



SOUTH AFRICAN
LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR
2003

Second report on the South African
Language Rights Monitor Project
1 January 2003 – 31 December 2003

Johan Lubbe, Elbie Truter
and Theo du Plessis

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Compiled for PanSALB by
Prof. Johan Lubbe, Dr Elbie Truter
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SCHOLAR**

South African Language Rights Monitor 2003

First report on the South African Language Rights Monitor Project

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Contents

Acknowledgements	i
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Background	1
1.2. Methodology	3
1.3. Chapter outline	11
2. Linguistic rights: theoretical considerations	11
2.1. Introduction	11
2.2. Linguistic rights and basic human rights	13
2.3. The concept of a minority language	21
2.4. Implementation of linguistic rights	22
2.5. Attitude towards language rights – a few concrete instances	23
2.6. Conclusion	28
3. Media coverage: language-related matters in general	28
3.1. Introduction	28
3.2. Analysis of media coverage	30
3.3. Spread of records on language-related subjects	31
3.4. Language enhancement	54
3.5. Conclusion	59
4. An analysis of language rights complaints and complainants	61
4.1. Introduction	61
4.2. Methodology	61
4.3. Analysis of language rights complaints in the printed media	66
4.4. Analysis of language rights complainants in the printed media	79
4.5. Content analysis of language rights complaints	86
4.6. Conclusion	92
5. An analysis of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB	93
5.1. Introduction	93

5.2. Methodology	95
5.3. Language rights complaints registered with PanSALB	96
5.4. Outcomes regarding language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB	103
5.5. Type of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB	106
5.6. Conclusion	109
5.7. A comparison of language rights complaints covered by the media and language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB	111
5.8. Conclusion	114
6. An analysis of other instruments of language rights activism as reported in the printed media	115
6.1. Introduction	115
6.2. Language rights complaints versus language rights activism	116
6.3. Language rights activist media coverage	120
7. Linguistic rights litigation	132
8. Research on linguistic rights in South Africa	139
9. Conclusions and recommendations	151
i. Methodological	156
ii. Role of PanSALB	156
10. Bibliography	158
11. Appendix	169

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L.T. du Plessis

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The objective of the South African Language Rights Monitor (SALRM), is to make available an annual in-depth report on the language rights situation and language matters in South Africa as reflected in the printed media. The report, covering the year 1 January to 31 December 2003, is presented in the same format as that of the first Report for the South African Language Rights Monitor (SALRM, 2002), which was submitted to and accepted by the Pan South African Language board (PanSALB) in 2004. The main difference between SALRM 2002 and SALRM 2003, however, is that the latter will be more comprehensive, addressing matters not previously touched upon, for example, cases of language enhancement. This is as a result of a more incisive questionnaire, designed according to a standardised format, which was aimed at facilitating the data-collecting process, but also deals with various aspects previously not sufficiently addressed in the pilot project.

This report will cover areas that are considered important to the cultivation of a language rights culture in South Africa on the same basis as that of SALRM 2002. As SALRM 2002 was initially inspired by the example set by the Canadian Commissioner of Official Languages in publishing an annual report on language rights issues in Canada (because, amongst other reasons, this annual report contains the kind of details suitable for local conditions), the current Monitor will proceed on a similar basis (*Annual Report, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003/2004*). Canada's policy of institutionalised bilingualism is worth emulating. The track records of that country's Annual Report in respect of highlighting language-rights issues is worth bearing in mind in South Africa, which has its own set of language-rights issues and problems.

Since PanSALB "wishes all linguistic groups to be made aware of their language rights" (*Annual Report, 2001: 27*), the dissemination of information on language rights in South Africa is of vital importance. Such information can help to raise the awareness in respect of language rights and language rights issues. A heightened consciousness in respect of language rights could help to cultivate a proactive language rights culture in South Africa. This in turn would contribute quite significantly towards the transformation of our society and could thus help to combat linguistic discrimination effectively. The democratisation of our society, as well as an increased participation in public life, would be amongst the outcomes hereof.

Since one of the goals of PanSALB is to initiate studies and research “aimed at promoting and creating conditions for the development and use of the official languages, developing the previously marginalised languages, promoting multilingualism and promoting the utilisation of South Africa’s language resources” and to facilitate the investigation of alleged violations of linguistic human rights, policy or practice (*Annual Report, 2001/2002: 22,23*), the research for SALRM 2003 will assist PanSALB in eliminating certain forms of linguistic discrimination. On the basis of PanSALB’s commitment to the protection of the language rights of all linguistic groups, SALRM 2003 aims to assist this statutory body to fulfil its mandate, which includes the offering of assistance to any individual, community or institution wishing to lodge a complaint concerning an alleged language rights violation.

Comprehensive information on the situation regarding language rights is, however, currently not readily available in South Africa. If a member of the public should have language rights queries he can resort to a variety of resources, for instance the PanSALB annual reports, the PanSALB archives, the *Government Gazette* (that is PanSALB notices on language rights findings – a vital aspect of the enforcement of language rights), legal records (especially on litigation), newspapers, research publications and other publications. In short, it is evident that a researcher can easily obtain such information, but that these resources are not readily available to the public (excepting newspapers, etc.). For instance, to keep track of language litigation, it is necessary to explore publications on law reports and several other sources. Reporting on language lobbying, community mobilisation and other forms of language rights activism (important instruments in raising language awareness) is done for a great part in the Afrikaans press which is not necessarily accessible to a larger audience. In short, the availability of at least one easily accessible data source on language rights issues in South Africa has become imperative.

This investigation could also serve as a direction indicator for the government in order to forestall language tension on a timely basis and could contribute significantly towards encouraging reasonable dialogue, while indicating countermeasures that could be implemented to defuse possible language tensions (PanSALB, 2002: 37). Furthermore, it could provide information on the language rights situation in South African enhancing possibilities for collaboration in international research in this field. To this end, a tolerant language milieu, in which dialogue can take place and in which respect for different linguistic groups can flourish, is essential. The highlighting of the issue of language enhancement should also indicate a need for a certain vibrancy in the creation of new innovative

ways to enhance multilingualism. The recommendations contained in the Report on the further promotion and protection of language rights will contribute to the debate on linguistic communities (so-called “minorities”) in South Africa. The report should not only highlight these language rights matters, hopefully it could also lead to answers on linguistic issues and the cultivation of a human rights culture in South Africa.

Thus, a need clearly exists to collate all of the above and any relevant additional information into a comprehensive in-depth report and to make it readily available to a larger audience in a single resource on language rights. To this end the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) at the University of the Free State (UFS) was commissioned by PanSALB in 2002 to assist with the establishment of the *South African Language Rights Monitor* (SALRM), on an annual basis, for a period of five years.

Emulating the format of SALRM 2002, the design of the project for 2003 is based on the research by Martel (1999). Martel (1999: 47) identifies six instruments of language rights activism, i.e. litigation, lobbying, research, community mobilisation, media coverage and even violence, to which Du Plessis (2004: 170) has proposed an additional instrument related to litigation, i.e. language rights complaints. The Report departs from this premise and provides an overview of language-rights issues in South Africa, based on the following five areas (see below):

- Media coverage on language issues (in general)
- Language rights complaints:
 - As reported in the media, and
 - Lodged with PanSALB
- Language rights activism (as reported in the printed media)
- Language rights litigation
- Research on language rights

1.2. Methodology

For the purposes of Language Rights Monitor 2003, data were collected in respect of the five listed above for the period 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2003, and an analysis thereof was carried out accordingly.

Because the status of the respective languages in South Africa has become an important point of discussion, particularly after 1994, this issue has necessarily received wide

publicity in the printed media. As will be elaborated in Chapter Three the media plays an important role in raising awareness regarding language rights.

These data on the printed media were obtained from excerpts/ cuttings from SA Media (previously the Institute for Contemporary History) at the UFS. The media excerpting services of the University of Stellenbosch (US), the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), now the University of Johannesburg (UJ), and the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) are linked up to those of the UFS and do not function independently. SA Media provides access to the important mainstream newspapers, journals and magazines. For every clipping an unique reference number is supplied.

Since SALRM 2002 three more publications, comprising bilingual, regional papers issued in the Free State (*Bloemnuus*, *Express*, and *Ons Stad*), have been added to the total for 2002. Because of the nature of regional newspapers, i.e. their distribution free of charge and without administrative network, it is not possible for SA Media to acquire these publications. SA Media also has no access to African-language newspapers, for example the Zulu newspaper in KwaZulu-Natal (*ilanga lase Natal*) [Sun of Natal], as well as of the Seswati newspaper available in Limpopo and Mpumalanga (*Unokhethwako*) [Your choice]. The same goes for other newspapers which cater exclusively for single language groupings e.g. the *African Jewish newspaper* (Yiddish), and the *China Express* (Chinese). Although a tabloid press has emerged over the last few years e.g. *Daily Sun*, *Bona*, *Son* and *Soccer Laduma*, opening a new market of consumers who are literate, such publications have not been included by SA Media.

The decision to scrap the inclusion of *De Rebus* as from 2003 was taken because this journal is not excerpted by SA Media (as result of copy right infringements) and consequently does not contain a reference number in this database. It is, however, a matter of concern that SA Media is unable to take excerpts from this legal journal since the numerous language rights complaints that are voiced therein provide a realistic overall view of language rights problems encountered in the judiciary.

For 2003 records from 73 publications were received, of which 49 (67,1%) are English, 17 (23,3%) Afrikaans, and 7 (9,6%) bilingual (Afrikaans/English). The publication ratio of English: Afrikaans newspapers is 2,9: 1.

The following publications were used (the abbreviations follow the titles):

<i>Africa Insights</i>	<i>AI</i>
<i>African Armed Forces</i>	<i>AAF</i>
<i>Afrikaner</i>	<i>Afr</i>

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR 2003

<i>Beeld</i>	<i>Be</i>
<i>Bloemnuus</i>	<i>Bn</i>
<i>Boerant</i>	<i>Boe</i>
<i>Business Day</i>	<i>BD</i>
<i>Cape Argus</i>	<i>CA</i>
<i>Citizen</i>	<i>Ci</i>
<i>City Press</i>	<i>CP</i>
<i>Communitas</i>	<i>Comm</i>
<i>Constitutional Talk</i>	<i>CTalk</i>
<i>Daily Dispatch</i>	<i>DD</i>
<i>Daily News</i>	<i>DN</i>
<i>Democracy in Action</i>	<i>DiA</i>
<i>Diamond Fields Advertiser</i>	<i>DFA</i>
<i>Die Burger</i>	<i>Bu</i>
<i>Eastern Province Herald</i>	<i>EPH</i>
<i>Enterprise</i>	<i>En</i>
<i>Express</i>	<i>Ex</i>
<i>Financial Mail</i>	<i>FM</i>
<i>Finansies & Tegniek</i>	<i>F&T</i>
<i>Frontnuus</i>	<i>Fn</i>
<i>Hervormer</i>	<i>Her</i>
<i>Impak</i>	<i>Impak</i>
<i>Independent on Saturday</i>	<i>IoS</i>
<i>Infospec</i>	<i>Is</i>
<i>Insig</i>	<i>Insig</i>
<i>Journal for Contemporary History</i>	<i>JCH</i>
<i>Kerkblad</i>	<i>KB</i>
<i>Kerkbode</i>	<i>K</i>
<i>Landbouweekblad</i>	<i>Lwb</i>
<i>Leader</i>	<i>L</i>
<i>LeadershipSA</i>	<i>LSA</i>
<i>Lig/Kollig</i>	<i>L/K</i>
<i>Mayibuye</i>	<i>May</i>
<i>Millennium/Leadership</i>	<i>M/L</i>
<i>NALN Nuusbrief</i>	<i>NN</i>
<i>Natal Witness</i>	<i>NW</i>
<i>New Era</i>	<i>NE</i>
<i>Newsweek</i>	<i>Nw</i>
<i>Ons Stad</i>	<i>OS</i>
<i>Parliamentary Whip</i>	<i>PW</i>
<i>Patriot</i>	<i>Pat</i>
<i>Politeia</i>	<i>Pol</i>
<i>Pretoria News</i>	<i>PN</i>
<i>Rapport</i>	<i>Ra</i>
<i>RDP News</i>	<i>RDPN</i>
<i>SA Journal on Human Rights</i>	<i>SAJHR</i>
<i>SA Now</i>	<i>SAN</i>

<i>Saturday Paper</i>	<i>SP</i>
<i>Saturday Star</i>	<i>SS</i>
<i>Saturday Weekend Argus</i>	<i>SWA</i>
<i>Servamus</i>	<i>Ser</i>
<i>Sowetan</i>	<i>So</i>
<i>Sowetan Sunday World</i>	<i>SoSW</i>
<i>Star</i>	<i>St</i>
<i>Sunday Independent</i>	<i>SI</i>
<i>Sunday Times</i>	<i>ST</i>
<i>Sunday Tribune</i>	<i>Strib</i>
<i>SWO Bulletin</i>	<i>SWOB</i>
<i>Teacher</i>	<i>Tea</i>
<i>This Day</i>	<i>TD</i>
<i>Time</i>	<i>Ti</i>
<i>Tribute</i>	<i>Tri</i>
<i>Volksblad</i>	<i>Vo</i>
<i>Vrydag</i>	<i>Vr</i>
<i>Vuka SA</i>	<i>VuSA</i>
<i>Woord en Daad</i>	<i>WD</i>
<i>Weekly Mail & Guardian</i>	<i>WM&G</i>

A data-search was conducted in terms of a number of key words provided to SA Media. To the six topics of SALRM 2002, five more topics with corresponding numbers have been added. (The numbers indicate the topics at SA Media). This is as a result of the use of additional keywords being used (italics denote the new topics). The large majority of media records were found on the basis of the following eleven topics:

- 1 Labour
- 5 Population
- 6 Books, authors, language, culture and the arts
- 8 Economy
- 15 Justice and political offences
- 25 Education
- 27 Constitutional matters and election
- 31 Media, post and telecommunications
- 35 Local Government
- 38 Sport
- 42 Transport

To extend the data for the above-mentioned period, in the obtaining of relevant press records concerning the different categories, additional key words (or combinations) were used for SALRM 2003. The previous set of key words included *resensies* [reviews], including *nominasies* [nominations]; *naamsveranderinge/plekname* [name changes/place names]; *spotprente* [cartoons]; *taalprobleme* [language problems] with key words *struikelblokke* [obstacles] and *kwelvrae* [problematic questions]; *taalkruie* [Language spices – i.e. interesting aspects of language]. The name of the author *Anton Prinsloo* in *Volksblad*, was also included in the column as well as *taalskatkis* [language treasury] and other headings pertaining to language matters in *Die Burger*, namely *Uithoeke*, *Kopstukke* and *Flapteks*). Other items include *anekdotes* [anecdotes]; and *taalnormering* [language standardisation]. In connection with language rights *per se* the following additional key words were used: *taal en reg* [language and right]; *taal en klag* [language and complaint]; *taal en howe* [language and courts]; *taal en miskennning* [language and disregard]; *taal* [language]; *language and complaint*; *language and right*; and *language and disregard*; *language and English*, *language and Afrikaans*; *Africa and language*; *Africa and languages*; *activist*; *language and activist* and *Pan SA Language Boards*.

To address the fact that a number of shortcomings and lacunas had been experienced in SALRM 2002, in particular in respect of language and education, a number of additional key words were added: *taal en skole/universiteit/tersiêre inrigting* [language and schools/universities/tertiary institutions]; *meertaligheid en skole* [multilingualism and schools]; *dubbelmedium en skole/universiteite* [dual medium and schools/universities]; *parallelmedium en skole/universiteite* [parallel medium and schools/universities]; *moedertaal en skole/universiteite* [mother-tongue and schools/universities]; *amptelike tale en skole/universiteite* [official languages and schools/universities]; *Afrikaans/Engels en skole/universiteite* [Afrikaans/English and schools/universities]; *skole/universiteite en taal* [schools/universities and language]; *skoliere (leerders) en taal* [pupils (learners) and language]; *onderrigmedium en taal* [language of instruction]; *Afrikaans en skole/universiteite* [Afrikaans and schools/universities]; *Afrikatale en skole/universities* [African languages and schools/universities]; *studente en taal* [students and language] and *taal en litigasie* [language and litigation].

Although language matters discussed under headings such as “*Taalkruie*” [language spices], are strictly not language rights issues *per se*, their very inclusion reflects the agenda of the particular newspaper by making readers aware of language corpus matters. In the development of the Questionnaire several language-related matters have been included, e.g. “*Taalkruie*” [Language spices] in *Volksblad* by columnist

Anton Prinsloo. Similar columns, touching on discussions concerning language matters in general, appear in *Die Burger* under several headings, among others “*Taalskatkis*” [Language treasure], “*Uithoeke*” [Remote corners], “*Kopstukke*” [Headings], “*Flapteks*” [Blurb], with several co-writers Zandra Bezuidenhout, Koos Human, George Weideman, Fanus Rautenbach, Peter Snyders, Leon Rousseau, Lina Spies and Jan van Wyk among others. It appears in *Beeld* under several authors.

A problem was identified where the same reference number was used for several letters to the editor (*Independent on Saturday*, 30 August). This was as result of SA Media grouping them together under the same subject matter. This was taken up with SA Media and the policy regarding this will change in future.

Duplicates, that is where identical clippings that appeared in newspapers of the same language group, (or in both Afrikaans and English newspapers, as occurred one instance), often featured under a different heading, typography and with a slightly changed first or last paragraph. These duplicates were not used. This occurred, for example in *Beeld*, *Die Burger* and *Volksblad*, as well as *Daily News* and *Star*. These duplicates were not used. Similarly, matching reports excerpted from the English language press, e.g. from *Pretoria News* and *Cape Times* (8 September 2003), or the *Cape Argus* and the *Star* (19 June 2003) with different headings and typography were also discarded. In a unique instance similar editorial comment, excerpted from both the *Star* and *Beeld* (2 July 2003) concerning the sacking of brown news readers on SABC 2, were discarded as duplicates.

The *Government Gazette* contains all the Board Notices regarding findings on alleged language rights violations. Further information concerning language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB is available at the PanSALB head offices and archives in Pretoria. Information regarding language litigation is obtained from Juta’s *The South African criminal law reports* and Butterworth’s *Constitutional Law Reports*. Unless reference is made in the printed media to books, dissertations, theses and articles in professional journals, these sources have not been taken into account, except in the chapter on research on language rights.

The changes initiated in SALRM 2003 did not pertain only to a new set of key words. In addition, in order to process the analysing of the collected data the methodology was simplified after the Computer Services and the Department of Mathematics at the UFS had been consulted. To facilitate the collating of the data and to ensure greater accuracy, a new questionnaire was designed.

An example of the Language Rights Monitor Questionnaire is included as an appendix.

DISCUSSING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The data-collection for this study was done through the manual completion of the questionnaire. Comprising 21 subsections, totalling 233 questions, the questionnaire is more manageable and computer friendly, while at the same time eliminating the problems encountered in the pilot project (SALRM, 2002). Furthermore, several language-rights issues and matters, which had previously scarcely been touched upon, could now be addressed, e.g. language enhancement. An analysis of relations between language matters, along with a more incisive content analysis has been possible in this way, resulting in a method of data collection and processing which should be more fruitful, accurate and time-saving.

A number of changes from the pilot study were implemented. The author/writer/columnist is included, as well as the heading and a short abstract of the contents. Language rights complaints to PanSALB are included (Q4: 3) as well as information on the *status quo* and outcomes of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB. A division has also been made in respect of the status of the language rights concerned, in terms of official and unofficial institutions.

Official matters refer to government institutions, whether state (1st, 2nd, 3rd level), semi-state or statutory bodies, or state domains (legislative, judicial or executive). Semi-state bodies, that is organisations with their own governing bodies (Q10.6.2) include Eskom (Esk), the South African Airways (SAA), the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Telkom (Tel), Transnet (Tra) and other institutions classified under "Other" (O). Statutory bodies, that is bodies established by company law (Q19.6.3), include the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religion and Linguistic Communities (CPPRCRLC), PanSALB (Pan), Sanpark (San), the South African Tourist Board (SATB), the South African Weather Bureau (SAWB), and Tertiary institutions (Ter). The Statutory bodies, being tertiary institutions (Q10.6.3.1), include Historical Afrikaans Universities (HAU), the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE), (now the Nelson Mandela Metropole University), the University of Potchefstroom and the University of North West (now North West University (NRW)), technikons (now the Technical Universities (Tech U)), the University of Cape Town (UCT), the University of the Free State (UFS), the Rand Afrikaans University (now the University of Johannesburg (UJ)), the University of Natal and University of Durban-Westville (now University of KwaZulu-Natal) (UKN), the University of Pretoria (UP) and the University of Stellenbosch (US). The various departments

on the second and third level of government have been included (**Q10.7.1/2** and **Q10.8.1/2**).

It was deemed important to distinguish between the perceived language-rights transgressions perpetrated by government institutions (official) and those arising from the private (business) sector (unofficial), in order to obtain a more accurate view. The unofficial (**Q11**) sector refers to the private (business) sector and has been divided in the following components: Business (Bus), Culture (Cul), Labour (Lab), Media (Med) and Private Persons (PP). The business sector (**Q11.1**) has been divided into five components, namely Commerce (Com), Finance (Fin), Industry (Ind), Resources (Res) and other (O).

In order to acquire a clearer overall picture of the nature of language-rights complainants, that is persons or groups who raised the complaint (**Q12**), the following instances have been identified: Business Organisation (BO), Cultural Organisation (CO), Government (Gov), Media (Med), Political Organisation (PO), Private Persons (PP), Professional Organisations (Prof) and Trade Unions (TU). Under cultural organisations (**Q12.1**) the following have been identified: the Afrikaner Bond (AB), Aksie Hoër Onderwys (AHO), the Black Students Association (BSA), the Convocations (of Universities) (Con), the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), the Groep van 63 (G63), the Helen Suzman Foundation (HSF), Praag (Pra), the Taalsekretariaat (Ts), Tabema (TAB) and Vriende van Afrikaans (VA). The Political Organisations (**Q12.2**) have been divided into the following: the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the African National Congress (ANC), Azapo (Aza), the Democratic Alliance (DA), the Inkhatha Freedom Party (IFP), the New National Party (NNP) and the Freedom Front (FF). Professional Organisations (**Q12.3**) have been divided into the following: the Black Lawyers Society (BLS), the Federasie van Beheerliggame van Suid-Afrikaanse Skole (Fedsas) (Fed), the Governing Bodies (“beheerrade”) (GB), the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (SAOU), the Vereniging vir Regslui vir Afrikaans (VRA) and the Forum for Multicultural Parallel Medium Schools (FMP). Trade Unions (**Q12.4**) have been divided into Cosatu (Cos) and Solidarity (Sol).

As had been previously stated, separate provision was made in the questionnaire for language enhancement (**Q13**). This pertains in particular to the functional promotion and development of the official languages, and the creation of conditions conducive to furthering the usage, status, value or quality as stipulated by Section 6 of the South Africa Constitution. Also relevant is the promotion of previously marginalised languages, e.g. the Khoi, Nama and San languages, and Sign Language, as well as all languages commonly used by particular communities in the country

(including German, Greek, and other Indian languages), and languages used for religious purposes. Although the majority of these efforts at enhancement were “unofficial”, a certain number emanated from the state domain.

1.3. Chapter outline

In Chapter Two theoretical issues concerning linguistic rights are discussed. Because the same issues discussed in SALRM 2002, e.g. the interrelation between the concepts *linguistic human rights* and *fundamental human rights*, the connection between *linguistic rights* and languages (policy) *orientation*, and the concept *minority language*, are still relevant, the concerned chapter from SALRM 2002 are mainly reduplicated with only minimal changes.

In Chapter Three media coverage on language issues in general as reflected in the printed media in South Africa is discussed. Incorporated here is a discussion of name changes, and of language enhancement. Chapter Four deals with the nature of language-rights incidents and complaints (especially those concerning the implementation of language legislation in South Africa), as published in the printed media, while in Chapter Five an analysis of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB are carried out. Chapter Six covers the phenomenon of language activism in South Africa, and Chapter Seven cases of language litigation. Chapter Eight discusses research on language rights in South Africa. However, comparisons are made throughout in respect of language conditions in other multilingual countries, especially Canada. Chapter Nine gives an overall assessment of the language rights situation in South Africa and also contains certain recommendations.

Before the collected data is analysed in Chapters Three to Eight the theoretical issues concerning linguistic rights, mainly reduplicated from SALRM 2002, appears in Chapter Two.

2. Linguistic rights: theoretical considerations

2.1. Introduction

South Africa is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-faith society, and the different constituent groups often referred to as *minorities*. In modern history the protection of national minorities, including linguistic rights, date back to the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (Hamel, 1997: 3). While in international practice the term *minority* is widely used, the South African Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) refers to the rights of *communities*, and establishes the basic framework

for promoting and protecting the rights of communities (Beukman, 2000). When in this report the term *minority language* is used, it is not in a pejorative sense, but it refers to the official language of a community whose members consists of a minority in comparison with the total population. This approach follows the position adopted by Henrard (2003: 11), who argues that “(a)ll language groups in South Africa would seem to qualify as minorities, with the possible exception of the English-speaking group”.

Although the Final Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996) accords official status to eleven languages in South Africa, in practice the perception exists among certain communities that English is the dominant language, if not the dominating language (cf. Ridge, 2000: 151-152 for the distinction between a *dominant* and a *dominating* language). Although English, too, can be characterised as a minority language (under highly exceptional circumstances), the other ten languages are all used by minority groups; and it is often reproachfully pointed out that the language rights of minority groups are not always maintained.

To ensure the legal implementation of the language policy envisaged by several constitutional language provisions, the Transitional Constitution (Act no. 200 of 1993) already stipulated, in section 3 (10), that an independent Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was to be instituted. This provision is repeated in amended form in the Final Constitution and the broad mandate of this body more specifically delineated. One of the aims of PanSALB is a commitment to the protection of the language rights of all the speech communities in South Africa, and for the promotion of the equal use and enjoyment of all the official South African languages (section 3 of Act no. 59 of 1995). By implication this commitment implies knowledge and respect of linguistic rights. The Constitution recognises and granted certain linguistic rights.

A further function bestowed on PanSALB is to facilitate the investigation of alleged violations of linguistic human rights, policy or practice (section 8 of Act no. 59 of 1995). In order to fulfil this function PanSALB formed a focus area, Linguistic Human Rights, with the purpose to protect the language rights of all the speech communities in South Africa (PanSALB, 2000/2002: 28).

In this chapter general theoretical issues of language rights are investigated. To begin with, it is shown how the concept of a linguistic human right has become associated with that of a fundamental human right, particularly since the eighties of the previous century. A distinction is then made between languages as a human right, and language as a (political) right. A discussion of linguistic rights

has a bearing on a specific linguistic orientation, and therefore the concept of orientation is also discussed. In another section the concept minority language is studied. In order to do justice to the concept of a linguistic human right, a state ideally should have a language policy in which certain linguistic rights are recognised and other granted, and should ensure that these language rights are legally regulated. Therefore, attention is given to the way in which the rights of linguistic communities are legally regulated in a few multilingual countries.

Sometimes reference is made to *linguistic rights*, other times to *language rights*. Although the two terms are sometimes more or less synonymous and the one can be used instead of the other, in other cases *linguistic rights* refers more to the general, the universal, and language rights to the particular. Linguistic rights therefore refer to the rights that mankind possess to use language, and language rights to the right that a particular community claim to use a designated language, usually their mother tongue, in a particular situation or domain, for instance as language of instruction.

2.2. Linguistic rights and basic human rights

The concept *human right* originated during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century among philosophers such as Locke, Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu. The strong emphasis that has been attached to human rights since the latter half of the previous century was a reaction to the totalitarian Nazi dictatorship in Germany. Already in June 1945, with the signing of the *Charter of the United Nations*, universal respect for human rights and the application of the principles of equality and non-discrimination were upheld. Barely three years later, in December 1948, the United Nations (UN) adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR). Section 2(2) states that every human being shall be entitled, without discrimination, to fundamental rights and freedoms, “and, in particular, without discrimination based on language” (Braën, 1987: 5).

Particularly after the fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1989-1991, and the concomitant ethnic conflicts, especially in central, eastern and south-eastern Europe, the international debate concerning the status of ethnolinguistic minorities (now defined not only in terms of numbers, but also in terms of strength) increasingly associated the protection of the linguistic rights of the minority groups with fundamental human rights. Thus, the concept of *linguistic human rights* began to circulate among renowned sociolinguists and became an important subject of research (Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* (Eds), 1995; Paulston, 1997; Kontra *et al.* (Eds), 1999; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002).

Advocates of the point of departure that the free choice of any minority language should be regarded as a basic human right, proceed from the premise that language is essential to life, and that language plays a critical role in defining individual identity, culture and community membership (as quoted by Coulombe, 1993: 140).

The recognition of linguistic rights is analogous to the recognition of other individual rights, and specifically that of freedom of religion. Despite differences on the basis of race, ethnic group or language, the most important religious groupings of the world proclaim that individuals are equal. Despite political turbulence in the 17th and 18th centuries, various European states concluded treaties that guaranteed the rights of religious minorities (Braën, 1987: 4).

The point of departure in respect of the use of the language of choice as a basic right, may be characterised as a linguistic orientation. Ruíz (1988), in a study on the education of minority groups, introduced the concept of *orientation* as a heuristic approach to a study of language planning. By *orientation* he means “a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society” (Ruíz, 1988: 4).

Although the component parts of this orientation are largely unconscious, they comprise the most fundamental level of the arguments concerning language. Therefore, it is important to discover the orientations in the existing policy principles and proposals.

Orientations provide the framework for the formation of language attitudes:

[T]hey help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society (Ruíz, 1988: 4).

As examples of how language planners with different orientations offer different solutions for multilingualism, Ruíz (1988) refers to Tauli (1974) who refers to language as an instrument, and to Kelman’s (1972) orientation, which can be described in terms of “language as sentimental attachment” (Ruíz, 1988: 5). Tauli, with his instrumentalist vision of language, views language planning as

[t]he methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common, regional, national or international languages (Tauli, 1974: 56).

Kelman (1972), in contrast, points out that a language policy based on an instrumentalist orientation can result in far-reaching social instability:

Since language is so closely tied to group identity, language-based discrimination against the group is perceived as a threat to its very existence as [a] recognizable entity and as an attack on its sacred objects and symbols. The issue is no longer merely a redistribution of power and resources, but it is self-preservation of the group and defense against genocide. The conflict becomes highly charged with emotion and increasingly unmanageable. Genocide, after all, is not a matter for negotiation but for last-ditch defense (Kelman, 1972: 199-200).

Three orientations are distinguished by Ruíz (1988), namely language-as-a-problem, language-as-a-resource, and language-as-a-right. In the case of the first-mentioned orientation, multilingualism is identified with language-related problems such as the choice of code, standardisation, literacy, orthography and language stratification. Speakers of minority languages are associated with social problems such as poverty, low educational qualifications and little or no social mobility:

Maintenance of a subordinate first language and bilingualism involving one of those 'little languages' is therefore associated in a pre-rational way with intellectual limitation, linguistic deficiency [...], provincialism, irrationalism, disruption, so that 'the escape from little languages is viewed as liberating, as joyful, as self-fulfilling, as self-actualizing' (Ruíz, 1988: 8).

The language-as-a-problem orientation favours a single language and attempts to restrict the role of minority languages. Such an attitude can also be typified as assimilationist. Historically, this orientation is the oldest approach and is still widely accepted, including in South Africa. The wide dissemination of this point of departure must be ascribed to the historical European monolingual world-view, and the spreading of this world-view in the colonial era. The false, simplistic view that developed from this point of departure – “the hangover of colonial approaches to language” (Robinson & Varley, 1998: 190) – was that ideally, a state should have a single language, and that linguistic diversity gives rise to a problem.

A later and more sympathetic attitude towards minority languages is found in the language-as-a-resource approach. The benefits of such an attitude are, *inter alia*:

[I]t can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages [...]; and it highlights the importance of co-operative language planning (Ruíz, 1988: 15).

Since the seventies of the previous century, the language-as-a-right orientation has been gaining ground, *inter alia* as a result of the concern about minority rights at a trans-national level. The types of arguments that carried so much weight in

respect of other aspects of discrimination were transferred to language-related issues. Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 7), a strong advocate of multilingualism and linguistic rights, states:

In a civilized state there should be no need to debate the right to maintain and develop one's mother tongue. It is a self-evident, fundamental, basic linguistic human right.

It should be clear that the latter two orientations, namely language-as-a-resource and language-as-a-right, are not contradictory, but that they are, precisely, complementary to each other. To regard language as a right, amounts to providing a tool that can assist in empowerment. This standpoint is pertinently stated by Kontra *et al.* (1999:2 ff.).

Furthermore, the language-as-a-right orientation brings linguistic rights into the domain of the judiciary. As is pointed out by Hamel (1997: 2) linguistic legislation typically emerges when it becomes necessary to protect the rights of one language group against another when one groups' language is menaced by another language – or rather their speakers – within the same territory.

A distinction must therefore be made between language as a human right (LHR) and language as a right (LR). As the name indicates LHR exists as a universal human right without any state action and intervention. The state recognises linguistic rights, but does not grant it. A LR exists as it is recognised and granted by the state, in other words with necessary judicial guarantees. The language in which communication with the state takes place is stipulated, and this recognition of a specified language or languages is not a LHR.

The term *language rights* (or *linguistic rights*) is a hybrid concept in terms of which various distinctions can be made. One distinction made by Turi (1995: 113) is the right to “a” language and “the” language. The right to “a” language is to use one or more designated languages in various domains, especially in official domains, while the right to “the” language refers to the use of any language in various domains, particularly in official domains.

Besides the distinction between the right to “a” language and “the” language, a further distinction is made between individual rights and group rights, also referred to as “tolerance-oriented” and “promotion-oriented” rights (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003: 8). The distinction links up with the two functions of language, namely the expressive function and the communicative function (Hamel, 1997: 4). The two approaches to the implementation of language rights are also characterised as negative rights that ensure freedom from discrimination, and positive rights that

actively promote the right to a choice of language (Riagáin & Shuibhne, 1997: 17). Individual rights include the right to non-interference in an individual's private domain of linguistic activity, and non-discrimination against his or her language. This right can be justified on the grounds of the individual's humanity, a right that was upheld in 1966 in a UN manifesto, the *International Convention for Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR). Section 26 stipulates that civil and political rights are guaranteed, without discrimination on the grounds of language. Section 27 confirms that the right of linguistic minorities to use their own language amongst themselves shall not be denied to them (Coulombe, 1993: 142). South Africa was a co-signatory of this Treaty (Scholtz, 2002: 297). As Braën (1987: 6) points out, the negative formulation of the stipulation places no positive obligation on the government to protect minority groups.

It should further be noted that this protection has a bearing on individuals who are members of a minority group. It does not offer protection to the group as such. However, the individual cannot be separated from the group to which he belongs or chooses to belong, and it is with regard to the recognition of group rights that the greatest amount of resistance has arisen. Whereas individual linguistic human rights require no positive intervention on the part of the state – implying a linguistic *laissez-faire* attitude – the maintenance and consolidation of group rights require positive government intervention. A linguistic *laissez-faire* attitude leaves minorities vulnerable to hegemonic partiality. If the linguistic rights of minorities are guaranteed, the government will simply *have* to intervene, since as Fishman puts it, “[t]here is no ‘free marketplace’ anyway, but rather a variety of contending and unequal forces” (as quoted by Coulombe, 1993: 143). In the free market, the forces of competition are not conducive to the maintenance of minority languages and the peaceful co-existence of a multitude of languages. In order to achieve this, government intervention is a *sine qua non*:

[T]he *laissez-faire* attitude does not offer much to minorities who wish to sustain their languages – and can in itself lead to their assimilation – if the only resource compatible with *laissez-faire* is an appeal to the right against interference and discrimination. *Some* degree of state intervention appears inevitable if languages are to be protected (Coulombe, 1993: 144).

If the members of the majority group have a high regard for their own culture and language, “it is clearly unfair to prevent minorities from continuing to value theirs” (May, 2000: 378).

Besides individual and group rights a third category of rights can be distinguished, viz. solidarity rights.

The same year (1996) that the ICCRR was approved by the UN, also another human rights covenant was written and opened for signature by UN member states, viz. the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICESCR), both of which supplemented the UDHR with greater specificity. Compared to the UDHR and ICCRR which mainly enforce negative, individual civil and political or “first generation” (Perry, 2004: 33) human rights, the ICESCR enshrined an array of positive rights, such as the right access to affordable health care. However, still the individual, and not the group, were regarded as the holder of these “second generation” rights. The combined influence of these two standpoints is a deeper penetration of the traditional liberal conception of human rights into the political culture of the majority of states.

Especially the debate from the Third World states on the necessity of a “third generation” or “solidarity” rights challenged the “first generation” view (Perry, 2004: 34). The homogenising pressures of globalisation also provoked the (re) assertion of ethnic group identities and group rights.

Before the distinction between the individual, group and solidarity rights is elaborated on, a further terminological distinction must be made. A person holds a right, known as the *rights-holder* or *subject*. The object of the right is the *good* to which the rights-holder is entitled to. The agent who has to devolve the appropriate good to the right-holder is the *duty-bearer* (Perry, 2004: 36).

On their own an individual cannot enjoy e.g. self-determination. Only groups can enjoy such a good. Thus self-determination is an indivisible good, and only the group effectively asserts the right.

At the level of goods-devolution the right to be educated in the mother-tongue of a minority community is likewise and indivisible group right, because it is absurd for each pupil to have his or her own school. Not only the rights-holders, but also the goods-to-be-devolved must be taken into account to determine whether a right is a group or an individual right. Only if goods are divisible one can speak of individual rights, if not it is a group right.

An individual right would be the right to private property. One may only assert to this right by virtue of being a member of the landowning class.

Solidarity rights are a subgroup of group rights. If, for example, all UN member states draft a treaty prohibiting oil companies from shipping crude in any ship that has

fewer than four hulls, the goods (the treaty banning the shipping practice) devolve to a group – not any group, but a large, specific group: Everybody (Perry, 2004: 46).

Using the method of ascertaining whether the good, or object of a right, is indivisible or divisible, may lead to different conclusions depending on the particular situated language rights-assertion. The right to learn one of the official languages of the state in which one lives is an individual right, while the right to state-supported mother-tongue schools is a specific group right, and the right to the promotion of multilingualism is a solidarity right.

Yet another distinction that has been drawn in recent times in respect of linguistic rights is the one between the original inhabitants of a country and immigrant minorities. An increasing number of original inhabitants do not wish to be classified as “minorities” and are demanding recognition as “peoples and even as nations” (Hamel, 1997: 6). Numerous problematic questions have cropped up as a result of such a way of thinking: Who were the first people in a region? Can continuity be claimed after 500/300/100 years of colonisation?

Two recent international manifestos that recognise the right of original inhabitants are the *Convention 169*, issued by the International Labour Organisation in 1989, and the *Draft Universal Declaration on Indigenous Rights*. Section 3, 28 of *Convention 169* acknowledges the right of indigenous children to receive education in their own language, and to acquire the national language. The *Draft Universal Declaration* is even more explicit, and acknowledges fundamental human rights for indigenous nations, to enable them to develop and promote their own languages, and to use them for administrative, judicial, cultural and other purposes (Hamel, 1997: 6). Scholtz (2002: 297) refers to further international documents that describe minority rights and minority language rights.

However, many nation-states are hesitant to recognise language rights of minority communities as a result of two assumptions, which are even called *myths* by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 495). The first “myth” is that monolingualism is conducive to economic growth. Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas refer to a study by Fishman, who carried out an investigation in 120 countries, in which it was indicated that there is no causal connection between monolingualism and economic growth. The second “myth” is that minority rights pose a threat to a nation-state. Cultural diversity is still often regarded as a threat to national unity and the territorial integrity of the state. On the other hand, many observers believe that the granting of cultural and linguistic rights is, precisely, an effective way of avoiding potential ethnic conflict, or reducing existing conflict (Hamel, 1997: 7).

Non-recognition of the linguistic rights of indigenous minority groups, whether explicitly through legislation, *inter alia*, or indirectly through ideological and structural means, for example in an education system, brings about “linguistic genocide”, a term that is defined in section III.I of the UN manifesto as

[p]rohibiting the use of the language of the group in daily discourse or in schools, or the printing and circulation of publications in the language of the group (as quoted by Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002: 182).

The term “linguistic genocide” is not an exaggeration. Investigations have indicated that 50% of the total number of languages could die out within this century, and that a further 40% are endangered languages (May, 200: 367). However, the biological metaphor should not be allowed to obscure the underlying cause of the process. The endangering of languages, and the disappearance thereof, are not the result of a form of linguistic social Darwinism. Language loss is not the result of linguistic factors, but is very closely linked to political power, prejudice, discrimination and oppression, a fact that is effectively put into words by the renowned general linguist, Chomsky: “Questions of language are basically questions of *power*” (Chomsky, 1979: 191). Domination of the media by a handful of multinational industries plays an important role in this regard. The consequent world-wide control and dissemination of culture is regarded as an even greater threat to independence than colonialism (Ricento, 2000: 17).

In such a case, the dominant language becomes a “killer language” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2002: 181). Particularly in education, the non-recognition of languages has far-reaching consequences. This topic has already led to detailed investigations (Skutnabb-Kangas (2000)), including in South Africa (De Wet *et al.* (2001)).

What needs to be stated clearly is the fact that recognition of the right to the use of a minority language does not imply that the language in question is the only language that must be acquired. Knowledge of the official/majority language is essential:

Access to linguistic human rights generally means, in the case of minorities, access to at least two languages, the mother tongue and an official language (Kontra *et al.*, 1999: 6-7).

The advantages of bilingualism or multilingualism for the minority group are self-evident and are never disputed. However, even for speakers of a majority language, there are advantages attached to being bilingual or multilingual; and just as minority groups ought to be protected against forced assimilation or segregation, so the majority group, too, ought to be protected against forced monolingual

reductionism. Not only is biodiversity important, but so is cultural diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995: 18).

Alongside of the benefits of diversity, the intrinsic value of specific languages is put forward as a second argument for the protection of minority languages. Every language is a unique form of expression and conceptualisation of the world, and of the specific culture's history, traditions and ideas. As a matter of fact, language is not only a communication tool, but also "a central feature of identity" (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003: 15; also compare Van Rensburg, 2003: 75).

Further to the preceding exposition of the point of departure that linguistic rights must be regarded as a basic human right, and that this right should naturally also fall due to speakers of minority languages, two additional matters need to be addressed, namely the concept of *minority language* and the question of how the principle of a *basic human right* can be embodied in practice.

2.3. The concept of a minority language

As was already pointed out in the introduction the term *minority* is widely used internationally. The South African Constitution, however, does not use the term but instead refers to the rights of communities. Where minority language is used, the term is not used pejoratively, but it refers to an official language (as recognised in the Constitution) of a community whose members consists of a minority in comparison with the total population.

Although numbers are not the determining factor (strength/ political power also plays a role), numbers nevertheless comprise an important criterion, and the group should at least consist of a minimum number that is high enough to be considered significant.

The language of the group must be distinctive, and the group may not be in a dominant position of power. If the minority group occupies a dominant position, there generally is no longer any need for the protection of their rights.

The legal status of the members of the group is also important: they must be subjects of the concerned state in order to be able to lay claim to official recognition.

Apart from these objective criteria, subjective socio-political criteria also play a role. The group must possess a sense of identity, enrooted in a common origin or a common ideology. In other words, they must wish to maintain their identity. If they accept assimilation, they will lose their uniqueness. The own language and culture, in particular, determine the group's identity:

The presence of a language and culture different from those of the majority is essential to the expression of a national or ethnic consciousness in the minority group (Braën, 1987: 8).

The historicity of a group can also be taken into consideration. Language guarantees are more readily granted to groups that have already been living in a region for a long time than to recent immigrant groups. As has already been indicated, many original inhabitants do not wish to be classified as “minorities”, and demand recognition as “peoples and even nations” (Hamel, 1997: 6).

The geographic circumstances of a minority must also be taken into consideration. English-speaking people in Quebec only comprise a minority in the province itself, whereas in Canada as a whole they belong to the linguistic majority.

As a result of the recognition of the concepts of *minority language*, *minority group* and *basic human right*, they are no longer merely abstract concepts, but political and cultural realities that must be regulated by the state. In the following section, the implementation of the principle of *language right* will be reviewed.

2.4. Implementation of linguistic rights

Naturally, linguistic rights cannot be guaranteed by means of legislation alone. Because the linguistic rights of minority communities have political and cultural facets, as indicated above, the legal protection of linguistic minorities must take these facets into consideration. Language legislation

must eliminate discrimination based on language, enable the minority to conserve its linguistic characteristics, and allow it to remain in peaceful interaction with the majority. Individually, members of the minority group must have the opportunity of dealing on an equal basis with the majority as well as possessing appropriate means to conserve their linguistic specificity (Braën, 1987: 8).

In order to do justice to the concepts *linguistic human right* and *linguistic right* a state must have a language policy at its disposal and must ensure that specific linguistic rights are legally regulated. It is as a result of this aspect that criticism has also been levelled against the language-as-a-right approach. In developing countries, in particular, the government simply does not have the powers at its disposal to monitor and maintain language rights. Blommaert, a sociolinguist who is sympathetic towards the recognition of language rights, is forced to acknowledge, to his regret, that

[O]ne of the well-known big problems in Africa is the powerlessness of the State. In many places, the State is a fiction; in other places, the power of the State is regionally confined [...] So calling for more legislation, for covenants and explicit policies, suggesting that these policies would in practice have a deep effect on the life conditions of the masses, is an illusion which I deeply regret but which has to be recognized (Blommaert, 2000: 9-10; also compare Stroud, 2001: 349-350).

Another aspect that often comes to the fore in language-related conflicts is the lack of clarity as to which level of government has jurisdiction over language-related matters. For example, should a decision regarding policy that affects education or public services be taken at the level of the European Union, or should it be taken by the member countries, or by the regions/ provinces, or the cities where linguistic minorities are in control?

In the following section, attention will be given to the way in which the rights of minorities are statutorily regulated in a few multilingual countries.

2.5. Attitude towards language rights – a few concrete instances

Nowadays, there is hardly any state in the world where the issue of the language rights of minorities is not being examined. Even states that are regarded as monolingual, for example the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany, are not without minority groups (cf. Extra & Maartens (Eds.) 1998). In new supranational units, such as the European Union, the languages of the traditionally monolingual countries, such as the Netherlands and Denmark, thus Dutch and Danish respectively, once again become minority languages. Gardner-Chloros and Gardner (1986), as well as Coulmas (Ed.) (1991), deal with the language rights in European institutions. Only four countries, on four continents where the issue of the co-existence of different languages has important political implications, are discussed here, namely Belgium (in Europe), Canada (in North America), Paraguay (in South America), and South Africa (in Africa). Other well-known multilingual countries include Switzerland (Wardaugh, 1987; Grin, 2000) and Luxembourg (Weber, 2000) in Europe; India (Fasold, 1984: 20-30) in Asia; Tanzania (Fasold, 1984: 266-277) in Africa (as a matter of fact, multilingualism is the norm in Africa; cf. Mazrui & Mazrui, 1998; Robinson & Varley, 1998).

BELGIUM

When the country obtained independence in 1830, the freedom of language choice was entrenched in the Constitution. However, the difference in prestige between

French and Flemish was so great that the elite identified with French, with the result that French fulfilled all the higher functions. The Wallonian French-speaking bourgeoisie regarded Belgium as part of the French cultural region.

In contrast thereto, the Flemish-speaking Belgians regarded Belgium as a bilingual country and propagated the use of Flemish. The Flemish Movement gradually changed from a linguistic movement into a national movement, and experienced an increasing amount of support. The Flemish population obtained an area of their own, and by means of a series of language acts, Flemish was declared to be the only language of a demarcated region. In this way, as a result of the linguistic homogeneity of Flanders as well as Wallonia, the principle of territoriality was introduced in 1962-1963. Brussels, the capital city of the doubly monolingual country, has bilingual status. This entails that Flemish and French both have their own linguistic infrastructure, and that one language can therefore not be placed at a disadvantage for the sake of the other (Buyle, 2000). In the eastern part of Belgium, there is also a small German-language area, where German is the official language.

An important consequence of the territorial approach is that in Belgium, a better understanding of multilingualism has developed than in the rest of Europe. Where, in other European states with multilingual groups, for example Switzerland, the concept of “territoriality” has been made applicable in only two domains, namely administration and education, the domain of the workplace has been added in Belgium. The language choice between employers and employees is regulated. Individual multilingualism is not prescribed anywhere in Belgium, and institutionalised multilingualism has increased. In the light of the process of European unification, Belgium offers a good example of how nations with different cultural backgrounds – with different languages, different histories, different cultures, and different value systems – can be linked together around a common political project. For a successful process, language legislation is essential. The Belgian sociolinguist, Kas Deprez, sums up the benefits of the Belgian solution as follows:

The main reason why we should opt for Belgium is that it is a land of peace, democracy and prosperity and as such an excellent exercise for a multilingual Europe (Deprez, 2000: 28).

Although in Belgium, a satisfactory solution for the majority of speakers was reached in respect of the division between the two main languages, it must be stated here that the recognition of the rights of immigrant minorities - the so-called allochthones – has still not yet received adequate attention, as is also the case in the rest of Western Europe.

(Literature: Wardaugh, 1987; Nelde, 1997; Buyle, 2000; Deprez, 2000; Deprez *et al.*, 2000.)

CANADA

In 1774, the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act by means of which, amongst other provisions, the language (French) and religious rights were guaranteed to French Canada. The British North America Act (1867), whereby Canada gained its independence, entrenched the guarantees of 1774 for Quebec with its French-speaking majority. Canada is a federation comprised of ten provinces (Quebec, and nine others with English-speaking majorities), where the federal and provincial governments have equal status. Since language is not mentioned in the articles of the Constitutional Law of 1867, the federal and provincial governments jointly enact legislation concerning language-related matters. In contrast to Belgium, where the two main languages, Flemish and French, both have an approximately equal number of speakers, French is a minority language in Canada (only 26%) in relation to English. In North America, French is the mother tongue of a mere 2% of the population, and the language is under pressure to assimilate:

In spite of the rights obtained by the people of Quebec the fear of cultural erosion persisted throughout Canada's first century. The strong economic influence of the Anglos in the province, their 'we're-no-minority!' attitude, reinforced by location and situation, and a steadfast resistance to learn and use French entrenched the fears of the francophones (Cartwright, 1988: 238).

A whole series of legislation was promulgated after 1867, all of which was aimed at satisfactorily resolving the linguistic rights of both language groups. Only one recent decision, which is currently still applicable, is referred to here. As a subsection of the *Constitutional Law of 1982*, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Liberties* guarantees fundamental linguistic rights. Section 23 guarantees the right to education in official minority languages, a domain which was formerly restricted to the judicial control of the provinces. Linguistic rights of minority language speakers who speak an official language (thus, French-speaking persons outside of Quebec and English-speaking persons in Quebec) are guaranteed.

Dealing with language rights remains an important point of discussion in Canada. In this North-American state, the language rights of French- and English-speaking persons are extended to include those of minority immigrant groups. Canadians of a non-French and non-English origin now comprise an almost equal percentage of the population (27%) in relation to those of French origin (28%) (those of English

origin comprise 45%) (Wardaugh, 1987: 227). A report concerning language-related matters is annually submitted to Parliament (*Annual Report*, 2002).

(Literature: Macmillan, 1983; Fasold, 1984: 227-231; Gardner-Chloros and Gardner, 1986: 47-48, 52-53; Braën, 1987: 25-58; Wardaugh, 1987; Cartwright, 1988; 1996; Nelde, 1997; Edwards (Ed.). 1998; Martell, 1999; *Annual Report*, 2002).

PARAGUAY

What makes the situation of Paraguay in South America unique, is the fact that the colonisers, the Spaniards, made use of one of the indigenous languages, Guarani, from an early stage, and that by 1950, approximately 95% of the population spoke Guarani. Language-related issues in Paraguay do not only include the relationship between Guarani and Spanish, but also the languages of small immigrant groups, chiefly Mennonites, who founded semi-independent settlements in the western part of Paraguay, as well as German, Slavonic and Japanese immigrants.

Spanish is the official language of the state and, generally speaking, also of education. Nevertheless, by 1950, only half of the population were still familiar with Spanish, and about 40% of the population were bilingual. Knowledge of Spanish was mainly restricted to the urban inhabitants.

The attitude towards the two languages is ambivalent. Despite the demographic restrictedness of Spanish, the status thereof is highly esteemed by the Paraguayans. At the same time, the attitude prevails that anyone who is not fluent in Guarani is not a true Paraguayan. Although they believe that Guarani is an important language in which all abstract notions, too, can be expressed, the Paraguayans nevertheless look down on anyone who cannot speak Spanish.

Paraguayans have a profound sense of devotion to their language; they want to be proud of it and are. Nevertheless, there is a covert sense of uneasiness about it and a feeling that somehow Spanish is really more elegant and better (Fasold, 1984: 15).

Until 1967 Spanish alone was the official language. In 1967, Spanish as well as Guarani were recognised as “national” languages, but only Spanish was recognised as “official”. It is also the language of education. Until 1973, Guarani was not allowed in schools, not even within the school grounds, and offenders were punished. The consequences of this policy, particularly in the rural areas, were catastrophic:

[S]low, inadequate acquisition of Spanish, a high drop-out rate, and an astonishing amount of grade repetition [...] (Fasold, 1984: 16).

(Literature: Rubin, 1972; Fasold, 1984.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Language legislation in South Africa may be traced back to 1803, when commissioner-general De Mist introduced the principle of mother-tongue education (Malherbe, 1925: 49-52). Shortly thereafter, Lord Charles Somerset stipulated that only English and Latin could be taught in government schools, and Dutch, the mother tongue, was relegated to the background (Malherbe, 1925: 58). In 1910, when South Africa became a Union, the language question was one of the thorniest issues. Ultimately, two official languages, English and Dutch, were entrenched in the Constitution (section 137 of the South Africa Act of 1909). Act no. 8 of 1925 included Afrikaans with Dutch, by definition. The entrenched protection of English and Afrikaans was retained by the Constitution of 1961 and that of 1983.

The 1961 Constitution began to make provision for official status for the so-called African languages in certain black areas - the later homelands, from which the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the so-called TBVC states) developed. After 1961, up to and including the coming into effect of each TBVC state's own constitution, Afrikaans and English, plus an African language for each black area, were the official languages of South Africa. As in 1910, the language issue was once again a controversial matter during the transition to a fully democratic form of government. The Transitional Constitution of 1993, Act no. 200 of 1993, declared eleven main languages to be official languages at national level (section 3(1)).

On 8 May 1996, the Final Constitution (Act no. 108 of 1996) was approved by the Constitutional Assembly. Language-related matters are addressed in section 6 of the Constitution. Recognition of the eleven official main languages is maintained. It has already been argued that the choice of (an) official language(s) is primarily a political decision, a symbolic choice without legal content (Du Plessis & Pretorius, 2000: 508-9; Currie, 1998: 37-3). The fact is, however, that the awarding of official language status to different languages confirms the multicultural nature of the state. Recognition of the multicultural nature of the state should therefore cause the government to be sensitive to any form of preferential treatment of any language (or languages).

(Literature: Malherbe, 1925; Steyn, 1980; Olivier, 1995; Combrink, 1996; Steyn, 1996; Currie, 1998; Du Plessis and Pretorius, 2000; Strydom and Pretorius, 2000; Lubbe and Du Plessis, 2001.)

2.6. Conclusion

The view that the recognition of the linguistic rights of minorities is not a privilege that can be bestowed according to the discretion and graciousness of the authorities, but that it is in actual fact a basic human right, is a standpoint that is widely accepted and propagated today. However, this basic human right does not mean very much if it is not guaranteed by the legislation of the concerned country. In Belgium and Canada, *inter alia*, the matter is actively and earnestly addressed. Although eleven official languages are recognised in South Africa, in practice the right to the use of all the minority languages is not accorded full recognition, and insistence on this language right, particularly for Afrikaans, is often criticised. In the next chapter media coverage concerning language matters in general is discussed, to be followed in Chapter Four by an analysis of language rights complaints and incidences as reported in the media for the period 1 January 2003 to 31 December 2003.

3. Media coverage: language-related matters in general

3.1. Introduction

Media coverage is one of the instruments of language rights activism distinguished by Martel (1999: 47). The printed media, and newspapers in particular, are the man in the street's access to the world. They are also an important source of information. In an article by J. Froneman (*Volksblad*, 28 April 2005), discussing the merits of the tabloid press, it is made clear that the reading public are certainly not left untouched by what they read in the press on a daily basis:

Maar dit word vry algemeen aanvaar dat die media oor tyd heen standpunte kan beïnvloed [It is generally acknowledged that the media can influence attitudes over time]. However, this is subject to the proviso that the media should not contravene the deepest convictions of people.

Furthermore, a free press is an important subcomponent of a democratic society. The printed media are a barometer of the feelings and attitudes of readers. The press can play an important role in South Africa, on the one hand to prevent marginalisation of the ten indigenous languages and on the other, to curtail the hegemony of English.

In analysing media coverage, it is essential to take the importance of newspapers into account. The South African press comprises the largest printed medium in Africa, with more than 5 000 registered newspapers, journals, technical and

consumer publications (Fourie, 1994: 282, 293). Not only do newspapers comprise a “major mode of representation” of the community’s “important and habitual processes”, according to Fowler (1991: 89), but despite the highly temporary nature of the newspaper text, which is actually only valid for the particular day on which it is released (Reah, 1998: 13), a newspaper is, for the majority of readers, the most important source of printed discourse. Lastly, the language usage in the newspaper can unconsciously give rise to ideas and convictions:

The linguistics of representation in newspaper discourse is a major element in our daily experience of language (Reah, 1998: 13).

However, the English press accounts for the lion’s share of publications in South Africa. If media publications referring to language-related matters dealt with in SALRM 2003 are taken into account, 17 of the total of 73 publications were Afrikaans and 49 English, with seven bilingual (Afrikaans/English) newspapers and journals. Although the Afrikaans-language press is considerably smaller than its English counterpart, it generally accords more prominence to language matters, as is shown in this chapter. The ratio of Afrikaans to English press records for 2003 is 52,2% (1406): 47,6% (1 284). The bilingual press is insignificant at 0,1% (4).

Although the printed media may deny any semblance of bias in media reporting, the formation of ideas and convictions may unconsciously occur. The very inclusion of a report or column, the space allocated by the editor and reporter in terms of column square centimetres, along with the difference in headings and photographs, tend to exemplify the notion of so-called “gatekeeping” (D’Alessio & Allen, 2000: 134, 136). The reading public thus remains uninformed in respect of media events that the “gatekeeper” has decided not to select. This process, described as “deselection”, along with content bias or statement bias, in terms of which reporters can unconsciously interpolate opinions and interpretations, probably displays an ideological bias.

This difference in space allocation, unconsciously leading to media bias, is particularly noticeable in the case of the Afrikaans and English media. The fact that both the English and the Afrikaans press probably make use of both “gatekeeping” and “coverage bias” in order to accord more prominence in general to a specific issue, does not necessarily indicate a bias. Rather, it points to a greater awareness among language groupings in respect of particular issues. For example, the Afrikaans-language press probably accords more prominence to language-rights issues and language matters, in contrast to English newspapers, since it is, precisely, Afrikaans and other minority languages that are generally being neglected in the

new political dispensation. Thus, for example, during the period of a year (2003), the Afrikaans newspapers accorded considerably more prominence to reporting on matters concerning the language body, PanSALB, than the English press did; that is to say, PanSALB was referred to 44 times (72%) in the Afrikaans press, while the English press only referred to it 17 times (28%) during the corresponding period (cf. Table 3.10). Since speakers of marginalised languages in South Africa probably prefer the English press, this discrepancy might not bode well for PanSALB's image in the printed media regarding language rights issues.

3.2. Analysis of media coverage

A general overview will be given of media coverage on all aspects of language matters, including reviews, place names and name changes, after which certain subsections will be addressed. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn.

In order to compile a profile of tendencies regarding various orientations among the different language groups, as well as other relevant data, the records on such language-related issues are categorised under a number of subcategories.

Using the greatest number of key words, our data on media coverage of language issues and matters ultimately encompassed 2 720 records. Twenty-six (26) of these records (included in this questionnaire as "P" (Q3.3) and "Doc" (Q6.9)), however, represented those language rights complaints that had been lodged with PanSALB. Excluding PanSALB, therefore, the grand total was finalised at 2 694 records from journals and papers.

DIVISION OF RECORDS ACCORDING TO MAINLINE NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of language-related records in the various South African newspapers and journals.

Newspapers, journals	N	%
Afrikaner	61	2,3
Beeld	395	14,7
Die Burger	452	16,8
Business Day	112	4,2
Cape Argus	80	3,0
Cape Times	69	2,6
Citizen	166	6,2
City Press	47	1,8
Diamond Fields Advertiser	14	0,5
Eastern Province Herald	35	1,3
Finansies & Tegniek	16	0,6

Newspapers, journals	N	%
Frontnuus	12	0,5
Independent on Saturday	16	0,6
Infospec	8	0,3
Natal Witness	72	2,7
Pretoria News	52	1,9
Rapport	185	6,9
Sowetan	41	1,5
Star	134	5,0
Sunday Times	24	0,9
Volksblad	228	8,5
Weekly Mail & Guardian	59	2
Others	411	15,3
Total	2 694	100

Table 3.1: Distribution of media records according to newspapers and journals

As may be expected, most of the media records were taken from newspapers. The ratio of newspapers to journals is 96,7% (2 630) to 2,3% (64). “Others”, which constitute 15,3% of the language-related media records, include the following, *inter alia*: *Business Times*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Daily News*, *Enterprise*, *Joernaal vir Eietydse Geskiedenis*, *Kerkbode*, *Leader*, *New Era*, *Ons Stad*, *Sunday Independent*, *The Herald* and *The Teacher*.

3.3. Spread of records on language-related subjects

The distribution of reporting between the Afrikaans, English and bilingual media is reflected in Table 3.2.

Afrikaans media		English media		Other		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1 406	52,2	1 284	47,6	4	0,1	2 694	100

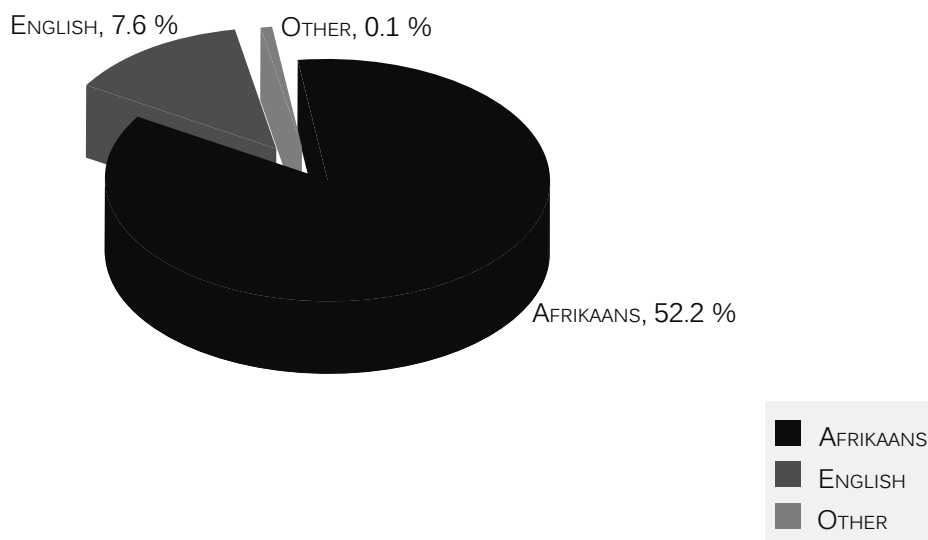
Table 3.2: Language spread per medium (newspaper, journal)

As is clear from Table 3.2, the media coverage, considered in terms of the language spread per media division according to the language concerned, is illuminating. Out of the total of 2 694 media reports for 2003, 52,2% (1 406) of the language-related records appeared in the Afrikaans press and 47,6% (1 284) on the same subject appeared in the English press; while the bilingual press (“Other”) played a relatively minor role, with only 0,1% (4). Although a minimal difference of 4,6% between Afrikaans and English newspapers in respect of media coverage referring to language-related matters, does not signify any tendency, it is nevertheless

noteworthy that, with considerably more publications, the English press gave prominence to this subject. It would be a mistake to conclude that the English press has no interest in language-related media coverage.

For the sake of overall clarity, the distribution according to the language groups is schematically illustrated in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Media coverage according to the language of media



Of the total number of records, the following four leading Afrikaans newspapers represented the major reportage on language matters: the daily newspapers, *Die Burger*, 16,8% (452); *Beeld*, 14,7% (395); *Volksblad*, 8,5% (228); and the Sunday paper, *Rapport*, 6,9% (185). The potential influence of Media24, the publishers of these four newspapers, in making the public aware of contentious issues and thus, in effect, also of linguistic issues, can be gauged on the basis of claims made in an advertisement in *Reklame-oorsig* (2005: 11), according to which the three mainstream daily Afrikaans newspapers, together with the *Daily Sun* (out of 18 dailies in South Africa), reach at least 42,6% of the reading public on a daily basis. Although the figure for 2003 would be much lower, owing to the fact that the *Daily Sun* was founded only later, this nevertheless demonstrates the potential impact of the printed media on the reading public in terms of making them aware of certain contentious linguistic issues.

In the English press the following newspapers were responsible for most of the reportage on language matters: *The Star*, 5,0% (134); *Business Day*, 4,6% (112); *The Cape Argus*, 3,0% (80); *The Natal Witness*, 2,7% (72); and *The Cape Times*,

2,5% (69). The sources listed under the heading “Other”, denoting miscellaneous newspapers and journals, represent 15,3% (411) of the records, and include, *inter alia*, *Bloemnuus*, *Communitas*, *Express*, *Journal for Contemporary History*, *Ons Stad*, *Politeia* and *Servamus*.

Several matters in respect of media coverage are of interest. For instance, a comparison of two Sunday papers, namely the Afrikaans *Rapport* with 185 (6,9%) instances of language-related reportage for the year 2003, and the English *Sunday Times* with 24 (0,9%), apparently indicates a greater awareness of language-related matters among readers of the Afrikaans weekly, *Rapport*. In comparing Afrikaans and English dailies in the Western Cape, for instance, the same pattern is apparent: here, *Die Burger* also gave considerably more prominence to language-related matters, with 452 reports (16,8%) compared to *The Cape Argus*, with 80 (3,0%). The same tendency is apparent elsewhere in the other geographical areas.

Compared to SALRM 2002, a greater number of language-related reports were excerpted from SA Media: there was an increase of 27,8%, from 2 108 in 2002 to 2 694 in 2003. This is noteworthy, bearing in mind that the language-related records from the legal journal *De Rebus* (22), which had previously been excerpted for data on language rights complaints in 2002, have been excluded, as explained in Chapter One. Furthermore, in 2002, 56,9% of those records were drawn from Afrikaans newspapers and 41,9% from English newspapers, with only 1,2% (25) of the records being drawn from bilingual (Afrikaans/English) newspapers. Afrikaans newspapers thus generally cover language issues to a greater extent than English newspapers. While there seems to have been a slight increase of 5,7% in the incidence of language-related reporting in the English press in 2003, the Afrikaans press showed a slight decrease of 4,7% for the same period.

The total media component encompasses journals as well as newspapers. The ratio of journals to newspapers is 2,3% (64) to 96,7% (2 630).

Next, the spread of the 2 694 records over the period of investigation is given.

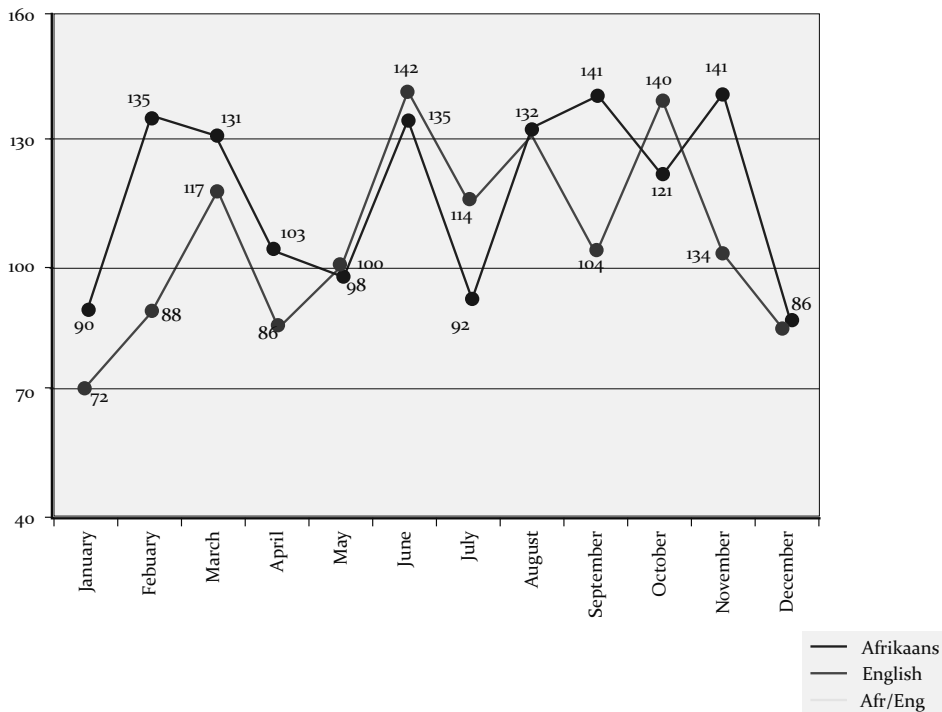
Month	Afrikaans		English		Afr/Eng		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
January	90	55,6	72	44,4	0	0	162	6,0
February	135	60,5	88	39,5	0	0	223	8,3
March	131	52,8	117	47,2	0	0	248	9,2
April	103	54,5	86	45,5	0	0	189	7,0
May	98	49,5	100	50,5	0	0	198	7,3
June	135	48,2	142	51,1	2	0,7	279	10,4
July	92	44,4	114	55,6	0	0	206	7,7

Month	Afrikaans		English		Afr/Eng		Total	
August	132	50,0	132	50,0	0	0	264	9,8
September	141	58,0	104	42,0	0	0	245	9,1
October	121	46,4	140	53,3	1	0,4	263	9,7
November	141	57,7	104	42,3	0	0	245	9,1
December	86	50,0	85	49,4	0	0	171	6,3
Total	1 406	52,2	1 284	47,6	4	0,1	2 694	100

Table 3.3: Spread of records per month with regard to language of media

For greater clarity, the spread of records per month is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Spread of records per month with regard to language of media



As has already been noted, the incidence of language-related records was only marginally higher (by 4,6%) in the Afrikaans press, with 52,2% (1406), compared to the English press with 47,6% (1 284). The highest overall incidence of reporting in both the Afrikaans and English press, namely 10,4%, occurred during June 2003, and the lowest occurred during the turn of the year, namely 6,0% in January, and 6,3% in December 2003.

The highest and lowest incidences of language-related reporting respectively occurred during February 2003, at 60,5% (135) in the Afrikaans press, and 39,5% (88) in the English press. During seven months of the twelve-month period, the Afrikaans press achieved an incidence exceeding 50% in language-related reporting, while in the case of the English press, this occurred during four months of the period in question.

If reportage in respect of language-related issues is dealt with according to the language grouping, the following interesting aspects are observed: during February, September and November 2003, the months with the highest incidences of media reportage, the Afrikaans press gave prominence to efforts to change the language of record in Parliament to only English; the extra workload in parallel medium schools received attention; and the change of the name of the *Loftus Versfeld* rugby stadium to *Loftus Securicor* in February, as well as intended name changes in the Free State and proposed changes to the names of tertiary institutions, received attention in September and November 2003.

In June, the month with the highest number of reported language-related incidents in the English press, prominence was accorded to multilingualism and the changing of street names in Johannesburg, as well as the names of tertiary institutions.

It is important to gain an insight into the reportage of language groupings according to types of media records, as illustrated in Table 3.4.

Category	Afrikaans newspapers		English newspapers		Other newspapers		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reports	389	56,4	300	43,5	1	0,1	690	25,6
Editorial comments	71	63,9	40	36,1	0	0	111	4,1
Letters	104	61,6	64	37,8	1	0,6	169	6,3
Columns	200	73,0	74	27,0	0	0	274	10,2
Articles	32	78,0	9	22,0	0	0	41	1,5
Reviews	597	43,0	791	56,9	2	0,1	1 390	51,6
Cartoons	10	66,7	5	33,3	0	0	15	0,6
Advertisements	3	75,0	1	25,0	0	0	4	0,1
Total	1 406	52,2	1 284	47,6	4	0,1	2 694	100

Table 3.4: Language spread according to types of media records

The language spread according to types of media records is portrayed in Figure 3.3.

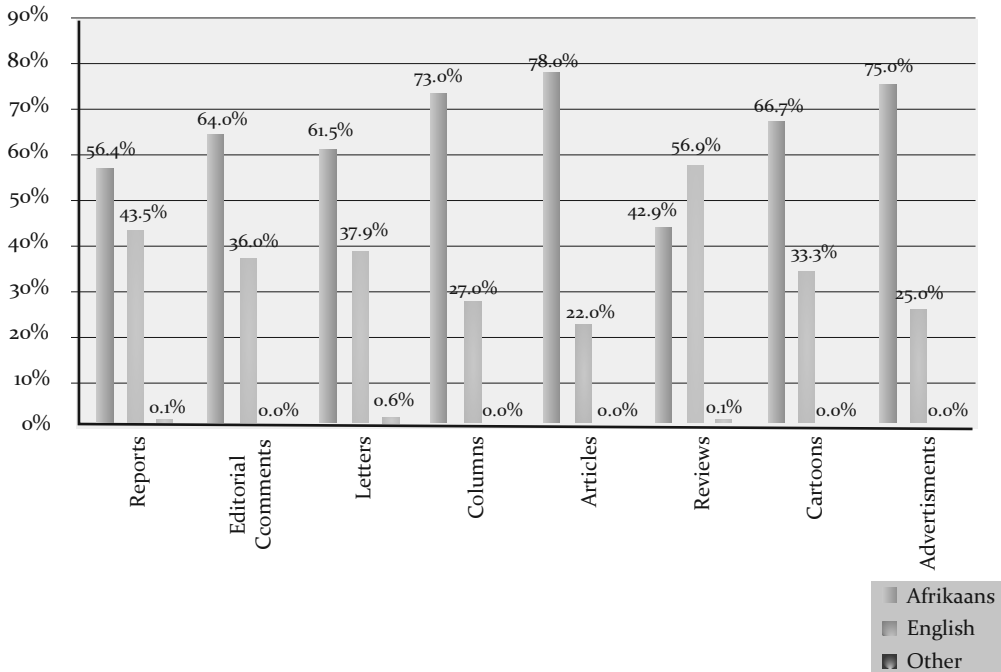
Figure 3.3 Language spread according to types of media records

Table 3.4 contains details of the language spread according to the type of media record, in order to determine how the printed media of the different language groups react to language-related issues through reviews, reports, editorials, letters to the editor, columns and articles, as well as cartoons and advertisements. It is noticeable that reviews account for more than 50% of all records. As reviews are objective, critical appraisals of literary works or theatre productions, and have no direct bearing on language rights issues, the occurrences of reviews will be discussed before an analysis of other types of media records is carried out.

MEDIA COVERAGE OF REVIEWS CONCERNING LITERARY WORKS (FICTION, NON-FICTION AND THEATRE)

Only reviews referring to language-related subjects were taken into account. The following were therefore not taken into consideration: music festivals, art exhibitions, new books featuring art and other non-literary works. The distribution of reviews according to the language of the printed media is indicated in the following table:

Year	Media						Total	
	Afrikaans		English		Other			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2003	597	43,0	791	56,9	2	0,1	1 390	100
2002	664	54,9	546	45,1	-	-	1 210	100

Table 3.5: Media coverage of reviews according to language of newspaper

According to Table 3.5, there was an increase in the total media coverage of reviews, compared to 2002. However, as a result of the greater number of records in 2003 (2 694) compared to 2002 (2 108), the percentage decreased from 57,3% in 2002 to 51,6% in 2003. The greatest decrease occurred in the Afrikaans press, namely from 54,9% to 43%, while there was an increase in reviews in the English press: from 45,1% to 56,9%. Although it was anticipated that there would be more reviews in English newspapers, as a result of the greater number of newspapers published for this language group, the relative prominence accorded to reviews in Afrikaans newspapers is nevertheless an indication of a relatively greater awareness of cultural matters amongst Afrikaans readers.

The coverage of reviews according to the type of literary work, i.e. fiction, non-fiction and theatre, is shown in Table 3.6.

Type						Total	
Fiction		Non-fiction		Theatre			
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
530	38,1	683	49,2	177	12,7	1 390	100

Table 3.6: Media coverage of reviews per type of literary work

Figure 3.4: Media coverage of reviews per type of literary work

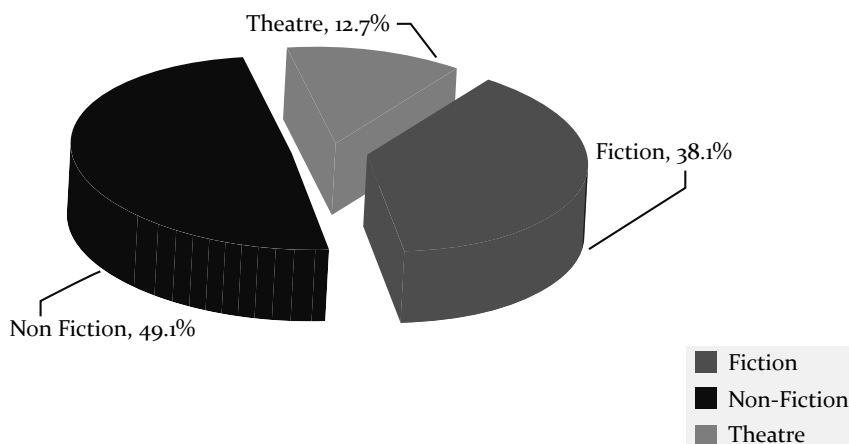


Table 3.6 shows that nearly half (49,2% (683)) of all the relevant media reviews pertain to non-fiction literary works, 38,1% (530) to fictitious works, and only 12,7% (177) to theatre productions.

LANGUAGE SPREAD ACCORDING TO TYPES OF MEDIA (EXCLUDING REVIEWS)

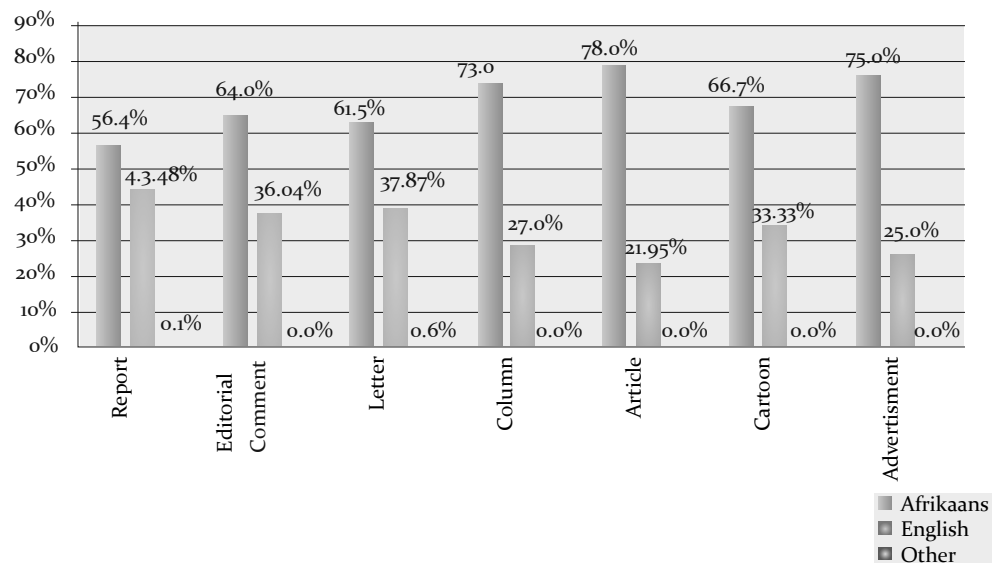
With the reviews discarded, a different type of reportage in the language groupings emerges (see Table 3.7).

Category	Afrikaans		English		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reports	389	56,4	300	43,5	1	0,1	690	52,9
Editorial comments	71	63,9	40	36,1	0	0	111	8,5
Letters	104	61,6	64	37,8	1	0,6	169	13,0
Columns	200	73,0	74	27,0	0	0	274	21,0
Articles	32	78,0	9	22,0	0	0	41	3,1
Cartoons	10	66,7	5	33,3	0	0	15	1,2
Advertisements	3	75,0	1	25,0	0	0	4	0,3
Total	809	62,0	493	37,8	2	0,2	1304	100

Table 3.7: Language spread according to types of records (excluding reviews)

For the sake of greater overall clarity, the analysis of the media coverage on language-related matters, reviews excluded, is schematically illustrated in Figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Media coverage on language-related matters (excluding reviews)



As may be expected, reports constitute more than half of the coverage (52,9%), followed by columns (21,0%) and letters (13,0%). Editorial comments, portraying the view of the specific medium on language-related matters, are also significant (8,5%). In all these types of coverage, the Afrikaans press gave more prominence to language issues than the English press. There are noteworthy differences between the English and Afrikaans press: a difference of 46% for columns (Afrikaans 73% against English 27%); 27,8% for editorial comments (Afrikaans 63,9% against English 36,1%); and 23,8% for letters (Afrikaans 61,6% against English 37,8%). While the difference in respect of reports is 12,9% (Afrikaans 56,4% against English 43,5%) and insignificant, the dominant figures for the Afrikaans press in terms of editorials, letters and columns clearly demonstrate a greater awareness of linguistic matters among readers, as well as the editorial staff, of Afrikaans papers and journals.

Next the languages referred to in these different records show an important trend, namely that the reports, editorials, letters and columns, in terms of their contents, refer more to Afrikaans, and to Afrikaans in conjunction with mainly indigenous languages, than to English or the indigenous languages on their own.

Language and language grouping	N	%
Afrikaans	1 040	38,6
English	813	30,2
African languages	82	3,0
Afrikaans/African languages	150	5,6
Afrikaans/English	190	7,1
English/African languages	71	2,6
Afrikaans/English/African languages	284	10,5
Other	64	2,4
Total	2 694	100

Table 3.8: Media records according to language(s) and language groupings referred to

Table 3.8, unlike Table 3.2, pertains not to the language of the printed media, but to the language *concerned*, in other words, the language which is alleged to have been discriminated against or enhanced, or to which reference is made. The language groupings (e.g. Afrikaans/African languages) pertain, in particular, to name-changing situations. For example, the proposed changing of a historically Afrikaans name such as *Pretoria* to an African name, *Tshwane*, was indicated on the Questionnaire as “Afrikaans/African language”.

For the sake of overall clarity, the distribution of the languages and groupings concerned is schematically illustrated in Figure 3.6.

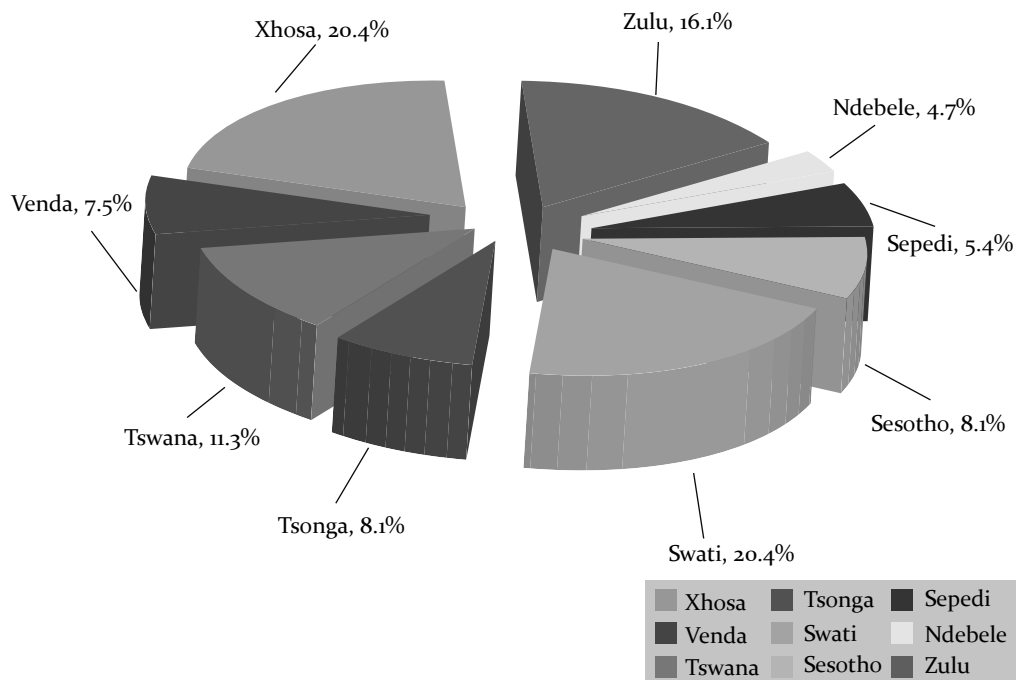
Figure 3.6: Media records according to language and language groupings referred to

Table 3.9 shows which official African languages were most frequently mentioned in language-related records:

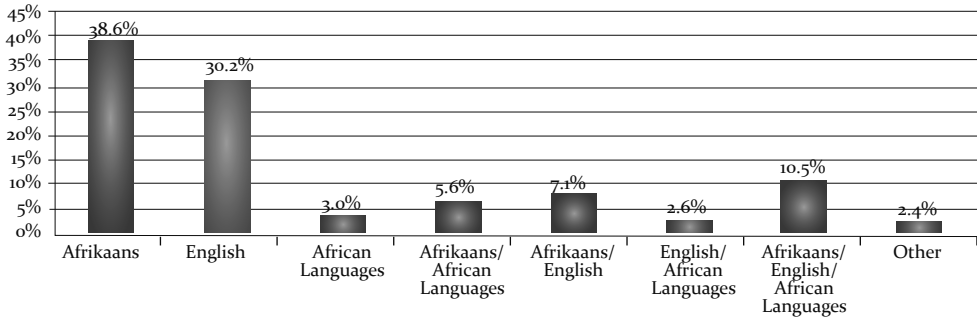
African languages	N	%
Ndebele	5	2,7
Sepedi	10	5,4
Sesotho	15	8,1
Swati	38	20,4
Tsonga	15	8,1
Tswana	21	11,3
Venda	14	7,5
Xhosa	38	20,4
Zulu	30	16,1
Total	186	100

Table 3.9: Breakdown of African languages concerned

As is demonstrated in Table 3.9, both Swati and Xhosa were the African languages most often referred to. These languages were mentioned in approximately a fifth of all language-related records, with 38 (20,4%) occurrences each, followed by Xhosa with 30 (16,1%); Tswana with 21 (11,3%); Sesotho and Tsonga, with 15 (8,1%) each; Venda with 14 (7,5%); Sepedi with ten (5,4%); and Ndebele with five (2,7%).

The breakdown of African languages concerned is schematically demonstrated in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7: Breakdown of African languages concerned



The specified “Other” in Table 3.8 refers to a wide variety of languages:

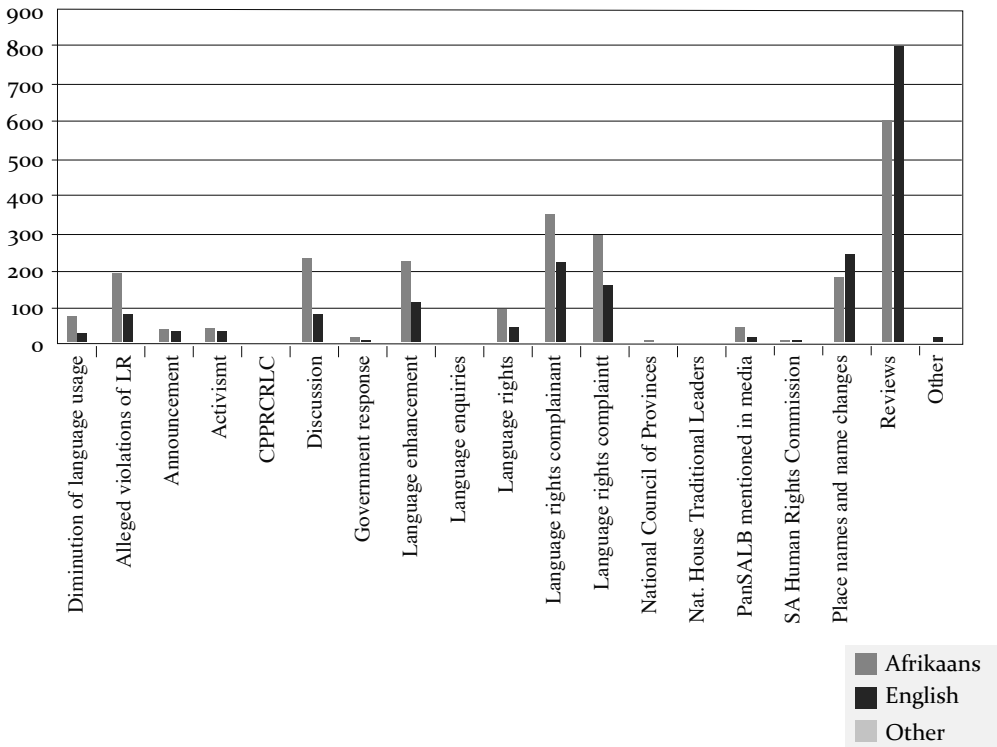
- European languages, in respect of which a fairly high incidence of French (6) occurs, followed by Dutch (5) and German (4), as well as Italian and Spanish, both with three occurrences. Portuguese was mentioned in three cases in an effort to have it recognised as an official language in Mpumalanga.
- The Vryheidsfront proposed that the use of Latin (1) should be enhanced, on the same basis as Arabic (1), for religious purposes.
- The fairly high incidence (13 occurrences) of references to Indian languages in the media, in particular Urdu, Tamil and Hindu, came about as a result of the objections of the Indian community in KwaZulu-Natal to the proposal of the Minister of Education to discontinue the teaching of these languages in schools.
- Oriental languages, in particular Chinese and Mandarin, were mentioned in two cases.
- The incidences in which other indigenous languages were mentioned, for example the Khoi/ San (7), related to the acquisition of a radio station in Kimberley.
- Unrecognised variants of official African languages, namely Tsotsi and Fanagalo, were mentioned in seven cases. African languages spoken in sub-Saharan Africa which received media coverage were Bangla, Kiswahili (2) and Kwedan.
- There were seven incidences of South African Sign Language (SASL) being mentioned in the media.

The language-related subcomponents which make up the total of the records, according to the languages of the media, are given in Table 3.10:

Category	Afrikaans		English		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Diminution of language usage	73	1,7	28	0,7	0	0	101	2,4
Alleged violations of LR	186	4,4	76	1,8	0	0	262	6,2
Announcement	35	0,8	31	0,7	0	0	66	1,6
Activism	42	1,0	32	0,8	1	0	75	1,8
CPPRCRLC	10	0,2	6	0,1	0	0	16	0,4
Discussion	229	5,4	83	2,0	0	0	312	7,4
Government response	14	0,3	12	0,3	0	0	26	0,6
Language enhancement	218	5,2	106	2,6	0	0	324	7,7
Language enquiries	1	0,0	2	0,1	0	0	3	0,1
Language rights	89	2,1	44	1,0	0	0	133	3,2
Language rights complainant	346	8,2	214	5,1	1	0	561	13,3
Language rights complaint	287	6,8	157	3,7	1	0	445	10,5
National Council of Provinces	5	0,1	2	0,1	0	0	7	0,2
Nat. House Traditional Leaders	2	0,1	1	0	0	0	3	0,1
PanSALB mentioned in media	44	1,0	17	0,4	0	0	61	1,4
SA Human Rights Commission	3	0,1	5	0,1	0	0	8	0,2
Place names and name changes	179	4,2	237	5,6	0	0	416	9,9
Reviews	597	14,1	791	18,7	2	0,1	1 390	32,9
Other	2	0,1	12	0,3	0	0	14	0,3
Total	2 362	55,9	1 856	44,0	5	0,1	4 223	100

Table 3.10: Context in which language is mentioned according to language of medium

For the sake of overall clarity the same information is also schematically illustrated in Figure 3.8:

Figure 3.8: Context in which language is mentioned according to language of medium

The reason why the total number of 4 223 is much higher than the previously cited total of 2 694, lies in the fact that one report may contain more than one language-related reference, e.g., a media report may mention not only a language rights complaint, but also the government response to it, as well as that of the language body, PanSALB. As a result of the extension and development of SALRM 2003 and, in particular, owing to the different contexts in which language is mentioned in the printed media, comparisons with the previous year cannot always be drawn.

From the graph, as already pointed out, it can be seen that the greatest number of media records were related to reviews (theatre, non-fiction, fiction and nominations for literary prizes), namely 32,9% (1 390). In terms of a grading list, the following may be noted:

- Language rights complainants accounted for 13,3% (561) of the media records;
- followed by language rights complaints with 10,5% (445);
- followed by name changes and place names with 9,9% (416) of the records (21,1% in 2002);

- language enhancement accounted for 7,7% (324);
- discussions on general language corpus matters (Q8.6) accounted for (7,4% (312));
- alleged violations of language rights accounted for 6,2% (262);
- followed by language rights, with 3,2% (133);
- diminution of language usage accounted for 2,4% (101);
- activism accounted for 1,8% (75);
- followed by announcements with 1,6% (66);
- the mentioning of PanSALB in the press accounted for 1,4% (61);
- lastly, the following categories had negligible percentages (less than 1%): government response, 0,6% (26); CPPRCRLC, 0,4% (16); “other”, 0,3% (14); SA Human Rights Commission, 0,2% (8); National Council of Provinces (NCP), 0,2% (7); and finally, both the National House of Traditional Leaders (NHTL) and language-related enquiries, with 0,1% (3) each.

An interesting observation to be drawn from the data is that reporting in respect of the language rights complainants is high on the agenda of the media, following the same tendency as in 2002 with a reportage of 13,3%, while the same applies to language rights complaints, with 10,5%. In 2002, the corresponding figures were 13,9% for complainants and 11,9% for complaints. More prominence in media reportage is given to issues relating to place names and name changes, with 9,9% (21,1% in 2002), than to specific alleged language rights incidents (grouped under alleged violations of language rights), which account for 6,2% (12,0% in 2002). Although issues pertaining to place names can be regarded as being related to language rights, place names received more prominence than language rights, probably because place names offer more opportunity for pressure grouping, as can be seen in the case of the proposed name change of *Pretoria* to *Tshwane*. Place names will be dealt with later in more detail.

Surprising, however, is the fairly high incidence (7,7%, 324) of efforts by individuals, cultural organisations, the business sector and even government, as well as others, to enhance all South African official languages and other languages mentioned in the Constitution, for example the San/Khoi and others. Compared to SALRM 2002, when this subdivision was not yet recognised and was therefore not taken into consideration, language enhancement figures fairly high (5th position) in the

grading list of language-related reportage in the printed media. This aspect will later in this chapter be discussed in more detail.

The high incidence of “discussion”, namely 7,4% (312), can be ascribed to weekly columns on language matters in Afrikaans newspapers (5,4%) in particular, and to a lesser extent in English newspapers (2,0%). The percentages for language rights (3,2%) and the diminution of the usage of languages (2,4%) do not necessarily signify any language-related tendencies.

As the context in which activism is mentioned in the press is of particular interest a separate chapter (Chapter Six) will be devoted to language activism.

Only in two subcategories, namely reviews and place names/name changes, is the incidence of reportage higher in the English press than in the Afrikaans press. The higher prominence accorded in the English press to reviews (the ratio of Afrikaans to English reviews is 14,1% (597): 18,7% (791)) is not surprising in view of the higher number of English newspapers and journals (49) in comparison to the relatively small number of Afrikaans (17) and bilingual newspapers and journals (6). The relatively high prominence accorded to name changes and place names in the English press, namely 5,6% (237) in the English press, as against 4,2% (179) in the Afrikaans press, is also noteworthy. Although it was to be expected that names would be changed to indigenous names a decade after the new dispensation, and that mostly historically Afrikaans names would therefore be affected, the preponderance of name-changing incidences in the English press is significant. This could indicate that so-called conservatism is not limited to the Afrikaans community and that the English community is also negatively affected, albeit possibly mostly in a business sense.

In all of the remaining 13 (out of the possible 15) subcategories, the reporting occurred preponderantly in the Afrikaans media. The higher incidence in the Afrikaans press of records referring to language-related matters suggests the probability of a higher awareness of language rights issues amongst Afrikaans-speaking persons, which can be related to a stronger language political tradition in the Afrikaans community, as a result of which Afrikaans newspapers were usually in the forefront with regard to language campaigns. The smaller number of records in the English-language press could suggest a greater complacency, as a result of the privileged status of English. If readership distribution is considered it could also suggest that African readers do not utilise English newspapers as mouthpiece on language matters.

MEDIA COVERAGE OF PLACE NAMES AND NAME CHANGES

As in the case of the context in which language is mentioned in the media it is possible that one record or column may contain several references to the names of towns, provinces, airports, etc. In terms of the total number of relevant media records (2 694), it is interesting to find that matters relating to place names, and in particular the issue of name changes, received, after language rights complaints and complainants, the most attention, accounting for 9,9% (416) of all the references (4 223). This is a slight decrease of 7,0%, or 29 references, in relation to the reportage on name changes for 2002 (445). As previously mentioned, the English press had the highest number of media references regarding name changes in the overall context, namely 5,6% (237), as against 4,2% (179) in the Afrikaans press.

The distribution between the Afrikaans and English media in respect of the category of name changes is reflected in Table 3.11.

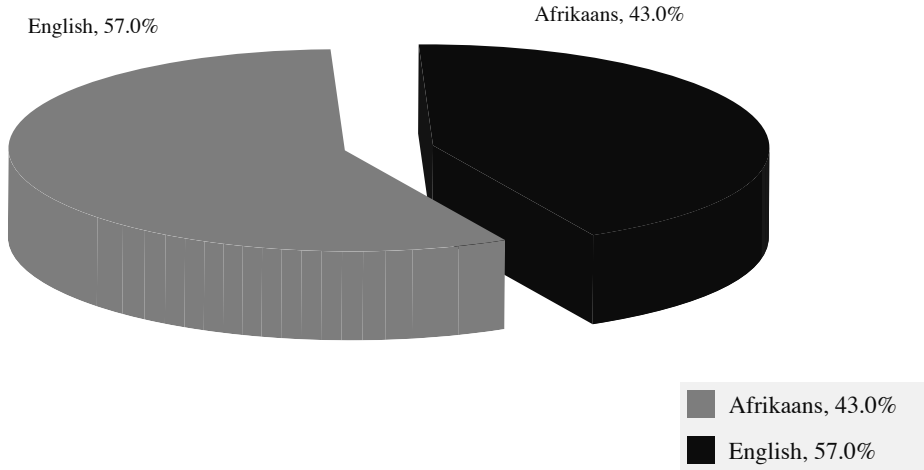
Afrikaans		English		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%
179	43,0	237	57,0	416	100

Table 3.11: Media coverage of place names and name changes according to language of media

Although a certain amount of acrimony was not unexpected regarding the changing of so-called European names (particularly those referring to historical figures, mostly from the Afrikaans community) to Afro-centric or indigenous names, it is nevertheless significant that there are no noteworthy differences between the Afrikaans and English printed media in respect of the reporting on name changes and place names (the difference amounts to 14%). This is clear from the fact that out of a total of 416 media records pertaining to this issue, 43% (179) were excerpted from the Afrikaans press, and 57% (237) from the English press. Although the total of this subcategory is smaller than that of 2002 (445 records), the preponderance of English press records for 2002 (54,7%) in relation to name changes, follows the same pattern as that of 2003, while the 2002 figure for the Afrikaans press was 45,3%. In fact, the not-so-well-thought-out and insensitive coercive measures by the ANC majority in the Pretoria local government elicited similar negative reactions from both sections of the white community. As will be shown later in Chapter Four, of the total number of records dealing with language rights activism, namely 75, at least 12 pertained to the changing of the name of the capital.

For the sake of overall clarity, the media coverage of name changes and place names per language of the newspaper is schematically illustrated in Figure 3.9.

Figure 3.9: Media coverage of name changes and place names per language of newspaper



The spread of records pertaining to name changes over the period of investigation is given in Table 3. 12.

Month	N	%
January	23	5,5
February	29	7,0
March	25	6,0
April	30	7,2
May	33	7,9
June	31	7,4
July	16	3,8
August	68	16,3
September	28	6,7
October	64	15,4
November	49	11,8
December	20	4,8
Total	416	100

Table 3.12: Records in respect of place names and name changes per month

For the sake of overall clarity, the spread of records of place names and name changes is illustrated in Figure 3.10.

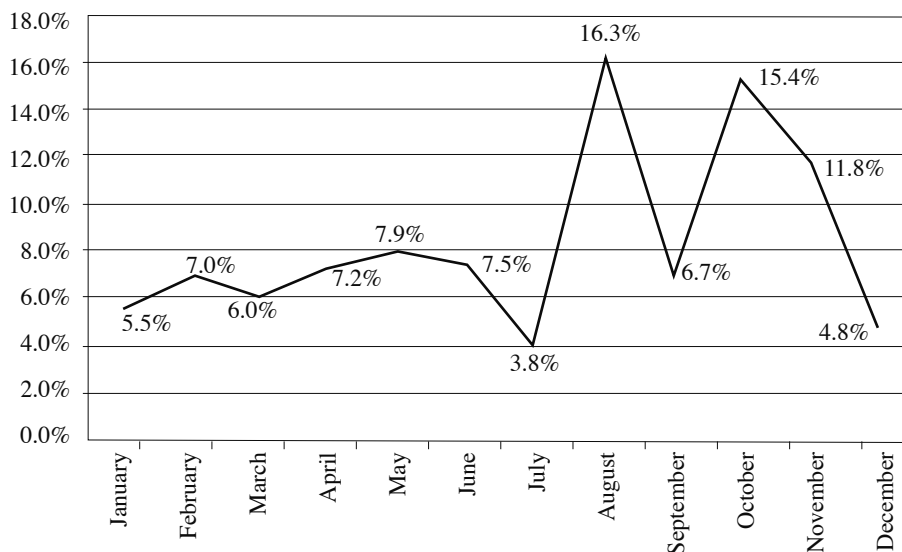
Figure 3.10: Spread of records of place names and name changes

Table 3.12 displays a relatively even spread for the first half of the year, with tendencies towards peaks towards the second half of 2003, in particular during August (16,3%), October (15,4%) and November (11,8%). A 7,5% plateau is averaged for the months of April, May and June, with 7,2% (30), 7,9% (33) and 7,4% (31) respectively. This can be ascribed to name changes proposed in April for, *inter alia*, street names in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg; state buildings in Port Elizabeth; towns/cities in the Free State and Northern Cape and in Limpopo, e.g., *Duiwelskloof* to *Gomodjadi*; as well as geographical names in the Free State and Northern Cape. During May and June, name changes (or proposals for such changes) occurred mostly in Johannesburg and Cape Town, where several streets were targeted for name changes. Other changes included the changing of the name of *Garankuwa Hospital* (to *George Mukhari*) in Gauteng), as well as the names of other hospitals and state buildings in the Free State and in the Eastern Cape. Also in June, a new corvette was to be named after the battle of Spioenkop.

The high percentage of 16,3% for August is mainly as a result of the proposed name change for Pretoria, as well as for state buildings (“Wachthuis”), a highway in Johannesburg (namely *D.F. Malan* to *Beyers Naudè Drive*), and the *Voortrekkermuseum* in Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN).

The high incidence of reportage on name changes in October, namely 15,4% (64), may be ascribed, *inter alia*, to the efforts to change the name of the *Johannesburg International Airport* to that of *Oliver Tambo International Airport*, and to

change the Anglicised (“misspelt”) variants of Zulu names in KwaZulu-Natal, for example *Amanzimtoti* to *eManzamtoti*. The fairly high percentage of 11,8% (49) for November 2003 can be ascribed to the changing of offensive names in Buffalo City in the Eastern Cape; the changing of brand names, for example, *Vlottenburg* wine cellars to *Stellenbosch Hills*; and the changing of the names of tertiary institutions in the Eastern Cape.

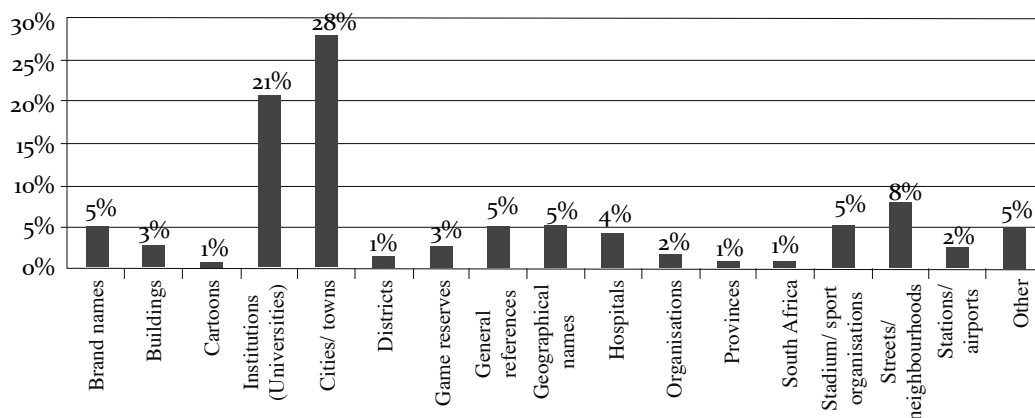
The lowest incidence of reportage on name changes and place name occurred in July, with 3,8% (16), when the names for tertiary institutions received little media attention.

The coverage of types of proposed place names and name changes are tabulated in Table 3.13:

Category	N	%
Brand names	27	5,5
Buildings	13	2,6
Cartoons	4	0,8
Institutions (Universities)	101	20,5
Cities/towns	137	27,8
Districts	7	1,4
Game reserves	13	2,6
General references	27	5,5
Geographical names	25	5,1
Hospitals	20	4,1
Organisations	8	1,6
Provinces	4	0,8
South Africa	4	0,8
Stadium sport organisations	27	5,5
Streets/neighbourhoods	39	7,9
Stations/airports/harbours	12	2,4
Other	24	4,9
Total	492	100

Table 3.13: Types of place names and name changes

The type of place names and name changes mentioned in the media is illustrated in Figure 3.11.

Figure 3.11: Type of place names and name changes

The discrepancy between the total in Tables 3.11 and 3.12, viz. 416, and the total of 492 here in Table 3.13, may be ascribed to the possibility of one record containing more than one reference, for example, the record may refer to changing the name of a *city*, and a *hospital*, plus the changing of the name of a *province*. In Tables 3.10 and 3.11, concerning the context in which language was used, only one general entry for reference to place names is included, while question 18 of the Questionnaire makes several references possible. Table 3.13 gives these results. Comparisons in relation to 2002 are not always possible, as in some cases the grouping of subcategories has been changed.

If the information in Table 3.13 in respect of media records on place names and name changes is arranged in terms of a grading list, an interesting picture emerges.

- The large majority of records, namely 27,8% (137), referred to the changing of the names of cities/towns;
- followed by records on the names of institutions, after initiatives by the Minister of Education with a view to the amalgamation of universities and technikons, with 20,5% (101);
- street names and names of neighbourhoods accounted for 7,9% (39) of records;
- stadiums/sport organisations, mainly as a result of the changing of the name of Loftus Versfeld to Securicor Park, accounted for 5,5% (27);
- brand names and general references each accounted for 5,5% (27);
- geographical names accounted for 5,1% (25);

- “Other” accounted for 4,9% (24);
- the changing of names of hospitals accounted for 4,1% (20);
- game reserves: 2,6% (13);
- stations/airports/harbours: 2,4% (12);
- organisations: 1,6% (8);
- cartoons, provinces and references to South Africa each accounted for only 0,8% (4).

The greatest decrease in media reportage of incidences of name changes, in comparison to 2002, was related to references to provinces: here, the percentage decreased from nearly 26% in 2002 to 0,8% in 2003. This is largely attributable to the fact that the majority of provinces had already undergone name changes by 2002, and that the dust had settled, for the most part, over this well-trodden issue of the previous year. It is possible that the irate sections of the population had come to accept this *fait accompli* in these instances, as well as in the case of the following subcategories: general references, which decreased from 19,77% in 2002 to 5,5% in 2003; references to changing the name of *South Africa*, which decreased from 1,29% in 2002 to 0,8% in 2003; and references to changing the names of buildings, which decreased from 3,05% in 2002 to 2,6% in 2003.

There was, however, a marked increase in incidences of reporting on name changing in respect of cities/towns, from 21,86% in 2002 to 27,8% in 2003. This is largely attributable to the proposed name change of *Pretoria* to *Tshwane* (Gauteng), accounting for nearly half (14 out of 33) of the relevant records, as well as other name changes in KwaZulu-Natal (12 out of 16) and Limpopo (14 out of 15) (See Table 3.14). There was also an increase in the references to name changing and place names in the following subcategories: stations/ airports/ harbours, from 0,64% in 2002 to 2,4% in 2003; streets/ neighbourhoods, from 5,47% in 2002 to 7,9% in 2003; geographical names, from 2,41% in 2002 to 5,1% in 2003; brand names, from 3,38% in 2002 to 5,5% in 2003; game reserves, from 0,32% in 2002 to 2,6% in 2003; as well as in other subcategories with less significant percentages.

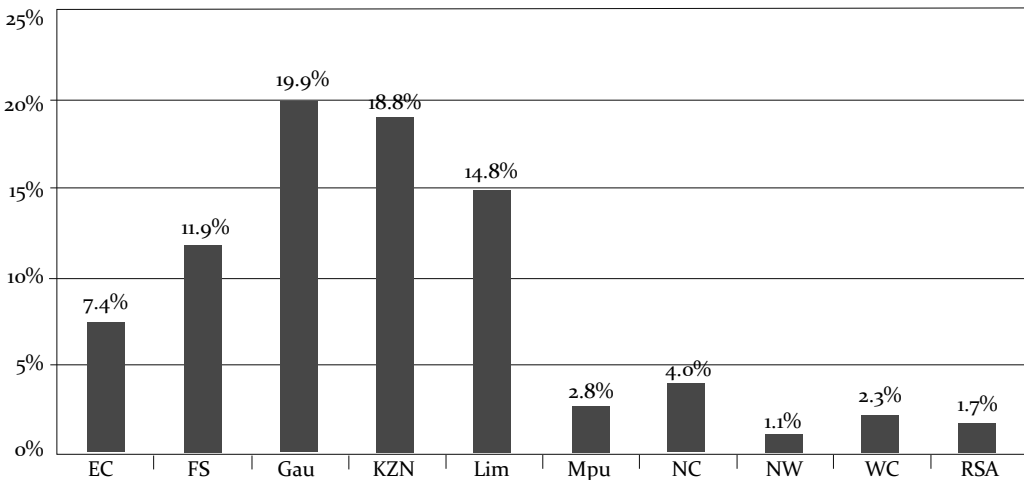
The distribution of references to the categories of names and name changes per province is illustrated in Table 3.14.

Category	Provinces										Total	
	EC	FS	Gau	KZN	Lim	Mpu	NC	NW	WC	RSA	N	%
Buildings	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	5	2,8
Institutions	1	0	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	10	5,7
Cities/towns	4	6	14	12	14	2	4	1	0	6	63	35,8
Districts	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4,0
Game reserves	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	2,8
General references	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	20	11,4
Geographical names	0	6	2	7	0	3	3	0	0	2	23	13,1
Hospitals	0	2	12	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	17	9,7
Organisations	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0,6
Provinces	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	2,3
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1,1
Streets/ neighbourhoods	2	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	11	6,3
Stations/ airports/harbours	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	2,3
Other	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	4	2,3
Total	13	21	35	33	26	5	7	2	4	30	176	100
Percentage	7,4	11,9	19,9	18,8	14,8	2,8	4,0	1,1	2,3	17,1	176	100

Table 3.14: Media coverage relating to place names and name changes per province

In Figure 3.12 this information is schematically illustrated

Figure 3.12: Media coverage relating to names and name changes per province



The main focus of media attention in respect of the changing of names of cities/towns was centred on the following provinces, namely: Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal

and Limpopo. General references pertaining to the provinces in general (indicated under “RSA”) also figured quite prominently. The discrepancy in the totals between Table 3.13 (492 references) and Table 3.14 (176 references) is because Table 3.14 refers to name changes per province (2nd level) while Table 3.13 also refers to name changes on e.g. third level and brand names.

Different subcategories in respect of name changes received prominence in the printed media in various provinces. For example, as in 2002, the Eastern Province received media attention with particular reference to the changing of the name of, *inter alia*, Port Elizabeth, as well as the changing of the *status quo* in respect of the name of the province and, to a lesser extent, the names of streets and neighbourhoods, also in Grahamstown. In the Free State, more media attention was accorded to the changing of the names of cities/towns, as well as geographical names and the names of hospitals and streets. In Gauteng, prominence was accorded to cities/towns (including the changing of the name of *Pretoria* to *Tshwane* – a process which was already set in motion in 2002), and to the changing of the names of hospitals (in particular that of *Garankuwe Hospital*, which was to be renamed after a political activist, *Mukhari*). In KZN, changes to the names of cities/towns received a great deal of media attention (the changing of the name of *Pietermaritzburg* had been under discussion since 2002), and so did geographical names (pertaining, in particular, to the correct Africanised spelling), as well as streets/neighbourhoods. In Limpopo, most of the towns and cities where name changes were under discussion, or where such changes had already occurred, received fairly high media attention (in particular, *Louis Trichardt (Makhado)*, *Warmbad (Bela-Bela)*, *Pietersburg (Polokwane)*, *Duiwelskloof (Ngoake Ramalepe)*, *Nylstroom (Modimolle)*, *Potgietersrus (Mokopane)* and *Duiwelskloof (Gomodjaji)*, amongst others. Although most of these name changes in Limpopo occurred in 2002, the prominence accorded to this issue in the media in 2003 indicates that the dust had not yet settled in respect of this issue. In Mpumalanga, the Northern Cape, the North West Province and the Western Cape, relatively little attention was given to place names and name changes.

While discussions concerning name changes in both the Afrikaans and the English press reflect opposition as well as understanding, it is, in particular, the changing of names relating to historical figures from the previous dispensation, for example the changing of the name of Pretoria to that of an unknown chief from African oral tradition (*Tshwane*), which has elicited several cases of activism, with acrimonious letters to the press, editorials and reports of petitions in both the Afrikaans and English press, in an effort to maintain the status quo. In cases where town or city

names were to be changed to those of prominent figures of the current historical dispensation, often comprising unknown historical figures belonging to African oral tradition (as in the case of Pretoria), this generally elicited negative reporting, apparently jeopardising efforts in respect of nation-building.

The high prominence accorded in the press to the changing of the names of institutions is mainly attributable to the amalgamation of universities and technikons (now technical universities) in some instances, and in others, to the amalgamation of two universities, for example, the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Durban were jointly renamed the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Other examples include the changing of the name of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (PU for CHE) to North West University; the changing of the names of the Pretoria, Northern Gauteng and North West Technikons to the joint name of Tshwane University of Technology; and the joint renaming of the Cape Technikon and Peninsula Technikon as Pentech. After cities/towns (with 27,8%), this changing of the names of institutions occupied the second highest place in the press in the grading list, with a percentage of 20,5%; in other words, such changes accounted for nearly one fifth of media reporting on name changes. Although directives from the Minister of Education indicated that these institutions were not to be named after prominent South Africans, an exception had been made in the case of the University of Port Elizabeth, which was henceforth to be called the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. This particular change drew very little negative response in the media.

A degree of tension should be expected in a multicultural and multilingual country in respect of the changing of names as a result of a new political dispensation that is more Afro-centric in its inclinations. However, our analysis indicates that recent name changes have tended to target the naming legacy of the Afrikaans community in particular. For example, historical names linked to English colonial history in the Eastern Province, Queenstown, King William's Town and Grahamstown, as well as the name of Rhodes University, have remained unchanged for the present. Our contention is that the prolonging of this focus might in the long run jeopardise nation-building attempts.

3.4. Language enhancement

It is not only language rights complaints and incidents related to perceived and actual discrimination against languages that are reported on in the printed media. There are also various other instances of reportage concerning language rights, which relate to actions in which languages were enhanced.

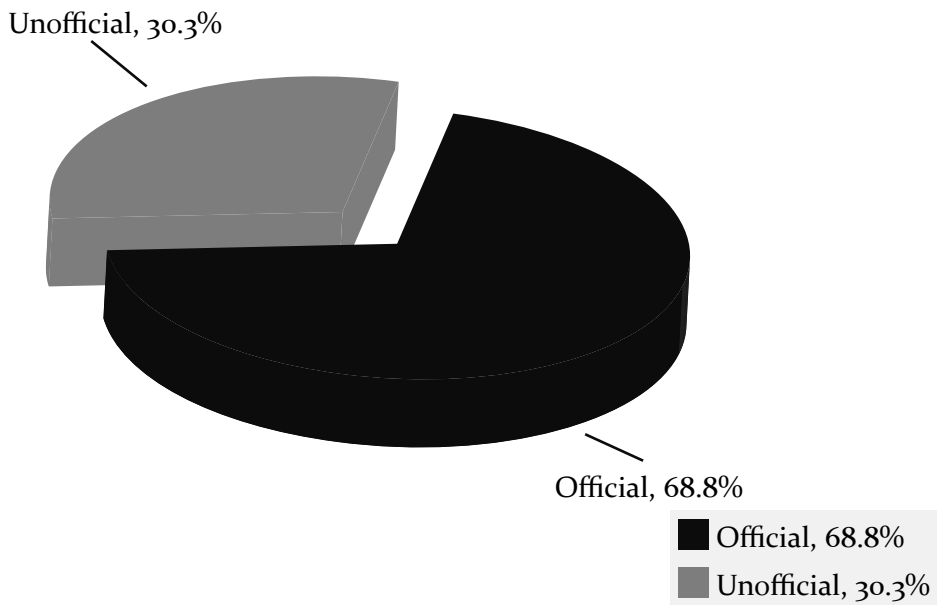
Language enhancement pertains, *inter alia*, to the creation of conditions conducive to the extension or promotion of the usage or status, not only of the official languages, but also of the Khoi, Nama and San languages, along with Sign Language, as well as all languages commonly used by specific communities in South Africa, for example German, Greek and the Indian languages, as stipulated in section 6 of the Constitution.

In question 8 of the Questionnaire (and also in Table 3.10), the context in which language is mentioned in the records is indicated. Because one record may refer to more than one context, the 2 694 records yielded 4 223 cases. Of these 4 223 cases, 324 refer to instances of language enhancement, accounting for a mere 7,8%. Of the 4 223 cases, 1 390 are accounted for by reviews. If these reviews, which are irrelevant in the context of an analysis of reports on linguistic rights, are not taken into consideration, 2 833 references remain, of which the 324 cases of language enhancement now constitute 11,4%.

Of the 324 cases of coverage on enhancement a distinction is made in respect of these 324 cases, between official cases of enhancement, accounting for 69,8% (226), and unofficial cases, accounting for 30,3% (98) of the total.

A schematic illustration of the comparison between coverage on official and unofficial cases of language enhancement is provided in Figure 3.13.

Figure 3.13: Comparison between official and unofficial cases of language enhancement



As can be seen in Figure 3.13, approximately two-thirds (69,8% (226)) of the total number of covered cases of language enhancement pertained to official cases of enhancement, compared to the 98 cases (30,3%) of unofficial enhancement.

A content analysis of the 226 official cases of covered language enhancement is supplied in Table 3.15.

Language enhancement	N	%
Language plan (Tertiary/schools)	18	8,0
Language plan (First level)	28	12,4
Language plan (Second level)	10	4,4
Language plan (Third level)	7	3,1
Enhancement of Khoi/ San	13	5,8
Enhancement of African languages	23	10,2
Enhancement of Indian languages	4	1,8
Enhancement of Sign Language	5	2,2
Enhancement of Afrikaans	24	10,6
Enhancement of English	3	1,3
Telephone Interpreting Services (Tissa)	2	0,9
Enhancement on SABC/ TV/ radio	22	9,7
Promoting the mother tongue	11	4,9
Promoting multilingualism	23	10,2
Promoting parallel-medium education	2	0,9
Government bodies: CPPRCRLC	7	3,1
Name boards	2	0,9
Other	22	9,7
Total	226	100

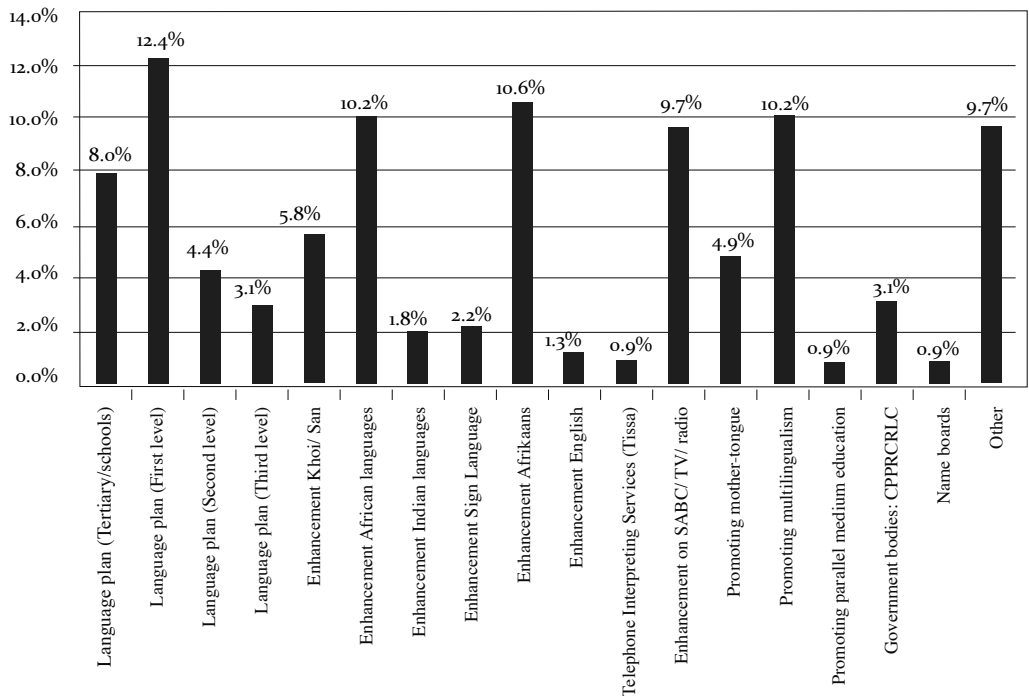
Table 3.15: Reputed instances of official language enhancement

The perception exists among certain members of the Afrikaans-speaking community, in particular, that the state is indifferent towards their language aspirations, and that the focus of the state has moved inexorably away from the accommodation and compromise that distinguished the first decade of the new dispensation, towards a system in which English is favoured by the state. Although only 7,7% of the overall language rights documents pertain to language enhancement, this nevertheless demonstrates a willingness on the part of the government to enhance multilingualism on the official level. Table 3.15 shows that 12,4% (28) of the total number of official cases of enhancement covered (226) pertain to governmental efforts, at first level, to promote multilingualism, *inter alia* by instituting a new language policy in Parliament, interpreting and translation services, and also by means of a governmental decision to publish important information in all 11 official languages. Taking into consideration the existing perception among some Afrikaans cultural institutions that the government is endorsing an English-only

policy, the relatively high incidence of reports relating to official efforts to enhance Afrikaans, namely 10,6% (24), seems to suggest an anomaly. This pertains, in particular, to efforts by statutory bodies, viz. PanSALB and its subcommittees, the National Language Bodies (NLB) and, in this case, also the Nasionale Taalliggaam vir Afrikaans (NTLA), which coordinates the efforts related to Afrikaans. These initiatives were supported by cultural organisations, including the FAK, Vriende van Afrikaans, the Taalsekretariaat, ATKV and the Groep van 63. The 10,2% (23) of all instances of enhancement that focused on African languages were comprised of efforts by government institutions, as well as general official efforts to promote multilingualism, for example, initiatives aimed at the development of six of the official languages in the Eastern Cape through courses in translation and interpreting, as well as governmental efforts to develop for members of the San a written language and the institution of a radio station.

The different instances of covered language enhancement by official organisations are schematically illustrated in Figure 3.14.

Figure 3.14: Reputed language enhancement by official organisations



A content analysis of the 98 unofficial cases of language enhancement is supplied in Table 3.16.

Language enhancement	N	%
Literature prizes	7	7,1
Advertisement prizes	28	28,6
Enhancement of Afrikaans: organisational efforts	30	30,6
New media publications	3	3,1
Upgrading IT software to mother tongue	6	6,1
Enhancement of businesses	18	18,4
Enhancement through translation	6	6,1
Total	98	100

Table 3.16: Reputed instances of unofficial language enhancement

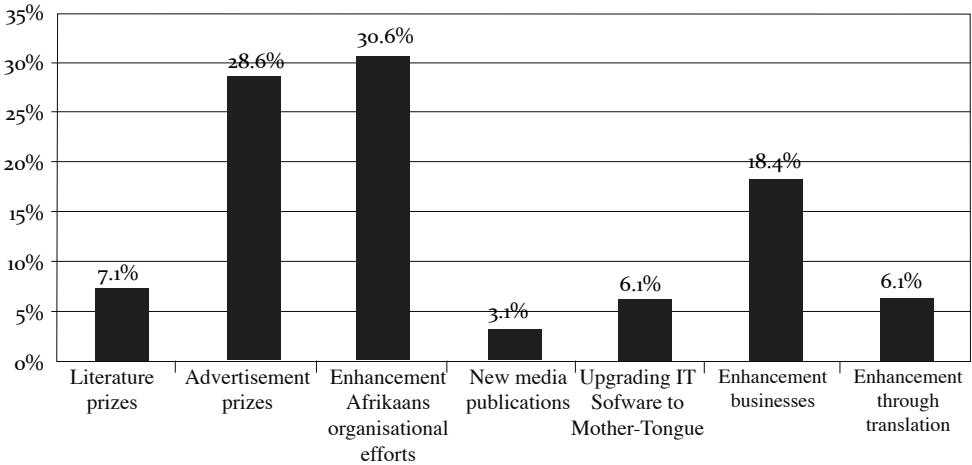
Since the perception exists among certain Afrikaans-speaking groups that Afrikaans is being targeted by government, and that Afrikaans is mostly at the receiving end of incidences of alleged language rights transgressions, the Afrikaans press has – as it has done in the past – come to the forefront in respect of making the reading public aware of language rights issues. It gradually dawned on this community that they would have to take responsibility for enhancing the status of Afrikaans, through institutional efforts and by other unofficial means. Commentary by the FAK in *Die Vrye Afrikaan* corroborates this perception: “The state would not be forced by necessity, as had happened in the past, to enhance the destiny of the [Afrikaans] institutions” (4 March 2005).

The original supposition that business organisations with historical Afrikaner ties would support relevant Afrikaans cultural activities has proved to be erroneous, since these organisations are, in general, unwilling to forfeit the goodwill of government. Afrikaans cultural organisations realised that they would have a better chance of enhancing their credibility if they furthered the cause of the indigenous languages, in conjunction with that of their own. As financial assistance from official sources is out of the question, other institutions have come to the fore, as can be seen from the proliferation of cultural festivals, private radio stations, and other initiatives. This combination of efforts on a wide front produced results, as in the case of the Onderwysfonds [Education Fund] instituted by *Rapport*, Solidarity and the Afrikanerbond, in an effort to enhance Afrikaans at school level. Table 3.16 shows that these efforts constitute approximately a third of all the unofficial efforts in this regard, namely 30,6% (30) of the 98 instances of language enhancement. Prizes for excellence in literature and for advertisements constitute 35,7% (35) of unofficial enhancement efforts. These prizes include, *inter alia*, the Pendering prize for excellence in advertising, and the Jan Rabie prize for prose instituted by *Rapport* and Nasboek. Language enhancement efforts by business organisations

featured relatively prominently, with 18,4% (18 instances) and included, *inter alia*, the publishing of financial results in Zulu by *Business Day*.

The different instances of reputed language enhancement by unofficial organisations are schematically shown in Figure 3.15.

Figure 3.15: Language enhancement by unofficial organisations



3.5. Conclusion

The printed media are an important source of information to the reading public. According to the survey that was conducted by Fourie (1994: 282, 293), the South African printed media comprise the largest press in Africa, with more than 5 000 registered newspapers, journals, and technical and consumer publications. As previously noted, three mainstream Afrikaans dailies, as well as the new English daily, the *Daily Sun*, reach at least 42,6% of the reading public per day (according to the figures for July to December 2004) (*Reklame-oorsig*, 2005: 11). This probably demonstrates the potential influence that the printed media may exert on the reading public in respect of making them aware of certain contentious linguistic issues. In particular, media coverage plays an important role in making information available to the reading public. According to AMPS 2004, the daily newspapers monitored by OMD in South Africa reach 21,0% of all the reading public. Penetration was highest among whites (36,3%), followed by Indians (35,8%) and coloureds (27,9%), and lowest among blacks (6,9%) (*South African Media Facts: OMD Ad Review*, 2005: 8).

Although the number of Afrikaans publications is relatively small in comparison with the superior numbers of the English newspapers, the Afrikaans press

proportionally accords more attention than its English counterpart to language-related and cultural matters, as is clear from Table 3.2. If the media publications dealt with in this investigation concerning language issues are taken into account, 17 of the publications were Afrikaans, 49 were English, and six were bilingual (Afrikaans and English). Despite the lion's share enjoyed by the English press, its share in respect of language-related matters is 4,6% (15% in 2002) smaller than that of the Afrikaans media, namely 47,6% (42% in 2002), as against 52,2% (57% in 2002) (with bilingual publications accounting for 0,1%). Publications in African languages have not been taken into consideration for this report.

The language debate in the Afrikaans press was considerably more lively than in the case of the English press (whose readers include speakers of most African languages). Market research (Fourie, 1994: 296) conducted in 1994 indicated that a higher percentage of black and coloured readers read English publications than vice versa, as a result of various historical factors. The larger English dailies show a black readership in excess of 50%, blurring the editorial divisions between "black" and "white" categories (*South African Media Facts: OMD Ad Review*, 2005: 15). As far as the reporting of language matters in 2003 is concerned, for example, more prominence was accorded to language-related matters in the Afrikaans press, namely 55,9% in the case of the Afrikaans media, as against 44,0% in the case of English media, and only 0,1% in the case of bilingual (Afrikaans and English) media (compare Table 3.8). An interesting aspect is that this tendency is consistent with that of 2002.

Although, according to Booysen and Erasmus (1998: 236), the media in South Africa did not have a significant impact on policy-making, particularly as a result of the overwhelming electoral majority of the African National Congress (ANC) and its alliance partners, the media can nevertheless affect the details of policy administration and implementation (Booyesen & Erasmus, 1998: 249). The most meaningful contribution that the printed media can make in the debate on language rights is to influence the ideological orientation of policy-makers, which can be characterised as internationalisation, and which contrasts with vernacularisation (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 175). The adherence to the principle of internationalisation leads to language hierarchising or linguisticism, as a result of which the endeavours to invest resources in minority groups are seen as handicaps (Strydom & Pretorius, 2000: 113). In the case of South Africa that means that English becomes hegemonic; and all the other ten languages designated as official in the Constitution are being marginalised.

To prevent the official encroachment of English on the domains of the other ten languages, the printed media are best equipped to raise the ethical stakes so high that those with vested interests in the status quo cannot find any political high ground for opposition. An analogous example of the influence of the media which caused awareness among the general public, was the constant reporting of environmentalist's activities in relation to the threat posed to the environment and some animal and plant species.

In the next chapter an analysis of language rights complaints and complainants as reported in the media is carried out.

4. An analysis of language rights complaints and complainants

4.1. Introduction

An analysis concerning language rights complaints and complainants was undertaken in order to determine which language rights incidents have enjoyed coverage in the printed media and who the language rights complainants are. For the sake of greater overall clarity, some of these reports are also schematically illustrated. After the discussion of the results, certain deductions will be drawn. After the methodology has been set out, in the subsequent two sections, language rights complaints and complainants as reported on in the media will be covered. In Chapter Five language rights complaints which have been lodged with PanSALB are analysed and a comparison drawn between the two sets of data.

4.2. Methodology

As was indicated in more detail in Chapter One, data for the first two sections were collected from the SA Media database on the basis of relevant key words for the period 1 January 2003 – 31 December 2003.

The collected records on language-related matters in the media were classified under 19 different categories. A wider set of language-related information has materialised from additional, incisive key words. In addition to the language rights complaints (Q8.12) and incidents (Q8.2), language rights in general have been addressed, as well as the following categories in respect of language-related matters in the media: alleged diminution of language usage (Q8.1); announcements (Q8.3); government responses (Q8.7); language enhancement (Q8.8); language enquiries (Q8.9); the National Council of Provinces (Q8.13); the National House

of Traditional Leaders (Q8.14); and various language matters categorised under “Other” (Q8.19).

As has been indicated, language rights complaints and language rights incidents reported and discussed in the printed media constitute a barometer of the attitudes and feelings of the man on the street. A language rights complaint is an expression of dissatisfaction or displeasure by a person, the media, the business sector or an institution (which may include, inter alia, a political party, a trade union or professional organisation, a cultural body, a statutory body, a tertiary or educational organisation or a government official or department) in respect of an alleged unacceptable, unsatisfactory level of language treatment. In short, language rights complaints refer to complaints by members of language groups or sectors of the community who are experiencing an alleged disregard for their language rights. Cases in which complaints were lodged in the printed media concerning incorrect pronunciation in English and Zulu during SABC broadcasts, for example, or cases of hate speech (*Leader*, 13 June 2003) or derogatory racially offensive names, were discarded, because these incidents are not regarded as cases of alleged abuses in respect of language rights specifically.

A language rights incident refers to the incident that gives rise to the lodging of a complaint by a language rights complainant. As such, a language rights incident is related to a perceived discriminatory action taken by an institution against a certain language; usually an action that the complainant perceives to be violating his or her rights regarding the use of that language. For instance, the decision by a state department to publish all forms to be used by citizens in their interaction with that department, in English only, constitutes a typical language rights incident. In analysing language rights incidents, it is thus necessary to establish which source took what action against (or in favour of) which language.

In order to compile a profile of tendencies regarding the language rights orientations of various newspapers, the records on such language rights incidents are categorised under a number of subdivisions or categories. According to the type of report (Q6), eight categories of news coverage on language-related matters were distinguished (the ninth category concerns PanSALB), namely reports (thus, the reporting of events and decisions), editorial comments, letters to the press (thus, comments by the public as reflected in correspondence to the editorial staff), columns by colleagues (thus, comments and discussions by (unaffiliated) colleagues), articles (essays on a particular topic by academics, scientists and experts), reviews (literature and theatre), cartoons (only those pertaining to language-related matters), and advertisements (again, only those concerning

language-related matters). On the basis of these subdivisions, the attitudes of the different role-players become evident, as already indicated by Steyn (1995).

Before touching on the issues that led to the development of the Questionnaire (given as a appendix), it is worth noting that certain attitudes will arise from the selection of reports, columns, cartoons and comments in personal letters appearing in the printed media, with prominence being accorded to certain language-related issues while others are ignored, in terms of what is called “gatekeeping” (D’Alessio & Allen, 2000: 134, 136). Although the opinions of columnists do not necessarily reflect the editorial opinion of the paper, the very inclusion of such columns, for example, columns written by language authorities, displays an unconscious role in making readers more aware of language matters and issues. Thus, for example – as will be discussed in more detail later – the Afrikaans press generally accords more prominence to reporting on matters concerning PanSALB, in comparison to the English-speaking press. The opinions of colleagues who write columns, such as Jaap Steyn, Hermann Giliomee, Z.B. du Toit and Neels Jackson in the Afrikaans-language newspapers, and Wally Mbhele (*City Press*), Pershini Govender and Lindiwe Khuzwayo (*The Star*) in the English-language newspapers, as well as those opinions expressed by letter-writers in their personal capacity, do not necessarily reflect the editorial agenda of the paper. Even if the columnist writes in response to an instruction, owing to the nature of his knowledge or outspokenness in respect of a specific matter, his comments will reflect his personal affiliations. An exception is made throughout in respect of the paper, *Afrikaner*, in which the views of the columnist, JB, are regarded as reflecting the editorial agenda of the paper, as a result of its more polemical approach.

The language classifications in the Questionnaire need to be clarified. The language designations, *Afrikaans*, *English* and *Other* (African languages or bilingual) (Q3), refer to the language medium in which the record is published. The languages concerned (Q7), on the other hand, have been broadened to include not only the various indigenous African language groupings (Q7.1 (7.1.1 – 7.1.9)) but, through the inclusion of the category, “Other”, also Sign Language, Khoi/ San, and all languages used by specific communities in South Africa, viz. Indian languages (Gujarati, Hindi, Telegu and Urdu) and European languages (German, Greek), as well as Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes.

A distinction has been made as to the status of the language rights concerned (Q9), that is, in terms of whether they arose at the official or unofficial level (Q11). All matters pertaining to the three levels of government, namely, the national (including semi-state and statutory bodies), provincial and municipal levels,

are classified as “official”. Business, culture, labour, and the media fall under the “unofficial” category. A further subdivision has been made under “business” (Q 11.1), in terms of finance, industry, resources and “other”. This distinction is particularly relevant in cases of name changes involving official government-appointed name-changing committees per province, or city councils’ decisions on name changes, and the unofficial changing of brand names in the business sector. The same distinction is drawn, *inter alia*, in respect of the awarding of literary and other prizes by government institutions, and similar awards made by the business sector or cultural organisations.

Furthermore, in the content analysis of the records, no subjective deductions were made. Only matters mentioned specifically in the report were taken into consideration in the analysis of the contents (Q14 to Q17). For example, the language rights complaint of an Afrikaans speaker with regard to the usage of English only in the Post Office (Q16.15), is noted as *discrimination against Afrikaans* in internal/external communication in administrative action, but is not at the same time recorded as administrative action *favouring* English in internal/external communication (Q14. 16).

Content analysis can be both qualitative and quantitative in nature. Examples of such language analyses are those of, *inter alia*, Lubbe and Du Plessis (2001), Strydom and Pretorius (2000), Truter (2002), Truter and Lubbe (2002) and Truter (2003). Owing to the fact that the frequency of the content characteristics is tabulated, a content analysis is usually regarded as being quantitative in nature, according to Pepler (s.a.: 114). The qualitative nature of the content characteristics arises as a result of descriptive observations. The following definition of a content analysis points to the qualitative, as well as the quantitative nature of such an analysis:

[A] systematic, objective analysis of written communications for the purpose of making judgements about the communications, their sender and related political variables (Plano et al., 1982: 27, as quoted by Pepler, s.a.: 113).

The following statement of Joubert (1991: 72) is applicable to the analysis of the language debate in South Africa:

Content analysis remains an underutilized method with great potential for studying beliefs, organizations, attitudes and human relations. The limited application and development of content analysis is due more to unfamiliarity with the method and its historic isolation from mainstream social science than to its inherent limitations.

In the analysis, a distinction is made between language rights incidents (complaints) and complainants. A language rights complaint may be lodged by an individual

writing a letter to a newspaper, or may be reported by a columnist, or raised in an editorial; or it may be mentioned in a news report on a language rights incident. In all cases, the letter-writer, columnist, editor or institution, or the person whose complaint is being reported on, is the complainant. Before these two categories are analysed separately, another distinction must be taken into account, namely the distinction between “official” and “unofficial”. “Official” refers to all language matters pertaining to the three levels of government, and “unofficial”, to language matters concerning business, culture, labour and the media. The totals referring to the unofficial category do not necessarily refer to language complaints or complainants, but in many cases, are related to comments on the use or abuse of a certain language. In the case of unofficial language matters, there is also no mention of language *rights*, since a private institution is not compelled by law to uphold the language stipulation of the Constitution. The data concerning the official category include, *inter alia*, information on language rights complaints and complainants, as well as cases of language rights incidents, which include instances of name changes. Cases of activism will be discussed separately in Chapter Six. Reporting on language rights complaints and complainants in bilingual newspapers and journals is quite insignificant in extent, and is incorporated in other data.

Comparisons between data from SALRM 2002 and SALRM 2003 are not always possible, as SALRM 2003 is more comprehensive, with different subcategories.

The distribution between reportage on official and unofficial matters is portrayed in Table 4.1. Note that these totals include both language rights complaints and complainants.

	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Official	438	54,3	368	45,6	806	75,1
Unofficial	185	68,5	82	30,7	267	24,9
Total	623	57,9	450	41,8	1 073	100

Table 4.1: Status of language right concerned (official or unofficial) per language of medium

Table 4.1 shows the status of the language right concerned, in other words, whether the language right pertains to government (official) institutions or private/ business (unofficial) institutions. The official domain may include state organisations, semi-state organisations (bodies with their own governing bodies), statutory bodies (bodies established under company law) and/or state domains (legislative, judicial or executive). Of the total number of reports on language rights complaints and complainants, the official domain accounted for 75,1% (806), of which 54,3% (438)

were excerpted from the Afrikaans press and 45,6% (368) from the English press. Of the overall number of reports on language rights complaints and complainants, 24,9% (267) referred to unofficial cases, of which 68,5% (185) were excerpted from the Afrikaans press and 30,7% (82) from the English press. It may be noted that by far the majority of reports on language rights complaints and complainants were derived from the Afrikaans press, with 57,9% (623); while 41,8% (450) were derived from the English press.

The total of 806 records referring to instances of official language rights complaints and complainants can be divided into records on language rights complaints and records on language rights complainants. The records referring to language rights complaints are analysed first, in the next subdivision, followed by those referring to language rights complainants.

4.3. Analysis of language rights complaints in the printed media

For the purposes of comparing SALRM 2002 and SALRM 2003, reporting in the media in respect of language rights incidents and language rights complainants is considered in terms of instances of language rights complaints, and instances of language rights complainants. These complaints may be lodged by an individual writing a letter to a newspaper, or may be reported by a columnist or raised in an editorial; or they may be mentioned in a report on a language right incident (or complainant), or in an article referring to such an incident (or complainant).

Table 4.2 indicates the spread of records on language rights complaints during the year under investigation.

Month	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
January	17	77,3	5	22,7	22	4,8
February	39	83,0	8	17,0	47	10,6
March	21	70,0	9	30,0	30	6,7
April	21	77,8	6	22,2	27	6,1
May	22	59,5	15	40,5	37	8,3
June	22	52,4	20	47,6	42	9,4
July	16	50,0	16	50,0	32	7,2
August	22	53,7	19	46,3	41	9,0
September	25	55,6	20	44,4	45	10,1
October	14	40,0	21	60,0	35	7,9
November	43	86,0	7	14,0	50	11,2
December	25	67,6	12	32,4	37	8,3
Total	287	64,5	158	35,5	445	100

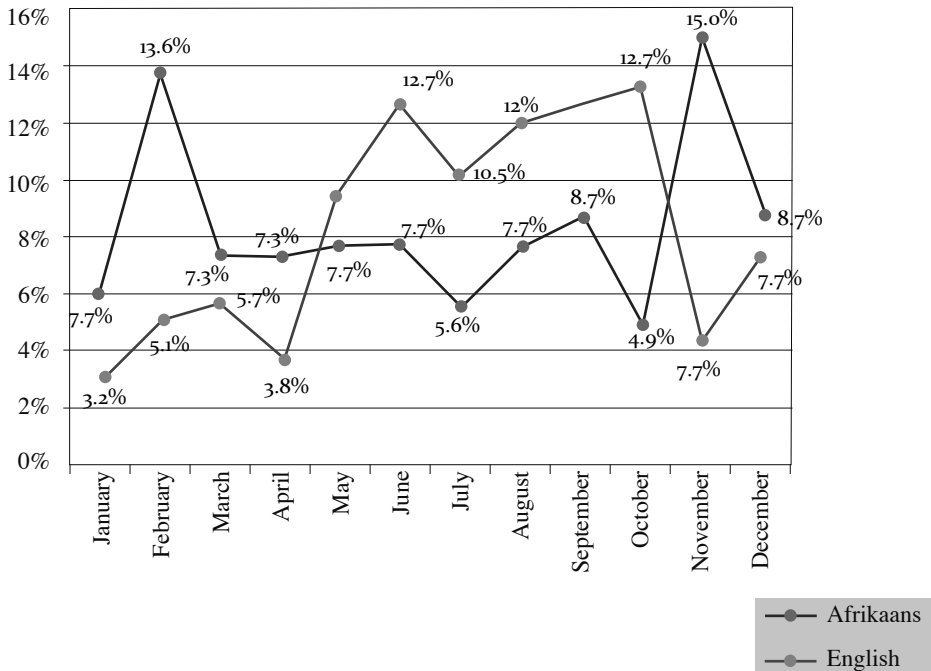
Table 4.2: Language rights complaints per month and language medium

Table 4.2 portrays the language rights complaints per language press (Afrikaans and English respectively) during the year under investigation. The bilingual press, as a result of the insignificant number of records, has been incorporated into the totals. The records show a relatively even spread over the period, with higher tendencies in February, September and November 2003. The increase in records during these months, however, does not signify any significant difference from the other months. The increase is mainly attributable to initiatives by the Minister of Education to change single-medium schools in Limpopo and other provinces to dual-medium schools. Name changes also figured prominently in media coverage, particularly in respect of *Pretoria*, as well as the changing of brand names from historically Afrikaans names (such as the changing of the name of *Vlottenburg* wine cellars to *Durban Hills*).

A relatively even spread of language rights complaints may be noted in respect of the Afrikaans press, with tendencies towards peaks in the first four months of the year and an all-time high in November, with 86,0%. The same even spread is noticeable in the English press, with relatively minor peaks in June, July and a high peak in October, with 60,0%.

For greater overall clarity, the information above is schematically illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Language rights complaints per month and language medium



When the spread of records in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.1 is compared with the breakdown per newspaper, it can be seen that there is a departure from the norm regarding the Afrikaans press. The overall reportage in the Afrikaans-language press of 64,5% (287) amounted, on average, to at least twice the amount of reportage in the English press, which had an average of 35,5% (158) of the reports. The difference thus amounts to 29,0%. The same tendencies were apparent in 2002, when 66,5% of the records on language rights complaints were excerpted from Afrikaans newspapers and 34,5% from English newspapers (with the bilingual press accounting for 10,0% as a result of the inclusion of *De Rebus* which has not been included for 2003 as has been explained in Chapter One). Considering the proportionally higher number of English media in South Africa, the higher number of occurrences of reportage in the Afrikaans press for 2003 (with a difference of 29,0%) suggests a greater awareness of language rights issues on the part of Afrikaans readers, since members of this language group were mostly at the receiving end of incidents of alleged language rights transgressions. The Afrikaans press is therefore - as it has been in the past - at the forefront, in respect of making the reading public aware of alleged violations of their language rights. It gradually dawned on the Afrikaans community that they themselves would have to take responsibility for enhancing their language rights, as is shown in the following comments by the FAK, as reported in *Die Vrye Afrikaan*:

Een van die onuitgesproke vooronderstellings in die grondwetlike ooreenkoms van 1996 is dat die Afrikaanse taal- en kultuurgemeenskap(pe) voortaan vir hulself en hul instellings sal moet intree. Daar is nie meer soos in die verlede 'n staat wat homself per definisie lotgebonde aan ons instellings ervaar nie [One of the implicit (unspoken) presuppositions in the consitutional agreement of 1996 is that the Afrikaans linguistic and cultural communities will henceforth have to take responsibility for themselves and for their institutions. The state no longer considers its destiny to be linked, by definition, to that of our [Afrikaans] institutions] (4 March 2005).

Steps taken in this regard are discussed in the section on language enhancement in the previous chapter.

The relatively minor role of the English press may be as a result of the privileged position enjoyed by English. The speakers of African languages apparently do not voice the same concerns about language rights violations in the media. It also confirms the importance of a newspaper devoted to the interests of a specific language community, such as the Afrikaans newspapers, for language rights issues. Speakers of African languages do not have such a mouthpiece, at least not in the SA Media database.

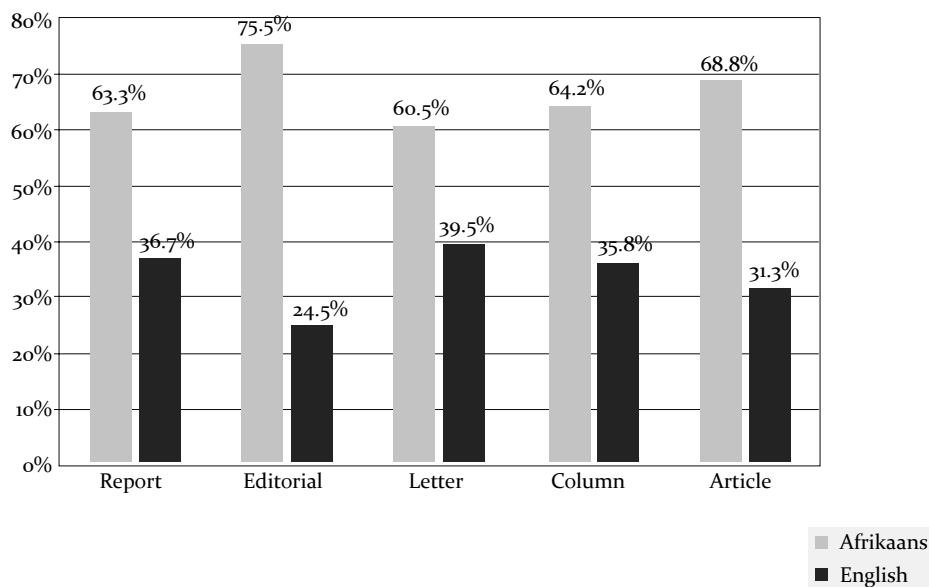
Table 4.3 contains details concerning the types of records on language rights complaints.

Category	Afrikaans		English		Total	
Type	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reports	124	63,3	72	36,7	196	49,0
Editorials	37	75,5	12	24,5	49	12,2
Letters	52	60,5	34	39,5	86	21,5
Columns	34	64,2	19	35,8	53	13,3
Articles	11	68,8	5	31,2	16	4,0
Total	258	64,5	142	35,5	400	100

Table 4.3: Language rights complaints per type of record and language medium

For greater overall clarity, the information is also schematically illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Language rights complaints per type of record and language medium



The different totals in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3, namely 445 and 400 respectively, are as a result of the omission of the cartoons (15), advertisements (4) and records relating to PanSALB (26).

The majority of all newspaper records constitute reports, namely 49,0% (196), followed by letters to the editor, with a total of 21,5% (86), columns with 13,3% (53), and articles on language complaints with 4,0% (16). The relatively high incidence of records on language rights issues suggests that newspapers play a great role in making the reading public aware of language rights issues. The difference of 29,0%

between the number of Afrikaans and English records is probably owing to the greater activist role that has historically been played by the Afrikaans press, and in particular, the Media24 group. It may be noted that the Afrikaans press played a predominant role in all five of the types of news coverage.

However, the greatest difference in respect of reporting on language rights complaints occurs between the editorials of the Afrikaans and English newspapers, namely 51%. This once again seems to corroborate the greater awareness of language rights among Afrikaans speakers that was previously remarked upon (with regard to reports). The preponderance of Afrikaans letter-writers over English letter-writers, with a difference of 21%, seems to show this same tendency. The fact that the Afrikaans press is also dominant in respect of columns written by knowledgeable people on language-related issues (with a 28,4% majority), shows that the Afrikaans press is prepared to champion the cause of language rights in every possible way.

It must be stressed that this championing of the cause of language rights by the Afrikaans press is not focused on Afrikaans exclusively, but also on the rights of speakers of minority languages in general, and thus also on the rights of the groups speaking the other nine indigenous languages. As was shown in the discussion of Table 3.8, references to Afrikaans, and to Afrikaans in conjunction with indigenous languages in particular, outnumbered references to English or to indigenous languages on their own.

In the next table, the sources of language rights incidents are summarised

Source	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
State departments	343	55,2	278	44,8	621	72,5
Semi-state	47	53,4	41	46,6	88	10,3
Statutory	70	48,6	76	51,4	148	17,2
Total	462	54,0	395	46,0	857	100

Table 4.4: Language rights complaints per source and language medium

Table 4.4 illustrates the occurrences of language rights complaints having their origin in the different state departments, according to the language media. Of the total of 857 records on language complaints, 72,5% (621) originated in state departments (including the 1st, 2nd and 3rd levels of government), 17,2% (148) in statutory bodies, and 10,3% (88) in semi-state institutions. It is not surprising that such a high percentage of language rights complaints have their origin in the state departments (at 1st, 2nd and 3rd level), since state institutions play an important

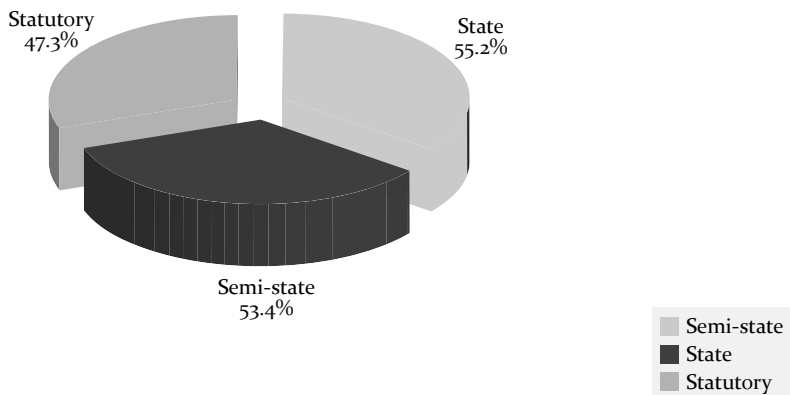
role in implementing state language policy, as is illustrated by the vital role state institutions played in the previous dispensation in ensuring a 50/50 bilingual (Afrikaans/English) language policy.

Table 4.4 also illustrates the language spread in relation to sources of language rights complaints. It may be noted that 54,0% (462) of language rights complaints concerning state institutions were excerpted from the Afrikaans press and 46,0% (395) from the English press.

The reason for the discrepancy between the total of 857 in Table 4.4 and that of 445 in Table 4.2 (as well as that of 400 in Table 4.3) is that the totals in 4.2 and 4.3 are based on Question 8.12, which entailed only one choice (with a possible answer of either “yes” or no), while in the case of Table 4.4, more possibilities exist, in the sense that the record can refer to complaints against the first, second or third level of government.

The information in Table 4.4 is schematically illustrated in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Language rights complaints per source and language medium



The distribution of references relating to language rights complaints between the official state departments at the first, second and third levels of government is further analysed below.

FIRST LEVEL

State domain	N	%
Legislature	51	6,1
Judiciary	34	4,0
Executive	756	89,9
Total	841	100

Table 4.5: Language rights complaints per state domain

As can be seen from Table 4.5, the overall majority of language rights complaints in this context pertained to the executive domain, namely 89,9% (756), followed by the legislature with 6,1% (51), and the judiciary with 4,0% (34). This seems to suggest that the executive domain is playing an active part in not implementing the national language policy.

A breakdown of the three state domains follows hereunder.

BREAKDOWN OF OFFICIAL STATE DOMAINS

Category	N	%
Parliament	37	71,2
National Council of Provinces	2	3,8
National Assembly	1	1,9
Provinces	9	17,3
Local government	2	3,8
Total	51	100

Table 4.6: LEGISLATURE: Source of language rights complaints

Table 4.6 contains details on the number of language rights complaints pertaining to the legislature. As can be seen, the greatest number of language rights complaints were related to Parliament, namely 71,2% (37), while provinces accounted for 17,3% (9), and both the National Council of Provinces and local government accounted for an insignificant 3,8% (2) each.

Category	N	%
Constitutional Court	3	9,1
Supreme Court	7	21,2
High Court	18	51,5
Magistrate's Court	5	15,2
Total	34	100

Table 4.7: JUDICIARY: Source of language rights complaints

At least half of the language rights complaints in the judiciary (Table 4.7) occurred in the High Court, namely 51,5% (18), followed by the Supreme Court with 21,2% (7), the Magistrate's Court with 15,2% (5) and, not unexpectedly, the Constitutional Court with 9,1% (3).

A breakdown of the language rights complaints which occurred in the executive domain will now follow (Table 4.8 to Table 4.14).

Category	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st level	208	54,6	173	45,6	381	50,4

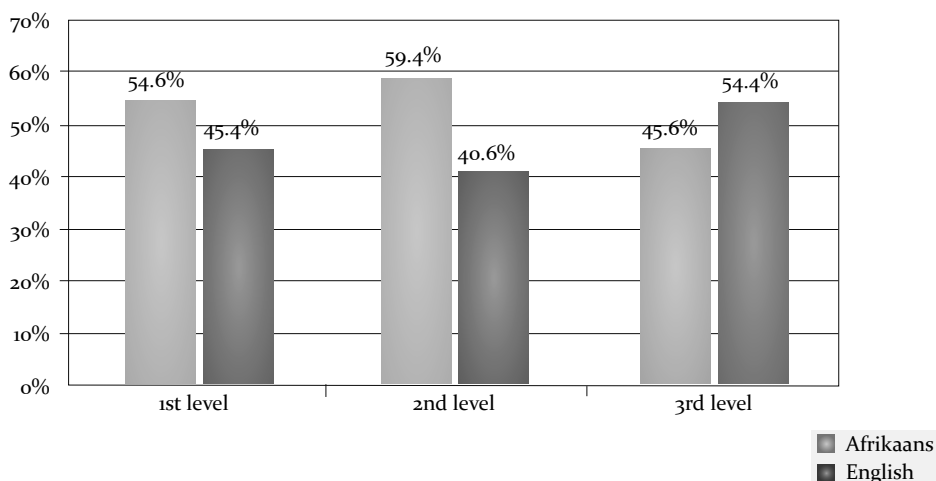
Category	Afrikaans		English		Total	
2nd level	142	59,4	97	40,6	239	31,6
3rd level	62	45,6	74	54,4	136	18,0
Total	412	54,5	344	45,5	756	100

Table 4.8: EXECUTIVE DOMAIN: Source of language rights complaints per language medium

It turned out that 50,4% (381) of references relating to language rights complaints (Table 4.8) in the executive domain referred to incidents that occurred at the first level of government. Of these 381 references, 54,6% (208) were excerpted from Afrikaans newspapers, and 45,6% (173) from English newspapers (a difference of 9,0%). The greatest difference in reportage between the different language groups occurred in relation to the provincial (2nd) level of government: the overall number of reports amounted to 239 (31,6%), of which 142 (59,4%) were excerpted from the Afrikaans newspapers, and 97 (40,6%) from the English newspapers, a difference of 18,8%. The only category in government in which reportage of language rights complaints was more extensive in the English press (with a difference of 8,8%) was that of local government (3rd level): here the overall language rights complaints totalled 18,0% (136), of which 45,6% (62) were excerpted from the Afrikaans press and 54,4% (136) from the English press.

For greater overall clarity, the information is schematically illustrated in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Source of language rights complaints per language medium



If the coverage language rights complaints which emanated from the executive level are broken down (Table 4.9 to Table 4.12) an interesting picture emerges.

State department	N	%
Arts and Culture	21	5,5
Correctional Services	1	0,3
Communication	71	18,6
SA Defence Force	1	0,3
Education	142	37,3
Health	4	1,1
Home Affairs	1	1,3
Justice	35	9,2
Labour	5	1,3
SA Police	7	1,8
SA Reserve Bank	1	0,3
Tourism	7	1,8
Trade and Industry	4	1,1
General	79	20,7
Total	381	100

Table 4.9: FIRST LEVEL Executive domain according to state departments

Table 4.9 contains details of media reportage of language rights complaints in first-level departments. As no occurrences of language rights complaints were reported in the media in respect of certain departments (Finance, Housing, Land Affairs, Minerals and Energy, Public Works, the SA Revenue Service, Sport and Transport), these departments were omitted for the purposes of this report. The high incidence of reporting on language rights complaints relating to the Department of Education, namely 37,3% (142), is mainly as a result of announcements by the Minister of Education pertaining to findings on tertiary institutions and schools. The designation "General" was used for general references to departments in which infringements of language rights occurred, without mention having been made of the specific departments. These cases accounted for 20,7% (79) of language rights complaints. The relatively frequent occurrences in the Department of Communication, namely 18,6% (71), were as a result of language rights complaints about the SABC. The Department of Justice accounted for 9,2% (35), and the Arts and Culture for 5,5% (21), of the language rights complaints.

Semi-state department	N	%
SAA	5	5,7
SABC	79	89,8
Telkom	3	3,4
Transnet	1	1,1
Total	88	100

Table 4.10: FIRST LEVEL Semi-state

The high incidence of reportage of language rights complaints in respect of the Department of Communication, namely 18,6% (Table 4.9), was mainly owing to language rights complaints against the SABC. This is corroborated by Table 4.10, in which incidents of language rights complaints resulting from alleged action by the public broadcaster can be seen to be the most numerous, at 89,8% (79). Language rights complaints against the South African Airways (SAA) constituted 5,7% (5) of the complaints, while Telkom accounted for 3,45% (3), and Transnet for 1,1% (1).

Statutory bodies	N	%
Sanpark	2	1,3
Tertiary	132	89,2
Other	14	9,5
Total	148	100

Table 4.11: FIRST LEVEL Statutory bodies

The high incidence of reportage of language rights complaints concerning the Department of Education, namely 37,7% (Table 4.9), is corroborated in Table 4.11, in which reports on matters concerning tertiary institutions can be seen to be the most numerous in respect of the statutory bodies, with a percentage of 89,2% (132). The reportage in respect of “Other” was negligible in extent, constituting 9,5% (14 reports), followed by Sanpark with 1,3% (2).

A breakdown of the reportage concerning tertiary institutions is given in Table 4.12.

Institutions	N	%
Historically Afrikaans Universities (HAUs)	3	2,3
Potchefstroom University	22	16,7
Rand Afrikaans University (RAU)	4	3,0
Technikons	39	29,5
Pretoria University	3	2,3
University of Port Elizabeth	3	2,3
University of Stellenbosch	12	9,1
University of the Free State	8	6,1
University of Natal	21	15,9
Other	17	13,0
Total	132	100

Table 4.12: FIRST LEVEL Breakdown of tertiary institutions

It may be noted (Table 4.12) that the reportage of incidences of language rights complaints was highest in respect of technikons (now universities of technology), with 29,5% (39), followed by the Potchefstroom University for Higher Education (now the University of the North West) with 16,7% (22), the University of Natal

and the University of Durban-Westville (now the University of KwaZulu-Natal) with 15,9% (21), “Other” with 13,0% (17), the Stellenbosch University with 9,1% (12) and the Free State University with 6,1% (8). Other reportage on language rights complaints relating to tertiary institutions was negligible, averaging at 2,5%. The fairly high incidence of reportage in respect of tertiary institutions can mostly be ascribed to name changes after mergers.

SECOND LEVEL

Province	Education		Provincial government		General		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eastern Cape	0	0	11	100	0	0	11	4,6
Free State	0	0	11	100	0	0	11	4,6
Gauteng	11	22,0	39	78,0	0	0	50	20,9
KwaZulu-Natal	20	54,1	17	45,9	0	0	37	15,4
Limpopo	13	41,9	18	58,1	0	0	31	12,9
Mpumalanga	1	25,0	3	75,0	0	0	4	1,7
Northern Cape	1	14,3	6	85,7	0	0	7	2,9
North West	2	66,6	1	33,3	0	0	3	1,3
Western Cape	7	35,0	13	65,0	0	0	20	8,4
General	17	26,2	7	10,8	41	63,0	65	2,7
Total	72	30,1	126	52,7	41	17,2	239	100

Table 4.13: Language rights complaints per province and per provincial department

Table 4.13 contains details regarding language rights complaints per province and per provincial department. It can be seen that in the overall reporting, the highest incidence of language rights complaints occurred in Gauteng, with 20,9% (50). This is mainly owing to the numerous language rights complaints that arose as a result of the Department of Education’s efforts to change single-medium schools into parallel- and dual-medium schools; the changing of street names and the names of public places and parks in Johannesburg; and the changing of the name of *Garankuwa Hospital* to *G. Mukhari Hospital*, as well as the preference of public officials for English only. The 37 incidences (15,4%) of overall language rights complaints in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) can mostly be ascribed to language rights complaints concerning the changing of geographical names, the argument for mother-tongue (Zulu) education, and efforts to discard Indian languages in schools. The high incidence of 12,9% (31) in Limpopo is the result of proposed name changes for schools, police stations, hospitals and post offices, as well as for cities and towns, as described in Chapter Three. The “General” category, constituting

2,7% (65) of the overall reporting, pertained to the provinces, in cases where the specific provinces were not mentioned.

The language rights complaints relating to the Department of Education and which were reported in the press accounted for 30,1% (72) of the overall reportage, of which the greatest component occurred in KZN with 54,1% (20), pertaining in particular to efforts to remove Indian languages from the curriculum in schools. The fairly high incidence of language rights complainants in Limpopo, with 41,9% (13), and Gauteng, with 22,0% (11) can mainly be ascribed to efforts to change single-medium (Afrikaans) schools into parallel-medium/ dual-medium schools, in particular the Hoërskool Piet Potgieter in Mokopane; the Hans Strydom School in Mookgopong; and the Hoërskool Frans du Toit and Laerskool Eugène N. Marais in Ba-Phalaborwa, in Limpopo. In Gauteng, the schools concerned were mainly the Laerskool Danie Malan and the Pretoria North Primary School. The perception existed among language rights complainants that Afrikaans-medium schools were being “victimised”.

THIRD LEVEL

Departments	N	%
Clinic (Health)	1	0,7
Housing	1	0,7
Traffic	2	1,5
Treasury	109	80,1
Other	3	2,2
General	20	14,7
Total	136	100

Table 4.14: Language rights complaints per municipal department

Table 4.14 shows the reportage of occurrences of language rights complaints on local government level (3rd level). The 109 (80,1%) incidences of language rights complaints in the Department of Treasury arose as a result of the financial implications entailed by name changes. This pertained, in particular, to the efforts by the City Council of Pretoria to change the city’s name to *Tshwane*. Miscellaneous language rights complaints at the 3rd level of government were grouped under “General”, with 14,7% (20) of the overall reportage. The other departments showed negligible percentages.

UNOFFICIAL

Reportage on language rights complaints were not only concerned with alleged violations by official institutions; there were also various complaints and comments that resulted from actions taken by private institutions. Because a private institution is not compelled by law to uphold the language stipulations of the Constitution, there is no question of language *rights* complaints in this context, but only of language complaints. As was previously pointed out in the methodology section at the beginning of this chapter, totals referring to “unofficial” do not necessarily refer to language complaints or complainants, but in many cases refer to comments on the use or abuse of a certain language, or efforts by institutions, other than government, to enhance a language.

It has already been established (cf. Table 4.1) that out of the total number of 1 073 language rights complaints reported in the media, 24,9% (267) were of an unofficial nature, and that of these, 68,5% were excerpted from the Afrikaans press and 30,7% from the English press. The various unofficial sectors against which language complaints or comments were made, or in which enhancement efforts occurred, are tabulated in Table 4.15.

Categories	N	%
Business	121	45,3
Cultural	103	38,6
Labour	4	1,5
Media	23	8,6
Private persons	16	6,0
Total	267	100

Table 4.15: Language complaints and language enhancement efforts per category

From Table 4.15 it can be seen that the two highest frequencies of reportage on language complaints, comments or enhancement efforts occurred in the business sector, with 45,3% (121) of the overall reportage, and the cultural sector, with 38,6% (103). Incidences of language matters relating to cultural efforts include, *inter alia*, the sponsoring of literary prizes by the ATKV, and a new literary award sponsored by the Bloemfontein Skrywersvereniging [Bloemfontein Writers’ Guild]. The 23 (8,6%) incidents falling under the media category include, *inter alia*, *Beeld’s* project, “Koerant in die Onderwys” [The Newspaper in Education], as well as language courses for Afrikaans teachers that were presented in collaboration with the RAU. Letter-writers complaining about the poor standard of English and/or

Afrikaans, or the lack of a reading culture and a resistance to buying books, resort under private persons (16 or 6,0%).

Business sectors	N	%
Commerce	66	54,5
Finance	20	16,5
Industry	30	24,8
Resources	5	4,1
Total	121	100

Table 4.16: Language complaints per business sector

Table 4.16 shows a breakdown of language complaints in the business sector. The highest occurrences were in the commercial sector, as expected, with 54,5% (66) of the overall reportage, followed by the industrial sector with 24,8% (30), the financial sector with 16,5% (20), and the resources sector, with 4,1% (5).

As was pointed out in the introduction, the total of 806 records referring to official language rights is divided into records dealing with language rights complaints and records dealing with language rights complainants. In the next subsection, the records referring to language rights complainants are analysed.

4.4. Analysis of language rights complainants in the printed media

Table 4.17 contains the relevant spread of records per language medium over the period of investigation.

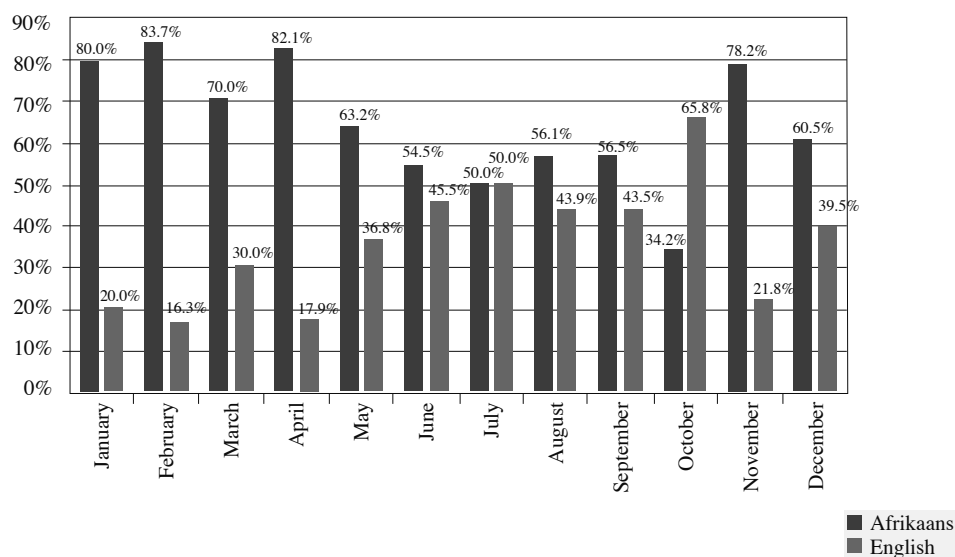
Month	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
January	20	75	5	25	25	5,3
February	41	83,7	8	16,3	49	10,4
March	21	70	9	30	30	6,4
April	23	82,1	5	17,9	28	5,9
May	24	63,2	14	36,8	38	8,1
June	24	54,6	20	45,4	44	9,3
July	17	50	17	50	34	7,2
August	23	56,1	18	43,9	41	8,7
September	26	56,5	20	43,5	46	9,8
October	13	34,2	25	65,8	38	8,1
November	43	78,2	12	21,8	55	11,7
December	26	60,5	17	39,5	43	9,1
Total	301	63,9	170	36,1	471	100

Table 4.17: Spread of language rights complainants per language medium

In Table 4.17, a relatively even spread of records can be seen in the overall reportage over the relevant period, with tendencies towards peaks in February, May and June, August and September, and November and December. Two peak periods are prominent regarding Afrikaans records, i.e. during February and November 2003. This is chiefly owing to reports on efforts to change the single-medium schools into dual-/parallel-medium schools, mainly in Limpopo and Gauteng. The single peak period during October which is prominent in the English press can mainly be attributed to efforts to initiate the exclusive use of English in courts, as well as complaints about name changes.

The peak periods per language medium become more prominent in the schematic figuration.

Figure 4-5: Spread of language rights complainants per month and language medium



When the spread of records is compared with the breakdown per language press (cf. Figure 4.5), it can be seen that the share of reportage on the language rights complainants was 27,8% higher in the Afrikaans press, with 63,9% (301), while the English press accounted for 36,1% (170). As was explained in the analysis of language rights complaints, in spite of the proportionally higher number of English newspapers, the higher level of reportage in the Afrikaans press suggests a greater awareness of language-related issues on the part of the Afrikaans reading public, which is linked to the historically activist role of the Afrikaans press. Furthermore, the impression that the state is favouring English, along with the perception

that Afrikaans and the other official languages are being discriminated against, contributes to this greater awareness among Afrikaans-speakers.

The distribution of the types of record per language medium in respect of language rights complainants is given in Table 4.18.

Category	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reports	125	59,2	86	40,8	211	49,5
Editorials	40	75,5	13	24,5	53	12,4
Letters	54	61,4	34	38,6	88	20,7
Columns	34	59,7	23	40,3	57	13,4
Articles	13	76,5	4	23,5	17	4,0
Total	266	62,4	160	37,6	426	100

Table 4.18: Language rights complainants per type of record and language medium

The difference between the total of 426 in Table 4.18 and that of 471 in Table 4.17 is as a result of the omission of the cartoons (15), advertisements (4), and PanSALB records (26).

The totals in respect of language rights complainants per type of record and language medium correlate with the totals for language rights complaints per type of record and language medium (cf. Table 4.3). Again, the Afrikaans press was dominant in all five of the types of news coverage. The overall difference of 24,8% between the Afrikaans and English records can probably be ascribed to the more significant historical role played by the Afrikaans press concerning language issues. This conclusion is corroborated by the preponderance of Afrikaans editorials in comparison to English editorials (75,5% (40) against 24,5% (13) – a difference of 51%).

Tables 4.19 to 4. 24 contain details regarding the complainants.

Complainants	Afrikaans		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Business organisations	4	50	4	50	8	1,4
Cultural organisations	35	61,4	22	38,6	57	10,2
Government	3	60	2	40	5	0,9
Media	73	67	36	33	109	19,4
Political organisations	51	70,8	21	29,2	72	12,8
Private persons	147	56,3	114	43,7	261	46,5
Professional organisations	12	35,3	22	64,7	34	6,1
Trade Unions	7	77,8	2	22,2	9	1,6
Other	4	66,7	2	33,3	6	1,1
Total	336	59,9	225	40,1	561	100

Table 4. 19: Language rights complainants per language medium

The difference between the totals in Table 4.19 and Table 4.18 is owing to the possibility of one record referring to more than one complainant. It can be seen that the greatest number of overall coverage on complainants constituted private persons, namely 46,5% (261), largely accounted for by letters in the media. The media themselves accounted for 19,4% (109) of the mentioned references, through editorials, columns and articles (not including letters, which fall under “private persons”). Political organisations constituted 12,8% (72) of complainants; cultural organisations, 10,2% (57); and professional organisations, 6,1% (34). The totals for economic pressure groups (trade unions), business organisations, government, and various other groups, were negligible.

In analysing the different language rights complainants, an interesting picture emerges. In all the main sectors, the Afrikaans media published the greatest number of reports on complainants, with the greatest differences between the two language-medium groups amounting to 41,6% in respect of political organisations; 34% in respect of the media; 22,8% in respect of cultural organisations; and 12,6% in respect of private persons. Only in the case of professional organisations was the incidence of reporting on language rights complainants higher among English-language newspapers, with a difference of 29,4%. The generally higher number of complainants among Afrikaans speakers was expected, particularly among the media as complainants in respect of language rights transgressions (the Afrikaans press scored 67% (73), compared to 33% (36) in the case of the English press), since the Afrikaans press has historically been at the forefront in exposing cases of alleged language rights abuses. The same applies to Afrikaans cultural organisations, which were historically more active than their English counterparts. However, the fairly high incidence of language rights complainants among English-speaking private persons, namely 43,7% (114) (compared to 56,3% (147) among Afrikaans speakers), warrants some comment. This phenomenon is apparently mainly attributable to name-changing situations, eliciting unfavourable comments from this language group.

A comparison between language rights complainants per language medium for the two years, 2002 and 2003, is given in Table 4.20.

Medium	Afrikaans		English		Afr/Eng		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2002	204	69,9	62	21,2	26	8,9	292	100
2003	301	63,9	170	36,1	0	0,	471	100

Table 4.20: Distribution of references in respect of language rights complainants per language medium in 2002 and 2003

Table 4.20 shows the distribution of references in respect of complainants per newspaper group for the years 2002 and 2003. In both the years under investigation, the Afrikaans press published the lion's share of reports on language rights complainants. Whereas proportionally, the reportage on language complainants among Afrikaans-language newspapers decreased by 6,0%, from 69,9% in 2002 to 63,9% in 2003, the reportage in English newspapers proportionally increased by 14,9%, from 21,2% in 2002 to 36,6% in 2003. The relatively high incidence of reportage in the bilingual media in 2002 is as a result of the inclusion of the law journal *De Rebus*, which was not taken into consideration for 2003, as explained in Chapter One.

In the following paragraphs the cultural, political and professional organisations, as well as the trade unions whose complaints were reported in the media, will be discussed in more detail.

Table 4.21 contains information on language rights complainants in terms of cultural organisations.

Complainants	N	%
Afrikanerbond	2	3,5
Black Students' Association	1	1,8
FAK	3	5,3
Groep van 63	3	5,3
Praag	4	7,0
Taalsekretariaat	8	14,0
Tabema	5	8,8
Vriende van Afrikaans	2	3,5
Other	29	50,9
Total	57	100

Table 4.21: Language rights complainants according to cultural organisations

As was shown in Table 4. 19, language rights complainants belonging to cultural organisations constituted 10,2% of all complainants. Except for the Black Students' Association, with 1,8% (1) of complainants, all the cultural organisations were Afrikaans-speaking, including the Taalsekretariaat [Language Secretariat] with 14,0% (8), the Taakgroep vir die Bemagtiging van Afrikaans (Tabema) [Task Group for the Empowerment of Afrikaans] with 8,8% (5), the Federasie van Afrikaanse Verenigings (FAK) [Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies] and the Groep van 63 (G63) with 5,3% (3) each, and the Afrikanerbond [Afrikaner League] and Vriende van Afrikaans [Friends of Afrikaans] with 3,5% (2) each.

“Other” complainants, who constituted half, or 50,9% (29), of all cultural complainants, need to be further analysed. This cultural grouping includes a wide variety of complainants from all sectors of society and diverse language groups. Among the largest cultural groups/ organisations/ pressure groups were Indian religious groups, e.g. SA Hindu Maha Sabha and the National Council of Eastern Languages, accounting for 14,0% (8) of the complainants in this category. A significant number of complainants comprised other Afrikaans cultural groups not previously mentioned, e.g. the Afrikanerklub Bloemfontein, the Genootskap vir die Handhawing van Afrikaans (GHA) [Society for the Maintenance of Afrikaans], the SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns [SA Academy of Sciences and Arts], and the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV) [Afrikaans Language and Cultural Society], accounting for one complainant each. Several other pressure groups, such as cultural organisations campaigning for the enhancement of languages other than Afrikaans and English, e.g. the National Council of Khoisan Chiefs and the Zulu National Language Board, were language complainants, along with concerned residents’ language groups, including the Voorsittersvereniging Soutpansberg, the Grahamstown Residents’ Association, and the Concerned Citizen’s Group. Academic pressure groups were also among the language complainants, e.g. Alumni of Potchefstroom University, as well as students who participated in a Students’ Petition at the University of Pretoria. The Writers’ Guild, as a language complainant, submitted a complaint about the disregard of English after the decision to award the M-Net literature prize to writers of African languages only, while the Multilingual Action Group agitated for a Language Plan to be implemented in Parliament. Another two pressure groups were the Heritage Foundation and Media Monitoring.

An analysis of political organisations that submitted complaints concerning alleged violations of language rights is given in Table 4.22.

Complainant	N	%
ACDP	4	5,6
ANC	3	4,2
Democratic Alliance	19	26,4
Inkatha Freedom Party	1	1,4
NNP	19	26,4
Freedom Front	16	22,2
Other	9	12,5
Total	72	100

Table 4.22: Language rights complainants according to political organisations

As was indicated in Table 4.19, the large majority of complainants from political organisations were reported on in the Afrikaans media, with 70,8% (51) of the records, while the English media accounted for only 29,2% (21) of the records. Table 4.22 shows that the largest majority of complainants from political organisations were accounted for by the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the New National Party (NNP), with 26,4% (19) reports each, followed by the Freedom Front (FF) with 22,2% (16).

It is rather surprising that political parties complained more than cultural groups about alleged language rights violations, namely in 12,8% (72) of the cases, as against 10,2% (57). This shows the extent to which language issues have become politicised. Language is again, as in the past, used as a mobilising factor in politics.

The role of professional organisations as language rights complainants, as reported on in the media, is set out in Table 4.23.

Complainant	N	%
Federasie van Beheerliggame SA Skole	5	14,7
Governing bodies	8	23,5
SA Onderwysersunie	1	2,9
Vereniging Regslui vir Afrikaans	6	17,7
Forum for Multicultural Parallel Medium Schools	4	11,8
Other	10	29,4
Total	34	100

Table 4.23: Language rights complainants according to professional organisations

As was indicated in Table 4.19, in contrast to cultural and political organisations, the majority of reports on language rights complainants from professional organisations are found in the English media, with 64,7% (22), compared to 35,3% (12) in the Afrikaans media. Except for the Vereniging Regslui vir Afrikaans (which mostly complained about the proposed efforts to scrap Afrikaans in courts), constituting 17,7% (6) of the language rights complainants, most of the professional language rights complainants were educators or governing bodies of schools (beheerliggame). Governing bodies accounted for more than one-fifth of professional complainants, with 23,5% (8) of the reports, followed by the Federasie van Beheerliggame SA Skole with 14,7% (5) and the Forum for Multicultural Parallel Medium Schools with 11,8% (4). The majority of complaints by these Afrikaans professional organisations were made in reaction to governmental efforts to change the language of instruction in Afrikaans single-medium schools.

The 29,4% (10) of coverage on the professional language rights complainants were grouped under “Other”, and were comprised of the following organisations: the Soutpansberg Chamber of Commerce; the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce; the Northern Transvaal Place Name Association; the Task Group: Education (Western Cape); the Getrouheidswaarborgfonds (GWF); and the Trust vir Afrikaanse Beheerliggame vir Onderwys en Kultuur (Tabok).

Complainant	N	%
Cosatu	2	22,2
Solidarity	4	44,4
Other	3	33,3
Total	9	100

Table 4.24: Language rights complainants according to trade unions

As was indicated in Table 4.19, a negligible percentage of the overall number of language rights complainants were trade unions, i.e. 1,6% (9). Although Solidarity accounted for nearly half of all the language complainants, i.e. 44,4%, the reportage amounted to only four references, while Cosatu, with 22,2%, had two references and “Other”, with 33,3%, accounted for three references concerning language rights complainants.

4.5.Content analysis of language rights complaints

Another aspect that will be dealt with entails a content analysis regarding language rights complaints as reported in the media. It is important to consider the actions that prompted the language rights complaints reported, as well as the question of which languages were involved in these actions. Administrative action favouring (and discriminating against) the use of English is firstly considered, after which Afrikaans and, lastly, other languages, will be discussed. In Table 4.25, the administrative actions perceived to be favouring English are set out. The first two columns draw a distinction between official and unofficial administrative actions. The official actions are broken down in the next three columns, indicating whether the actions took place in government organisations (at 1st, 2nd or 3rd level), or semi-state or statutory bodies.

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR 2003

Administrative action	Official		Unofficial		State		Semi-state		Statutory		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Accounts	2	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	0,6
Administration	1	50	1	50	1	100	0	0	0	0	2	0,6
Advertisements	2	66,6	1	33,4	1	50	1	50	0	0	3	0,8
Brochures	2	66,6	1	33,4	2	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,8
Circulars	4	100	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	4	1,1
Correspondence	5	100	0	0	4	75	0	0	1	25	5	1,4
Cross-exam. court	9	90	1	10	8	88,9	1	10,1	0	0	10	2,8
Disregard: multilingualism	102	92,7	8	7,3	83	81,4	11	10,8	8	7,8	110	30,6
Documents/ contracts	6	85,7	1	14,3	6	100	0	0	0	0	7	1,9
Hegemony: education	32	100	0	0	24	75	0	0	8	25	32	8,9
Forms	5	83,3	1	16,7	5	100	0	0	0	0	6	1,7
General	5	62,5	3	37,5	5	100	0	0	0	0	8	2,2
Internal/ external comm.	23	92	2	8	21	91,3	0	0	2	8,7	25	6,9
Labels	1	50	1	50	1	100	0	0	0	0	2	0,6
Language of institution	24	100	0	0	18	75	1	4,2	5	20,8	24	6,7
Language of record	24	100	0	0	23	95,8	0	0	1	4,2	24	6,7
Language plan	7	100	0	0	6	85,7	0	0	1	14,3	7	1,9
Language policy	20	100	0	0	12	60	4	20,0	4	20	20	5,6
Medium of instruction	25	100	0	0	21	84	0	0	4	16	25	6,9
Meetings	3	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,8
Name boards	4	100	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	4	1,1
News reports	3	100	0	0	2	66,7	1	33,3	0	0	3	0,8
Notices	1	33,3	2	66,7	0	0	0	0	1	100	3	0,8
Payments/ cheques	3	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,8
Questionnaires	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,3
Telephone usage	1	33,3	2	66,7	1	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,8
Tuition	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	0,3
Website/ Internet	2	66,7	1	33,3	2	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,8
Other	15	75	5	25	10	66,6	4	26,7	1	6,7	20	5,6
Total	333	91,7	30	8,3	273	82,0	23	6,9	37	11,1	363	100

Table 4.25: Administrative action favouring the use of English

Table 4.25 portrays the administrative action which entailed the perceived favouring of English. The large majority of references pertaining to language rights complaints at the administrative level, in respect of the perceived favouring of English, were prompted by official institutions, i.e. 91,7% (333), while only 8,3% (30) arose in unofficial institutions. The highest number of references regarding administrative action favouring the use of English were prompted by the actions of state institutions. Of the total of 333 references, 82,0% (273) are related to administrative actions taken by the state, 6,9% (23) to the actions of semi-state institutions and 11,1% (37) to the actions of statutory bodies. Nearly a third of the cases, i.e. 30,6% (110), refer to the perception that the ideal of multilingualism is disregarded in favour of the exclusive use of English. Especially in the sphere of education, the perceived hegemony of English is regarded as a deliberate favouring of English (8,9% (32)). This perception also exists with regard to the medium of instruction (6,9%, (25)), as well as the language of the institution and the language of record, with 6,7% (24) records each. Although the percentages for most of the other types of administrative action are individually negligible, taken together they are worth considering.

Administrative actions were not only perceived as favouring English. In a relatively negligible number of cases, certain actions were perceived to be discriminating against the use of English. Most of the complaints in this regard were of an unofficial nature. Four records refer to the decision of M-Net to exclude both English and Afrikaans from their literary competition, and to award prizes only for works in African languages. Twenty-seven references are of a miscellaneous nature, and refer mainly to the poor standard of pronunciation of English on SABC radio and television and the poor standard of spelling and grammar, while ten references comprise complaints concerning name changes. The other instances of perceived discrimination were minimal, but included complaints about the following: the lack of sufficient funding for libraries; the inability of the operator at the emergency call centre to understand English; the fact that school children are not literate after nine years at school; the fact that class notes are not translated; and the disregard of multilingualism.

As may be expected from the discussions so far, the language rights complaints that are related to perceived discrimination against the use of Afrikaans in administrative action are abundant. As in the case of Table 4.25, a distinction is drawn in the first two columns of Table 4.26 between the official and unofficial cases of administrative action discriminating against Afrikaans. The official actions are further broken down in the next three columns in order to indicate whether

the action took place in the government domain (at 1st, 2nd or 3rd level), or in semi-state or statutory bodies.

Administrative action	Official		Unofficial		State		Semi-state		Statutory		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Accounts	3	100	0	0	3	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,4
Administration	5	100	0	0	4	80	0	0	1	20	5	0,7
Brochures	2	66,7	1	33,3	2	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,4
Circulars	4	100	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	4	0,6
Correspondence	9	81,8	2	18,2	8	88,9	0	0	1	10,1	11	1,6
Cultural influence: private	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	0,1
Denied mother tongue	8	100	0	0	8	100	0	0	0	0	8	1,1
Documentation	8	88,9	1	10,1	6	75	0	0	2	25	9	1,3
Enforcement of parallel-/ dual-med. education	37	100	0	0	32	86,5	0	0	5	13,5	37	5,2
Eng hegemony: tertiary	15	100	0	0	6	40	0	0	9	60	15	2,1
Forms	7	70	3	30	7	100	0	0	0	0	10	1,4
General	8	80	2	20	8	100	0	0	0	0	10	1,4
Research: tertiary	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	0,1
Influence govt institutions	5	100	0	0	2	40	3	60	0	0	5	0,7
Internal/ external com.	20	90,9	2	9,1	18	90	1	10	1	10	22	3,1
Journals	4	100	0	0	3	75	0	0	1	25	4	0,6
Labels	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0,3
Language institution	24	96	1	4,0	20	83,3	2	8,3	2	8,4	25	3,5
Language of record	28	100	0	0	27	96,4	0	0	1	3,6	28	4,0
Language plan	12	92,3	1	7,7	8	66,7	0	0	4	33,3	13	1,8
Language policy	48	94,1	3	5,9	33	68,8	7	14,6	8	16,6	51	7,2
Literature prize	2	18,2	9	81,8	1	50	0	0	1	50	11	1,6
Medium of instruction	40	97,6	1	2,4	29	72,5	1	2,5	10	25	41	5,8
Meetings	9	100	0	0	7	77,8	1	11,1	1	11,1	9	1,3
Disregard: multilingualism	123	89,8	14	10,2	101	82,2	11	8,9	11	8,9	137	19,4
Name boards	11	91,7	1	8,3	10	90,9	0	0	1	9,1	12	1,7
Name changes	137	88,4	18	11,6	121	88,3	0	0	16	11,7	155	21,9

Administrative action	Official		Unofficial		State		Semi-state		Statutory		Total	
Notifications	2	50	2	50	2	100	0	0	0	0	4	0,6
Payments/ cheques	4	100	0	0	4	100	0	0	0	0	4	0,6
Questionnaires	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,1
Reduction: cultural programmes SABC	7	100	0	0	0	0	7	100	0	0	7	1,0
Telephone usage	2	50	2	50	2	100	0	0	0	0	4	0,6
Website/ Internet	2	66,7	1	33,3	2	100	0	0	0	0	3	0,4
Other	36	67,9	17	32,1	25	69,4	8	22,2	3	8,4	53	7,5
Total	625	88,3	83	11,7	504	80,6	41	6,6	80	12,8	708	100

Table 4.26: Administrative action discriminating against the use of Afrikaans

By far the greatest majority of references in respect of language rights complaints were related to administrative action discriminating against Afrikaans (Table 4.26) at the official level, i.e. 88,3% (625), while only 11,7% (83) referred to discrimination at the unofficial level. Of the total of 625 references, 80,6% (504) are related to administrative action taken by the state, 6,6% (41) to action taken by semi-state institutions, and 12,8% (80) to action taken by statutory bodies. Disregard for multilingualism, particularly in relation to Afrikaans, elicited the greatest number of responses for a single aspect, namely 19,4% (137). Taken together, different actions pertaining to educational matters are an important source of concern, accounting for 14,3% (101) of the cases, relating to: medium of instruction (5,8% (41)); enforced parallel-/ dual-medium instruction (5,2% (37)); English hegemony at tertiary level (2,1% (15)); and denial of mother-tongue education (1,1% (8)). Another important source of complaints refers to name changes, accounting for 21,9% (155) of the reports. Most of the other administrative actions are individually negligible in extent, but taken together they are worth considering. These actions relate to internal/ external monolingual communication in departments, as well as documentation, forms and meetings in English only.

Lastly, administrative action that is perceived as being discriminatory towards languages other than English and Afrikaans will be discussed. As in the case of Afrikaans, a distinction is made between official and unofficial, and between state, semi-state and statutory bodies.

Administrative action	Official		Unofficial		State		Semi-state		Statutory		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Circulars	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,6
Correspondence	2	100	0	0	1	50	0	0	1	50	2	1,2
Disregard of multilingualism	98	97	3	3,0	81	82,7	11	11,2	6	6,1	101	62,3
Editorial comments	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,6
Forms	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,6
General	2	100	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	2	1,2
SASL not recognised	1	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100	1	0,6
Tenders	1	100	0	0	1	100	0	0	0	0	1	0,6
Other	48	92,3	4	7,7	37	77,1	7	14,6	4	8,3	52	32,1
Total	155	95,7	7	4,3	125	80,6	18	11,6	12	7,8	162	100

Table 4.27: Administrative action discriminating against the use of other languages

Table 4.27 contains details regarding the administrative action which was perceived as discrimination against the use of other languages, particularly African languages. 95,7% (155) of the recorded complaints were prompted by administrative action at the official level, while only 4,3% (7) were prompted by action taken at the unofficial level. Out of a total of 155 references, 80,6% (125) are related to administrative action taken by the state, 11,6% (18) to action taken by semi-state bodies, and 7,8% (12) to action taken by statutory bodies. As in the case of Afrikaans, disregard for multilingualism elicited the greatest response, i.e. 62,3% (101).

As the miscellaneous grouping, "Other", constitutes 32,1% of the total percentage of administrative actions against other languages (accounting for 52 references), a synopsis follows: the perceived discrimination in respect of the changing of the name of Garankuwa Hospital to George Makhari Hospital elicited six instances of language rights activism, while five instances of language rights activism resulted from perceived discrimination against languages other than Afrikaans and English in administrative action taken in respect of the language of record; name boards accounted for four instances; three instances were related to discrimination in respect of the language plan; and there were two cases of language rights activism for Indian languages in KZN schools, and two incidences of the disregard of mother-tongue (African-language) education. The other instances of complaints regarding administrative action discriminating against languages other than English and Afrikaans were prompted by actions in a semi-state department

(SABC), and included the following: three instances of perceived discrimination on SABC2, owing to the fact that insufficient time was allotted to African languages, and also owing to the dismissal of Sesotho newsreaders on SABC1. Five instances of discrimination resulted from administrative action in schools, viz.: the non-inclusion of Sign Language in the curriculum; the lack of infrastructure; the non-availability of mother-tongue education in Ndebele for learners; the fact that learners were not literate after nine years at school; and the fact that African parents disregard African languages in sending their children to English schools. Other instances of discrimination against African languages in the official domain were related to: insufficient funding for libraries; the hegemonic status of English; the fact that meetings were not held in African languages; the use of languages in institutions; communication; incorrect spelling of the Zulu name of a tug-boat in KZN; the use of English only in courts; and the incorrect spelling of African names. Perceived discrimination was also experienced in the unofficial domain, for example, the exclusion of African languages from a literary award, and the disempowerment of African people as consumers as a result of the exclusive use of English.

4.6. Conclusion

In SALRM 2003 – as in the case of SALRM 2002 – it was found that the Afrikaans press was at the forefront in respect of making the reading public aware of their language rights, and of discrimination against Afrikaans. The Afrikaans press not only gave more prominence to language-related issues; it also gave coverage to language-enhancing efforts. This is not to say that these language-related issues were mainly prompted by the Afrikaans media; rather, the Afrikaans press highlighted the prevailing dissatisfaction with the current language dispensation. The slight “aloofness” on the part of the English press was somewhat less evident in respect of the period under investigation. More involvement was evident in this regard, mainly in the business sector, which was partly as a result of cost implications and other lesser discomforts incurred by name changes, in particular that of *Pretoria* to *Tshwane*.

From the reportage on language rights complaints, it is clear that the state once again elicited the greatest number of language rights complaints. The state is perceived to favour English in the administrative actions of most of its departments at the first, second and third levels of government, particularly in its efforts to enforce parallel- and dual-medium education, as well as in its internal/ external communication within the state departments. The state favours an English-only policy with regard to the language of the institution, the language of record in

Parliament, and the medium of instruction in tertiary institutions and in schools; and the state also endorsed a proposal for English only in courts – thus showing a general disregard for multilingualism. This hegemony in respect of English is evident even in name-changing situations, where historically Afrikaans names seem to be the main targets for change, despite all opposition. Of particular concern is the apparent disregard for African languages on the part of the government – an attitude which has elicited language-rights complaints mainly from non-speakers of African languages.

As yet, no newspapers in the other official languages have been investigated. It was not possible to rectify this hiatus for the purposes of this report. However, several local newspapers have been excerpted, and these excerpts have been included in this analysis. Electronic versions of media reports have not been excerpted from SA Media as yet.

In the next chapter language rights complaints which have been lodged with PanSALB are discussed. A comparison will also be drawn between the two sets of data, viz. those reported on in the printed media and those lodged with PanSALB, and certain deductions will be made.

5. An analysis of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

5.1. Introduction

PanSALB fulfils a key role in ensuring the legal implementation of language policy in South Africa. Its objectives and competencies are determined by the Pan South African Language Board Act (Act no. 59 of 1995). Essentially, PanSALB promotes multilingualism; is responsible for language development; undertakes research on language policy matters; gives advice to government on language policy, language legislation and language planning issues; and mediates complaints about language rights violations (cf. Marivate, 2000: 132). Section 8 of the above-mentioned act defines the competencies and activities of the Pan South African Language Board with regard to language rights. Section 8(1)(i) determines that PanSALB:

[M]ay investigate on its own initiative or on receipt of a written complaint, any alleged violation of a language right, language policy or language practice in terms of section 11.

Section 11 deals with the procedure followed by the Board in respect of arbitration, reconciliation and/or negotiation, and stipulates, *inter alia*, that:

Any person acting on his or her behalf or any person, body of persons or institution acting on behalf of its members or members of a language group or any organ of state may lodge with the Board a complaint concerning any alleged violation or threatened violation of a language right, language policy or language practice (11 (1)).

It is thus appropriate that one of PanSALB's focus areas, Linguistic Human Rights, deals with the facilitation of investigations into alleged violations of language rights, language policy and/or language practice (PanSALB, 2002: 23). To this end, PanSALB has published a procedure concerning the way in which it deals with complaints (PanSALB, 2000: 31).

The number of complaints concerning alleged violations of language rights increased steadily after 1997, reaching an all-time high in March 2002, when a total of 234 language rights complaints were lodged (PanSALB, 2002: 176). After this, the number decreased significantly to a total of 26 in 2003 – a decrease of 88,9% in relation to the 234 complaints submitted in March 2002. As in 2002, the greatest number of language rights complaints submitted to PanSALB during 2003, namely 69,2%, were lodged against government departments. The language rights complaints lodged against unofficial institutions or organisations constituted a third, or 30,8%, of the overall number of formal complaints. The total number of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB accounted for only 3,2% (26) of the total number of 806 records referring to complaints against official institutions that appeared in the printed media (cf. Table 4.1). If records referring to language rights complaints against unofficial institutions are also taken into consideration, giving a grand total of 1 073 records, the percentage of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB decreases further to a mere 2,4%.

One of the reasons for the occurrence of complaints regarding the implementation of the language policy, is that confusion prevails concerning the requirements of section 6 and how these requirements are to be implemented (Steyn, 1996; Currie, 1998; Du Plessis & Pretorius, 2000; Strydom, 2000; Strydom & Pretorius, 2000). It is important to bear in mind that section 6 of Act 108 of 1996 provides the *principles* according to which the language policy must be determined, but does not comprise the detailed language policy.

It is not only the national government (first-level government) that has been the subject of language rights complaints; provincial governments (second level) and municipalities (third level) have also come under fire. According to section 6(3) (a) of the Constitution, the national and provincial governments can employ any particular official language for governmental purposes, with due consideration

of usage, feasibility, costs, regional circumstances and the balance of needs and preferences of the population as a whole, or in the concerned province; but the national government and each provincial government must make use of at least two official languages. According to section 6(4), the national and provincial governments must regulate and monitor their use of official languages through legislative and other measures.

The question as to which competency applies in the case of third-level government with regard to language, is more problematic, owing to the vagueness thereof (Zietsman, 2000: 93). Section 6(3)(b) of the Constitution stipulates that municipalities must take the language usage and preferences of their residents into consideration. Municipalities are dealt with separately, and the criteria for language use may be reduced. In terms of language demography, it would appear that it is reasonable to expect municipalities to follow a more flexible and individualised approach because the national, and even the local, language demography is not necessarily repeated in every municipal area within a region. This allows a municipality to have a different official language profile from that which is found at provincial government level, or even that of its neighbouring area (Du Plessis & Pretorius, 2000: 522-523; Strydom & Pretorius, 2000: 114; Truter, 2002: 285).

5.2. Methodology

The language complaints officially lodged with PanSALB, the responsible statutory body, were examined at PanSALB's head office in Pretoria. The contents of the dossier containing the language rights complaints are in writing, as stipulated by section 11(2) of the Pan South African Language Board Act (no. 59 of 1995), and include cases of alleged language discrimination as expressed by individual users of one or more official languages. However, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which language has been discriminated against. Furthermore, the language background of the complainant is not always obvious from the information.

The stamp indicating the date of PanSALB's receipt of the language rights complaint was used as the date of reference in each instance. The details mentioned in the discussion were valid in August 2004 (the month during which the PanSALB offices were visited). It is possible that the outcomes of some of the language rights complaints have been settled in the meantime. The language categories, Afrikaans, English and African languages, and *Other* languages, refer to the languages in respect of which alleged language rights violations were perpetrated. *Other languages* refer to all the languages (other than English, Afrikaans, and African languages), stipulated in the Constitution.

In the first subsection an analysis of the complaints lodged with PanSALB is carried out, followed in the second subsection by a comparison of language rights complaints covered by die media and those lodged with PanSALB.

5.3. Language rights complaints registered with PanSALB

In order to ascertain PanSALB's impact on the overall coverage of records on language rights, the ratio of printed media records to PanSALB records is discussed next.

Category	N	%
Media	1 073	97,6
PanSALB	26	2,4
Total	1 099	100

Table 5.1: Source of records on language rights

As can be seen from Table 5.1, out of a total of 1099 records referring to language rights complaints against both official and unofficial institutions, the language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB constituted only 2,4% (26), while the media records accounted for 97,6% (1073).

The language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB decreased significantly from 82 in 2002, comprising 15,1% of language rights complaints, to 26 in 2003, comprising 2,4% of the 1099 records. This constitutes a decrease of 68,3% (56) in the language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB. The decrease in the number of language rights complainants who lodged complaints with PanSALB between 2002 and 2003, pertains mainly to the Afrikaans-speaking language group. This group accounted for 85% (40) of the complaints in 2002, and for 73% (19) in 2003. This represents a significant decrease of 12%.

Comparing to the rise in newspaper driven language complaints this decrease is alarming. It grants the media the status of becoming the forum for language complaints rather than PanSALB.

Table 5.2 summarises the number of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB per month.

Months	Complaints lodged	
	N	%
January	2	7,7
February	5	19,2
March	1	3,9
April	2	7,7
May	1	3,9

Months	Complaints lodged	
June	1	3,9
July	1	3,9
August	3	11,5
September	1	3,9
October	2	7,7
November	4	15,4
December	3	11,5
Total	26	100

Table 5.2: Spread of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

For the sake of overall clarity, the information is schematically illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1: Spread of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

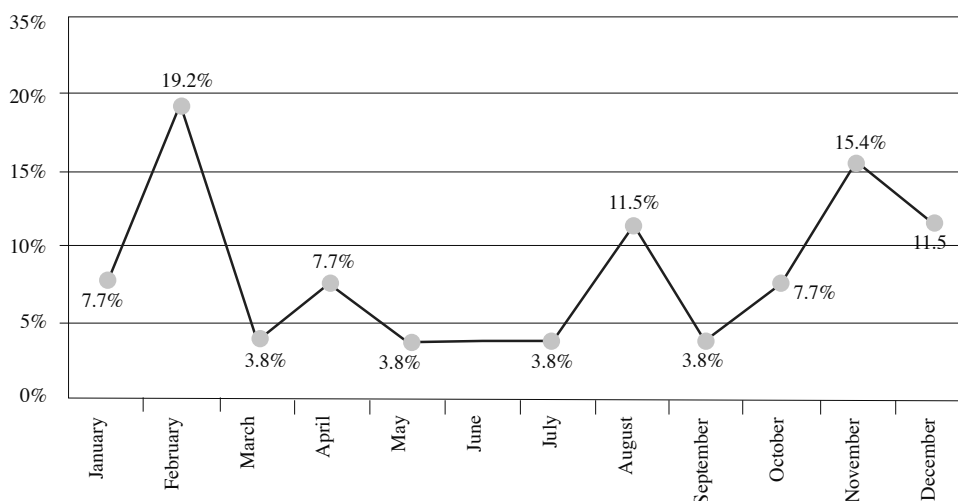


Figure 5.1 indicates the spread, per month, of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB. The greatest number of complaints were lodged during February and November 2003. Of the total of 26 complaints registered with PanSALB during 2003, 19,2% (5) were lodged in February, and 15,4% (4) during November, the two peak months. August and December also show a slight increase, each accounting for 11,5% (3) of the language rights complaints lodged. No single event was responsible for the peak during these months, and a wide range of language rights complaints were lodged. These included complaints against a semi-state institution (SAA) for refusing to cater for Afrikaans on any of the 14 channels on the institution's aircrafts (M14), as well as language rights complaints lodged with

PanSALB against a business organisation (medical aid scheme) for disregarding Afrikaans (M309).

The languages related to the language rights incidents that prompted the language rights complaints will now be analysed.

Languages	N	%
Afrikaans	0	0
English	0	0
African languages	4	15,4
Afrikaans/ African languages	0	0
Afrikaans/ English	20	76,0
English/ African languages	1	3,9
Afr/ Eng/ African languages	0	0
Other	1	3,90
Total	26	100

Table 5.3: Complaints to PanSALB: Languages perceived to have been discriminated against

Table 5.3 shows that more than two-thirds, that is, 76,0% (20), of the complaints concerned were, as expected, language rights complaints relating to Afrikaans/ English; but in all these cases, the language transgressions occurred at the expense of Afrikaans. The number of language rights complaints concerning the indigenous languages, which increased from 11% in 2000-2001 to 20% in 2001-2002 (PanSALB, 2002: 177), has practically remained the same, at 19,3%. There were two cases in which references were concerned with African languages in general, while two specific languages, namely Tswana and Ndebele, respectively accounted for one complaint each. These four cases jointly account for 15,4% of the cases regarding the languages concerned.

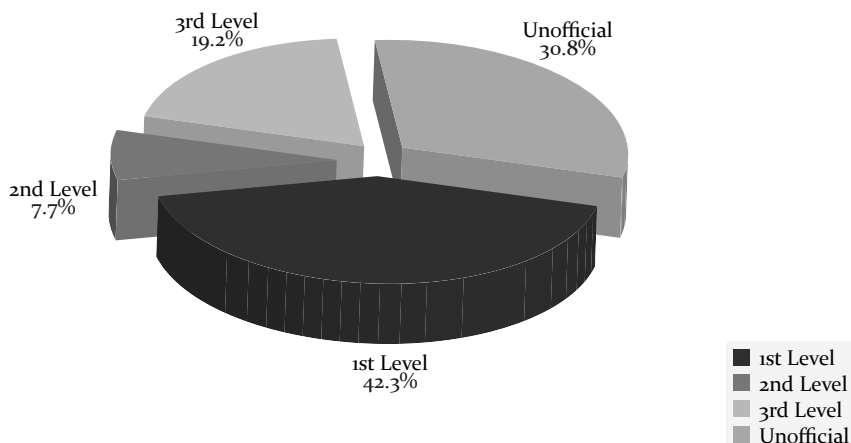
The analysis of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB will now focus on the sources of the language rights complaints. The actions that prompted the complaints will be established by means of a content analysis. Subsequently, the question as to which complainants lodged the language rights complaints will be addressed.

Sources	N	%
1 st level of government	11	42,3
2 nd level of government	2	7,7
3 rd level of government	5	19,2
Unofficial	8	30,8
Total	26	100

Table 5.4: Sources that prompted language rights complaints lodged with PANSALB

Figure 5.2 displays details concerning the state (1st, 2nd, and 3rd level) as a source of language rights complaints, as well as private sources of language rights incidents.

Figure 5.2: Sources that prompted language rights complaints submitted to PanSALB



It can be seen that the state (which includes the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd levels of government) is the source of at least two-thirds (69,2% (18)) of the language rights incidents that prompted the complaints. The first level of government (which includes semi-state and statutory bodies) is the source of 42,3% (11) of these language rights complaints, while 7,7% (2) of the complaints occurred at provincial (2nd) level, and 19,2% (5) at municipal (3rd) level. Unofficial institutions are the source of 30,8% (8) of the language rights complaints that were lodged. While the official language rights complaints lodged for 2003 decreased by 27,0% (from 96,2% in 2002), the complaints lodged against unofficial institutions increased from 3,8% (2) in 2002 to 30,8% (8): an increase of 27%. This increase might indicate that unofficial institutions are starting to emulate the state in its hesitance to institutionalise multilingualism.

A breakdown of the official sources that prompted the lodging of language rights complaints is given in Table 5.5.

Source	State		Semi-state		Statutory		Province		Municipality	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Environ. Affairs/ Tourism	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Diklabeng Municipality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Source	State		Semi-state		Statutory		Province		Municipality	
Ehlanzeni Municipality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Dept Justice	2		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pretoria Technikon	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Parliament	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Randburg Municipality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Technikon Free State	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Private schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-
Tshwane Metro Police	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Polokwane Municipality	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
General scaling down: Afr.	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North West Province	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-
Dept Labour	3		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dept Education	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	9	50,0	0	0	2	11,1	2	11,1	5	27,8

Table 5.5: Breakdown of sources that prompted language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

Of the 18 official sources that prompted complaints lodged with PanSALB, 61,1% (11) are accounted for by the first level of governance. Of these complaints, 11,1% (2) were caused by statutory bodies, viz. the Pretoria Technikon (M311) and the Technikon Free State (M331). Of the remaining complaints, nine were raised at the executive branch and one at the Legislature/Parliament (M294). As in 2002, the Compensation Commission of the Department of Labour, which made only English forms available, was the subject of most of the language rights complaints, namely 33,3% (3) of the nine complaints, followed by the Department of Justice with 22,2% (2). The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the Department of Education each provoked one complaint (11,1%). One complaint (M316) refers to the scaling down of Afrikaans in state institutions in general.

The two complaints that arose at the second level of government were lodged against a private school in Gauteng (M328), and one in the North West Province (M315).

More worrisome are the five complaints lodged against the third-level institutions, comprising 27,8% of the language rights complaints lodged against official institutions. Municipalities perceived to violate language stipulations were Diklabeng, Ehlanzeni, Randburg and Polokwane, as well as Tshwane's Metro Police.

The sources of language rights violations that resulted in complaints being lodged with PanSALB against business organisations or institutions (unofficial) will now be considered.

Source	N	%
Standard Bank	1	8,3
Medical Aid	3	25,0
Medisense	1	8,3
Estate Board	2	16,8
Work place	1	8,3
Motornywerheidsbedingingsraad	1	8,3
Public Servants Association (PSA)	3	25,0
Total	12	100

Table 5.6: Unofficial sources that prompted language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

The 30,8% of language rights complaints submitted to PanSALB were lodged against organisations of an unofficial nature (cf. Table 5.4). Of these, 33,3% (4) were prompted by the actions of medical aid bodies, while 25,0% (3) were prompted by the actions of the Public Servants Association of SA (PSA). In addition, 16,8% (2) of the complaints resulted from actions by the Estate Board, while actions of Standard Bank, the general actions in a workplace, and actions by the Motornywerheidsbedingingsraad, each accounted for one complaint (8,3% in each case).

The question as to which institutions or individuals were responsible for lodging language rights complaints will be considered next. As in 2002, the vast majority of language rights complainants who reported alleged violations of language rights to PanSALB were private persons. Of the total of 26 complainants, 88,5% (23) were private persons. This figure correlates with the 85% for private persons in 2002. One cultural organisation, Praag, lodged one complaint about a private school, Cornwall Hill College, for denying learners the right to be instructed in their mother tongue. Two political organisations lodged complaints: the Freedom Front (FF) complained about the scaling down of Afrikaans in general, and the NNP lodged a complaint about the language policy of the Technikon Free State.

The large number of language rights complainants who submitted complaints in their private capacity in 2002 – including, *inter alia*, academics such as Professors W.A.M. Carstens and A.M Heyns, and other eminent people such as Mrs J.G. Steyn (Bloemfontein), along with the wide variety of bodies, agricultural unions, church councils and taxpayers' associations - seem to have become disheartened. Of the

many cultural organisations that submitted complaints in 2002, only Praag lodged a language rights complaint in 2003.

As can be seen from the discussion so far, the language rights complaints were all related to administrative action by the official and unofficial sectors. A content analysis of these actions is supplied in Table 5.7. The first two columns draw a distinction between official and unofficial administrative actions. The official actions are further broken down in the next three columns, in terms of state, semi-state and statutory bodies.

Administrative action	Official		Unofficial		State		Semi-state		Statutory		Total	
Intern./extern. communic.	3	75,0	1	25,0	3	100	-	-	-	-	4	11,1
Questionnaires	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Payment slips	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Tenders	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Correspondence/forms	6	54,5	5	45,5	5	83,3	-	-	1	16,7	11	30,6
Certificates	1	50	1	50	-	-	-	-	1	100	2	5,6
Brochures	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Internet banking	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Notices	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Telephone usage	1	50	1	50	1	100	-	-	-	-	2	5,6
Language plan	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	2,8
Multilingualism disregarded	3	100	-	-	2	66,6	-	-	1	33,4	3	8,3
Cheques	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Lang. audit	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	1	2,8
Denied MT at school	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Documents	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Accounts	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Language of record	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Language policy	1	100	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	2,8
Total	24	66,6	12	33,4	19	79,2	0	0	5	20,8	36	100

Table 5.7: Administrative action discriminating against the use of languages other than English

The fact that the relevant number of incidents that caused language rights complaints does not correspond with the number of complaints (26), is ascribed to the possibility that one language rights complaint may contain references to more than one language issue.

As was shown in Table 5.3, 76,0% of the complaints concerning languages that had been discriminated against, mostly referred to Afrikaans, while 15,4% referred to African languages. The greatest number of complaints regarding administrative actions were provoked by official institutions, i.e. 66,6% (24), while 33,4% (12) were provoked by unofficial organisations.

The majority of language rights complaints submitted were provoked by administrative actions by the state (which includes the 1st, 2nd and 3rd levels of government), i.e. 79,2% (19), followed by statutory bodies with 20,8% (5), while semi-state institutions prompted no complaints. The unavailability of forms/correspondence in Afrikaans, in particular, was the subject of 30,6% (11) of the complaints, while 11,1% (4) of the complaints referred to internal and external monolingual English communication, and 8,3% (3) referred to the disregard of multilingualism in general. Other administrative actions by the state which prompted complaints were the following: 5,6% (2) of the complaints respectively referred to the issuing of certificates, as well as telephone usage, in English only, while the following aspects each accounted for one (2,8%) of the complaints: English-only questionnaires, payment slips, brochures, internet banking, notices, accounts, cheques, language audits, documents and the language plan, as well as the denial of mother-tongue instruction at school, the language of record, and the language policy.

The general tendency towards English in all the spheres of administrative action by the state, as indicated by Table 5.7, was also encountered in the case of private organisations. At first glance, the number of administrative actions leading to language rights violations may seem to be negligible; but these actions are nevertheless indicative of a general tendency to disregard multilingualism at the official as well as at the unofficial level.

In the next subsection the outcomes of the language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB will be discussed.

5.4. Outcomes regarding language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

The outcomes of the 26 language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB are categorised in Table 5.8.

Outcomes	N	%
No outcome	1	3,9
No outcome: under investigation	5	19,2
No outcome: awaiting response	7	26,9
Awaiting outcome: language plan	1	3,9
Irrelevant	1	3,9
No jurisdiction: file closed	2	7,7
No jurisdiction: file provisionally closed	1	3,9
Case provisionally settled	2	7,7
Possible litigation	3	11,5
Resolved without litigation	1	3,9
Successfully finalised	2	7,7
Total	26	100

Table 5.8: Outcomes regarding language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

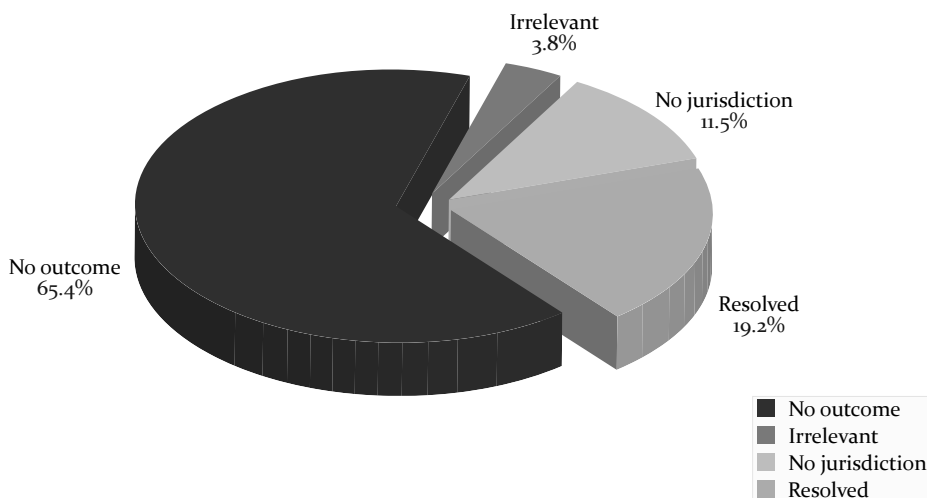
The description given in Table 5.8 refers to those complaints that were found in the files in the PanSALB offices. The description reflects the *status quo* in August 2004, when PanSALB was visited. The different descriptions may be grouped together in terms of the categories *no outcome*, *irrelevant*, *no jurisdiction* and *resolved*, and are presented accordingly in Table 5.9.

Result	N	%
No outcome	17	65,4
Irrelevant	1	3,9
No jurisdiction	3	11,5
Resolved	5	19,2
Total	26	100

Table 5.9: Summary of outcomes regarding language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

For the sake of greater clarity these outcomes are schematically illustrated in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Summary of outcomes regarding language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB



As was the case in 2002, a very small proportion of the complaints lodged with PanSALB have actually been successfully settled. Of the 26 complaints lodged during 2003, only five, or 19,2%, have been resolved successfully. Of these, two cases, M287 and M324, have provisionally been settled; two cases, M320 and M321, have successfully been finalised; and one case, M322, has been resolved without litigation. One language rights complaint (3,9%) lodged with PanSALB (M221) against the Department of Education for using perceived incorrect vocabulary for Sepedi, was irrelevant. However, the majority of cases, constituting 65,4% (17) of the total, have not yet yielded an outcome.. This is largely because 53,9% (14) of the cases are currently under investigation. In two of these cases (M313 and M287), PanSALB is awaiting a language plan, and in three other cases (11,5%) namely M317, M318 and M326, possible litigation is pending.

In the case of three (11,5%) language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB (M309, M310 and M325), the language body was unable to act, since it has no jurisdiction over business organisations (medical schemes (M309, M310)), nor does it have jurisdiction over the Estate Board (M325), since unofficial institutions are not compelled by the Constitution to conform to the language provisions of the Constitution.

Three language rights complaints were successfully settled (the two other cases have as yet only been *provisionally* settled), viz. M320, M321 and M322. In the first instance, Standard Bank (M320), in spite of its English-only policy (which includes its Internet banking services), made a competent language bureau available in order to ensure communication with Afrikaans customers. The second complaint (M321) concerned

an English-only questionnaire issued by the national government to determine residents' feelings regarding the construction of a nuclear reactor. This complaint was resolved after the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism made an accommodating arrangement by translating these forms into Afrikaans. Although the Municipality of Ehlanzeni provides translations into Swati, Zulu, Ndebele and Tsonga, a private person lodged a language rights complaint (M322) regarding the omission of Tswana on a tender. These three cases have all been successfully finalised.

In one case of a language rights complaint submitted to PanSALB, judgement was reserved pending the adoption of a National Language Plan and/ or a specific language plan of the concerned government department, the Department of Justice (M313). PanSALB was unable to take the matter further by the scheduled date during April 2003, when this issue was to have been discussed. However, on the date of the visit to PanSALB (during August 2003), no finality had as yet been reached. The other case, (M287) against the Diklabeng Municipality, also awaited a language plan.

Possible litigation to be instituted by PanSALB was pending in three cases, viz. M317, M318, and M326. All three cases involved English-only forms issued by the Compensation Commissioner (Department of Labour). It seems that this Department, which provoked most of the language rights complaints in 2002, is following a deliberate policy of procrastination and is intentionally taking an unaccommodating stance.

It is possible that some of the information may have changed since the date of the investigation in August 2004 at the PanSALB head office.

5.5. Type of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

In Chapter Two a distinction was made between individual, group, and solidarity rights. In order to clarify this distinction, a further terminological distinction was made. A person holding a right is a rights-holder or subject. The object of the right comprises the goods to which the rights-holder is entitled, while the duty-bearer is the agent who has to convey the appropriate goods to the rights-holder.

According to Perry (2004: 162), all comments made on rights assertions lodged with PanSALB have emphasised the overwhelming salience of Afrikaans-related assertions, especially against the state. Perry (2004) claims, however, that these evaluations neglect an important aspect of the anatomy of rights assertions. While they focus on the *rights-holder* and the *duty-bearer*, no mention is made of the *goods* to be delivered on the successful assertion of a right.

Of the 215 relevant complaints lodged with PanSALB up to 2001 and analysed by Perry, 77% (166) were individual rights assertions; 12% (26) were concerned with group rights pertaining to a specific language group; and 10% (23) were related to solidarity rights accruing to all language groups.

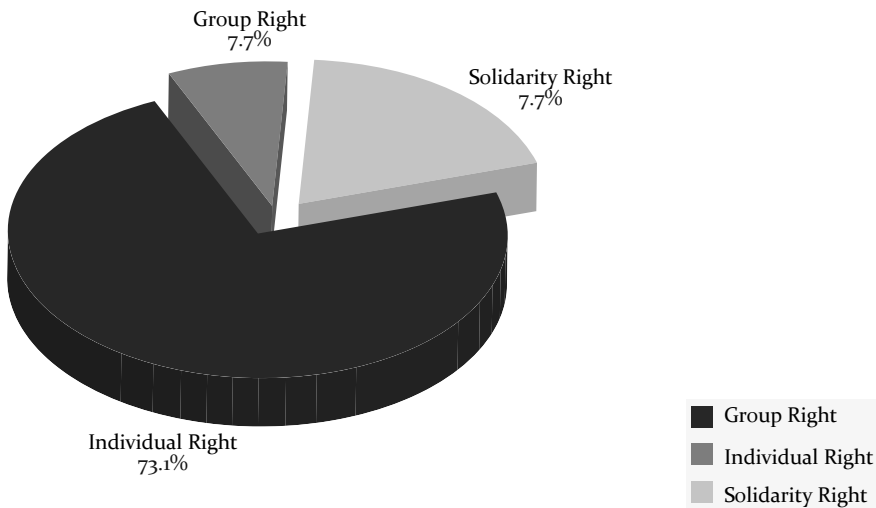
The results of an analysis of the complaints lodged with PanSALB for 2003 according to the same principles, appear in Table 5.10.

Type of complaint	N	%
Individual right	19	73,1
Group right	2	7,7
Solidarity right	5	19,2
Total	26	100

Table 5.10: Types of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

Figure 5.4 contains a schematic illustration of the types of complaints lodged with PanSALB.

Figure 5.4: Types of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB



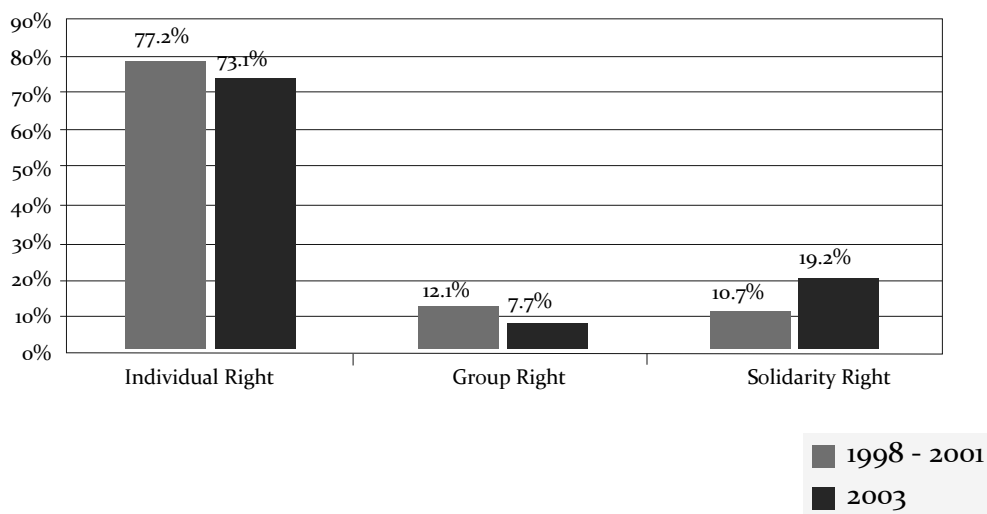
If the distribution of the types of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB for 2003 is compared with the distribution of the types of complaints lodged with PanSALB for the period 1998 to 2001, remarkable correlations become evident.

Period	1998-2001		2003	
	N	%	N	%
Individual right	166	77,2	19	73,1
Group right	26	12,1	2	7,7
Solidarity right	23	10,7	5	19,2
Total	215	100	26	100

Table 5.11: Comparison of types of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB for the periods 1998 – 2001, and 2003

The correlation also appears in Figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Comparison of types of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB for the periods 1998 – 2001, and 2003



While there is a slight decrease in complaints concerning individual rights, as well as group rights, between the period 1998 - 2001 and that of 2003, the increase in complaints regarding solidarity rights is noteworthy.

Perry (2004) defends individual and solidarity rights. He points out that solidarity rights have the power to enhance national unity, as they bind all ethno-linguistic groups together “as stakeholders in a single complaint” (Perry, 2004: 171). In Perry’s (2004) view, however, group rights threaten to undermine national unity, insofar as they are an incentive for ethnic competition (Perry, 2004: 159).

The view that minority group rights pose a threat to national unity is, according to Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995: 495), a “myth”. The granting of cultural and linguistic rights is, in fact, an effective way of avoiding potential conflict, or

reducing existing conflict. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas quote an observation made by Alfredsson of the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva, namely that

internal suppression of minority issues does not work: assimilation has been attempted and it inevitably fails. Minorities do not simply disappear; they may appear dormant for a while, but history tells us that they stay on the map. Nationalism and the drive to preserve identities are strong forces and they apply in equal measure to nation-states and to minorities [...] National experience teaches us that the recognition of and respect for special minority rights are viable alternatives to oppression and neglect (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995: 495).

What is, in fact, a cause for concern is that so few complaints (relatively speaking) have been lodged with PanSALB. This is not because there is nothing to complain about, as the analysis of language rights complaints in the printed media shows that there have been a relatively large number of instances of the disregard of multilingualism by official instances, in particular, and also by unofficial organisations.

5.6. Conclusion

In 2002 the language rights complaints submitted to PanSALB comprised 82 complaints out of the total of 2 108, i.e. 3,9% of the overall complaints recorded. During 2003, however, a total of only 26 language rights complaints were lodged with PanSALB, constituting a significant decrease of 68,3% (56). Out of the total of 1099 records for 2003 referring to language rights complaints against both official and unofficial institutions, complaints submitted to PanSALB constituted only 2,4% (26), while complaints recorded in the media accounted for 97,6% (1073). This decrease in the number of complaints submitted to the language body is of particular concern.

The relative insignificant role that PanSALB plays as so-called “language watchdog” when it comes to lodging of language complaints should be of concern to the Board. It could indicate that the Board is either not fulfilling its mandate, or that speakers are not aware of the role of the Board in this regard.

Furthermore, in 2002, a wide variety of bodies lodged language rights complaints on behalf of organisations, e.g. agricultural unions, church councils, taxpayers’ associations and others. This does not seem to have been the case in 2003: during that year, 88,5% (23) of the language rights complaints were submitted by individuals, while complaints were lodged on behalf of organisations or bodies in only three cases. The three bodies concerned were the cultural organisation,

Praag, and two political parties (the NNP and FF). The decrease of complaints submitted to PanSALB might be indicative of the lack of success in mediating language complaints lodged with the Board.

This decrease could probably be ascribed, among other reasons, to disillusionment on the part of language rights complainants as a result of the relatively slow pace of the resolution of language rights complaints, and of the process by means of which PanSALB intervenes. In many cases PanSALB has to request additional information – which is very often not forthcoming – before being able to respond. The whole process tends to lose momentum after further feedback is required from the complainant. In many cases, this process of providing feedback remained in abeyance, since the sustained interest in the case had begun to wane.

PanSALB might want to redesign this process and consider doing pro-active on-site investigations.

Furthermore, the mandate of PanSALB is limited, in that PanSALB is unable to respond to language complaints at the unofficial level, as it has no jurisdiction in this sphere, for instance, in respect of the language policy of a medical aid scheme. PanSALB is only able to successfully intervene in unofficial cases if the party or body concerned is amenable to healthy business practices, and open to persuasion. For example, in the case of a language complaint lodged against Standard Bank in Pretoria for failing to provide an Afrikaans service for Internet banking transactions, PanSALB managed to successfully intervene by persuading the bank, in spite of its English-only language policy, to provide its Afrikaans-speaking customers with a competent language bureau. PanSALB also has no jurisdiction to take action against unions (e.g. the SA Logistics and Transport Trade Union (Salstaff), the SA Transport and Allied Workers Union (Satawa), and the United Transport and Allied Trade Union (Utatu) and others) in cases of transgressions in respect of language rights. As 30,8% of language complaints submitted to PanSALB during 2003 pertained to private businesses, it is a matter of some concern that in cases where the body or organisation is not amenable to changing its stance, PanSALB is unable to change the *status quo*.

In another example of successful pro-active intervention by PanSALB to enhance multilingualism in South Africa, Absa Bank was persuaded by PanSALB to change its language policy (without specific language complaints having been submitted), in order to provide language services in Afrikaans, English, Sesotho, Xhosa and Zulu at its ATMs and in its telephone banking systems.

Since cases of language rights complaints decreased by more than 50% in 2003, PanSALB has launched an awareness campaign to make the public more aware of its linguistic rights. A panel of legal practitioners has also been appointed to assist PanSALB with judicial issues.

It is apparently not so well known that PanSALB, in terms of its mandate, is able to financially assist language rights complainants in respect of litigation (cf. section 11(5) (b) (iii) and (iv) of the relevant act). The fact that PanSALB is able, in this manner, to support valid cases concerning language rights violations through litigation, could – by means of wider publicisation - be brought to the attention of the ordinary man on the street, who is probably reluctant to engage in language rights activism as a result of the financial burden that it would entail.

Lastly, a comparison will be made between the complaints covered by the media and those registered with PanSALB.

5.7. A comparison of language rights complaints covered by the media and language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB

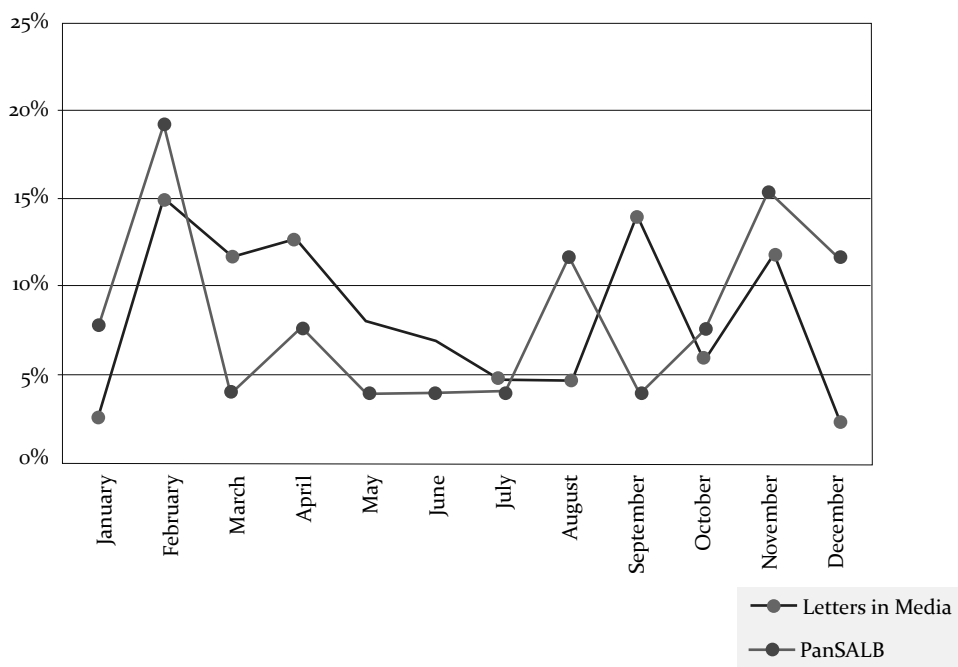
On the basis of most of the above-mentioned results, a comparison between the data concerning letters written to newspapers and the data regarding complaints lodged with PanSALB will be drawn. The inclusion of these two sets of data will make a more equitable comparison possible. Table 5.12 contains details regarding letters of complaint published by the media, as well as complaints lodged with PanSALB.

Month	Letters in media		PanSALB		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
January	2	2,3	2	7,7	4	3,6
February	13	15,1	5	19,2	18	16,0
March	10	11,6	1	3,9	11	9,8
April	11	12,8	2	7,7	13	11,6
May	7	8,1	1	3,9	8	7,1
June	6	7,0	1	3,9	7	6,3
July	4	4,7	1	3,9	5	4,5
August	4	4,7	3	11,5	7	6,3
September	12	14,0	1	3,9	13	11,6
October	5	5,8	2	7,7	7	6,3
November	10	11,6	4	15,4	14	12,5
December	2	2,3	3	11,5	5	4,5
Total	86	76,8	26	23,2	112	100

Table 5.12: Comparison between the number of letters of complaint in the media, and the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB

The information is schematically represented in Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Comparison between the number of complaints covered by the media and the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB



In contrast with 2002, when the number of letters of complaint published by the media, namely 74, and the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB, namely 82, were very similar, the results for 2003 indicate that the two sets of data differed greatly: there were 86 letters in the media and 26 official complaints. On a percentage basis, this amounts to 76,8% as against 23,2% – a difference of 53,6%. Only in February, April and November did relatively comparable peaks occur. What was said earlier for newspaper driven language complaints in general also holds for letter of complaint in comparison with complaints lodged with PanSALB. The decrease is alarming since the printed media is granted the status of becoming the forum for language rights complaints rather than PanSALB.

When the sources that prompted the different sets of complaints are analysed, the correlation between the number of complaints submitted to the media and the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB is striking.

The data in this regard are summarised in Table 5.13.

Source	Letters in media		PanSALB		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
State	48	55,8	16	61,5	64	57,2
Semi-state	9	10,5	0	0	9	8,0
Statutory	7	8,1	2	7,7	9	8,0
Unofficial	22	25,6	8	30,8	30	26,8
Total	86	76,8	26	23,2	112	100

Table 5.13: Comparison between sources of language rights complaints expressed in letters to the media and complaints lodged with PanSALB

Except for complaints against semi-state institutions, the percentages of complaints mentioned in the media, and complaints lodged with PanSALB, correlate remarkably. This is in stark contrast to the findings in 2002, when complaints lodged with PanSALB against the state sources by far outnumbered those submitted to the media. Complaints against private sources in 2002 display almost the opposite tendency: during that year, 96,2% (51) of the total complaints were submitted to the media, while only 3,8% (2) were registered with PanSALB.

The conclusion that was reached in this regard in respect of 2002 obviously does not hold for the data of 2003. In 2002, it was concluded that:

[t]his sharp opposition confirms that complainants have a relatively clear understanding of PanSALB's role as language rights "watchdog" as far as the official rights domain is concerned. They are also well aware of the fact that the state has little jurisdiction over the language rights in the private domain and that the media are seen as a far better forum for alleged violations in this domain. Since most of the relevant complaints are related to business organisations, complainants are probably relying on the power of negative publicity to advance their cause (SALRM, 2002: 63).

The sharp decrease in the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB suggests an erosion of confidence in the mediating capabilities of PanSALB. Complainants prefer to make use of the media in airing complaints about perceived language rights violations, rather than lodging these complaints with the official body. Perhaps the same perception is responsible for the fact that of the 26 complaints lodged with PanSALB, only two were submitted by political parties (the FF and NNP), and one by a pressure group (Praag), while the rest were submitted by private persons. In 2002, political parties lodged two complaints, while cultural groups lodged eight.

5.8. Conclusion

Judging from the number of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB, it would appear that the so-called “language watchdog” has not been so successful in the resolution of problems relating to language rights. As was the case in 2002, a very small proportion of the complaints lodged with PanSALB have actually been successfully settled. In 2002, out of a total of 82 language rights complaints, a mere four (5%) were successfully resolved. Of the 26 complaints lodged during 2003, five, or 19,3%, have been settled, and of these, two cases have only been *provisionally* settled. However, the largest number of cases, constituting 65,4% (17) of the total, have not yielded an outcome.

It seems that the printed media, encompassing both the Afrikaans and the English press, are becoming the forum in which language issues are addressed. The Afrikaans press, in particular, makes an important contribution in raising language issues in general and playing an activist role. The positive assessment by the Afrikaans press of the role of PanSALB could be utilised to the benefit of that organisation. As was indicated by the analysis of media coverage (Chapter Three, Table 3.10), the Afrikaans press gave greater prominence to PanSALB: of the total of 4 223 records, 1,0% (44) comprised references to PanSALB in the Afrikaans press, as against 0,4% (17) in the English press.

PanSALB could advance the cause of language rights in this country by forging a stronger relationship with both the Afrikaans and the English press. Since speakers of African languages prefer English-language newspapers, the English press could also play an important role in promoting the cause of multilingualism by taking greater cognisance of language matters in general. Also, since PanSALB may institute investigations into language rights violations by its own initiative, the Board might make use of the media as resource for targeting possible investigation.

It has been established that fewer people tend to take the trouble to lodge a complaint with the Board. The easy access to email, on the other hand, provides an incentive to send a letter to the editor of a newspaper, without having to provide further feedback or explanations concerning the language-related issue, as in the case of PanSALB. Writing letters to newspaper editors seems to be a much easier way of airing one’s language rights complaints to a larger and, in many cases, a more appreciative reading public. Nevertheless, very little or no corrective action follows media-lodged language complaints.

6. An analysis of other instruments of language rights activism as reported in the printed media

6.1. Introduction

In his investigation concerning language policy in the community, Tollefson concludes by alleging that “a commitment to democracy requires a commitment to struggle for language rights” (Tollefson, 1991: 211). Martel, too, in a study entitled “Heroes, rebels, communities and states in language rights activism and litigation” (Martel, 1999), deems language rights activism to be essential, and even inevitable, in a process aimed at democratising a multilingual society. She describes language rights activism as a rights-orientated process through which pressure is exerted to effect change in socio-political practices and structures (Martel, 1999: 47-48).

It is important that a distinction should be drawn between language activism and language rights activism. Steyn (1980: 74), as well as Du Plessis (1986), indicated that language activism is seldom concerned merely with language *per se*, but rather with a type of political pressure group. For example, Du Plessis’ definition of a language movement is as follows:

A language movement is a politically and/ or religiously inspired movement in which language is used very pertinently as a means to an end (1986: 14) [*Translated from Afrikaans*].

In contrast, in the case of language rights activism, role-players attempt to bring about a change in the social practices, ideologies and structures that influence the maintenance and development of linguistic communities.

Language rights activism can therefore be described as a form of activism in which role-players, by means of (or against the background of) language rights, play an active role in order to effect change in social practices, ideologies and structures influencing the preservation and development of language communities. Language rights activism can be a

manifestation of a rising consciousness, and rejection of conditions of submission/ oppression/ control/ domination/ authority/ centralization/ monopoly. It can be a challenge to socio-political structures that reproduce non-equitable power relations (Martel, 1999: 49).

6.2. Language rights complaints versus language rights activism

Martel (1999: 47) distinguishes six instruments of language rights activism, namely *litigation, the formation of pressure groups (lobbying), research, community mobilisation, media coverage*, and the most extreme form, namely *violence*, as manifested in Northern Ireland, *inter alia* (Jenkins, 1991). Du Plessis (2004: 170) distinguishes a seventh instrument of language rights activism, namely *the lodging of complaints*, which entails the formal submission of complaints to an official institution which has been specially designated for the purpose, for example, PanSALB in South Africa. The lodging of complaints with an official institution may culminate in litigation, but need not necessarily do so. Thus, although related to litigation, the lodging of language rights complaints is, in itself, a distinctive instrument of language rights activism. Lobbying is distinguished from community mobilisation in that an attempt is made, by means of lobbying, to win over *influential* persons(s) (particularly politicians or public officers) and to persuade them to adopt a specific standpoint. In community mobilisation, an attempt is made to bring about change by making use of the power of *numbers* – masses – in order to achieve a specific objective.

Five further sub-instruments were identified in SALRM 2002 under community mobilisation, namely i) physically active and verbal protests or demonstrations; ii) the withholding of financial support – boycotting; iii) petitioning, thus, the mobilisation of like-minded malcontents for a particular cause, thereby obtaining signatures for a petition; iv) activist media coverage, and v) pressurising the masses to achieve specific objectives. To these five instruments of community mobilisation a sixth instrument may be added, namely the threat of litigation.

The following hierarchy in respect of the seven instruments of language rights activism was distinguished in terms of a scale ranging (in ascending order) from moderation to violence:

- research;
- neutral media coverage;
- the lodging of language rights complaints with an official institution;
- lobbying;
- community mobilisation;
- litigation; and
- violence.

Under community mobilisation, a further hierarchy may be distinguished:

- activist media coverage;
- petitioning;
- boycotting;
- the threat of litigation;
- pressurising the masses;
- demonstrations.

Before language rights activism in South Africa is discussed, the action of the French minority language group in Canada will briefly be considered, as an example of the effectiveness of language rights activism.

LANGUAGE RIGHTS ACTIVISM IN CANADA

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Francophone activism evolved in Canada, when Francophone minorities, who comprised 26% of the population, gradually began to form associations, thereby increasing their pressure-group leverage in respect of their provincial or territorial governments regarding language issues. The ideology of homogenism, then prevalent, inevitably led to counterproductive measures because it “stimulated a defensive national response from the national minority”, that is, the Francophone community (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003: 13). French activism in favour of the French language flourished. The result was that most provinces came to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards French-language minorities and gradually modified some of their legislation so as to reinforce instruction in French.

A new ideology, the dual or compact ideology, developed alongside of the ideology of homogenism. Franco-Canadians, including Quebecers, interpreted the Canadian confederation as a negotiated pact between the two founding nations. Consequently, the French nation requested equality with the English nation. However, this dual theory was rejected in English-majority provinces, resulting in major clashes between the language groups. The Anglophones assumed that making concessions relating to a bilingual “preserve” in Quebec would be sufficient, and that French minorities in the rest of the country were no different from other immigrant minorities (Martel, 1999: 60-61).

A change was brought about during the second half of the twentieth century, especially as a result of successful litigation introduced by the Francophone

community on behalf of their language. The following three main factors also contributed to the change: firstly, the greater mutual knowledge and understanding of one another that developed between the Francophone community and the Anglophones during the two World Wars; secondly, a worldwide movement towards the recognition and valuing of pluralism, entrenched in article 27 of the 1966 International Pact, relating to Civil and Political Rights; and thirdly, the effective nationalist movement in Quebec, which forced the rest of Canada to change its strategies in respect of the Francophone community (Martel, 1999: 60-61).

However, the process of institutionalising minority language rights was difficult. It necessitated extensive negotiations between the federal and provincial governments on the one hand, and the mobilisation of the community to carry out actions including research, meetings, negotiations, agreements, social animation and information campaigns, as well as door-to-door canvassing, kitchen meetings, telephone campaigns, workshops, conferences, consultation of experts, surveys, the use of the media, publication of brochures, political lobbying and even Christmas cards, on the other hand (Martel, 1999: 64, 67).

In 1982 the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was promulgated, enshrining the ideology of duality. Section 23 of this Charter was described in 1990 by the Canadian Supreme Court as “a linchpin in the nation’s commitment to the values of bilingualism and biculturalism” (quoted by Martel, 1999: 58).

On being appointed in 1999, the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL) of Canada was mandated to promote change by simultaneously carrying out six key complementary roles. These include an ombudsman role, in terms of which the OCOL must respond to citizens’ language complaints and to the day-to-day demands of linguistic duality, and make recommendations. Furthermore, the OCOL must fulfil an auditing role, a liaising role, a monitoring role, a promotion and education role and a court intervention role (*Annual Report, 2001/2002: 32*).

LANGUAGE RIGHTS ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

As evidenced by the foregoing, language rights activism is not limited to a few communities or isolated incidents in other countries. Language rights activism is still “relatively underdeveloped” in South Africa, according to Du Plessis (2004: 174). The total number of language complaints submitted to PanSALB since 1997, namely 168, amounts to half the average number of language complaints (140) that are submitted to the Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada every month, for example. The language rights complaints to PanSALB were statistically

insignificant in 1997, with only one such complaint being lodged. In that same year, 1 762 language rights complaints were submitted in Canada.

However, in South Africa, too, a culture of stronger awareness and of the lodging of complaints is developing, as is evident from the following figures: one language rights complaint was lodged with PanSALB in 1997, 31 complaints were lodged in 1998, 60 in 1999, 70 in 2000 and 82 in 2002, after which the number of complaints dropped to 26 in 2003. It can be asserted, with a fair amount of certainty, that the great majority of the complainants were Afrikaans-speaking. For example, for the period 2000 – 2001, 61,5% of the complainants were Afrikaans-speaking, 17,3% were speakers of African languages, while in 21,2% of the cases, the complainant could not be linked with certainty to a specific linguistic community (Du Plessis, 2004: 179). Of the 82 language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB in 2002, 78% (64) were probably from Afrikaans-speaking persons and 22% (17) from speakers of other languages (SALRM, 2002: 58). In general, Afrikaans speakers, to a greater degree than other linguistic communities, felt that the language rights that they had already acquired were being scaled down, and that Afrikaans was being placed at a disadvantage in a growing number of domains. However, the Afrikaans community is not the only linguistic community in South Africa which has been agitating for language rights. After the Indian languages had been expunged from the country's school syllabus by Minister Kader Asmal, more than 100 Hindu organisations met in Durban, where they agitated against the proposed action (*Daily News*, 25 June 2003).

The Afrikaans media play a dynamic role in creating awareness of language rights and language-related complaints and activism, and are employed by language rights activists as an instrument in respect of language issues. As is clear from the foregoing example, a potential for more widespread agitation by other language communities does in fact exist, although, according to Du Plessis (2004: 181), such agitation would probably not as yet be on the same scale as in the case of the Afrikaans community, as a result of the fact that these communities do not have a similar language rights infrastructure.

Four of the seven instruments of language rights activism distinguished above, are dealt with in separate chapters, viz. Chapter Four (neutral media coverage); Chapter Five (the lodging of language rights complaints with an official institution); Chapter Seven (litigation); and Chapter Eight (research). The three remaining instruments, namely lobbying, violence and community mobilisation, will be discussed in the next section. An analysis of these three instruments of language

rights activism in respect of the period from 1 January to 31 December 2003, as reported in the printed media, will be provided.

6.3. Language rights activist media coverage

In the Questionnaire, Question 8 contains all the information pertaining to the context in which languages were mentioned in the record. According to this information (Question 8.4, and also indicated in Table 3.10), there were 75 cases of references in which mention was made of activist actions concerning language rights complaints. These 75 references only constitute 1,8% of the overall total of 4 223 references, comprising an insignificant percentage. Even if the 1 390 reviews are not taken into account, the 75 references constitute 2,7% of the remaining 2 833 references – still an insignificant component.

It is more informative to compare the 75 references with the 806 cases of official neutral language rights incidents reported in the media (Table 4.1). When this comparison was made, the references with an activist slant within the total number of references to language rights complaints and complainants, amounted to 9,3%. This percentage is still consistent with Du Plessis' observation that language rights activism is "relatively underdeveloped" in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2004: 174).

As in the case of reports on neutral language rights complaints and complainants, analysed in Chapter Four, the majority of reports on language rights complaints with an activist slant appeared in the Afrikaans media. The distribution of these 75 references is set out in Table 6.1.

Records	Afrikaans		English		Afrikaans/English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	42	56,0	32	42,7	1	1,3	75	100

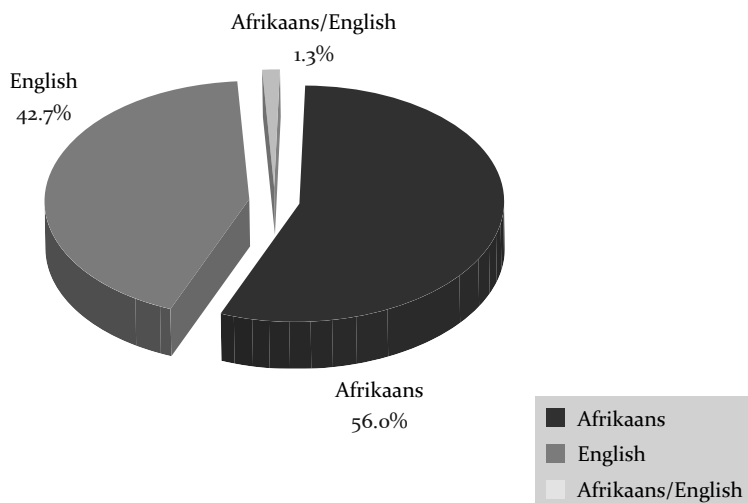
Table 6.1: References on language rights activism per language of medium

This distribution correlates with the 806 cases of neutral language rights complaints, in respect of which 54,3% (438) of the references were in the Afrikaans media, and 45,6% in the English media (cf. Table 4.1).

If the distribution of the 75 references with an activist slant is compared with the corresponding distribution for 2002, however, it becomes evident that in 2002, the great majority of references appeared in the Afrikaans media, viz., 78,0% (21), while only 22,0% (6) appeared in the English media. Because the comparisons are based on such small numbers, however, too much weight should not be imputed to the differences in comparative deductions.

The distribution of the references according to the languages of the media is schematically illustrated in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: References on language rights activism per language of medium



The distribution of references with an activist slant per language medium, is set out in Table 6.2.

Afr		Eng		AL		A/AL		A/E		E/AL		A/E/AL		Other		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
23	30,3	0	0	9	11,8	20	26,3	10	13,3	0	0	7	9,2	6	9,2	75	100

Table 6.2: References on language rights activism per language concerned

Incidents of perceived violations of the language rights of speakers of Afrikaans gave rise to the greatest amount of action of an activist nature, accounting for 30,3% (23) of the records. Prominent facilitators of public opinion realised not only that the maintenance of a particular minority language, Afrikaans, is of vital importance for the establishment of real democracy in South Africa, but also that Afrikaans, in alliance with the other minority languages, could serve to stress the importance of multilingualism. If reports referring to Afrikaans in conjunction with other languages are also taken into consideration, the percentage increases to 79,1% (60). African languages on their own (i.e. not in conjunction with Afrikaans/English) account for 11,8% (9) of the cases.

Table 6.3 contains information on the types of records related to language rights incidents in the context of activism in respect of 2002 and 2003.

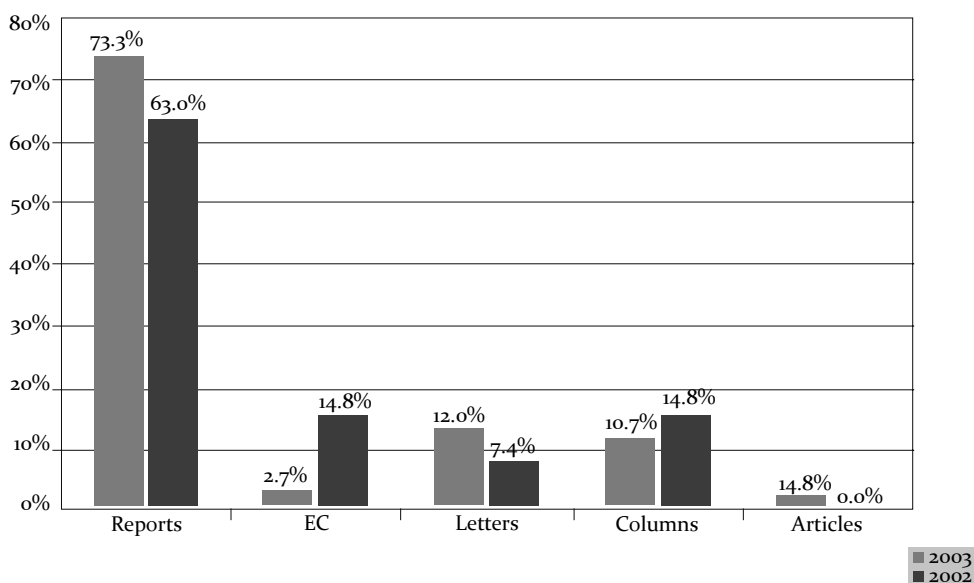
Type	Reports		EC		Letters		Columns		Articles		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
2003	55	73,7	2	2,6	9	11,8	8	10,5	1	1,3	75	100
2002	17	63,0	4	15,0	2	7,0	4	15,0	0	0	27	100

Table 6.3: Records on language rights activism per type of record and year

It can be seen that in 2003, there were increases in the number of reports and letters to the media, while a sharp decrease occurred in the number of editorial comments. This possibly indicates a greater impatience on the part of the general public concerning alleged violations of language rights, on the one hand, and a more conciliatory position on the part of the editorial staff of the printed media, on the other.

The types of media reportage on language activism for 2003 are schematically illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Types of media records on language activism



The distribution of the sources of language rights complaints with an activist undertone is given in Table 6.4.

Source	1 st level		2 nd level		3 rd level		Unofficial		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Total	24	32	19	25,4	16	21,3	16	21,3	75	100

Table 6.4: Sources of language rights activism

Incidents involving actions by government were responsible for the majority of activist responses, accounting for 78,7%, or 59, of the 75 incidences. Of these, 32% (24) occurred at the first level of government, which includes the semi-state and statutory bodies, while 25,4% (19) occurred at the second level of government and 21,3% (16) at the third level.

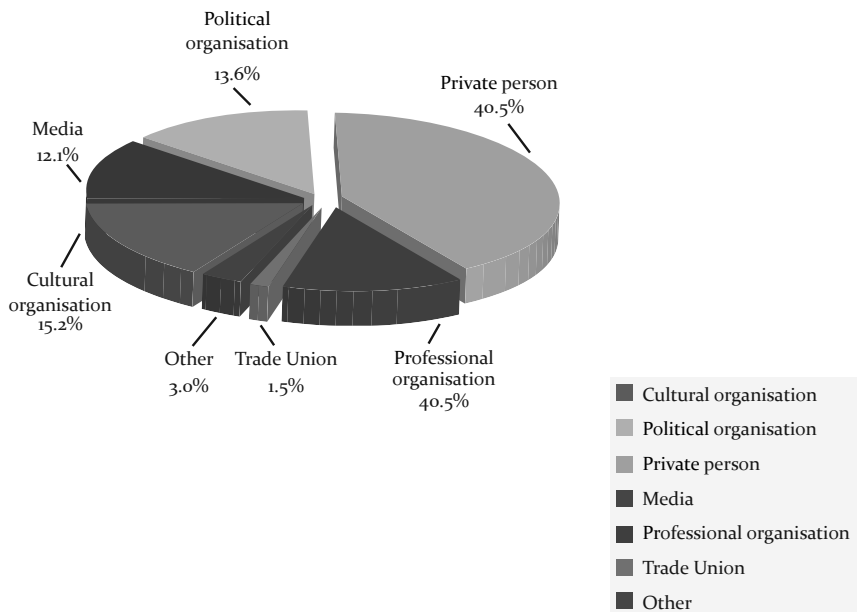
The proposed changing of the name of the *Loftus Versfeld* sport stadium in Pretoria to *Securicor Park* was the source of many of the 16 (21,3%) complaints with an activist undertone concerning unofficial institutions.

The complainants mentioned in the records concerning activist language rights complaints are listed in Table 6.5, while Figure 6.3 contains the same information graphically illustrated.

Complainants	N	%
Cultural organisations	10	15,2
Media	8	12,1
Political organisations	9	13,6
Private persons	27	41,0
Professional organisations	9	13,6
Trade Unions	1	1,5
Other	2	3,0
Total	66	100

Table 6.5: Language rights activism per type of complainant

Figure 6.3: Language rights activism per complainant



Private persons, mainly through letters in the media, were the major source of complaints with an activist slant, accounting for 41,0% (27) of all such references in the records. This category shows an increase from 18,5% (5) in 2002. As in the case of neutral language rights complaints for 2003, private persons were responsible for the majority of activist language complaints, namely 46,5% (Table 4.20).

The second major group of complainants was that of cultural organisations, with 15,2% (10) of the references. The most numerous complainants among the cultural organisations were the various Indian cultural and religious groups who agitated against the removal of Indian languages from the school syllabus. The pressure group, Praag, was the complainant in several instances. Other groups included the Meertalige Aksiegroep (MAG) [Multicultural Action Group] and student organisations at the Pretoria and Potchefstroom Universities. The percentage pertaining to cultural organisations, namely 15,2%, is somewhat higher than the percentage relating to neutral reportage on cultural organisations as complainants, namely 10,2%.

The activist statements and actions of both political and professional organisations accounted for 13,6% (9) of the total in each case. The political organisations' score of 13,6% correlates with the score of 12,8% in respect of neutral language rights complaints; but the professional organisations' percentage in respect of activist behaviour, namely 13,6%, is more than double the percentage for neutral language rights complaints, namely 6,1% (cf. Table 4.20). These actions were mainly the result of resistance to proposed name changes, and the parties responsible for the activism in question include, inter alia, the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce, the Grahamstown Ratepayers' Association and the Soutpansberg Chamber of Commerce. Other actions were directed at attempts to pressurise Afrikaans-medium schools into becoming dual- or parallel-medium schools, and the organisations that made activist pronouncements in this regard were mainly comprised of the governing bodies of the relevant schools, as well as the Multicultural Action Group and the Trust vir Afrikaanse Beheerliggame vir Onderwys en Kultuur (Tabok) [Trust for Afrikaans Governing Bodies for Education and Culture].

In the next section the three instruments that are not discussed in separate chapters, viz. lobbying, violence and community mobilisation, will be described with the aid of records.

Lobbying: As has been explained, there is a distinction between lobbying and community mobilisation. In the case of community mobilisation, an attempt is made to bring about change by making use of numbers – masses – in order to achieve a specific objective. Lobbying, on the other hand, entails an attempt to win

over *influential* person(s), particularly politicians, public officers, or prominent community leaders, editors, or businessmen. When a movement for the scrapping of Indian languages from the country's school syllabus was afoot, the leaders of the various Hindu organisations convened a meeting, during which a three-person committee was appointed to take up the issue with the Minister (*Daily News*, 25 June 2003). After the meeting, Education Minister Kader Asmal announced that an agreement had been reached, and education authorities were asked to retain four Eastern languages, namely Tamil, Hindu, Urdu and Telegu, as subjects up to matric (*Star*, 24 July 2003).

Violence: Violence is the most radical form of agitation for language rights. Examples of such behaviour occurred in the past in Ireland and Belgium, amongst other countries. In South Africa, the Soweto uprising of 1976 is a case in point. In 2003 two instances of violence took place, which were reported in the media.

In the first instance, after the renaming of the *Garankuwa Hospital* as the *George Makhari Hospital* had been officially approved, the Gauteng Health MEC, Gwen Ramokgopa, attended the official renaming ceremony in May 2003. A group of hospital workers, opposed to the name change, took action. In an article in the *Sowetan*, it was reported that a "mob of hospital workers pounced on Ramakgopa [...] [as] she was carried to the taxi rank and bundled into a taxi" (*Sowetan*, 16 May 2003). The event was also reported on the same day in the *Star*, the *Pretoria News* and the *Citizen*; and the next day, in *Beeld*.

The second case of violence also pertains to a name change. Parents wanted a school in Winterveldt, to the north of Pretoria, to be named the *Abel Motshoane High School*, while the Department of Education of the North West preferred the name *Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa High School*, in honour of the mayor of Pretoria. Pupils threatened to burn down the school, and for some time after the beginning of the year, no teaching took place in the school at all (*Beeld*, 31 July 2003).

Community mobilisation: The six sub-instruments of community mobilisation that have been distinguished are not separate, water-tight entities, and a certain degree of overlapping occurs. For example, petitioning and demonstration could also be categorised as efforts to pressurise the masses; but for explanatory purposes they are distinguished and described separately.

i) *Activist media coverage*: In the classification provided earlier, media coverage features twice, firstly as one of the seven instruments of language rights activism (neutral media coverage), and secondly as a subcomponent of community mobilisation (activist media coverage). The difference between the two types of

media coverage is determined by the nature, tone, and, in particular, the language use of media coverage concerning language-related issues. In the reportage of complaints in the media, as already discussed in Chapter Three, neutral wording is used in reporting, for example, *mor* [mutter], *kla* [complain], *langtand byt* [find it hard to accept], *besorgdheid uitspreek* [express concern], *betreur* [regret], *needle, inform, argue*. In contrast to the above-mentioned examples, a more activist attitude is evident in the use of, *inter alia*, metaphors that are related to war/struggle, such as *taalstryd* [language struggle], *mobiliseer* [mobilise], *verdedig* [defend], *strydpunt verskaf* [provide the point of dispute], *doen vurige beroep* [make an impassioned appeal], *verset* [resist], *vasstaan* [stand firm], *aandring* [insist], as well as utterances such as *gebruik die reg op sterk protes* [exercise the right to protest strongly], *organiseer sodat gehoor kan word* [organise in order to be heard], *breekpunt bereik* [reach breaking point], *beskaaf wal gooi* [take civilised action] and *sterk optree oor taal* [take firm action regarding language], *harass, shock, battle, don't be all angry and frustrated in private – go public and fight!* This type of media coverage is therefore characterised as activist media coverage.

Especially in the *Afrikaner*, many examples of activist journalism can be found. With reference to actions taken by the Department of Education of the Limpopo province to ensure the enrolment of English-speaking pupils at Afrikaans-medium schools, this newspaper comments (the words with an activist connotation are italicised):

Met die aanvang van die skooljaar is hierdie vendetta [...] voortgesit. En die aanslag van die ANC in Noord-Transvaal word nou spesifiek teen van hierdie skole gerig. In sy veldtog huiwer die ANC ook nie om wette te ignoreer [...] nie (*Afrikaner*, 23 January 2003). [With the commencement of the school year, this vendetta [...] has been resumed. And the onslaught of the ANC in the Northern Transvaal is now being aimed directly at some of the schools. In its campaign against these schools, the ANC also does not hesitate to ignore the laws.]

Examples of a similar nature can also be found in the mainstream printed media. On attempts to undermine the importance of mother-tongue education, *Beeld* columnist Neels Jackson writes:

Daar is tye en geleenthede dat 'n taalstryd nodig word. As moedertaalonderrig byvoorbeeld in die gedrang sou kom, dink ek 'n mens kan maar mobiliseer. (*Beeld*, 23 July 2003). [There are certain times and occasions when a language struggle becomes imperative. For example, if mother-tongue education is at stake, then in my view it is time to start mobilising.]

Examples are not only found in the Afrikaans press; English-speaking activists and the English printed media also provide ample examples. Education Minister Kader Asmal's decision to remove ethnic Indian languages such as Tamil, Gujerati, Telegu and Hindi, among others, from the normal school syllabus, caused widespread dissatisfaction among Indians, especially in KwaZulu-Natal. Headlines reflect this mood: "Leaders prepared to *fight* for their vernacular", "Indian languages debate *heats up*" (both in *Sunday Tribune*, 29 June 2003), and "Anger mounts over Indian language cuts" (*Leader*, 4 August 2003).

ii) *Petitioning*: An important subcategory of community mobilisation is the compilation and distribution of petitions with signatures. On 24 April 2003, both the *Daily News* and *Cape Argus* carried reports on the 50 000 signatures collected by the Campaign Against Exploitation (Care) in order to persuade the government to remove VAT on books, a step that would effectively lower book prices by up to one-fifth.

In order to dissuade the municipality from changing the name of *Pretoria* to *Tshwane*, 2 000 students of the University of Pretoria signed a petition (*Beeld*, 1 August 2003).

iii) *Boycotting*: The call for boycott actions is a third subcategory of community mobilisation. During April 2003, the SABC was (once again) subjected to a barrage of criticism, as a result of its decision to dismiss its three experienced Afrikaans news-readers, Riaan Cruywagen, Rian Cloete and Susan Marx. With the SABC's "geskiedenis van taalmanipulasie" [history of language manipulation] (Jaap Steyn, in a column in *Beeld*, 22 April 2003), this action, together with the shifting of SABC3's news bulletin to the seven o' clock time-slot in order to coincide with the SABC2 Afrikaans news bulletin, was seen as just another step taken to harm Afrikaans. Calls to withhold the payment of TV licence fees were hailed as the right decision, and TV viewers were urged to continue with the boycott. The *Afrikaner*, in particular, campaigned for this action (24 April 2003, 25 September 2003). Dan Roodt also defended the same viewpoint in a column in *Insig* (30 June 2003). However, no actual cases of boycotting were reported.

iv) *Threat of litigation*: Litigation is one of the most effective forms of activism for obtaining linguistic rights, and a separate chapter is devoted to it. It follows that threatening an institution which is perceived to violate the language rights of a minority group, with litigation, can comprise an important line of action in order to persuade those concerned to stop their actions, on the one hand; and in order to mobilise the concerned community for support, on the other hand.

Many threats of litigation were made as a result of actions taken by the Department of Education of the Limpopo province in instructing certain Afrikaans-medium

schools to enrol English-speaking pupils. The chairman of the Federasie van Beheerliggame van Suid-Afrikaanse skole (Fedsas) [Federation of Governing Bodies of South African Schools], Mr Paul Colditz, warned the Department that, as in the case of Mpumalanga and Gauteng, litigation could ensue (*Beeld*, 16 January 2003). The headline in the *Sowetan* in this connection reads: “Court threat over school admissions” (*Sowetan*, 17 January 2003).

In his discussion in a column concerning actions to be taken to ensure the equitable status of Afrikaans in the multilingual dispensation, the Editor of *Rapport*, Tim du Plessis, raised the importance of litigation, even in the Constitution Court:

Daar’s nie fout mee om druk op die owerheid te hou oor die taal nie. ’n Geding in die konstitusionele hof oor Arikaanse taalregte binne ’n konteks van meertaligheid moet ’n opsie bly (*Rapport*, 8 June 2003). [There’s nothing wrong with exerting pressure on the authorities with regard to the language. A lawsuit in the Constitutional Court concerning Afrikaans language rights in a context of multilingualism, should remain an option.]

v) *Pressurising the masses*: The Indian community furnished a good example of the pressurising of the masses. After some Indian languages had been expunged from the country’s school syllabus, more than 100 Hindu organisations in Durban held a meeting during which they “condemned in the strongest terms the actions taken by minister Asmal and the national education department” (*Daily News*, 25 June 2003). “Following a week of community protests and anger” (*Sunday Tribune*, 29 June 2003), Pietermaritzburg residents and religious and cultural leaders gathered at a meeting, in order to form an action group to petition the government to retain these Indian languages.

Name changes have led to various actions to pressurise residents into resisting attempts by officials to change names. In Grahamstown, the Makana municipal manager “suddenly” published a list of preferred street name changes (*Daily Dispatch*, 26 June 2003). Not only did ratepayers sign written protests demanding that the council put a temporary halt to the process, but at a meeting, attended by about 200 local residents, the manager was accused of being autocratic and of trying to manipulate publicly agreed-on procedures for the purpose of changing the city’s street names.

Alumni of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, who were dissatisfied as a result of the merger with the University of the North West, as well as the subsequent name change and the change of the language policy, tried to obtain support by buying three web addresses and inviting everyone who supported them to visit these websites.

The telephone was also used in order to recruit public support. An inhabitant of Pretoria, Trevor Trail, complained, via a newspaper advertisement, about the proposal to change Pretoria's name. In the advertisement, a telephone number was supplied and residents were urged to call, in order to vote against the idea (*Pretoria News*, 30 October 2003).

vi) Demonstrations: The year 2003 began with demonstrations. A protest march was held in January to agitate against the proposed name change of Louis Trichardt to Makhado (*Rapport*, 26 January 2003).

The proposed name change of Pretoria to Tshwane also led to demonstrations. One protest march was organised by Praag (*Pretoria News*, 13 August 2003), while another was organised by the singer Steve Hofmeyr (*Rapport*, 17 August 2003). On this occasion, Hofmeyr declared: "Ek verteenwoordig elke Suid-Afrikaner se reg om te baklei om sy monumente, of dit standbeelde of straatname is" (*Rapport*, 17 August 2003). [I represent the right of every South African to fight for his/her monuments, whether they be statues or street names.]

The most noteworthy reduction in the number of complainants in the media who used a neutral vocabulary, and of the number of complainants who assumed an activist tone, occurred amongst private persons. The decrease in this regard amounted to 13%, followed by political organisations with a decrease of 9%, and statutory organisations with 7%. The 9% drop in respect of political organisations can probably be explained by the fact that these organisations were not eager to become involved in language rights incidents, and in particular, did not wish to take activist steps within the framework of the political system. According to Truter & Lubbe (2002: 203), it gradually became clear that Afrikaans-speaking persons would have to learn to mobilise independently of the political leadership, since they could not expect any assistance from that quarter; and that this lack of assistance was a typical example of the circumstances that were forcing Afrikaans-speaking persons to take action for themselves. At the same time, private persons probably preferred to have recourse to trade unions and cultural organisations, including pressure groups such as Praag, because they felt that the latter could take action more successfully. This probably explains the significant increase of 8% in the number of complainants from cultural organisations. The fact that the number of complainants at trade unions increased by 9%, could possibly be ascribed to the same reason. The increase of 6% in respect of the media as activist language complainants may possibly be ascribed to the fact that editors of Afrikaans newspapers, in particular, expressed themselves more strongly than their English counterparts, by means of the use of

strong language or a call to action and mobilisation, in their comments in main reports or in the editorial columns.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Media coverage, as already mentioned, is an important instrument of democracy; and as such, it is indispensable for the consolidation and development thereof. Comparative details are currently lacking for the purpose of determining whether there has been an increase or decrease in language activism over the past five years, for example, and whether the increase or decrease in this phenomenon could be connected to the neglect of Afrikaans, in particular, during this period. There is ample evidence of language rights incidents prior to 2002 which fit the definitions of language activism. For example, there were incidents in which the media attempted to mobilise persons who were dissatisfied about language issues to air their dissatisfaction concerning the SABC's language policy (*Rapport*, 5 June 1994).

The Afrikaans press gave more prominence to reports on language issues than the English press did. In the case of reportage on language rights complainants, the percentage for the Afrikaans medium was 69,9%, as against 21,2% for the English press (and 8,9% in the case of bilingual publications). This is indicative of aloofness, and even a prejudice, towards language-related matters on the part of the English press – an attitude that is referred to as a “gate-keeping bias” and “coverage bias” by D'Alessio and Allen (2000: 135). In this chapter, this aspect of prejudice will not be further explored.

From the investigation, it appears that Afrikaans-speaking persons, in particular, tend to agitate in connection with language issues, since they perceive that it is their language rights, in particular, that have been neglected, more than those of other groups, in contrast to their privileged position prior to 1994. African-language speakers, on the other hand, tend to employ activism as an instrument in respect of issues other than language, for example, the Treatment Action Campaign; and they apparently feel less strongly, in general, about the non-consolidation of their respective mother tongues. The probable explanation for this is that they do not necessarily have similar media instruments at their disposal for the purposes of agitation for language rights, or do not have them to the same extent as the Afrikaans speakers. Contemporary events that were initiated by Afrikaans speakers further demonstrated just how effectively activism can actually be employed in order to achieve a specific objective.

It further transpired from the media investigation that Afrikaans-speaking persons also lodge complaints in the media on behalf of other language groups. According to Truter and Lubbe (2002: 204), Afrikaans-speaking persons had already become aware, as from 1994, that an “alliance with indigenous languages” would offer them a better chance of making a substantial impact. Afrikaans speakers are also less inclined to agitate for language rights on an individual basis, and prefer to have recourse to Afrikaans cultural organisations or pressure groups. Almost a third (32,1%) (cf. Figure 5.4) of the activism on behalf of Afrikaans was initiated by the media, which clearly demonstrates that newspaper editors realise the value of media coverage and activism. In an article in *Zuid-Afrika*, under the heading “Kultuurimperialisme: ’n bedreiging vir ’n pluraliteit van kulture en tale” [Cultural imperialism: a threat to a plurality of cultures and languages], the philosopher, Johan Degenaar (2000: 93), points out that the state does not bear sole responsibility for the protection of languages, but that residents must share co-responsibility for this goal:

Dit moet voortdurend met ’n volgehoue stryd verower word. Binne ’n multikulturele situasie soos Suid-Afrika is hierdie saak des te dringender. [It should continually be achieved by means of a sustained struggle. In a multicultural situation such as that of South Africa, this matter is all the more urgent].

Language rights activism is an important component in the process aimed at democratising a multilingual society. Martel (1999: 48) views such an approach as essential, even inevitable. The struggle of non-dominant language groups in South Africa was discussed by Hermann Giliomee in a column under the heading “Taalstryd bepaal SA demokrasie” [Language struggle determines SA democracy] in *Beeld* (20 August 2002). He views this struggle as “’n deurslaggewende toets vir ons demokrasie” [a defining test for our democracy]. He encourages like-minded malcontents and activists to wage a democratic struggle for the right of strong protest, the right to opposition and the right of non-dominant language groups to organise so that cognisance can be taken of their language grievances.

In the same manner as that in which the French-speaking minority in Canada succeeded, by means of purposeful language rights activism, in shaking off the label of a minority group that had to be satisfied, at best, with the granting of language-rights “alms”, the minority language groups in South Africa can increasingly have recourse to similar methods. PanSALB can play a more dynamic role in causing meritorious cases in respect of language rights complaints to be placed on the roll, according to the example of the facilitating role fulfilled by the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL) of Canada for the benefit of language litigation. In

comparison with the number of complaints submitted to the OCOL in Canada, the lodging of complaints with PanSALB concerning the violation of language rights is strikingly insignificant in extent. The culture affirming that agitation can take place on behalf of a language, is still relatively underdeveloped and under-utilised in South Africa. The hope is cherished that, should language neglect and discrimination against languages come into play in this multilingual and multi-cultural country, language rights activism – in whatever form - will be effectively utilised.

7. Linguistic rights litigation

INTRODUCTION

In SALRM (2002) and Lubbe (2004), the importance of litigation is discussed. In 2003, three cases related to linguistic rights were brought before the courts, viz. (in chronological order):

- Radio Pretoria (the Applicant) v Chairman of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) (the First Respondent) and ICASA (the Second Respondent) (High Court, Transvaal, case no. 20164/01);
- Kimberley Girls' High School (the First Applicant) & another (the Second Applicant) v Head, Department of Education, Northern Cape Province (the First Respondent) & others (High Court, Northern Cape, case no. 32/03);
- Primary School Danie Malan v Head, Department of Education, Tshwane North (High Court, Pretoria).

RADIO PRETORIA

Radio Pretoria's application for the renewal of a temporary community broadcasting licence and a signal distribution licence was refused by ICASA. Application was made to review and set aside ICASA's decision. The case (20164/01) was heard in the High Court, Transvaal, with Judge Bosielo on the Bench. Judgement was delivered on 21 February 2003, and reported in 2003(4) BCLR421(T) and [2003] JOL10732(T), 44pp.

In section 192, the Constitution provides for the establishment of an independent authority to regulate broadcasting. Such an independent authority, called the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), was established in terms of section 3 of the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, no. 153 of 1993. By virtue of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act, no. 13 of 2000, the IBA was replaced by ICASA on 1 July 2000. ICASA is the legal successor to the IBA.

Advocate Van Rooyen, for the applicant, stressed parts of section 2 of the Act, which statutorily mandated and required the IBA to promote the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services at the national, regional and local levels, which should collectively cater for all languages and cultural groups. In corroboration of his submission on this point, he cited section 31(1)(a) and (b) of the Constitution, in which provision is made for the promotion and protection of the rights of cultural, religious and linguistic communities to enjoy their freedom of association, religion and the right to their culture and language.

The advocate for the respondents, Adv. Unterhalter, however, pointed out that the Constitution requires these rights to be exercised in a manner consistent with the Bill of Rights. Section 2 of the Constitution renders any law of conduct that is inconsistent with it, invalid. Adv. Unterhalter pointed out that the applicants only employed people from the Boere-Afrikaner community, a small and exclusive community comprising the core component of conservative Afrikaners. The applicant's employment policy and practices therefore discriminated against members of other races in terms of race, ethnic or social origin, colour, religion, culture and/or language.

The Judge found that the Constitution is the supreme law against which all laws must be judged; and as the applicant's employment policies and practices revealed serious and egregious discrimination, in contravention of section 9(3) and (4) of the Constitution, the application was dismissed, and the applicant had to pay all costs.

COMMENTS

With all due respect, certain comments on the judgement are warranted, especially in the light of the fact that section 192 of the Constitution provides for the establishment of "an independent authority to regulate broadcasting in the public interest and *to ensure fairness and diversity of views broadly representing South African society*" (italics added), together with the fact that, with regard to the two "real and main issues" (the Second Respondent's letter), viz. the Applicant's employment policies and practices, and the manner in which the Applicant's board of directors was elected, fairness dictated that the Applicant should have been invited to another full hearing, where these issues could have been properly ventilated and dealt with.

Section 2 of the *IBA Act* statutorily mandates and requires the IBA (now ICASA) to, *inter alia*: (2g) "encourage equal opportunity employment practices by all licensees." This subsection may be distinguished, as being directory in nature,

from certain other subsections of section 2, which are imperative in nature. Such a directory effect seems to imply positive encouragement on the part of the Second Respondent in respect of the practices (of the Applicant) with regard to equal employment opportunities, relative to the Applicant's circumstances and, obviously, appropriately fair, together with relevant directives as to the nature and extent, for example, of related requirements. Pursuant to the relevant requirements of fairness, it seems that appropriately fair communication between the parties concerned was required, at the latest, during a second hearing, before the Applicant's relevant application was refused. During such a communication, the Applicant could have elucidated, and elaborated on, its contention, to the effect that it was an inherent requirement that its employees should be members of the relevant community, whose interests it had served in the past, and proposed to continue to serve in the future. It could thus have been contended that employees from the community concerned were rightfully required, as it was reasonable and fair to presume that such employees (who were furthermore appropriately qualified and also fulfilled other appropriate job-related requirements) would most effectively and efficiently give effect to the provisions of subsections 31(1)(a)&(b) of the Constitution of the RSA, relative to the Applicant; and it could furthermore have been contended that any relevant discrimination, which may have occurred, would *not* have constituted *unfair* discrimination in terms of the relevant subsections of section 9 of the Constitution.

With regard to the issue concerning the election of directors, it is furthermore submitted that the imperative and essential nature of the Second Respondent's functions and duties, namely to ensure fairness and diversity of views broadly representing South African society (cf. *supra* and especially the provisions of section 192 of the Constitution), together with related circumstances [including the contentious nature of the requirement concerned, and the fact that such election-processes had in the past been lawful and had apparently not been disputed by the community concerned, thus implying the relevant support of the community in terms of section 47(1)(c) of the *IBA Act*; and the fact that the Second Respondent was apparently satisfied with the Applicant's proposals (as had apparently been the case in the past) to encourage members of the relevant community to participate in the selection of programmes to be broadcast in the course of such broadcasting services (cf. section 47(1)(d) of the *IBA Act*], also demanded fair communication, including relevant positive action on the part of the Second Respondent, and between the Second Respondent and the Applicant; and during which the issue in question could have been properly dealt with and ventilated, including the

furnishing of particulars as to relevant expectations and directives, for example, on the part of the Second Respondent, and the Applicant's response, which may have been fair under the circumstances, especially bearing in mind considerations pertaining to practical implementation and the Applicant's desire to give optimal effect to the provisions of subsections 31(1)(a)&(b) of the Constitution, relative to the relevant circumstances.

The concluding and seemingly conclusive submission is that the Second Respondent's relevant conduct had not complied with the relative requirements of fairness, including those in terms of section 192 of the Constitution, the Second Respondent's related conduct having been unconstitutional; and since fairness is an essential component of justice, the lack thereof in the circumstances seems to denote injustice.

KIMBERLEY GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

For the Education Department of the Northern Cape, adherence to the policy of affirmative action seems to be of more importance than the mother-tongue status of language teachers who teach a language to Grade 10-to-12 learners at higher-grade level.

A vacancy existed at Kimberley Girls' High School for a teacher of English as a first language, on the higher grade, for Grades 10 to 12. On the basis of a number of applications, the Department selected candidates, and thereupon furnished the governing body with a list of twelve candidates and their applications. The governing body's interviewing committee, which had stipulated, as an absolute prerequisite for the filling of the vacant post, that the candidate must be an English first-language speaker, short-listed three of the twelve candidates for an interview. After personal interviews had been conducted, a certain Ms Matthews, who significantly outperformed the other candidates, was placed first on the list - a recommendation which was unanimously endorsed by the governing body.

The Head of the Department of Education rejected the recommendation, because the interviewing committee, when short-listing the candidates, had not accorded sufficient weight to the qualifications of three black candidates, in contrast to other candidates who were not from a disadvantaged background. The school then approached the Court to have the Education Department's decision reviewed and set aside. The case, no. 32/03, in the High Court, Northern Cape, Kimberley, was heard on 2 May 2003, with Judges Kgomo and Majiedt on the bench. Judgement, by Judge Majiedt, was delivered on 30 May 2003 (reported [2003] JOL 11106(NC) 25, pp.).

In his judgement, Judge Majiedt found that the Court had to determine whether the Head's decision was irregular, not whether it was correct or not. The Head could decline a recommendation if certain provisions of the Employment Act were not met, including one (section 6(3)(b)v) which reads that the decision must have regard to the democratic values and principles referred to in section 7(1). Section 7(1) requires that due regard must be given to equality, equity, and the democratic values and principles contemplated in section 195(1) of the Constitution, including an important provision in section 195(1)(i) that the public administration must be broadly representative of the South African people. In order to achieve broad representation, the imbalances of the past need to be redressed.

Judge Majiedt found that in the present case, equitable and equal treatment had not been afforded to the three disadvantaged candidates in refusing them an opportunity to compete on an even footing during an interview with the three short-listed candidates. Furthermore, the short-listing process had not contributed towards redressing the racial imbalance of educators at the school, as required by section 6(3)(b)(v) of the Employment Act, read together with section 7(1) of the Employment Act and section 195(1) of the Constitution.

The School Act allocated extensive new powers to governing bodies, one of which is that of recognising and addressing the need to correct the imbalances of the past as far as recommendations for the appointment of educators are concerned. The governing body had failed to meet this responsibility and statutory obligation; and Judge Majiedt therefore found that there were no grounds to review the Head of the Department's decision to decline the governing body's recommendation for the appointment of the applicant of their choice to the vacant post; and he dismissed the application with costs.

COMMENTS

Strictly speaking, the Court's decision does not invite substantial criticism. Commentary is only provided in respect of one conclusion reached, with reference to section 9 of the Constitution of the RSA:

In emphasising the need to act positively to advance the idea of equality, as envisaged in section 9 of the Constitution, J. Van der Westhuizen comments as follows:

Efficiency and representivity, or equality, should, however, not be viewed as separate competing or even opposing arms. They are linked and often interdependent. To allow equality or affirmative action measures to play a role only when candidates

otherwise have the same qualifications and merits, where there is virtually nothing to choose between them, will not advance the ideal of equality in a situation where a society emerges from a history of unfair discrimination. The advancement of equality is integrally part of the consideration of merits in such decision-making processes. The requirement of rationality remains, however, and the appointment of people who are wholly unqualified, or less than suitably qualified, or incapable, in responsible positions cannot be justified ([2003] JOL 11106 (NC),10).

Regarding Vander Westhuizen's views pertaining to merits, it is submitted, contrary to the Court's view, that relevant considerations of merit should be directed toward appropriate excellence and superiority (relative to relevant requirements), with a view to advancement and progress generally, and in order to combat and prevent retrogression. What any progressive country needs is to pursue the ideals of meritocracy (the rule of excellence) and aristocracy (the rule of, and by, the best, irrespective of, and in the absence of, unfair considerations pertaining to birth, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, sex, nepotism and favouritism), in compliance with and according to the rule of law which is just and fair.

DANIE MALAN PRIMARY SCHOOL

(Information for this case was obtained from the newspapers, *Beeld*, *The Citizen* and *Pretoria News*, of 3 and 5 December 2003.)

In December 2003, the Gauteng Department of Education, Tshwane North, was taken to the High Court by the Danie Malan Primary School and its Governing Body. In an urgent application to be held in the Pretoria High Court, the school asked for an order setting aside the Department's decision to turn away 23 prospective Afrikaans-speaking Grade 1 pupils in order to make way for nine English-speaking Grade 1 pupils during the following year. The school also asked the court to set aside an order compelling the school to admit an English-medium Grade 1 class the following year.

The school and its governing body only turned to the court after repeated attempts to settle the dispute with the authorities had failed.

In the court papers, the chairman of the school's governing body accused the authorities of unlawful interference with the school's language and admission policy. Although the school was a predominantly Afrikaans-medium school, it had accommodated English pupils since 1997, when the infrastructure allowed for this and the ratio was 40 children to one teacher. The school only had four Grade 1 classrooms, accommodating a total of 160 children. In September there were 164

applications for Afrikaans Grade 1 pupils, as well as eight English applications. The school was then ordered by the Department of Education to turn away some Afrikaans pupils to make way for the English Grade 1 pupils. The school was willing to accommodate English pupils if it was practically possible, but the Department did not indicate that it would help with resources (classrooms or teachers). The Department was accused of an intention to change the school's single-medium status to a parallel-medium status; and a further complaint was that the Department had given the issue a racial slant.

In the application, reference is made to a ruling by Judge Bertelsmann in a similar application (*Primary School Middelburg v Mpumalanga Education authorities*). In the case of that application, it was ruled that a single-medium school could not be forced to accommodate speakers of other languages unless at least 40 such pupils had applied. Even then, the school could only be compelled to accommodate the minority-language pupils if all other schools in the area which provided tuition in that particular language, were full.

Judge Annemarie de Vos appointed a curator to investigate the interests of the Afrikaans as well as the English children before the hearing of the urgent application. Until the curator could present the report to the court, the urgent application to overturn the Department's order to turn away Afrikaans-speaking pupils in order to make way for English-speaking pupils, stood down.

In the meantime, the governing body and the Department reached a settlement whereby the school undertook to provide an additional class for Grade 1 English-speaking pupils the following year, while the Afrikaans-speaking pupils whom the school had been forced to turn down, would also be accommodated. The Department of Education, after considering the final total of English-speaking Grade 1 pupils, would provide the school with an additional teacher in order to accommodate these pupils. The terms of the settlement were made an order of the Pretoria High Court. It was agreed that the Department and the school would pay their own legal costs, and would share the costs of the curator.

CONCLUSION

From 1995 until March 2004, at least 70 court cases were brought against the national Department, and the nine provincial Departments, of Education, of which only two have been settled in their favour (*Volksblad*, 20 March 2004). In most of the cases, the Departments were ordered to pay their own as well as the respondents' legal expenses. The cost to taxpayers amounts to millions of rands.

One of the reasons for this abundance of cases, according to Professor Beckman of the University of Pretoria, is “arrogance”, or a “wilfulness” (*Volksblad*, 20 March 2004) on the part of the authorities to take certain decisions which force individuals or groups to litigate.

The state seems to have unlimited funds; and if a judgment is not in their favour, they appeal against the sentence, as in the present case (June 2005) regarding the Mikro school in the Western Cape. This behaviour of the state was also commented on by Judge Bertelsmann in his sentence in *Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education* (which was discussed in SALRM 2002). Judge Bertelsmann stated that the officials of the Department, since 1996, “with evident disregard for administrative stipulations, have been trying to change the first applicant [Primary School Middelburg] to a dual-medium school. Mr. Dreyer [for the Department] admitted that most probably the first and second respondents [officials of the Department] will continue with their efforts if this application succeeds” ((2002) 4ALL SAL 745 (T), 756, translated from Afrikaans).

One thus cannot help receiving the impression that many actions taken by the state against the promotion of multilingualism are driven by the ideology of internationalisation, an aspect that is dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter. In this regard, PanSALB, as the official institution for promoting multilingualism, can play an important role. By financially assisting complainants in respect of language rights violations to initiate a litigation process in order to obtain redress for alleged language rights violations, PanSALB can play a more active role in respect of language rights violations.

8. Research on linguistic rights in South Africa

INTRODUCTION

Research on linguistic rights is a component of research on language planning in general. Researchers in the field of language planning are faced with particular problems. In the first place language planning is one of the most interdisciplinary domains in Linguistics, in which fields such as Sociology, Politics, Law, Psychology and Pedagogy intersect. Secondly, researchers are confronted with a research field in which any single variable is related to a wide variety of other variables; and in which any variable is influenced by others, and in turn, influences them.

Research on Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language is a dynamic research area. A selected bibliography from 1970 to 1996 on the Sociology of Language

(Cluver, 1996) comprises 644 pages. In this contribution, research on only one sub-discipline, namely language rights in South Africa – with reference to South African linguistic questions – is explored.

Research on South African linguistic matters relating to linguistic rights is discussed under six main themes. Certain conclusions are reached, and recommendations made, on the basis thereof. Because relatively few studies relating to language rights have appeared in 2003, publications concerning the six most important themes which have been published in the main since 1994 are discussed.

RESEARCH ON SOUTH AFRICAN LINGUISTIC MATTERS

South Africa is a multilingual, multicultural and multi-faith society, and the different constituent groups are often referred to as *minorities*.

Matters concerning linguistic rights are related to the linguistic rights of minority groups. In contrast to speakers of a dominant language (not necessarily a dominating language: cf. Ridge (2000: 151-152) for this distinction), minority groups often complain that their linguistic rights are not (sufficiently) guaranteed. Although the Final Constitution (Act No. 108 of 1996) accords official status to eleven languages, in practice the perception exists among certain communities that English is the dominant language. Although English, too, can be characterised as a minority language, the other ten languages are all used by minority groups; and it is often reproachfully pointed out that the language rights of minority groups are not always honoured. In the following overview of research on linguistic rights in South Africa, six main themes are identified, viz.:

- Linguistic rights are a (fundamental) human right
- The right to be educated in one's own/home language
- Statutory provisions in respect of linguistic rights
- The decreased status of Afrikaans
- South Africa is on the road to English monolingualism
- Disempowerment of the masses.

LINGUISTIC RIGHTS ARE A (FUNDAMENTAL) HUMAN RIGHT

As is pointed out in Chapter Two the protection of national minorities, which includes their linguistic rights, in modern history dates back to the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The concept *human right*, adopted by the UN in

1948 in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, includes linguistic rights as a fundamental right. The fall of the USSR, and the concomitant ethnic conflicts in particular, brought to the fore the protection of the linguistic rights of minority groups, which increasingly became associated with fundamental human rights. Renowned sociolinguists like Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (e.g. 1995, 2000, 2002), Robert Phillipson (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995), and Miklós Kontra (Kontra *et al.* (Eds), 1999) are now researching and propagating the concept of linguistic rights of minorities as a basic human right.

This idea is even implicitly entrenched in sections 185 and 186 of the Final Constitution of South Africa, in which provision is made for a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (which was eventually finalised with the appointment of 18 members in September 2003). Section 185(1)(b) specifies the following objective, *inter alia*:

To promote and develop peace, friendship, humanity, tolerance and national unity among cultural, religious and linguistic communities, on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and free association (Beukman, 2000: 140).

In the proceedings of the first colloquium in a series of colloquia presented by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) (previously the Language Facilitation Programme) of the University of the Free State (UFS), linguistic rights as a fundamental right received attention (Lotriet (Ed.), 1997). Hertog and Lotriet (1997) stress the fundamental right of each citizen to equal access and treatment before the law. It is therefore the government's obligation to ensure that the judiciary system is linguistically accessible to those concerned:

Because of the fundamental human right stipulating that everyone – also, or perhaps particularly the non-native speaker – has to have equal access to and treatment before the law, it is a country's duty to make its legal system linguistically comprehensible to any party [who] happens to become involved in it and therefore to provide interpreting services. Equally[,] because of jurisprudence in both international and various national courts[,] such non-native defendants, witnesses or parties have the right not only to an interpreter, but indeed to a qualified (i.e. good) interpreter (Hertog & Lotriet, 1997: iii).

The Van Schaik publication series, *Studies in language policy in South Africa*, evolved from the series of colloquia. The Van Schaik series deals with different aspects of the management of multilingualism in South Africa and other European countries, especially Belgium, and offers a comparative perspective. The first volume investigated multilingualism and government (Deprez & Du Plessis (Eds), 2000); the second, multilingualism and the judiciary and security services (Deprez,

Du Plessis & Teck (Eds), 2001); and the third, multilingualism and education and social integration (Cuvelier, Du Plessis & Teck (Eds), 2003). The latter two volumes also deal with the question of linguistic rights as a fundamental human right. Cuvelier, Du Plessis and Teck (Eds) (2003) will be discussed in the section on the right to be educated in one's home language.

Henrard (2001) discusses the issue of language use in court proceedings, in communications with the police, and in prison, from a human rights perspective. General human rights instruments often include a provision of the right to a fair trial, which has explicit and implicit consequences for language use in court proceedings. However, specific standards for language use in prison and in communications with the police are virtually non-existent.

In determining language rights and the use of a language other than the state language, Henrard (2001) proposes a sliding-scale approach, which entails the consideration of factors such as, *inter alia*, the numbers of individuals who are denied a specific benefit or advantage enjoyed by speakers of the primary/preferred language; the territorial concentration of the disadvantaged individuals; and the social, cultural and/or religious importance of a language (Henrard, 2001: 17).

However, as pointed out by, *inter alia*, Du Plessis (2001) and Strydom (2001), decision-makers in the judiciary are loath to put the provision of South Africa's Constitution into practice. Du Plessis (2001) and Strydom (2001) will be discussed in the section on English hegemony.

An overview of international developments relating to human rights, minority rights and linguistic rights is given by Scholtz (2002). In the light of these developments a strong case is made for adherence to minority rights and minority linguistic rights in South Africa. An obligation rests on the authorities of all three governmental levels to fulfil the clauses on linguistic rights in the Constitution. Speakers of minority languages have the right to communicate with government in their own language. As a matter of fact, government violates the rights granted to it by the Constitution, as well as international stipulations regarding human rights, if it insists that communication on all levels should be in English, or if its covert promotion of the use of English places limitations on the use of minority languages (Scholtz, 2002: 300).

THE RIGHT TO BE EDUCATED IN ONE'S OWN/ HOME LANGUAGE

In educational matters, in particular, the importance of the mother tongue, which is broadly equated to a fundamental human right, is argued for. In various papers,

Skutnabb-Kangas (e.g. 2000, 2002) claims that most of the present indigenous and minority education that is provided in the world fits the United Nations' definition of *linguistic genocide*, turning dominant languages into “killer” languages.

In Cuvelier, Du Plessis and Teck (Eds) (2003), Henrard, Strydom and Heugh, in particular, discuss judicial aspects and the importance of mother-tongue education. Henrard (2003), who discusses language rights in education in the international framework, refers to article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* as “[t]he most basic minority rights provision in international law” which “enshrines a complete and absolute prohibition on forced assimilation and a right of minorities to keep and express their identities” (Henrard, 2003: 16). Although South Africa's norms and standards appear to be in line with the international standards pertaining to individual human rights and to minority rights, the actual practice remains disappointing, and more initiatives should be taken to improve the situation (Henrard, 2003: 20).

In Africa in general, however, language-in-education policies have failed to reach their prime objective, i.e. to promote the status of indigenous languages as media of learning and teaching, as is pointed out by Kamwangamalu (2003) and elaborated on in Kamwangamalu (2004). In the competition between two ideologies, namely vernacularisation and internationalisation, the reasons why the latter prevailed, according to Kamwangamalu (2003), are, firstly, the fact that multilingualism is seen as a problem; secondly, the isolation of the elite from the broad population and their indigenous languages by means of their favourite language (a former colonial language); thirdly, linguicism (or linguistic racism), in terms of which the resources of minority groups, which include their language, are made “invisible” or are regarded as handicaps; and lastly, the lack of political will to change the status quo:

The relationship between the former colonial languages and African languages is asymmetrical and is likely to remain so for years to come (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 178).

Confirmation of this attitude whereby the indigenous home language is seen as a handicap is provided by the results of an empirical research study that was conducted in the North West Province (Verhoef, 1998), in which attitudes and perceptions of the school population towards the regional languages were measured. Although the subjects reacted positively to the official status granted to eleven languages, a preference for English as a working language was expressed, because of the access it gives to personal, economic and social development and empowerment.

One reason for this resistance displayed by black pupils towards first-language education may be found in the Bantu Education Act, No.47 of 1953, which extended mother-tongue education from grade 4 to grade 8 in black schools (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 227). Black pupils viewed this law as a strategy by the National Party Government to deny them access to higher education and thus to restrict their social and economic mobility. The status of an already powerful language, English, was enhanced, and consequently English became the language of liberation. First-language education became stigmatised in South Africa, even after Bantu Education was abolished. Attempts to promote indigenous African languages are viewed with suspicion and are considered to be a neo-apartheid strategy designed to separate whites from blacks and, even more importantly, to divide blacks (Makoni, 1997: 15).

One university-based unit that is aimed at improving the situation is the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (Praesa). It initiates projects with the aim of piloting various aspects of mother-tongue maintenance, bi-literacy and dual-medium education in the Western Cape's three official languages. Heugh (2003) highlights the role of civil society in implementing mother-tongue and bilingual education.

The role of multilingualism in our present language policy is also examined in Heugh (2002), one of the three contributions on "Language planning, policy and education" comprising part of Mesthrie (Ed.) (2002), an important work on language and society. Heugh doubts the sincerity of the government's commitment to empowering the indigenous language communities through the use of their languages in education, because in Africa "there have been no examples of the successful implementation of a rights-based language policy" (Heugh, 2002: 468). She fears that "the more powerful structural forces will undermine even the rights-based approach in South Africa" (Heugh, 2002: 469). The basis of her argument is that the uplifting of the various South African languages, especially in education, is imperative in order to prevent (English) monolingualism in practice.

STATUTORY PROVISIONS IN RESPECT OF LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

In a previous section research on the concept of linguistic rights as a (fundamental) human right was discussed. The mere acceptance of the principle of linguistic rights is, however, meaningless, if it is not shown in concrete terms what these linguistic rights imply. It is therefore important that a law should be defined precisely, in terms of those on whom it has a bearing, as well as which lawful steps can be taken if it is violated. It is also important to ensure that funds are made available for litigation, a

point elaborated by a monograph, namely Webb (2002), in John Benjamin's series on topics in sociolinguistics, *Impact studies in language and society*.

Strydom (2003) outlines the two sets of provisions in which language rights and the accommodation and promotion of multilingualism are constitutionally rooted, namely section 6 of the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. Although Strydom (2003) specifically deals with linguistic rights in relation to education, the broad principles also hold for linguistic rights in general.

As is demonstrated by Du Plessis and Pretorius (2000), section 6 contains an inherent ambiguity. It is composed of three distinct parts, viz. an official language declaration (6(1)), normative guidelines for language policy (6(2) and 6(4)), and a number of practical considerations (or factors) to be taken into account in the choice of language(s) for official use (6(3)(a) and (b)). The interpretation of section 6 is thus dependent on which part is stressed:

Those stressing the practical considerations will approach official multilingualism as a directive ultimately requiring only a symbolic gesture. On the other hand, those more committed to the promotion of multilingualism tend to emphasise the importance of the official language declaration and the normative guidelines of parity of esteem and equitable treatment of official languages (Du Plessis & Pretorius, 2000: 508).

THE DECREASED STATUS OF AFRIKAANS

Since 1980, with the publication of Steyn (1980), problems in respect of a multilingual South Africa have constantly received attention. Steyn (1980) provided a strong impetus in terms of alerting scholars to the question of linguistic rights and other related matters, specifically matters relating to Afrikaans. In fact, a discourse on the position of Afrikaans was initiated by Steyn (1980), and even in the media, this issue received coverage. Du Plessis and Van Rensburg (1986) presented the results of an investigation into the reception of the book in the media, as well as by academics.

The decreased status of Afrikaans stands in direct relation to the trend of English monolingualism as discussed in a separate section. An important point of discussion is the language medium of instruction at historically Afrikaans universities. Giliomee and Schlemmer (Eds) (2001) provided a contribution to this ongoing debate. In the Introduction, they show that in various ways, it is counter-productive, and not in the national interest, to continue to uphold the idea that English is the premier public language, and as such should be the only language of instruction at universities.

In the same anthology, Neville Alexander (2001) pleads that the equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution for the use of eleven official languages should be implemented in practice. Of vital importance for the establishment of democracy in South Africa is the maintenance of Afrikaans and other languages at universities. Giliomee (2001), too, takes it as a matter of course that Afrikaans, in alliance with other minority languages, should serve to stress the importance of multilingualism. In a review of Giliomee and Schlemmer (Eds) (2001) by Theo du Plessis (*Beeld*, 4 March 2004), it is concluded:

Dit sal werklik 'n nasionale ramp wees indien Afrikaans as universiteitstaal op intimiderende wyse uitgewerk word deur magbelustes en hedendaagse Toring van Babel-bouers in die regering. Suid-Afrika sal só sy voorsprong in die Afrika-rennaissance-beweging kwyt wees. [It would definitely be a national disaster if Afrikaans were to be ousted in an intimidating manner by power-hungry persons in government and builders of a contemporary Tower of Babel. In such a case, South Africa would lose its advantage in the African Renaissance movement.]

In his discussion of linguistic rights, Scholtz (2002), too, concluded that speakers of minority languages have the right to be educated at a tertiary institution in their own language. In particular, speakers of Afrikaans have this right at two (or even more) universities where Afrikaans is a medium of instruction. This right, of course, goes in tandem with the right to education without discrimination. Afrikaans-medium schools, universities and other institutions thus have no right to refuse to accommodate non-Afrikaans speakers. Likewise, it is argued, these institutions can, in all fairness, expect non-Afrikaans speakers to respect the language ethos of the particular institution (Scholtz, 2002: 301). It should be noted at this point that this position can easily be misused by language activists with a dishonest agenda.

The perceived decreased status of Afrikaans received constant attention in the media. The apparent trends of the debate are interpreted by Verhoef (1996) against the background of key concepts such as *ideology*, *hegemony*, *power* and *rhetoric*. It is shown that these aspects must be taken into consideration when situation analyses for language planning in respect of Afrikaans, or any other language, are carried out.

The most important ideological factor influencing the negative perception concerning Afrikaans is surely the language's connection with apartheid, and specifically strategies to impose first-language education in black schools, as discussed in a previous section. Some consequences of the association between Afrikaans and apartheid, are discussed by Van Rensburg (1999).

Van Rensburg (1999: 88), however, also elucidates another aspect, namely positive factors regarding the future of Afrikaans, after the falling away of the privileged status of Afrikaans. In due course, for example, the enmity towards Afrikaans as the so-called apartheid language began to undergo a change. This language is gradually being accepted as one of the significant languages of South Africa.

Another positive aspect is the recognition of the fact that Afrikaans belongs to all its speakers. In addition, varieties of Afrikaans are being read and heard on a larger scale (Van Rensburg, 1999: 89).

SOUTH AFRICA IS ON THE ROAD TO ENGLISH MONOLINGUALISM

The discussion in the foregoing sections provides implicit confirmation of the increasing hegemony and influence of English. Although the language clause, in section 6 of the Constitution, recognises eleven official languages, the evolving pattern of official language policy in South Africa reveals a trend towards English and thus, in effect, towards official English monolingualism (Du Plessis & Pretorius, 2000: 506), as is the case in English-dominated countries in general (Herriman & Burnaby (Eds), 1996). In a discussion of six countries where English is the dominant language, including South Africa (Ridge, 1996), it is stated that in all cases, this dominance “involved conquest of indigenous populations and denial, suppression or neglect of the language spoken by them in favour of English” (Herriman & Burnaby, 1996: 1). Elsewhere, Pennycook (2000: 114) characterises the threat posed to minority languages by English as “English imperialism”.

In fact, neglect of the indigenous languages and hegemony of English (and other colonial languages) form part and parcel of the African continent, as is shown by Erasmus (1999). Non-African languages are used throughout Africa as the languages of education, commerce and government, while African languages are regarded as incapable of expressing the ideals of higher civilisation. If this demotion or loss of traditional indigenous languages is not resisted, it could

eventuate in the death of the authentic national culture, the end of our deeper intellectual and spiritual life and reduce us to perpetual copycats, having missed out on our historical mission in the world (Erasmus, 1999: 45).

Some ideological elements responsible for the tendency of English domination in South Africa are pointed out by Ridge (2000) and Kamwangamalu (2004), and include, *inter alia*, the perception in the minds of the majority of South Africa’s population, that English is the language of struggle against, and liberation from,

the apartheid system, whereas Afrikaans, because of its association with apartheid, is the language of oppression.

In addition, contributions published in the mouthpiece of the Southern African Linguistic Society, *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Study*, refer to the tendency towards English monolingualism in South Africa. The dominance of English is highlighted by Pienaar (2002), who investigated the attitude towards simultaneous interpreting services in the Northern Province and the Gauteng Province. Her conclusion is that the primary use of English has almost become the norm. In a review of Du Plessis and Van Gensen (Eds) (2000), De Kadt (2002) pinpoints the tendency towards English unilingualism. According to her, the value of the compilation of the papers, originally delivered in 1989, is that it:

challenges us to ask to what extent the dominance of Afrikaans (and English) in 1989 has simply been replaced by the dominance of English in 2002 – and this in spite of the proclamation of a multilingual language policy and more or less vigorous attempts to implement this policy (De Kadt, 2002: 352).

In the judiciary the pressure to Anglicise the system is strong, and decision-makers are slow to put into practice what the Constitution has provided for, as is pointed out in Deprez, Du Plessis and Teck (Eds) (2001), a volume which discusses multilingualism and the judiciary and security services. This observation is also highlighted in Kamwangamalu (2002), a review of Deprez *et al.* (Eds) (2001).

An analysis of two language debates pertaining to the judiciary and regularly reported in the media since June 1999 led Du Plessis (2001: 102) to observe:

Apart from a seemingly half-hearted attempt by the Minister of Justice, very little was said about the position of the African languages in the debate on language use in court. The repeated attempts to introduce English as the only language of record clearly confirm a lack of response on the part of an important arm of government to the institutionalisation of societal multilingualism. One receives the impression that in spite of constitutional obligations the official downgrading of Afrikaans outweighs the enhancement of the status of African languages.

The accuracy of this observation is illustrated by the appointment of English-speaking judicial officers in the Northern Cape, a province with a population of more than 70% Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants, and approximately 1,4% English-speaking citizens. This resulted in evidence being interpreted into English in the courts for the sake of the presiding officer and/or the public defender. Should this

practice become the general policy, the session time of courts in the province will be extended by 75%, with alarming cost implications (Strydom, 2001: 111).

With regard to the languages in the South African Defence Force, too, English has increasingly become the *de facto* language of the army's administration and training, as is pointed out by De Klerk and Barkhuizen (1998). English has become a lingua franca, because it is seen by most troops and staff, including former members of the liberation armies, as a "neutral" code, and the only language that can be used for inter-ethnic communication.

The advancement of English in South Africa is further supported by the trend towards world-wide globalisation, in which technological innovation plays an important role. While globalisation also has positive aspects, e.g. the fact that the most isolated community can now become part of the globalised world and can thus gain access to all relevant information, one of the negative impacts of globalisation is the specific destructive power it holds for languages, as discussed by Van Rensburg (2003). The information supplied by the Internet is less international and universal than is usually claimed. In the Western world, for example, there is no Roman, or Germanic or Slavic internationalism, not even a Pan-European internationalism, but an Anglo-Saxon interpretation, involving the advancement of only one language, English.

DISEMPOWERMENT OF THE MASSES

The disempowerment of the masses is a direct result of the (official) favouring of English, and the resultant dominance of English, as is pointed out in the previous sections. The favouring of English does not correlate with the number of its mother-tongue speakers. According to the 1996 census statistics English is spoken as a home language by only 9% of the people, including 39% of Whites, 94% of Asians, 16% of coloureds, and only 0,4% of Africans, mainly concentrated in metropolitan and urban areas (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 203). The positive value of a knowledge of English is not disputed; but the negative effects that the dominance of English has on the other ten official languages (especially the nine indigenous languages) and their speakers, need to be pointed out. English is therefore accused of being a "double-edged sword", for the following reasons (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 203):

1. Although it provides access to education and job opportunities, it also deters those who are not able to speak it, or whose English is poor.
2. It is an important key to knowledge, science and technology, but it is increasingly being seen as the major threat to the maintenance of indigenous languages, as

a remnant of colonialism and a cause of cultural alienation, and as a vehicle of values not always in harmony with local traditions and beliefs.

The disadvantages posed by the insistence, particularly by black pupils, on education through the medium of English, are far-reaching. The reasons for this preference are mainly ideological and also related to socio-economic considerations, but the results are worrisome. Research by Praesa shows that a group of children whose mother tongue is an African language, but who were thrust from Grade 1 into an L2 (i.e. English) environment, had not developed fluent writing skills in either the home language or English, when they reached Grade 5. English is thus described as a “medium of destruction” (Bloch, 2002: 65). This lack of competence contrasts with the positive performance of another group in a bi-literacy stream, which developed fluent writing skills in two languages (Bloch, 2002).

IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH ON LINGUISTIC RIGHTS

Policy-makers can only benefit from taking cognisance of the findings of research on language planning in South Africa in general, and linguistic rights in particular. As a result of the failure to respect the rights of speakers of minority languages, unnecessary alienation could take place. The government would not fail to benefit, if it took active steps to ensure that every citizen's Constitutional language rights were upheld. In this regard the findings of the Canadian Commissioner of Official Languages are also valid for South Africa:

There is a need to create an environment where dialogue, mutual respect, and a proactive approach are encouraged in order to defuse linguistic tensions. Integrating both official languages means being open to diversity and allowing differences to find expression. While it will sometimes be necessary to turn to the courts to ensure that language rights are respected, it will always be best to avoid conflicts by seeking to solve problems before they escalate (*Annual Report, 2002: 37*).

The empirical study carried out by Verhoef (1998a,b) shows, *inter alia*, that functional multilingualism, and thus fulfilment of the linguistic rights of all inhabitants of a country, cannot be achieved if a need for multilingual skills does not exist in communities. The language stipulations in the Constitution can only be optimised if all the official languages are indispensable communication vehicles for administrative, academic, judicial and media purposes in South African society.

One of the most promising developments in this regard is the recommendation in the report on the development of indigenous African languages in higher

education, namely, that every such institution should identify one indigenous African language to develop as a medium of instruction (*Volksblad*, 16 March 2005). Fewer students tend to enrol in departments of African languages, and some departments have already closed down because students prefer English in formal communication in the private and public sectors. The report further shows that if the indigenous languages are developed as media of instruction in higher education, this should also be the case in schools, and that the public use of these languages should be enhanced in daily life. In this process, however, care should be taken to ensure that the focus on developing terminology and extending the use of African languages does not result in the imposition of English discourse conventions on African language literacy, an aspect pointed out by Mclean (1999). In such a case, the use of African languages would be likely to result “in a neo-colonization rather than an extension of knowledge structures of these languages” (Mclean, 1999: 8). English and African languages “simply do not process information in the same way. Discursive differences are deeply rooted in culture” (Mclean, 1999: 21).

9. Conclusions and recommendations

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached in the various chapters will be summarised here.

In Chapter Two, where the theoretical considerations regarding the linguistic rights of minority groups were discussed, it was concluded that the recognition of the linguistic rights of minorities is not a privilege that may be bestowed according to the discretion and graciousness of the authorities. The linguistic rights of minorities are in actual fact a human right; and this standpoint is widely accepted and propagated today. It has also been pointed out that all language groups in South Africa may be regarded as “minorities” in the international sense of the word, but that it might be argued that the English community may be regarded in a somewhat different light, given the dominating role of English. A distinction was drawn between linguistic human rights and (political) language rights. It was established that the state may indeed recognise certain linguistic human rights, i.e. the right to speak one’s own language, the right to associate with other speakers of this language, the right to have one’s language respected, the right to education in one’s own language, etc. The South African Constitution indeed recognises such rights, and in the widest possible sense. However, we have also seen that not all linguistic human rights are necessarily guaranteed as language rights by the state. In practice, the latter rights are limited and granted as the state deems

fit, and as required by the sociolinguistic environment. The state may decide to accord official status to a specific language for the purposes of government, and may decide which languages to support in education, etc. These rights granted by the state are not to be confused with linguistic human rights, and are thus not to be considered as universal rights. The South African constitution guarantees such rights regarding the eleven official languages. Finally, we have seen that the granting of such language rights does require a commitment from the state to fulfil its undertakings. The legal foundation for language rights allows for, and actually even requires, litigation in order to coerce the state into action.

Chapter Three presents an analysis of media coverage of language issues. Media coverage on language issues is an important aspect of the cultivation of language rights activism. Most of the 2 694 media records collected for this report, deal with reviews. Language rights issues (in terms of complaints and complainants) comprised the second largest category of coverage, and the main conclusions reached will be dealt with in the summary of Chapter Four. Name changes prompted the third largest number of coverage. In this case, the English press produced more records than the Afrikaans press, even though many of the name changes (especially in Limpopo, as well as in Pretoria in Gauteng) affected erstwhile Afrikaans place names. PanSALB also secured coverage, particularly in the Afrikaans press. A new category which received a fair amount of coverage, and which was not discussed in SALRM 2002, is concerned with cases of language enhancement. There were not only complaints in the media concerning perceived violations of language rights; prominence was also accorded to positive steps that were taken by the government to promote multilingualism.

The Afrikaans press, in particular, is willing to cover language rights issues, although it no longer takes the front seat when it comes to language issues. The fact that both the Afrikaans and English media cover controversies about name changes fairly extensively, shows that the changing of names, a process that has obviously not reached a conclusion yet, stirs up emotions; and the related issues could easily be used as a springboard to campaign in a more activist way for more fundamental language rights issues. Officials agitating for name changes should be more aware of the potential negative consequences of their endeavours.

Chapter Four contains an analysis of linguistic rights complaints aired in the printed media. Although eleven of the South African languages are recognised for official purposes and although certain rights regarding their status and use are guaranteed by the Constitution, in practice these rights are not officially accorded full implementation. The reporting in the media in respect of language rights

issues that are related to the alleged violation of language rights has been discussed in terms of language complaints. The Afrikaans media, although proportionally smaller than their English counterpart, have carried more reporting on language complaints. It has also been established that this branch of the media actually plays an activist role regarding language rights issues by “driving” complaints coverage. The fact that speakers of African languages apparently do not voice the same concern about language rights violations confirms the importance of a newspaper devoted to the interests of a specific language community.

The analysis has established that state institutions (which include first-, second- and third-level government, as well as educational and statutory bodies) were the source of the greatest number of language complaints stemming from alleged language rights violations. The highest proportion of alleged language rights incidents occurred at the first level of government, especially at the executive domain. The government departments that were responsible for the majority of these language-related incidents were the Department of Education, the Department of Communication and the Department of Justice. The high incidence of reporting on language rights complaints against the Department of Education is mainly the result of announcements by the Minister of Education pertaining to findings on tertiary institutions and schools. This gives an indication that matters more close at heart will always present more response. PanSALB should also use such matters, e.g. the schools debate to promote itself and its position on language rights.

Language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB were analysed in Chapter Five. As was the case in respect of complaints reported on in the printed media, the highest proportion of alleged language rights incidents occurred at the first level of government. As in 2002, the single language-related incident that provoked the greatest number of complaints to PanSALB (3) was caused by the attitude of the Compensation Commissioner of the Department of Labour, as displayed by its insistence on English-only forms. In addition, the Department of Justice provoked two complaints, while the Department of Education was the source of one complaint.

Most worrisome is the sharp decrease in the number of complaints lodged with PanSALB (there were 26 complaints in 2003, as against 82 in 2002). This decrease suggests an erosion of confidence in the mediating capabilities of PanSALB, perhaps as a result of the low success rate in respect of resolving complaints - only five out of 26 cases, or 19,2%, were resolved. (This represents an improvement of 14%, in comparison to the 5% of cases that were resolved in 2002). Comparing to the rise in newspaper driven complaints in 2003, the decrease of language complaints lodged with PanSALB seems to grant the media the status of becoming

a more acceptable forum for lodging language rights complaints than the so-called official “language watchdog”.

Another significant problem in PanSALB’s dealing with language rights complaints is that the process of lodging a complaint loses momentum after further feedback is required from the complainant. In many cases, the process of providing feedback remained in abeyance - apparently because the interest in the case had begun to wane.

Except for this possible administrative reason for the decrease of language rights complaints lodged with PanSALB, another reason for this decrease could be an indication that the Board is either not fulfilling its mandate, or that speakers of minority languages are not aware of the role of the Board in this regard.

An encouraging fact is that the disregard of the use of African languages also caused a fair amount of dissatisfaction, albeit mainly on the part of non-African language speakers. Five, or 19,3%, of the 26 complaints lodged with PanSALB referred to perceived discrimination against African languages.

Our analysis furthermore shows that, in the case of both the media and PanSALB, the complainants were predominantly Afrikaans speakers. This confirms that the level of language awareness in the Afrikaans community is probably relatively high. Most complainants objected to the establishment of an English-only practice at state and semi-state level. Practical matters, such as the non-availability of forms in languages other than English, internal/ external communication that is not conducted in the other languages, and documents that are not available in the other languages, are examples of the types of administrative actions that prompted the complaints.

Chapter Six deals with language activism, excluding neutral media coverage on language complaints. Community mobilisation is an activist technique that is mostly used by language activists from the Afrikaans community. Other forms of activism proved also successful for other communities, e.g. lobbying by the leaders of the various Hindu organisations, and violence by a group of hospital workers opposed to the name change of the *Garankuwa Hospital*. However, in comparison to countries such as Canada, where a high level of language activism is present, South Africa still has a far way to go.

Chapter Seven deals with language litigation. Litigation remains one of the most effective forms of activism for obtaining and securing linguistic rights. This form of language rights activism in South Africa, however, is not being utilised to the maximum potential, in contrast to the situation in Canada, for example. During

2003, three cases pertaining to linguistic rights appeared before the courts. Of these, *Primary School Danie Malan v Head, Department of Education, Tshwane North* is of special significance. This case is comparable to *Primary School Middelburg v Head of Department: Mpumalanga Department of Education*, as discussed in SALRM 2002. In this case, too, the Department tried to change a single-medium school to a dual-medium school. The Judge appointed a curator to first investigate the interests of both the Afrikaans and English pupils, before the case could be heard. In the meantime, the governing body and the Department reached a settlement, which was made an order of the Pretoria High Court.

Chapter Eight deals with research on linguistic rights in South Africa. In this research in South Africa, six themes are constantly discussed, viz.:

- Linguistic rights are a fundamental human right;
- The right to be educated in one's own/ home language;
- Statutory provisions of linguistic rights;
- The decreased status of Afrikaans;
- South Africa is on the road to English monolingualism;
- The disempowerment of the masses.

Policy-makers may benefit from taking cognisance of the findings of research on language planning in South Africa in general, and linguistic rights in particular. Failure to respect the rights of speakers of minority languages can lead to unnecessary alienation. A responsibility also rests on Government to establish a need for multilingual skills in communities. The language stipulations in the Constitution can only be optimised if all the official languages are indispensable communication vehicles for administrative, academic, judicial and media purposes in South African society.

This second Language Rights Report suggests that the printed media remains an important player in the language rights filed in South Africa. However, the fact that the Afrikaans media maintains a prominent position in this regard might not always be considered as an asset. During times of electioneering this prominence might become a mobilising factor that contributes to the politicisation of the language issue. Although language politics play an important role in democratisation it could also work against larger issues such as social integration. Some signs of this emanating from a possible resistance in schools to accommodate learners and teachers that came from different language and cultural backgrounds. The relative

absence of a legitimate body such as PanSALB in the larger language debate in South Africa does not contribute to solving the dilemma. It is thus a pity that PanSALB is not engaging more prominently current discourses on language rights issues in South Africa. Especially notable is PanSALB's relative silence on place name changes. The Board should consider events constructively through well considered media intervention.

RECOMMENDATIONS

i. Methodological

Most of the methodological shortcomings identified in SALRM 2002, for example the need to extend the database, the absence of a sociolinguistic component, and the need for more detailed descriptions of narratives on language complaints, have as yet not been rectified, as a result of a lack of funds to appoint more researchers. We urge that the Unit's proposal for the extension of the LRM project should therefore receive urgent attention.

ii. Role of PanSALB

Also with reference to PanSALB's role, most of the recommendations made in SALRM 2002 still hold. As a supplementary measure, additional to the recommendations, PanSALB could consider making more extensive use of the influence of the printed media to its own benefit, and becoming more pro-active in solving language rights disputes - especially in the light of the decrease in the number of language rights complaints received and the increase in the role played by the printed media

In this regard, the Board of PanSALB should consider taking the following steps:

- a. To intervene more directly in current language rights issues by keeping its finger on the pulse of language rights events in the country. In order to do this, it is recommended that, besides the present annual reports by the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE), the ULFE should produce a more regular report, at least on a monthly, or even a fortnightly basis. These reports would allow PanSALB to intervene in time in cases that need immediate attention.
- b. To investigate the sustainability of newspapers in the African languages, even if only on a weekly basis. The importance of an ethno-linguistic press in

making speakers aware of their language rights is illustrated by the Afrikaans printed media.

- c. Alternatively, to secure space in the existing newspapers for a column in an African language, dealing with current language affairs. This space could also be used to cover language rights issues.
- d. To promote more regular awareness campaigns regarding language rights in the printed media, by means of a series of articles, or through columns, etc.
- e. To co-opt the National Language Bodies to assist with the founding of more language organisations at grassroots level to play an activist role regarding language rights, citing the Afrikaans network as an example.
- f. To found more language organisations in the African languages, in order to stimulate such an activist role.
- g. To enhance continual contact and closer cooperation regarding language rights matters with the Human Rights Committee, and with the Commission for the Promotion of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CPRCRLC).
- h. To create an environment for the development and distribution of easily accessible material on procedures to facilitate the recognition of language rights within state departments.
- i. To mediate in workshops with alleged perpetrators of language rights violations identified by investigations.
- j. To eliminate the present stumbling blocks in language rights investigations by conducting on-site interviews when language rights complaints are lodged, rather than merely asking for more information.
- k. To consult with Afrikaans-language schools regarding the issue of the medium of instruction, a very emotive subject. For the sake of nation-building, it is imperative that this question should not again become a dividing issue.
- l. To consult with the Departments of Education of the various provinces regarding the handling of the question of the medium of instruction.
- m. To consult with the National Geographic Names Council and Provincial Geographic Names Committees regarding the changing of place names that have a connection to the previous dispensation. The question of name changes is another emotive subject which has the potential to become a dividing issue.

- n. To create incentives to stimulate research on language rights, especially in respect of the apparent lack of an awareness among speakers of African languages.

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11. Appendix

LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR QUESTIONNAIRE

Reference: _____
 Date: _____
 Author: _____
 Title: _____
 Contents: _____

Questionnaire Reference No

--	--	--	--	--

1-4
5-9

1. In which year is record published?

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
1	2	3	4	5

 Official use 10

2. In which month is record published?

J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

 11-12

3. In which language medium is record?

A	E	O
1	2	3

 13

Other _____

4. Source of record

Jnl	Par	P
1	2	3

 14

5. Name of publication

Afr	Be	Bu	BD	CA	CT	CI	CP	DD	DFA	DN	EPH
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ex	FM	F&T	Fn	K	IoS	Is	NE	NW	OS	PN	Pa
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Ra	SI	So	SS	St	ST	SWA	TD	Vo	WVG	WD	O
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36

 15-16

Other _____

6. Type of record?

Rep	EC	Let	Col	Art	Rev	Car	Adv	Doc
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

 17

7. Language(s) concerned

A	E	AL	ALAL	A/E	E/AL	A/E/AL	IL	SL	O
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

 18-19

Other _____

7.1 AL specified

7.1.1 Ndebele

Yes	No
1	2

7.1.2 Sepedi

1	2
---	---

7.1.3 Sesotho

1	2
---	---

7.1.4 Swati

1	2
---	---

7.1.5 Tsonga

1	2
---	---

7.1.6 Tswana

1	2
---	---

7.1.7 Venda

1	2
---	---

7.1.8 Xhosa

1	2
---	---

7.1.9 Zulu

1	2
---	---

 20-28

8. In which context is language mentioned in record?

8.1 Alleged diminution of language usage

Yes	No
1	2

8.2 alleged violations of LR

1	2
---	---

8.3 announcement

1	2
---	---

8.4 activism

1	2
---	---

8.5 CPPRCRLC

1	2
---	---

8.6 discussion

1	2
---	---

8.7 government response

1	2
---	---

8.8 language enhancement

1	2
---	---

8.9 language litigation

1	2
---	---

8.10 language rights

1	2
---	---

8.11 language rights complainant

1	2
---	---

8.12 language rights complaint

1	2
---	---

8.13 National Council of Provinces

1	2
---	---

8.14 National House of Traditional Leaders

1	2
---	---

8.15 PanSALB mentioned in media

1	2
---	---

8.16 South African Human Rights Commission

1	2
---	---

8.17 place names and name changes

1	2
---	---

8.18 reviews (if yes proceed to 19)

1	2
---	---

8.19 other

1	2
---	---

 29-47

9. Status of language right concerned (official/ unofficial)

O	U
1	2

 48

10. Official

10.1 Source of incident: state institution/ semi-state/ statutory body

SI	SS	Stat
1	2	3

 49

10.2 State domain concerned: Legislative/ Judicial/ Executive/ General

Leg	Jud	Ex	Gen
1	2	3	4

 50

10.3 Legislative: Parliament/ NCOP/ National Assembly/ Prov /Local Gov

Par	NCOP	NA	PG	LG	Gen
1	2	3	4	5	6

10.4 Judicial: Constitutional C/ High C/ Supreme C/ Magistrate Court

Con	Hi	Sup	Mag	Gen
1	2	3	4	5

10.5 Executive: First Level/ Second Level/ Third Level

IL	2L	3L	Gen
1	2	3	4

 51-53

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR 2003

14.5 assistance	1	2	
14.6 banners	1	2	
14.7 brochures	1	2	
14.8 circulars	1	2	
14.9 correspondence	1	2	
14.10 cross-examination in court	1	2	
14.11 disregard multilingualism	1	2	
14.12 documents/ contracts	1	2	
14.13 English hegemony education	1	2	
14.14 forms	1	2	
14.15 general	1	2	
14.16 internal/ external communication	1	2	
14.17 labels	1	2	
14.18 language of institution	1	2	
14.19 language of record	1	2	
14.20 language plan	1	2	
14.21 language policy	1	2	
14.22 medium of instruction (parallel/ dual medium)	1	2	
14.23 meetings	1	2	
14.24 name boards	1	2	
14.25 news reports	1	2	
14.26 notices	1	2	
14.27 number plates	1	2	
14.28 payment slips/ cheques	1	2	
14.29 questionnaire	1	2	
14.30 staff evaluation	1	2	
14.31 telephone usage	1	2	
14.32 training	1	2	
14.33 website/ internet/ software	1	2	
14.34 other	1	2	

101-134

15. Administrative action discriminatino against the use of English

	Yes	No	
15.1 School publication	1	2	
15.2 literature/ advertisement prize	1	2	
15.3 place names and name changes	1	2	
15.4 standard of English on radio/ TV	1	2	
15.5 other	1	2	

135-139

16 Administrative action discriminatino against the use of Afrikaans

	Yes	No	
16.1 Accounts	1	2	
16.2 administration	1	2	
16.3 brochures	1	2	
16.4 circulars	1	2	
16.5 correspondence	1	2	
16.6 cultural influence private institutions	1	2	
16.7 denied mother-tongue school premises	1	2	
16.8 documentation	1	2	
16.9 enforced parallel/dual medium education	1	2	
16.10 English hegemony tertiary education	1	2	
16.11 forms	1	2	
16.12 general	1	2	
16.13 impact research parallel medium tertiary	1	2	
16.14 influence government semi-state institutions	1	2	
16.15 internal/ external communication	1	2	
16.16 journals	1	2	
16.17 labels	1	2	
16.18 language in institution	1	2	
16.19 language of record	1	2	
16.20 language plan	1	2	
16.21 language policy	1	2	
16.22 literature prize	1	2	
16.23 medium of instruction	1	2	
16.24 meetings	1	2	
16.25 disregard multilingualism	1	2	
16.26 name boards	1	2	
16.27 name changes	1	2	
16.28 notifications	1	2	
16.29 number plates	1	2	
16.30 payment slips/ cheques	1	2	
16.31 language of court	1	2	
16.32 questionnaire	1	2	
16.33 diminution language SABC: TV/ radio	1	2	
16.34 staff evaluation	1	2	
16.35 telephone usage	1	2	
16.36 website/ internet/ software	1	2	
16.37 other	1	2	

140-176

17 Administrative action discriminatino against use of other lanauages

	Yes	No	
17.1 Circulars	1	2	
17.2 correspondence	1	2	
17.3 cultural programmes	1	2	
17.4 disregard multilingualism	1	2	
17.5 editorial comments	1	2	
17.6 forms	1	2	

SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE RIGHTS MONITOR 2003

17.7 general	1	2	
17.8 number plates	1	2	
17.9 questionnaire	1	2	
17.10 SASL not recognized as enrolment criteria	1	2	
17.11 telephone usage	1	2	
17.12 tenders	1	2	
17.13 language policy	1	2	
17.14 lack of infrastructure	1	2	
17.15 other	1	2	
18. Media coverage relating to place names and name changes			
18.1 Brand names	Yes	No	
18.2 buildings	1	2	
18.3 cartoons	1	2	
18.4 institutions	1	2	
18.5 cities/towns	1	2	
18.6 dams	1	2	
18.7 districts	1	2	
18.8 game reserves	1	2	
18.9 general references	1	2	
18.10 hospitals	1	2	
18.11 mountains	1	2	
18.12 organisations	1	2	
18.13 provinces	1	2	
18.14 rivers	1	2	
18.15 South Africa	1	2	
18.16 stadium/ sport organisation	1	2	
18.17 streets/ neighbourhoods	1	2	
18.18 railways/ airports/ harbours	1	2	
18.19 business	1	2	
18.20 other	1	2	
19. Reviews			
19.1 Fiction	Yes	No	
19.2 non-fiction	1	2	
19.3 theatre	1	2	
19.4 other	1	2	
20. Status quo regarding LR complaints lodged with Pansalb			
20.1 No outcome	Yes	No	
20.2 no outcome: under investigation	1	2	
20.3 no outcome: awaiting response	1	2	
20.4 under negotiation	1	2	
20.5 awaiting outcome: Language Plan	1	2	
20.6 changed circumstances	1	2	
20.7 irrelevant	1	2	
20.8 no jurisdiction: file closed	1	2	
20.9 no jurisdiction: file provisionally closed	1	2	
20.10 High Court judgment	1	2	
20.11 case provisionally settled	1	2	
20.12 possible litigation	1	2	
20.13 resolved without litigation	1	2	
20.14 successfully finalised	1	2	
20.15 other	1	2	
21. Type of LR complaint lodged with Pansalb?			
21.1 Individual right	Yes	No	
21.2 group right	1	2	
21.3 solidarity right	1	2	

177-191

192-211

212-215

216-230

231-233

The South African Language Rights Monitor (SALRM) Project surveys the mainstream newspapers of South Africa with a view to compile annual reports on the developments on the language front in the country. While the main focus is on language rights and language (rights) activism, the yearly Monitor also covers other language-related problems, including name changes, as well as aspects of language promotion.

For anybody interested in subjects ranging from the (proposed) renaming of Louis Trichardt, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth to the renaming of Loftus Versfeld Rugby Stadium and Johannes International Airport, and from the status of Indian languages in education to the standardisation of African place names and the language policy of Parliament, the SALRM 2003 provides a rich source of information.

The SALRM Project is housed in the Department of Language Management and Language Practice at the University of the Free State.

