Language in public spaces: Language choice in two IsiXhosa speaking communities (Langa and Khayelitsha)

by
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Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree MPhil in Intercultural Communication at the University of Stellenbosch

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March 2015

Declaration

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate language in public spaces, specifically looking at language choices in two IsiXhosa speaking communities, namely Langa and Khayelitsha. The thesis, therefore, sought to determine why the two communities, which are inhabited largely by L1 IsiXhosa speakers, appear to be dominated by English and Afrikaans in public areas, with minimal presence of IsiXhosa. Possible contributors to the perceived language shift in public spaces include local entrepreneurs, the media (two community newspapers), the government (in their offices and advertisements) and the linguistic landscape itself (formal and informal language usage). The communities of Langa and Khayelitsha are both identified as previously disadvantaged communities with large parts of its population being less affluent due to limited educational opportunities, unemployment and a general lack of skills.

A questionnaire, administered to 100 inhabitants of Langa and Khayelitsha, provided data on the perceptions of language use in public spaces in these communities as well as participants' preferences with regard to language use in public spaces. This study provides evidence that the language use in public spaces in these two communities is not fully diverse and inclusive as it only targets individuals who either have advance formal education or are at least reasonably comfortable with English and Afrikaans. Examples of formal and informal signage examined, such as advertisements, government notices and community-related notices, show that the language used is that of the advertisers or officials, who are typically non-speakers of IsiXhosa, and not that of the target market for which the content is intended. The language preferences of the designers of the signage in public spaces are thus foregrounded at the cost of, and in spite of, the language preferences of those who live within the communities of Langa and Khayelitsha.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis het beoog om taal in publieke ruimtes te ondersoek deur spesifiek te kyk na taalkeuse in twee Xhosa-sprekende gemeenskappe, naamlik Langa en Khayelitsha. Die tesis het dus gepoog om vas te stel waarom hierdie twee gemeenskappe wat grootendeels Xhosa-eerstetaalsprekend is, grootliks deur Engels en Afrikaans in publieke ruimtes bedien word met minimale isiXhosa teenwoordigheid. Van die rolspelers wat tot hierdie tipe taalverskuiwing in openbare ruimtes kon bygedra het, sluit in plaaslike entrepeneurs, die media (twee gemeenskapnuusblaaie), die regering (in hulle kantore en advertensies) asook die taallandskap self (formele en informele taalgebruik). Die gemeenskappe van Langa en Khayelitsha word albei geïdentifiseer asvoorheenbenadeelde gemeenskappe met die meerderheid van die inwoners minder gegoed as gevolg van beperkte opvoedkundige geleenthede, werkloosheid en 'n algemene gebrek aan vaardighede.

'n Vraelys wat deur 100 inwoners van Langa en Khayelitsha ingevul is, het data voorsien oor die persepsies van taalgebruik in openbare ruimtes in hierdie gemeenskappe, sowel as oor deelnemrs se voorkeure met betrekking tot taalgebruik in openbare ruimtes. Hierdie studie bied getuienis dat die taalgebruik in hierdie twee gemeenskappe nie ten volle divers en inklusief is nie, aangesien dit slegs taalgebruikers teiken wat beduidende formele opleiding het en wat ten minste redelik met Afrikaans en Engels bekend is. Voorbeelde van formele en informele kennisgewings, soos advertensies, regeringsinligting en gemeenskapsaketoon aan dat die taalgebruik eerder die adverteerders of amptenare wat nié Xhosa-sprekend is nie, in ag neem, as die teikenmark op wie die inhoud eintlik gemik is. Die taalvoorkeure van die ontwerpers van openbare kennisgewings kry dus voorkeur bo, en ten spyte van die taalvoorkeure van diegene wat binne die gemeenskappe van Langa en Khayelitsha leef.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank:

- Ms Erica George, my supervisor, for making it possible for me to complete this thesis.

- Dr Kate Huddlestone, co-supervisor, with whom I started my MPhil journey and did most of the work.

- My family, especially my children, who continuously look up to me and expect me not just to be a mother but a source where they draw strength from.

- My late father, Mr Zwelitsha Mesatywa, who planted the seed by highlighting to me that education is key; and for his contribution to the woman I am today.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context

In pre-democracy South Africa, English and Afrikaans, as the only two recognised official languages, were given supremacy over other indigenous languages, and were among some of tools used by the apartheid system in order to exclude indigenous speakers. The birth of democracy in 1994 saw a drastic change in policy which resulted in 11 official languages being recognised. The Western Cape language make up includes three of these languages: English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans. The South African government did not just make the 11 languages official, but also put a structure in place to ensure that these languages are equally treated and maintained. The creation of organisations such as the Pan Africanist Language Board (PanSALB) – one of the organisations that are aimed at ensuring that a structure is in place in order for transformation in the status and public use of all official languages to be prioritized – became crucial.

However, despite the fact that South Africa is now an officially multilingual country and that the Western Cape has three official languages, all deserving of equal status, it seems as if IsiXhosa has reduced visibility in public domains, such as the local print media and in formal and informal signage. Even in communities, such as Langa and Khayelitsha, the two communities under investigation in this study, where IsiXhosa is the main language spoken, community newspapers are published in English, billboard advertisements are largely in English, and government notices are predominantly in English and Afrikaans.

For example, if one looks at the community newspapers that were established for the black readership in Cape Town's townships, one notices that English is the main language that is used by these papers despite their target market being largely L1 IsiXhosa speakers. Taking "City Vision" newspaper as an example, almost 100% of the news content is written in English, although they are targeting people from previously disadvantaged backgrounds as readers, whose mother tongue is predominantly IsiXhosa. This is despite the fact that at this newspaper's inception, it was an isiXhosa publication. "Vukani" newspaper, in turn, which started as a publication that targeted Khayelitsha residents only, but now gets distributed to all the black townships in the Cape Town Metropole, where mostly L1 IsiXhosa speakers reside, was also first published only in IsiXhosa. Now more than 90% of its content is written in English.

The media has the power to influence the audience's way of thinking. Because many IsiXhosa speakers have for long idealised the power of English, the media has capitalized on that due to their focus on making profit. They know that English is highly popular, hence they do not make any concerted effort in exploring the use of other languages. Those who try do not go far, and end up going back to writing or presenting in English.

1.2 Problem Statement

Prah (1995) argues that people should have the right to fully express themselves everywhere in their mother tongues, or at least in their national language. It is in recognition of this that the Western Cape Language Committee has striven to promote the use of three official languages (English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa). One of the committee's goals has been to encourage language usage that is accessible to all through their creation of suitable platforms and resources. However, Alexander (2005) points out that although language-planning units in

South Africa are aimed at promoting the use and the development of African languages, as well as the legitimacy and significance of multilingualism, in practice the hegemony of English continues.

The problem investigated in this thesis is one that recognises how the hegemony of English is confirmed in local IsiXhosa L1 communities, and that seeks (i) to find explanations for the patent neglect of IsiXhosa in public spaces and (ii) to suggest remedies for such neglect that are likely better to serve the language needs and thus also many social needs of two townships in the Cape Town metropolitan area. Even though people are said to have a choice to converse in the language that they prefer, real language use does not assure freedom of language choice. This study is interested in the many factors that contribute to a language such as IsiXhosa losing its relevance and vitality. An investigation of languages used in public spaces, including what has become known as the linguistic landscape will give insight into a part of the sociolinguistic reality of the two communities (Khayelitsha and Langa) under investigation.

1.3 Research Aims and Questions

This study has three aims: (i) to investigate the perceptions residents of Langa and Khayelitsha have of the language use in public spaces in their communities; (ii) to investigate the preferences that these residents have with regard to language use, specifically the use of IsiXhosa, in different public spaces in their communities; and (iii) to investigate to what extent the linguistic landscape of these communities reflects the perceptions and preferences of the residents of these communities.

In order to address these three aims, the following research questions will be answered:

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1. What languages do residents of the two communities observe in the public spaces that they occupy?

2. What is the preferred language for residents of the two communities in different public spaces?

3. To what extent does the linguistic landscape of the two communities reflect the participating residents' language preference?

As noted above, the Western Cape province has three official languages, English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans, but in public spaces English and Afrikaans still dominate. For example, government departments, trading companies, educational institutions and the likes, still use English and Afrikaans in their documents and forms that are meant for L1-speakers of all three languages. The private sector in the Western Cape appears to have failed dismally in terms of proper representation of all three languages, leaving speakers of IsiXhosa at a loss in that their best recourse appears to be language shift to English.

The current linguistic landscape in both Khayelitsha and Langa will show what the actual distribution of languages is. This investigation will show how a sample of the community responds, what they deem to be acceptable and what their linguistic preferences are. This can be used as a guide to see whether some languages are imposed on people by what is continuously represented to them. It can also indicate whether speakers in the given areas are embracing the diversity that the constitution of the country is propagating.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in such a way that it looks at language in public spaces, with language choices in Langa and Khayelitsha being the primary focus. Chapter two provides an overview

of selected literature on linguistic landscapes and language in public spaces, language rights and citizenship, and language shift, including the contributing factors to the perceived language shift taking place in the two communities under investigation. These factors include the influence of media, in that the community newspapers that are distributed in both these two townships are mostly written in English. In chapter three the research methodology, consisting of a questionnaire administered to community residents as well as an investigation of the language landscape by means of government and business signage, is presented. Chapter four presents and analyses the data collected via the questionnaire and the linguistic landscape study, while chapter five presents the conclusions of the data analysis. Both formal and informal signage is looked at, with informal signage being driven mostly by the L1 IsiXhosa speakers themselves in terms of the usage of language.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review chapter looks at previous research done relating to this study. Furthermore, it also looks at available literature relevant to the study. This chapter is divided into three sections, namely (i) Linguistic Landscapes and Language in Public Spaces, (ii) Language Rights and Citizenship, and (iii) Language Shift and Choice. The literature review looks at language usage pre- and post-democracy in South Africa while at the same time examining the global view and the hegemony of the English language worldwide. It briefly looks at how at how the Afrikaans language became a language that was imposed on all races as an official language and how it is now part of the legacy left in our communities. Further, a close look is taken at what has been implemented post-1994 in South Africa following democracy, and our own (South African) constitution is used as reference for better understanding of the context.

2.2 Linguistic landscapes and language in public spaces

2.2.1 The linguistic landscape defined

In Backhaus (2007: 9), Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define a linguistic landscape as the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings which combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. Gorter (2006: 5) also alludes to the fact that language signs are analysed to determine the number of languages used, which languages are on the signs and the specific characteristics of bilingual and multilingual signs.

According to Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 364), one way in which place is constituted is through the language used in signage and in speakers' public displays, performances and interaction – the so-called linguistic landscape, as characterised above. It is therefore important to look at what linguistic landscapes are, how and why we study them, while at the same time looking at the relevance of linguistic landscapes in this study.

Linguistic landscapes are the "linguistic objects that mark the public space" (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht 2006: 7). What is presented to people, or how a society presents itself in public spaces is determined in part by the community's language choices. This is what usually distinguishes one particular community from another.

In order to analyse linguistic landscapes, it is necessary to define the unit of analysis. In this respect Backhaus (2007: 66) defines his unit of analysis as "any piece of text within a spatially definable frame […] from the small handwritten sticker […] to huge commercial billboards". Of course, according to Gorter (2006: 1), studying "linguistic landscapes" can be done in two ways: on the one hand, it can be the literal study of languages as they are used in signs; and on the other hand, it can also be a study of the representation of the languages. The latter way of examining linguistic landscapes is of particular importance, according to Gorter (2006:1), because it "relates to identity and cultural globalisation, to the growing presence of English and to revitalisation of minority languages".

2.2.2 Linguistic landscape and community

According to Nuttall (2004 in Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 365),

> today, despite the many remaining legacies of apartheid, such as the inefficient transport system or the paucity of quality educational infrastructure, the streets and

stores, municipal squares and school-yards of Khayelitsha are slowly transforming into

sites for the performance and refashioning of late-modern South African selves.

This study will examine whether this observation in fact holds for the two communities under

investigation.

As noted in chapter one, the establishment of PanSALB was a clear indication of language

inequalities that needed to be rectified by the government soon after democracy. On

PanSALB's website it is stipulated that its vision is to provide language products and services

that lead to equitable use of all South African languages including Khoi, Nama and San

Languages and Sign Language, with a special emphasis on languages that were previously

marginalised. This will be achieved by developing, preserving, promoting, protecting language

rights, and fostering respect for Language. Therefore, it is evident that the South African

government, with the help of language bodies, PanSALB in particular, advocate for language

equality and at the same time, strives to make a difference by promoting all 11 official

languages in legislation. However, as we will see in chapter four, eighteen years into

democracy, it doesn't look like much progress has been made in both Langa and Khayelitsha

townships. Signage in these two townships is not yet inclusive and diverse as far as language

representation is concerned. This results in public signage in areas which does not appear to

represent the communities where they are placed. Such signage usually belongs to the

government, private sector or the community at large by means of businesses and other

community initiatives.

English and Afrikaans being languages of business in Cape Town and the Western Cape at

large does nothing but forces IsiXhosa speakers also to desert their own language in desperation

for better employment opportunities. This therefore gradually leads to language shift which is

purely guided by economic reasons, such as finding employment. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 366) dwell on the issue of language shift and claim that the economies of place in Khayelitsha are reflected in the way in which commercial linguistic landscapes are organised. They further note that space is configured as a particular place in a variety of ways, particularly through the language used in signage (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 364). Also, the extent that the economies of a place "determine the capacity of different stakeholders/authors to 'buy or rent legitimate spaces of inscription' influences where signage is located, as well as the content displayed and the language used." (Stroud and Mpendukana 2009: 366)

We, as members of society, are exposed to the linguistic landscape everyday (be it a perfect representation linguistically or not) as the public signage is vital for guidelines and directional usage when it comes to critical information-sharing. In Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 364) Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck note that situations, defined by how space and place are configured and represented, and the different interactions and identities that are possible in those spaces, strongly determine how people use a language. At the same time in Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 363), Nuttall (2004) argues that the massive social transformation that democratic South Africa is presently experiencing under the umbrella of globalisation is the most contributing factor underlying the changes in linguistic landscape. This includes an increased social, economic and physical mobility of the population; the development of new perceptions of place/space – in particular, the democratic reclaiming of urban environments; and a post-apartheid 'politics of aspiration' driving intense consumerist orientations to self-stylisation and identity formation.

Huebner (2006: 32) argues that large cosmopolitan urban centres are often culturally and linguistically diverse, composed of separate and identifiable neighbourhoods, each with its own

linguistic culture. He uses Schiffman's (1996) definition of linguistic culture, namely the "set of behaviours, assumptions cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language and religiohistorical circumstances associated with a particular language" (Huebner 2006: 32). Huebner further emphasises that linguistic tokens, which form part of the linguistic landscape, serve to delineate the geographical and social boundaries of these neighbourhoods. He continues to say that, to the extent that linguistic tokens are artefacts of a central government, they may reflect the overt language policies of a given state: in this sense, they are markers of status and power.

The way we study linguistic landscape is through looking at what is currently presented to us in a particular space/place and seeing if that supports government's initiative to maintain and manage language equality – by looking at what languages are spoken in a particular community and at the same time look at the societal signage.

For example, Huebner (2006) looked at Bangkok's linguistic landscape, where the official language is Standard Thai. In this study signs were characterised as either monolingual or multilingual, with many multilingual signs exhibiting some form of language mixing. Huebner found that there was a discrepancy between the official government language policy and the actual language use in signs (Huebner 2006: 49). He also found a great deal of linguistic diversity, as well as evidence of a shift towards English as a language of wider communication in the city (Huebner 2006: 50).

The signage therefore indicates which language dominates over another and in a case like South Africa, where we find 11 official languages, such an analysis needs to be of a versatile nature. Huebner (2006: 38) shares similar sentiments and raises questions around language use. He

argues that examining language use patterns also raises questions of audience and accessibility: Who are the messages written for? What meaning do the readers ascribe to these messages?

Where South Africa has been historically forces us to study these linguistic landscapes as democracy in 1994 promised not only justice to all citizens of South Africa, but also equality across all aspects including languages. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009: 367) cite an interesting view as they point out lack of equality in terms of what is presented to people, depending on the class of the area – be either upmarket or downmarket. They refer to the 'upmarket' areas as the sites of luxury, where signage and messaging is produced professionally, and this is not the case in areas that are regarded 'downmarket'. Looking at who forms part of the population of Khayelitsha and Langa and examining the discourse that exists in terms of language in public spaces, one can gain insight into the power relations in the two communities.

It is important to note that studying linguistic landscape is relevant in order to establish if the choices that people make in terms of language usage is determined by what is presented to them or it is an individual choice. Therefore, it is relevant to look not only at government and commercial signage, but also the informal signage which is produced by the speakers of the language in most cases. Also, considering the fact that local businesses is not only made of the language speakers only is crucial to look at. Gorter (2006: 4) argues that English as a global language turns out to have an important influence. The emphasis is further put on an applied perspective, where the data presented raises questions about the effects of the pervasiveness of English in the linguistic landscape of Bangkok on the language proficiency, both in Thai and English, of its youngest citizens.

2.3 Language rights and citizenship

After 1994, South Africa became a new nation with all races and languages given equal treatment and status in the constitution. This section looks at language rights of all South African citizens and what citizenship means as described in our constitution. South Africa is one of the 'rich' countries in language as it recognises 11 languages as official.

2.3.1 The South African context

The year 1994 marked a significant year in the history of all South Africans as it is the year when citizens exercised their power and voted for a fully democratically elected government, for the first time. This led to a number of changes as far as how the administration of the country was conducted and a constitution with guidelines for all citizens to follow was established and endorsed. Among other things, language rights and citizenship are one of the core values that guided the constitution – bearing in mind that South Africa officiated 11 languages.

2.3.2 Language policy

In order to ensure that the legacy that was born out of democracy is maintained and that continuous improvement principles are applied, the South African government had to put various structures in place. This meant that not only language rights needed to be protected but also language citizenship became one of the key priorities. South Africa being as diverse as it is, the expectation would be for each and every citizen to be given a right to speak his or her own language. Barnett (2000: 64) argues that "political transformation in South Africa involves a process of fostering common civil and political rights citizenship as the condition for the cultivation of the cultural pluralism". He further emphasises that official "policies of nation-building in South Africa posit an inclusive, multi-cultural, syncretic national identity premised upon the non-naturalness of nationhood" (Barnett 2000: 64). Furthermore, Barnett (2000: 64)

claims that "language issues have featured in media debates in South Africa as part of broader political processes aimed at re-imagining identities and differences".

One of the rights that South Africans should be benefiting from, seeing that it has been almost two decades since democracy, is the right to express themselves in their mother tongue, and most importantly have the power to choose the language they prefer in areas in which they reside. According to Chapter one, sub-section six of the South African Constitution, "the official languages of the Republic are SePedi, SeSotho, SeTswana, SiSwati, TshiVenda, XiTsonga, Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu".

2.3.3 Attitudes towards African languages

Even though a right not to be discriminated against on account of your own mother tongue is constitutionally protected, however, the actual practical effect on indigenous language visibility appears to be minimal. There doesn't seem to be much awareness among ordinary people about their language rights or the desire to challenge the status quo (Webb 2002: 26).

Even though policies around language equality are in place, implementation doesn't seem to have a great impact on South African societies at large. Khayelitsha and Langa are no exception, as these townships are equally affected by the lack of language policy implementation, as what is currently seen in public places is not a true reflection of what is mostly spoken in these areas. The spoken language in Khayelitsha and Langa conflicts with what is experienced and presented in public spaces of these predominantly IsiXhosa speaking areas. Even though the government initiated a number of policies that aimed at undoing injustices experienced by indigenous language speakers, if monitoring and implementation doesn't take effect, the entire exercise becomes meaningless.

Meanwhile, the linguistic landscape, which is largely determined by what the community, government and entrepreneurs prefer as their own representation to society, and media, which is regarded as the most powerful and influential institution in society, have in a way contributed in terms of what is seen as acceptable, and not in our communities in terms of language choice.

Abandoning IsiXhosa in these two areas (Langa and Khayelitsha) does nothing but shape a bleak future for the youth, which is expected to carry on with the legacy that democracy gave birth to. As a result, youth seems to be mostly affected as some of them prefer English and Afrikaans over their mother tongue. This could be attributed to a number of reasons, which may include the fact that in Cape Town English and Afrikaans are regarded as business languages. Also, the fact that what is presented in the public domain is mostly done in these two languages might also be one of the contributing factors. Therefore, more emphasis should be put on the younger generation, with minors also forming part of the targeted group, as this is a group that the linguistic future depends on them.

The fact that people who come from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, as is the case in Khayelitsha and Langa, have limited choices in terms of the language preference in public places remain true. For example, people with low socio-economic status usually have no choice in terms of the schools to which they can send their children. In 2000, the Western Cape Education minister opposed the policy that was backed by the Democratic Alliance, which supported and promoted the principle of mother tongue instruction of at least the first five to seven years of education. It argued that: "It is important to maximize parental choice on the issue of language instruction as poor people generally have no choice." The ministry continued to say that middle class parents have a choice as they can send their children to schools with a variety of options for "language instruction".

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Even though Western Cape's three official languages are English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans, IsiXhosa seems to be losing popularity even in areas where its speakers reside, especially judging by the linguistic landscape that is visibly seen in these areas. The language is widely spoken in both Khayelitsha and Langa with non-mother tongue speakers who also form part of these communities representing a tiny percentage.

Schiffman (1996) argues that there is a tendency, especially for lay analysts of language policy, to confuse language policies with societal multilingualism itself, and to map both on the same symbolic representation. He continues to argue that it is perhaps natural for decision-makers to assume that their policy fits the facts of multilingualism, and if it does not, to blame the facts on rather the policy. "This popular account of language policy in France praise the monolingual policy, assuming almost that France is monolingual, when this is far from the case" (Schiffman 1996: 26).

Schiffman (1996: 28) continues to emphasise that when the focus is on typologies of language policy, the important literature can be summarised on the fingers of one hand. This may result from the fact that a focus on language policies of multilingual states reveals that "policies are usually designed to minimize complex aspects of societal multilingualism because such complexity is inconvenient for the workings of the modern post-industrial state".

Even though in South Africa, the government and its language policy support the promotion of all 11 official languages, all nine provinces are expected to portray a true reflection of the country's linguistic richness, and Western Cape is no exception. Inequality in language usage and what is currently dominating in African Black townships in terms of language choice tends to leave out IsiXhosa, which should be dominating as the widely spoken language in the case

of Khayelitsha and Langa. For example, elderly people whose education levels are minimal are mostly affected by the absence of IsiXhosa in these townships where they live as critical information found in local newspapers, public billboards and advertisements is mostly presented in either English or Afrikaans. Schiffman (1996: 29) refers to this as Egalitarian versus Restricted, where "policy may treat languages even of a small minority as totally equal, always placing both/all languages on equal footing, addressing all citizens as if they are bilingual".

To date, South Africa is among the respected countries in the world because of its stance on democracy and richness on heritage. This is determined through looking at the number of rights that the country currently has and among these are language and citizenship rights. How information is filtered through or how implementation takes place gets monitored through national, provincial and local government deliverables. Therefore, the expectation is for government and its policies to be able to reach out to every citizen, ensuring that transformation is taking place. However, this does not seem to be the case in terms of what is currently being experienced in Khayelitsha and Langa, and even the country as a whole. For example, when looking at the South African broadcast media, Barnett (2000: 65) argues that the broadcast media "are deeply implicated in the regulation of social division and class inequalities which continue to persist after the negotiated end of apartheid". He continues on a different notion to say that "policies have focused upon extending access to mass mediated information to all South Africans irrespective of their language or where in South Africa they live".

Policies, in terms of what should happen as far as language transformation is concerned are in place, and some institutions and organisations are taking it upon themselves to make this a priority. One of Eastern Cape's universities, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, is

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backing the language transformation drive by ensuring a proper representation of their own languages at this institution. According to De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 2), in the Eastern Cape Province, the formerly known University of Port Elizabeth (now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University) expressed its formal commitment to the implementation of a trilingual English-Afrikaans-Xhosa policy. If implemented, this would make a difference and thereby set precedent for other universities to follow suit and hopefully spreading the influence to more societies.

In spite of all the efforts by some institutions to ensure that linguistic transformation takes place, especially the development of languages that were previously neglected, the stigma attached to African languages remains a barrier. De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 2) argue that mother-tongue education has acquired negative connotations and is associated with segregation policies and backwardness. This mindset can be attributed to the legacy that apartheid left in most African people as they still feel their own mother tongue is inferior.

Looking at the linguistic landscape, both in Khayelitsha and Langa, English and Afrikaans' dominant representation is not only seen in formal signage but also in informal signage that is produced by local people who are largely the speakers of IsiXhosa (De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 2). Webb notes, in De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 2), the fact that most African parents prefer English as a medium of instruction for their children in primary school, especially for instrumental reasons. De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 2) observe that a study on IsiXhosa-speaking parents who chose to send their children to English-medium schools in the Eastern Cape points out that among the main reasons were the poor conditions of IsiXhosa schools (a legacy of apartheid) and the lack of real support for IsiXhosa language in education.

Africans themselves continue to live with a dilemma of whether or not to broaden their mother tongue proficiency, which will turn to bear fruits with regards to business and employment opportunities. Some have the impression that being more proficient in African languages may only put them in a disadvantage progressing in career opportunities. In this case, Cape Town remains no exception as it is only English and Afrikaans (in most instances) that are accepted as business languages. This leaves the IsiXhosa speakers no choice but to abandon their indigenous language. The dilemma that IsiXhosa speakers find themselves in might be a major contributor to the fact that the language in the province is not fully transformed in a manner that is beneficial to indigenous speakers themselves.

De Klerk and Dalvit (1995: 11) continue to argue that unless alternative solutions to the dominant monolingual model are found, English will probably remain the only dominant language and no African language is likely to acquire any significant status. Meanwhile, in De Klerk (2000: 1999), Barkhuizen and Gough share a similar view when saying "the continued dominance of English has led to the disempowerment and socio-political disadvantage of non-English speakers, whose languages are marginalised as 'second rate' even by their own speakers".

When looking at language citizenship and rights, what the South African government has done so far was to come up with a constitution in a form of policies that promote equality and a way forward as far as implementation is concerned.

Stroud (2001) looks at problems that hinder the usage of indigenous languages in education. In Stroud (2001: 340), Bamgbose claims that these problems may emanate from language policies that encourage "avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without

implementation". Meanwhile, Stroud (2001: 340) suggests that these problems "may be due to negative attitudes on behalf of speakers towards the use of African languages as teaching media due to pre-colonial prejudice, or because of speakers' postcolonial perceptions that the languages lack value on important social and economic markets".

The Department of Arts and Culture and the existence of organisations such as the Pan South African Language Board are to ensure the smooth transformation as far as all 11 official languages are concerned, but popularity of English, which is regarded as both business and international language continues to dominate over the other official languages in the country.

In my previous study about the Role of Print Media in Promoting IsiXhosa in Cape Town, Alexander (2005) laments that although language-planning units in South Africa are aimed at promoting the use and the development of African languages, as well as the legitimacy and significance of multilingualism, in practice the hegemony of English continues. He argues for the use of African languages in electronic and print media, and the encouragement of creative writing in African languages in order to establish a culture of reading in African languages. Only reading, writing and learning/teaching in African languages will ensure inclusive citizenship on the continent (Alexander 2005; Prah 1995).

2.4 Language shift and choice

This section looks at language shift and the factors which influence shift while at the same time it also looks at the choices that citizens make in terms of what language they prefer. Furthermore, it looks at the contributing factors which determine the choices that citizens make.

2.4.1 Language shift and choice defined

As far as the South African constitution is concerned, it is important to recognise the historically disadvantaged diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people. The state needs to take practical and positive measures to educate the nation, and promote use of all official languages. Furthermore, the constitution encourages the municipalities to take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents. A number of collaborations have been formed with government and other relevant institutions intervening to ensure that such rights are clarified for all to understand what role these stakeholders and citizens should play. Over and above that, awareness that is aimed at educating the entire South African community about these particular rights, and how we should all embrace each other's differences, has taken effect.

However, who is accountable and a decision-maker with regards to the language used in the communities, including communication by government and other local organisations like the media, local schools and linguistic landscape, still remains unclear. Linguistic landscape being a communication platform that is used in order to share formal and informal messaging, whether commercial or community-related messages, is also critical as the language used determines what perceptions these various communication custodians are sending. Also, what warrants attention is the fact that the very same government that advocates for equality in all of the country's eleven official languages does not always seem to lead by example as far as promoting multilingualism, particularly where the Western Cape, is concerned.

Pandor (1995 in Kamwangamalu 2003: 232), notes that,

in 1994, 87% of the speeches made in parliament were in English, less than five percent were in Afrikaans, and the remaining eight percent were in the nine official African

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languages – that is, less than one percent in each of the languages. She continues to emphasise that this is despite the fact that about 80% of the members of parliament are Africans, the majority of whom are fluent in at least two of the official languages in addition to English and Afrikaans.

At the same time, another contributing factor that can be attributed to the ultimate language choice that people are influenced by is the language shift. Therefore, part of what hinders the government and other stakeholders from achieving what they are set to achieve, namely equality and usage of all indigenous languages, is the rapid language shift to English that appears to be taking place among speakers of indigenous languages.

In most instances, IsiXhosa speakers (including those residing in Khayelitsha and Langa) have developed a negative attitude towards their mother tongue, as it is often associated with lack of opportunities as a result of it not being used as a business language. Therefore, English and Afrikaans are seen as the languages of opportunity, especially in Cape Town. The fact that middle class parents who can afford to, are seen taking their children to English medium schools, with some taking them to Afrikaans medium schools, is evident that language choice and shift is associated with career advancement opportunities. More people are seen shifting from their mother tongue to what should be their second or third languages options, with English being the language mostly used (Kamwangamalu 2003: 225).

Deumert and Masinyana (2008: 120), in their study on the use of English and IsiXhosa in text messages, found that "despite being first language speakers of IsiXhosa, participants showed a clear preference for English". They argue that "in the South African context, the high social status of English and its long standing dominance in local literacy practices seem to be the main

factors underpinning the use of English in SMS communication" (Deumert and Masinyana 2008: 123).

2.4.2 Education and language choice

Even though history has taught us that the most people to be affected by apartheid are the older people in the Western Cape in particular as speaking Afrikaans was regarded as better than speaking the African languages in terms of accessing the then system and better opportunities. However, the shift now is seen to be also affecting the younger generation and children who come from middle class families and are able to attend schools that are not in their surroundings. Mostly, these schools do not offer indigenous languages (such as IsiXhosa) as part of the curriculum. In instances where the language is offered, it would be on a second or third language basis. Deumert and Masinyana (2008: 124) attribute this to the fact that a number of Black South Africans using English as a home language increased by over 60% between 1996 and 2001 and localised case studies such as de Klerk (2000), de Kadt (2002) and Deumert (2006) have shown that English is making inroads into the home domain in some black families and communities, especially in sibling-sibling interaction and friendship groups.

2.4.3 English hegemony

Even though IsiXhosa is among the widely spoken languages in the country, still its dominance in formal linguistic domains is rather less visible. De Klerk (2000: 198) supports this notion by emphasising that

> concerted efforts to renew cultural and linguistic pride, and reawaken awareness of the value of formerly undervalued languages and traditions have been made, and part of these efforts have been legislative: the constitution (1996) signals a very clear intention to provide special support for the nine indigenous languages and to compensate for the

effects of the long-standing legalised domination of English and Afrikaans in the country.

The absence of a significant number of speakers to make a good career out of indigenous languages, like IsiXhosa, and the fact that in any business communication the language that would be used is English, has made it even more difficult for indigenous language speakers to remain loyal to their own languages. There is not much value attached to indigenous languages, except being a language that is only "good enough for home usage". De Klerk (2000: 199) continues to argue that the continued dominance of English has led to the disempowerment and socio-political disadvantages of non-English speakers, whose languages are marginalised as 'second-rate', even by their own speakers. In other instances this has led to speakers believing that proficiency in only just speaking IsiXhosa is enough while they strongly feel that a much broader proficiency in English is mostly needed and crucial at the same time as it makes "business sense". De Klerk (2000: 199) further emphasises that

> black people widely believed that their children already "knew" their own indigenous languages, and since these languages did not facilitate access to participation and mobility in wider society, they were not perceived as being as important in education as English was.

Changing the current situation will need more than just policies and government-aligned organisations like the Pan South African Language Board, Provincial Language Councils and Language Boards, which aim at ensuring that all languages are treated equally and that implementation of these rather critical policies, take place. However, to date English remains a majority language with Afrikaans competing at a similar level, in the case of Cape Town, and especially in Khayelitsha and Langa. De Klerk (2002: 201) shares similar sentiments when

saying, the notion of majority has more to do with power than with numbers. Therefore, even though IsiXhosa is one of the most spoken languages nationally and also has a competitive representation in the Western Cape, power determines which languages will be official used. At the same time, in Kamwangamulu (2003a: 231) it is argued that after 1994 (the year South African obtained democracy),

> the key objective of the new language policy has been, understandably, to redress the imbalances of the past by promoting the use of previously marginalised languages, that is the indigenous African languages, in higher domains such as the media, education, the government and administration, etc.

In this study, the townships (Khayelitsha and Langa) that are looked at linguistically, it is important to note that these areas are among those that are hit by poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure, etc. Local businesses make a small percentage and have limited financial muscle to employ more locals. Besides, most professional jobs would be available in more civilised areas and not in these particular townships. For survival, it therefore becomes crucial for IsiXhosa speakers to equip themselves with a language/s that are popular in the world of business. Kamwangamalu (2003a: 227) argues that in the Southern Africa, the shift from African languages to English can be described as pragmatic language shift, for it is primary caused by socioeconomic factors. Furthermore, Kamwangamalu believes that whichever factors are involved, language shift only takes place if the language that is being shifted to has social prestige and economic advantage, primarily in the form of source of income. According to Paulston (1995 in Kamwangamalu 2003a: 227), "ethnic groups within modern nation-state, given opportunity and incentive, typically shift to language of the [economically] dominant group".

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It is also important to note that post-1994, English did not only become dominant in the Western Cape and did not only affect IsiXhosa speakers, but affected the majority of South Africans. For example, according to Kamwangamalu (2003a: 228), the shift to English in Indian communities of South Africa, as described by Prabhakaran (1998) is "a conscious choice that Indian parents made for their children". It is also noted that the parents

> forced their children to learn English and discouraged them from learning Telugu or any other Indian languages because, first, the social identity associated with English were more desirable than associated with Indian languages and, second, the government's language policies did not assign the Indian languages any role in the South African society. (Kamwangamalu 2003a: 228)

Even though Telugu's situation is understandable as it does not form part of South Africa's 11 official languages, some languages such as IsiXhosa (being one of official languages) does not go behind its role as just a "household" language also. Further to this, Kamwangamalu (2003a: 228) claims that

> in order to fully understand the process of language shift currently taking place in urban black communities, and why and how the change from apartheid to democracy has contributed to the shift to English in these communities, one must understand the social history that lies behind the shift.

For decades, and until 1994 when the system of democracy was introduced to South Africans, indigenous languages remained just languages with less or no benefits at all in terms of them being officially recognised. This can be attributed to the fact that these languages have never really gained any social status and at the same time are not economically viable. It is therefore rather difficult to separate what happened pre-1994 to what is happening currently as the process of equality and transformation continues to disregard some important elements that

were never properly addressed, like the economic factors. According to Kamwangamalu (2003a), during the apartheid era black people refused and rejected anything that they felt was designed to limit their potential. In Kamwangamalu (2003a: 230), it is further claimed that black people

> resisted mother tongue education, as promoted by the Bantu Education Act, because they recognised it for what it was: one of the strategies used by the apartheid government to deny the blacks access to higher education and thus restrict their social and economic mobility.

Even policies that were developed to address the issue of inequality in all official languages seem not to be beneficial to the intended beneficiaries (indigenous speakers). Eighteen years after these democratic policies have been introduced, the hegemony of English still continues, and in the South African context, even in programmes that were initially aimed at benefiting indigenous languages, English is sometimes more beneficial than other languages. Kamwangamalu (2003a: 231) continues to argue that the education policy in particular that was designed to ensure African languages are equally added and recognised in the curriculum is not working either. He further emphasises that the policy has not worked for all the languages; only English has benefited more than any other languages for the policy.

> There is sufficient evidence from current language practices in the higher status domains (e.g., education, media, government and administration) that the policy has failed to achieve one of its key objectives, namely, to promote the use of the indigenous African languages in these domains (Kamwangamalu: 2003a: 231).

The only media platforms that are available in the historic townships under investigation (Khayelitsha and Langa) are the two community newspapers, *City Vision* and *Vukani*. The fact

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that these newspapers have their articles written mostly in English with IsiXhosa randomly accommodated with only about 10% the most, also plays a major contribution and contradicts the injustices that government is trying to address in these townships. At the same time, this also confirms to citizens which languages they should endorse, and this decision is made by publishers; and with the help of media, which to date is regarded as one of the most powerful tools in our society – English continues to gain more popularity. Kamwangamalu (2003a: 233) argues that language practices in the media are no different from language practices in education and the legislature. He further says that recent research indicates that English is by far more prevalent than any other official languages in the media, as it is in other high domains.

Since democracy in South Africa, one of the changes that indigenous speakers have really seen as far as their mother tongue/s is concerned are policies that aim at embracing and recognising all languages. The truth might be this is how far the government has gone as far as advocating for the equal usage of all official languages. A number of factors have forced indigenous speakers to see English or Afrikaans (in the case of Western Cape) as probably the only languages that open doors to greener pastures. Also, one needs to bear in mind the history of this country that has a lot to do with apartheid and its policies, and continues to be major effects of what the country is currently experiencing.

Kamwangamalu (2003b) cites an interesting view about what initially had good intensions (the 1976 Soweto Uprising) and ended up compromising the dignity of indigenous languages. According to Kamwangamalu (2003b), the resistance to the Bantu Education Act and the apartheid government's determination to impose it led to the deadly Soweto uprising of June 16th, 1976. He continues to argue that the uprising resulted in the following, undesired, outcomes:

(a) they boosted the status of an already powerful language, English, over both
Afrikaans and African languages in black schools and in black communities at large;
and (b) led black South Africans to equate education in their own languages with
inferior education. (Kamwangamalu 2003b: 75)

The hegemony of English is not only seen in the business world in South Africa, but also
education being one of the most crucial resources is also shifting away and continues to give
more prominence to an already well-known language (English). Kamwangamalu (2003b: 77)
concludes that with education being one of the crucial tools to ensure sustainability, "there is
an urgent need for South Africa to take a hard look into its language-in-education policies, with
a view to revitalising mother tongue education as a means through which to empower black
communities". He continues to argue that for indigenous languages to recover from the legacy
of Bantu education and become a viable medium of instruction, they must undergo what
Kamwangamalu has termed "mother tongue education cleansing" (Kamwangamalu 2003b:
78).

Blaming apartheid for inequalities that the country (and especially the communities of
Khayelitsha and Langa) is soon going rather to be seen as one of the excuses people use when
they move away from accountability. With all these options given to people and 11 official
languages being treated as equal and given the same status by the government, what people see
as the 'important language and not' remains their choice. Kamwangamalu (2004:118) argues
that in South Africa as a whole, "English has become a far more hegemonic that it was in the
apartheid era". Furthermore, the majority of parents in South Africa want their children
educated in English-medium schools as "English is the language of power, prestige, and status;

it is seen by many as an open sesame by means of which once can achieve unlimited vertical social mobility" (Kamwangamalu 2007: 118).

Who the responsibility lies with as far as promoting all official languages and ensuring that they are in par with both English and Afrikaans (which were formerly the only two official languages in South Africa) still remains a challenge. One needs to look at how different the current government is to the apartheid government and how much contribution does the present system plays in terms of still boosting English as the language of choice. Languages that were prominent pre-1994 still remain popular regardless of the many efforts that have taken place to make sure all 11 official languages have been equalised. Kamwangamalu (2001: 82) argues that besides the fact that African languages are also recognised, these gains, compared to English and Afrikaans, the African languages have no real cachet in the broader social, political and economic context. According to him, African languages co-exist in what may be described as a hierarchical triglossic system, where English is at the top, Afrikaans is in the middle, and the African languages are at the bottom of the ladder. Kamwangamalu (2001: 91) concludes that despite the demise of the apartheid system, the wall that the system erected to separate the language communities remain as tall they were during the years of apartheid.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature presented in this chapter looked at three areas of theoretical reflection: Linguistic Landscapes and Language in Public Spaces, Language Rights and Citizenship, and Language Shift and Choice. What is regarded as policy and recommendations in the constitution seem to be only practical to a certain level, and as such only provides a platform of choice for the citizens other than imposing. It is also evident that businesses holds power to a certain degree in terms of the language usage (formally and informally); while at the same time contradiction

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between what government states as the right to all citizens at what is happening at a practical

level in these communities, is being observed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study employs both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Two methods of data collection, viz. survey questionnaires and written responses, were used in order to ensure triangulation of data gathering. Carranza (1982:81) describes triangulation as "the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques". Data collected through different techniques, when viewed together, are likely to produce more valid and reliable findings than data from one source only. Apart from this triangulation, the longitudinal part of the study aims to uncover developing attitudes in the same group of respondents over period of time, in order to overcome the problem of attitudes affected by certain conditions in one survey only. Data on language use and proficiency was obtained from the self-reported data in this study.

3.2 Kind of Data

In preparation for finding answers to the particular research questions, given in chapter one, relevant literature has been consulted. The literature has been useful in determining what research has been done and which results have been found in the aspect of language choice in Khayelitsha and Langa, which are IsiXhosa speaking communities in Cape Town. The literature also gave pointers as to the most useful framework in which to analyse the data collected for answering the particular research questions.

Data for this research was gathered from IsiXhosa speakers residing in these black townships: Khayelitsha and Langa. A total of 100 questionnaires were randomly distributed in the above-

mentioned townships. These respondents were selected on the basis of (i) their ability to speak or understand IsiXhosa, (ii) their understanding of language rights, shift and linguistic landscape; and (iii) varying indications of regular access to the media. This selection was specifically done to be able to gauge possible correlation between the regularity with which IsiXhosa readers have access to mostly English and Afrikaans languages in public places and their language preference and choice when accessing public information. This questionnaire (see Appendix 1) made use of both open-ended and closed-ended questions to language preferences, taken from those sections that have previously been indicated as specific preferences. It is presumed that personal responses to open-ended questions are more effective in checking understanding and obtaining attitudinal data. Some answers can provide unanticipated information that will give more validity to the interpretation of the responses.

Another factor to bear in mind is that being able to read a language does not necessarily mean one will be able to understand and comprehend it. It is highly expected that not everyone who can read English and Afrikaans could easily understand and comprehend what they were reading on public notices and newspapers.

3.3 Questionnaire Composition

The questionnaire was used to collect data on:

a) Research objective and consent to participate: where respondents had to be made aware of the purpose of the questionnaire, and respondents to give consent to participate in the study (question 1);

b) Population demographics: collecting data such as age, education and occupation (question 2);

c) Language proficiency: where respondents had to indicate which language they can read and/or write (question 3);

d) Language comprehension: where respondents had to indicate which language they can speak and understand (question 4);

e) Afrikaans language comprehension: where respondents had to indicate whether they can understand and speak the Afrikaans language (question 5);

f) Languages at public notices: where respondents had to indicate which language(s) they see in public notices (question 6);

g) Language domination: where respondents had to indicate which language(s) they see the most (question 7);

h) Language preference: respondents had to indicate the language(s) they prefer to see in their local community notices (question 8);

i) Language domination in public spaces: respondents had to indicate which languages dominate in public areas such as libraries, clinics, government offices etc. (question 9);

j) Public facilities language preference: respondents had to indicate which language they prefer to see in their public facilities (question 10);

k) Access to information in indigenous language: respondents had to indicate whether the information in their public areas is presented to them in their own indigenous language (question 11);

l) Open-ended question, where respondent had to give reasons to question 11;

m) The next question narrowed the questions to the black township only newspapers, *City Vision* and *Vukani*. They were then asked whether they have access to these two newspapers (question 13).

n) Between these above two newspapers, they were then asked to choose their favourite newspaper (question 14).

o) The next section was about gauging their language proficiency, i.e. how well they understood articles that were written in English and IsiXhosa (question 15).

p) Language preference on community newspapers: where respondents were to select which language(s) they prefer to read in their community newspapers (question 16);

q) The last section was an open-ended section, where they were given the opportunity to talk about anything they would like to mention, which would be of value and significance to this research exercise (question 17).

The questionnaire was administered to L1 IsiXhosa speakers only due to the specific interest of this research into access that such speakers may have to information presented in English and Afrikaans when accessing public notices and newspapers, and the effect such access may have on their English and Afrikaans language proficiencies. This research did not, at this stage; work comparatively with how IsiXhosa first language speakers' responses relate to those of speakers with other first languages. It is likely that SeSotho and IsiZulu, or any other first language speakers may have presented similar patterns of access to information carried in English and Afrikaans in public spaces. These possibilities were not specifically tested; therefore the research will not draw conclusions with regards to this comparative aspect.

3.4 Respondents and Sampling

The sample respondents were from Khayelitsha and Langa. Special attention was given to residents whose first language was IsiXhosa. The reason for choosing them was because the researcher wanted to work with community members who were likely to have an interest in IsiXhosa, and whether they understand what they read from formal and informal signage; and the media, which is made up of the newspapers and public spaces in those areas.

Research questions were specifically focused on how the public domain could function as a source of knowledge and information. The group of respondents consisted of both males and females who were between the ages of 13 and 80. The majority of them have English as their second language. A total of 100 questionnaires were filled out. From these, the researcher gained the particulars of respondents' personal background, the type of access they had to printed news and how well they could comprehend what they read in public notices and newspapers.

3.5 Ethics

The research proposal was approved by a departmental ethics screening committee. Before proceeding with administering the questionnaires, the researcher obtained permission from the participants concerned to collect data, as required by the departmental ethical research guidelines. The questionnaires were filled out in controlled circumstances in their residential homes. Participants who were not interested in participating were allowed not to. The respondents were free not to give the researcher their contact details, although some did indicate such information. The researcher has protected the identities of these respondents by referring to them merely as "participants", with no personal references in the analyses. Each interview took no longer than 10 minutes.

3.6 Facilitator

The researcher personally monitored the filling out of the questionnaires, making sure that instructions were clear, answering questions and giving them some explanations if the respondents did not understand what was required of them. Questions as to what was required in terms of the task were answered; the researcher did not suggest responses that would be expected or valued to the respondents.

3.7 Data Collection

The researcher went door-to-door randomly to the respondents' homes in two townships: (Khayelitsha and Langa), gathering the information. At the same time, the researcher also randomly picked respondents at public places such as malls and streets of Khayelitsha and Langa. The procedures for answering the set questionnaire were explained, and then the respondents were given the opportunity to fill in their responses.

The venues were conducive and comfortable enough for all of them, as these were mostly their homes and people who took part outdoors were generally people who indicated their availability. Thus the researcher could secure that all respondents gave their own responses without any coercion or feeling intimidated by the environment surrounding them. The researcher visited them to their homes and random outdoor approaches were done during weekends and others after hours, when they were relaxing, and not rushing to return to work. This gave them ample time to think through the questions they were being asked, and responded to the best of their abilities.

A question might arise whether the respondents took the questionnaire exercise seriously in that they gave honest and reliable responses. The researcher's impression was that most respondents did their best to provide information that the questionnaire set out to elicit.

3.8 Translation of Responses

The questionnaire was written both in English and IsiXhosa. The respondents were then encouraged to write their answers in their language of choice, choosing from English or IsiXhosa. However, in most cases participants preferred that the researcher fill in the questionnaire on their behalf and a small percentage of people volunteered to do so on their

own with the researcher's guidance. First, studies have shown that first language African speakers prefer questionnaires in English rather than their home language (Pluddemann et al 2004; Banda 2004). Secondly this would allow for the drawing of preliminary conclusions about the levels of English proficiency of the various respondents.

Also, it would allow for gaining an impression of what the impact of reading English and Afrikaans in public places and newspapers may be. This would at least informally test whether more access to the English media correlates with higher levels of English proficiency, and whether limited access to the English media correlates with lower levels of English proficiency. It has to be made clear that this "test" is not a calibrated and completely reliable one. It was intended simply to gain a first impression as to possible connections between access to the English media and developing of English language proficiency.

The questionnaire gave the researcher information about the level of schooling the respondents had received and could gain an impression as to whether there may have been any correlation between various areas of schooling and English language proficiency (Banda: 2004). Other information gained from the questionnaire related to whether respondents were happy with receiving their public information, notices, and newspapers written in English and Afrikaans.

3.9 Analysis and Interpretation of Results

After the data was collected, the questionnaires were manually sorted and information gained was categorised according to the particular research questions. Data was interpreted (i) on the basis of reader responses themselves, and (ii) in the light of the reviewed literature. The following chapter in which the data will be presented, analysed and interpreted will elaborate on this.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was made up of 17 questions. The first question requested consent from the participants to take part on the study. This is an ethical question, in an effort to ensure that none of the participants felt coerced to take part in the study. Secondly, it was important to make sure that the participants clearly understood the purpose and objective of this study before they could continue to complete the questionnaire.

The second question asked respondents to select their age group, education level, and their occupation. Ages were grouped between 13-17, 18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-65, and over 65 years. Education levels were grouped between Grade 8 and below, Grade 9-11, matric, post-matric, degree/diploma, and post-graduate degree. The occupation section was grouped between student, non-skilled labour, skilled labour, professional, entrepreneur, pensioner, and unemployed. This question was intended to gather data on the population demographics of the targeted community. This research exercise was also interested in finding out how different the people of varying demographics would respond to these questions. From this, the researcher could gain insight into whether there would be any similarities in their areas of interest as well as language preferences.

The third question required respondents to specify which languages they can read and/or write. The languages presented to them were English, IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and other language/s. The researcher specifically selected these three languages, as they are the three languages mostly spoken in the Western Cape, particularly Cape Town. Also, this question would also enable

the researcher to gauge the number of respondents who can read and understand English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa. Therefore, this was an important point and one of the critical questions to ask the respondents.

The fourth question was intended to test the respondents' language comprehension. They were asked to indicate which languages they can speak and understand. Again, the languages presented to them were English, IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and other language/s, these being the three mostly spoken languages in Cape Town.

The fifth question was intended to gauge whether the respondents could understand or speak Afrikaans. The researcher deliberately included this question because she hypothesises that the use of Afrikaans at public places surrounding the two sample townships (Khayelitsha and Langa) is not representative of the population demographics, looking at residents in those townships. Asking this question gave the researcher an opportunity to test this hypothesis.

The sixth question aimed to investigate language/s that dominates both in Khayelitsha and Langa in relation to public signage. The respondents were given an option to choose between the three official languages in the Western Cape and these include English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans. This question was included so that the researcher can hear from respondents themselves (who are possibly greatly affected by the use of these languages) which language/s dominates their public space. In most cases, the public (ordinary citizens) is not consulted but authorities decide which language/s to use, so it was important for respondents to give direction and ultimately the question was going to help determine if the research questions for this study remain feasible.

The seventh question was about the language/s that respondents see the most in their local signage. Even though it has been 18 years since democracy, the question aimed at establishing whether these townships have fully transformed as far as official languages are concerned in the Western Cape. Since the areas (Khayelitsha and Langa) are made up of mostly speakers of IsiXhosa, the researcher wanted an indication of whether this was a true reflection of what was happening in these townships.

The eighth question aimed to unpack the respondents' language preferences out of the three official languages (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans) of the Western Cape. The question was included in order to determine if IsiXhosa speakers were happy or unhappy with what is currently the status as far as these languages are concerned. At the same time, the question aimed to reveal who may be accountabile for the only indigenous language (IsiXhosa) in these two areas (Khayelitsha and Langa) losing its popularity to English and Afrikaans.

At the same time, question nine looked at public spaces in terms of government institutions like offices, libraries and clinics that citizens visit more often. The question asked respondents the language that dominates in signage and documentation when they visit these specific public places. Again, the question wanted to balance if whether language usage and what currently dominates in these public spaces are a true reflection of the greater population is made up of.

With reference to question nine, question ten asked respondents which language out of the three official languages of the Western Cape (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans) they would prefer to see. Again, the question wanted to establish if whether the respondents were comfortable with what is currently presented to them as far as language/s are concerned. At

the same time, the question was asked in order to help the researcher compare what people would like to see to what is currently presented.

Meanwhile, based the respondents' responses on the previous question, question eleven asked them why they prefer a certain language/s in these public spaces. The question gave respondents an opportunity to contextualise their preference and an opportunity to voice their opinion in terms of what they feel with regards to what is currently presented in terms of language choice in their respective areas.

Question twelve directly addressed IsiXhosa speakers and asked them if they had access to material – both printed material and signage – presented in their own language in public areas such as government offices, clinic, library etc. The question was asked in order to establish if whether respondents were given a choice to use their own language when visiting public areas or the choice was just limited to languages other than IsiXhosa.

The thirteenth and fourteenth questions asked respondents whether they had access to the two community newspapers, *City Vision* and *Vukani*, and also to specify which paper, out of these two, they prefer the most. This is important to determine whether the distribution of these two community newspapers reaches their places of residence.

The fifteenth question asked if whether the respondents read and understand articles written in English or IsiXhosa, if not both. The two newspapers are predominantly written in English with IsiXhosa represented randomly and only making up a small percentage of the entire newspapers. With these newspapers being the only community newspapers addressing the needs of community, the question helped to see if these newspapers are relevant to the needs

of the community or if the language usage is driven by other factors other than what people would like to see.

The sixteenth question required respondents to select their language preference for their community newspapers. This question seeks to find out what language the different the resident or readers of these newspapers prefer. It is assumed that the Cape Town townships have mixed demographics, both educated and uneducated. It would therefore be interesting to know what these diverse groups of individuals prefer.

The last section (question 17) was an open-ended section, where the respondents were required to provide any additional comments pertaining to this research and language related feedback. As discussed in the previous chapter, it is presumed that personal responses to open-ended questions are more effective in checking understanding and obtaining attitudinal data. Some answers can provide unanticipated information that will give more validity to the interpretation of the responses.

Fifty respondents from each township were requested to complete the questionnaire. A total of 100 questionnaires were thus completed. As stated in the research methodology section, the researcher randomly visited them at their places of residence. This was done over weekends and after hours, where it would be expected that most people would be at home.

4.2 Population Demographics

4.2.1 Age

The sample population comprised of different age groups, and the researcher managed to find representation across all groups. The majority of respondents who showed interest in taking

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part in the survey were between 26 and 35 years of age, making a total of 32 respondents. This was followed by 18 to 25 years age group, making 20 respondents of the sample group. There were 19 respondents in the 36 to 45 years group, followed by the 13 to 17 years group making 10 respondents. Between 46 and 55 years, there were nine respondents, with eight respondents in the 56 to 65, and two respondents over the age of 65 years.

4.2.2 Education

The interviewed respondents were proportionally represented, in the fact that the researcher managed to reach all age groups from both targeted townships. From the sample population, there were no teenage respondents who had not attained a Grade 8 (formally known as Standard six) education level. The majority (38%) had matric level, followed by grade 9-11 (26%), 13% of the sample had a Grade 8 and below, 9% had a degree/diploma or post-matric qualification, and 5% had a post-graduate qualification.

Teenagers between 13 and 17 years of age that were interviewed had attained between Grade 8 and Grade 12 schooling levels. The two age groups that had not attained a university degree or diploma were between 56-65 and over 65 years, and this made 11% of the sample population.

4.2.3 Occupation

The majority of the interviewed respondents were skilled labourers, making a total 25% of respondents. This was followed by unemployed respondents, who made 24% of the sample population. A total of 18% of respondents highlighted that they were students, followed by non-skilled labour (15%), then professionals (8%), entrepreneurs (6%) and lastly pensioners (4%). The figure below gives a clear breakdown of these results in detail while the next one gives a further breakdown of occupation statistics per age group.

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4.3 Language Proficiency

In the third question, respondents were required to indicate which languages they can understand, speak, read and/or write. They then had to select between English, IsiXhosa, Afrikaans and others.

Table 1: Respondents' Self-assessed Language Proficiency

LANGUAGE	READ	WRITE	UNDERSTAND	SPEAK
English	97	90	84	86
IsiXhosa	92	88	95	95
Afrikaans	46	43	45	47
Other (IsiZulu)	6	5	5	5
Other (SeSotho)	7	7	8	8
Other (SeTswana)	3	3	4	4
Other (German)	1	1	1	1

The table above illustrates that the majority (97%) of respondents can read English, followed by 92% who can read IsiXhosa. The number of respondents who can read Afrikaans dropped to 46%, in comparison to English and IsiXhosa. A small fraction could read other languages (6% IsiZulu, 7% SeSotho, 3% SeTswana, and 1% German).

English also had the highest (90%) percentage of respondents who can write it, followed by IsiXhosa (88%). There was also a significant reduction in the number of respondents who can write Afrikaans (43%). Other languages that respondents could write are IsiZulu (5%), SeSotho (7%), SeTswana (3%), and German (1%).

There are also a significantly high number of respondents who can speak IsiXhosa (95%), followed by English (86%, then Afrikaans (47%). Other languages that respondents could speak are IsiZulu (5%), SeSotho (8%), SeTswana (4%) and German (1%).

Most respondents indicated that they can understand IsiXhosa, followed by English (84%), then Afrikaans (47%), SeSotho (8%), IsiZulu (5%), SeTswana (4%), and German (1%).
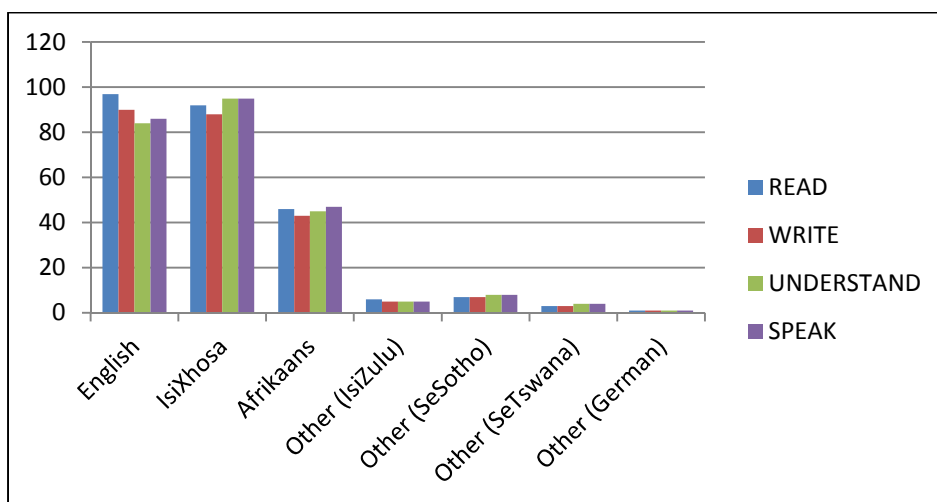

Figure 1: Respondents' Language Proficiency

4.3.1 Ability to Speak or Understand Afrikaans

When specifically asked whether they could speak or understand Afrikaans, 53% of respondents answered "yes", and 43% answered "no".
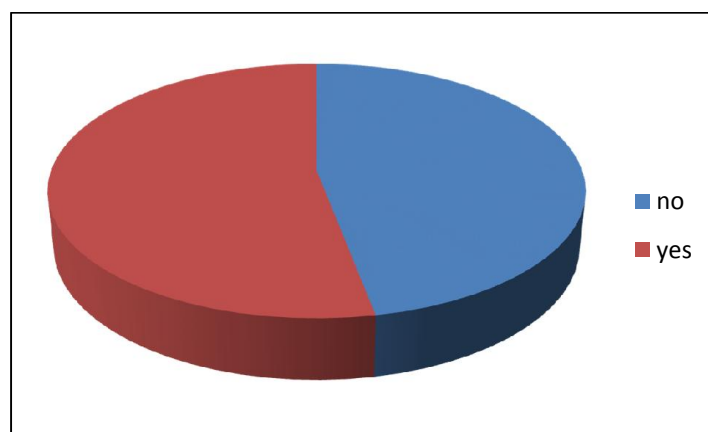
Figure 2: Respondents' Ability to Speak or Understand Afrikaans

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4.4 Perceptions of the Linguistic Landscape

4.4.1 Perceptions of Language Use on Signs and Notices

In this question, respondents were asked which language/s they see on signs and notices. The majority (42%) of respondents indicated that English is the language they see, followed by IsiXhosa (17%). Some respondents (16%) indicated that they see a combination of English and IsiXhosa, whilst others (14%) see a combination of Afrikaans and English. 19% of respondents indicated that they see a combination of English, Afrikaans, and IsiXhosa, and 1% indicated that they see a combination of IsiXhosa and Afrikaans.
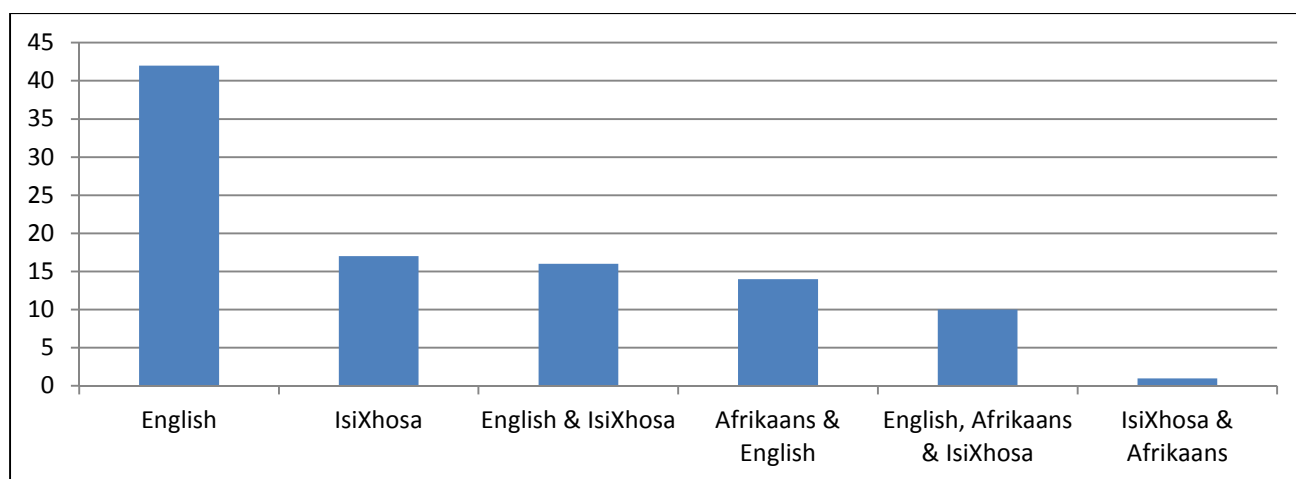
Figure 3: Respondents' Perceptions of Language Use on Signs and Notices

4.4.2 Perceptions of Dominating Language on Signs and Notices

The following question was a follow-up question, asking respondents for their impressions of which of the three languages they saw the most on public notices and signs. 53% of respondents answered English is the most dominating language, followed by IsiXhosa (17%). 15% of them indicated that a combination of English and IsiXhosa are the dominating languages, 14% believe Afrikaans and English are the mostly used, and 1% indicated that Afrikaans is the common language.
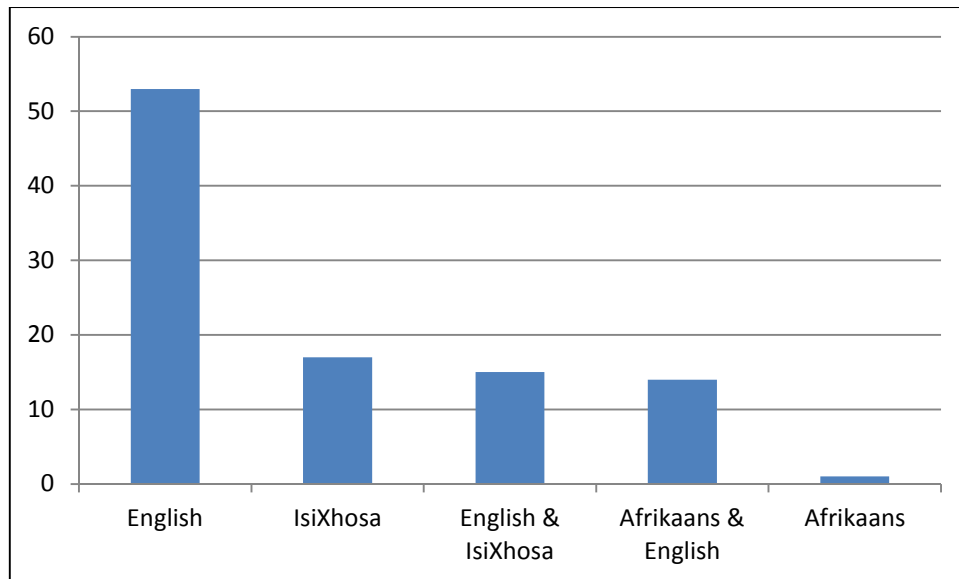
Figure 4: Respondents' Perceptions of Dominating Language/s on Signs and Notices

4.4.3 Language Preferences in Public Spaces

The following question asked respondents to indicate which language they would prefer to see being used in their public spaces. More than half (53%) of the respondents selected IsiXhosa as their preferred language, followed by English (23%). Eighteen percent indicated that they would prefer a combination of English and IsiXhosa; 4% preferred a combination of English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans; 2% preferred a combination of Afrikaans and English; and 1% preferred Afrikaans.
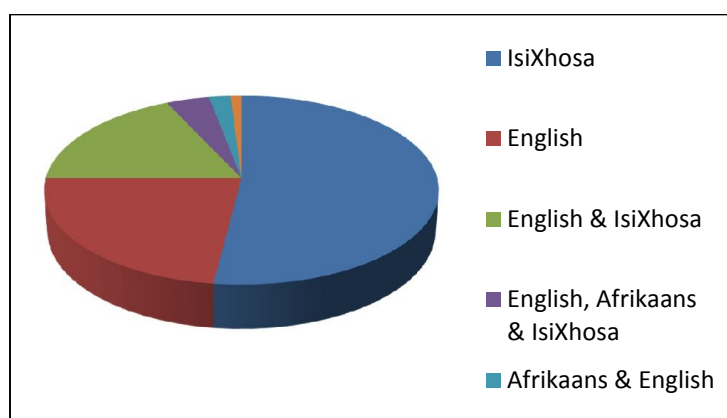
Figure 5: Respondents' Preferred Language Use in Public Spaces

4.4.4 Perceptions of Dominating Languages in Public Spaces

In this question, respondents were asked to choose the language they feel is most dominating on public spaces such as libraries, hospitals, government departments, etc. 48% indicated that English is the most dominating language; 21% felt IsiXhosa is the dominating one; 18% indicated that a combination of English and IsiXhosa dominates; followed by a combination of English and Afrikaans (8%); then by a combination of English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa (4%); and lastly by Afrikaans at 1%.
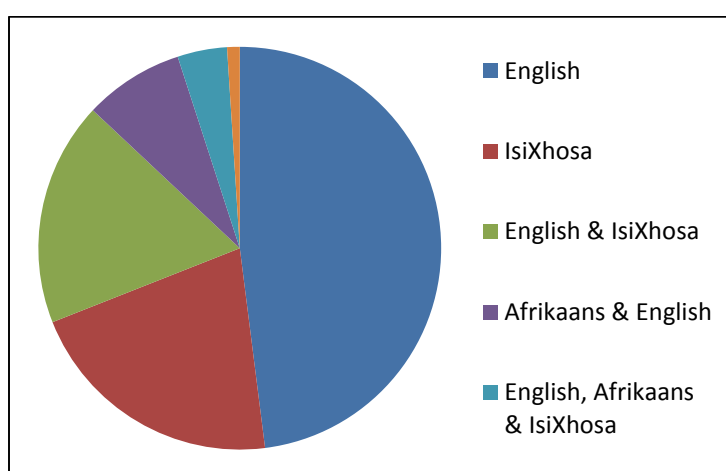
Figure 6: Respondents' Perceptions of Dominating Languages in Public Spaces

4.4.5 Language Preferences in Government Institutions

In this question, respondents were asked to choose which language they would prefer to see being used in government spaces such as hospitals, libraries, government departments, etc. Here, 44% preferred IsiXhosa; 25% preferred a combination of English and IsiXhosa; 22% preferred English; 8% preferred a combination of English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans; and 1% preferred a combination of SeSotho and IsiXhosa.
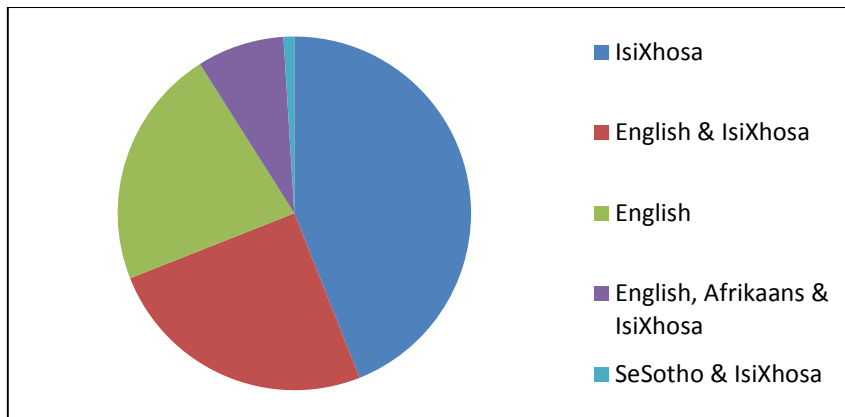
Figure 7: Respondents' Language Preferences in Government Institutions

4.4.6 Access to Public Material in Own Language

This question was intended to gauge whether the material available to them in public areas was presented to them in their own language. 55% answered 'yes', and 45% answered 'no'.
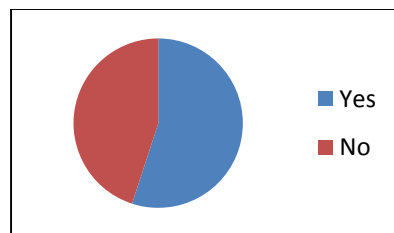

Figure 8: Respondents' Access to Public Material in Own Language

4.4.7 Opinions on Language Use in Public Areas

This question was an open ended question, where respondents were asked to provide reasons to the previous question (question 11), which asked them whether they felt that the material accessible to them in public areas was presented to them in their own language. Here, respondents were given the opportunity to say what their thoughts were with regards to language use in their public areas.

4.5 Language and Community Newspapers

4.5.1 Access to Community Newspapers

This question asked respondents to indicate whether they have access to the two local newspapers, *City Vision* and *Vukani*. 90 respondents indicated that they had access to *City Vision*, and 87 respondents indicated that they had access to *Vukani* newspaper.
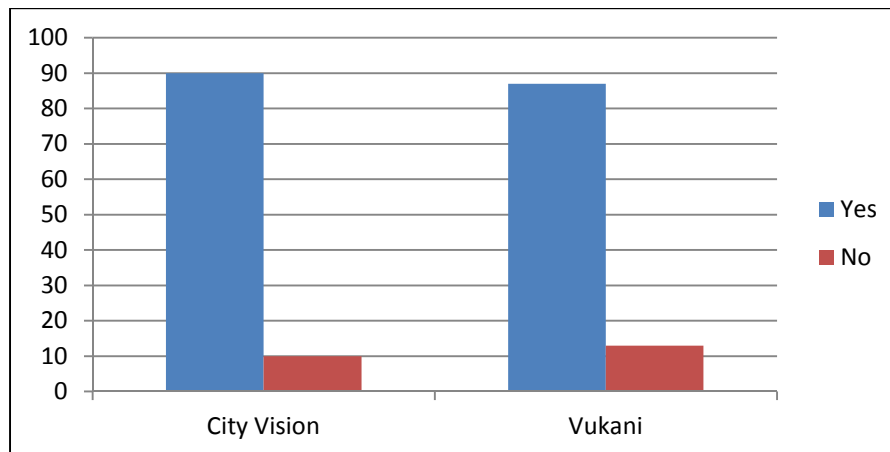

Figure 9: Participants' Access to Local Newspapers

4.5.2 Favourite Local Newspaper

This question required respondents to specify the paper they read the most, between *City Vision* and *Vukani*. Fifty percent indicated that they prefer *City Vision*, 42% indicated that they like *Vukani*, whereas the remainder indicated that they like both newspapers. Figure 11 below gives a clear breakdown of these results in detail.
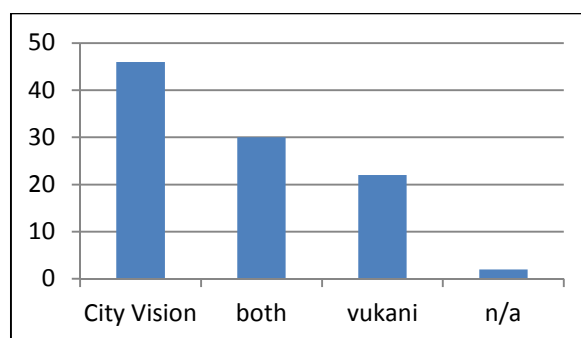

Figure 10: Respondents' Favourite Local Paper

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4.5.3 Attitude towards English and IsiXhosa articles

In this question, respondents were asked to specify which languages on their local papers they read. It is not enough to only be able to read, what matters the most is the ability to comprehend what you are reading. About 85% indicated that they are able to read and understand English articles, whereas a total of 72% respondents indicated their ability to read and understand IsiXhosa articles.
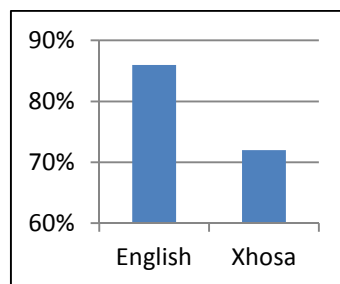
Figure 11: Respondents' ability to read towards English and IsiXhosa articles

4.5.4 Language Preference for Local Newspapers

Respondents were then asked to indicate in which language they would prefer their newspapers written. The majority of respondents (42%) preferred IsiXhosa, followed by English (36%), and 22% preferred a combination of both English and IsiXhosa.
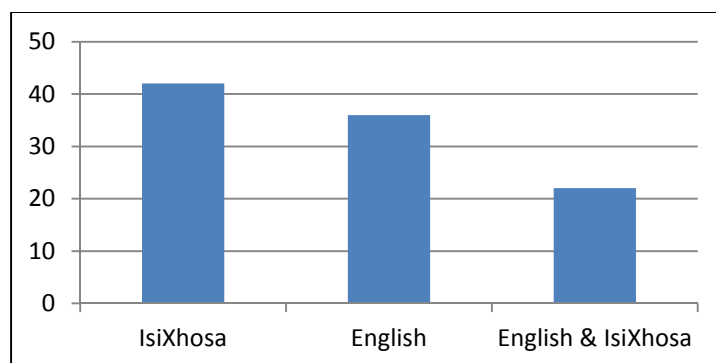
Figure 12: Newspaper Articles Language Preference

4.6 Additional Comments

The last question was open-ended, where respondents were asked to write anything that they wish to say that is related to this study. A lot of important and interesting points came out of this section. There were a number of respondents who indicated that they would prefer their

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papers to be written in IsiXhosa in order for more readers to be interested in them. They continue to argue that there is therefore a lot that they miss out on because they do not understand English. They felt that IsiXhosa is a fair language for everyone in these two townships (Langa and Khayelitsha), educated and uneducated. A number of them felt that it does not make sense to write English for information that is targeting IsiXhosa audience, and that IsiXhosa language is losing its value and popularity, especially with the younger generation, who most of them felt that they comprehend English notices far well better than IsiXhosa.

The younger generation of respondents expressed their satisfaction with writing in English. They felt that although they could read IsiXhosa, it is mostly extremely difficult for them to comprehend what they are reading, hence they always prefer English.

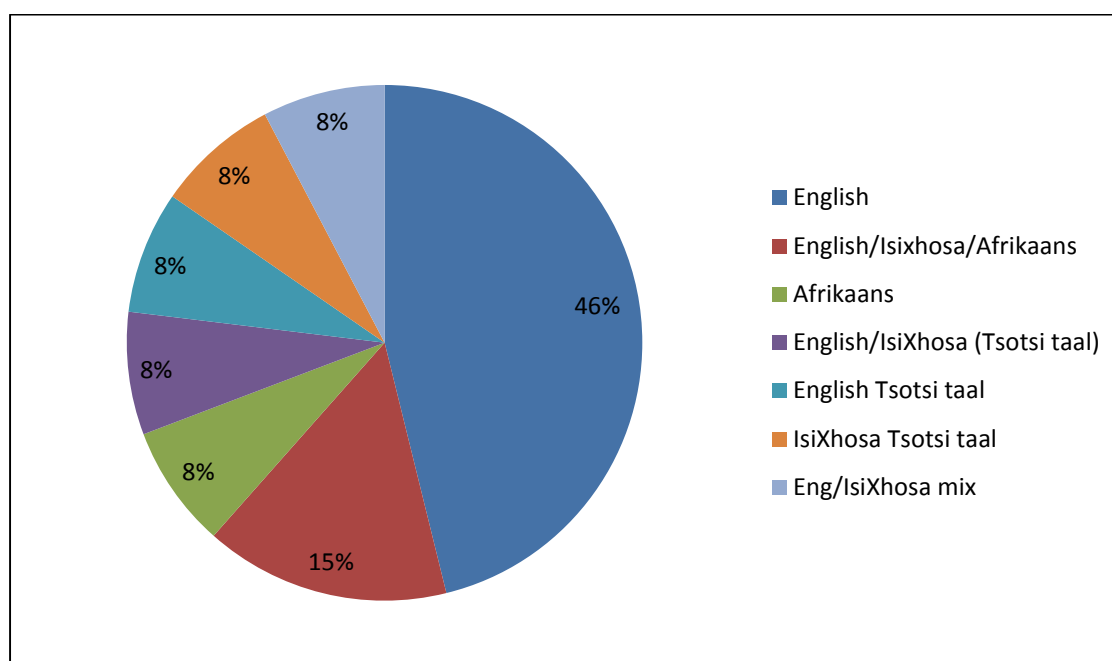## 4.7 Linguistic Landscape Picture Analysis (Langa)

Figure 13: Langa Linguistic Picture Analysis

Out of the picture sample in Langa, 50% of the pictures were written in IsiXhosa and these were representative of both the government and business billboards signage. Bilingual signage (IsiXhosa and English) see IsiXhosa greatly compromised as the translation is done incorrectly. This can pose danger as in most cases the translation that is done incorrectly may in some instances mean different things completely.

At the same time, Afrikaans-only signage makes up 10% of what is seen in the Langa sample while English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans translation also represents 10%. An IsiXhosa informal translation also share a 10% representation, where the language is used lightly in an advertisement to probably catch the youth's attention more as the target market.

Picture 1
An IsiXhosa badly translated signage. Correct translation should have been "Iholo lasekuhlaleni"

More pictures that represent the Langa sample are given in Appendix 2 and Appendix 3.

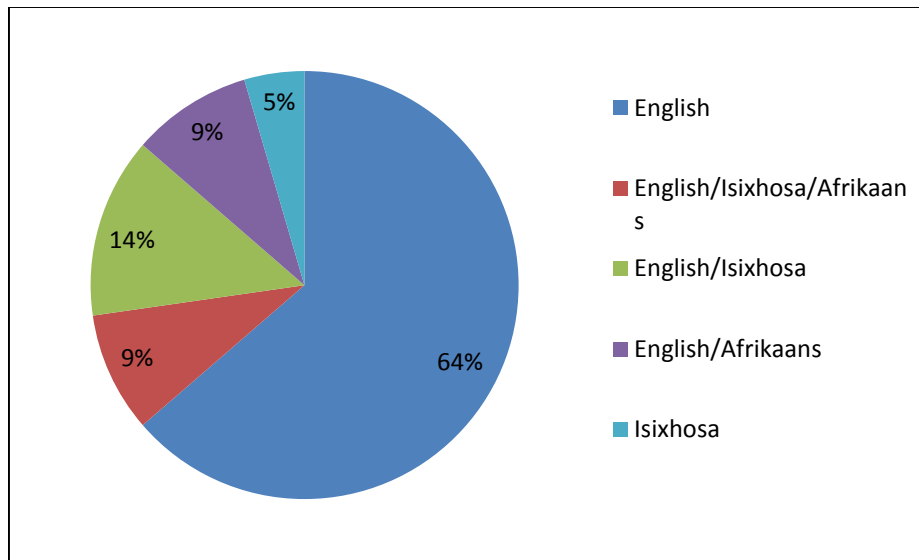## 4.8 Linguistic Landscape Picture Analysis (Khayelitsha)

Figure 14: Khayelitsha Picture Analysis

Out of 22 sample signage, English dominates with 15 signs expressed in English. The English dominates both the government and the business ones. English and IsiXhosa combination is seen in two instances with IsiXhosa badly translated and misleading in one of the signage. At the same time, out of three English/IsiXhosa/Afrikaans combinations, one IsiXhosa translation is also madly done.

On the business advertisements, Avbob, among other businesses in Khayelitsha has both IsiXhosa and English represented separately in their signage. The FNB signage opted for IsiXhosa only signage, which directs residents to where one of their ATMs is situated. Having businesses such as Avbob giving both IsiXhosa and English equal representation of what should be seen in areas where both languages are preferred. While at the same time, FNB has proven that putting IsiXhosa can be as effective and need not to be mixed in order to bring the right message across. FNB is therefore one of the businesses that are pioneering the

transformation in Khayelitsha by doing their piece as far as staying relevant and true to their customers or target market.

Picture 20
Above has both English and IsiXhosa represented in their signage

Appendix 4 has more sample pictures depicting this representation.

The majority of signage at government departments, schools and municipality offices was written in English only, with a small fraction written in multiple languages.
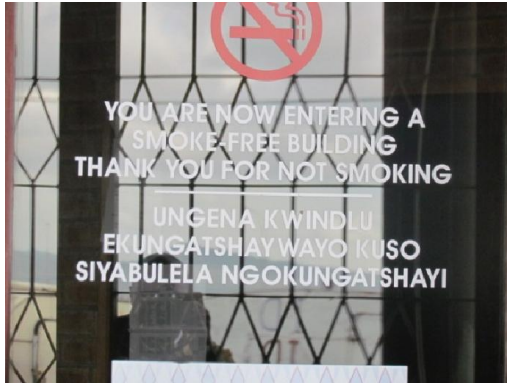

Picture 23
English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans

Picture 24
One of the government offices' notice, written in English only

It must also be noted that some of the IsiXhosa translations that were observed were incorrectly done.

<div style="text-align:center">

Picture 25　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**Picture 26**

The two pictures above are some of the poorly translated signages for IsiXhosa

</div>

For example, picture 25's English notice says: "You are now entering a smoke-free building. Thank you for not smoking." The IsiXhosa translation that was written was:

"*Ungena kwindawo ekungatshaywayo kuso. Siyabulela ngokungatshayi.*"

However, the correct translation should have been:

"*Ungena kwindawo ekungatshaywayo kuyo. Siyabulela ngokungatshayi.*"

Please note that the word *"kuso"* should have been *"kuyo"*, thus making the whole sentence grammatically unsound. Appendix 5 has more pictures with a full demonstration of the sample public sector signage.

There seems to be no consistency in how signage is represented in both these two townships. IsiXhosa which is widely spoken does not dominate the signage with Afrikaans also not as popular except for the government signage, especially for the municipality. English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans come second as official languages of the Western Cape, they are not as represented.

What remains clearly evident is the lack of consistency with the representation of languages in both these townships. However, English remains a dominant language.

4.9 Conclusion

Both in Khayelitsha and Langa, the language that is seen in both formal and informal signage is rather inconsistent. The use of the three languages (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans) is not fairly represented as IsiXhosa which is the most spoken language is rather minimal in public spaces. Multilingualism in these language spaces is also rare while some signage is made up of a mix between English and Afrikaans, leaving out IsiXhosa.

In the context of this study, the questions raised are applicable as both in Khayelitsha and Langa, the representation of the three provincial official languages (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans) is seen, with IsiXhosa being the least visible among the three official languages of the Western Cape. It seems as if in Khayelitsha and Langa, IsiXhosa being the most spoken language is not embraced proportionally.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Final remarks

In this study the researcher has identified possible contributors to the dominance of English and Afrikaans signage in an area where the population is generally L1 IsiXhosa speaking. Even though IsiXhosa is the language mostly spoken in these areas, due to the population demography, the signage in public places is dominated by mostly English and Afrikaans with few translations into IsiXhosa. My previous study, *The Role of Print Media in promoting IsiXhosa in Cape Town*, made evident that the language choice for the newspapers is dependent on the advertisers who, most of the time, are not IsiXhosa speakers.

It is not only the community media that seems to be supporting this preference for English, but also government which owns probably half of the businesses in these townships. As in the "City Vision" and "Vukani", the government's messages and signage are presented mostly in English. If a second language is used, more often than not it is Afrikaans. Khayelitsha is one of the biggest townships in South Africa, and still growing. This community and township is significantly bigger than Langa with its population currently at more than 1.5 million people. Langa is a third of the size, with about 500 000 people. Therefore, in terms of the volume of their readerships, these communities are vastly different. There are more government offices and businesses in Khayelitsha than in Langa. However, these two townships share critical commonalities as far as this study is concerned, which makes the findings to be more or less the same.

From the 100 people interviewed both in Khayelitsha and Langa, it became clear that some respondents differ to some degree in terms of the language preference and choice in their public

places. Langa being the oldest black township in Cape Town, seems to have more balanced family structures, with both the older and younger generations represented. Responses were rather interesting in Langa with more youngsters preferring English over IsiXhosa as some of them attended school outside Langa, where English is the medium of instruction.

Even though Langa schools are full to capacity, it is clear from the informal talks that all children see languages other than their mother tongue (mostly English and Afrikaans) as a stepping stone for anyone who dreams and aspires to be something in life.

Most of the middle class generation felt the need to promote IsiXhosa and also raised the unpopularity of the mother tongue as a concern. At the same time, older people who are made up of pensioners and soon-to-be pensioners did not necessarily see English and Afrikaans as a concern. One pensioner explained how the Group Areas Act, a law applied during apartheid in South Africa, forced people to learn Afrikaans for survival and better opportunities. For this reason, she felt it was not for the willingness on her side and the fact that she grew up in District Six, where the neighbourhood was dominated by mostly Afrikaans speakers, she would have achieved far less in her career. For that reason, she felt even though she was born a Xhosa, Afrikaans forms part of her heritage and therefore doesn't see a problem with Afrikaans forming part of the languages seen in the township.

Meanwhile, Khayelitsha had slightly different views from those of Langa with most people supporting the notion of mother tongue language usage in the townships. However, younger people share similar sentiments with those of Langa, as they felt that IsiXhosa has limited career advancement opportunities hence they are only interested in English and Afrikaans.

Some felt strongly that the language usage is empowering for them, therefore they do not have a problem with what is currently presented to them as far as the language is concerned.

At the same time, some of the older generation and middle class aged people fully support the usage of mother tongue language, as it is part of their heritage. It is clear that these two townships (Khayelitsha and Langa) share different history and heritage. Khayelitsha, which was established in the 1980s, is a fairly new township compared to Langa. Therefore, the Khayelitsha township is made up of people who are mostly coming from other parts of South Africa; mostly the Eastern Cape. Amongst the older generation, there are less people who take pride in Afrikaans, with English being seen as just a business language that is particularly good for the younger generation as it helps them get into the business world. The hegemony of English is evident in both the townships of Langa and Khayelitsha as it is being treated as an exception and regarded as the language that unlocks many doors of opportunities.

When observing informal signage, which belongs to locals who either own or work at small and entrepreneurial enterprises such as spaza shops, hair salons, braai areas, car washes and taxi ranks, the language that is mostly used is English. Besides the professional feel and effort seen on the formal signage and advertisements, there seems to be no difference as far as language usage is concerned.

Even though the two Cape Town townships, Khayelitsha and Langa, which are the focus of this study, have their population made up of mostly L1 IsiXhosa speakers (more than 90%), the language used in formal and informal signage in the two areas is rather inconsistent and confusing. Looking at public spaces in both Khayelitsha and Langa, even though all three languages (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans) are represented, the usage is not equally

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distributed. In most cases, English dominates, followed by a mix between English and Afrikaans and a significantly small presentation of English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans combined translation. An exclusive usage of IsiXhosa is almost invisible.

Even on the age group and different circumstances that people find themselves trapped in, it is concerning the fact that IsiXhosa is not as visible in public places while the younger generation prefers other languages other than their mother tongue. This can be attributed partially to the fact that these areas are growing daily with the influx of people coming to Cape Town for greener pastures. At the same time, the decision for language usage in public places is at the hands of external authorities who do not necessarily reside in these areas, or entrepreneurs who purely have business interests. For this reason, ordinary people who make up the entire community remain powerless as far as decision-making is concerned.

5.2 Recommendations

The outcome of this study which looked at language in public spaces concerning language choice in the two IsiXhosa speaking communities of Langa and Khayelitsha seems to be rather balanced. The outcome of what the language choice is, is influenced by a number of factors. It is evident that the government and entrepreneurs (formal and informal) equally contribute to the choices that are made pertaining language usage.

Language equality and rights is a subject owned by our government and therefore custodianship by the community becomes secondary. According to the South African constitution; "the official languages of the Republic are SePedi, SeSotho, SeTswana, SiSwati, TshiVenda, XiTsonga, Afrikaans, English, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu. Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take

practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages"
(The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 4). However, it is evident that most
languages are still treated as more superior than others and the entire business system in Cape
Town is centred around limited language choices. For this reason, English and Afrikaans have
remained dominant languages with the system being more favourable to non-IsiXhosa
speakers, except for few job opportunities. The government needs to practice what it preaches
by ensuring that policies and laws do not only remain documents that are archived and form
part of the legacy that is being. Our language policies are only of real value, when they are
enacted. Government needs to take responsibility and be accountable for the execution of their
plans. A proper planning and monitoring system needs to be put in place and our government
needs to be seen using their own indigenous languages during their debates in parliament more
often, in order to lead by example. The mother tongue languages have been reduced to
languages that they use only use to ridicule one another mostly, and not with pride and dignity.

The employment system needs to be revisited also, with regulatory measures being put in place.
Many respondents posed back the question of IsiXhosa to the researcher, challenging and
asking, "What has IsiXhosa done for them so far and why is it part of the school curriculum if
it doesn't help you find a good job". These respondents felt flair in English and Afrikaans were
much better options with guaranteed results. A mix of Zulu and Ndebele Cape Town resident
Thamsanqa Nkwanyane and a former journalist at the Afrikaans newspaper (Beeld) agreed that
he is "certain he would not have been able to secure employment in the newspaper if it was not
for his thorough knowledge of Afrikaans". He confirms that also his Beeld newspaper
appointment was a stepping stone for him as he was later employed by other Media24 titles
which are published in English. For some aspiring professionals, the language choice becomes
a determining factor in terms of the choices they make.

This state of affairs thus poses difficulties for IsiXhosa as future leaders who are still at school do not see themselves benefitting through the language even though it is part of their curriculum in their township schools. For the pupils whose parents can afford to take them to schools outside the township, where IsiXhosa is not offered or offered at third language basis, are much happier with their choices and have hope for the future. A mother of two children originally from Khayelitsha who now resides in Parklands and sends her children to a school where English is offered as a first language and Afrikaans as second language, echoes similar sentiments when saying, "our reality in Cape Town is that flair in Afrikaans is really crucial as knowing only English and IsiXhosa has proven to have limited career options". In her own experience, she strongly feels she would not have been able to flourish in her career as a banker in Cape Town if it was not for her knowledge and flair for all three languages used in Western Cape (English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans).

For this reason, the researcher highly recommends that the government revisits the practicality of South Africans fairly benefitting from all the official languages, and how the usage of these languages can translate to meaningful participation in the economy. The government should not only be involved at policy-making stages but should also follow on and evaluate the implementation plans. Government also needs to strengthen ties with the private sector and ensure preference is not only given to certain people who flourish in a certain language, especially where a certain language is necessarily job requirement.

Institutions like panSALB still have a long way to go in terms of reaching out to all speakers and ensure equality amongst all languages is promoted. The progress made since the institution's inception has been rather minimal. To date, it is easy to assume that what the

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government provides as a policy remains "merely lip-service without any fruits to bear". According to SAPA, panSALB in state of paralysis, IOL, 07 September 2014,[1]

> the Pan South African Language Board (panSALB) is in a state of paralysis and needs urgent attention, Parliament's portfolio committee on arts and culture said on Sunday. Chairwoman Xoliswa Tom said it was worrying that 70 percent of the allocation the institution received was spent on employee salaries. This left a small amount to implement its work." The reports further explained that: "panSALB is an important body entrusted with developing, protecting and promoting all South Africa languages, but currently the institution is failing to implement this mandate.

The linguistic landscape in Khayelitsha and Langa needs to also be revisited. Government (both national and provincial) needs to revisit its own language choice and usage in these townships. Giving equal treatment and preference to all three languages is highly recommended as the first step. Even though there have been attempts for such translations by other institutions, the quality of IsiXhosa remains a subject for scrutiny because of the incorrect manner in which it is presented. In order for the linguistic landscape to change in these townships and for the public to have a different perception, they will only be convinced when there is quality and contextualised visibility of all the relevant languages.

Other role-players, including the media and local businesses, will hopefully follow suit once the government takes the lead and put measures in place. When interviewed about the English usage, the newspaper editors argued that lack of resources was a hindrance for them not to be able to publish in IsiXhosa as they lacked good writers and sub-editors in order to ensure a good copy is produced.

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[1] http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/pansalb-in-state-of-paralysis-1.1747172

The South African government needs to come to the realisation that education is a master of all careers. It is recommended that they go back to basics and ensure that IsiXhosa is offered at school level and that the quality is good. Currently, IsiXhosa is attached and limited to heritage and cultural celebrations and there needs to be a much bigger purpose for pupils to be encouraged to consider IsiXhosa academically. Like all other laws that are enforced by the government, in order for IsiXhosa to be saved from dormancy, the governments needs to introduce more robust initiatives that are aimed at promoting IsiXhosa at school level and at the same time, ensure that the language is able to translate to meaningful participation in our economy.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Dear Respondent / Bhota Mthathi-nxaxheba

My name is Andiswa Mesatywa. I am currently doing research for my MPhil: Intercultural Communication studies at Stellenbosch University. My research seeks to investigate: Language in public spaces: Language choice in two IsiXhosa speaking communities. Thank you for participating in this research.

Igama lam nguAndiswa Mesatywa. Ndenza izifundo eziphakamileyo ezinxulumene nophando kwiDyunivesithi iStellenbosch. Uphando lwam lumalunga Neelwimi ezisetyenziswayo kwiindawo zikawonke-wonke: Ukukhethwa kweelwimi kwiingingqi zabahlali apho kusetyenziswa ulwimi lwesiXhosa. Ndiyabulela ngokuthatha inxaxheba koluphando.

1. The researcher has explained what the study is about and I am happy to answer the questions / Umphandi ucacisile ukuba uphando lungantoni kwaye ndingakonwabela ukumnceda ndiphendule imibuzo.

Yes / Ewe	
No / Hayi	

2. Population Demographics:
   Iinkcukacha zengingqi:

Age / Iminyaka	13-17	
	18-25	
	26-35	
	36-45	
	46-55	
	56-65	
	Over 65 / Ngaphaya kwama 65	
Education / Imfundo	Grade 8 & Below / Ibanga lesithandathu nangaphantsi	
	Grade 9-11 / Ibangala le9 ukuya kwele11	
	Matric / Ibanga leshumi	
	Post-Matric/Izifundo ezingaphaya kwebanga leshumi	
	Degree, Diploma / Isidanga	
	Post-Graduate Degree/Isidanga sesibini nangaphezulu	
Occupation / Into oyenzayo	Non-Skilled Labour/Umphangeli ongaqeqeshwanga	
	Skilled Labour/Umphangeli oqeqeshiweyo	
	Professional/Isifundiswa	
	Entrepreneur/Usomashishini	
	Pensioner/Udla umhlala-phantsi	
	Student/Ungumfundi	
	Unemployed/Awuphangeli	

3. Which language/s can you read and write?
   Zeziphi iilwimi okwaziyo ukuzifunda nokuzibhala?

Language/ Ulwimi	Read (Yes/No) Ukulufunda (Ewe/Hayi)	Write (Yes/No) Ukubhala (Ewe/Hayi)
English/IsiNgesi		
Xhosa/IsiXhosa		
Afrikaans/Isibhulu		
Others/Ezinye		

4. Which language/s do you speak and understand?
   Zeziphi iilwimi ozithethayo nozivayo?

Language / Ulwimi	Speak (Yes/No) Ukulufunda (Ewe/Hayi)	Understand (Yes/No) Ukubhala (Ewe/Hayi)
English/IsiNgesi		
Xhosa/IsiXhosa		
Afrikaans/Isibhulu		

Others/Ezinye		

5. Do you understand or speak Afrikaans? Ingaba uyasiva okanye uyasithetha IsiBhulu?

Yes / Ewe	
No / Hayi	

6. Which language/s do you see in the signs and notices?
   Zeziphi iilwimi ozibona kwimibhalo yezaziso?

Xhosa/IsiXhosa	
English/IsiNgesi	
Afrikaans/Isibhulu	

7. Which language/s do you see the most? / Zeziphi iilwimi ezikuxhaphakeleyo?

Xhosa/IsiXhosa	
English/IsiNgesi	
Afrikaans/Isibhulu	

8. In public spaces, which language do you prefer to see/Ingaba kwiingingqi zabahlali zikawonke-wonke, loluphi ulwimi onqwenela kubhalwe ngalo inkcukacha ezithile?

Xhosa / IsiXhosa	
English / IsiNgesi	
Afrikaans / Isibhulu	

9. When you visit public spaces, like library, clinic, government offices, etc., what language/s currently dominates in their signage and documentation/ Xa ngaba undwendwela iindawo zikawonke-wonke ekuhlaleni ezifana nethala leencwadi, ikliniki, iiofisi zakaRhulumente, njalo-njalo, loluphi ulwimi okanye iilwimi ekubhalwa ngazo imikhomba-ndlela eyiyingcaciso?

Xhosa / IsiXhosa	
English / IsiNgesi	
Afrikaans / Isibhulu	

10. In these public spaces, as mentioned above, which language/s would you prefer to see/ Kwezi ndawo zikhankanyiweyo kulo mhlathi ungentla, loluphi ulwimi okanye iilwimi onqwenela ukuzibona bezisebenzisa?

Xhosa / IsiXhosa	
English / IsiNgesi	
Afrikaans / Isibhulu	

11. In areas such as government offices, clinic, library, etc. in your own community, as an IsiXhosa speaker, do you have access to public material presented in your own language/ Kwindawo ezinje ngeeofisi zikarhulumente, ikliniki nezinye kwingingqi yakho, njengamXhosa, ingaba uyakwazi ukufumana ulwazi lukawonke-wonke oluqulathiweyo ngolwimi lwakho?

Yes / Ewe	
No / Hayi	

12. If you answered Yes or No, please explain why / Ukubangaba impendulo yakho nguHayi okanye uEwe, nceda usixelele unobangela woko?

   ....

   …………………………………………………………………………………………………...

   …………………………………………………………………………………………………..

13. Do you have regular access to the following community newspapers? / Ingaba uyakwazi ukuwafumana rhoqo lamphephandaba akhakanyiwe ngezantsi:

City Vision	Yes / Ewe, No / Hayi	
Vukani	Yes/Ewe, No/Hayi	

14. Between these two newspapers, which one is your favourate? Kulamaphephandaba mabini, leliphi elona ulithandayo?

City Vision	
Vukani	

15. In the above mentioned community papers, do you read and understand the articles written in the following languages? / Kulamaphephandaba akhankanyiwe apha phezulu, uyawafunda kwaye ucacelwe lulwimi abalusebenzisayo:

Language / Ulwimi	Read / Ukufunda (Yes/Ewe) (No/ Hayi)	Understand / Uyacacelwa (Yes/ Ewe) (No/ Hayi)
English/IsiNgesi		
Xhosa/IsiXhosa		

16. In what language would you prefer reading your community newspaper? Mark with an X? / Loluphi ulwimi onqwenela ukulufunda kumaphephandaba asekuhlaleni? Faka uX kulwimi olukhethayo:

English/IsiNgesi	
Xhosa/IsiXhosa	

17. Any additional comments/ Ingaba ikhona imiba ofuna ukuyongeza?

....

....

Thank you for your time and participation /

Ndiyabulela kakhulu ngexesha kwakunye nenkxaso yakho**.**

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Appendix 2: Langa Formal Signage: Schools, Municipality Offices and Government Offices

Picture 1
An IsiXhosa badly translated signage.. Correct translation should have been "Iholo lasekuhlaleni"

Picture 2
English only signage

Picture 3
English/IsiXhosa translation

Picture 4
English/IsiXhosa/Afrikaans translation

Picture 5
English-only translation

Picture 6
English-only translation

Picture 7
English-only translation

Appendix 3: Langa Business Billboards Advertising

Picture 8
Afrikaans-only translation

Picture 9
English mixed with tsotsi taal

Picture 10
English mixed with IsiXhosa (without translation)

Picture 11
Informal IsiXhosa translation

Appendix 4: Khayelitsha Formal Signage: Business Billboard Advertising

Picture 12

English only

Picture 13

English mixed with IsiXhosa

Picture 14

FNB's IsiXhosa only advertisement

Picture 15

English only advertisement

Picture 16

English only advertisement

Picture 17

English only advertisement

Picture 18

English only advertisement

Picture 19

English only advertisement

Picture 20   **Picture 21**

Above pictures have both English and IsiXhosa represented in their signage

Appendix 5: Khayelitsha Formal Signage: Schools, Municipality and Government

Picture 21
English only

Picture 22
English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans

Picture 23
English, IsiXhosa and Afrikaans

Picture 24
One of the government offices' notice, written in English only

Picture 25   **Picture 26**
The two pictures above are some of the badly translated signages for IsiXhosa

Picture 27   **Picture 28**
Department of Home Affairs signage and notices are all written in English only

Picture 29
English only signage

Picture 30
English and Afrikaans translation

Picture 31
English only signage

Picture 32
English only signage

LIST OF ADDITIONAL FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Age Groups
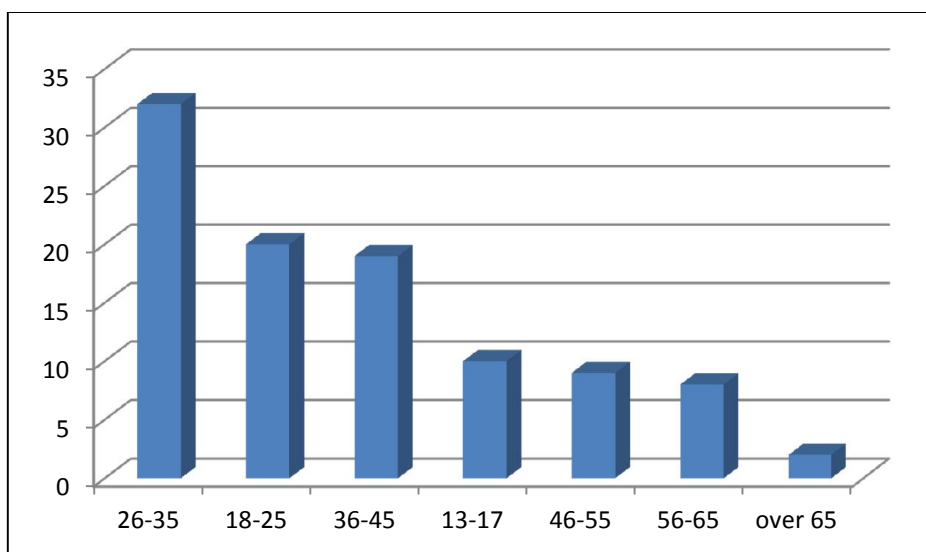
Figure 1.2: Education Statistics
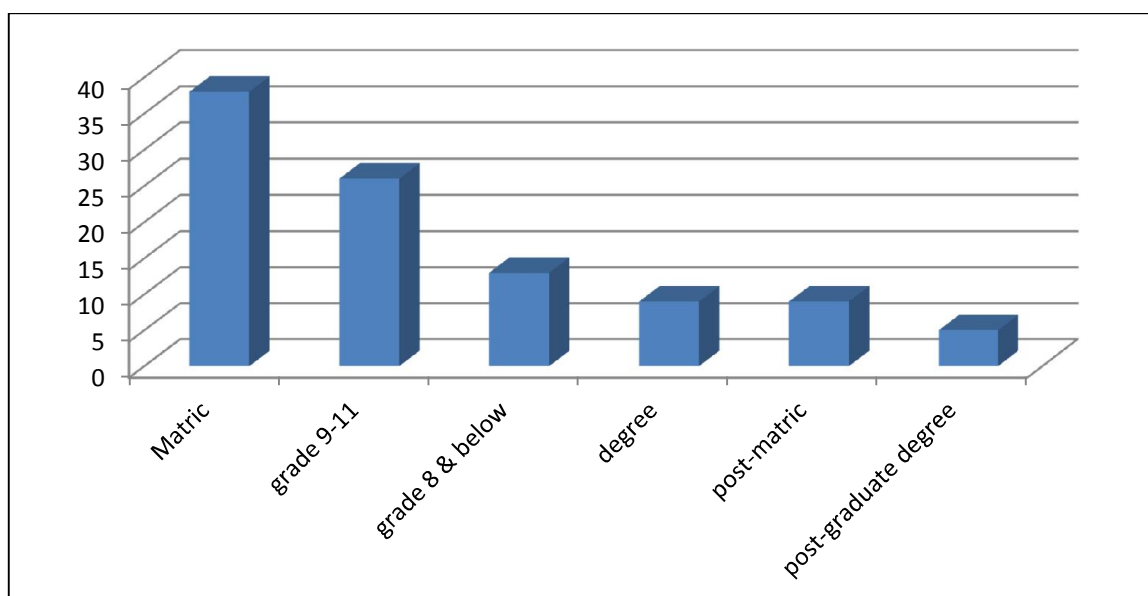
Figure 1.2.1: Education Statistics per Age Group
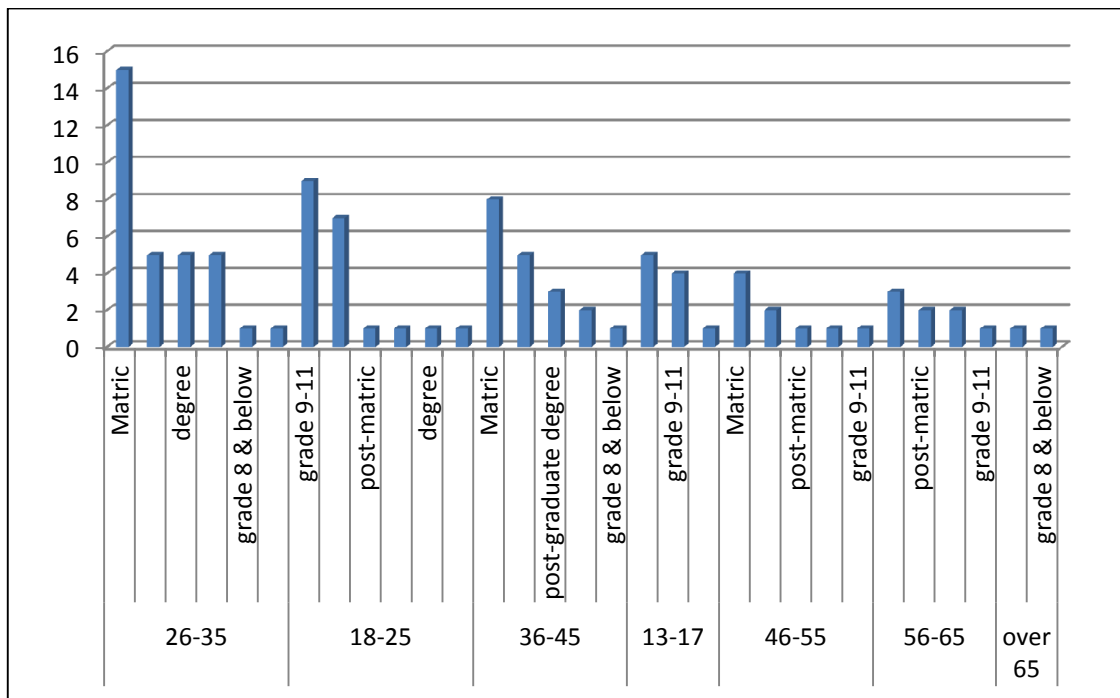
Figure 1.3: Composition of Population by Occupation
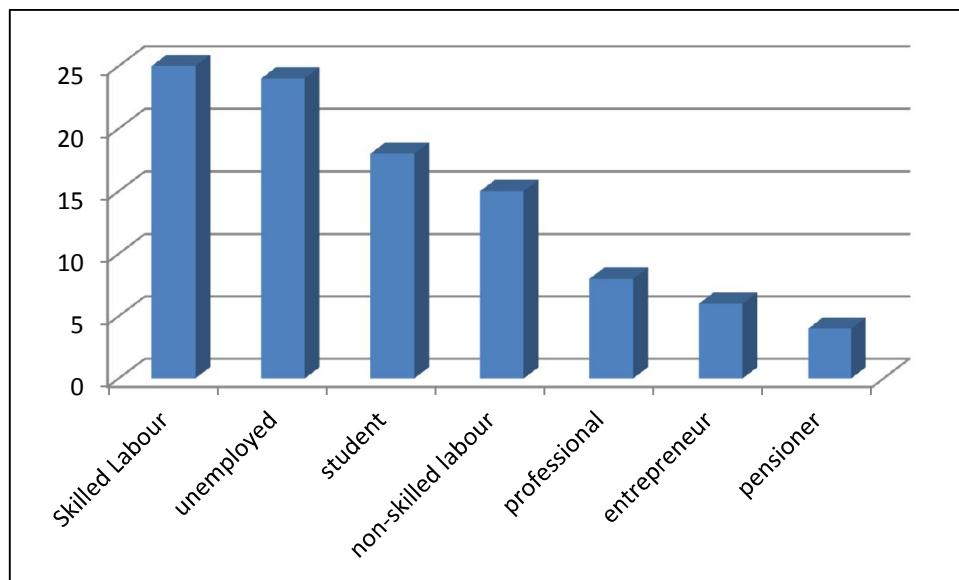
Figure 1.3.1: Occupation Statistics per Age Group
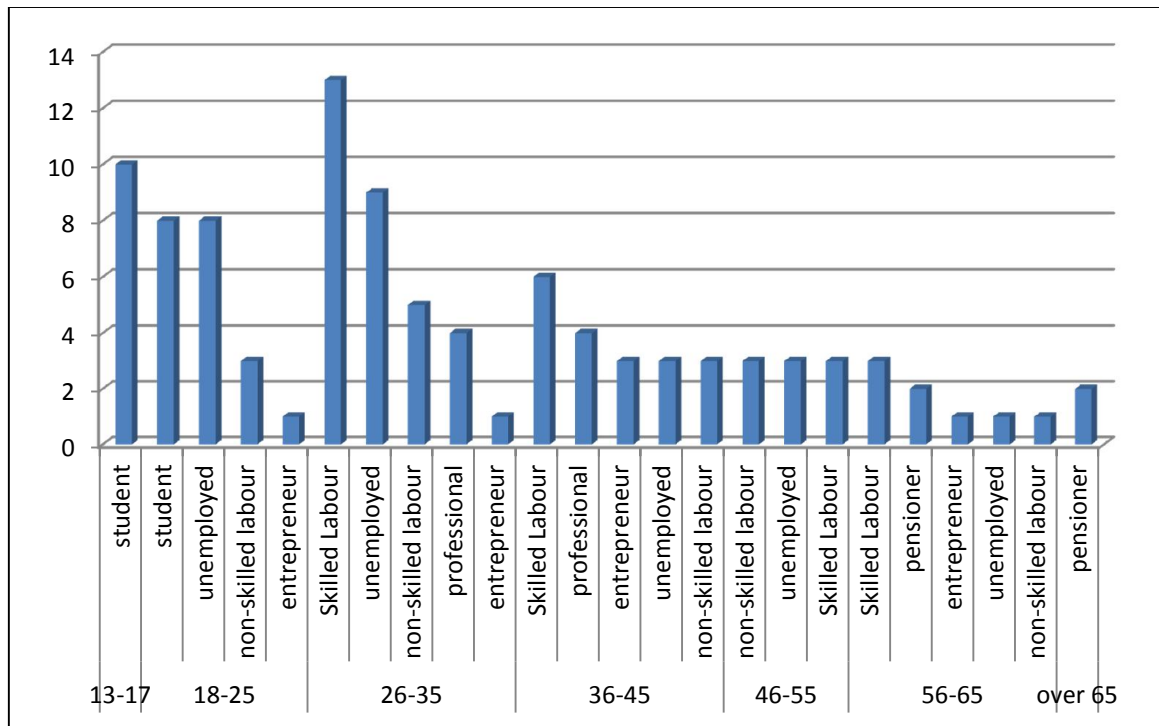
Figure 1.4: Respondents' Language Proficiency

LANGUAGE	READ	WRITE	UNDERSTAND	SPEAK
English	97	90	84	86
IsiXhosa	92	88	95	95
Afrikaans	46	43	45	47
Other (IsiZulu)	6	5	5	5
Other (SeSotho)	7	7	8	8
Other (SeTswana)	3	3	4	4
Other (German)	1	1	1	1

Figure 2: Respondents' Language Proficiency
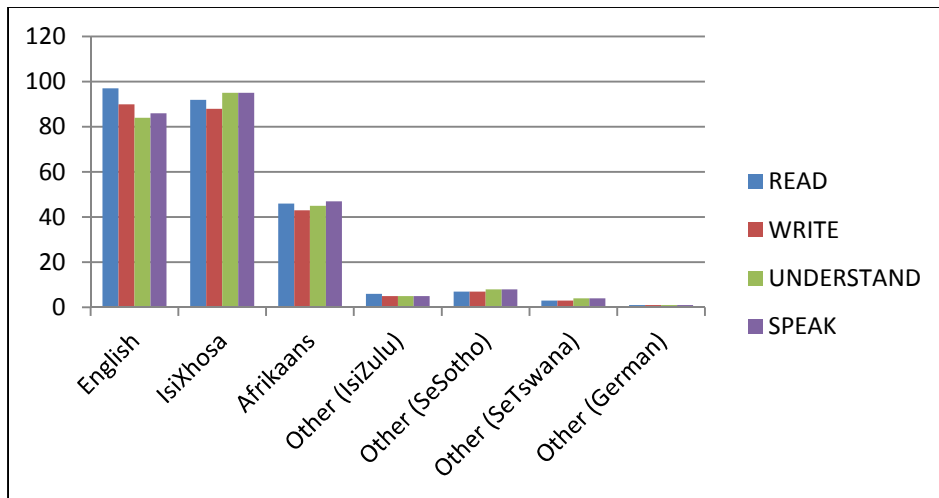
Figure 3: Respondents' Ability to Speak or Understand Afrikaans
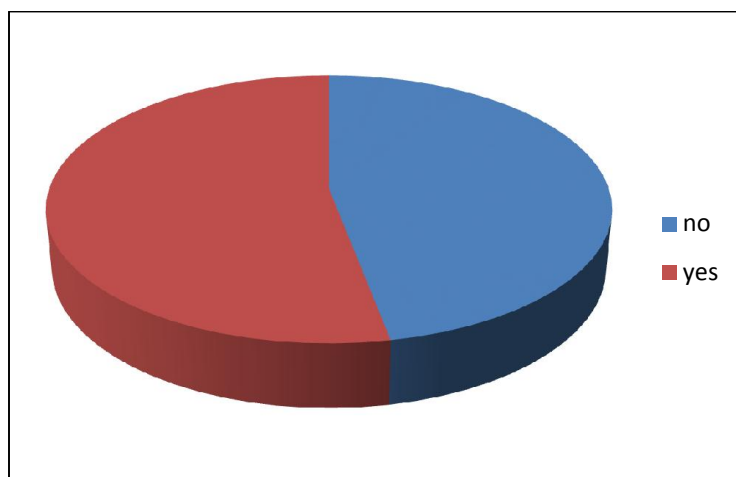
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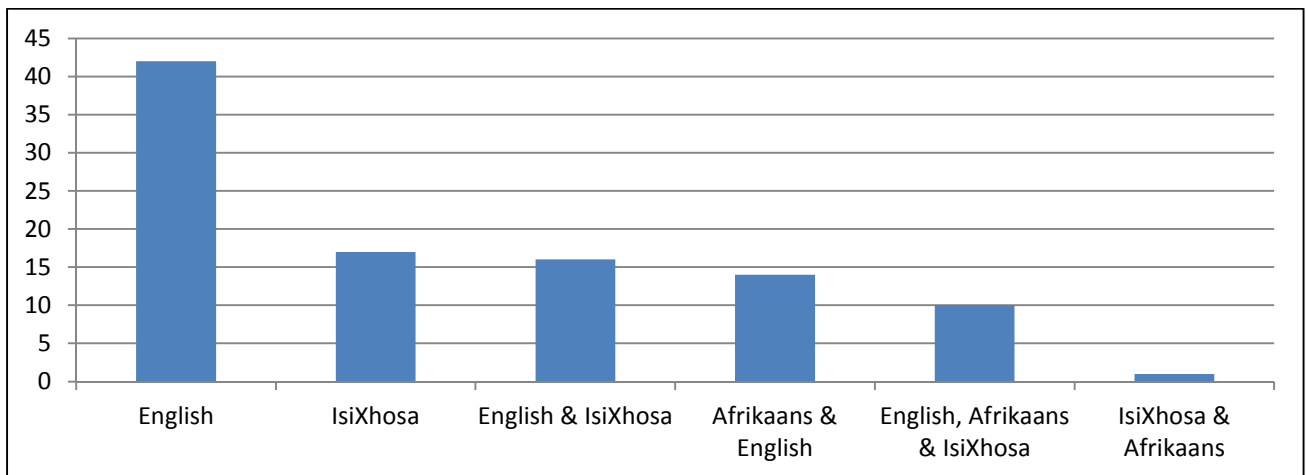
Figure 5: Respondents' Dominating Language/s on Signs and Notices
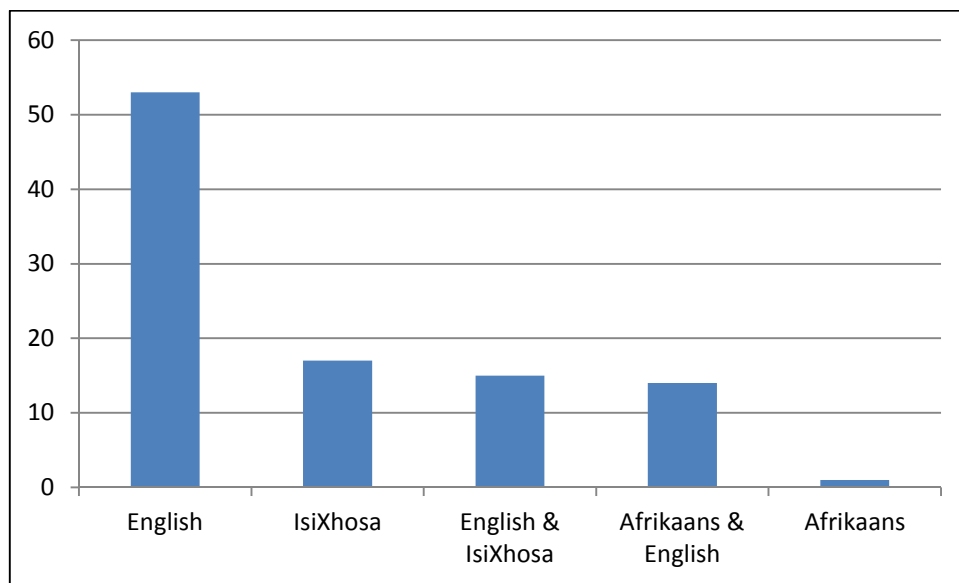
Figure 6: Respondents' Preferred Language Use on Public Spaces

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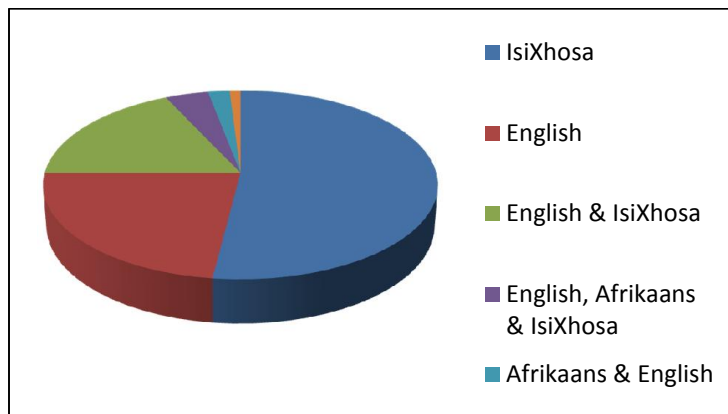
Figure 7: Dominating Languages on Public Spaces
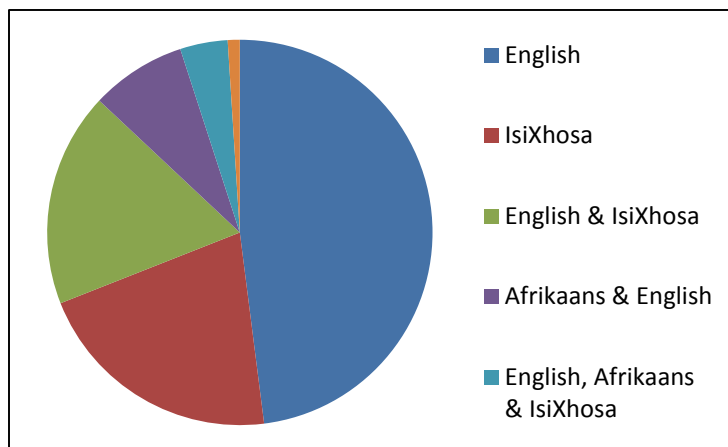
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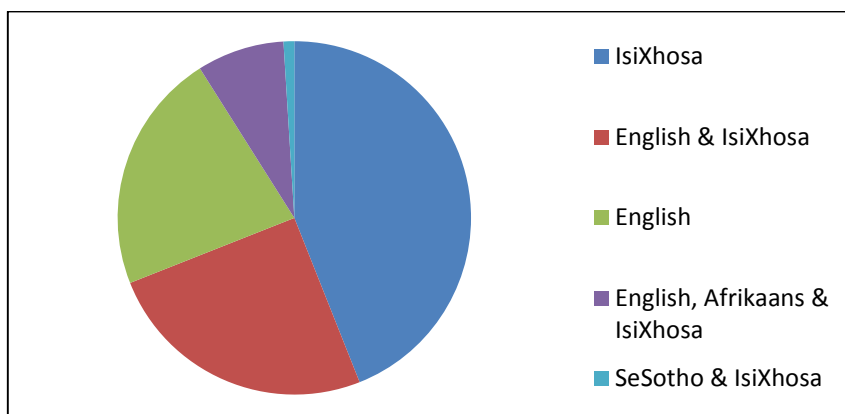
Figure 9: Respondents' Access to Public Material in Own Language
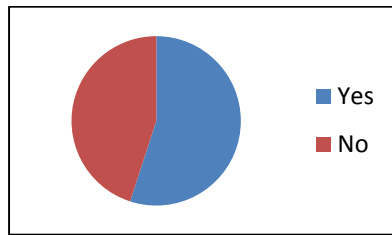
Figure 10: Participants' Access to Local Newspapers
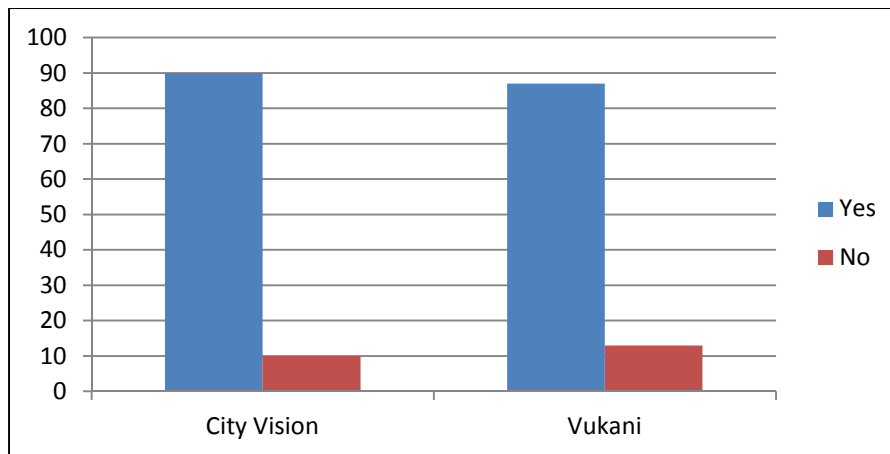
Figure 11: Respondents' Favourite Local Paper
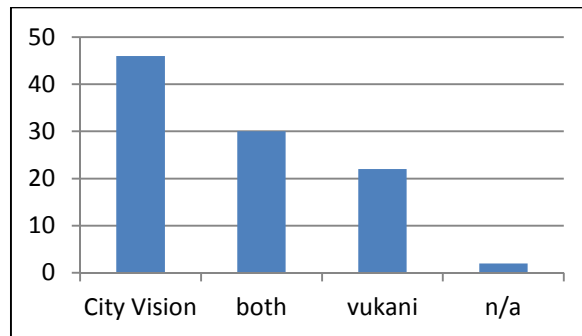
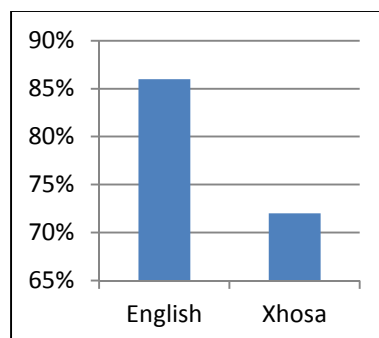**Figure 12: Respondents' Attitude towards English and IsiXhosa articles**

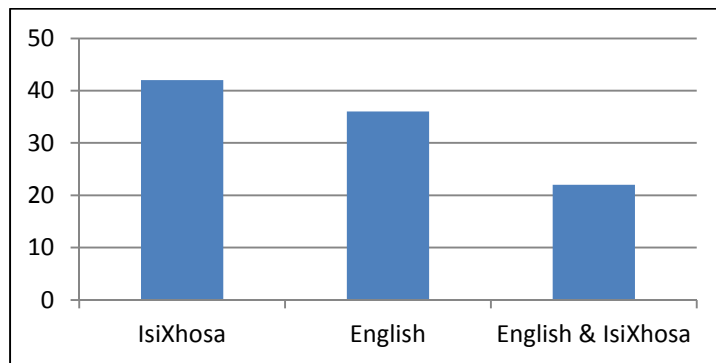**Figure 13: Newspaper Articles Language Preference**
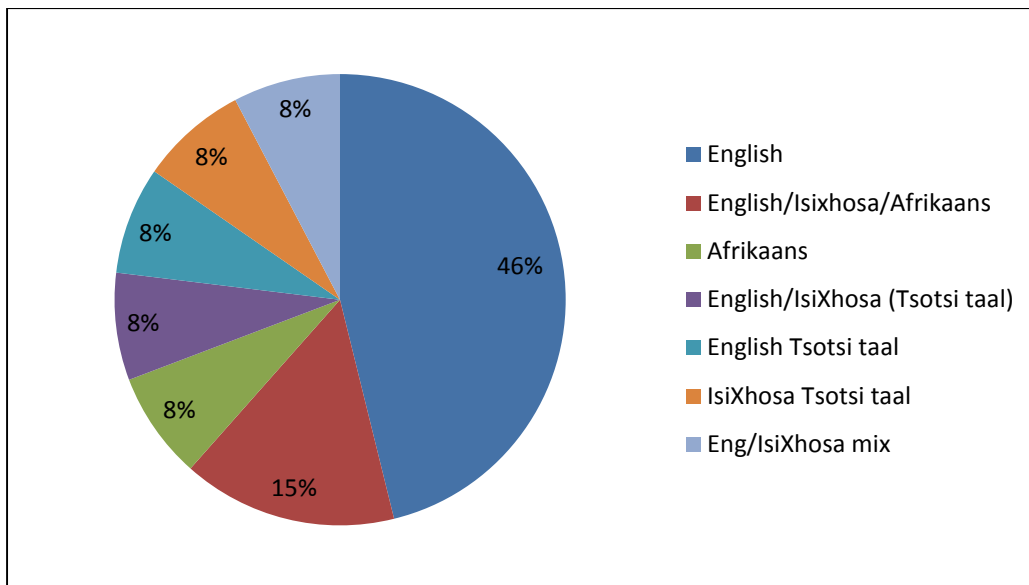

Figure 14: Langa Linguistic Picture Analysis

Figure 15: Khayelitsha Picture Analysis