctuation. Those that had been used in the study had been translated into English:

1-10: No response

11. "Nee ek was nog nie by 'n government department nie." [No, I have never been at a government department.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans only, Full time employed]

12. "I want to add especial my language, Xhosa; that's important to use Xhosa speak, writing, special if you go out must speak Xhosa - is like the sweetness if you speak Sotho, yes, I understand I, hear you or Sign Language and the most of the people they like to speak Xhosa Ukuthetwa isiXhosa, but they don't want to learn isiXhosa. Pls, guys must learn isiXhosa." [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa only, Full time employed]

13. “I was working at Exhibit Print in Blackheath with the Afrikaas people and also my supervisor was Afrikaans, my problem with that is that they were talking Afrikaans even in lunch time. But they speak English when they want to talk, it was only me.” [Female, 20-35 years old, Xhosa and English, unemployed]

14. “I am glad I did take part in answering these questions. I would like to learn at least more than the two languages that I can know, like English and Xhosa. I would like to learn more languages because it makes me not too comfortable when someone speaks the language that both of us can't understand each other.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, unemployed]

15. “I want the government to give us a job. Because I got matric and computer skills, I don't have a job.” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, Xitshonga, Tsivenda, unemployed]

16: “I can thank the government to give us job” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, Xitshonga, Tsivenda, unemployed]

20. “I can thank the government to give me the work” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, Xitshonga, unemployed]

21. “I wish in my community combine together like when we do something we do together. We do not want to seperate, we need to do a right thing in our community.” [Female, 20-35 years old, isiXhosa, English, unemployed]

22. “Dat hulle meer Afrikaanssprekende skole of universiteite bou.” [That they have to build more schools and universities for Afrikaans speaking people.] [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa only, part time employed]

24. “Ek voel op die skole moet daar as Engels in eerste en tweede taal aangebied word, en by skole moet kinders hul moedertaal onderrig word.” [I feel that English should be taught at our schools as a first and additional language and that children should be taught in their mother tongue.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

27. “Mense moenie geforseer word om ’n taal te leer praat net omdat die helfte van ’n bevolkingsgroep die besonderse taal praat nie.” [People should not be
forced to learn a language just because half of the population speak that particular language.] [Male, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

28. “Mense doen aansoek vir poste en toon aan dat hul Afrikaans magtig is in hul aansoeke en dan praat hul slegs Engels in die werkopset (veral swart werknemers).” [People apply for jobs and then they indicate their ability to speak Afrikaans and then they speak only English in the work place (especially the black employees).] [Male, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, unemployed]

30. “Dit bekommer my net dat sekere van ons Afrikaanssprekendes nie baie trots is op hul moedertaal nie.” [It worries me that certain of our Afrikaans speaking people are not very proud of their Afrikaans language.] [Female, 20-36 years old, Afrikaans only, Part time employed]

32. “Ek wil graag hê dat hulle in Afrikaans moet vertaal dat ek kan vestaan” [I want them to translate in Afrikaans, so that I can understand.] [Male, 60+ years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

33. “My tekens is dat hulle moet in Afrikaans vertaal word dat ek kan verstaan.” [The signage - I want them to be translated into Afrikaans, so that I can understand.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

34-41: No response

42. “Ek vra drie tale” [I am requesting three languages.] [Female, 20-35 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

43. “How can you learn another language, if you can’t speak your own properly?” [Female, 20-35 years old, Afrikaans only, unemployed]

44-47: No response

48: “I feel that everyone should learn his/her own first language first properly before learning other languages. It is important to know your home language.” [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

49: “I get very annoyed and upset when I phone the police or any institution and there is a black person who doesn’t understand English or Afrikaans and then they can’t help me in Afrikaans or English or hang on for another person to help me. Sometimes I get disconnected because of no airtime or I just leave everything.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, unemployed]

50-54: No response

55. “Mense wat produkte oor ‘n selfoon verkoop, wil nooit Afrikaans praat nie. Dit maak my gek!” [People who try to sell products via cell phones, never want to speak Afrikaans. It drives me crazy!] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

56-62: No response

63: “Ons moet mense meer bewus maak dat hulle die reg het om hul taal van keuse bedien kan word. Ook groter geleenthede skep vir meertalige projekte.” [We have to make people more aware of the fact that they have the right to be served in their own languages. We should also create more multilingual projects.] [Female, 36-59, Afrikaans and English, full time employed]

64: “Afrikaans moet bedien word en erken word as amptelike taal.” [Afrikaans needs to be served and needs to be recognised as an official language.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans and English, unemployed]

65-66: no response
67: “Ek wil net byvoeg dat Wes-Kaap drie magtig taal in hierdie provinsie is, want as ek kommunikeer met 'n persoon verkieslik die taal wat ons albei verstaan” [I just want to add that I am conversant in three languages of the Western Cape, because when I communicate with someone I do so preferably in a language that we both understand.] [Female, 36-59 years old, Afrikaans only, full time employed]

68-70: no response

71: “I say in George where my language does not speak it is a must to speak Afrikaans. Because I stay with Coloured people. Yet Xhosa people do not have a chance to get jobs unless you understand Afrikaans.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, full time employed]

72: no response

73: “In Western Cape Province Afrikaans is more important than the other languages looking for a job without knowing Afrikaans it is very hard to find a job even the buildings are written in English and Afrikaans which is not good.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and English, part time employed]

74: “I would like to raise first that Western Cape is the province that specify with Afrikaans, so I have a comment on that. Because sometimes when we looking for jobs if you cannot speak Afrikaans, you don't get a job.” [Female, 36-69 years old, isiXhosa and English, Full time employed]

75-81: No response

82: “I'm proud of my language has come accepted and declared official.” [Female, 36-59 years old, isiXhosa and Afrikaans, Unemployed]

83-86: No response

87: illegible

88-110: no response
ADDENDUM 1: YOUTH RESPONSES (16-35 years old)
Open-ended Question: Any additional information that you would like to add regarding communication in your first language:

Please note that original mistakes have been kept, including punctuation. Those that had been used in the study had been translated into English:

1: “Twee talle is genoeg om te leer. Xhosa en die ander is nie nodig nie.” [It is enough to learn two languages only, isiXhosa and the other languages are not needed.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
2: No response [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
3: No response [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
4: “Ek hou baie van Afrikaans en wil nie hê dit taal moet uitsterf nie. Ek dink almal in RSA moet Afrikaans kan praat.” [I like Afrikaans and I do not wish for it to get extinct. I think everyone in the Republic of South Africa should speak Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
5: “Geen” [None] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
6 - 22: No response
23: “Mense wat werk by 'call centres' praat in die meeste gevalle Engels. Dit maak dit vir anderstaliges moeilik om te kommunikeer.” [People who work at call centres speak English in most cases. This then makes it difficult for those who speak other languages - to communicate.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
24: No response
25: “Die mense moet meer Afrikaans praat bv. in die Kaap. Ek kan goet Engels praat, maar ek hou nie daarvan nie.” [The people should speak Afrikaans more, e.g. in the Cape. I can speak English well, but I do not like it.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
26-43: No response
44: “I wish Xhosa speaking could be taken seriously. Some people think that Xhosa is for people who are stupid. But it's not, It's a language and its must be respected.” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
45: No response
46: “Nee maar hulle kan nog ander tale aanbied by die skool.” [No, but they should teach more languages at the school.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
47-50: No response
51: “Ja, partykeer word ek as 'n persoon diskrimineer deur die taal wat ek praat, wat mens minderwaardig laat voel.” [Yes, sometimes I am being discriminated against as a person when speaking my language and that makes one feel inferior.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
52. “Ek's bly ek word meestal bedien of gehelp by winkels, ens in my eie taal, maar ek sal graag isiXhosa wil aanleer. My slegste ondervinding was toe ek in die hospitaal was en ek is in 'n kamer met net Africans en ek weet nie wat hulle praat nie, maar ek het wel afgelei dat die 1 iets van my gese het, toe lag hulle.” [I am glad that I am being assisted or served in shops, etc in my own language, but I would like to learn isiXhosa. My worst experience was when I was in hospital and I was in a room where only Africans were and I did not know what they were talking about, but I assumed that I had said something about me, then they laughed.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
53-54: No response
55: “Most of people in this place where I stay they discriminate my language and they avoid it, they used to speak Afrikaans mostly and English as a result our parents & brothers they can not get a job because of this. Only coloured because they speak Afrikaans.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
56: “When I visited hospital police station or post office, etc. It depends on what language the first person I saw speaks and if he/she is not speaking isiXhosa I speak to him/her in English. So if a person cannot speak isiXhosa, I speak to him/her in English cause it is the second language I know and that doesn't mean that I cannot learn or speak other languages.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
57: “I have seen things written in Xhosa, English and Afrikaans in the hospital and clinic.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
58: No response
59: “What I would like to add is that most of the people here in Western Cape are avoiding the Xhosa language they use English & Afrikaans especially Afrikaans you can (illegible) while you can't speak Afrikaans and that most of jobs coloureds and whites are employed.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
60: No response
61: “Yes because I see all things in South Africa are written by English/Afrikaans and even the advertisements are written all in English and most of the people even Xhosa people they speak English and Afrikaans and even me I want to speak Afrikaans but I don't know and my family they do not speak Afrikaans and all the time we speak Xhosa even English we don't speak”[Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
62: “It is important for everyone to know his/her home language whether you are black or white. There is no bigger language than other all languages are equal before the law as the freedom charter says”[Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
63. “What is wrong with isiXhosa? Why can’t we get information like with aids in it? We are also smart, not only English and Afrikaans people.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
64-67: No response
68: “They speak about health stuff in English. You are stupid if you don’t get it in English. Here in Beaufort West they do it also in Afrikaans. I take the flyers in those languages, because I have to prepare for the school for my subject. They don’t use the Xhosa words that we use in our house. It is difficult. Our words differ for things.” [Female, teenager, isiXhosa only, student]
69: “If I don't know their language and they don't know myne (mine), I don't have to communicate to them.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
70-74: No response
75: “If the can be a signs that are written in Xhosa especially in town and hospital there is no such sign that written in Xhosa because other people are suffering with other languages they know Xhosa especially those who live in Thembalethu” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
76: No response
77: “When I'm starting to talk/communicate in my language at town, they look at me like I'm a stupid. Even the street names are written in that language which is Afrikaans and that's hard for me to read. It's a very bad thing for me.” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

78: “In notices it depends on who write the notices e.g. govt. notices are trilingual and it also depends on who lives in that area (race)” [Male, teenager, Xho + Afr + Eng, student]

79: “My language should be taken more seriously in my town not just my language but any language. But if we use English as a medium of instruction must be English only not two languages. If we put two what will happen to the other nine, every the signs are in two languages English and Afrikaans that's why I say there must be just one official language.” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

80: “The Afrikaans if you cannot talk it you cannot get a job in George.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

81-83: No response

84: “I would like it if all the languages were taken seriously and treated with the same respect, but it is no use fighting over which language to speak but its should be address that English is the language that people who speak different languages should speak to communicate because here in the Western Cape it seems as if Afrikaans has filled that row leaving people confused at time because they do not understand the language especially when you are looking for work” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

85: -94: No response

95: “...in my taal is dit beter om te praat, want ek help baie mense om afrikaans te praat by sumalie's” [It is much better to speak in my language, because I help many people to speak Afrikaans, e.g. the Somalians.] [Male, teenager, Afrikaans only, student]

96 No response

97: “Dat baie mense se kinders kan nie eens hulle huistaal reg praat nie. Want dit vind plaas in ons area.” [...that many peoples’ children are not even able to speak their own home languages properly; this is taking place in our area...]

98: “I don’t see any reason to speak English to anybody at home or in the town. Isixhosa is my language, and I feel at home. Yes, for English classes and for the exams and so on, but English is difficult. I do not like it; it kills my history.” [Male, teenager, Xho only, student]

99-106: no response

107: “My eerste taal, Afrikaans, dit is vir my baie gemaklik om te praat. Alhoewel as 'n vak is dit bietjies swaarder as gewoonlik. Ek sal graag meer klasse in en inligting wil hê oor Afrikaans en Engels.” [It is very comfortable to speak my first language, Afrikaans. But as a subject it is a bit more difficult than usual. I would like to get more classes and information regarding English and Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

109-110: No response.

111-121: No response
122: “Ons moet, as ons nie 'n woord verstaan nie, weet ons moet woordeboeke gebruik.” [If we don’t understand a word, we should use a dictionary.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
123: No response.
124: “Ek is Afrikaanssprekend en ek sal ook altyd bly wees!” [I am Afrikaans speaking and will always be glad.] [Male, teenager, Afr only, student]
125: “Ek is tweetalig, maar ek verkies Afrikaans.” [I am bilingual, but I prefer Afrikaans.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
126: “Ek voel dat my taal (Afrikaans) vir my die beste is en dat ek goed kommunikeer met mense wat dieselde taal as ek gebruik. Ek vergemak myself wanneer ek afrikaans praat, Engels is vir my so aggressief, want sommige woorde kan ek nie goed genoeg uitsprek nie en sommige verstaan ek nie. So, ek behou Afrikaans as my eerste taal.” [I feel that my language (Afrikaans) is the best for me and that I communicate very well with those who use the same language as I. I make myself comfortable when I speak Afrikaans. English is so aggressive, because some of the words I cannot pronounced well enough and some of them I don’t understand. So, I opt to keep Afrikaans as my first language.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
127: “Afrikaans is 'n goeie taal.” [Afrikaans is a good language.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
128: “My eerste taal Afrikaans is vir my baie gemaklik want ek het daarmee grootgeword en ek verstaan dit beter en ek sal Engels praat as dit nodig is.” [My first language, Afrikaans, is very comfortable to me as I have been raised in it and I understand it better and I will speak English when necessary.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
129: “Ons is 'n klein dorp en die meeste mense wat hier bly, verkies Afrikaans en ek het nie 'n probleem met ander tale nie, want ons leer Engels.” [We are a small town and the people who are living here, they prefer Afrikaans. I have no problem with other languages, because we are being taught English.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
130: -135: no response
136: “IsiXhosa terug in skole, dit is goed om 'n swart taal te praat. As jy gaan studeer, handboeke in Afrikaans. Boek voorsien wat ons kan koop, om self 'n swart taal aan te leer.” [isiXhosa back into schools, because it is good to speak a black language. When you go and study, textbooks are in Afrikaans. Provide books for us to buy, to acquire a black language on our own.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
137: “Daar moet meer Afrikaans gepraat word, bv as jy met mense van die regering praat.” [There should be more Afrikaans when communicating, e.g when you speak to people in government.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
138-140: no response
141: “Ek verkies dit om in my eie taal te praat, maar praat graag Engels. Ek sal al die Afrika-tale wil praat.” [I prefer to speak in my own language, but I speak English gladly. I would like to speak all African languages.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
142: “My eerste taal wat ek eindlik ‘n probleem nie, aangesien ek beide Engels en Afrikaans as my eerste taal.” [I don’t have a problem with my first language actually, as I have English and Afrikaans both as first languages.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

143: “Ek sal my eerste taal beter wil leer, en meer Engels wil praat.” [I will learn my first language better and would like to speak more English.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

144: “Daar word nooit iets vir ons in ons gemeenskap aangebied wat in ‘n ander taal is nie.” [Nothing in another language is being offered in our community.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

145: “Ek verkies om met mense te kommunikeer wat dieselfde taal as ek praat; maar verstoot ook nie ander wat sukkel om my taal te praat nie. Ek sal graag ‘n derde taal wil aanleer.” [I prefer to communicate with people who speak the same language as I do. I will not ostracise people who cannot speak my language. I would like to learn a third language.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

146: no response

147: “Ek hou baie van gesange wat in my taal gesing word. Dan kan ek ook beter verstaan waar die gesang oor handel.” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

148: “Ek praat in ‘n mate goed Afrikaans en kan goed kommunikeer met ander mense wat dieselfde taal as ek kan praat.” [In a way I can converse well in Afrikaans and I can also communicate well with those who speak the same language as I.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

149: “Ek dink jy het die reg om jou eerste taal te praat, want jy is al gewoont daaraan, maar jy moet ook omsien na ander wat nie jou taal verstaan nie en eerder jou tweede taal praat of hulle reghelp.” [I think you have the right to speak your first language; because you are used to it, but you also have to look out for someone who cannot speak your language and rather revert to your second language or correct them.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

150: No response

151: “Ek voel baie gemaklik as iemand met my in my moedertaal kommunikeer. Ek respekteer ander mense wat hul eerste taal praat, maar sal ook graag die taal wil aanleer. As jy in vandag se wêreld kan isiXhosa praat, sal jy enige werk aanvaar word. Dit is belangrik om soveel as moontlik tale te praat, want dit tel in jou voordeel.” [I feel comfortable when someone communicates with me in my mother tongue. I respect other people who want to speak their own language, but I would also like to learn the language. If you are able to speak isiXhosa in today’s world, you will be accepted for any job. It is important to speak as many languages as possible, as it will be to your advantage.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

152: No response

153: “Om ‘n ander taal aan te leer, is baie swaarder as wat jy die huistaal Afrikaans geleer het. Dit sal ook soveel makliker gewees het om andere se tale te kan praat. Baie kere wanneer jy in die dorp is, en jy stap by ‘n winkel in waar hulle nie Afrikaans praat nie, sal ek liewer loop of vra om met iemand anders te praat.” [To learn another language is very difficult than learning your home language Afrikaans. Many times when I am in town and I walk into a shop where they
don’t speak Afrikaans - I would walk away or ask to speak to someone else.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
154: “…dat by ons skool ook ander tale geleer moet word sodat ons kan kommunikeer met ander rasse.” […that at our school we would be taught other languages so that we are able to communicate with other races.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
155-157: No response
158: “My eerste taal is Afrikaans en dit is besig om al hoe minder gepraat te word, omdat ek meestal Engels moet gebruik sodat mense my kan verstaan. As ek kyk op televisie is die meeste programme in Xhosa en engels, 20 uit 100 programme is Afrikaans en dus nogal moeilik om Engels te praat, want ek kan myself nie duidelik maak soos ek dit in my huistaal sou doen nie.” [My first language is Afrikaans and the language is being spoken less and less, because most of the time I have to make use of English so that people are able to understand me. I see on TV that most of the programmes are in isiXhosa and English, 20 out of 100 programmes are in Afrikaans and it is very difficult to speak English, as I cannot express myself as clearly as in my first language.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
159-161: No response
162: “Persone wil ’n derde taal aanleer, bv. soos ek om dit eendag te gebruik in werksgebiede, ens.” [People wish to learn a third language like me for instance who wish to use it in an employment setting.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
163: - 178: no response
178: “Dit is so lekker om met jou woordeskatting gebruik maak om met jou woorde te kan speel.” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
179-182: No response
183: “Ek weet dat wat ek nou gaan voorstel ’n vreeslike moeilike taak vir die department van onderwys sal wees, maar ek dink skole moet daarop begin fokus om ten minste 3 tale aan te bied op die skool. Dit sal die leerders help om hul verstand beter te gebruik en met meer selfvertroue die lewe daarbuite ver van die huis af aan te pak. Dit is nie dat ons as leerders/student nie meer as een taal wil leer nie; dit is net dat ons nie die geleenthede kry nie.” [I know that what I will propose right now would be a very difficult task for the Department of Education. But I am of the opinion that schools should focus on offering 3 languages at school. It will assist learners to use their brains better and to have more confidence when they are out there away from home. It is not that us learners/students do not want to learn more than one language; it is just that we don’t get the opportunities.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
184 No response
185: “Baie van die mense wat ander tale gebruik, sou so graag Afrikaans praat. Daar is mense wat Afrikaans moeilik leer en moeilik verstaan.” [Many of the people who use other languages, would very much want to speak Afrikaans. There are people who find it difficult to learn and speak Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
186 No response
187: “Daar moet klasse vir tale aangebied word” [Female, teenager, Afr and Xho, student]
188: No response
189: “Ek wil net sê dat ons op skool Xhosa as ’n vak moet kry, ek wil graag Xhosa praat”. [“I just want to say that we should get isiXhosa as a subject at school, I would like to speak isiXhosa.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
190-191: No response
192: “Wanneer ek in ’n situasie is, wil ek hê dat die persone wat my help, dat hulle my gaan help in my taal” [When I find myself in a situation, I want the people who are helping me, to assist me in my language.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
193: No response
194: “I don’t have a problem in speaking or communicating in other languages such as Xhosa English or Afrikaans.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
195-198: No response
199: “Wanneer ek met iemand in my taal praat moet ons mekaar kan verstaan en ons uitdrukking gee vir mekaar as die een nie verstaan nie.” [When I speak to someone using my language, we have to understand each other and give an explanation to each other if the one does not understand.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
200-204: No response
205: “Ek hou van suiwer Afrikaans praat met mense; dus hoekom ek daarvan hou dat mense suiwer Afrikaans praat.” [I like speaking Afrikaans properly; that is why I like people to speak pure Afrikaans/proper Afrikaans.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
206-208: No response
209: “Wanneer jy iemand wil help wat nie jou taal kan praat nie, dann kan jy die iemand help om Engels te praat sodat die een wat nie jou taal kan praat nie beter verstaan in Engels.” [When you want to assist someone who cannot speak your language, then you could assist the person in English so that the person who cannot speak your language, understand better in English.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
210-221: No response
222: “...om met meer mense te kommunikeer in my taal en om vir ander ook van my taal te kan leer praat” [Female, teenager, Zulu, student]
223: “Ek is spuit om nou in ’n Afrikaanse klas te wees; Hoekom was daar nie eenmaal Engelse klasse nie, want die meeste universiteite is Engels.” [I am sad that I am in an Afrikaans class. Why can’t there just be English classes; after all, most of the universities are English.] [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
224: “Dat ek baie trots is om ’n Suid-Afrikaner te wees en op my taal en sal daarvan hou om nuwe tale aan te leer” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
225-230: No response
231: “Alle leerders moet by skole -drie tale geleer word. Die skool moet dit as ’n vak aanbied, sodat wanneer leerders die skole verlaat en na ’n hoë instansie gaan, hulle met almal kan kommunikeer en dit kan voordeel trek tot jou beroep eendag.” [All learners should be taught a third language at school. The school has to offer it as a subject so that when the learners leave school one day and go to a
higher institution, they will be able to communicate with everyone and this could serve as an advantage to your career one day.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
232-234: no response
235: “Afrikaans is my moedertaal maar soms is woorde vir my beter in my tweede taal om te verstaan.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
236: no response
237: “Dat my eerste taal my baie gemaklik laat voel as ek die vraestelle moet beantwoord” […]that my first language makes me feel very comfortable when I have to answer questionnaires.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
238: “Ja, ons dorp moet die buitelandse mense, bv soos inwoners van Zimbabwe en Sumaliens en Chinese praat ons mee Engels aangesien dit die enigste taal is wat waar ons mekaar beter sou verstaan.” [Yes, in our town we speak English to the foreigners like the people from Zimbabwe, the Sumalians and the Chinese, because this is the only language in which we understand each other better.] [Female, teenager, Afr only, student]
239-240: no response
242: “Dit voel partykeer of ek nie toelating het tot baie geleenthede nie wat na my toe sal kom kan benut nie, agy dat ek nie al drie primêre tale in die wes-kaap kan praat nie. Om dit te verhoed wil ek hê die regering of wel die instansies moet ons as jongmense die geleentheid gee om die tale aan te leer.” [It seems sometimes that I do not have access to many opportunities which could cross my path and which I might not be able to make use of because of the fact that I cannot speak all three primary languages in the Western Cape. To prevent this, I want the government or actually the institutions to give us the opportunity to learn these languages.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
243: “Om meer universiteite te maak wat Afrikaans bedien vir leerders wat by Afrikaanse skole is.” […]to create more universities which would serve those learners who have been in Afrikaans schools in Afrikaans.] [Female, teenager, Xho, Eng and Afr, student]
244: “I can be happy to communicate with other languages not only my home language only and other people to communicate with other languages try to make me understand as I do them.” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]
245: “Ek is te bang om Xgosa te leer. Dit is swaar.” [I am too scared to learn isiXhosa. It is too difficult.] [Male, teenager, Afri and Eng, student]
247: no response
248 “mense moet meer Afrikaans praat in die werkplek” [People should speak more Afrikaans in the workplace.] [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
249-264: no response
265: “English should be taught to foreigners as well” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
266-315: no response
316: “Most times I struggle with my Mathematics, because the teacher communicates in Afrikaans and I am English. In exams when I write an exam, I can only recall upon Afrikaans explanations and then I get confused. I would really like English as the main language, because it is understood commonly and internationally” [Female, teenager, Eng and Afr, student]
318: “Sometimes people are afraid to learn or speak another language. It is difficult to understand basic concepts or lessons if it is not in your own language.”  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

319: “Is that when I speak my own language with my friend who can understand me why people pass by us complain even if we not talking with them…”  
[Female, teenager, Xhosa, student]

320-331: no response

332: “Ek is bekommerd dat Afrikaans nie meer as onderrigtaal in die toekoms by universiteite gebruik sal word nie.” [I am concerned Afrikaans will not be used as a language of instruction at universities anymore]  
[Male, teenager, Afr only, student]

333: “Universiteite moet ook Afrikaans onderrig.”  
[Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

334-338: no response

339: “In some local schools like Settlers and Milnerton, sign language can also become an extra subject.”  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

340-341: no response

342: “Ek voel Afrikaans moet meer blootstelling kry by universiteite asook by besighede.” [I feel Afrikaans should get more exposure at university level as well in business.]  
[Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

343-358: no response

359: “Sekere skole bied nie Xhosa aan nie, maar tog kom Xhosa leerders na die skool en moet onderrig kry in Engels wat hulle boonop nie verstaan nie. Ek kry hulle so jammer!” [Some schools don’t offer isiXhosa as a subject at school, but yet the Xhosa children still come to the school and then they have to be instructed in English, which they furthermore don’t understand. I feel very sorry for them!]  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

360-368: no response

366: “Sou graag Zulu of Xhosa leer in die skool.”  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

367: “Ek dink meer mense moet kan lees en skryf en twee tale praat.” [I think more people should read and write and speak two languages.]  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

368: “Not many people in Bredasdorp speak English so it is quite difficult for me to stay true to my first language. I don’t mind though; it makes me fluent in English and Afrikaans.”  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

368-372: no response

373: “In my taal is dit vir my gemaklik. Deur te kommunikeer met ander mense. Hulle wat dieselfde taal as ek praat gaan dit verstaan. Ek wil graag twee tale aanleer, naamlik Duits en Spaans.” [It is comfortable for me in my language. By communicating with other people. Those who speak the same language as I will understand. I would like to learn two languages, namely German and Spanish.]  
[Female, teenager, Afr only, student]

376: “Ja, as almal Afrikaans kan praat, sal dit baie gemaklik wees.” [If everyone could speak Afrikaans, it will be easy.]  
[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

380: “My taal is vir my baie besonders dis my gebore taal. My taal praat my taal en ek as leerder is baie trots daarop my taal vir Afrika, my taal bly my taal. Vir
my is dit: ek kan met my taal baie ver gaan al verstaan baie mense nie ons gebore taal nie. My taal is my droom, my toekoms vir more. My taal gaan vir my nog baie deure oopmaak, ek’s nie skaam om oor my taal te praat nie, ek hou baie van Kaapse Afrikaans.” [My language is special to me - it is my birth language. I speak my language and I, as a learner, am very proud of my language of Africa, my language stays my language. To me it means the following: I can go very far with my language, even though people do not understand our birth language. My language is my dream, my future. My language will still open many doors for me; I am not ashamed to speak about my language. I like Cape Town Afrikaans.]

[Female, teenager, Afr only, student]

381: “Ek hou van Afrikaans praat, maar baie mense mors die taal op, bv die Kaapse mense praat baie anders as ons hier in die dorpe.” [I like speaking Afrikaans, but many people mess up the language, for example the people form the Cape speak very different than us here in town.]

[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

382: “Dis vir my lekker om Afrikaans te praat, want almal verstaan Afrikaans; daarom kommunikeer ek net met mense wat Afrikaans kan praat.” [It is fun for me to speak Afrikaans, because everybody understands Afrikaans; that is why I communicate only with those who can speak Afrikaans.]

[Female, teenager, Afr only, student]

385: “My eerste taal is Afrikaans omdat ek ’n Suid-Afrikaner is, is ek trots daarop en baie mense verstaan dit.” [My first language is Afrikaans; however, I am proud of Afrikaans and many people understand it.]

[Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

389: “meer tale aanleer!” [Male, teenager, Afr only, student]

406: “Ek sal graag meer tale wil aanleer as dit ingestel is by ons skool.” [Male, teenager, Afr only, student]

410: “Elkeen moet in sy/haar eerste taal kommunikeer, omdat elkeen gemaklik moet voel tydens die gesprek, maar moet ook aanpas om ander te akkommodeer.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

411: “Ek sal graag my taal laat voortleef en my nageslag ook grootmaak in my taal.” [I would like my language to survive and I would like to raise my children in my language.]

[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

416: “Ek is Afrikaanssprekend en is mal oor hierdie taal. Ek sal hierdie taal nie vir enige ander taal in die wêreld verruil nie. Ek is trots op Afrikaans en wil graag eendag my eie kinders daarin grootmaak. Kaapse Afrikaans is die best!” [I am Afrikaans speaking and I am crazy about this language. I will not exchange this language for anything in the world. I am proud of Afrikaans and would like to raise my children in Afrikaans one day. Cape Town Afrikaans is the best!]

[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

417: “... ek sal dus my kinders in Afrikaanse taal grootmaak...” [I will therefore raise my children in Afrikaans.]

[Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

420: “My eerste taal is Afrikaans maar ek praat Engels omdat my familie almal Engels is en ek praat beter Engels as Afrikaans, maar ek sal my kinders Afrikaans grootmaak omdat almal praat amper Engels en Afrikaans is besig om te verdwyn en dit is Suid-Afrika se moeder-taal.” [My first language is Afrikaans; however, I speak English because my family is English and I speak better English than Afrikaans. But I will raise my children in Afrikaans because almost everybody
speaks English and Afrikaans is busy disappearing and it is the mother language in South Africa.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

435: “Dat daar sal op WKOD-skole ’n derde taal aangebied moet word. Dit sal almal in ’n Unity kan unite! Dan sal jy Khosasprekendes kan verstaan!” [A third language will have to be offered at WCED-schools. That will unite everyone as one unit! Then you will be able to understand isiXhosa speakers!]

[Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

442: “I would to say to translators they must translate correctly isiXhosa when they translate all the languages.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

443: “Other places have all languages notices and signage and people that are translating…and interpreting what you are saying? What about us???” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

447: “I would like to communicate with different people who had different languages so that I can know how I can learn other languages because I want them to communicate with me and know my language. I’m proud of my language.” [Female, 20-35, Xho and Eng, student]

449: “I don’t see any reason to speak English to anybody at home or in the town. IsiXhosa is my language, and I feel at home. Yes, for English classes and for the exams and so on, but English is difficult. I do not like it; it kills my history.” [Male, teenager, isiXhosa and English, student]

459: “I am proud of my language. I like to communicate with peoples who don’t understand my language.” [Male, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

460: “Dit beteken baie in my lewe om te kommunikeer in my taal. Almal verskil in tale en almal praat tog regtig niks goeds nie veral as ek dit nie verstaan nie.” [It is very important to me to communicate in my own language. Everyone differs in languages and everyone doesn’t really talk about good stuff, especially if I don’t understand.] [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

464: “Partkeer is die inligtingsbrosjures net in Engels.” [Sometimes the information brochures are in English only.]

465: “Die taalgebruik hier vir ons ‘n baie voorreg want as tale nie kan praat nie, maar dan moet jy dit leer nie tekens is altyd Engels en Xgosa dan raak mense baie deurmekaar…” [The language we use here is a huge privilege, because if we cannot speak languages, then you have to learn them - the signs are always in English and isiXhosa and then people get very confused.]

466: “Almal verskil van tale en almal verstaan nie soms al die tale nie en dis ongemaklik om in mense se geselskap te sit en jy verstaan hulle nie. Dis beter as jy verstaan wat iemand praat.” [Everybody’s languages differ and not everyone sometimes understands all the languages sometimes. It is uncomfortable to sit in peoples’ company and not being able to understand them.]

467: “In die Engelse taal vind ek dit moeilik om myself uit te druk en gebruik soms verkeerde woorde.” [I find it difficult to express myself in the English language and use the wrong words sometimes.]
480: “I feel that everyone should learn his/her own first language first before learning other languages. It is important to know your home language.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

483: “When starting to learn in Central High School I choose English as the language that they should teach me in. The rest of the time they speak Afrikaans to us English speaking. That is what makes us fail at the end of the year.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

484: “Why are home languages in Central High English and Afrikaans? They should also add Xhosa to help us understand the other languages.” [Female, teenager, Xho and Eng, student]

485: “I am a Zulu speaking (person), I can speak English, and Afrikaans people expect us to know Afrikaans and English and they know nothing of our language and they don’t even try speaking it; that is very unfair, I think.” [Male, teenager, Zulu, isiXhosa and English, student]

491: “By die hospitale en klinieke op die dorp is die kennisgewings in drie tale.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

492: “Ek sal graag wil hê dat daar ook buitelandse tale by ons skool aangebied word.” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

494: “In ons dorp word sommige kennisgewings in drie tale versprei. By ons staatsdienste hang dit ook af met watter tipe ras jy praat; dan moet jy ’n taal praat wat die een verstaan, maar meestal gebruik ek my huistaal Afrikaans.” [Male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

501: “Few people in my area understand English when not spoken in only its simplest form.” [Female, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]

515: “Ek praat Afrikaans, maar dit is stadig maar seker besig om vervang te word met Engels en isiXhosa in Suid-Afrika en ek is bang vir Xhosa …” [I speak Afrikaans, but it is slowly being replaced by English and isiXhosa in South Africans and I am afraid of Xhosa.] [male, teenager, Afr and Eng, student]
ADDENDUM J: PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT LANGUAGE PRACTITIONERS
Please note that original mistakes have been kept, including punctuation. Those that had been used in the study had been translated into English:

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<tr>
<td>1. Are official notices and advertisements published by your provincial or local government department for general public information being issued in Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English? How often?</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Only notices in Afrikaans. Since September 2011 adverts stopped. I followed it up. The decision was based on false information for I was supplied with false information on ads not in Afrikaans anymore. My supervisor said we are in any case too understaffed to take on translations of adverts. No Xhosa ads, no papers to print and not printed in other newspapers in Xhosa.”</td>
<td>“Nee. Dit word gewoonlik net in Engels gedoen en indien jy daarvoor vra, wag jy ’n tydperk + kry jy dit daal in ’n ander taal. [No, it is usually done in English and should you request it, then you wait for a long time and would probably get it in another language.]”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“More language practitioners required.”</td>
<td>“Bigger budget for translations required.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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<td>2. When official notices and advertisements are</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“The translations in Xhosa are taking very long and</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No. Not always – in a meeting it was said”</td>
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<td>3. When official notices and advertisements are published by your provincial or local government department, are these published in the major language of the newspaper?</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“See Die Burger’s Health Ads, in English since 1 September…”</td>
<td>[No. Jy kry dikwels Engels advertsies in Afrikaanse koerante.” [Often you get English advertisements in Afrikaans newspapers.] “Vertaal dit in die taal van die koerant.” [Translate it in the language of the newspaper.]</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Only Afr + Eng newspapers”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
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<td>“It happened before, but lately there are news adverts in English in the Afrikaans newspapers. I have not seen an Afrikaans advert in an English newspaper”</td>
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<td>4. During communication services to the public, does every organ/institution of your provincial or local government department ensure that communication with the public is carried out in the</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Tele-interpreting at hospitals: staff (nurses) who have been assigned to be training in tele-interpreting to be responsible for training others are mostly not bothered and most hospitals don’t know about</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Stel mense aan om te tolk!” [Appoint people who can interpret!]</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Target group’s language(s) should be considered.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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<td>“This lead to Afr. people understanding English better – and you don’t reach all of the speakers as some are Xhosa or Zulu and they speak English. Our department projects</td>
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most appropriate manner, with the assistance of interpreters and translators or subtitling in any three of the official languages of the Western Cape?

service. Only those nurses and doctors who often have to work with patients whose language they can’t understand seem to care about the language rights of patients. The top management at most of the hospitals and those in charge of districts have also ignored requests from Health’s top management to help our language unit/Folio translators to identify the language needs at the various hospitals. Tele-interpreting services of Folio might not be renewed as our auditor-general says it is a waste of money, because it is not used.”

“Tele-interpreting was rolled out to 50 health facilities in WC last year. The service is hardly used, but it is much needed. It could have been done properly with a little effort but my boss cannot cope with all her work. The facilities for the roll-out were chosen randomly by the head of our language unit/Folio translators sometimes, but they are expensive.”
unit, because there was no support from hospitals to identify where the need is.”
“Nurses call our offices asking for an interpreter when they have the tele-service at the hospitals already – not aware – badly organised.”

|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 5. Does your provincial or local government department make any provision for any member of the public to communicate in any one of the three official languages? | “Yes” | “Yes” | “No. Nie altyd nie, daar is gewoonlik in Engels.” [Not all the time, it is normally in English.]
“Stel vertalers/tolke aan vir al drie amptelike tale.”
[Appoint translators for all three official languages.] | “Yes.” | “Translations/interpreting would be required.” | “Yes” | “Stel vertalers/tolke aan vir al drie amptelike tale.”
[Appoint translators for all three official languages.] |
| 6. In case of written communication between local and provincial government and residents, does the provincial or local government department use the provincial official language of the | “Yes” | “As for documentation in the form of templates and signs (formal and informal), all employees seem to know and obey the rule that all three WC’s languages must be used in communication to” | “Not sure. Dit moet altyd in die taal van die korresponderent geskied” [It has to happen the language of the correspondent.]
“Stel vertalers/tolke aan vir al drie amptelike tale.”
[Appoint translators for all three official languages.] | “No.” | “Mostly English” | “Yes” | “We use English – and sometimes Afrikaans” |
residents’ choice?

The district health programmes (TB, Health Promotion, etc.) all make good use of our services. The iron first of X (Director: Communication) has played a crucial role in enforcing communication in Health. She has had to become very unpopular at a lot of people and angry at a lot of people to achieve a unified communication system, but now all employees know and obey all the rules, which include the 3-language rule.”

“We are stretched to our limit and permanently on deadlines which we can’t meet. It can be stressful…Focus on language practitioners and actual translation/lang services, not a load of administrators and policy-makers who sit around and eat sandwiches all day. Awareness – creation of WC Language act among senior management.”

“Responses to
complaints from the public are often translated by us into the language of the complainant (when the HOD or Minister responds in writing). Yes. 100% We also translate letters to the Minister & HOD.”

**QUESTION:**

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<tr>
<th>Respondent 1: Premier’s Department</th>
<th>Respondents 2: Health Department</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>“Yes”</strong></td>
<td><strong>“Both Health information is sometimes translated to Portuguese, French and Swahili (and Zulu), where there is a need among patients. The tele-interpreting service accommodates many international lang’s – available at 50 Health facilities in W.C.”</strong></td>
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<td>“More public awareness should be created about our language services: posters &amp; radio. I have suggested this to our director.”</td>
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“**Yes”** *English prepared*

“**Yes”**

“**No”**

“**No.”** “It is English”

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<td>“More public awareness should be created about our language services: posters &amp; radio. I have suggested this to our director.”</td>
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**RESPONDENTS:**

1. Premier’s Department
2. Health Department
3. Environmental Affairs and Development Planning
4. Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport
5. Department of Transport and Public Works
6. Department of Economic Development and Tourism
7. Department of Social Development
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Development Planning</th>
<th>Affairs and Sport</th>
<th>Transport and Public Works</th>
<th>Economic Development and Tourism</th>
<th>Social Development</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;Yes. Not prevented, just excluded. (Afrikaans and Xhosa)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes, Afrikaans + Xhosa&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;No.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;No.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Mostly only English is used, but I see that the certification stamp in our office is only in Afrikaans. For official letters going out to all employees, the text is translated into all 3 languages. But for internal correspondence (between employees) English is used if there are more than two parties not speaking the same language&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Volg die amptelike beleid van die provinsie!&quot; [Follow the official policy of the province!]</td>
<td>&quot;Not officially. But English serves the purpose. Languages are used to convey info in the shortest amount of time (to save time, English is resorted to.)&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;English is mostly used&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;We speak English to each other&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;No&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;No&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Volg die amptelike beleid van die provinsie!&quot; [Follow the official policy of the province!]</td>
<td>&quot;No&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Yes&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;No.&quot;</td>
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<td>&quot;Staff and unions are not consulted i.e. communications affairs&quot;</td>
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9. In the provincial and local government structures, does your department reach sufficient consensus on your working language for internal written and electronic communication, provided that every effort was made to comply with the language code of conduct?
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<tr>
<td>10. Did your department determine the language usage and preferences of the community you serve, within the enabling provincial language policy framework?</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Those involved! – Khayelitsha community Forum, Architect &amp; Signographer at hospital and Department of Public Works/Health runs the show.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Stel mense aan om dit te bepaal, soos wat die taalbeleid bepaal.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Instead of serving community in the own language, officials use the language that suits their own needs best.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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Xhosa at KH: pointing fingers at one another, but I think the community forum decided and the signographer + architect complied. But department responsible: has final say.”

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<td><strong>11. Did the local government department consult with the communities to develop, publicize and implement language policies?</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Respondent 1:</strong> Premier’s Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stel mense aan om dit te bepaal, soos wat die taalbeleid bepaal.”</td>
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<td><strong>12. What is your policy regarding Sign Language? What do you do when a deaf person is a client?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Respondent 1:</strong> Premier’s Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>“No. Has not happened yet”</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Our language unit supervisor organises interpreters upon request. Mostly within the transformation unit for ‘disability’ functions. No service is available to the public, although I have</td>
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<td>[It should be implemented with “interpreters” who are trained. Fortunately I am able to do lip reading.]</td>
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<tr>
<td>“We get interpreters, but not many deaf people attend”</td>
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heard that there have been informal programmes where nurses learn basic sign language …(?). Ask X.”
“As far as I know, the nurses organise some form of communication through the client’s resources.”

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<tr>
<td>13. How do you eradicate the serious marginalization of isiXhosa?</td>
<td>“Trilingual notices, translating as many documents as possible in Xhosa”</td>
<td>“X writes Xhosa lessons in an internal Health magazine to teach employees basic Xhosa.” “The question should be raised in parliament why the signage makes Xhosa the second language at Khayelitsha Hospital. It must be prescribed by top management for notices to appear in isiXhosa in English newspapers.” (POS)</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Mother tongue based education for Grades 1-7?” “Educational legislation would have to be amended” (POS)</td>
<td>“Children who are primary school should be taught in their mother tongue languages” (POS)</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Not sure” “We try to translate, but there are too many problems with terms and people speak different isiXhosa”</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. How do you promote language diversity?</td>
<td>“Using Afrikaans and Xhosa as often as possible”</td>
<td>“By doing my job daily. I also try to speak other official”</td>
<td>“Stuur skywe aan bestuurders, altans, ek is besig daarmee.” [Write to]</td>
<td>“Speaking to and communicating with previously marginalised”</td>
<td>“Encourage people who speak different languages meet like”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“We don’t”</td>
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languages.”
“...press/newspaper would significantly change the status of Xhosa more media where Xhosa can be printed” (POS)
managers, anyway, I am busy doing that]
groups”
“People have to trust the govt for protecting their language rights” (POS)
in youth camps where they learn and understand the languages of other group and interpreting”

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<tr>
<td>15. How do you create awareness about the needs for the hearing impaired?</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“I don’t. Only in conversation when it comes up.”</td>
<td>“Nog niks gedoen nie” [Nothing has been done yet]</td>
<td>“Education via the media”</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>“We don’t do anything”</td>
<td>No response</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Is your signage in the three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“At all our hospitals, yes. The signs at our office only has names, no titles on the doors; so there is nothing to translate.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Yes”. Yes, it is -most of it – is costly – it also takes time</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Is staff being trained to acquire any official language? How many? Are they able to assist clients in any of the</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Basic Xhosa &amp; Afrikaans lessons will be given to emergency (Eng) call centre personnel, starting soon after EMS instructed it. There</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Ek is bewus daarvan: van tyd tot tyd kry mense die geleentheid daartoe.” [I am aware of that’ from time to time people get opportunities in this regard]</td>
<td>“No. No willingness from management.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“No effort made to create working knowledge of isiXhosa.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
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**three official languages?**

are always speakers of all 3 languages on duty, but when line of one is busy, the other speaker needs at least to be able to talk with the caller while waiting for the operator that can speak the language well to take the call. We are not teachers, but it is expected of us to start giving these lessons.”

“Few makes a effort”

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<tr>
<td><strong>18. Is your front line staff trained or have they been trained in all three official languages (even the basics?)</strong></td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Such things are done upon request. We help where we can, but we have not proactively taken up the role of teachers to staff, no. We cannot even cope with our work as it is!”</td>
<td>“Not sure. <em>Moet opleiding ontvang!</em>[Should get training!]”</td>
<td>“No, not even the basics”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19. How many surveys regarding language needs and preferences of staff and clients had been done to determine the language</strong></td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Not sure. Not in my time.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Few, too few”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“We only had two surveys”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>20. How many language proficiency surveys had been done in your department?</strong></td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Not sure. Not in my time. Info is there – as stated by employees on their CV’s.”</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
<td>“One”</td>
<td>“None”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>21. How many interpreting and translation services had been made available by your department at public events and internal meetings?</strong></td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“No. Hardly any, but the promoters usually go to their ‘own’ areas to work with the people. Our workforce is as diverse as the public and mostly events are organised taking language into account.” “In meetings we are sometimes asked to interpret (e.g. when Xhosa sangoma is present)”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Often.”</td>
<td>“many of them, even in the WCLC meetings”</td>
<td>“We do make provision for translation services in events when needed”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>22. How many documents for</strong></td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Since I have started working here, I have”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Many.”</td>
<td>“We are receiving a lot of documents”</td>
<td>“Almost all Afrikaans”</td>
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<td>QUESTION: 23. Is a Language Code of Conduct regarding language use and multilingualism developed and adhered to by your department? Please provide a copy.</td>
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<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Not sure. All three official languages are spoken in our offices. The department will fail if it cannot get prevention messages across to the public in the public’s languages. Texts are even translated to French and Portuguese where necessary. Getting a message across to the public means life”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Work in progress. Draft copy available.”</td>
<td>“We all have a copy of the WCLP in our offices”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“We use the Western Cape Language Policy”</td>
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and death in this department; s, the public is not denied its language rights in this department. I have not come across an instance where a person was denied communication based on language, but I am sure there are a lot of problems (still) at Health facilities.” “The 3-language rule is adhered to when communicating with the public, except for vacancy advertisements.”

**QUESTION:** 24. Are notices placed in all three official languages in your department?

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<td>“Cost money, time, diff terms developed”</td>
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**QUESTION:** 25. Does your department, in filling posts, give preference to applicants who are proficient in all three official languages?

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<td>“Yes. Just two, I think.”</td>
<td>“No. No more languages spoken does not mean better skilled/qualified workers. Maybe in the front line…?”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Just two – there are people but they speak isiZulu – so, they go for 1 language only”</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Does your department make financial resources available to facilitate language planning, training, etc.</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>No, we have to cough it up out of thin air, even if our job description demands that we undergo language with training and be certified still. I am struggling to get our directorate to sponsor our membership. Even just to buy a dictionary through our department is impossible. ‘All funds went to Folio - sorry you don’t have a budget this year, so you can also not outsource, but must do it all yourself.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
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<td>“No.”</td>
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<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“I think it is usually in English”</td>
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<td>27. Is all oral communication in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“No. I am unsure whether our two Xhosa-speaking communication officers do talks on radio in Xhosa. You could ask.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Dink dis gewoonlik in Engels” [I think it is usually in English]</td>
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**Communications. In offices, all 3 languages are spoken.**

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<td>28. Is all written communication in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
<td>“Yes, sometimes.”</td>
<td>“No. Not circulars going out to all employees (only English).”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Dis gewoonlik in Engels” [It is usually in English]</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Not all, but some.”</td>
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<td>29. Is your internal communication with staff members in all three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Yes. Yes, if it is to go out to all employees and concerns admin, except circulars. If it is an in-ternal advert (e.g. about an internal function or a special day such as Aids day) it will only be in English. (Strained capacity?)”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Dis gewoonlik in Engels” [I think it is usually in English]</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
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<td>30. Do officials have a linguistic etiquette, i.e. to</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“No. Not in my language unit, no. Xhosa is spoken all”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Hulle moet opleiding ontvang.” [They should get]</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
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<td>32. Does your department endeavour to promote the most important</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
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<td>35. Has a budget been allocated to your department for the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy?</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Yes. Within Communications, to employ us and start/have a language unit &amp; for the tele-interpreting service. Our unit is however not a priority in the budget – can’t even get essential”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Tog is daar in my kontrak ‘n bepaling dat ek met die implementering v.d Taalbeleid moet help.” [However, in my contract it is stated that I should help with the implementing of the Language Policy]</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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“Not sure” | “We have 2 language practitioners and we outsource documents” |
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<td>36. Has your department made provision in the budget for the appointment of language practitioners?</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Not sure. Hardly much or little or the funds are used for something else.”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
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“In the current financial climate, ‘sufficient’ staff is the best that can be afforded. Our functions cannot be expanded because understaffed, but at least the most important documents (to public) can always be translated by us.”
37. Are the language practitioners that have been employed to assist with the implementation of the objectives of the policy used solely for the policy or also for other purposes not linked to the achievement of the policy’s goals?

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<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Yes. All our purposes are to enable effective communication with the public in all 3 official languages. However, our aim is to help achieve effective communication with the public of which the language policy forms a part. We therefore send time on improving the quality of texts, and not simply translating.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
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38. Is the WCLP being supported by Management?

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<td>“No”</td>
<td>“No. After Afrikaans ads in Die Burger switched to English by official decree, I don’t believe so.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Yes.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
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39. Has your department made provision in the budget for additional resources to drive the

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<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Ek is nie op bestuursvlak nie. Ek ken nie sulke sake nie.” [I am not at management level. I don’t know about these issues.]</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
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40. What steps has your department taken to establish the language proficiency of staff?

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<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“By appointing staff at least proficient in two official languages, though are own language practitioners are not even proficient in more than one.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
<td>“No”</td>
<td>“No. Nothing.”</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
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41. Does senior management within the Department support the implementation of the policy? If so, how and if not, what would you like to see from management?

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<td>“Not sure, no. Application of the three languages in all correspondence”</td>
<td>“Management disregards our unit and are inaccessible to us. Only the management of Communications really promotes and supports the language policy, but we hardly have contact with our own bosses and therefore have very little power or voice to be listened to; so, it is just business as usual.”</td>
<td>“Management disregards our unit and are inaccessible to us. Only the management of Communications really promotes and supports the language policy, but we hardly have contact with our own bosses and therefore have very little power or voice to be listened to; so, it is just business as usual.”</td>
<td>“Not sure.”</td>
<td>“Budget for language training with proper SAQA Certification” “Financial rewards for trilingualism (per degree/level)” (POS)</td>
<td>“Yes”</td>
<td>“No.”</td>
<td>“No.” “We struggle”</td>
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42. What provision is being made to ensure that all official documents for internal use are in the three official languages?

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<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;None. All my efforts when fighting language issues have come to nil, because my supervisor says: “I can’t take on more work.” I honestly don’t care anymore, I am just here to rush through my work in the hope of meeting deadlines and keeping my head above water.”</td>
<td>&quot;Dit word gewoonlik deur die kommunikasie-komponent ge-outsource&quot; [These are usually outsourced by the communications component.]</td>
<td>&quot;Translation.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Translation.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Translation services are rendered&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Not sure&quot;</td>
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43. What provision is being made to communicate with clients in their preferred language?

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<td>&quot;Not sure&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Interpreters are organised in advance or at the last minute, translations are done or outsourced for other languages.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Not sure.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Interpreting.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Interpreting into their preferred languages&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Language prac assists&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Not sure&quot;</td>
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44. What provision is being made for SASL interpreting for the Deaf employees or clients visiting your department?

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<td>&quot;Not sure&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Don’t know.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Not sure.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;None.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;None, because we don’t have an in-house SASL interpreter&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;None&quot;</td>
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<td>45. What provision is being made to ensure that signage in your department is in the three official languages of the Western Cape?</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“3 people are employed on a full-time basis to ensure signage is in all three languages, etc. Public Health and Health have a joint appointment.”</td>
<td>“Kommunikasiekomponent doen altyd die ‘signage’” [The Communications Department usually does the ‘signage’]</td>
<td>“None.”</td>
<td>“Translating them into official languages” “Translations”</td>
<td>“Language pract makes sure it is in three languages”</td>
<td>“We translate is”</td>
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<td>46. What overall challenges are being experienced in the implementation of the policy?</td>
<td>“No one is aware of the policy or its importance, especially SMS and MMS”</td>
<td>“Delays with deadlines due to lack of capacity, staff and skills”</td>
<td>“Ons sal sukkel om dit te implementeer, regdeur!” [We are struggling with implementing it, right through!]</td>
<td>“Lack of willpower” “Lack of willingness to implement policy”</td>
<td>“Finances/ There’s always little or no money at all”</td>
<td>“Management lack support of policy. They take it for granted.”</td>
<td>“Willingness, funds, terminology, organising”</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. What support and/or assistance do you require from the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport in dealing with these challenges?</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
<td>“You mean DCAS is here to support us??? I thought they just organised the PLF and shut doors in our faces otherwise.”</td>
<td>“Directives on paper; official documents”</td>
<td>“Consultation and workshops”</td>
<td>Training and more training to make that we deliver excellent services”</td>
<td>“Awareness”</td>
<td>“Not sure”</td>
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<td>48. How has the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport promoted an awareness of</td>
<td>“By reminding everyone of the languages Act and the language policy”</td>
<td>“They sing the right tunes, but it is mostly air with no substance.”</td>
<td>“By reminding everyone of the languages Act and the language policy”</td>
<td>“By hosting events that deal with multilingualism and surveys” “Provincial”</td>
<td>“DCAS had awareness projects and interpreting was provided for people”</td>
<td>“Translations”</td>
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<td>49. What improvements can be recommended by your department (to the DCAS)?</td>
<td>“SMS and top management must support the Languages act and the Language Policy and the use of all three official languages as often as possible.”</td>
<td>“Pull up your socks, wake up, management”</td>
<td>“Alle kennisgewings en expo’s moet in die 3 amptelike tale wees.” [All notices and expo’s should be in the 3 official languages.]</td>
<td>“Policing of internal policy”</td>
<td>“DCAS to monitoring in provincial departments to see if they comply” (POS)</td>
<td>“Awareness to departments”</td>
<td>“Appointment of more staff”</td>
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<tr>
<td>SECTION 3 QUESTION 1: What would you regard as CHALLENGES to implementing the Western Cape Language Policy and WHY?</td>
<td>“Support by the top management and the SMS” “Enforcement of the Languages Act and the language policy” “Callousness of senior public official and officials who use English only”</td>
<td>“Lack of development of Xhosa terminology” “Mal practice-disobeying rules/not aware of Acts and policy” “Lack of capacity – no one seems to have time to care about language” “Funds” “Mediocre staff (BEE)”</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>“Educational revamp required – prep to Grade 7 education should be mother tongue based”</td>
<td>“One of the challenges is that still not aware that there are three official languages in the Western Cape and that these languages should have equal status.” “Departments will be told that there is no money project for implementing the WCLP/or translating all their documents in three official languages” “Notice must be in three official</td>
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<td>SECTION 3 Question 2 What OPPORTUNITIES and/or POSSIBILITIES would be created when implementing the Western Cape Language Policy and WHY?</td>
<td>“Participation of citizens in government”</td>
<td>“Work opportunities for more language practitioners”</td>
<td>“Where there are shortcomings in our implementation; if these shortcomings are met, it would not improve the lives of anyone (the public), it would only improve the status of the three languages.”</td>
<td>No response</td>
<td>“There would be more opportunities for language practitioners and related professionals”</td>
<td>“Resistance to National Govt policy is anti-productive, unless there are clear reasons for resistance”</td>
<td>No response</td>
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<td>“Development of languages”</td>
<td>“Teachers would experience the difference”</td>
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<td>No response</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Social cohesion”</td>
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<td>No response</td>
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Dear Ms J. Nel,

RESEARCH PROPOSAL: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN CAPE LANGUAGE POLICY: CHALLENGES, OPPORTUNITIES AND SOLUTIONS; 2 High Schools in Brackenfell (Albert Magnus Girls and Brackenfell HS); 4 High Schools in Stellenbosch (Dormerig NG, Lychhoff HS, Mahasola School, Stellenbosch HS); 1 High Schools in George (Thembembe Secondary, Papjembu Secondary, George Secondary); 1 High School in Mossel Bay (Dwyka Park HS); 3 High Schools in Betty's Bay (Betty's Bay South Secondary and The Settlement HS); 3 High Schools in Beacon West (Beacon Hill HS, Beacon West Secondary and Beaconside Secondary).

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. The programmes of Educators are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from 16th January 2016 to 30th September 2016.
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr. R. Coelessen at the contact numbers above quoting this reference number.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the 10 schools as submitted to the Western Cape Education Department.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Research Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag X9114
CAPE TOWN 8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Ronald S. Coelessen
for: HEAD, EDUCATION

DATE: 15th December 2009
ADDENDUM L: GROUP INTERVIEWS WITH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT: TRANSCRIPTIONS AND/OR NOTES TAKEN:
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT GROUP INTERVIEW 1: (Respondents 1 to 4)
HEALTH DEPARTMENT
(Minutes - no tape recording - minutes have been signed off as a true reflection of what was said)

Researcher: I welcome you, the Health Department, to the discussion on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy over the last five years. This information will be used for completion of my PhD on this issue in which I particularly look at the different departments, PanSALB and the Western Cape Language Committee’s efforts to implement it and the problems or challenges they are experiencing. I am also making sure that you as the respondents have given your consent and also that you have agreed to take part in the study. [Pause]

Thank you. Your anonymity is assured in the discussion.

Five years ago a pledge was signed with the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport to make sure that the language policy gets implemented by the provincial departments. Last year it was signed again. Did you sign it?

Interview Respondent 1: The language issue in the Health Department is more crucial than people might think. Over the last five years the Health Department has established its own language unit with the recommendation of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, as part of the WCLP. They have signed the pledge with regard to the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy twice and try to adhere to the implementation of this policy. (DOH)

Researcher: Are you aware of what the WCLP entails?
How do you implement the WCLP in your department and since when?
Is there a budget for the implementation of the policy in your department?
How big is this budget in comparison to the imperative needs that your department has to fulfill?

Interview Respondent 1: Therefore, yes, the Health Department has a huge budget for language issues in the province, an annual budget for interpreting and translations and other services, especially with regard to the interpreting system, and is fully aware of what the WCLP entails. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 2: However, the Language Unit of the Health Department differs from what is normally expected by the DCAS, as the lead department in the province, with regard to language policy implementation, to implement the WCLP, namely to focus on isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English exclusively. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 3: It is important to note that the Health Department is a huge department in the Western Cape, consisting and in control of many clinics, hospitals, day hospitals, etc. (DOH)

Researcher: How do you deal with complaints with regard to languages?

Interview Respondent 4: A complaint system exists where patients and doctors could issue their language complaints that they have experienced or are experiencing in their respective hospitals by way of writing letters to Head office in Cape Town, who then deal with their issues, emanating from looking for translators and/or interpreters. (DOH)
Researcher: What about the other languages spoken in the Western Cape? How do these languages get affected in your department and how do you deal with the lack of communication?

Interview Respondent 1: Because of the migration to South Africa across many borders, the health workers deal with a myriad of languages spoken in Africa (that includes regional languages of African countries as well as clan languages). These languages are amongst others Amerik (a huge demand for the speakers of this language), Arabic languages, and others, like French, Portuguese, Chinese, etc. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 2: Language usage (i.e communication between the health worker and the patient) is a crucial issue for the health worker and therefore there is no time to dwell on the formal language policy when the patient is in the hospital and there needs to be communication between the patient and the doctor. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: Languages include all the languages of SA and also other African languages, but especially African languages, like this one language, Aramaic, that is being used by many patients. These people come from African countries – from the far upper Northern side and therefore the Health Dept needed to make arrangements wrt assisting the patients and the doctors when communication difficulties were experienced. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 4: The health worker, when dealing with such a foreigner, depends on the interpreter (with English as the other language, as English is either the first, second or third language of the health workers) in most cases. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: The WC Health Dept’s Language Unit does not include the other many languages (examples) in Africa and therefore the Department needed to come up with a solution to the many complaints and challenges that were experienced in the clinics and hospitals in the province, especially in Cape Town. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: A tele-interpreting system, Folio, came to the rescue the last couple of years and this company was contracted by the Health Department and is a system that works as follows: the doctor needs to communicate with the patient, and visa versa, there is a communication problem, the doctor/nurse phones Folio, who puts an interpreter on the telephone line via speaker phone and acts as a communicator between the patient and the doctor in order to get the messages across. There is no problem with the doctor/patient confidentiality when it comes to the interpreter as these interpreters have signed their confidentiality and/or it is part of their interpreting services. This system was introduced in 2010 and has been of much assistance for the patient and the doctor. This is however a costly exercise, and is in the process of being abolished by the auditor general of Health for the upcoming financial years, but it has not been a final decision yet. The HOD and senior management in Health are mostly pro multilingualism. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 2: There are also a lot of Somalians in the Western Cape. Bellville, for instance, is known as Little Somalia, which means that the city has to deal with Somalian patients as well – The demand for Somalian is therefore also very high - Somalians also speak different dialects of the language - and to get hold of a Somalian interpreter poses a huge challenge, as you cannot just take
any Somalian from the street (Folio does recruit Somalians off the street and then train them) and let him/her do the interpreting. In this regard Folio assisted as well. As there are more cases of Somalian speaker than for the other languages, the need for these interpreters increases by the day. One Somalian interpreter was appointed in the Bellville hospital to serve as a communicator for the health workers there. In other hospitals there is a huge need. The service of Folio is expensive in this regard as it increases with the number of Somalians increasing in the Western Cape. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 3: Many of the patients speaking French, Afrikaans, isiXhosa or Dutch, German, can normally speak a broken English and can be assisted when the need arise. The problem that Health experiences currently is with the patients who cannot speak English and speak other foreign languages. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: South Africans coming to the Western Cape form the Eastern Cape, etc (especially the isiXhosa speaking, Ndebele speaking patients) speak different dialects of these languages. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 4: There are a huge amount of Sotho speakers in WC hospitals, and because there is a close link between the Nguni languages, the nurses who speak African languages of South Africa are almost always there to assist. There is however the occasional case of doctors and nurses making use of other workers in the hospital who can speak the language of the patient – in a life and death situation or wrt to medicine that needs to be taken to ease pain or save a life, it is necessary. (DOH)

Researcher: What role does English play in your department's day to day communication?

Interview Respondent 1: So, during conversation in any foreign African language like Ameriq, English play s a very important role in the Health Department’s interpreting system (contract with Folio) as the language which serves as the language of communication and/or mediation between the interpreter, the patient and the doctor/nurse. (DOH)

Researcher: Do you think other languages like Afrikaans play a role in the administrative workings of your department/in service delivery to the people?

Interview Respondent 4: Yes, Afrikaans is the most commonly used language in our hospitals, and those patients speaking Afrikaans normally also have communication in English as an advantage. We have never received any complaints about the need for Afrikaans interpreters in hospitals; only isiXhosa and Sesotho interpreters. (DOH)

Researcher: How do you overcome the challenges brought to you by people not understanding English, if English is your medium of communication?

Interview Respondent 3: Most nurses and doctors and health workers have a basic understanding of English. English is not the problem. The other languages are indeed a problem. (DOH)

Researcher: How do you make sure that isiXhosa gets promoted in your department?

Interview Respondent 1: In this regard we have the situation whereby the isiXhosa speaking nurses serve as communicators between the doctor and the
patient (confidentiality secured); in many cases there are however a lot of interpreting problems as follows: Interpreters coming from different parts of the country, speaking different dialects of the African languages may lead to confusion, the availability of a worker who is not part of the staff (a cleaner) to assist (no confidentiality; risky), the presence of a young female interpreter when the patient is an older gentleman, the inability of the interpreter to understand the particular dialect of the patient (there are many variants for words, meanings) speaking isiXhosa (there are so many dialects), the absence of standardised version of isiXhosa (or lack thereof) and the lack of terminology development, although dictionaries do exist (dictionaries contain three different types of meaning of a word), the different forms of sensitive words used in isiXhosa or other SA African languages for private parts (anus was used as an example, being interpreted as back, which is not the same) could pose a problem if not dealt with in a proper, respectable manner. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 2: At the moment there are EPW-projects - extended public works- that we partake in, especially in the DCAS with regard to trained isiXhosa community interpreters in the metro. They had been already trained and now they are working at the psychology and rehabilitation hospitals. These interpreters should be put in local hospitals in the province, but it would be a question of funds to implement the project. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 3: Terminology development would always be a problem in the African languages, and it is such a case with isiXhosa, but the discussion sessions in the Provincial Language Forum serve as a basis from which to work. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 4: Many times there is a dispute about which isiXhosa word to use, as isiXhosa rural differs from isiXhosa in the city, so how do you determine which one is correct? Many rural isiXhosa speakers are proud of their language and wish it to be spoken properly, not like in the city. They refer to tsotsi language, which is not the correct isiXhosa. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: Mostly there are no standardised versions of especially medical terms in isiXhosa and then the English word is being used, with an “I” before the actual word, and that poses a problem. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 1: Signage is a problem; it is costly and takes up space; there is a need for proper signage – in many government departments the signage is being put up just because the ministers and colleagues need to adhere to legislation in the Western Cape, but many times that does not happen and are Afrikaans and English or English only or Afrikaans only. There is also not very good inspection of these signs, but we do get problems when the wrong sign is being put up. The Department of Public Works inspects the signs and is taking us along to inspect signs for language since December 2011 (after there were too many problems with the signage at Khayelitsha Hospital). (DOH)

Researcher: Which challenges do you experience in implementing the WCLP?

Interview Respondent 1: There are no problems regarding implementing Afrikaans and English of the WCLP. We get translations of pamphlets done by our Language Unit. (DOH)
Interview Respondent 1: We also have a relationship with the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport in order to assist us with translations – for which we pay. A few of our translations into foreign languages are being outsourced by us to be done by freelance translators. There is often a lack of staff to do translations. (DOH)

Interview Respondent 2: The problem occurs however with the putting together of pamphlets and to distribute information to the people of the WC in this regard; to the patients. An example of this would be the information that we would like to give to those foreigners in the province about vaccinations. There is also no payment for the other languages that need to be read in the province. When requests come in for translations into other languages, e.g. Zulu, French and Portuguese, we outsource the work and pay for it from our budget. (DOH)

Researcher: I have learnt such a lot of things here today. Thank you so much for the very long group discussion that we had.

END OF GROUP DISCUSSION

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT GROUP INTERVIEW 2: (Respondents 5 and 6): DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
(Tape recording transcription)

Interview Respondent 5: We don’t have to... (DSD)

Researcher: No no no you don’t have to prepare for anything, I’ve sent you a form that you may fill in, but let me first introduce you to...I would like to welcome you to here er...to my little discussion on er...what the problems of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy is...I’m really thankful to you guys for taking time off to speak to me about it. This is the first interview – this is the first interview, if you would like to have a second one, I would also like to arrange that with you as soon as possible. This is for the completion of my PhD. I’d like to finish as as soon as possible and I need some expert interviews on...on...comments by people who...who are working at implementing the the the Western Cape Language Policy...erm...first of all I would like you to introduce yourself for the purpose of the tape, thank you...

Interview Respondent 5: Ok. My name is X. I am the language practitioner for Social Development – provincial government for the Western Cape. (DSD)

Researcher: Are you doing Xhosa and English?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes, I am doing isiXhosa (DSD)

Researcher: And English/Xhosa? And translating?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes... (DSD)

Researcher: Ok. And you are....?

Interview Respondent 6: I’m X, language practitioner at Social Development. I’m doing translations. (DSD)

Researcher: So you are not involved in the interpreting unit?

Interview Respondent 6: No, we don’t have ...we outsource the interpreting services. (DSD)

Researcher: I see. Ok. So you you just said that you are interpreting as well - are you doing it in a private capacity?
Interview Respondent 5: No no no we as part of in Social Development, in terms of sourcing from outside… (DSD)
Researcher: I’d like to…just start this interview by asking you that there was a pledge signed a couple of years back last year at the Colloquium. Was Social Development involved in that pledge signing with the Western Cape Minister Premier ....to implement the WCLP? Do you know anything about that?
Interview Respondent 6: At UWC? (DSD)
Researcher: At UWC, yes
Interview Respondent 6: Yes we were part of that signing because we are part of the… language forum…so we were there in the Western Cape obviously as part of the Western Cape and then we… yes. (DSD)
Researcher: yeah, it’s I I am sure that Mr X, the deputy director of language services; they undertook that they would actually come to social development for the pledge to be signed…
Interview Respondent 6: No, no yet. No, they didn’t come they didn’t come but they said they would come to the management and we have no idea whether they did or not. (DSD)
Researcher: OK, Uhm, the WCLP – you have been intensively involved in the translations and then outsourcing and interpreting. How else do you implement the Western Cape language policy or… let me rather…the… let me rather go back to my first question…What is social development about, firstly? What is it all about - this Department of Social Department? What is it that you do? What does it include?
Interview Respondent 6: At UWC? (DSD)
Researcher: At UWC, yes
Interview Respondent 6: Yes we were part of that signing because we are part of the… language forum…so we were there in the Western Cape obviously as part of the Western Cape and then we… yes. (DSD)
Researcher: yeah, it’s I I am sure that Mr X, the deputy director of language services; they undertook that they would actually come to social development for the pledge to be signed…
Interview Respondent 6: No, no yet. No, they didn’t come they didn’t come but they said they would come to the management and we have no idea whether they did or not. (DSD)
Researcher: OK, Uhm, the WCLP – you have been intensively involved in the translations and then outsourcing and interpreting. How else do you implement the Western Cape language policy or… let me rather…the… let me rather go back to my first question…What is social development about, firstly? What is it all about - this Department of Social Department? What is it that you do? What does it include?
Interview Respondent 5: Maybe on development pertaining to the welfare of society around the Western Cape. (DSD)
Researcher: Oh, well, does it include your grants, your… no…?
Interview Respondent 6: No, it is when we do social services that we included grants, but a few years ago we we were divided into two, so Social Development and then SASSA was dealing with the grants and we are only dealing with the develop …we are not…urhm…how can I put it….it’s it’s like when we deal with … er…SASSA… they are… (DSD)
Researcher: Who is SASSA?
Interview Respondent 6: SASSA is its whereby they they give the grants …it’s an agency that is for person on the grants so now we are not sitting on the handouts of the grants. (DSD)
Researcher: Of the grants … anymore
Interview Respondent 6: Of the grants, so we want people to be sustainable so we…we…we come project that will make them to be… (DSD)
Researcher: What kind of projects? Just give me a couple of projects? I’m just a little bit confused at the moment. What kind of projects do you do then?
Interview Respondent 6: Uhm …we’ve got…urhm…it’s like food gardening, so er… (DSD)
Researcher: Ok!
Interview Respondent 6: We give er…. communities the skills so that they can …urhm.. They can… (DSD)
Researcher: That is what I wanted to know, so one of those aspects would then be or one of the projects would then be food gardening project in the whole... in the entire Western Cape?

Interview Respondent 6: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: So you are then working with farming communities or you’re working with people who need to sustain their own gardens or you working with people who need their own gardens or plant their own vegetables? Is that what you do? Is that one project?

Interview Respondent 6: Because we before we were Social Services we used to have soup kitchens... (DSD)

Researcher: I see

Interview Respondent 6: but they wanted to divert from that one and make sure that they don’t only focus on on urhm on those soup kitchens whereby they go there and they must be able to sell whatever they urhm make from those food gardens so that they can live from that as well (DSD)

Researcher: You wanted to...you wanted to say something...yes...?

Interview Respondent 5: Respondent: I think I think we got 8 programmes like dealing with the communities in different aspects like the disability unit dealing with urhm empowering disabled people, there is a youth programme (DSD)

Researcher: Yes, please name them all?

Interview Respondent 5: elderly people, children and families, children and families, community, sustainable livelihood...er... (DSD)

Researcher: This is a massive department...

Interview Respondent 6: yes (DSD)

Researcher: and in this massive department you need to be able to communicate....you need to be able to be talking to the people of the WC, which means that you need to be able to communicate in the peoples’ languages to them so that the people can then also communicate back to you in an understandable way and this is where my second question, or my third question comes in...is: how ...what problems do you get when you have to execute those projects that you are busy with...

Interview Respondent 5: Ok (DSD)

Researcher: What language problems do you ...do you...

Interview Respondent 5: We are not as a communications unit or a language we are not exactly...urhm... directly involved but it is the programmes themselves and the programme drivers that are directly linked to the people. We’re actually a support service to the projects (DSD)

Researcher: Fantastic!

Interview Respondent 5: ....to the programmes...so we don’t deal directly with them (DSD)

Researcher: Have you...have you...?

Interview Respondent 5: So we give them language services as they may need it in line with the language policy. (DSD)

Researcher: So what would the... what would the people who are implementing the policy what problems would they foresee, when they.... I mean if you send a Xhosa I mean an Afrikaans speaking person over to the communities to go and explain to them how to plant food, urhm, and those
people are Xhosa speaking people or...how ...what... what problems...it’s it's a major thing...what problems do you think they’re getting?

Interview Respondent 5: Ok, you see Western Cape is mainly especially in the communities where outside the metro where these projects work, uhm... they are mainly rural communities which... are either or and mainly Afrikaans speaking or isiXhosa speaking. And in those that are Afrikaans exclusively Afrikaans speaking... the minority communities that are of isiXhosa speakers there ...have not seen something to the... to the.... nothing in terms of language rights (DSD)

Researcher: I see

Interview Respondent 5: Yeah, they are completely communicated by the dominate language in that community (DSD)

Researcher: and they...er... they convey and the message could then be conveyed to them in...in Afrikaans, I presume?

Interview Respondent 5: In Afrikaans yes - Yeah they get left out (DSD)

Researcher: That is that is very interesting, because I thought that English would play a specific role when you try to communicate with the multilingual communities in this...in this province and it seems that...

Interview Respondent 6: It is not always like that. Really, it is supposed to be like that, but I think Afrikaans is given the... the... the priority more in the WC (DSD)

Researcher: Is it because of the majority of people speaking Afrikaans, so obviously the Afrikaans speaking people won’t speak English to them. They will speak Afrikaans because of the dominance of the language?

Interview Respondent 5: And one of the... explanations is that they do not know English. So, if you were to say to them that they should at least urhm think about those who speak isiXhosa or who don’t know Afrikaans, they will say we also don’t know English...so there is no common ground. You can’t speak English and then they both hear, you must speak Afrikaans for them and isiXhosa for them, so they occupy the same land. (DSD)

Researcher: How do you think is that affecting the.... the WCLP that needs to be implemented? And now I want you to lift your hat a bit and speak to me about you see you are also a WCLC member and I’d like you to speak to me about that...

Interview Respondent 5: Uhm yeah I think in terms of the urhm the implementation of the policy, departments in general have not had urhm willingness from the managers, so that language has not become... part of the management urhm priority. It it it taken more as the the leisurely... (DSD)

Researcher: Yes?

Interview Respondent 5: …thing and not as a main as as the service itself to the people (DSD)

Researcher: Is it because it is not economically viable to... to have English, ag ...Afrikaans or at least Xhosa being promoted?

Interview Respondent 5: Because they they... they don’t see...people think it’s not their role, its not their conscience the departments think it’s not their conscience, so why do they invest in it? They won’t get any re... (DSD)

Researcher: returns?

Interview Respondent 5: …returns. So they don’t invest in it, yeah. We’ve actually received a lot of complaints from...as the Language Committee...
received a lot of complaints from police officers in exclusive Afrikaans areas, who are forced into writing statements in Afrikaans that they do not know. Their superiors are Afrikaner are Afrikaans speaking and the people who come into the post office are…  (DSD)

**Researcher:** the speakers of other languages, like isiXhosa?

**Interview Respondent 5:** yeah, but but they get forced to write by the supervisors in Afrikaans, and… but… what they do not know they’re not competent in Afrikaans and…er… as a result they have seen their lives, their professional lives being a misery… in the work force as well…

**Researcher:** Of course, of course…

**Interview Respondent 6:** I I I think the main problem is when they look at urhm urhm what they are supposed to to to implement the policy there there they shall take as if everyone is supposed to to speak their language and now English English. It’s like it’s like… they will say you are supposed to know English. They don’t even take it a your right to even read er…er… and be served with the language that you understand better, you know, so that’s the main problem. So when you want to be served in your own language they take you as if you are Illiterate or whatever…  (DSD)

**Researcher:** …or stupid

**Interview Respondent 6:** Yes  (DSD)

**Researcher:** or something like that? Now, this whole issue of a language policy for the WC needs to then in your opinion go looking a bit further than just the written stuff that is being …er… er given to everybody. Like your annual report is in three languages, your APPs are in three languages your forms are in three languages, but in the real world where the… food gets planted and where people have problems and then you as a department not necessarily have to communicate but the people have to communicate to you - that is where the main problem lies...if I listen to you correctly you at the moment - that is where your problem

**Interview Respondent 5:** Yes  (DSD)

**Interview Respondent 6:** Its like here we came with a strategy work where we don’t always focus on translations to implement the language services to give the its like our social workers, our receptionists and al those er er all those people and give them courses so that they can be able to speak isiXhosa because the main problem if you look at the social workers they go to our communities maybe it is an Afrikaans speaker who will go to a Xhosa speaker and then that that person, ur that there are things that ur because language goes with culture there are things that she wont understand about the person you see and then she will take as if as maybe that person is rude when she doesn’t want to answer this and this but I think the social workers need to understand their clients more better. But now here when we introduce that, they think as if we in fact we were told it is not our core function, so what’s the point for wasting money on.  (DSD)

**Researcher:** on communicating?

**Interview Respondent 6:** on communicating, you see  (DSD)

**Researcher:** on effectively?
Interview Respondent 6: because the main focus here is translations and if you look at when we translate those apps or annual reports, are the communities reading the annual reports and the apps? Not at all. (DSD)

Researcher: No they also do not have access to computers to actually check up the... the... the translated versions of the annual reports on the internet?

Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)

Researcher: Er...which leaves me with with with another question? Where are the problems ...where exactly is the problem?

Interview Respondent 6: It’s with the management. The main problem is with the... if the management can buy the the I mean the the main reasons why do you want to implement the policy, why do we want people to be served in three languages, then the support it will be able to...(DSD)

Researcher: So it’s more a top down

Interview Respondent 6: top yeah (DSD)

Researcher: process to be implementing to people who can read and write and not necessarily to those people whoa re monolingual who don’t speak another language than their own language and who need to be educated into social development issues into your 8 programmes that you are offering which they are not, which means that your programmes... how do you feel...are your programmes then effectively implemented if the people do not understand you?

Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)

Researcher: Sure not?

Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)

Researcher: And that’s a lot of money that’s being projected into those urhm projects and a lot of money being urhm filtered into those projects? So, who is being advantaged here if your Xhosa people cannot understand your Afrikaans projects that are being given to them?

Interview Respondent 5: Yeah. (DSD)

Researcher: You have to say something...

Interview Respondent 5: I think we... because we have inherited a system that has urhm elevated two languages over another, it’s become a norm everywhere. Even in signage you will see English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, English Afrikaans, and nothing of isiXhosa, because it it its taken for granted that they know... they know... they know a tafel a tafel is a table in English, they will know - we don’t really have to say i- tafele to them, we don’t have to have it in isiXhosa when they know it, so...(DSD)

Researcher: What is strange is it that there are many Xhosa speakers in the WC? Every town has speakers of isiXhosa in other words every town in CT or in the WC is sort of multilingual in a sense, is it not so?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: and your empowerment of the people should happen through your language?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: But it doesn’t not... not in your department not as I’m seeing here, yes there is money available, yes there are projects available, yes the
people need to get empowered, but management has a different strategy when it comes to language policy implementation as what your … er…

Interview Respondent 6: I I I think… (DSD)

Researcher: project implementers have?

Interview Respondent 5: yes (DSD)

Researcher: or as what the people need?

Interview Respondent 6: I I I think the difference the difference between DCAS and us is that urhm we …our supervisors as well, doesn’t have any idea of what is going on with the language services. They don’t have a clue - that’s the main problem. (DSD)

Researcher: Ok, that is a very good point that you are raising. I want to know from you guys: in your experience as project implementers and as as translators and so on…do the people of the WC, I’m talking about in your in your area of expertise, everybody at grassroots level, do they know about the Western Cape language policy?

Interview Respondent 5: No (DSD)

Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)

Researcher: Do they know their language rights?

Interview Respondent 5: No (DSD)

Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)

Researcher: Are they are they not being told about it? Is it is it not …DCAS responsibility to make sure that they that they know?

Interview Respondent 5: Yeah. People… they site their rights directly to their constitution. We have constitutional rights. Otherwise I don’t even…I am not even sure that they know where those rights are in the Constitution that they can claim (DSD)

Researcher: So the people need to be educated about when somebody or an official comes, state official comes or a government official comes in there with a project they need to be educated to say that listen you don’t have to struggle when you communicate?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: And do you think it will ever happen?

Interview Respondent 5: With the willingness of managers releasing funds for all the projects that we think should be implemented, yes, maybe (DSD)

Researcher: Do you think money is actually a very good reason not to …

Interview Respondent 5: It becomes a problem. You will find out that that er money directed to us it is just for administrative stuff. (DSD)

Researcher: So what do you do is you do your administrative stuff, you find you you get your texts, you translate the text, or your posters or whatever and you just…

Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: and that’s it?

Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: and then you just give that… hand those out to the communities?

Interview Respondent 5: yeah (DSD)

Researcher: and in three languages?

Interview Respondent 5: yes (DSD)
Researcher: You don’t bother about the other languages like French or or Zulu or Setswana?
Interview Respondent 5: No (DSD)
Interview Respondent 6: No (DSD)
Researcher: or Zulu or Setswana?
Interview Respondent 6: Oh, and we assume that everyone can read (DSD)
Researcher: We assume that everyone can read? Oh yes? We assume that everyone can read?
Interview Respondent 6: Because the minute that you hand out your written stuff you assume that everyone can read (DSD)
Researcher: Can read the language or can read at least one of the three languages to to be able to understand what is going on?
Interview Respondent 5: Yes (DSD)
Interview Respondent 6: Yeah (DSD)
Researcher: Is that not a dangerous assumption to make?
Interview Respondent 5: It is…It’s been coming from an era where most of us did not or could not go to school, especially our parents (DSD)
Researcher: of course… of course
Interview Respondent 5: Even they cannot even read their own language, so the least is… they can speak it at least, so they need to yeah the service (DSD)
Researcher: What would you what would you… oh, this is going all places I didn’t plan it like this cause its very very interesting… what would you say you… if you would look for solutions for communication problems within this this communities that you work with within Social Development, what would your solutions be… off the cuff? What would you think should happen to make that communication between your government official, your project manager and the community possible? What should happen there when it’s only Afrikaans being spoken and there are a lot of Xhosa people sitting there or 20 Xhosa speaking people sitting there when there are 200 people understanding Afrikaans? What would you say? What what what would you do?
Interview Respondent 6: I think we had an idea that they need to involve us in everything that they do - if they are planning any event we should be part of that so that we can… bring in advise that urhm… that if we are going to Khayelitsha, I mean, we also go there so that we make sure that the people understand it is not only that that the progammes or whatever that or the pamphlets that they issue, so it’s about us directly involved and be able to communicate with the communities (DSD)
Researcher: Or like a place like Beaufort -West for instance. Or…mind you… Beaufort West is a bad example, because in BW the isiXhosa speaking people there that I spoke to they spoke Afrikaans better than I can urhm so let me use George as an example for instance where the people are not speaking Afrikaans that… the Xhosa speaking people they don’t speak Afrikaans that well They they use English
Interview Respondent 5: Urhm because our main urhm face to the communities are our community development workers and social workers. Those people need skills - language skills. They need proper language skills and then my colleague
here had classes running for those people that give services directly to the people. And her programme was halted for no reason and that is one other aspect. And I think because language is not a management issue, I think we should also look at redesigning the job descriptions of linguists. Instead of being contained in the office but to actually be out there and actively implement the WCLP and be the face of the department urhm and not just be asked to come with us we will have problems in George, come see what you can… see (DSD)

Researcher: So the community needs to when they know about the language rights and they know about the language policy they need to just phone you and say we had a project here and we couldn’t understand… are you going to provide us next time around when you come around with interpreters or somebody that can just stand there, one of your language practitioners just stand there and and try and explain to us when we need to understand in our own language, ask questions in our own language?

Interview Respondent 5: I think that maybe George will have to have urhm Xhosa speaking or competent community development workers and social workers in there, so that when people come to their local service offices do not have issues with it. And perhaps a linguist or a language professional from the Head Office facilitates that…yeah (DSD)

Researcher: There can be also trained into how to how to deal with consecutive interpreting or how to interpret for the people?

Interview Respondent 6: Yes (DSD)

Researcher: I am so happy speaking to you. Is there anything else that you need me to know or…are you done

Interview Respondent 6: Yeah (DSD)

Researcher: or do you want to add…?

Interview Respondent 6: But I think urhm the WCLC or DCAS one of the two are not doing …100% in checking our…in our in our departments if we are really implementing. They always promise that they will go to these departments and see to it. Because…even if you go to those forums and tell them exactly what is going on in our departments, they don’t know they don’t know. And the management they don’t take us seriously, but if people from DCAS or WCLC can visit our department and see to it that we implement these things. (DSD)

Researcher: so they do not play an overseeing role

Interview Respondent 5: no (DSD)

Interview Respondent 6: no (DSD)

Researcher: into your communication problems

Interview Respondent 5: no (DSD)

Interview Respondent 6: no (DSD)

Researcher: or to or to speak to each other to each other so that your communication problems with the people at grassroots level

Interview Respondent 5: yeah (DSD)

Researcher: can actually be resolved?

Interview Respondent 5: no (DSD)

Researcher: Which is which brings me to the conclusion of this interview – I would like to thank you from the bottom of my heart for being so very well prepared for this and for coming here and play a part in me getting a degree.
Thank you very very much. I will send you two forms and then I’ll send you two forms, I must just give you my e-mail address that you can either fill in one in or you can fill I and you will see there is also an ethic statement for me, so your name will not be mentioned, even here you will be anonymous because that is what we do when we study. And thank you so much for having me here and for playing a part. Thank you!

Interview Respondent 5: Is it supposed to be recommendations on the implementation… (DSD)

Researcher: It’s supposed to be urhm…urhmm the challenges the problems that people find, I’m looking at ideology and different things that influence policy implementation and whether it can be implemented, so those are the things that I’m looking at…

END OF DISCUSSION

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT GROUP INTERVIEW 3: (Respondents 7 to 12): TREASURY

(Tape recording transcription)

Researcher: I would like to welcome Treasury, I think - I will give you a chance to explain exactly who you are in a moment …. I would like to welcome all of you here to the discussion that we will have on the… the implementation problems of the Language Policy er…my name is Jo-mari Nel and I’m busy doing my PhD on all the challenges that provincial governments get with implementing Policy and I’m going to start of by just asking all of you to introduce yourselves and then maybe one of you can actually just tell me what Treasury is all about or what your department is all about, thank you …we can start on my right…or on my left…

Interview Respondent 7: We can just introduce ourselves, but Respondent 8 is the person who will speak about this… (Treasury)

My name is X. I work in the office of the HOD and I am a language practitioner and I am dealing with all the language issues … editing, translations of the documents, annual reports, APP, all the big documents, I’m also doing…teaching Xhosa erm…I’m also doing the signage of the department…I’m also working as an admin doing everything in our department. (Treasury)

Researcher: And your…your…so your description is language practitioner.

Interview Respondent 7: Yes, Language Practitioner (Treasury)

Researcher: So all your duties that you do

Interview Respondent 7: Yes, all the language duties in the department, I do them (Treasury)

Researcher: And…and you are…

Interview Respondent 8: I work with with X, I am the website data collector and I publish documents content, etc. on line and we have an Internet sight and we Internet sight that I am responsible for – which forms part of the provincial government. We don’t have our own internet website, but with the provincial government’s website, we have a portal on there and we got the languages, I sit with this lady and we sit with documents, annual reports, budgets, etc that we need to publish online. (Treasury)
Researcher: Thank you
Interview Respondent 9: My name is X and my surname is X. I’m in the HR field I’m specifically responsible for the resource development and…erm…and policies, which is what (Treasury)
Researcher: Of course, and you are…
Interview Respondent 8: Ok, I am X and I am working within the budget management office of the Treasury… and my subcomponent is basically responsible for er…information management for the Treasury, er…though…er…documents flowing in from…from outside and from out of the Treasury. We are responsible for that. And also, the collating of many of our publications as well. (Treasury)
Researcher: And I would like to also now give you an indication of exactly what my PhD is all about – after I hear about how Treasury fits within the language policy of the Western Cape. So, X, if you could maybe tell me, how does Treasury fit into…into the policy?
Interview Respondent 8: It’s a million dollar question that I didn’t think about actually…er…the pro…lets start off by saying what we are responsible for. We got two main erm…DDD’s appointed and they are…it’s two programmes or main programmes that within Treasury, one is the provincial account in general, that is mainly responsible for the erm…for the accounting …financial governance side, etc. so on that component one of the publications that…the main publications that they are responsible for governance review and outlet and that’s looking after the where we are basically with the departments’ running of the mill finances and the financial day to day business…we publish the document, we rate them etc …also responsible…also what this components is responsible for is the publicize, what they publicate…(Treasury)
Researcher: Publicize?
Interview Respondent 8: …er…publicize is the consolidating financial statements, and various other documents… now on the fiscal side…erm…that’s we are kind of responsible for IYM, in-year monitoring systems, the budgets erm…erm…wat moet ek nog sé? [What should I still add?] (Treasury)
Researcher: And the language in which you publicize all the those…is that..
Interview Respondent 8: Just on this side we publicize the budget and the interim policy statements in review and outlet …erm…speeches for all these documents, etc…now there is another unit as well, obviously the…erm…the administration unit that is responsible for the internal things for the department and they…they publish documents like the annual report and the annual performance plan on that side. On…on the administrative side, I know that we do translations for that, but I can’t speak about that because I am not dealing with that. X will know more and is dealing with that. (Treasury)
But from our side it is very difficult to translate documents, because when you have a document translated, for instances our budget has about 500 pages and it’s tables and all those kind of things …so, in the past…what we have done…some of the documents that we have translated, we have made at best summaries of those documents, more or less two page summaries of those documents in all three languages of the province. (Treasury)
Researcher: Thank you very much; I would also just like to welcome X to the meeting erm... X. I’m just going to make her a number 5 so that I know exactly where you are...
Erm...my very first question will then be: I have worked in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport for five years and I remember that were...one of the things they do there...is they are responsible for the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy. The PhD that I am doing has to do with implementing...implementation problems that the departments... all government departments, including the DCAS, that they have by implementing the language policy. Now, I know that...all of you know that...it is Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa and a bit of the development and promotion of Sign language and the Nama Language, but my question would be... (everybody shows to Respondent 8), ...X, there was a pledge that was signed, I think 5 or 6 years ago, I wasn’t working at the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport then, but I saw that pledge in...in the Department, but last year at a specific colloquium to address the implementation problems of the policy, there was another pledge signed. I wanted to know whether or not Treasury was represented...whether or not they represented.
Interview Respondent 7: Yes, I was there. (Treasury)
Researcher: Were you representing them? X – the...has DCAS the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport been to you guys for come and sign the pledge, cause I think, I was there and Premier Helen Zille and as well as Mr Jenner signed it..
All: No (Treasury)
Researcher: So, they didn’t re-sign the pledge with you at the moment. Is there a budget for implementing the policy...specific for implementing the Policy? (Treasury)
Respondent 7: Erm, well I don’t know about the implementing of the language policy, but what we do have a budget for the language, for the language unit.....erm...because in our department I am the only person who is dealing with languages; I suppose may be if I had maybe a supervisor...a person that is maybe always attending the meetings cultural affairs meetings with me or with other managers...er...say with... with X and them...wt the moment what I know is that we do have a budget for the languages. (Treasury)
Researcher: How do you this is...I sometimes I follow the questions that I have, but it also depends on the conversation...your...who is your clientèle? Do you work directly with the communities when you say you... you do with... with... with your other depts. And in the other depts. you then have to translate all your documents in the three languages, because that is...that is...that is they...what they need and that is exactly what you do. Congratulations! You are probably the very first department that can tell me with straight faces that you are implementing the policy by translating everything
Interview Respondent 8: Ok, just in my introductory paragraph I referred that we summarize some of those documents ...we don’t translate the budget – (Treasury)
Researcher: Is it not necessary?
Interview Respondent 8: No, it is quite thick and pages and I think we attempt it…and I have to speak for somebody else now…one of these documents many years ago and I don’t know how much it cost us…and…we got only one request from that, so we think efficiently and effectively as well in the sense that…erm…how to deal with this, especially with the thick documents. I know that we our publications are annual report and the APP are being translated, but still with the …with the main publications, we don’t always. (Treasury)

Researcher: There is…there is a link between your finances and your… the people that are dealing with or the clientèle that are reading your finances. They can understand English? Is that what you are saying? They are educated enough to…to…er…er…you know to see a document in front of them and they know exactly what the financial terms should be.

Interview Respondent 8: It’s…it’s… students that require documents from us…for their theses…so it’s people that understand the economic terms the financial terms…(Treasury)

Researcher: So your problems would be if I could summarize the cost that it involved…the cost involved to translate in… in… translating your documents – that is your very first problem and your second problem then would be the demand for Afrikaans or isiXhosa documents. What is the IsiXhosa, just in general… are there problems with isiXhosa in the Western Cape, in your …in your Department? Do people ask for signage in isiXhosa? Do they?

Interview Respondent 7: Not necessarily as I know, even with…with the documents, like X has just said now, neither English document then they don’t ask maybe for the documents in isiXhosa. (Treasury)

Researcher: This is very interesting, because?

Interview Respondent 10: Just because, because English is considered the language of business. Not not Just generally, the language of business and it is known that the majority of people interact in … (Treasury)

Researcher: Thank you, Thank you X, that gives me a little bit of an understanding of exactly…of at which level the Treasury Department is er…operating and…and… that…say for instance if I go back to my studies the problems that you might have it could be that you are appointing one language practitioner, so you do the English as well as the isiXhosa if there is a need. Do you have an Afrikaans person as well that….will… if there is a need for Afrikaans?

Interview Respondent 7: The documents that I am translating to you people while you… we outsource it to Cultural Affairs and Sport and they outsource it and then that is how we…And then we pay…(Treasury)

Researcher: So, you do have a budget for…It is very interesting

Are there any things that you would like to add for me that would help me …in understanding you have problems or you…not?

Interview Respondent 7: Are we talking about to get the translations or to do the translations? (Treasury)

Researcher: Yes. Do you do quality checking and all those …?

Interview Respondent 7: Well the problem that we are having, say, when we outsource a document, say for instance the annual report, because I am the only
person that is doing that and I am not only doing the translations - so we outsource the document to Cultural Affairs and Sport, so they give it to a person maybe in the Northwest or in the Eastern Cape, so now the problem comes when you are supposed to submit the deadline, may say, ok, I need this document, say...and I must outsource this document to Cultural Affairs, then at Cultural Affairs, they don’t just give it to somebody here in Cape Town, they would say, ok, the person that is relevant rather to the terminology is in the North West and the person that we are using and the person that is on the list of freelancers is in another province, so they send the document to that person; then we struggle now to get the information back; we follow up and the money will come to me and then I must go to xxx and xxx must go to somebody else them I think there is a problem. (Treasury)

Researcher: So there is a whole control of there is a whole problem of control of documents that you need. You are willing and able to translate from obviously from English to Afrikaans or from English to isiXhosa but...somewhere along the line with the outsourcing of the documents you have a different problem? Is there anybody else that would like to say something more just to inform me more...Well, then I would like to thank all of you...the two of you didn’t say a thing!

(laughing)

Interview Respondent 11: I don’t really deal with the report – with the other issues... (Treasury)

Researcher: Well yeah, as I said it was just about implementing the policy and implementing the policy about interpreting, your translation, your editing, whether or not you touch base with the community, if you touch base with the community, you will have much more problems in Social Development, or Cultural Affairs and Sport for that matter, speaking to the people like speaking to the people on the ground. Your level of communication is...us not there.

Interview Respondent 10: We are an oversight department. (Treasury)

Researcher: You are an oversight department, so you level is there to with your clients and your clients are all...can all understand English and they can understand your standardized version of the English, in other words, if you present them with completed documents, if they want that in another language, then they can get it...the most important documents they get. Obviously your APP and your annual report internet and other people that are Afrikaans speaking and the people that are isiXhosa speaking they can actually read this.

Interview Respondent 7: Also, when we have our events, we normally use the events with the school... (Treasury)

Researcher: O, well, that’s a new take...

Interview Respondent 7: We also think that we must have somebody to interpret in the... when maybe they are asking questions in their own languages, so we always provide somebody there, which is me (laughing) to beware, so that we can...we can maybe help them (Treasury)

Researcher: Now that is a new take...that is something new that I hear now...that...that you do go out to the community and when you do go out to
the community then you make sure that you have things written in isiXhosa or in Afrikaans and that you have interpreters there and that your department also makes provision for that.

Thank you very much. Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Interview Respondent 12: Urm…in terms of the …priorities the three languages. Afrikaans, isiXhosa are there. (Treasury)

Researcher: So you did the Cape Gateway story?

Interview Respondent 12: No, not the whole Cape Gateway story, (Treasury)

Researcher: your versions

Respondent 12: Now I notice that they have extended the Afrikaans and Xhosa for some departments …that they sort of at the time…they saying that they don’t have the time

Researcher: Is Cape Gateway affiliated to Cultural Affairs and Sport or…

Interview Respondent 12: It is the Dept of the Premier’s department. (Treasury)

Researcher: I wasn’t aware of that. When I was there…They have changed it now again

Interview Respondent 12: Yes (Treasury)

Respondent 12: Yes but they sort of now I am saying they are not prioritizing the other languages. (Treasury)

Researcher: Oh, the other languages?

Interview Respondent 12: Only English. It’s only centralised services. They translate, but it is not a priority for them and I don’t think our Internet has it…has the option to read the content in Afrikaans or isiXhosa, only some of the content…some is most in English, one or two in Afrikaans… (Treasury)

Researcher: So there is a …there is a version that English is the language that would then be advantaged in given structures especially in the Premier’s department, when you…when you look at their website, your Internet.

Interview Respondent 8: Even the outlook and our systems, everything that is there is in English, the e-mail, we have an option to do English (Treasury)

Researcher: No, you never have that option. I don’t think so. Signage?

Respondent 8: Well, I have a statement on there …erm … it is all three languages, We also go outside, although it is not in three languages, we are going to put the big frames by the lift and this is Treasury in all three languages and they do have the letterhead as the Premier wanted in all three languages and we will now have them in three languages but we do have frames just to show that this component, this is the management style. (Treasury)

Researcher: Oraait, well, thank you very much to all of you that availed yourselves to come and talk about this. I have learnt a lot here. Thank you!

Interview Respondent 8: Good luck (Treasury)

Researcher: (laughing) I need good luck. I promise you!

(All left) END OF GROUP DISCUSSION
Researcher: Good afternoon. I would like to welcome you, Mr X, to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Language Policy...erm...over the last five years. I’m doing... at the moment I’m doing a PhD on the...on the implementation challenges with the idea to maybe sort of understand why there are such a lot of implementation challenges with the WCLP. I’m hoping to complete the PhD as...as soon as I am done interviewing most of the...of the provincial government departments as well as the Western Cape legislator. This information...er... I will...er... sort of collate...or I will...er... draw some conclusion with regard to the... to the ... er...WCLC who is ultimately the people who drew up the language policy as well as PanSALB who... of which the WCLC sort of in a way form a part and... and then I will come up with some solutions or maybe just focus on the challenges in the end. It depends on what kind of guidance I get from government. I would also like to make sure that you, on tape, that you are giving me permission to use your information – you are welcome to speak Afrikaans and English...if you mix the two, you are very much welcome to do that. I just don’t understand isiXhosa, unfortunately... (Laughing)

Interview Respondent 13: Well, we have to work on that! But that makes two of us... (Fixing the tape recording) (CS)

Researcher: If you could just introduce yourself for the sake of the ...of the... the tape recording

Interview Respondent 13: Thanks. It’s ok. I’m X, I’m the Chief, sorry, this is normally happens...sorry about that. I’m X, I’m the Chief Director at Corporate Services in Safety in the WC and I have been with the department since its inception in 1996 in various capacities so I worked in the secretariat for section of safety and I worked in security risk management - the only component that I don’t have an intimate knowledge of, is our traffic people, but as corporate services I think I know some of the challenges that they do have. (CS)

Researcher: and I would... I would first of all I would just like to thank you to hear the opportunity for me to hear from your side – what you are experiencing. I’ve... you just showed me that you do have a copy of the WCLP – I would like to state that for the record as well which means that you are aware of what the WCLP entails – my first question is a little bit of a theory questions...not theory question, but it is a little bit of a tight question. I’d like to know: five years ago, I know that there was a pledge that was signed Minister Jacobs that signed it from the Western Cape Cultural Affairs and Sport. I think those days it was Minister Jacobs...he was the Minister there and they signed it with provincial governments to convince or as a gesture to make provincial governments accountable for implementing the WCLP. Did you sign that...did your department sign that pledge five years ago...safety and security? Community and Safety ...

Interview Respondent 13: I will not be able to say yes we did or did not sign, because I am sure... that it was on a political... (CS)
Researcher: a ministerial...?
Interview Respondent 13: ... level but if Minister Jacobs, you know, pledged something like that ...I ...I want to say that I could be 99% sure that the Minister of our Department would have signed ...but I mean...I ...unfortunately I was not part of it and I can't say. (CS)
Researcher: Last year they...they also signed it again...because of the...
Interview Respondent 13: is it...? (CS)
Researcher: Implementation problems that they have experienced in the departments...and they ...were you at all in any shape or form involved in the language colloquium about the WCLP.
Interview Respondent 13: No I was ... I was not. (CS)
Researcher: Er... is there...what do you understand by the WCLP...if I can...just be so frank and ask...
Interview Respondent 13: ...yeah... (CS)
No, I mean I studied it. To me ...I.....I always see things like that...not in a theoretical document because then it's...it's something dead...to me it was always about empowering our communities and from day 1 in 1996, and I mean...I can vouch for that what happened, there was in the whole of the country there was actually a movement to use just English, where we were empowering the people and things ...we exclude people if we don't use English. But I think it quickly dawned on all different departments and I mean on ours as there was so much working with communities...and I...I...I sat in meetings where you could actually see how we disempower people by insisting on speaking English...where people who...who didn't feel comfortable in raising a question the public meeting be it in even our own private ...er...er...not private but internal workings where you...you...try you and... and get everybody to contribute to a particular programme be it the Aids awareness programmes be it whatever and you...if you stated right in the beginning that this would only be in English, that because we you know...that everybody has an opportunity to understand yes maybe everybody understood what is going on, but you didn’t get participation from...from a wide variety of people. (CS)
Researcher: That was on of my questions... was the ...er...was how do you deal with the status of English and how do you...how do you er...actually implement the WCLP.
Interview Respondent 13: Ja. (CS) [Yes]
Researcher: Do you make use of interpreters. Do you make use of translators?
Interview Respondent 13: So, I mean in...in... practice what you will find, is that...er...you start off with all your documents and I mean if you go into our annual report you started it was in all three languages, but then certain things do kick in to say you know it’s costs and it’s this and it’s that and then you end up say ok we will do it in an English document but we immediately we have it translated – we have it available normally on a CD typed format and we...in the booklet itself we...we publicize that er...this document is also available in one of the other languages. (CS)
Researcher: And that is...that is your standard structure that you do... that you do have English as the provincial language?
Interview Respondent 13: Yes, let’s say in our department – Yeah…I mean, I just looked at our annual report again and that is of course about practicality and saving money. But I think we go out of our way in any meeting that we allow you to speak in whatever language and the lucky position that we have is we have people that can translate into whatever language have public meetings and that is something that we have a lot with us we always make sure that there is translators available and that people can stand up and speak in isiXhosa, or can speak in Afrikaans or if somebody spoke in English and somebody in the…in the….in the audience indicate that he or she don’t understand or maybe missed the subtleties or something like that, then a person will be able to say let’s…lets translate it. I think we very quickly dawned on us that…er… you can’t just push the English er…as…a… er…call it a political correctness type thing …er… and we now include but in fact we are now excluding the people. (CS)

Researcher: Ok so you actually talked about how you actually implement the Western Cape Language Policy which is commendable er…what … what would your dept …what would…act…what are the challenges except the costing that you sort of now mentioned….what...what other challenges are there.

Interview Respondent 13: er..be…er…er…obviously from where I stand, I would love to have it immediately printed in all the three languages and have it available, but there is…(sorry) always the time constraints, say for instance you work on your annual report, that is a very, very ..er…valuable document that we must have, but there is deadlines, so you must have it ready by that time and you can’t say, but you can start so long before that, because you must wait for the auditor’s report, you must wait for the so….you are on tight deadline, and yes, oh, maybe you can er…bypass any challenges if you really want to, but that is… that is a type of challenge that one could say (CS)

Researcher: Does…does that link a bit to …to staff shortage? Is that why you cannot really… er…

Interview Respondent 13: No we can have the …we can have the ready, but to have it translated by the time that we have to translate it into…into…er…the formal structures be it at parliament or wherever, sometimes you’re not ready because we go out to…we ask translators to do the work and they only get it by that day and we work really hard to get everything finalized because of the deadlines. (CS)

Researcher: This is of interest – how many translators or interpreters did you employ in your department?

Interview Respondent 13: We do not employ people ourselves. (CS)

Researcher: Are you doing it freelance, do you…

Interview Respondent 13: Yes, we do. We have a communication directorate and they will either go to cultural affairs to assist or if or by… (CS)

Researcher: I come from Cultural Affairs and Sport – I have worked there for five years, so I know the background and that is where I got my passion from…to…to give something back…

Interview Respondent 13: Yes (CS)
Researcher: Er...with your freelance interpreters and your freelance translators...obviously that is...that is costly – is there a specific budget in place for...for your...

Interview Respondent 13: We don’t budget per sae for that item per sae, say so much of my budget is for translation services, for Afrikaans, for this and that and others, but I mean I have a budget for communication and we know that part of any of publication or things we must have it translated so erm, it is built in the communication budget, but not as a separate thing “translations”, it’s in communications (CS)

Researcher: In communications...

Interview Respondent 13: Yeah (CS)

Researcher: Mr X, thank you very much. This has been a wonderful interview. I’ve got al from you to take back to my studies. Er...I have a questionnaire, I did not send it through to you, but I want you to please fill it in this is more to the point and it also gives you lots of time to go over it. If you have to sign a consent form as well, cause I cannot file it ...If you could send it through in pdf format, because I can fiddle with it and I don’t want to do that...erm...is it possible that I can forward this questionnaire to you? Then if you fill it in, it doesn’t matter – you can fill in ...er...cryptically or whatever style you use and if there are some questions that you are unsure of you are welcome to sit like...areal long questionnaire, but thank you so much for the role that you played in my studies.

Interview Respondent 13: Thank you. No, all the best – I am looking forward to seeing your thesis. (CS)

Researcher: (laughing) Thank you!

END OF DISCUSSION

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PERSONAL INTERVIEW 2: SENIOR MANAGEMENT: DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANNING (DEADP): (Respondent 14)

(Tape recording transcription)

Researcher: Olraait, thank you very much. Ok, I would like to welcome you to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy over the last five years, I’m specifically be looking at the last five years, this information will be used for the completion of my PhD as soon as possible and this information...I normally go to different departments to get all the input with regard to the implementation challenges, possible solutions maybe that they get with regard to Western Cape language policy and er...I am focusing on the challenges that they are experiencing... with my thesis. I’d like to make sure that you, on tape, give me the consent to use your information:

Interview Respondent 14: You are most welcome to make use of any information that I hand over to you now or give to you now (DEADP)

Researcher: Thank you. Your anonymity is insured, I am not going to mention any names.

Interview Respondent 14: Thank you (DEADP)
Researcher: Thank you for this opportunity to hear from your side about the problems that you are experiencing. This is er…at the moment, according to knowledge, Western Cape is the…only province that can …have a study like the one that we are doing at the moment, because we are the lead department when it comes to the…to implementing the…to having a policy in the first place, having a law and everything…

Interview Respondent 14: I think this is coming on from even when I was a student that we …at that time we were the only one and as far as I know we are still the only province with… (DEADP)

Researcher: Yeah, I think Kwazulu Natal has joined us, I think they were they are are the only ones that joined. I am not sure they are the only ones that joined us - I am speaking under correction, I have no idea, but er… we are in the process… now that we have been implementing the policy in the Departments of Cultural Affairs and Sport, but… and also the provincial departments so there’s…everything is there, but…and we can actually see where we are going with problems and how we are going to do it better. Just for the record; could you just introduce yourself for the records, your department and so on.

Interview Respondent 14: Ok my name is X I am with with the Communications Services Unit for the provincial department of Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning (DEADP)

Researcher: Oh yes, of course. Five years ago there was a pledge signed. Was the Department of Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning part of that pledge? Do you the Ministers, the Premier…

Interview Respondent 14: I will say that I have only been in this Department for the last three years, so, uhm…I cannot… I’m… I cannot…I might be lying if I tell you yes or no or either way, so; uhm for certain uhm there does not seem to be any records on our side. (DEADP)

Researcher: Yeah, the pledge was about er…the undertaking of the HODs and the Ministers to make sure that their departments implement the Western Cape Language Policy. In 2010 or last year they had a… a… another pledge ceremony at which Premier Helen Zille, who was still the premier, she came to …and everybody else to again to undertake that they will be implementing the policy. So, there is that awareness that it should be implemented in the Department.

Interview Respondent 14: Yeah, yeah, I can tell you about the most recent one that we the most recent one that we did not sign, which is the 2010 one, even though urm…however I must say that even without signing the pledge we are still working towards…of sort of upholding… (DEADP)

Researcher: the symbolic nature of the stuff; The DCAS has to come to your department and has to come and make you aware of the pledge and then they would…should have come to you already to have your HOD or Minister sign the pledge, so in this regard I can then take it that you guys did not sign it;

Interview Respondent 14: No, no no… (DEADP)
Researcher: so they haven’t been here; it is not your fault necessarily it is just that they haven’t been here. You know what the Western Cape Language Policy entails?

Interview Respondent 14: Yeah, well, it’s basic…yeah, well in my understanding it is basically to to to provide for for equal …equal status of the provincial languages which is English, Afrikaans, isiXhosa. (DEADP)

Researcher: Of course, of course Yeah and then they also have a sort of a an encouragement to promote South African Sign language amongst the deaf people and the promotion of Nama and Khoi languages that are being spoken in the Western Cape. Do you…how do you implement the language policy. I know that you implement the WCLP. How do you implement it? That is what I am interested in now?

Interview Respondent 14: As far as possible, as far as financially possible I, say financially possible because budget plays a huge role in whether or not…or to…. it plays a huge role in the extent to which we implement it in our department…urhm to the extent of printed materials such as corporate publications, annual reports, uhm…and your performance plans, your strategic plans, uhm…we make them available in all three languages uhm…when certain campaigns whether the internal, external, depending on the budget for that particular campaign will have materials available in all three languages. (DEADP)

Researcher: So, your people at grassroots level are the ones that are working with the finances and they are trying to implement the language policy from that side, is that what you are saying?

Interview Respondent 14: No, what I just said…the challenge comes when ….as our…as a communications unit, we get a certain …we get x amount specifically for translations for that particular financial year and this is where…and we have to basically support all of our other units or directorates with that particular budget for …for any ad hoc requests or whatever the case. Now, each directorate or each unit, when they’ve got specific campaigns, campaigns that are specific to their line functions, right, then they’ll have for instance, they’ll have uhm uhm uhm budget for an event linked to that campaign, or they have budget for the the materials or whatever the case, however, very rarely in their respective budgets is provision made for translation services. (DEADP)

Researcher: And for… for interpreting services?

Interview Respondent 14: And for interpreting services, not at….I can tell you something that interpreting services is something that we have never budgeted for or that we have used for in this department. (DEADP)

Researcher: What, what would those campaigns be, it is Environmental Affairs and Developmental Planning, what would your campaigns be?

Interview Respondent 14: Ja, Ja, [Yes, yes] look, usually our campaigns are more geared towards…urhm its your climate change issues, your waste management issues, your pollution management issues, uhm… it will be…it will be developmental issues as well uh…planning, very very technical legislative planning, projects that we work on. So, when I do say campaign it is not necessarily for the broad er it’s is not always for the broader Western Cape public, urhm sometimes it is just targeted at municipalities, municipal officials, or
sometimes it is it’s urhm only targeted at a certain sector of the of the youth of the of the youth market. (DEADP)

Researcher: So, your municipalities and youth organizations that you work with they have to then filter that information through to the people at grassroots level?
Interview Respondent 14: Yes. (DEADP)

Researcher: orraait?
Interview Respondent 14: That’s it, that’s it. That is the intention… (DEADP)
Researcher: and then ultimately that particular function would then be…have to be and will have to be done in languages that the people understand...
Interview Respondent 14: Yes. (DEADP)
Researcher: so whose responsibility is that then to make sure that the information gets filtered through to to the people in the languages that they understand?
Interview Respondent 14: In terms of filtering the information through where available in the three languages or where or where available in or where available full stop, uhm…we try as far as possible to equip the municipalities with the necessary tools urhm … so, if you are talking about providing them with…pro…providing …the various audiences or the target groups with the the relevant material from our department …it it would come from us…it would need to come from it would be our responsibility to provide it in those specific three languages, because I can tell you that…erm…yeah we….(DEADP)
Researcher: So what you do, what you do…do you have a specific language in which you put those reading materials, put that forward?
Interview Respondent 14: It’s It’s It is predominantly…usually it is…predominantly the the the the predominant language is is English. It has been English all along… (DEADP)
Researcher: Although most people do not understand it in this province?
Interview Respondent 14: And that is still… it is simply because it is the most preferred business language erhm, and whatever the case…there are there are instances where it is being translated into Afrikaans urhm but its predominant… it is predominantly English. (DEADP)
Researcher: So, but what…and this is a question I have not prepared, but what is your take on information actually .... getting through to the people who do not necessarily understand English or …? How do you make sure that those people do get reached?
Interview Respondent 14: Well, in, well there have actually been uhm a number of uhm …a a a few cases where urm English materials were provided to via via mun…via municipalities via each other channels to these communities and tht would formally request either the municipality or…urm the cit…or or the republic would urm…request a translation. (DEADP)
Researcher: of the information?
Interview Respondent 14: of the of the of the particular information for which we would then make provision for in…in information for which we would then make provision for in those cases, yeah, but it is…but it would be in those cases very re re re reactive as opposed to proactive. (DEADP)
Researcher: Yeah? So, and it is also you don’t have a language unit here, do you?
Interview Respondent 14: No. (DEADP)
Researcher: You see no there is your problem, because you are the first uhm uhm department that I actually speak to who do not have…who does not have a language unit, actually…
Interview Respondent 14: We don’t have a language unit on our structure, ons… our structure for our department and that is sitting with the sub structure of the department and on the sub structure of this particular unit there is provision made for one language practitioner. (DEADP)
Researcher: And that language practitioner would then probably be what…English/Afrikaans or English/Xhosa?
Interview Respondent 14: Urm there there isn’t there isn’t there isn’t specifically… its its its urhm… its its its English its its English/Afrikaans; however, it is not formally stated it is not formally stated which one in terms of the structure and in terms of the job description. (DEADP)
Researcher: It is not a person that can speak isiXhosa if she would or if he would…
Interview Respondent 14: No, not necessarily, not necessarily at all, because you will notice that with any with any with any during any recruitment process for argument’s sake, they will say er... erhm...erhm...must be…must be…fluent in two of the official languages of the Western Cape.(DEADP)
Researcher: And it’s normally?
Interview Respondent 14: And can that be they always assume that it is English Afrikaans, what about Xhosa Afrikaans for arguments sake, what about Xhosa English. (DEADP)
Researcher: As is the case in Beaufort West
Interview Respondent 14: But it is not specifically stated, exactly but it is not specifically stated it is not specifically stated in terms of the structure; but provision is being made for one language practitioner…Not a language Unit… (DEADP)
Researcher: And and that would probably…Why would that be the case? Would it be attached to…I am now already with the challenges that you are experiencing with implementing the language policy of the Western Cape, would that be…and I’m not probing the question…but would that be a…financial issue or what what would be the reason that there is no provision being made for not implementing this…only half of it… looking at the Afrikaans/English one
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah, look, urhm yes and no in terms of a financial issue. A few years ago uhm and this goes back to about uhm 2009, yes 2009, when the provincial government undertook a modernization process… (DEADP)
Researcher: Oh yes, I remember that…
Interview Respondent 14: Uhm tahking in consid consid consideration outside of the modernization where they sort of created a a a or proposed generic standard for communication units or for certain units within within uhm all the departments…taking into consideration that we were presented with a specific almost one size fits all generic structure for our component uhm but even prior to
that, there was only always been one language practitioner on this structure. So, its partly because of its financial, its partly because I think that whoever puts together the organizational uhm structure for departments and that would sit with uhm the organizational directorate... they are sort of the implementers at the end of the day of the of the structures, depending on what we recommend, of course... but urhm... It is all to the misconception that because we are the smaller department we require we require fewer language practitioners and language services which is... I can tell you now so not the case because the type of information that we work with is of such a nature … (DEADP)

Researcher: that everybody needs to understand it in the language that is... sort of... I would say... their language... so if they can’t...
Interview Respondent 14: Yes, yes … (DEADP)

Researcher: so you guys rely on the second language use of the... of... of English?
Interview Respondent 14: Yes. (DEADP)

Researcher: in order to get the messages across?
Interview Respondent 14: Yes. (DEADP)

Researcher: And is that successful?
Interview Respondent 14: Look uhm (sigh) now… (DEADP)

Researcher: We are at Nr 6 now, what language does English play in your department your day to day communication?
Interview Respondent 14: On a daily basis - if we talking about the internal use if we are talking about internal use of language just amongst officials here I would say it is a cross between English in Afrikaans... urhm... but in terms of formal correspondence, English definitely... urm... there... you have maybe one or two urhm... I... I would say a maximum 5 in the in the entire department who predominantly make use of Afrikaans when they do... their... their formal correspondence. And this is now for correspondences between ourselves and with and with the uhm... (DEADP)

Researcher: … other departments?
Interview Respondent 14: with other departments or with the public or whatever the case may be, but again, if I would even... if I would give a very rough estimate... very rough estimate, I would say 98% English. (DEADP)

Researcher: Do you ever go out into the communities to speak to the people of the Western Cape?
Interview Respondent 14: Uhm, yes, it will be, again it will be again it will be linked to the... again it will be linked... linked to the... to other directorates er when they are busy with their specific projects, for instance, uhm was it in February for arguments sake... urhm... they went out to... one one one of our units went out to to a uhm a a school in Khayelitsha. (DEADP)

Researcher: Yes?
Interview Respondent 14: Uhm… (DEADP)

Researcher: that's in the city
Interview Respondent 14: Urhm, no, it is not in the city (DEADP)

Researcher: Yes, it is in the city, for me.
Interview Respondent 14: It was in Khayelitsha itself (DEADP)
Researcher: Which is in the city? Yeah, in the city - yeah, in the city, it is in the city
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah and I mean there was a project and it was it was possibly linked to an awareness an awareness project on wetlands. (DEADP)
Researcher: yes, yes?
Interview Respondent 14: and uhm that was predominantly in English - There was S…Sign language as well, but then again, it was a school for the Deaf. (DEADP)
Researcher: Noluthando?
Interview Respondent 14: Yes, there we go - oh you are aware, you know it, you know it, you know it… (DEADP)
Researcher: I worked with them when I worked at DCAS and I know ….also know that that they make use of their own SASL interpreters anyway, yeah?
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah yeah yeah yeah urhm so for instance but but but but again English the predominant language that was used uhm during during uhm during during urhm during their presentations and during the activities that were there and whatever the case. Urm I will give you another example urhm … terms of…if if you if you talking about going out to communities… (DEADP)
Researcher: I’m talking about if you go out to places like for instance like Beaufort-West where I know that the people speak Afrikaans and Xhosa and the Xhosa people speak Afrikaans, and if you gou out to communities like er Stellenbosch or where it is predominantly Afrikaans even Vredendal, Moorreesburg, …
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah. (DEADP)
Researcher: those places, where you will not necessarily get …people will understand English but the information needs to be needs to be handed out to them especially to those who don’t…?
Interview Respondent 14: I think in terms of the… I think that… that just fit that would fit in with our public participation workshops that we have urm from time to time urm almost… well, … Almost every quarter basically there is a round of public participation workshops. And it is those officials specifically who are presenting, because… obviously as communications we are not the technical experts. (DEADP)
Researcher: Of course?
Interview Respondent 14: So, that is those officials specifically who will sort of tailor their their their presentations in such a way that it that it direct speaks to those to that particular group, but however again, it’s it’s a mix of the two it won’t be that particular workshops that are just in English or just in Afrikaans. (DEADP)
Researcher: of course and that is exactly what I base my thesis on it is the bottom up approach of implementing the language policy - that we can’t sit up here and try to implement it from the top down, but to make…have your foot soldiers… like your implementers of the language policy are actually the…
Interview Respondent 14: Even if they don’t know really that there is an … (laughing) (DEADP)
Researcher: your officials here at grassroots level that are in immediate contact with the people out there?
Interview Respondent 14: But the the only concern or the main concern I would say that I would have with that is that is that… its taken less seriously. Even though we know that there is a language policy that we know that we have to adhere to and that has to be implemented … there isn’t such an urgency attached to it. It’s not sort of like… its not sort… there isn’t anything formal to say that …well if you don’t do x, y and z in a particular fi financial year, then…

Researcher: No watch dog?
Interview Respondent 14: There’s no watch dog precisely precisely there is no watchdog. (DEADP)

Researcher: No punishment, no punitive measures?
Interview Respondent 14: Exactly, like we know for instance at the end of the financial year, if you have not spend a particular budget it gets taken away and that is your punishment: less budget for the following year, so it’s not that same sort of urhm urgency attached to it and that’s…(DEADP)

Researcher: And that’s the major challenge implementing the the the WCLP?
Interview Respondent 14: It is, because because look… as much as we can say uhm it needs to be implemented and whatever the case we know that…er… for this dept… I can’t speak for other departments… for this dept its …..not financially viable and how are we going to motivate for additional funds if we don’t have sort of something that is in place that says “you must…you must…”

Researcher: …do that…? Do you think there is a shortage of language practitioners?
Yes, definitely. Interview Respondent 14: I think in the provincial government yes, but I just that also in terms ofI just think that where uhm… for the most part, language practitioners are appointed on on level 8 salaries, and … (DEADP)

Researcher: Yes?
Interview Respondent 14: To me, it’s not…its not…I don’t think any of them think its worth it, and that any of them think its worth it and that is why people would would rather like to… I mean like the people are on DCAS’s database where they can charge. (DEADP)

Researcher: on freelance?
Interview Respondent 14: on a freelance basis, because it is it is worth more at the end of the day they do it like that, but I mean, if you appoint a language practitioner on a level 8, and I, mean with this department alone, they will it’s it’s so much documentation it’s so much technical information is not worth it. (DEADP)

Researcher: I think the level 8 salary starts at about R170 000 - R174 000 a year
Interview Respondent 14: It’s R185 000, now (DEADP)

Researcher: Is it 185 000 per annum now?
Interview Respondent 14: its 185 000, its R185 000 now (DEADP)

Researcher: And yeah, I can understand that the whole career of the … of the language practitioner is being questioned, so what do you do and you can’t really er…er… get anything out of the salary that you’re getting if you
Interview Respondent 14: Look I will just say that that that outside of the financial implications, urh, its just a challenge to get through form our side as communication practitioners down to our down to our various units and directorates. That there is a need for this because they because their act their acts surrounding it in this departments, yes, I would say, yes, there is a language policy so what? (DEADP)

Researcher: ...And the role of DCAS?

Interview Respondent 14: DCAS has been I think that urhm in terms of …requests and urhm language language services requests that that we have put through to them they have been of great assistance to us urhm just in term sof look I know that even they are are are under capacitiated. (DEADP)

Researcher: understaffed?

Interview Respondent 14: understaffed, under capacitated whatever the case, so urhm obviously it becomes then a financial implications for us when they can not uh when they cannot process a request internally and they have to outsource and you know the whole story you have to go when they have to outsource and and there is no interdepartmental transfer of funds and whatever the case my be. But I mean, in terms of the support that they have urhm urhm in giving us the the getting the job done urm it has been we have been uh we have been getting great support from them in terms of that. Uhm, I will just say that… we can’t always we this department we cannot always afford we cannot always afford to make use of that even via… (DEADP)

Researcher: Is that a lack of resources that is?

Interview Respondent 14: lack of human resources, it’s a lack of finances, it’s a lack of you know there is so many different things that that that… (DEADP)

Researcher: …that is happening at the grassroots level?

Interview Respondent 14: Yeah (DEADP)

Researcher: that you are aware of and you you need to get the information and you need the people to understand what you’re on about but you

Interview Respondent 14: Yes (DEADP)

Researcher: But you just cannot fit all the pieces into place to be able to get the message across?

Interview Respondent 14: Yeah (DEADP)

Researcher: So you do rely on English to get that message across and you also do do you rely on people to tell each other if someone don’t understand? Do you work with communities as well?

Interview Respondent 14: To it its its on a very its on a very small scale its on a very very very small scale and it wouldn’t be urhm…look as a department we try as far as possible to capacitate the municipalities and certain organizations so that they would take it further to those people at grassroots level but I wouldn’t say that it is such a huge…it is to such an extent that we will actually capacitate them to tot to be able to communicate to communicate certain concepts in their particular language. (DEADP)
Researcher: Exactly? Exactly? Oh yeah, that that that brings us to the terminology development with regard to isiXhosa and sometimes and one of the… er … major challenges. Do you find it as well in your department?

Interview Respondent 14: Yes, definitely, urhm… (DEADP)

Researcher: Is there a lack of isiXhosa terminology for environmental development and planning terms?

Interview Respondent 14: Yes, there are times when urhm I think that even when we even when we urhm get outside outside assistance via DCAS or whoever or whatever the case I mean they will even say that ooo this is take…this is taking a bit long to complete this work because we are trying to figure out this particular word, because there is no such word or whatever the case… (DEADP)

Researcher: Is it because they don’t have a standard version, or what do they normally tell you?

Interview Respondent 14: If they don’t have a… if they do have a standard version we are not aware of it because they say that their translators, uhm …usually they would say that their translators are doing additional research on this particular word or phrase or whatever the case so that so that they uhm uhm could sort of get across an an an an accurate meaning that measures up to the English counterpart. (DEADP)

Researcher: I I I spoke about I spoke to somebody else the other day and they mentioned that you have three different uh meanings to a Xhosa word. You get a colonial meaning, and you get a a a clan meaning and then you have a standardized meaning or something like that…

Interview Respondent 14: First to contextualize so it’s virtually to contextualize it for that particular for that particular or whatever it is… (DEADP)

Researcher: And I think that is maybe the reason why the people …rely on English because you know if your knowledge of English increases then your knowledge of whatever is going on around you also increases

Interview Respondent 14: That is true, that is true, that is definitely that is definitely a longstanding attitude urhm and it is still there. We, I think as as much as we have this language policy but as a province even as a country we still attach that importance to… that kind of importance to English because with English you can go practically anywhere in the world. (DEADP)

Researcher: So would you would regard this language policy… and this is a personal question and I know you can answer if you want or don’t want to

Interview Respondent 14: Yeah. (DEADP)

Researcher: but do you regard the window this language policy as window dressing as just something that we have, yes we have the language, yes we have the law, yes we have policy, yes we have all the strict…all the…urhm… organograms in place and it’s not been implemented it’s not…it’s just window dressing, it’s just to say that we have one

Interview Respondent 14: Partly, I will say partly, because it is there and it is… It is being implemented but not on the on the on the scale that it should be and it could be… And urhm…yeah I would say that that that that…Look it is a good thing that it is there and…. (DEADP)

Researcher: there?
Interview Respondent 14: that is out there and it gives you…but uhm…how can I say it it will stay remain window dressing until such time that there is some kind of a watch dog that there is some kind of …like you said earlier some sort of … (DEADP)

**Researcher:** punitive measures in place?
Interview Respondent 14: Exactly. Exactly. Uhm it is just going to be…I know that there is…urh urhm I’ve heard of certain departments that do not do translations for instance our our for instance annual reports and our annual performance plans we it’s it’s legislative requirements for us to table these documents and we have to have it available in all three languages, even though we don’t print in all three languages but we make sure it is translated into the other two languages so that it is electronically it is available in certain instances. (DEADP)

**Researcher:** Yeah and then you sort of you sort of… yeah, but that is what basically all of them are doing
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah (DEADP)

**Researcher:** Having it electronically available, because of the cost
Interview Respondent 14: Yeah because of the cost implications of printing as well, but I mean I just think of outside of it if of… of… of… it being sort of just there and being window dressing or whatever the case may be I don’t think I think its its its essential that it is there, because we do have in total 11 official languages, hopefully 12 with sign language also. (DEADP)

**Researcher:** If it becomes official?
Interview Respondent 14: If it becomes official? Yes. (DEADP)

**Researcher:** and the Constitution tells us that Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa are the languages of the WC anyway, so so we need to adhere to the Constitution?
Interview Respondent 14: We need, we need to adhere to it, it’s all great and well, but even by even by by by by government itself and at national and provincial level it needs to be taken into account that equality costs unfortunately. It does cost, so urhm these are the things that they need to take, I mean… (DEADP)

**Researcher:** Do you have other things to look at? Do you have to look at housing; you have to look at electricity…?
Interview Respondent 14: And that’s what I was going to get to now (DEADP)

**Researcher:** The basic needs?
Interview Respondent 14: Exactly. (DEADP)

**Researcher:** Thank you very much X. It was such an entertaining interview. I haven't expected this. But thank you very much and hopefully I will be completing as possible. END OF DISCUSSION

(Tape recording transcription)

Researcher: I would like to welcome you, X, to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy over the last five years. This information will be used for completion of my PhD on this issue in which I particularly look at the different departments, PanSALB and the Western Cape Language Committee’s efforts to implement it and the problems or challenges they are experiencing. I would like to make sure on tape that you have signed the consent form and also that you have agreed to take part in the study.

Researcher: …Thank you…. First of all I would like to thank you for this opportunity to hear from your side what problems you are facing. If you could please introduce yourself (who you are, from which department)...

Interview Respondent 15: I am X, a former employee of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport where I was appointed as a Chief Language Practitioner in the Language Unit from 2000 to 2010.

Researcher: Five years ago a pledge was signed with the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport to make sure that the language policy gets implemented by the provincial departments. Last year it was signed again. Did you sign it? Are you aware of what the WCLP entails? How do you implement the WCLP in your department and since when?

Interview Respondent 15: I did not sign it personally, but the pledge was signed by the MEC for Cultural Affairs and Sport at a symposium held by the Western Cape Language Committee on the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy in February 2010.

Researcher: Are you aware of what the WCLP entails? How do you implement the WCLP in your department and since when?

Interview Respondent 15: Yes, I am very aware of and familiar with the duties and responsibilities of the WCLC as provided for in the Western Cape Provincial Languages Act, Act 13 of 1999. I am also very familiar with the contents of the Western Cape Language Policy as a result of the fact that I was an employee of the department at the time of writing the policy and had the primary responsibility of giving administrative assistance to the Western Cape Language Committee. I was also the Acting Head of the Language Unit while the staggered implementation plan for the implementation of the Language Policy was written and in that capacity had to give direct input into the process and drafting of the document. But most importantly, I was the project manager and sole execution agent for a survey done at Provincial Government Departments, as well as District and Local Municipalities to ascertain the progress made with the implementation of the Language Policy at the end of the first 5 years of the staggered implementation plan. I was involved in assisting the service provider who had been appointed to cost the implementation of the Language Policy, as well as two survey on language policy implementation in Distract and Local Municipalities in the Western Cape done by the then Chairperson of the Western Cape Language Committee, X.
Researcher: I believe that you have done research in the DCAS?

Interview Respondent 15: Yes, I was also involved in and have extensive knowledge of a survey done by an outside service provider at the request of the Monitoring and Evaluation Unit in the Department, please note NOT the Language Services or the Western Cape Language Committee. I am also aware of and well acquainted with the contents of a study done on language usage in the Provincial Department of Health and its institutions at the behest of the Western Cape Language Committee. I was also responsible for advising the Overberg Municipality on the implementation of a language policy through the provision of effective interpreting services. As the lead Department for the implementation of the WCLP, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport houses the Central Language Unit for the Provincial Government of the Western Cape and as such took over the responsibility for providing translation and interpreting services to the WCPG from the Department of the Premier. This meant that additional staff had to be appointed to perform the tasks attached to the responsibility. These were: Two Assistant Directors and three language practitioners in 2005. A fourth staff member, responsible for Afrikaans/English, was appointed in 2009 to assist with editing in English. These staff members were in addition to an initial staff compliment of 5 when the Language Unit was established in 1999.

Researcher: What did this organizing of the two units mean for the Department?

Interview Respondent 15: This meant that the Language Unit, in future known as Language Services, was divided into two sub-units, i.e. the Language Policy Implementation Unit responsible for providing advice on and executing projects aimed at the implementation of the Language Policy and the Translation and Interpreting Unit which would be responsible for managing and coordinating translation and interpreting services in the Department, as well as other Provincial Government Departments and Institutions. One Assistant Director was to have been responsible primarily for the work related to the implementation of the Language Policy as it was felt that a dedicated person with rank was required to handle inquiries from and interaction with other Provincial Government Departments and institutions. Over the years, the incumbent has unfortunately been reduced to very little more than an administrative assistant and part-time project manager, with supervisory duties pertaining to staff in the LPIU. The second Assistant Director was to head the newly established Translation and Interpreting Unit, as well as handle all supervisory duties related to staff in that unit.

Researcher: How did this new development in the unit fare since then?

Interview Respondent 15: From the start however there was uncertainty with regards to the responsibilities of language practitioners deployed in the two units. One language practitioner deployed in the LPIU had the responsibility of arranging all aspects of interpreting requests, as well as having to do translations and editing on a regular basis, while another language practitioner was responsible for executing projects in spite of having been deployed in the Interpreting and Translation Unit. These two language practitioners also carried the heaviest workload. Other language practitioners were only required to do translations or projects depending on which Unit they had been deployed in. None
of the staff in the Translation and Interpreting Unit could interpret and were allowed to refuse requests to do so in spite of having been sent on short courses to develop their skills as interpreters. The language practitioner for Afrikaans/English appointed in 2009 had interpreting experience, but unfortunately left the department in June 2011 leaving the Department totally ill equipped to deal with any interpreting-related requests. This is illustrated by the fact that the Department, through me, had arranged all interpreting for the Premier’s Coordinating Forum until I left the Department in September 2010 after which I was still contacted in my private capacity to arrange freelance interpreters for the Premier’s Coordinating Forum. An extensive survey of language preferences of staff of the Department was conducted in 2010 which lead to the compilation of a language code of conduct for the Department. Unfortunately the responsible official left the Department in June 2011 and no work has been done on the adoption and implementation of the code of conduct at the time of completing this questionnaire. Multilingual signs were also put up at the Department’s Head Office, but, once again, the official responsible for managing the process left the Department in June 2011.

Researcher: Is there a budget for the implementation of the policy in your department? How big is this budget in comparison to the imperative needs that your department has to fulfill? Which challenges do you experience in implementing the WCLP?

Interview Respondent 15: In terms of the staggered implementation plan for the Language Policy adopted by the Provincial Cabinet all provincial government departments received a budget for the implementation of the Language Policy. The reporting cycle also requires departments to submit projections for the following financial year based on plans accompanied by detailed budget projections for the execution of such plans.

Researcher: What serious challenges were experienced with this?

Interview Respondent 15: In practice however, forecasts for the budget required for the following financial year were done at the last minute, in a hap-hazard way and with no apparent coordination or overall goal or long or medium term strategy underpinning the submissions that would ensure the effective implementation of the WCLP. Officials were asked to think up projects without any strategic guidance and consequently very few of the projects truly contributed to the effective implementation of the WCLP. Barring the Chief Director, very few of the management had any real knowledge of the implementation of a LP and were more concerned with window dressing than actual implementation. The Language Unit itself had virtually no strategic or administrative leadership at all, which is evidenced by the high staff turn-over rate and the unhappiness of the staff. In the space of one and a half years no fewer than 5 staff members left the Unit and reference can in these cases be made to their exit interviews for reasons for finding alternative employment. Up to the time I left the department the Language Unit, and specifically the Translation and Interpreting Unit had no proper structure in place to ensure effective processing of translation requests or quality control, in spite of numerous complaints with regard to the quality of the translation emanating from the unit. Furthermore, the Unit could not handle interpreting requests at all and these were as a rule given to me to handle.
Resultantly, after I had left the Unit was no longer required to facilitate the provision of interpreting services for the Premier’s Coordinating Forum and found it impossible to provide the Western Cape Provincial Legislature with interpreters when a meeting was planned to discuss the outcomes of the provincial visits in the Western Cape by the NCOP and the WCPL Committee. It is my opinion that the management of the Language Unit assumes no responsibility for the quality of the work emanating from the unit and is not qualified to do so either.

**Researcher:** What role does English play in your department’s day to day communication? Do you think other languages like Afrikaans play a role in the administrative workings of your department/in service delivery to the people? How do you overcome the challenges brought to you by people not understanding English, if English is your medium of communication?

**Interview Respondent 15:** According to the Language Policy, Departments are to decide on the language for internal communication based on consensus and practicality. In line with this prescript the de facto language of communication during my tenure in the Department was English as it is the language that is mutually understandable by all officials. The Language Policy does however provide that members of the public have the right to be assisted in any one of the three official language of the province of their preference in their dealings with the department. Advertisements for posts in the Department stipulated that applicants had to be fluent in two of the three official languages of the province with the underlying, yet not stated, assumption that one of those languages would be English.

**Researcher:** And other languages?

**Interview Respondent 15:** Other languages definitely have a role to play in dealing with residents of the Western Cape as was clearly illustrated during the regional visits of the MEC during 2007/2008 when interpreters had to accompany the MEC to facilitate his interaction with members of the public. On occasions where formal interpreting services were not available, people would assist one another where possible which was not necessarily the ideal solution but due to the unpredictability of the interactions it was often the only option. This was especially true given the lack of experienced interpreters in the Department referred to in my response to the first question.

**Researcher:** How do you make sure that isiXhosa gets promoted in your department?

**Interview Respondent 15:** During my tenure in the Department, attempts were made to translate all official forms, such as leave application forms and trip authority forms, into isiXhosa, but this would often be counterproductive due to the inability of the person responsible for authorizing the leave or official use of a GG-vehicle not understanding the language. Resultantly officials preferred to use the English forms in order to keep an already convoluted process as simple as possible. In addition to this, sign posts were put up in all three official languages of the province at the head office of the department. This was however scattered as all signs at the entrance of the building were only in English. One attempt was made to offer basic isiXhosa lessons to employees of the department, but due to work commitments officials found it very difficult to attend the classes on a
regular basis. The classes were not offered by an accredited service provider and thus lacked the necessary credibility.

Due to the extreme basic nature of the course and an inability to provide an environment where the knowledge acquired could be put into practice and expanded the course would not have assisted officials in effectively rendering services to isiXhosa-speaking residents of the Western Cape. The aforementioned lack of sufficiently experienced and willing language practitioners who could provide interpreting services into and from isiXhosa meant that it was impossible to create an environment where people could speak isiXhosa during meetings or consultations as they could never be sure that interpreting services would be available for them to do so. In order to give people the confidence to use isiXhosa you first have to create an organisational culture that would give them the confidence to do so and this was never done.

**Researcher:** What about the other languages spoken in the Western Cape? How do these languages get affected in your department and how do you deal with the lack of communication?

**Interview Respondent 15:** As a result of the fact that employees of the department all professed to be proficient in English the use of other languages as a means of official communication was never raised as a point of contention during my tenure in the department. In cases where a communication was sent in an official language other than English the Translation and Interpreting Unit was requested to translate it into English. However, this did not happen that often in my experience and never presented a problem when it did. In the case of Sign Language, it did present a problem in that none of the officials could communicate in Sign Language, which always meant that assisting a Deaf person lead to an awkward situation where the project manager for Sign Language-related projects was expected to assist the person, by virtue merely of the fact that he or she dealt with Sign Language projects.

**Researcher:** I thank you for participating in this interview and also to be part of my studies.

**Interview Respondent 15:** Thank you. It has been my pleasure…

**END OF INTERVIEW**
chairperson…er…and so, this is my second consecutive term as chairperson so this is like this for the last six years…and I was also previously…involved…for a term….that was my first term….1997 until the year 2000 and then I rested for a while, until I took up this position.]

Researcher: O, ek het dit nie geweet nie; so…er…was u…was u…betrokke by die…by die skep van die Wes-Kaapse Taalbeleid dan? [Oh, I wasn’t aware of that; so, er…were you …involved in forming the WCLP then?]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja, ek was deel van die heele eerste Taalkomitee wat die…wat die Taalbeleid saamgestel het – ek en Neville Alexander, Johan Combrinck, Zandile Gxilishe…uhm…ja, om nou maar ’n paar mense te noem, Gideon…Gideon Joubert was daar gewees, Christa van Louw was daar gewees…en dan… [Yes, I formed part of the very first Language Committee…which…which put together the Language Policy - myself, Neville Alexander, Johan Combrinck, Zandile Gxilishe…uhm…yes, to mention but a few, Gideon…Gideon Joubert was also there, Christa van Louw…and then…]

Researcher: en Isabel… [And Isabel]…

Interview Respondent 16: Ja, en Isabel Cilliers en dan het ek nog een persoon wat ek moet noem – die man wat by nou by UWK is…die Engelse departement…ek dink hy is nou… [yes, and Isabel Cilliers and then another person that I should also mention is - the man that is currently at UWC…in the English Department…I think he is currently…]


Interview Respondent 16: Ja, Stanley Ridge [Yes, Stanley Ridge]

Researcher: …en wie was die Khoi San verteenwoordiger? [Yes, and who was the representative of the Khoi and San?]…

Interview Respondent 16: Dit was maar Mnr le Fleur gewees…destyds… [It was but Mr Le Fleur…those days.]

Researcher: O, dit was? [Oh, it was?]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja. [Yes]…

Researcher: So, jy is bekend me die Wes-Kaapse Taalbeleid er…van die begin af? [So, you have been involved with the WCLP from the start…]

Interview Respondent 16: Van die begin af, ja. [From the very start, yes.]

Researcher: Er…net vir die rekord van die …van die…recording, er…wannier is die Taalbeleid…die Taalbeleid het soort van…van een…is die Taalbeleid saamgestel vanuit die gemeenskap self of is dit volgens die Wet saamgestel…van die drie amptelike tale en dan vir die beskerming van die Gebarentaal, en die Khoi en Santale. [And…for the record…ther recording…the WCLP had been composed by the community itself then or was it according to the Act…the three official languages and then also for the protection of SASL, and the Khoi and San Languages.]

Interview Respondent 16: Kyk, ek gaan…ek gaan baie oorsigtelik gesels. Jy sal onthou dat die SA Grondwet en die Art 29 vir tale of vir taleregte is verskans in die SA Grondwet deur middel van Artikel 29…uhm… en dit is in 1996 goedgekeur. Toe…die volgende proses sou wees, want die Grondwet maak voorsiening dat elke provinsie ook sy eie taalwet of sy eie taalbeleid kan instel en die Wes-Kaap het in daardie opsig die leiding geneem. Ons het begin daarmee in 1997. Dit het nie oornag geskied nie – dit het ons die beste deel dink ek van ’n
jaar gevatt en aan die einde van 1999, begin 2000, is die Talewet gekonsolideer en...e...soos wat die Nasionale Grondwet se...uhm...elke provinsie het dan die reg om sy eie taalbeleid...die ontwikkeling van sy talewet daar te stel en die Wes-Kaap was in die opsig die leier op die gebied. Die eerste provinsie wat so gedoen het en vir 'n baie lang tyd die enigste... die enigste – ek is nou nie seker of daar ander provinsies ek is nie helemaal seker of daar nou ander provinsies bygekom het nie, maar net in kort, maar die taalbeleid sou dan beteken dat die Wes-Kaap het as amptelike tale aangeneem het Afrikaans, Engels en isiXhosa. Sonder enige rangorde, en enige van die tale dominant sou wees bo die ander een. [Look I will give an overview in my talk. You will remember that the SA Constitution and the Section 29 for languages and language rights are enshrined in the Constitution in Section 29...uhm... and it was promulgated in 1996. Then, the next process would be...because the the Constitution provides that each province can institute its own languages act or language policy and the Western Cape took the lead in that regard. We started with this in 1997. It did not happen overnight – it took us the better part of a year and at the end of 1999, beginning of 2000, the Languages Act was consolidated and as the National Constitution provides...uhm...each province has the right to establish its own language policy...to establish the development of its own languages act and the Western Cape was the leader in this field. The first province to do so and the only one for a very long time...the only one – I am not sure if other provinces have, I am not completely certain if other provinces have joined, but in brief, but the language policy would then mean that the Western Cape had adopted Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa as official languages. Not in any order of importance, or that any of the language would dominate the others.]

Researcher: Ja. En in die geval van die Suid-Afrikaanse Gebaretaal het die er...lees ek in die WKTB dat hulle ook voorsiening maak vir die bevordering...nie noodwendig om dit op amptelike status te kry nie, maar net vir bevordering en ontwikkeling van Gebaretaal en dan ook die Namataal...

[Yes, and with regard to SASL I have read in the WCLP that they have also made provision for the promotion of ...not necessarily to get official status for the language, but just for the improvement and development of SASL and then also the Nama Language...]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja, dit is so. Nou ons het nog altyd iemand gehad van die dowe gemeenskap op die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee... [Yes, it is like that. We have always had someone from the deaf community serving in the Western Cape Language Committee...]

Researcher: Ja, ja... [yes, yes...]

Interview Respondent 16: En as jy gaan kyk na die embleem van die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee sal jy sien dat Gebaretaal figureer baie sterk in die embleem van die WKT. [Should you take a look at the emblem of the Western Cape Language Committee, you will note that Sign Language figures very strongly in the emblem of the WCLC.]

Researcher: Wel, ek het nou die dag gelees dat die TB 'n hele lang proses was en dat die uiteindelike Taalbeleid voorgelê was toe aan die...ek dink aan die provinsiale wet......er...kabinet... [Well, the other day I read that the LP was
a long process and that the eventual LP was submitted or presented to the provincial law…er…cabinet…]

Interview Respondent 16: Eers aan die provinsiale wetgewer en daarna het die provinsiale kabinet… [First to the provincial legislature and then the provincial cabinet…]

Researcher: Ja dis reg, en dit was…dit was in 2004, of in 2005… [Yes, that is correct…and it was…it was in 2004, or in 2005]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja. [Yes]

Researcher: 2005. En…In die tussentyd – tussen 2005 en nou 2011, is daar natuurlik verskeie projekte geloods deur die Department van Kultuursake en Sport en deur en deur die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee veral en om die Taalbeleid te implementeer. As jy miskien net vir ons lig kan werp op presies wat die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee gedaan het om die Wes…wat die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee gedoen het om die…om die Taalbeleid te implementeer. Sê sedert 2005 of so tot…tot…nou toe… [2005…And in the meantime - between 2005 and now 2011 different projects were launched by the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport and by the…by the Western Cape Language Committee especially to implement the Language Policy. If you could please shed some light to indicate what the Western Cape Language Committee had done to …to … implement the Language Policy. Say since 2005 or so…up to now…]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja, kyk laat ek… [Yes, let me…]

Researcher: Net kripties… [Just criptic]

Interview Respondent 16: Laat ek heel voor begin en sê dat as jy gaan kyk na die Taalkomitee as ’n statutere ligaam wat beteken ons word aangestel, ons word benoem deur die gemeenskap, maar deur die Minister van die Departement Kultuursake en Sport, met die doel om die implementering van die Taalbeleid te monitor, so, dit is nie ons taak om die Taalbeleid te implementeer nie, maar ons moet toesien dat die implementering wel moet plaasvind en indien dit nie plaasvind nie, redes voorsien oor hoekom dit nie sal plaasvind nie, andere moet daaroor verslag doen. So, die uitrol van hierdie taalbeleid was nogal ’n moeisame proses gewees. Dit was iets nuuts genees, so voor ons kon implementeer, moes ons eers mense bewus maak. En mense, ons het begin met ’n baie omvattende en intensiewe bewusmakingsprogram, eh…die uitdeel van pamflette, radio-advertensies, koerantadvertensies en ons het die maar deur middel van die media gegaan en soveel as moontlik mense daaraan bekend gestel en toe het ons begin om dit te implementeer op die verskillende vlakke van die regering, daar is die…ons het heel eerste begin op die provinsiale vlak… [Let me start at the beginning and say that if you were to look at the Language Committee as a statutory body which means that we are appointed, we are nominated by the committee, but through the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport, which the aim of monitoring the implementation of the Language Policy, so, it is not our task to implement the Language Policy, but we have to see to it that the implementation does take place and should it not take place, give reasons why it will not take place, others have to report on it. So, implementing this Language Policy was quite a difficult process. It was something new, so before we could implement, we had to make people aware. And people, we started with a very comprehensive and
intensive awareness programme, eh... distributing pamphlets, radio advertisements, newspaper advertisements and we worked through the media and introduced as many people to it as possible and then we started implementing it at the different levels of government, there is the... we started with the provincial level...]

Researcher: Ja, natuurlik... [Yes, of course]

Interview Respondent 16: Dit wil sê jou provinsiale departemente, soos die departemente van onderwys, gesondheid, polisiëring diens ens. ens. Daar het ons redelijke sukses behaal – ek wil amper sê dat hoe nader die mense is aan die Minister van die Departement van Kultuursake hoe meer suksesvol was dit gewees. [In other words, your provincial departments, such as the Department of Education, Health, Police etc, etc. We were relatively successful there. I'd almost want to say that the nearer people were to the minister of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, the more successful we were.]

Researcher: Ja? [Yes?]

Interview Respondent 16: Die tweede implementering sou wees die munisipale overhede of die munisipaliteite – dit was minder suksesvol gewees, trouens ek wil sê dat ons... er... dat ons 'n onderzoek gedoen het na wat is die stand van sake en die onderzoek het gewys dat daar is nie... dit is bewys dat dit nie op baie plekke suksesvol toegepas nie. Baie probleme met die implementering van die taalbeleide... in die veraf plattelandse gebiede. [The second implementation would be the municipal authorities or the municipalities – this was less successful, indeed I'd like to say that we... er... we had done an investigation into the state of affairs and the investigation showed that there is not... it was proven that it is not successfully implemented in many places. Many problems with the implementation of the language policies... in the deep rural areas]

Researcher: Want munisipale... munisipaliteite het gewoonlik hul eie taalbeleide en dit nou hoe strook die twee met mekaar... die WKTB en die munisipale... die munisipale taalbeleide... er...? [Because municipal... municipalities usually have their own language policies... and now... how do these policies... the WCLP and the municipal language policies go together...?]

Interview Respondent 16: Nee, kyk... die munisipale taalbeleide er... er... neem hulle sleutel van die provinsiale taalbeleide af... [Now, look... the municipal language policies... er... er... the municipal language policies... er... er... take their lead from the municipal policies.]

Researcher: Ek sien. [I see.]

Interview Respondent 16: Soos wat die provinsiale taalbeleid nou weer sy sleutel neem vanaf die Nasionale Grondwet – so, dis nie 'n geval dat ons... you are not alone... daar is 'n... 'n oorkoepelende beleid en almal moet daaraan gehoorsaam wees. Maar laat ek nou net eers nou nog sê... en dan die derde vlak van implementering sou wees die openbare instansies, wat die heel moeilikste was, en hiermee bedoel ek die openbare instansies soos hospitale, poskantore, polisietasies, die howe, en... en... ons het ons... en... en... daar is ons suksesverhaal selfs nog minder en nog swakker. Ons het veral 'n lang geveg in die polisie... [In the same way that the provincial language policy takes its lead from the National Constitution – so, it is not a case of us... there is a ... a... a
overarching policy and everyone must adhere to it. But let me first also say that and then the third level of implementation would be the public institutions, who were the most difficult, and with this I am referring to hospitals, post offices, police stations, the courts, and...and...and...we have our...and...and...and there our success story is even less and weaker. We have a long struggle in the police especially...]

**Researcher:** *Ja? Vertel my daarvan...* [Yes, tell me more about that]
**Interview Respondent 16:** *Ons almal ken die ken die hele episode rondom Kaptein Japie le Roux.* [We all know the entire episode around Captain Japie Roux]

**Researcher:** *Vertel my asseblief daarvan vir ons rekords. Asseblief – dis wat ek graag wil...wil...* [Please tell me more for our records. Please – that is what I want to...to...]

**Interview Respondent 16:** *Ja, die hele idee van Kaptein le Roux wat...wat...wat die hele ding baie sterk opgeneem het bv twee mense in Beaufort-Wes of in Putsonderwater wat albei Afrikaans is...wil 'n sekere saak van die polisie gesels, en dan moet hulle twee dit in Engels doen bloot oor die feit dat hulle ingeluister of afgeluister kan word. So, Japie le Roux was daar baie behulpsaam gewees. Uiteindelik het hy die saak op so 'n vlak gehad dat ons die ...voormalige staatspresident FW de Klerk gehad het wat die saak aangeneem het en oorgeneem het en suksesvol afgehandel het, sodat dat die polisie ook op die ou einde...dit was 'n baie moeilike een, maar die polisie moes ook op die ou einde... moes verstaan dat hulle... dat dat daar is 'n nasionale taalbeleid en hulle kan nie, want die polisie wou 'n baie streng... 'n Engels alleen...English only-beleid volg. [Yes, the whole idea of captain le Roux who...who...who...who had taken it in a very serious light, for example two people in Beaufort-Wes or on Putsonderend who are both Afrikaans...want to discuss a certain matter with the police and then they have to do it in English merely because of the fact that their conversation can be intercepted. So, Japie le Roux was of great assistance in this regard. Eventually he took the matter to such a level that we had....the former president FW de Klerk who became involved and took over the matter and resolved the matter successfully, so that the police in the end...it was a very difficult matter, but in the end the police also had to in the end....had to understand that they....that there is a national language policy and they cannot, because the police wanted a very strict...an English only...follow an English only policy.]

**Researcher:** *Dit is wat ek wou weet.* [That is what I wanted to know]
**Interview Respondent 16:** *En dit het geweldig baie probleme veroorsaak. [And it caused a lot of trouble.]

**Researcher:** *...ek...ek hoor wat u sê omtrent die...er...er...omtrent die probleem wat u gehad het met die Taalbeleid ensovoorts en dis wonderlik om tog te hoor dat dit tog wel suksesvol is in sommige areas van die Wes-Kaap. Waarna ek...my doktorskraad handel oor presies watter implementeringsprobleme julle gekry het die afgelope vyf jaar, want die ...er...daar is wel areas waar die Wes-Kaapse Taalbeleid nie toegepas word nie slaag om geïmplementeer te word nie as gevolg van verskeie probleme. Ons het nou 'n Colloquium wat julle gehad het nou in 2010 en daar is verskeie dinge wat daar uitgekom het in onder andere finansies, er...die beskikbaarheid van tolke...het u...het jy miskien iets wat jy daaroor vir ons kan se? [Now...I hear
what you say about the er...challenges that you had with regard to the Language Policy, etc. and it is wonderful to hear that you were successful in some areas in the Western Cape. What I...look at in my doctoral degree is to find out exactly which implementation challenges you have experienced the last five years, because there were ... areas in the Western Cape where the implementation of the policy did not take place due to different challenges. We had just finished the Colloquium in 2010 and there are different things which were captured there, amongst others finances, er...the availability of interpreters, do you perhaps have something to say about that?

Interview Respondent 16: Ja. [Yes]

Researcher: Het u iets wat u daaroor vir ons wil sê? [Do you have something to say about that?]

Interview Respondent 16: Ja, ja ek wil...jy weet, 'n mens...veral soos die is mense geneig om te gaan na finansies om te sê dit is as gevolg van geld maar ek wil nie eens begin met finansies nie, want ek dink dat finansies is nie die vernaamste oorsaak hoekom daar mislukking is nie. In die heel eerste instansie vir my...as jy gaan kyk waar is die Taalbeleid suksesvol of dan meer suksesvol toegepas, dan sal jy sien dis in die departemente of in die munisipale ouwerhede of in die openbare plekke waar daar 'n politieke wil was, dit is juis die ding wat... [yes, yes I would like to...you know...a person...especially (in a case) like this we would like to refer to finances to say that it is because of finances, but I don’t even wish to start with finances, because finances are not the most important reason why there is a failure. In the first instance for me...if you look at where the Language Policy was successful or rather more successful, then you will see it is in the departments or in the municipal authorities or in public places where there is a political will, and that is the thing that...]

Researcher: O liewe aarde, ja? [Oh good heavens yes?]

Interview Respondent 16: Met ander woorde, as die hoof van die Onderwysdepartement die politieke wil gehad het om die Taalbeleid te wil laat werk, dan sou hy structure in plek geplaas het en dan sou hy die nodige fondse gevind het of daarvoor begroot het om dit te laat werk er...en dit vir my is die heel belangrikste...waar die politieke wil ontbreek het, sou ek gepraat het van die polisie, het jy baie min sukses gesien...dit is wat ek graag wil noem by nommer een ...die tweede ding vir my het gegaan oor bestuur en leierskapsvaardighede weereens.... 'n provinsiale department waar daar goeie bestuur toegepas is nie net die taalbeleid nie, maar ook ander beleide met sukses toegepas word, maar nou goed vind nommer een die tyd, die energie en die fondse om 'n ding te laat werk. Er want dit is wat 'n goeie bestuurder doen – hy vind net eenvoudig die meganismes om die ding te laat werk en ons moet vir mekaar sê dat in sommige staatsdepartemente is daar baie swak leierskap bestuur; gevolglik het jy daar...in sulke gevalle van die taalbeleid het daar baie weinig van gekom. [In other words, if the Department of Education had the political will to let the Language Policy work, then he would’ve put structures in place and then it would’ve found the necessary funds to make it work...er...this is the most important thing for me....where there is no political will, as I have referred to regarding the police, you would’ve seen few successes. . That is what I wish to mention at number 1. The second thing is that it was for me about good...
management and leadership skills, again…a provincial department where there is
good management, not only with the language policy, but also with other policies,
but then again, find number one the time, the energy and the funds to make this
thing work. Because that is what a good manager does - he simply finds
mechanisms to make this thing work and we have to tell each other that in some
government departments there are very weak leadership; and therefore nothing
came of the language policy in those such cases.]

Researcher: er...en... dit het die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee nagevors, ja, hulle
het gesien in watter provinsiale departemente, veral met die Colloquium het
hulle gesien watter departemente...[er...and the Western Cape Language
Committee researched that, yesm, they saw in which departments, especially
with the Colloquium they have seen which departments...]

Interview Respondent 16: Maar nog voor die Colloquium het die Wes-Kaapse
Taalkomitee onder leiding van X, het op daardie stadium vir ons die leiding
geneem het ons 'n baie intensiewe vraelys oor nagevors, na die munisipaliteitie...
na die provinsiale departemente en om vas te stel hoe...of die beleid nommer een
in plek is en in nommer twee of dit suksesvol is, wat is die probleme, ens ens en ja,
toe het ons gevind dat wat ek nou hier gesê het dat waar die beleide op een plek
gesien het dan sou jy gevind het daar is dikwels nie 'n politieke wil nie, daar is
tie nie 'n goeie bestuur nie en as gevolg daarvan het die fondse ook ontbreek, want jy
moet onthou, om 'n taalbeleid te laat werk, het mens ook menslike potensiaal
nodig. [But before the Colloquium the Western Cape Language Committee under
leadership of X, at that stage took the lead for us with research with a very
intensive questionnaire, to the municipalities...to provincial departments and to
determine how...if the policy is in place firstly and if it is successful secondly,
what the problems are, etc. etc. and yes, when then found that which I said just
now that where there are policies in one place you'd often find that there is no
political will, there is no good management and as a result of that the funds were
also lacking, because you have to remember, to make a language policy work you
also need human capital.]

Researcher: Ja, jy het [Yes, you do...]

Interview Respondent 16: Jy het mense nodig soos vertalers, en jy het tolke nodig
en jy het menslike hulpbronne nodig in die heel eerste instansie voor ons nog dink
aan iets soos 'n woordeboek moet jy eers iemand het wat hom kan opstel al en
tolk en dan kan opstel, so daar is 'n geweldige behoefte vir die aanstelling van
er...er...vertalers...dan tolke in die howe, tolke in polisiestasies, tolke in die
hospitale er...al hierdie plekke...waar dit krites noodsaaklik is dat daar goeie
kommunikasie moet wees ...dat mense moet verstaan waaroor gaan jou pyn in die
hospitaal sodat die korrekte diagnose gemaak kan word. [You need people like
translators, you need interpreters and you need human resources in the first place
before we even think of something like a dictionary you need someone to compile
it and interpret and then compile, so the is a great need for the appointment of
er...er...translators...then interpreters in courts, interpreters in police stations,
interpreters in hospitals er...all those places...where it is of critical importance to
have good communication...that people understand your pain in hospital so that
he correct diagnosis can be arrived at.]
Researcher: Dit… dit bring my nou uit by die eh… daar was ’n costing analysis wat die Wes-Kaapse… die department gedoen het oor die implementering van die Wes-Kaapse Taalbeleid in elk geval en daarbinne het hulle gesê dat dit geweldig baie geld gaan kos om hierdie spesifieke mense op te lei… en er… ek het agtergekom nou die afgelope ruk dat daar min… taalversorgers daarbuite is… hoe gaan… hoe… hoe… hoe het dit ’n impak op die… op die implementering van die Wes-Kaapse Taalbeleid? [That brings me to the …er… costing that the Wester Cape…. the Departemnt has done with regard to the implementation of the Language Policy and in that report they stated that it was going to cost a lot of money to train these specific people… and I have realized the last while that … there are few language editors out there… how does… how does this have an impact on the implementation of the WCLP?]

Interview Respondent 16: Wanneer jy ’n nuwe taalbeleid daarstel, dan moet jy ook die totale pakket vir die mense aanbied. Jy kan nie… Eskom wil nou ’n nuwe kragsentrale gaan bou langs die see sodat ons ons deur middel van die wind of deur middel van die water wil ons nou die elektrisiteit gaan opwek – as ons daai goed gaan bou, maar jy maak nie voorsiening vir die ingenieurs wat daai goed… om daai werk te gaan doen nie… jy kan nie ’n taalbeleid gaan instel en implementeer maar die ingenieurs om die taalbeleid te maak werk, jy maak nie daarvoor voorsiening nie. En daardie ingenieurs se name is taalversorgers, en dis tolke en dis vertalers en ek dink hier is ’n hele geleentheid vir loopbaanmoontlikhede, vir ons taalstudente en hulle is nie eens bewus daarvan…van hierdie geweldige loopbaanopsies wat dan nou daar… daar is nie… en ek dink die hele kommunikasieproses is net nie mooi deurgedink nie… en… en mooi in plek nie, want daar word ook nie aktief werving gedoen vir studente nie; daar word nie beurse beskikbaar gestel nie… as jy… as jy weet jy het tolke nodig in ’n hof, moet jy nommer een jy moet goeie taalstudente op universiteitsvlak identifiseer, jy moet vir hulle beurse gee en dan moet jy vir hulle toegang tot plekke gee waar hulle kan gaan studeer om ’n tolk te word, om vertalers te word – so, al hierdie goed is deel van die implementeringsproses van ’n taalbeleid. Dit gaan hand aan hand. [When you establish a new language policy, you have to offer the people the total packet. You can’t… Eskom now wants to build a new power station next to the sea so that we can generate electricity by means of the wind and by means of water – if we were to build those things, but you don’t make provision for engineers to… to do the work… you cannot establish and implement a language policy but the engineers to make it work you do not provide for. And those engineers are called editors, and interpreters and translators and I think this is an opportunity for career possibilities, especially for our language students and they are not even aware of it… of these enormous career options that are… that exist… I think the communication process is not thought out properly… and… and… put in place well, because active recruiting of the students does not take place; bursaries are not made available… if you… if you know you need interpreters in a court, you have to firstly you must identify good language students at university level, you must give them bursaries and then you have them access to places where they can
study to become interpreters, to become translators – so, all these things are part of the implementation process of a language policy. It goes hand in glove.]

**Researcher:** Absoluut! Die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee het beurse beskikbaar gestel op 'n spesifieke tyd, as ek dit nie mis het nie… [Absolutely! The Western Cape Language Committee has made bursaries available for a specific time, if I am not mistaken…]

Interview Respondent 16: Jy weet, kom ek gee vir jou 'n baie goeie voorbeeld. Die huidige voorsitter van PanSAT, Wes- Kaap, X, is een van ons laaste beurshouers nog van die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee en met 'n – as lid van die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee het sy haar PhD verwerf gehad die geleentheid te gee om 'n loopbaan te hê in die taalwese en vandag is sy die provinsiale voorsitter van PanSAT in die Wes-Kaap, juist omdat ons op daardie stadium die visie gehad het dat as jy die…die insit moet werf, dat jy moet beurse beskikbaar stel, studente identifiseer en die twee pole bymekaar sit en die sukses is toe daar te sien. [You know, let me give you a very good example. The current Chairperson of PanSALB, Western Cape, X, is one of our last bursars of the Western Cape Language Committee and with a - as member of the Western Cape Language Committee she obtained her PhD and had the opportunity to have a career in language and today she is the provincial chairperson of PanSALB in the Western Cape, precisely because at that time we had the vision that if you the…have to recruit the input, you have to make available bursaries, identify students and combine the two poles and the success was there to see.]

**Researcher:** Net 'n heel laaste vragie, tussen die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee en die Department van Kultuursake en Sport, ehm…wanneer dit kom by die implementering van die Taalbeleid. Die twee werk hand aan hand saam met mekaar? [Just one last question, between the WCLC and the DCAS, with regard to implementing the Language Policy…do these two work hand in hand with each other?]

Interview Respondent 15: Die Wes-Kaapse Taalkomitee werk baie goed saam met die Taaleenheid. [The Western Cape Language Committee works very well in conjunction with the Language Unit.]

**Researcher:** Die taaleenheid, ja. [The Language Unit, yes]

Interview Respondent 16: Binne die Departement van Sport, Kultuursake en Taal…ehm…ek dink nie die samewerking en die vertroue wedersyds tussen die Taalkomitee en die Departement van Kultuursake en Sport is…in Engels se hulle is…in Engels se hulle… is condusive is bevorderlik vir die maksimum ontwikkeling van die Taalbeleid nie en daar kan baie meer gedoen word en daar kan baie meer energie ingesit word, ja…er…daar is 'n verhouding en ja, dit is 'n goeie verhouding en ja, dit is 'n gesonde verhouding en ja, ons ontvang fondse elke jaar, maar die fondse is nie naastenby genoeg nie en hulle weet dit: [In the Department of Sport, Cultural Affairs and Language…ehm…I don’t think the cooperation and the trust between the Language Committee and the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport is…in English they say…in English they say…is conducive is conducive to maximum development of the Language Policy and a lot more can be done and a lot more energy can be put into it, yes…er…there is a relationship and yes, it is a good relationship and yes, it is a healthy relationship
and yes, we receive funds annually, but the funds aren’t nearly enough and they know it:]

**Researcher: Ja, dit is een van die probleme wat...** [Yes that is one of the challenges that...]

Interview Respondent 16: *Dis fondse wat net genoegsaam is om jou te laat...dis soos ‘n pensioen aan ‘n ou mens, ‘n pensioen hou jou net aan die lewe van maand tot maand, maar daar is niks vir ontwikkeling en uitbreiding nie. [The funds are just enough to let you...it is like a pension to an elderly person, a pension only keeps you alive from one month to the next, but there is nothing for development and expansion.]*

**Researcher: So, julie hande is eintlik afgekap ...** [So, your hands are actually chopped off...]

Interview Respondent 16: *Afgekap, ja. Op die oomblik ontvang ons...ek wil sover gaan om te sê dat ons ontvang ‘n pensioen net om te oorleef. Net om liggaam...om vergaderings by te woon, om notules af te handel, om insette te lewer, maar daar is nie fondse sodat ons werklik kan navorsing doen oor die Taalbeleid nie, kan aanbevelings maak nie, kan aggressiewe projekte loods nie, er... nuwe projekte ontgin nie, er... al hierdie goed vra geld en ek dink, met ‘n klein bietjie meer beplanning, en net ‘n klein bietjie beter leierskap en net ‘n paar fondse te herskuif en slim beplanning kan ‘n mens baie meer doen. [Chopped off, yes. At the moment we get...I would go as far as to say that we receive a pension just to survive. Just enough to keep body...to attend meetings, to finalise minutes, to make input, but there are no funds for us to really do research about language policy, make recommendations, initiate projects, er....start new projects, er...all these things need money and I think, with a little bit more planning, and a bit better leadership and by reshuffling funds a little one can do a lot more.]*

**Researcher: Baie baie dankie, X, vir die wonderlike onderhoud en gesprek wat ons gehad het en ek sal definitief vir die doktorsgraad gebruik, baie dankie!** [Thank you very much, X, for the wonderful interview and for the conversation that we had before - I will definitely be using the information for my degree, thank you very much!]

Interview Respondent 16: *Dis ‘n plesier. Baie dankie! [It is a pleasure. Thank you!]*

**END OF INTERVIEW**

**WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT: (Respondent 17)**

(Tape recording transcription)

Researcher: I would like to welcome you, Mr X, to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy since 2005. This information will be used for completion of my PhD on this issue in which I particularly look at the different departments, PanSALB and the Western Cape Language Committee’s efforts to implement it and the problems or challenges they are experiencing and also to Provincial Parliament’s contributions of course. I would like to make sure on tape that you have agreed to take part in the study. Do you agree?

Interview Respondent 17: Yes I do

Researcher: Thank you. Your anonymity is assured in this interview. We won’t mention your name in this interview. First of all I would like to thank
you for this opportunity to hear from your side what problems you are facing. If you could please introduce yourself (who you are and from which department, etc):

Interview Respondent 17: Thank you. My name is X. I’m working for the Department of the Premier and the Western Cape Provincial Legislature and the the Unit is in the Corporate Communication. So at the moment I’m the only one in the Unit for isiXhosa

For isiXhosa

Researcher: So you do not have an Afrikaans/English one at the moment.

Interview Respondent 17: Not yet. But that is on pipeline

Researcher: Is this part of the WCLP Implementation that Parliament is doing?

Interview Respondent 17: Yes.

Researcher: Ok. My first question to you is: I have had several interviews with language practitioners, with senior and middle management, and the DCAS and the WCLC and PanSALB with X with regard to the language policy’s challenges in the Western Cape. The problems that people get. They indicated urhm that they make use of interpreting and translations in order to implement the policy. Please tell me how provincial parliament implements this…this policy?

Interview Respondent 17: Ok, urhm interpreting services, translation services - also terminology development aah urhm in many languages er the language practitioners are being employed; er and there are also freelance interpreters and translators available in er provincial parliament

Researcher: So you do have a databasis then from which you work

Interview Respondent 17: Yes.

Researcher: To make sure that the communications gets over to the parliamentarians and visa versa

Interview Respondent 17: But we work through the DCAS

Researcher: Oh I see

Interview Respondent 17: But the internal language practitioners like myself, And we also have er others currently in legal services for example and er treasury so we are all under the Department of the Premier so at least we have er sort of a group of language practitioners although not enough to handle the whole sort of work which is needed to implement the language policy

Researcher: Ja, er….to implement the language policy… I guess that was one of the problems that the LPs and SMs pointed out was the fact that there is such a shortage of staff and with it came obviously the finances to have the staff complement.

Interview Respondent 17: Yes, it is.

Researcher: The Western Cape Language Policy is specific in its prescriptions to provincial parliament and my questions will therefore focus on these: You are welcome to answer them if you can. If you cannot then you are also welcome to say whether or not you are unsure. The official languages Afrikaans, isiXhosa and English … are they being used in any debates and other proceedings of the Western Cape Provincial Parliament and its committees? You can also see it on TV I think there is a channel 408 or
something that they use. Are those in...can the Parliamentarians speak isiXhosa, Afrikaans and English?

Interview Respondent 17: I will sort of respond specifically on the WCPP. Unfortunately at the moment from the time that I have been here until currently I haven’t er attended any of those er committee meetings and therefore I cannot sort of accurately answer that question, but what I know, that the the in trying to implement the LP things are sort of being done, but they are slowly happening.

Researcher: Is it now the interpreting or so when a member speaks Afrikaans and the interpreter...

Interview Respondent 17: Yes I mean that

Researcher: So it’s slowly?

Interview Respondent 17: Yes

Researcher: Also, when this happens, does the Western Cape Parliament make provision for interpreting services for members?

Interview Respondent 17: I think they not all used equally in the committees, and isiXhosa is still limited.

Researcher: Ja, Ja you ee that was also one of the things that they said. That isiXhosa was a problem

Interview Respondent 17: Yeah and as far as I know we do have those interpreting tools, but they are at DCAS as far as I know. So yeah...

Researcher: So there is a fantastic relationship between you and DCAS Central Language Unit if you do need your interpreters for provincial parliament. Does Provincial Parliament allow for SA Sign Language interpreting where necessary? I’m not so sure whether or not there is a deaf member or whether or not er...

Interview Respondent 17: Yeah, you see. I have heard that it does when necessary; however - As I have not been not yet in any gathering at the Provincial Parliament with regards to committee meetings where sign language was supposed to be provided. So even here I can’t provide you with the proper answer.

Researcher: Ok so we will just take it that if there is a deaf project somewhere that provincial parliament is hosting then they will contact DCAS and they will sort out the SASL interpreter. Does Provincial Parliament keep official records of debates in the official languages in which the debates took place? Or do they do the translations thereof and then keep the translations?

Interview Respondent 17: You see, we… we… here I cannot sort of give also the accurate answers because er the documents that I work with and those that I have seen are being done in the er tsk all three languages but still there are a lot of those that haven’t been done er in those languages.

Researcher: Are you saying that they normally use English and then from English they would then translate to Afrikaans and isiXhosa?

Interview Respondent 17: to Afrikaans and isiXhosa, yes

Researcher: Ok

Interview Respondent 17: Yes

Researcher: Are all legislation, official reports and resolutions of the Provincial Parliament and its committees being made available in all three official languages? Look, the WCLP is there for the upliftment for ... of especially of isiXhosa with the eradication of the serious marginalization of
isiXhosa and this is exactly what I look for in my thesis and that is what I want to know: the legislation that you have...do they make...you just mentioned the legal department - do they make those available in isiXhosa and Afrikaans as well

Interview Respondent 17: As far as I know since I have been here, the documents that I have seen yes they are available in you see like the Gazette, for example the amendments and the …

Researcher: the bills as well? …

Interview Respondent 17: Yes, so, that is what I can say, but from the previous documents I cannot comment on that…

Researcher: No, of course of course. So then you have actually answered my next question which was... when a bill is introduced in the Provincial Parliament is it available in at least two official languages? Maybe Afrikaans/English, English/Afrikaans or maybe Afrikaans/isiXhosa

Interview Respondent 17: No that I know when I came here there was er it was the regulations - it was insisted that they cannot be published without er isiXhosa

Researcher: Absolutely

Interview Respondent 17: So they needed to put isiXhosa in so and that is what they did they they tried although the isiXhosa was er inserted at a later stage because there was some incorrect er versions in it therefore I did the editing and proofreading but then yeah so it is a must that those three official languages of the WC er must appear in such document.

Researcher: Thank you. A system is is there a system being implemented which rotates the choice of two languages equitably amongst the three official languages of the Province? It is what the WCLP states - that it should happen that is why it is such a strange question to ask you but I - do forgive me for asking (laughing)

Interview Respondent 17: Yeah but the thing is - here even I can not sort of - I don’t know everything yet and therefore I cannot say there is or there is not such kind of a system you see but one thing I know for sure that er the government of the Western Cape is based on the National Language Framework and the provincial language policy even the department have a language policy this is all what the departments that they're doing that they are trying to implement the language policy. But then the thing is if you are not in this language field you are just an ordinary person you won’t be able to see or feel it you see and yeah so that is why I said earlier that it is something that is slowly being done, you see?

Researcher: So the the Secretary does not necessarily keep a centralized register in order to regulate the rotation of these languages in bills erm to be introduced to the Provincial Parliament? So you are not really aware of of that which is happening. It it would probably be a very slow process that would be over the next couple of years will er will be rolled out. And lastly a question that I would like to ask is Surely there would be challenges wrt the implementation of the language policy in Provincial Parliament - what are your challenges - what are your challenges not only to focus on the er regulations of the policy and how provincial government and provincial parliament and so on how they deal with the policy, but I’d like to know
about the challenges, many LPs had specific challenges wrt the translations that they do or the interpreting services and so on. What would be your

Interview respondent 17: You mean the practical challenges?

Researcher: the practical challenges yes?

Interview Respondent 17: It’s a difficult or tricky question because er so far in fact in all my years in this field and because I worked at the Dept of Agriculture before and then I worked at Stellenbosch University and now here. Personally I haven’t encountered any sort of challenge or obstacle that is sort of er hindering me in implementing the language policy.

Researcher: Ok?

Interview Respondent 17: Instead I do get support from my colleagues you see so I wouldn’t know of any sort of practical challenges

Researcher: Yeah?

Interview Respondent 17: You see, except those that are sort of behind the curtain

Researcher: Exactly?

Interview Respondent 17: You see you see as I said it is slowly being introduced and all that stuff what makes it being slowly I don’t know I don’t have any idea but in my personal opinion this is almost 20 years in democracy so to me it is supposed to be something that has been implemented long time ago and they do not sort of foster it

Researcher: You actually would like to switch on the television and know there is going to be Afrikaans or isiXhosa and everything will be in order

Interview Respondent 17: Exactly and the fact that er for example the the the employment interviews cannot be conducted in either Afrikaans or isiXhosa completely without putting someone who would interpret

Researcher: ok so everything is conducted in English in provincial parliament

Interview Respondent 17: Yes

Researcher: Is that not a challenge?

Interview Respondent 17: Yes it is a challenge as I’m saying but what I’m saying is the challenges that one could also interpret as obstacles you see er those are the things that I haven’t experienced myself

Researcher: Ok

Interview Respondent 17: But then this one I think this is something that anyone else can tell you that er have been interview or haven’t heard of an interview whereby it is conducted in only isiXhosa as a Xhosa person or only in Afrikaans or maybe a Afrikaans speaking person

Researcher: X, thank you so much for having me and for contributing to my research on the policy. It was a very wonderful interview and it gave me some insight into what is happening in provincial parliament wrt the language policy and I will take it from here. Thank you very much

Interview Respondent 17: Thank you very much you are welcome!

END OF INTERVIEW
Researcher: I would like to welcome you, X, to this interview on the challenges of implementing the Western Cape Language Policy over the last five years. This information will be used for completion of my PhD on this issue in which I particularly look at the different departments, PanSALB and the Western Cape Language Committee’s efforts to implement it and the problems or challenges they are experiencing. Please note that you have given consent and that your contribution will be anonymous.

Interview Respondent 18: Thank you, you are welcome to get information from PanSALB. We have a longstanding relationship with the Western Cape, PanSALB is always willing to share information. We are aware of the Western Cape Language Policy and DCAS involvement in it. PanSALB does get involved in language related projects in the Western Cape, as we do in all the other provinces. We are a national institution.

Researcher: Five years ago a pledge was signed with the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport to make sure that the language policy gets implemented by the provincial departments. Last year it was signed again. Did you sign it?

Interview Respondent 18: PanSALB was not part of it as we are not a provincial government department, but we did attend and we are giving our full support to the implementation of the WCLP, wherever we can.

Researcher: Are you aware of what the WCLP entails?

Interview Respondent 18: Yes, indeed we are. It is closely linked to the Constitution and also there is an Act that has lead to the appointment of the WCLC and they developed the WCLP in conjunction with the DCAS. PanSALB normally sits in at their meetings and then we try to support them.

Researcher: How do you implement the WCLP in your department and since when?

Interview Respondent 18: We give, where we can, funds to assist the Language Committee and/or we make use of the personnel of DCAS to make people of the Western Cape aware of their official languages, especially isiXhosa. I can show you the books that we are busy preparing not only for the Western Cape, but also for the other provinces where isiXhosa is a major language. These are books that have arrived this morning and I am looking at them for publication purposes. Although PanSALB has to focus on all languages as well as SASL, I am responsible for the provincial languages and I have to tell you it is quite a daunting task. We had SASL classes held in the Red Cross Hospital for the frontline staff and nurses and doctors to be able to communicate in Sign language - we also had interpreting services delivered to the Tygerberg Hospital.

Researcher: Is there a budget for the implementation of the policy in your department? How big is this budget in comparison to the imperative needs that your department has to fulfill?

Interview Respondent 18: At the moment PanSALB is under review, because of various reasons. We have a manager that has taken over in her place and that has
an impact on our finances. Our finances have been frozen so we are having problems.

Researcher: Which challenges do you experience in implementing the WCLP?
Interview Respondent 18: Funds is not the only problem we have, lack of resources are also there, lack of the willingness of management to implement it, but most importantly people do not know how to implement language policy, and that is our biggest problem. It is not necessarily our role to implement the language policy. We are here to make sure that the people of the Western Cape get served in their three languages as determined by the Constitution.

Researcher: What role does English play in your department’s day to day communication?
Interview Respondent 18: English plays the biggest role with regard to the first language from which translation takes place.

Researcher: Do you think other languages like Afrikaans play a role in the administrative workings of your department/in service delivery to the people?
Interview Respondent 18: No, we are trying to focus on all nine languages.

Researcher: How do you overcome the challenges brought to you by people not understanding English, if English is your medium of communication?
Interview Respondent 18: Interpreting. We need interpreters.

Researcher: How do you make sure that isiXhosa gets promoted in your department?
Interview Respondent 18: We have done a lot of research with regard to the language policy implementation in municipalities - we worked with the WCLP on this. We were involved with the Xhosa festival when it was still taking place and we have various programmes that we support in the Artscape with regard to the isiXhosa.

Researcher: What about the other languages spoken in the Western Cape? How do these languages get affected in your department and how do you deal with the lack of communication?
Interview Respondent 18: That is a huge challenge.

Researcher: I thank you for participating in this interview and also to be part of my studies. END OF INTERVIEW
ADDENDUM O: EXTRACT OF COLLOQUIUM ON THE WCLP IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES:

Extract from the 2010 Colloquium and a representation of the emotional outburst of a WCLC member to the politician present - translations of Afrikaans section is being done in brackets:

[WCLC member (serving as the Chairperson of the Colloquium): Baie wetgewing is ingestel, van Grondwet tot Witskrif – om gesond te wees teen 2000; WOFB: ons moet kyk na die begrotings aspek om dit te laat werk; hierdie geleenthede maak ons moeg. Niks gebeur op voetsoolvlak nie; Mense verduur pyn. Daar is wel organisasies wat navorsing met voorspraak wil kombineer. Hulle werk met ander belanghebbendes. Dis ‘n werklikheid. Dit is ‘n onverwesenlike ideaal om gesond te wees – navorsing is gedoen oor taal wat hand in hand loop met ideologiese kwessies – dit kan ontplof. Daar is baie diversiteitsprobleme in die Wes-Kaap. Diegene wat die begrotingskwessies saamstel, moet hierna kyk. Ons moet kyk na hoekom ons nie ordentlik Xhosa kan praat nie. Hoekom is dit so? [Much legislation had been passed, from the Constitution to the White Paper - to be healthy by 2000; Finances Management Act: We have to look at the budgeting aspect to make things work; these events make one tired. Nothing is happening at grassroots level; people are suffering pain. There are organizations that would like to combine research with mediation. They are working with other stakeholders. This is a reality. It is an unattainable ideal to be healthy - research had been done about language that goes hand in hand with ideological issues - this can explode. There are many diversity challenges in the Western Cape. Those who put together the budget issues must look at these. We have to look at why we cannot speak isiXhosa properly. Why is this so?] We don’t want people to make people millionaires; just make a statement – let a hospital be ordered to get interpreters. Can we?

Minister in Provincial Legislature/on Standing Committee: Chairperson, politici maak beloftes. In een dorp kry jy 100% Afrikaanssprekers en 1 polisieman is Xhosasprekend. [Chairperson, politici make promises. In one town you will get 100% Afrikaans speaking people and 1 policeman that is isiXhosa speaking] Not only in Health do we have this problem, but also in Police. Politici kom en gaan – [Politici come and go] I will go back with this. In a 2 years time it will be better. Ek sal terugkom en erkenning gee. Ek belowe dit. [I will come back and give recognition. I promise this.]

WCLC member (serving as Chairperson of the Colloquium) (very irritated with the comment and addressing the crowd): Persone wat vertaling moontlik kan maak, kry dit tweedehands. Inligting word tweedehands gekry. Die implementering van die WKTB moes al gister plaasgevind het (Accentuating ‘gister’). Dit lyk soos “Geld eerste, dan die taal.” [People who can make translations possible, get it second hand. Information is being received second-hand. The implementation of the WCLP should have happened yesterday - (accentuating ‘yesterday’ in Afrikaans). It seems like “Money first - and then the language”] Service delivery is important and needs to be stressed – Government
should be called to order, because of the life threatening circumstances in working with people. We have interpreters – we need more. isiXhosa they learn at UCT, basic isiXhosa – and it isn’t working. This needs to be relooked. What about the University of Stellenbosch? There is a financial crisis! We are driven by financial consideration and that is equal to life?! (Shouting) Life is more important than money! We needed the signage yesterday! (Accentuating yesterday) We need information! Don’t only print this in English - (showing at documentation in front) Translate it!! The dominant language needs to be accounted for in a percentage. If politicians don’t have the will, then what?! English?! This is a problem for the matrics. Yet, we promote English like that (showing to documentation again). The WCLC is on a shoestring budget. We (showing at the WCLC members in front) are being restrained with regard to implementing the language policy; and the politicians do nothing – they don’t have the will! (Shouting and banging on the table)
ADDENDUM P: AFTERMATH OF THE COLLOQUIUM ON
CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY IMPLEMENTING THE WCLP
(which took place in February 2010)

I WAS A PARTICIPANT OBSERVER AT THE MEETING HELD ON 25 MARCH 2010 (13:00-13:15)

A month later on 25 March 2010 between 13:00 and 13:15 the then Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation and the HOD of the DCAS summoned the WCLC members to an urgent meeting in his Office, which the DCAS Language Unit (5 LPs, the LPIU manager, the TIU manager, the Deputy Director of Languages and the administrative assistant) had to attend as well. All WCLC members were present - the meeting was scheduled by the DCAS LU Administrative Assistant so that everyone could attend, no one had to be absent. I took these words down word for word as they were spoken very slowly so that everyone could hear and understand:

I showed up with my notebook to record every word. I was not allowed to take in my tape recorder.

(Everybody was silent – we did not know what to expect)

Minister: I am here to talk about firstly my appreciation of the job that you as the WCLC is doing with regard to language in the Western Cape. Sometimes we fail to say thank you. But there are certain things that were said during and after the Colloquium that were directed towards the chairperson of the Standing Committee. Remarks were made. Just to get the politicians off my back, I have to hold this meeting. Politicians are not sensitive, not mature. Some stuff that was said, are not being appreciated - especially after the chairperson on mother tongue education spoke (that is his view on that). I have enjoyed it. It is typical about politicians, making empty promises. The reasons for leaving the Colloquium, is that we had a management meeting. I left after the Premier. The national member of the DA (who spoke about interpreting) also left; and this was nothing disrespectful towards the WCLC. We have to fight with PanSALB for the survival of the WCLC. The WCLC is the only committee that is active and running with its own language policy in this country. I just wanted to clear the air.

(silence)

HOD, DCAS: Thank you to the WCLC for the Colloquium. It is a pity we couldn’t stay at the colloquium until the end. The key thing now is to find out what we are going to do with more information. What the Department should do to look at Jane for a Code of Conduct/ code of Ethics for the WCLC. This would serve as setting parameters or a framework of roles within which the WCLC could operate and the WCLC members should sign this. This will keep the WCLC members to follow certain protocol when addressing the public on issues pertaining to language. There is a division in the Department. Thank you again for the hard work that you put into the Colloquium.

(more silence)

The Minister: I really think we cannot have people joining us on public entities thinking the same. We come from different back grounds. I am fine with the critics as long as we do it here where it matters. We can use the
language policy to determine needs. Don’t feel marginalized, because of the view of one single politician. I will work in conjunction with this Committee.

WCLC Chairperson: Thank you for attending the Colloquium. We are the only prominent Committee up and running fulfilling a mandate. We gave prestige to the gathering. I left also, because of a meeting. We have discussed the report and we have to do some things we have meant to do. We will have to be more visible, interact with more networks by means of a newsletter, a website update so that we can create more data. We will do a few projects in conjunction with the Western Cape to render a language service. There should be conversational examples in newspapers. We will continue to interact with all departments to make sure that the language policy is adhered to. With your support we are looking forward to make the WCLC the best provincial committee around.

(Everybody was quiet – and said goodbye. The meeting adjourned at 13:15. I then put my own notes of the Colloquium together. We had no discussion on the challenges experienced by the implementation of the WCLP again.)

END OF MINUTES OF MEETING
ADDENDUM Q: SIGNING OF PLEDGES TO IMPLEMENT THE WCLP

FIRST PLEDGE SIGNING IN 2002:
1. Pledge signing part of committing to implement the WC Language Policy

The Western Cape Cabinet members renewed their commitment to multilingualism in the Western Cape by receiving these framed pledges at a ceremony held in Cape Town. From left to right: G Lawrence (Director-General: PAWC), L Hibbert (Chairperson: WCLC), L Ramatlakane, T Essop, A Gaum, E Rasool, N Hangana, P McKenzie (Provincial Ministers).

“Pledge ceremony
On 4 March 2003 a high-profile pledge ceremony was held in the foyer of the Artscape building where the Provincial Government of the Western Cape openly pledged its commitment to serving the residents of the Western Cape in the official languages of their choice – Afrikaans, Xhosa or English. Each provincial minister and the heads of the 13 provincial government departments or their representatives, as well as the premier and director-general of the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape, signed the pledge and received their personal framed copy of the pledge to display in their offices.” (WCLC, Annual report 2002/03, page 65)

SECOND PLEDGE SIGNING IN 2010:
2. Pledge signing part of committing to implement the WC Language Policy

Present in picture: Premier Zille and Hannetjie du Preez, Chief Director of Cultural Affairs, Minister Sakkie Jenner signing the provincial pledge
“The Western Cape Language Committee and DCAS hosted a language colloquium on 9 February 2010 at the University of Western Cape that was aimed to review the implementation of the Western Cape’s Language Policy.

A survey conducted within government departments in 2008 and 2009 on the language status showed a clear need for further awareness amongst provincial departments and local government of the language policy and support to ensure effective implementation. The colloquium focused on improving the language policy within the Western Cape government departments and reviewed the impact that language has on effective access to government services.

While signing a provincial pledge in the presence of Premier Zille and Hannetjie du Preez, Chief Director of Cultural Affairs, Minister Sakkie Jenner, said, "Language plays an important role in creating an identity and culture within any community. It brings about a sense of belonging and acceptance." The pledge to serve the people of the Western Cape in their official language of choice will be systematically implemented by all provincial Ministers and their Departments.”

(DCAS Annual Report; 2009/2010)
November 10, 2011

To: Jo-Mari Nel  
From: Prof Richard Madsen  
Subject: Summary of Results
As you know, the data has been double entered and checked for accuracy. After considering alternatives, it was felt that the cleanest way of treating that is to exclude those responses from analysis. I don't believe this will result in any bias in the estimation of responses as the data is missing at random within that group. There were 30 Civilians where this happened: 

\[(11 <= id <= 17) \text{ or } (19 <= id <= 21) \text{ or } (id=29) \text{ or } (32 <= id <= 50)\].

As far as I can tell, you only need to summarize the results of your study through using proportions, means, standard deviations, and other descriptive statistics. Consequently two-way tables are provided for the demographic variables and summary information is given (for each group) for each question in a related series of questions. Graphs are also given with a separate line for each Group. (Here I've only included the means because the medians are less informative.)

In addition to the output below, the same information will be sent in a pdf file. Please use whichever format is most helpful.

Analysis of Demographic Variables by Group

The FREQ Procedure

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### Analysis of Demographic Variables by Group

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### Descriptive statistics for LPPE by group

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The MEANS Procedure

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### Group: Business

#### The MEANS Procedure

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**group=Youth**

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**Descriptive statistics for ALE by group**

**group=Business**

The MEANS Procedure

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<tr>
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<td>ale7</td>
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Descriptive statistics for ALE by group

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<th>Label</th>
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Descriptive statistics for ALE by group
Descriptive statistics for VPG by group

**group=Business**

The MEANS Procedure

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<th>Variable</th>
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<td>30</td>
<td>3.133</td>
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**group=Civilian**

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**group=Public**

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Mean/Median responses by question number of WCLP

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<th>Public</th>
<th>Youth</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The graph shows the mean/median responses by question number for different groups: Business, Civilian, Public, and Youth. The x-axis represents the question number (qn), and the y-axis represents the response value. The graph includes lines and markers for each group, indicating how responses vary across different questions.
Mean/Median responses by question number of LPPE group

Business  Civilian  Public  Youth
Mean/Median responses by question number of LPPPP

- Business
- Civilian
- Public
- Youth
Mean/Median responses by question number of ALE group

Business Civilian Public Youth
Mean/Median responses by question number of VPG group

Business Civilian Public Youth
ADDENDUM S: NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CLIPPINGS USED IN THE
STUDY + TRANSLATIONS OF SECTIONS USED:
My translation of underlined sections related to Chapters:
Chapter 6, page 171
[ANC DOES NOT PROMOTE LANGUAGE: Ivan Meyer strives towards
fairness and equality]
[Here in the Western Cape I will make it my mission to see that there are
equality and fairness for languages. The Western Cape has already in 1998
approved a Languages Act. In that Languages Act we have approved three
official languages (Afrikaans, isiXhosa, English). Thus we have already given
effect to the stipulations of the national Constitution.]

[How does the Western Cape Government promote multilingualism?]?
[We are the front runners in South Africa regarding the language dispensation
of the Constitution. We have appointed a language committee. Its work is to
monitor the use of English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. It also makes
recommendations to me as minister to promote multilingualism and to develop
marginalised languages.]

[The committee has at the moment a databank of language use in the province
and does research regarding Khoi Languages…]

[We don’t talk about languages; we work in the area of languages.]

[So, while the rest of the country was sleeping, the Western Cape moved
forward.]

Chapter 6, page 182

MECs on the carpet for non-attendance: National Council of Provinces
briefing postponed

The article is a reference to interpreting services (isiXhosa interpreting) not
being available in WCPP

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Chapter 8, page 243

[Afrikaans speakers pushed aside their fears and worries about the survival of
their language this weekend and were surprised to hear that even other
indigenous languages are also under enormous pressure.]
[Afrikaans is not the only language in the world that needs to be submissive
before the mighty domination of English.] 
[Xhosa speakers have the same fears about their language and they are sitting
with the same challenges.]

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Chapter 8, page 244

[Lecturers will be able to choose language of instruction - at the University of
Stellenbosch]
Chapter 8, page 268
The outcry for SASL to be announced an official language (The Tatler, Thursday, 15 September 2011: 6) and also President Zuma’s promise to make SASL official in The Argus of 5 December 2012
ADDENDUM S: SOME NEWSPAPER ARTICLES/CLIPPINGS REFERRED TO IN THE STUDY
ANC bevorde nie taal
Ivan Meyer streef na belyktheid en gelykheid
Dr. van Meyer, Wes-Kaapse minister van kultuursake en sport, in sy kantoor op Groenfonteinplein. Hy betaal hom vir meertaligheid in die provinsie. Foto: JAN GERBER

Hoe kom is hy gekom teen die wetsontwerp?

"Die Wes-Kaapse vragtemperatuur is in die boekette. Al ons mense moes die meertaligheid ondersteun soos vervat in die Grondwet."

"Hier is die Wes-Kaapse voortekening dat ons mense miskant en daar gebleek het dat ons mense miskant is."


"Die lief van ons in die Wes-Kaap voortekening van ons heldere nuwe toekoms van die Wes-Kaap woordlik.

"Dit is uitdruklik in die Grondwet bepaal dat die ANC-regering besluit 1996 absoluut alles doen wat vir hom te boet is om die Nedersaakse grondwet"
Die wetsontwerp op Suid-Afrikaanse tale wil staatsdepartemente dwing om minstens drie amptelijke tale te gebruik waarvan twee inheemse tale moet wees wat nie voorheen "bevoordeel" is nie. Hiervolgens tel Afrikaans onder tale wat voorheen "bevoordeel" is. Dr. Ivan Meyer, Wes-Kaapse minister van kultuursake en sport, het aan Jan Gerber verduidelik hoekom hy hierteen gekant is.

Meyer het Donderdag akkoord gegaan dat het onderwerp die Nama-hulskies bring woes in Khoe-Huba benodig, een van die tale waar die program aangewend word.

"Ons praat nie oor taal nie, ons praat oor die taal van die mensleer. Jy praat nie oor die tale nie, jy ontwikkels die tale."

En as die wetsontwerp is toegekeer?

"Dit is nodig om die kabinet, en veral die bondskanselier, te bewys dat die ANC in die spesifieke gebied van kultuursake en spoor, die wetsontwerp tot gevalt wil bring."

Die wetsontwerp is dan die Nama-hulskies bring woes in Khoe-Huba vir die minstens drie tale wat aan die staatsdepartemente gegee moet word.

"Ons praat nie oor taal nie, ons praat oor die taal van die mensleer. Jy praat nie oor die tale nie, jy ontwikkels die tale."
`W-Kaap sal hof toe oor wet`  

Raja Azakard

**KAAPSTAD.** - Dit Wes-Kaap-se regering gaan oor in die konstitusionele hof se van die Weso-ontwerp op Suid-Afrikaanse Tatiele in 'n houkante seun van oor waar wedj.

So het Dr. Ivan Meyer, Wes-Kaap se minister van Kultuurlska en spets, gister gesê.

Hy het gesê hy is bereid om in 'n persoonlike hoofstelhuis in die hof te geloof dat geen taal bevordering word nie. Hy het die stem van die hele Wes-Kaap kritieke vir dié besluit.

Meyer was die hoofprediker op die Internasionale Moeidertydskonferensie wat gister hier gehou is. Die tema was "Vuurstelhuis in die Wes-Kaap".

**Internasionale Moeidertydskonferensie**

Waarvol die hou van die Weso-ontwerp op Suid-Afrikaanse Tatiele in die hof in teenstelling met die oor die stand van dié hou van die Wes-Kaap se minister van Kultuurlska en spets, gister gesê. So het hy die stem van die hele Wes-Kaap kritieke vir dié besluit.

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MECs on the carpet for non-attendance
National Council of Provinces briefing postponed

CLAYTON BARNES
WESSEX Cape Town Review "has demanded answers from the MECs about a number of issues failure to appear before a joint committee of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) and the provincial legislature yesterday, resulting in the briefing being postponed."

The NCOP's vote of no-confidence to questions from legislature members (MPs) after a weekend NCOP oversight visit to the Duurstee. But when proceedings got under way in the chamber, only three NCOPs - social development, education and community safety - were present.

The oversight committee, chaired by NCOP members Michael de Villiers (DA) and Freddie Adams (ANC), visited various government projects, including schools and clinics.

On Thursday, angry MECs warned residents refused to allow
STRAIGHT TALKING: The ANC's Max Olinsky chats to a policeman in Makhanda. The NOCP spent the week on an oversight visit to the Boland.

the committee to leave the area until their housing concerns were addressed. The police were called in, and later escorted the delegation out of the community hall.

Yesterday ANC MPL Max Olinsky slammed Zille and her cabinet, accusing them of deliberately "sabotaging" the NOCP programme.

Speaking in the legislature, he said the provincial cabinet had undermined the NOCP and the Legislature by not being present. MECs were also absent on Tuesday when officials presented a progress report since the last NOCP oversight visit to the Western Cape in 2017.

COPE chief whip Thamsanqa Besisi said it was unacceptable that MECs "simply refused to attend" the briefing.

De Villiers, supported by DA chief whip Alan Rossouw, said the committee would write to Zille, conveying their dismay: "The premier's office must give us clear reasons why MECs are not here.

When Cape MEC Mmakgabo Gena, who was in Khaya to address the "disappointing" state of the NOCP, was approached, she refused to comment.

Minister Naledi Pandor said of a five-minute argument and later returned to the MPs' chambers that the action would be proposed "because member of the executive are not present and the NOCP oversight service is not visible.

Shocked was the DA leader in the Western Cape, Annette on Tuesday when officials presented a progress report since the last NOCP oversight visit to the Western Cape in 2017.

COPE chief whip Thamsanqa Besisi said it was unacceptable that MECs "simply refused to attend" the briefing.

"She has therefore asked the Premier of Western Cape, Helen Zille, to follow up with those MECs who weren't there to find out why they weren't present to answer questions," she said.

Zille was at a DA federal executive committee meeting yesterday, "a long-standing appointment" which had been set for earlier in the year, and she had sent her apologies to the Speaker's office. But Pierre Uys, ANC chief whip in the legislature, said Zille's excuse was "not good enough.

He said members had prepared a number of urgent questions for MECs. "We're picking up so many problems over the past week. A school is operating without any toilets for the kids, people living next to a railway line in Makhanda need houses, and a service centre in Worcester is in tatters.

"Zille's spokesperson, Tracey Winter, said Zille was "very concerned" that some MECs failed to attend the briefing.
Afrikaans en Xhosa het dieselfde vrese

MONÉ VAN BOVYN

Afrikaansgoukondes hou die afgelope naaioor:

Hul vrese en bekommernisse oor die voortien:

DeLEN van hul die taal opgeg geneem en vertaal:

gehoor dat ander toekomsse hou ook onder
gewig de skakel werk.

Sowat 10% Afrikaans en Xhosa-geskrywers
het op die twee dag-lange Xhosa-Afrika-
kongres in die Kunstaal-serumrum hulp skop
aan 'n platform waar mense versamelde en
die die taal se maasgroote moedertaal
kan opvoer. (Volgens die 2001-ensus is
die Zooloe die mees moedertalengters en Afrikaan
die derde meeste. Engels is seker op
die lij.)

Dr. Nelliendorf het, veg-een, verkies:
van die Pres-Set Atroiane in Pretoria, die
bevinding van die afgelope paar
Afrikaners, en Afrikaans is in
er geval van riele-
in die tyd is die wêreld wat die kuns voor
die nuwe, nuwe Engelskies die rede vir
der glo.

"Ons het nie ons kom in ongeloof gestel,
waar ons hul gedink dat Afrikaans ver die
onder politieke deur, Xhosa-geskrywers het
hul dieselfde vrese ondies naaioor
hulle en hulle se
andere taal en vrese.

Dr. Dwrócić Alexander van die Universiteit
van Kapstadt skryf: "Die taal van
diversiteit skakel nie langer nie.
Hun boeien met 'n eendere, materiële identiteit:
ms deur die kulturele agtergrond van
diens die taal se die wêreld na
selfveroying. Die geweldige deel van
die geweldige fokus op
materiaalisme.

Webstaar word gelyk ten koste van
naas ter kies van naas
die kies van naas. Kulturele wese het
en
met die omgewing, natuurlike wese le-
see in harmonie met die omgewing.
NUWE TAALMODEL VOORGEHOU

Meer tolke by US verwater wel T-opsie

Dosente sal lesingtaal kan kies
By implikasie kan die beste akademici aangestel word, ongaag huistaal, en versterk dit "n verwelkomende kultuur aan die US."

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*Prof. Arnold Schoonwilka*

'n Model is aan die hand voorgehou waardeur dit menselik is om bekend te hou hulle 86% Afrikaanssprekende studente met 100% Engelsse sprekitende studente. Dit het later self "Afrikaans en 100% Engelsse sprekitende studente met 100% Afrikaanssprekende studente."

"Beskermer is die US se programme mooi voegagtig. Dit is enkelsyn die beskermende mense is "sien hierdie beskermende mense kultuur word deur:"

1. Klassegroep van 250 en groter in die eerste en tweede jaar van pro-
gramme se ver as menselik te ver-
druk en van "parasitevorderings" deur.

Volgens hom kan die gebruik van Afrikaans en Engels afson-
dertik in die klasrooster deur die studente bied om in die stu-
dere akademiese taal onderrig te gee.

"By implikasie kan die beste akademici aangestel word, ongaag huistaal, en versterk dit "n verwelkomende kultuur aan die US."

Hy het bygevoeg: "Huistaal word aan die US ook gebruik om op meer wyse met kontak en sosiale intensiteit om te gaan as in die klasrooster.

"Dit vereis dat die US taal-
ontwikkelingsondersteuning van hul studente en personeel aanmoedig om persoonlik meer te word in Afrikaans. Engels en selfs Kho-
sa waar die studente dit nodig vind in moet beoefen."
A representative from South African Disability Alliance urged the Department of Basic Education to improve the use of sign language in schools. "Deaf learners are still not being taught in the medium of sign language. Academic curriculum for deaf children and intellectual learners is unsatisfactory," he said.

In response, Zuma said it was clear that the government needed to do something.

"From today we can argue it better — whether in Parliament or Cabinet — it's true that this must happen. Children with disabilities go to school and are taught by teachers who don't understand the language — you can imagine the difficulties," he said.

He said learning sign language should be included in teachers' training.

Disability Awareness Month

Zuma's visit was the culmination of Disability Awareness Month, held in November under the theme, "Removing barriers: create an inclusive and accessible society for all," an alignment with the United Nations for the International Day for Persons with Disabilities held on 3 December.

Responding to the challenges raised by people with disabilities, including being treated, Zuma urged South Africans to respect their rights and stop calling them names.

"There should be no more calling them by different names ... We are supposed to respect the rights of all others, we ought to say these names. I think we can say better and sound them the respect that they deserve," Zuma said.

People with disabilities were called on by the government to ensure that awareness that advocacy led to the implementation of a 2% employment quota for people with disabilities, which has been called to be part of the country's growing economy.

Minister for Women, Children and People with Disabilities, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, presided over the opening meeting, with Social Development Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma. She said contributions from government departments to achieve the 2% employment quota.

"We already know the problems needing to be solved to remove and reduce, and we are engaging these stakeholders with the minister including the establishment of groups.

"We will sit down and agree with the arts and culture minister for recognizing the issue of sign language. The basic education minister heard all the issues regarding education, and we will pass a request to the health minister about the accessibility of hearing aids," Khumalo said.
Sign language ‘should be the 12th official language’

These, before their time ended, would have been the last words of Hong Kong’s first Putonghua新模式 (Mandarin) teacher, Simon Kwok. 

Kwok, who was diagnosed with Alzheimer’s disease, had written a letter to his students expressing his desire to see Chinese at the heart of Hong Kong’s education system. 

In a letter addressed to his students, Kwok wrote: “As a Hong Kong of Chinese descent, I have been ashamed of the way our government has treated our own language. 

“Sign language should be the 12th official language of Hong Kong, just like English, Cantonese and other languages. I believe our government should take the initiative to make this happen.” 

His comments come at a time when Hong Kong is under pressure to improve its language skills, especially in English. 

A recent report by the Hong Kong Council for Academic Integrity found that only 10% of secondary school students were proficient in English, while 50% of them were proficient in Cantonese. 

Kwok’s letter has been shared widely on social media, with many people expressing their support for the idea of making sign language an official language in Hong Kong. 

However, there are concerns about the feasibility of such a move, with some experts warning that it could lead to confusion and misunderstandings. 

But for Kwok, who spent his life fighting for the recognition of Chinese, it is a matter of pride and respect. 

“Sign language is part of our heritage, part of our culture, and it is part of our identity,” he wrote. “It should be recognized as such, and protected as such.”
I will get asked by people if I am deaf and funny. That’s not it from there. We are deaf or hard of hearing — in the same way others are physically or mentally challenged. I understand that people have had little or no exposure to the deaf culture, and I want to change that and change perceptions of us,” he says.

DeafSA is based in Newlands and is in dire need of funding for awareness and training purposes — for the community of deaf people and to teach the hearing about the needs and capabilities of the deaf.

DeafSA has people in communities all over the Western Cape who have no access to information in the main media.

“We are usually the last people to hear about news and even then to hear the finer details of it. We still have to do education within the deaf community about HIV/AIDS and life and work skills. When we give workshops we have to consider that most of our people are living on disability grants, so we have to give them plenty notice to get to the meetings, then we have to feed them,” Mr. Mohamed points out. And the arrangements and situations urgently require funding.

Mr. Mohamed says, through his South African Sign Language Interpreter Unathi Kave, that he will continue lobbying for SASL to be accepted as an official language because then deaf and hard of hearing students could attend mainstream schools and have interpreters paid for by the Government — and have a database of registered SASL teachers.

“This is our language. If Zulu or Xhosa material is available for children of these tongues, then our children should have the same resources for their education. We’re not asking for more than the other languages, just to be recognised as a language,” he says.

He feels that if SASL was made an official language, the next generation of signing school leavers could be assured of a chance to prove themselves among peers on the job market.

To help in any way or to learn SASL, each country has its own sign language, DeafSA teaches SASL. I contact Mr. Mohamed at 021 683 - 465,6 or you can email provincialdirector.toc.ec@deafsa.co.za or visit www.deafsa.co.za for more information.
The Western Cape Language Committee looks at the further implementation of the provincial language policy

Quintus van der Merwe summarizes proceedings from the implementation of the Provincial Language Policy Colloquium, held on 9 February, 2010.

The Western Cape Language Committee hosted a Colloquium on the implementation of the Provincial Language Policy at the Library Auditorium of the University of the Western Cape on 9 February 2010. The event heralded the end of the initial five-year implementation plan for the Provincial Language Policy which was adopted in June 2004 and was aimed at discussing the way forward to ensure that all Provincial Government institutions are in full compliance at the end of the 10-year implementation period.

The event was attended by the Premier of the Western Cape, Ms Helen Zille, the MEC for Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, Mr Sakkie Jenner, the chairperson of the Provincial Standing Committee tasked with language, Ms Jennifer Hartnick, the HOD of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Mr Brent Walters, the Chairperson and members of the Western Cape Language Committee, Dr Michael le Cordeur, the Chief Director Cultural Affairs, Ms Hanrietta du Preez, language practitioners working for provincial government departments and representatives of tertiary institutions, and language-related organisations in the Western Cape.

In his opening address, Dr Michael le Cordeur, Chairperson of the Western Cape Language Committee, concentrated on the role of languages and especially the role English is playing in the Western Cape. He urged the guests to ensure that their constitutional rights were adhered to with regard to the use of official languages. He made mention of the absence of a National Languages Act and pointed out that language was also a vehicle for culture and, as such, played a very important role in our society.

Mr Brent Walters referred to the fact that one of the victims of colonisation had been the languages of the people who were colonised. He stressed the importance of a language policy in ensuring respect for human rights and the economic empowerment of the people of the Western Cape. He then introduced the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, Mr Sakkie Jenner.

Mr Jenner said that language was a very sensitive issue. He pointed out that the freedom struggle had not been fought in English only. He emphasised that the urgent need for the implementation of the Language Policy lay in the service delivery to residents of the Western Cape. In this regard, he referred to the difference between adopting a policy and implementing it and said that respect for one another's languages lay at the core of the successful implementation of the policy. He cited the challenge of implementing the Policy in an ever-changing government environment.

After his speech, Ms Hanrietta du Preez, presided over a pledge-signing ceremony. The ceremony involved the Premier of the Western Cape and the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport who signed a pledge to illustrate their and the Provincial Government's commitment to the implementation of the Language Policy. This was a follow-up to a similar ceremony that had been held when the Policy was adopted in 2004. All Provincial Ministers and Heads of Department will be requested to sign a similar pledge and to display it at their offices.

Helen Zille then spoke about the complexity of language and the important role it played in education and the acquisition of skills. She made reference to the differences between the urban and rural dialects of, amongst others, the isiXhosa language and said that these differences posed a unique challenge to someone wanting to learn the language. She also stressed the difficulty of implementing mother-tongue education and added that she saw the standardisation of the isiXhosa language as crucial to the development of the language and an important part of the implementation of the Western Cape Language Policy.

The guests were then given a short background and history of the process that had been followed in the adoption and implementation of the Language Policy during the first five years by the head of Language Services in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Mr Quintus.
van der Merwe. The background was followed by Prof Ano Deen of the University of Cape Town who presented an overview of a study on language practice in the Department of Health undertaken at three different hospitals in the Western Cape. She referred to, amongst others, the communication problems that occurred between doctor and patient, the misdiagnosis of patients and its consequences, as well as the expense associated with these challenges. She touched on the costs of using existing bilingual staff as interpreters, the follow-up costs (medical and social) for misdiagnoses and mistreatments, the high rates of hospitalisation and the high cost of clinical tests. She expressed the opinion that such costs could be prevented by implementing the Language Policy effectively.

Dr Christo van der Rheede, from the Stigting vir Bevordering deur Afrikaans and the Western Cape Cultural Commission spoke about culture, language and service delivery and focussed specifically on creating wealth through indigenous languages. He referred to the advantages of having access to information technology in one’s mother tongue as many people in the Western Cape had access to computers and could use such access for economic empowerment. He stated that the infrastructure, the policy framework and the institutional capacity already existed in the Western Cape.

Delegates and representatives from various provincial government departments were then given an opportunity to give feedback on the presentations and speeches that had been made in the morning after which Dr Annalie Lotriet, former lecturer in interpreting at the University of the Free State and currently a member of the National Parliament, spoke about the important role of interpreting in the implementation of the Provincial Language Policy. She gave an explanation of the different modes of interpreting, how to best make use of interpreters and made several recommendations on the training of interpreters. She stressed that interpreting was a profession and that interpreters should consequently be treated professionally.

The last speaker for the day was Mr I. Mohammed, Provincial Director of DEATSFA, who informed delegates of the importance of South African Sign Language (SASL) in the effective implementation of the Language Policy and the need for SASL to become an official language and be taught at school. He pleaded that deaf people not be marginalised in the delivery of services and pointed to the very important role played by Sign Language interpreters in communicating with the Deaf. He added that it was right of the deaf person to choose his/her own SASL interpreter.

The last session of the day consisted of an open discussion on the way forward. Several suggestions were made with regard to steps that could be taken to ensure the effective implementation of the Language Policy against the background of the discussions during the day and various studies and surveys that had been done in that regard. These suggestions will be discussed at the next plenary meeting of the Western Cape Language Committee to enable them to fulfill their mandate of advising the Minister of Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation on the way forward for the implementation of the Language Policy.

The event was closed by the Director of Arts, Culture and Language, Ms Jane Molaboki, who thanked everyone with the assistance of Mr Pedro Dasab, who interpreted into the Nama language.

Van der Merwe is Head of Language Services in the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Western Cape

A delegate registers at the colloquium on the implementation of the Western Cape provincial language policy.