UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

Nurturing a multilingual dispensation: The ideological influence of SABC TV broadcasting policy and practice on the language attitudes of a predetermined sample population.

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate Programme in the School of Language, Literature and Linguistics, University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed idea have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the attitudes of a predetermined sample population of SABC TV viewers towards SABC's language policies, and to identify and critically analyse the factors that influenced these attitudes by approaching the subject matter from a variety of methodological positions. This is an especially important undertaking when considering that the South African media landscape has for decades been the site of political, social and ideological confrontation, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) notwithstanding. Since operating as a mouthpiece for the National Party during the apartheid era, the role of the SABC in contemporary post-apartheid South Africa has come into sharp focus. The SABC's role in South African society, allied to its status as a public service broadcaster, is significant in terms of encouraging nation-building and a unified national identity or cohesive national identities. Furthermore, the relationship between the public broadcaster and national policy makers is central to attaining goals such as linguistic parity in multilingual situations, such as in South Africa.

For the SABC, what would be a difficult task under normal circumstances is made even more challenging when considering the numerous linguistically harmful legacies that remain after the apartheid period, where African languages were devalued and disempowered in the eyes of their speakers. The status of English as an international language, as well as the role that it played near the end of the apartheid era, would also come to be an obstacle in the path to the equitable treatment of South Africa's eleven official languages. As such, this study aimed in part to determine whether SABC TV has embraced, or is perceived to have embraced, the ethos of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and its own multilingual policies. More importantly, the main focus of this project was to ascertain the effect of SABC TV's linguistic policy and practice decisions on the attitudinal dispositions of its viewing public, and to attempt to frame these language attitudes in terms of the ideologies operating within South Africa and the SABC.

To achieve this, an assortment of complementary data-gathering techniques were arranged in a multi-method and triangulation approach to investigating the complex research problem. A historical analysis of South Africa's and the SABC's social, political, and media landscapes identified ideologically significant events from South Africa's history, and these included the introduction of tangible linguistic and ideological boundaries between the African languages, the hegemony of English as a language of social and economic mobility and as the language of the indigenous African populations struggle against apartheid, speakers of African languages being placed in opposition to their own languages thanks to the misuse of mother tongue education, the association of Afrikaans with the apartheid state and the

theoretical commitment of the democratic government and the SABC to fostering inclusive multilingualism. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of the SABC's current language policy and language practices were also conducted. Whilst at face value SABC TV was seen to more or less meet the language delivery quotas stipulated by ICASA (a regulatory body) during the given period, further investigation determined that the manner in which the quotas were framed made it easy for the SABC to implement practicable strategies in implementing the multilingualism espoused by the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). A survey and focus group interview were employed to investigate the language attitudes of the sample population in terms of the following themes: standardisation of languages (standard Sotho or Nguni), the efficiency of multilingual broadcasting in South Africa, the social and functional capability of African languages, the perceived positions of English and the African languages in South African society, and the role and responsibilities of the public broadcaster. The predetermined sample population comprised of mainly first language English and isiZulu speakers, and the linguistic attitudes between these two language groups were observed to significantly different on a number of key criteria, potentially due to those ideologically significant events uncovered with the historical description, as well as to the language policies and practices utilised by SABC TV. First language English speakers were neutral with regards to many of the issues surrounding the efforts of SABC TV at inclusive multilingual broadcasting, possibly influenced by the hegemony of English, as well as having a vested interest in maintaining the elite closure enjoyed by its speakers. Juxtaposed to the first language English speaking component of the sample population were the first language isiZulu speakers who exhibited much more of a loyalty towards their language, and towards the African languages in general. This study hopefully contributed in a small way to developing an understanding of the relationship between these speakers, as well as of their attitudes towards and expectations of language policies and practices at the level of both the SABC TV and government. By better understanding the intricacies of the complex and unique social milieu within it works, the SABC can be better equipped to formulate and execute policies and practices to best serve the needs of all South Africans.

ABBREVIATIONS

IBA. Independent Broadcasting Authority.

ICASA. Independent Communications Authority of South Africa.

LANGTAG. Language Plan Task Group.

PanSALB. Pan South African Language Board.

SABC. South African Broadcasting Corporation.

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

1.1 The research problem and its setting

The South African media landscape has for decades been the site of political, social and ideological confrontation, and this is especially true in the case of South Africa's national broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Since operating as a mouthpiece for the National Party during the apartheid era (Barnett, 1999), the role of the SABC in contemporary post-apartheid South Africa has come into sharp focus. In this democratic era, the SABC has adopted multilingual policies of its own (Broadcasting Amendment Act 73 of 1993b, Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act 153 of 1993c, White Paper on Broadcasting Policy (1998), Broadcasting Act 4 of 1999, 1995 and 2004 SABC Editorial policies), and is controlled by external broadcasting regulators Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA Act 13 of 2000). These policies and regulations in essence obligate the SABC to "provide services in all of the official languages and to ensure the maintenance of high quality programmes in all of the official languages" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 90). The SABC's role in South African society, allied to its status as a public service broadcaster, is significant in terms of encouraging nation-building and a unified national identity or cohesive national identities. These ideals are especially important when considering that South Africa's own Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states that "the official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu" (Chapter 1: Section 6.1) and that "all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably" (Chapter 1: Section 6.4). Henceforth, these languages will be referred to by the following designations: Sepedi, seSotho, seTswana, isiSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu (Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2010).

The relationship between the public broadcaster and national policy makers is central to attaining goals such as linguistic parity in multilingual situations, such as in South Africa. The expectation is that the public broadcaster will develop and implement language policy and practice that will endorse and engender the multilingual policies of the country's main Constitution. For the SABC, what would be a difficult task under normal circumstances is made even more challenging when considering the numerous linguistically harmful legacies that remain after the apartheid period. The apartheid governments main tool in their mission to divide and subdue South Africa's black majority was their insistence that mutually intelligible languages within African language groups (i.e. – isiNdebele, isiSwati, isiXhosa and isiZulu in the Nguni group and Sepedi, SeSotho and seTswana in the Sotho Group) were separate languages with different speakers and cultures who

therefore were assigned to distinct homelands or Bantustans. Additionally, with English and Afrikaans, in both practice and policy, dominating national and broadcasting policies and practices in the periods prior to democracy, the African languages were further devalued and disempowered in the eyes of their speakers as these languages were not utilised in the same way as English and Afrikaans. The status of English as an international language, as well as the role that it played near the end of the apartheid era, would also come to be an obstacle in the path to the equitable treatment of South Africa's eleven official languages.

With all of the above in mind, it is important that the effects of the public broadcaster on viewer's language attitudes are investigated as the status, value and importance of a language is most often and easily measured by attitudes to that language. As such, this study aims in part to determine whether SABC TV has embraced, or is perceived to have embraced, the ethos of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) and its own multilingual policies. More importantly, the main focus of this project is to ascertain the effect of SABC TV's linguistic policy and practice decisions on the attitudinal dispositions of its viewing public, and to attempt to frame these language attitudes in terms of the ideologies operating within South Africa and the SABC.

1.2 – Statement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine the attitudes of a predetermined sample population of SABC TV viewers towards SABC's language policies, and to identify and critically analyse the factors that influence these attitudes by approaching the subject matter from a variety of methodological positions.

1.3 – Rationale for the study

The ideological message portrayed by the use of languages by SABC TV shapes the public's language attitudes and the way that the public perceives national governmental language policies, as "the media in general help contribute to legitimating a polity's language policy" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 85), as does the use of language by the government itself. This would conform with the observation of Herman and Chomsky (1988: 1) that "the mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace". It is important to keep in mind that SABC TV, and its language policies, are part of the "non-official [language policy] domain" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 82). As a result, the language policy and practice preferences that SABC TV exhibits are viewed in a different light to those of an official government department. Accordingly, the public's perception

and behaviour regarding the legitimacy of official language policy and practice may either be ratified or undermined by non-official policy, where "increased language visibility in the media for a minority language plays an important role in cultivating positive language attitudes" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 84). Language policy and practice in a non-official organization as large as the SABC therefore plays a massive role in the way that official governmental policies are both perceived and portrayed as, according to Du Plessis (2006a: 85), "language policy in broadcasting, especially where the public broadcaster is concerned, should not be seen in isolation from national language policy". Where an equitable use of all eleven official languages would send out a positive and transformative message, the residual effects of the exclusionary policies of the apartheid era would undermine such efforts. Here, the hegemonic force of English would subvert efforts aimed at reintroducing the African languages into more prestigious linguistic domains, and by doing so would "hasten the extinction of innumerable language varieties and … stigmatise and marginalise all but the most powerful languages" (Alexander, 2003: 5). One also needs to consider the importance of the media in this respect, where "the media can be considered to be one of the three primary language agents in a polity" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 85), the other two being the education system and central bureaucracy. As a public service broadcaster, SABC TV has the responsibility of helping to contribute to legitimating governmental language policy (Du Plessis, 2006a; Mpofu, 1996). It is therefore obvious that the mass media (and in the South African case SABC TV) may even be perceived as a "co-orchestrator of language policy" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 85). With this in mind, it becomes even more imperative that the effects of SABC TV's language policy and practice on the public's stance towards national language policy (i.e. – the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996)) is investigated, as this will encourage the formulation and execution of socially and ethically sound public broadcasting policy and practice.

1.4 – Establishing the research questions

The following research questions were developed in relation to the issues identified above:

1. What historical forces have shaped the current SABC TV language policy?
2. What provisions have been made in the current SABC TV language policy to correct past inequities?
3. What modes of language planning have been employed in implementing the current SABC TV language policy?
4. How has apartheid language policy and practice in the SABC influenced public attitudes towards the eleven official languages policy?

5. How has post-apartheid language policy and practice in the SABC influenced public attitudes towards the eleven official language policy?
6. What is the perceived role of the English language in the broadcast media, pre- and post-apartheid?

1.5 – Operationalizing the research questions

The nature of the research questions logically informed the direction that the data collection process would follow. Research question 1 is answered with a historical analysis of South Africa's and the SABC's social, political, and media landscapes to identify ideologically significant events which may be the foundation of existing national language attitudes (throughout Chapter 3, 4.3.1, 4.4.1 and 5.2). Research questions 2 and 3 were answered by an analysis of the SABC's current language policy, as well as a discussion on their current language practices, with regards to the treatment of each of the eleven official languages (throughout Chapter 3, 4.3.2, 4.4.2 and 5.3).

Questions 4, 5 and 6 comprise many different themes such as: standardisation of languages (standard Sotho or Nguni), the efficiency of multilingual broadcasting in South Africa, the social and functional capability of African languages, the perceived positions of English and the African languages in South African society, and the role and responsibilities of the public broadcaster. In order to try and begin to understand the relationship between SABC TV policy and practice and peoples language attitudes, a 22 question survey was completed by 458 respondents in my sample population – University students at Howard College in Durban, KwaZulu Natal. Since the survey sample was looked at in terms of first language, as opposed to race, first language was the variable against which recurrences of specific language attitudes associated with the above themes would be compared (see 4.3.4, 4.4.3, 5.4 and 5.5).

Finally, a focus group interview was conducted with 7 of the survey participants. Research questions 4, 5, and 6 formed the basis of the 20 semi-structured open-ended questions. In this research project, the historical description, the analysis of SABC TV language practice, the language attitude survey and the focus group interview are arranged as complementary data-gathering techniques in a multi-method and triangulation approach to answering the complex research problem and research questions. The focus group interview was conducted after the survey. Building upon what was learnt from the previous stages of data collection, the focus group interview provided a different (yet compatible) form of information. The focus group interview differed from the survey in that the presence or effects of ideology could be more directly and explicitly approached, and patterns that emerged in the survey could be further investigated. As such,

questions revolved mostly around the perceived importance and functionality of the official languages, the perceived effect of SABC broadcasting, and the expectations of the focus group interview participants in terms of SABC language policy and practice, their attitudes towards language harmonisation and the role of English in society and in the media. A phenomenological analysis was conducted on the focus group interview data, in order to access "the lived experience of a small group of people from the standpoint or phenomenon" (Schram, 2003: 70) (see 4.3.5, 4.4.4, and 5.6).

1.6 – Outline of the study

Following the brief outline of the nature and scope of my project in this chapter, Chapter 2 will present a literature review and theoretical framework, focussing on ideology, hegemony, the mass media and language planning. Chapter 3 continues with a description of the historical and contemporary political and social factors that have influenced the language policies and practices of the country and the SABC, as well as of political events that may influence current language attitudes. Chapter 4 will discuss the methods used to collect and analyse data, as well as justify these decisions. Ethical considerations are also dealt with in this chapter. In Chapter 5, the data will be presented and analysed. Chapter 6 will present a discussion of the findings in terms of the research questions (see 1.4), as well as the challenges and limitations relevant to this study, and the recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: IDEOLOGY, HEGEMONY, THE MASS MEDIA AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

This study, through a variety of means, aims to explore the ideological underpinnings operating within the language decisions of SABC TV and the language attitudes of its viewing public. It therefore makes sense to define exactly what ideology is, and how it relates to language and power. A discussion of the relevant language planning ideologies, as well as the ideological significance of the mass media, is also necessary as these will be referred to in later sections. The relevance of ideology and language to national identity will also be discussed, as this will create the foundation for discussions which are to occur in subsequent chapters.

2.1 – Defining ideology and its contexts

At a fundamental level, the term ideology refers to "organised thought, internally coherent ways of thinking [which] always serve[] a purpose" (Lull, 2000: 13). Ideology is obviously driven by an intention to subtly privilege a certain mode of thinking (or acting) over a competing one. In this sense, ideological domination can be juxtaposed with coercive domination (or rule). Here, rule (or coercion) "where the exercise of power is obvious or known" (Mesthrie & Deumert, 2000: 319) is at odds with the process of ideological dominance whereby "the exercise of power is so disguised as to involve rule with the consent of the governed" (Mesthrie & Deumert, 2000: 319). It is important to make this distinction now, as both forms of domination (i.e. – ideology/consent and coercion/rule) will be referred to in subsequent discussions of South Africa's and the SABC's pre- and post-apartheid language planning and policy choices.

Blommaert (2005) describes how, when defining ideology, it is possible to approach the issue from both specific and general points of view, which neither contradict nor oppose each other. The first, specific, point of view sees ideology as "a specific set of symbolic representations ... serving a specific purpose, and operated by specific groups or actors" (Blommaert, 2005: 158). This understanding of ideology is characterised by definitive terms such as Marxism, fascism or communism, for example, and represents "a particular bias characterising specific social formations with specific interests" (Blommaert, 2005: 159). On the other hand, the more general understanding of the term ideology sees it as "a general phenomenon characterising the totality of a particular social or political system, and operated by every member or actor in that system" (Blommaert, 2005: 158). Within this conception, ideology "cannot be attributed to one particular actor ... located in one particular site ... but ... penetrates the whole fabric of societies or communities and results in

normalised, naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour" (Blommaert, 2005: 159). Within this view, ideologies are "based on accumulative experience and socialisation, and ... are the underlying 'deep structures' of social behaviour" (Blommaert, 2005: 162).

This dissertation adopts a holistic view of Blommaert's specific-general distinction, where both meanings are included in the operational definition of ideology. In specific terms, in the following chapters we will see how Anglicist and Nationalist ideologies dominated the pre-apartheid language planning and policy and media realms explicitly and covertly in terms of both policy and practice. Similarly, in the post-apartheid era, it is evident that multi-racial, multilingual and multi-cultural ideologies were prioritised over other competing ideologies in the language planning and policy and media spheres, at least in terms of policy provisions. When considering Blommaert's general definition of ideology, where ideology cannot be attributed to one particular person or institution, it becomes evident that the post-apartheid era complies more readily with this definition. This is due to the fact that ideologies not directly promulgated by any particular institution or entrenched in policy are able to influence the language practices and linguistic attitudes of South African citizens, e.g. – Anglicist or Afro-pessimist ideologies. These specific ideologies, many of which are remnants of pre-apartheid ideological standpoints, are at odds with the general multi-cultural, multi-racial and multilingual policies espoused by most post-apartheid policy documents.

Ideologies can operate in almost any milieu, although this study is more concerned with the macro-level setting where "the ongoing manipulation of public information ... by society's power holders constructs ... a dominant ideology which helps sustain the material and cultural interests of its creators" (Lull, 2000: 14). At this point, it is clear that ideology operates within the social (as opposed to the individual) context, as "the primary domains in which social struggle takes place are the social institutions" (Fairclough, 2001: 75). Language, as the most common form of social behaviour, is therefore a crucial component in the establishment and perpetuation of an ideological position, where "language not only reflects social reality and social order; it serves as a vehicle for the re-creation of such order ... it arranges social reality" (Herbert, 1992: 11). Furthermore, ideology can also be said to operate on a global level, and we therefore need "to conceive of communication events as ultimately influenced by the structure of the world system" (Blommaert, 2005: 15). The link between language and ideology is of such significance that "the exercise of power, in modern society, is increasingly achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological workings of language" (Fairclough, 2001: 2). With this in mind, any study aimed at exposing ideologically significant power relations must necessarily approach the research subject matter from a linguistic perspective.

2.2 – Ideology and hegemony

Once a certain ideological viewpoint has gained an ascendancy over all others, it can be said to be hegemonic, where "ideological assertions become self-evident cultural assumptions ... depend[ant] on widespread circulation and social acceptance of the dominant ideology" (Lull, 2000: 50). Cultural and hegemonic domination such as this is achieved "by consent through its control over culture and ideas in civil society" (Blommaert, 2005: 166).

The media, as the principal information distributors in society, thus play a significant role in establishing a perspective as hegemonic. Similarly, Fairclough (2001: 65) speaks of common sense assumptions, where ideologically significant linguistic choices are "routinely drawn upon in discourse ... which come to be taken as mere 'common sense', and which contribute to sustaining existing power relations". Admittedly, for Fairclough these 'common sense assumptions' operate more on the micro-level of texts and utterances. However, the principle that certain linguistic choices, in terms of language policy or practice, may appear as the logical option due to their ideological standing, may be extrapolated to the broader macro-level social context. In practice, this entails identifying recurring patterns of language policy decisions and linguistic practices within the SABC which have been established as the norm, and subsequently attributing the viewing public's attitudinal dispositions to these norms.

2.3 – Ideology and language

It was mentioned earlier that language is the "major locus of ideology, and so of major significance with respect to power" (Fairclough, 2001: 10). When coupled with the fact that language "separates people into groups mak[ing] it a convenient way of classifying as well as of exclusion" (Bamgbose, 2000: 9), it becomes apparent that the realms of language planning and policy and the mass media are critical. Within both language planning and the mass media, the linguistic decisions that are made may be both driven by, and aimed at perpetuating, an ideological perspective. As such, control over language planning and the mass media (and by implication, language) has far-reaching implications regarding the distribution of social power. Here, the theory is that 'general' ideologies (like those mentioned in 2.1) are subtly pervasive in all spheres of public life. In this study, these are accessed by using the survey questionnaire (see see 4.3.4, 4.4.3 and 5.5) and focus group interview (see 4.3.5, 4.4.4, and 5.6) to ascertain which SABC language practices and language attitudes people regard as 'normal' and 'natural'.

When discussing the relationship between language and power (or ideology), and how 'control' over language is potentially empowering, it is often difficult to ascribe concrete attributes to what are essentially abstract concepts. The following discussion on Pierre Bourdieu and his notion of symbolic domination will serve to exemplify and illustrate the relationship between language and power in tangible terms.

Many modern-day sociolinguists concur that ideology (and therefore language) "is closely linked to economic interests ... [and] persons and institutions with political or economic power who will try to use ideology to maintain their privileged condition at all costs" (Lull, 2000: 14-15). Bourdieu (1991) was among the first to propose a version of sociolinguistic theory wherein language actually represented a form of wealth or capital. It is his notion of symbolic domination which offers "an account of the concrete, complicated ways in which linguistic practices and products are caught up in, and moulded by, the forms of power and inequality which are pervasive features of societies as they actually exist" (Thompson, 1991: 1-2). Bourdieu's somewhat radical approach to language was developed as a reaction to the structuralist and Saussurian approaches to language analysis. These forms of analysis, due to their preoccupation with the internal structural elements of texts, failed to acknowledge broader concerns such as the social and historical conditions of the production and reception of texts, which Bourdieu saw as central issues when investigating language and power in society. According to Bourdieu, removing language from context resulted in a failure to take into account the particular social and historical factors which contributed to establishing a set of linguistic practices as dominant and others as subordinated.

As a solution to this problem, Bourdieu proposed a model of language which "is a systematic analogy of the discipline of economics" (Mesthrie & Deumert, 2000: 342). Here, "linguistic utterances ... are always produced in particular contexts or markets, and the properties of these markets endow linguistic products with a certain value" (Thompson, 1991: 18). Within this linguistic market and communicative economy, as in normal economic situations, some products (i.e. – languages) are more highly valued than others and it is unavoidable that some speakers possess more or less linguistic capital than others (where 'linguistic capital' refers to a persons' ability to produce expressions which have a high value in the linguistic market). In this study, Bourdieu's theory of linguistic capital was framed in terms of the perceived cultural and commercial values attributed to each of South Africa's eleven official languages by the sample population. His postulation that certain languages are favoured as 'linguistic capital' in 'linguistic markets' was true for the sample population, with the majority of survey respondents indicating that they believe that English is the language with the highest commercial value. Here, the forces of the linguistic market conspire to produce a situation in which "the legitimate competence can function as linguistic

capital, producing a profit of distinction on the occasion of each social exchange" (Bourdieu, 1991: 55). This is especially relevant to situations where there is a high degree of institutionalised variation (i.e. – where certain languages are more powerful than others due to the prominent roles they play in business, education, etc, e.g. - South Africa) as there is greater potential for speakers with more linguistic capital to exploit the diversity to their benefit and achieve a profit of distinction. This will be further discussed at a later stage (see 5.5.7.3).

Bourdieu's preoccupation with the social conditions of language use and his classification of language in economic terms are central components of this study as they elucidate the often abstract relationship between language, society and power. In doing so, Bourdieu validates the strong emphasis which this study places on the social milieu in which the media operates and where language planning and policy decisions are made. In keeping with Bourdieu's language-economy metaphor, the mass media and language planning and policy spheres will now be briefly discussed in terms of how control over these 'linguistic markets' can be ideologically empowering.

2.4 – Ideology and the mass media

The efficacy of an ideology is significantly improved when its doctrines can be extensively represented and communicated. The mass media, as "one of the most pervasive phenomena in our culture" (Thornborrow, 2004b: 56) therefore "play[s] a vital role in the dissemination of ideologies" (Lull, 2000: 14). Louis Althusser (1971, in Blommaert, 2005: 162) was among the first to suggest exactly how "these deep cognitive patterns end up in people's heads and end up as collected phenomena", strongly emphasising "the role of 'ideological state apparatuses' in the production and reproduction of ideologies" (Blommaert, 2005: 162), where these 'state apparatuses' consist of "the whole complex of institutions below the level of the state, but working in conjunction with the state or serving state interests" (Blommaert, 2005: 162). The media, according to Althusser, is one of the primary state apparatuses, and this is definitely true in the case of the South African media (and the SABC's) pre- and post-apartheid ideological dispositions, although in each of these two era's the SABC was used by the state in different ways.

The mass media are frequently described as one of the most powerful means of propagating information, as they "serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace ... to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988: 1). This in itself is not problematic, as citizens of a polity must necessarily have access to information if they are going to make informed political decisions, and the mass media system is particularly

efficient and resultantly has “become the principle source of political information for the mass public” (Mughan & Gunther, 2000: 3). However, it is well documented that within the mass media, “some ideologies are elevated and amplified ... given greater legitimacy ... and distributed persuasively” (Lull, 2000: 16). It follows that certain political orientations or ideas are privileged and legitimised by the mass media, and in so doing it becomes “more likely that [these] ideas will be accepted by the population” (Lull, 2000: 53).

Another important facet of the mass media is that of mediated communication, which has to do with the fact that “media discourse has built into it a subject position for an ideal subject, and actual viewers ... have to negotiate a relationship with the ideal subject” (Fairclough, 2001: 41). According to Stokes (2003: 130), the implication is that “because messages originate with one group of people and are received by a different (albeit overlapping) group, conceptually they have very different relationships to the message”. Although Fairclough is primarily concerned with the way in which ideology works within a single language, his basic premise that any linguistic decision is ideologically motivated and therefore ideologically revealing is easily extrapolated to situations where there are multiple languages competing for ascendancy. In terms of SABC TV and the ideal subject who they address, the most frequently used language would be indicative of whom their ideal viewer is, and actual viewers would in turn have to position themselves in relation to this ideal viewer. A related issue in mass media is the “organisation of commercial communications systems along market-orientated lines” (Barnett, 1999: 276). In practical terms, this means that the more commercially viable languages are favoured due to their ability to attract interest from advertisers. This is obviously a valid concern when the primary income of media producers is derived from advertising revenue. The “pervasive presence of English on a global scale” (Lull, 2000: 143) and the historical tendency by the SABC to broadcast mostly in English is at odds with their revised role as a public broadcaster, “that of delivering diverse quality programming to audiences considered as citizens” (Barnett, 1999: 276). There are clearly two conflicting forces operating on the SABC in this regard, namely the commercial obligations to its advertisers and the public service obligations to its diverse viewing public.

Du Plessis (2006b) draws our attention to another aspect of broadcasting in multiple languages by differentiating between two types of broadcasting systems, namely majority and minority systems, where ‘majority’ refers to demographically larger and ideologically dominant languages, and ‘minority’ to those languages that have significantly less speakers and which have succumbed to the hegemony of the ‘majority’ languages. Here, a majority language broadcasting system caters “primarily for the majority languages of the country ... [with] different concurrent language channels” (Du Plessis, 2006b: 47). However, although multilingual when taken as a

collective unit, “viewed separately such services are essentially monolingual” (Du Plessis, 2006b: 47). Conversely, a minority language broadcasting system caters specifically for minority languages and it does this by routinely broadcasting “in more than one language of the country ... including minority languages” (Du Plessis, 2006b: 47). This system is therefore more suited to representing a multilingual and multicultural national identity. The utilisation of either system may be ideologically revealing as the role ascribed to specific languages by the broadcaster would be indicative of their perceived or actual importance. This thesis adopts a more holistic and accommodating view of multilingual broadcasting as “the offering of a variety of listening and viewing options in more than one language on the same broadcasting service on a regular basis” (Du Plessis, 2006b: 48). Here, the philosophy of different languages for different channels is thought to be monolingual in the sense that it does not do much in the way of representing the fact that different languages and cultures can co-exist, thereby failing to promote national unity in a multilingual and multicultural country. The alternative, where multiple languages are used on the same channel, is a preferable option in situations where nation building is desirable, i.e. – in a multilingual country such as South Africa. This dichotomy between majority and minority broadcasting systems will be further exemplified in the following chapter, where the confrontation between commercial and nationally unifying interests plays out in the changing of SABC TV’s channel structure in the pre- and post-apartheid eras. Although these issues will be expanded upon in a later section, it was necessary to draw attention to them now as the conflict between the commercial and community or national unity responsibilities of the SABC is largely ideological, and as such warranted consideration in this formative stage of the study. Henceforth in this dissertation, in the South African context, ‘majority’ languages refer to Afrikaans, English, isiXhosa and isiZulu, and ‘minority’ languages to the remaining seven official languages (Sepedi, seSotho, seTswana, isiSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga and isiNdebele).

Now that the central role that the mass media play in ideological spread and hegemonic domination has been examined, the next step is to briefly theorise the impact that media ownership has on the promulgation of an ideological stance, as “producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded” (Fairclough, 2001: 42). Media ownership, or control, is therefore an almost mandatory component of ideological domination. In the case of a state-owned broadcaster such as the SABC, it is logical that its policy would mirror that of the government as “language policy in broadcasting, especially where the public broadcaster is concerned, should not be seen in isolation from national language policy” (Du Plessis, 2006a: 85). The SABC’s transformation into a public broadcaster went hand in hand with the country’s democratic revolution. The pre- and post-apartheid regimes differed greatly in terms of the role that their national broadcasters played, and as such there is much to gain from

investigating the different ways in which the Nationalist and democratic governments utilised the SABC. The South African media landscape, until the mid 1990's, "was largely restricted to white hegemonic interests" (Tomaselli, 2002: 130), and the SABC was no different, operating as a mouthpiece for the Nationalist government. With the birth of democracy in 1994 came a significant shift in the aims of the SABC (where multilingualism was to be more aggressively entrenched in its language policies), as well as "changes in the political and ideological allegiance of each of the media corporations" (Tomaselli, 2002: 129). This almost immediately resulted in a distinct shift in the broadcasting system, as policies were devised which were aimed at treating all eleven official language's equitably. The fact that the regime change coincided with a change of the ideologies which were driving language policy decisions was not coincidental, and as such the relationship between ownership and ideology is very clearly an important one. The ideologies, and political allegiances, exhibited by the SABC during and after apartheid exemplify the SABC's juxtaposed roles as a party and public broadcaster respectively. During apartheid, the government's exclusive ideology resulted in the SABC serving the interests of the white minority, as opposed to the post-apartheid inclusive pluralistic ideology, which sought to service the needs of the entire society. Although the transformation of South Africa's media landscape, and its media history, will be revisited in greater detail at a later stage (see Chapter 3), the fact that control over a means of production (especially in the case of a national broadcaster) is ideologically significant needed to be established.

2.5 – Ideology and language planning and policy

Language planning and policy making is widely acknowledged to be a largely ideological activity, as language planning efforts "often form part of a wider social engineering and are employed to achieve non-linguistic goals ... linguistic choices are made for purposes other than narrowly linguistic ones, and language planning becomes central to the attainment of more general political goals" (Deumert, 2000: 399-400).

Webb (2006), in differentiating between ideological and normative language planning, contests the assertion that all language planning is ideologically motivated. Instead, he suggests that two different language planning varieties exist, one ideologically driven and the other not. Here, ideological language planning "serves the interests of groups who are in a position of social supremacy [where] the views, beliefs, ideas … of the dominant groups are produced, deployed, regulated, generalized and institutionalized in such a way that they are perceived to be "natural", and therefore legitimate and binding" (Webb, 2006: 148). In practice, this entails "locating language

within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and resources ... this has the effect of not only empowering [the] elite but also empowering their languages as well" (Bamgbose, 2000: 16). Such a situation would resemble what Myers-Scotton (1993: 149) calls elite closure, where "the elite successfully employ official language policies and their own nonformalised language usage patterns to limit access of non-elite groups to political position and socioeconomic advancement". Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 200) contextualise elite closure in relation to multilingual polities such as South Africa, where elite closure would be more likely because "the official language may not be part of the repertoire of many members of society". Elite closure would obviously be the primary objective where ideological language planning is concerned, as evident in the apartheid language policies of the South African government and the SABC. Conversely, post-apartheid South African government and SABC language policies are more normative (see directly below) in their approach, despite the fact that many of the apartheid era ideological pressures continue to influence South African society. These issues will be revisited when South Africa's past language policies are discussed (see throughout Chapter 3, 5.2.1 and 5.2.2).

Normative language planning is dissimilar to ideological language planning in that it does not serve any particular social, political or ideological faction, but is rather "directed at serving the interests of the polity as a whole" (Webb, 2006: 152). It is characterised by the implementation "of a programme of actions based on a set of values and norms which have the consent and support of the population to which they apply ... [t]hese values and norms refer to the principles of freedom, equity, democracy and empowerment" (Webb, 2006: 152). In practice in the post-apartheid era in South Africa, this would include attempts at promoting the status and corpus of the African languages, and combating the hegemony of English. Normative language planning also relates directly to the concepts of nation-building and national identity, as it "serves the interests of the nation as a whole ... facilitating ... national integration and nation-building" (Webb, 2006: 153).

Quite clearly, the principles of normative planning are reflected closely in both South Africa's and the SABC's post apartheid language policies, and this will be expanded upon at a later stage. It must be noted that Webb's notion of normative planning is somewhat idealistic. Apart from suggesting that the principles of equity, empowerment and freedom may be unequivocally applied by language planners and policy makers, Webb's version of normative planning also disregards the possibility that the abovementioned principles may themselves form part of an ideological position. Despite this criticism, Webb's normative versus ideological language planning dichotomy remains a useful way of defining and distinguishing between different types of language planning and their motivations.

Another classification of language planning is that of Jiri Neustupný (1970, in Wright, 2004), who distinguishes between the policy approach and a cultivation approach, and these relate to issues of status and corpus planning, explanations of which will follow shortly. The two approaches of policy and cultivation are considered complementary processes within the broader scheme of holistic language planning. The policy approach obviously refers to matters such as "national and regional languages, standardisation, [and] problems of language stratification" (Wright, 2004: 183). The cultivation approach , in an ideal language planning situation, follows on from the policy approach as it "addresses issues of lexical development, appropriacy of linguistic registers for specialised functions, ... and the identification and easing of constraints impinging on language competence" (Wright, 2004: 183). When considering that "very little language planning practice follows language planning theory" (Heugh, 2003: 127-128), it is obvious that many attempts at language planning fail after the policy making practice. In terms of this thesis, one of the objectives is to investigate the extent to which the SABC, having already completed the language policy stage, has supported and implemented the language cultivation stage of Neustupný's two-part language planning process. This will be expanded upon at a later stage (see 5.2.3).

Weinstein (1990, in Du Plessis, 2003) offers a three-part classification of language policy and planning decisions. The first type of decision, made by state or society, is designed for *maintaining* the status quo, while the second is aimed at *reform* by "facilitating and expanding participation in existing political structures" (Du Plessis, 2003: 101). The third goal, to *transform*, may result in policies intended "to radically substitute new patterns of access to power, wealth and prestige … to reflect the replacement of a dominant class or ethnic group" (Du Plessis, 2003: 101). In the next chapter, where the different eras of South Africa's linguistic history are discussed, reference will be made to each of these three ideologically significant language planning and policy decisions.

Just as control over a means of media production permits the owner to privilege their ideology over competing ones, control over language planning and policy gives those who formulate and execute it a similar influence as "those in social control are able to decide what language(s) uses can be deemed to be politically correct, which should be encouraged and furthered ... demoted and discouraged" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 195). When considering that "language policy acts as a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between different ideologies" (Shohamy, 2006: 45), the issue of who is in control of the language planning and policy decisions is a crucial one. In the context with which this study is concerned, language policy is obviously being handled at a governmental or national level, and therefore actual 'ownership' is not an issue. Rather, looking at who has political control and what they stand to gain or lose by making certain policy decisions is

important. With this proviso in mind, the political climate of South Africa is expected to impact upon the language policies that its government and social institutions generate.

Another way of defining different types of language planning is to look within the actual practice of language planning, and at the differences between status and corpus planning. Although their relevance to issues of ideology and hegemony (the focus of this chapter) is not immediately evident, a theoretical overview of status and corpus planning will now be provided as this will aid in the discussion of how these two issues may be ideologically significant. Corpus and status planning are two issues which have been discussed at length by various sociolinguists such as Cooper (1989), Kaplan & Baldauf (1997), Kamwangamalu (2000, 2001) and Reagan (2002). Without going into unnecessary detail, it can be noted that the basic difference between these two aspects is their focus - where status planning is concerned with societal issues (such as the allocation of a language to a functional domain) whilst corpus planning is concerned with language issues (such as creating or modifying vocabulary or grammatical structures). As such, status planning refers to the extent of a language's use in formal domains such as governmental departments and the media, and hence refers to those "aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns and hence are external to the language(s) being planned" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 30). Du Plessis (2006a: 85-86) speaks of how broadcast media play a central role in terms of language status planning, as "mass media recognition is not a sufficient condition for language maintenance, but ... a necessary one, with language status and media use intimately bound together". Conversely, the 'corpus' of a language refers to the extent to which its grammar and vocabulary have been standardised and documented, and as such corpus planning refers to "those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 38). The media plays a significant role in terms of both status and corpus planning as "not only do they form a barometer for measuring language changes and acceptability of changes in the speech community, but they also serve as role models for the standardised and conventionally accepted language use" (Ndimane-Hlongwa, 2010: 220). This has relevance to this study, as any SABC TV viewers who believe that the grammar of a particular language has been inaccurately utilised will most likely be influenced to have a lower expectation or perception of the language in question. In this way, it is also evident that the status and corpus of a language are inexorably linked, as are the practices of status and corpus planning. In terms of SABC TV's role as a public broadcaster, it is perceived as implicitly setting the standard.

Although they are dealt with independently in the literature, and indeed in this study, it is important to mention that any attempt to separate these two activities would be futile as "any change in the character of a language is likely to result in a change of the use environment, and any

change in the use environment is likely to induce a change in the character of the language" (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 28). The relationship between status and corpus planning can be even more overt, as "implementation of the status planning decisions frequently demands corpus planning, particularly when a language or language variety is chosen for a communicative function which it has not previously served" (Ndimande-Hlongwa, 2010: 210). When discussing which of status or corpus planning is more or less ideological, Shohamy (2006) refutes the claim that corpus planning is less ideological than status planning, primarily on the basis that the relationship between the two is complex and interrelated. Instead, Shohamy (2006: 48-49) suggests that "corpus planning can be [ideologically] hidden and issues that can be advanced purely on linguistic grounds can often imply a hidden status planning agenda ... thus, there is no language planning that is detached from some form of ideology".

A status planning exercise which could augment the practices of multilingualism is 'reverse covert planning', which has as its focus the correction of attitudinal misperceptions regarding indigenous mother-tongue languages. In order to combat the perception that "there are few incentives … to learn African languages" (Mda, 2004: 183), and that black "children could lack socio-economic access and mobility if they are taught in their home languages" (Mda, 2004: 184), the technique of 'reverse covert planning' entails making the African languages more 'marketable' through "the recognition of these languages as tools by means of which its users can meet their material needs" (Pillay, 2004: 88). In order to combat the hegemony of English and its effect on indigenous languages in South Africa, these indigenous languages "must be vested with at least some of the material perquisites and privileges that are shared only by English and Afrikaans ... these languages must become what may be termed *social and economic mobilisers*" (Kamwangamalu, 2004: 132). Du Plessis (2006a: 84) explains how broadcasting can be used as a conduit, where "increased language visibility in the media for a minority language plays an important role in cultivating positive language attitudes which may lead to the increased usage of such a language and thus may ultimately contribute to the legitimisation (or relegitimisation) of the language". Although it will be expanded upon in the following chapter, the decision to make official all of the nine major indigenous African languages and place them on a par, at least in terms of policy, with English and Afrikaans, represents an attempt at implementing the 'reverse covert planning' strategy.

In the chapters to follow, especially those concerning past and present governmental language policy and practice decisions, reference will be made to specific language planning ideologies and strategies. As such, these language planning ideologies and linguistic strategies must now be explained. Many of these strategies deal explicitly with the hegemonic force of English, and

in general can be differentiated from those aimed at perpetuating the dominance of English, and those intended to disrupt the established linguistic hierarchy.

Most modern day linguistic strategies are best understood in terms of "the historical legacy of colonialism" (Pennycook, 1994: 16) where "the close links between … the English language and global relations of economic dependency and exploitation" (Pennycook, 1994: 19) have its origins in colonialism. Two ideological approaches to linguistic management, which have their origins in colonialism, underlie most modern day language planning, namely Orientalism and Anglicism. Orientalism, which is characterised by "policies in favour of education in local languages for both the colonized and the colonizers" (Pennycook, 1994: 73), has at times been juxtaposed with Anglicism, which endorses "policies in favour of education in English" (Pennycook, 1994: 73-74). There are many varied accounts of the historical use of these ideologies, the most useful of which views them as "complementary discourses within the larger discursive field of colonialism" (Pennycook, 1994: 79). Consequently, it is possible to assert that even though these ideologies differ greatly in terms of the language practices that they espouse, "the implications of both insistence on and denial of a language within larger structures of inequality" (Pennycook, 1994: 74) have aided in the uncontested widespread pre-eminence of the English language. This is easily illustrated in the South African context, where the imposition of English (and Afrikaans) can be seen as a means of allowing the dominant elite to impose their ideological system upon the non-English speaking population (Anglicism). Similarly, denying non-English speakers access to the language (by encouraging broadcasting in local or indigenous languages) effectively eliminated any chance of speakers of indigenous languages accessing a language in which competence is seen as "the primary criterion for economic success and social mobility" (Orientalism) (Reagan, 2001:62).

With this in mind, two conflicting language planning ideologies which have featured prominently in South Africa's past and present language planning and policy decisions are pluralism and assimilation. Pluralism, which can be said to be based upon the principles of Orientalism, "stresses the multilingual reality and involves the coexistence of different language groups and their right to maintain and cultivate their languages on an equitable basis" (Deumert, 2000: 402). Vernacularisation, which "involves the selection and restoration of an indigenous language or languages as main vehicles of communication and official language(s)" (Deumert, 2000: 403), frequently occurs alongside pluralism and is also based on the orientalist ideology. Conversely, assimilation "is based on the belief that everyone should be able to speak and function in the dominant language of the community or nation" (Deumert, 2000: 402). A related linguistic ideology, and one which goes hand in hand with assimilation, is that of internationalisation which "is based on the paradigm of modernisation through westernisation" (Deumert, 2000: 403). This obviously entails

the selection of a non-indigenous language which is meant to function as a lingua franca. The role that each of these ideologies play in the South African context will become clearer during the discussion of South Africa's past and present linguistic situation.

2.6 – Ideology, language and national identity

Before discussing how the concept of a national identity can be affected by language and ideology, it is first necessary to determine exactly what is meant by the notions of nationhood and nation-building. A multilingual country, such as South Africa, challenges one of the traditional notions of a 'nation' which sees it as a "linguistically defined and ethnically based" community (Wodak, et al., 1999: 18) or a "culturally homogenous state, with a single sociocultural identity" (Webb, 1996: 150). In South Africa's case this is clearly problematic as our nation's people represent a multitude of different linguistic and ethnic groups. Another definition of a 'nation', and one which fits more readily with the South African situation, is as a "mental principle which is determined by the common possession of a rich heritage of memories and by present agreement ... an association of individuals who decide voluntarily for a common past and future" (Wodak et al., 1999: 18). This is at least true of the post-apartheid South Africa, where the arrival of democracy ensured that every person has the right to vote and be heard, and where the notion of a unified nation has been actively pursued in policy provisions. Pre-apartheid South Africa, under this definition, would therefore not qualify as being a legitimate nation-state due to the fact that the apartheid state legislated and supported separatist and racially-based endeavours such as separate development, and the Group Areas Act of 1950, for example.

The confrontation that occurred between the pre- and post-apartheid national identity ideologies is typical of the changes that the notion of national identity is undergoing on an international scale, where "orthodox assumptions of identity are challenged in the new interstices opened up by political transitions" (Wasserman, 2005: 77). Here, "the nation-state is currently going through major change in terms of fluid national identities, recognising the existence of diverse groups ... these realities challenge the ideology of the homogenous nationalistic state" (Shohamy, 2006: 35). The National Party's concept of nation-building, when it was in power during apartheid, stressed "cultural diversity and multi-nationalism ... [and] maintain[ed] that one South African nation does not exist, only different nationalities prevail" (Prinsloo, 1995: 203). Here, the different ethnic groups comprised "a plural multiracial state which was composed of separate and yet interdependent people" (Moloi, 1999: 26). A more liberal, pluralist and accommodative view has since been adopted by South Africa's new democratic government. Here, any notion of nation-

building "would promote cultural homogeneity [and] would strongly insist on individual representation" (Prinsloo, 1995: 203). Although it is evident that South Africa's democratic government (and the SABC) has done much in the way of policy-making to ensure that its national identity remains accessible to people of all cultures, races, and languages, part of the focus of this thesis aims at evaluating just how committed and successful the SABC is in this regard. As such, this study focuses on their use of language in their portrayal of what it is to be a South African, as "it is through the medium of language that these battles are taking place" (Shohamy, 2006: 35). This dichotomy will be more vividly contextualised in the following chapter.

The concepts of nation and national identity are also pressured by other contemporary forces such as globalisation. Here, the "policy goals of integrat[ing] different social groups 'vertically' into a single nation-state are increasingly in tension with the 'horizontal' integration of individuals and social groups across national boundaries that transnational systems of production, distribution and consumption of cultural commodities has facilitated" (Barnett, 1998: 552). The results of this conflict between global and local (indigenous national) identities differs from situation to situation, where the social and political context of each unique scenario is a central concern. Hall (1992, in Barnett, 1998: 552-553) summarises the possible outcomes that "processes of economic and cultural globalisation [has on] patterns of identity formation: they may lead to the erosion of national identities; they might strengthen defensive or national or exclusivist local or regional identities; or they might facilitate the development of new forms of syncretic, hybridized and less territorialised identities". The relevance of this to the current study is that the hegemony of English could potentially subvert attempts to implement inclusive multilingualism, and result in a situation where the national identity of South Africans in judged in terms of their relationship with the English language.

Webb (2006) defines four possible outcomes where different identities compete in the development of a national identity. The first possibility is *segregation*, whereby the differences between the existing cultural and linguistic entities are used as the basis for maintaining their separate existence. As it will be seen, this was the strategy favoured by the apartheid government. Secondly, *integration* may occur. Also known as the 'melting-pot' option, the outcome of this strategy is "the creation of a new (single) cultural identity" (Webb, 2006: 46). The third outcome is *assimilation*, which, as it will be seen in the following section was the preferred option of the pre-apartheid governments. This entails "the absorption of the different socio-cultural identities which constitute a country's cultural realities into an existing, dominant cultural identity" (Webb, 2006: 46). Finally, *pluralism*, which is an ideology which will frequently appear throughout the subsequent discussions on South Africa's post-apartheid policy decision, requires "the recognition of cultural

diversity as a formal constituent of political structure" (Webb, 2006: 46). These will be referred to later (see Chapter 3, and 5.2).

In terms of governance and nation-building, language has arguably the most crucial role to play, especially when considering that "multilingualism is the global norm and every society in the world today has to devise language policies that promote communication and reinforce national cohesion" (Alexander, 2001: 116). A logical implication of these facts is that in "any programme or philosophy of nation building the pivotal role of language, especially in a multilingual country, should be recognised by a government" (Prinsloo, 1995: 203). In practice, it is often the case that the ideological dominance of the English language results in it playing a central role in multilingual constitutions. This is, in part, due to the perception (or misconception) that "indigenous languages cannot play a role in national integration because of their divisive potential" (Webb & Sure, 2000: 11). English, and in some cases other ex-colonial languages, are therefore favoured as "these languages are socio-culturally neutral and do not have the potential for stirring up conflict" (Webb & Sure, 2000: 11). In South Africa, English has a history of its own and was once the language of the British colonisers, who were linguistically imperialistic in terms of the languages of both the indigenous peoples and the other settlers, the Afrikaners. This does not mean, however, that English cannot function as a tool for national integration, as Phillipson (2000: 101) speaks of the potential for English to be "reconceptualised ... from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool". It is important to note, however, that the hegemony of the English language may account for the tendencies to describe it as a 'multinational' as opposed to an 'imperialist' tool, and this is one of the issues to be further explored by this thesis.

The issue of identity, both individual and social, is central to the notions of nation-building and national identity. It is commonsense that "one of the most fundamental ways we have of establishing our identity, and shaping other people's views of who we are, is through our use of language" (Thornborrow, 2004a : 158). This ability of language to signal identity also occurs in the broader social context, where "social groups and communities use language as a means of identifying their members, and of establishing their boundaries" (Thornborrow, 2004a: 158). Language, therefore, is a most crucial variable when it comes to signalling group identity, the largest of which may be said to be those which constitute a nation or nation-state. According to Wodak et al.,(1999: 3-4) "nations are mental constructs, 'imagined communities', which nationalised political subjects perceive as discrete political entities ... [and] national identities, as special forms of social identities, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, discursively". A nation-state, therefore, is "a state characterised by successful nationalism, i.e. by the elaborate political process of forging a uniform, 'modern' nation" (Blommaert, 2005: 217). In ways which will

now be explained, the idea of a nation-state being a collective of people whose political and social views concur, is similar to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Additionally, through the likening of a nation-state to Bourdieu's notion of the habitus, the role that hegemony plays in the development of a nation-state will also be explored.

Thompson (1991: 12) defines a habitus as "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways ... the dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are 'regular' without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any 'rule'". Thompson goes on to describe how these dispositions develop "through a gradual process of inculcation, structured in the sense that they unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired" (Thompson, 1991: 12). The habitus, as the origin of individual behaviour and expression within a broader social setting, can also function as a vehicle for ideological transfer, especially where national identity is concerned. National identity, as "a complex of common or similar beliefs or opinions internalised in the course of socialisation" (Wodak et al., 1999: 28), is open to ideological influence as well as ideological transmission as "the national identity of individuals who perceive themselves as belonging to a national collectivity is manifested ... in their social practices". The media, as primary information diffusers in society, therefore play a central role in that their portrayal of the national identity is both a product of society, and a reproduction of society as "national identity is shaped by state, political, institutional, media and everyday social practices, and the material and social conditions which emerge as their results" (Wodak et al., 1999: 29). When it is possible to identify a national identity, it is obvious that this perception of what constitutes a 'nation' has achieved hegemonic status. The earlier discussion of Bourdieu and his notion of symbolic domination are prominent here, as "in order for one mode of expression among others ... to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects ... have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage" (Bourdieu, 1991: 45). Even in cases where multiple languages comprise a national identity, ideology is present as in these cases the pluralist ideology prevails. In theory, and in policy, the South African government and the SABC look committed to developing and entrenching a multi-lingual and multi-cultural pluralistic national identity, although the language practices of the SABC will be more extensively investigated in order to ascertain whether they have the same commitment in terms of their linguistic practices.

2.7 – National identities, nation-building and the media

According to Mpofu (1996: 14) the "media are key components in forging a nation-building ideology". This is especially true in the case of a broadcaster with a national footprint, as a national broadcaster can play a "crucial role in constructing an appeal to the nation ... helping define the very idea of the relevant collective ... as an agent of social control" (Horwitz, 2001: 55-56). Central to this role of creating an environment which encourages a multi-faceted national identity is the public service broadcaster, which may be characterised by its attempts to "bring into being a culture and a shared public life to the whole population within the nation state ... the public service broadcaster is part of the national public experience" (Mpofu, 1996: 7). American broadcaster David Sarnoff was the first person to speak of broadcasting as a public service, saying that "broadcasting represents a job of entertaining, informing and educating the nation, and should therefore be regarded as a public service" (McDonnell, 1991: 1). It was John Reith (1924, in McDonnell, 1991: 1), however, who further theorised that public broadcasting "should be free from commercial pressures, the whole nation should be served ... there should be unified control ... [and] there should be high programme standards". The central tenet of a public broadcasting system is its commitment to making political, religious, civic, cultural and entertainment events accessible to the entire spectrum of people in its polity. Especially in cases where "what were previously discrete and self-contained 'nationalities' ... come into contact with one another in common national broadcast channels ... [they] take on new meanings and connections" (Mpofu, 1996: 7).

The mass media, according to Gillwald (1994: 59), plays a "mediation role" between the state and the different sectors of the public, a function which can be fulfilled by publicly-minded media. However, if the media are to "serve democratic communication and citizenship they themselves must become democratic ... democratic media and democratic society are interdependent phenomen[a]" (Ryan, 2000: 1). Broadcasting, especially in the case of public broadcasting, is thought to be "too valuable to be consigned to private control directed by commercial motives" (McChesney, 1999: 240). Therefore, crucial parameters of public service broadcasting is that it "does not apply commercial principles as the primary means to determine its programming ... [and it is] ultimately accountable in some legally defined way to the citizenry" (McChesney, 1999: 226).

As an approach to structuring a broadcasting system, public service broadcasting is the antithesis of a commercially structured broadcasting system, which is based upon capitalistic ideologies and where the programming practices and decisions are based upon commercial concerns, aimed at satisfying the popular market demand for media in order to make a profit. There

is much ideological conflict between commercial and public service broadcasting as, in many cases, such as in South Africa, there is a "tension between the theory of public service and the commercialism of practice" (Mpofu, 1996: 8), where the "shift to the rhetoric of the marketplace" (McDonnell, 1991: 7) has undermined the public service mandate of SABC TV. This is one of public service broadcasting's greatest threats, as "the cultural and ideological shift towards market forces in the last two decades has led to the dominant definition of public information being shifted radically, away from public good towards a more privately appropriable commodity" (Ryan, 2000: 11-12).

The issue of material or political ownership is a crucial dynamic for a public broadcaster, as "any definition of a public broadcaster should be underscored by the need for independence from the paymaster ... it is in the area of political interference that the concept of public service broadcasting ... encounters its greatest test" (Mpofu, 1996: 12). As the following chapter will show, the SABC during apartheid was a tool of the repressive state, while the SABC in the post-apartheid era is struggling with the divergent requirements of public service and commercial broadcasting, trying to fulfil its public service mandate whilst at the same trying to operate at a profit, or at the very least not run at a loss. This will be explored in more detail at a later stage.

In multilingual societies, the way that national identity (or identities) is portrayed in the media is of paramount importance to the issue of nation-building. The fact that "public broadcasters are beset with ideological and political problems in addition to the economic" (Mpofu, 1996: 19) means that their portrayal of national identity (or identities) needs to come into sharp focus. Especially in multilingual societies, "providing a viable service (however defined) to the entire population is no simple matter, especially in societies marked by ethnic and cultural diversity and with adversarial social movements representing conflicting political and social agendas" (McChesney, 1999: 242). Although commendable, legislation which entrenches "polyethnic rights provide the basis for the state seeking to support initiatives which may protect specific religious and cultural practices [but] which may not be sustained through simple market forces" (Husband, 2000: 204). Here, "the state's facilitation of ethnically specific media is no guarantee of viability or success [as] where the minority ethnic group is small or widely dispersed they may have difficulty in constituting a commercially viable audience" (Husband, 2000: 205).

According to Thomas (1997, in Masenyama, 2005), there are three main ways in which nation-states or governments make use of culture and communication to construct a national identity. First is the assimilationist model, "where the primary aim ... is to submerge particular identities, to assimilate all cultures into what has been called the particular nation's way of life" (Masenyama, 2005: 19). Second is the integrationist or multi-cultural model where "allowing the

mosaic of peoples and 'nations' within a nation state to enjoy full rights to culture and communication leads to the creation of a national identity" (Masenyama, 2005: 19). Lastly, there is the prosyletic model, where the intention is to "promote a particular set of values ... at the expense of all others and to force other nations to subscribe to this exclusive vision of national identity" (Masenyama, 2005: 19). These differing approaches to representing national identity will be locally contextualised in the following chapter.

In a multilingual society, merely acknowledging the existence of cultural, linguistic or racial diversity is not enough, as it was "against the background of a history in which cultural pluralism was championed by the apartheid state as a means of justifying systematic discrimination in resource allocation" (Barnett, 2000: 53). Similarly, nation-building, in culturally or linguistically complex societies, may also not be about creating a singular over-arching nation identity. Especially where there has been a history of political or civil unrest as a result of tension between cultural, linguistic or racial factions, as "a project of reconciliation and unification, nation-building is officially understood as a process of opening up lines of communication between previously separated communities" (Barnett, 2000: 54). Furthermore, nation-building "is not officially understood merely as a project of constructing a single, overarching national culture or identity" (Barnett, 1999: 275), as this too would potentially create a situation where certain elements of the national identity are more congruent with those of a certain race, culture or language. South Africa's media policy has exhibited many different nation-building tendencies, with the pre-apartheid, apartheid and post-apartheid eras all differing in their representation of national identity. Each era will be examined in greater depth at a later stage (see Chapter 3).

The ability of a society to instigate or develop a public service broadcaster presupposes that a public sphere exists within that society, which is "an accessible and independent realm in which each voice is equal to one" (Gillwald, 1994: 57), and where "equal human beings congregate and communicate in a variety of ways" (Gripsrud, 2002: 228). Within the public sphere, "multiculturalism is not just a descriptive account of ethnic diversity, it is always also a political philosophy of how these diverse ethnic identities are supposed to coexist" (Husband, 2000: 200). In an ideal situation, according to Habermas (1989, in Dahlgren, 1995), the public sphere is "that realm in social life where the exchange of information and views on questions of common concern can take place so that public opinion can be formed" (Dahlgren, 1995: 7). The "increasing social complexity and mobility that characterised late-twentieth-century societies ... [means that] the mass media have been perceived as having an increasingly central role in facilitating dialogue among citizens" (Husband, 2000: 201). The SABC would come to play a central role in developing the public sphere in the transitional and post-apartheid eras, and this will be revisited later (see 3.4 and 3.5).

Bottomore and Marshall (1992, in Husband, 2000) further define access or membership to the public sphere in such a way as to elucidate the role of this abstract concept in everyday life. By differentiating between 'formal' and 'substantive' citizenship, it is evident that living in a country does not guarantee one's participation in its public sphere, especially in countries with racial conflict where "formal citizenship may not guarantee substantive citizenship rights" (Husband, 2000: 203) due to the 'elite closure' enjoyed by the politically dominant racial group. Instead, complete citizenship "has to do with belonging, with inclusion; to be a citizen is to be a member of something we (metaphorically) call a community, [it] also has to do with participation in that community" (Dahlgren, 1995: 136). The disparity between formal citizenship, "as membership in a nation-state" (Husband, 2000: 202), and substantive citizenship as "an array of civil, political and especially social rights, involving also some kind of participation in the business of government" (Husband, 2000: 202-203), has meant that majority populations may "exploit[] their national identity in order to (a) police access to formal citizenship and (b) qualify ethnic minority citizens' access to substantive citizenship rights" (Husband, 2000: 203). In South Africa, this was the case in the decades leading up to the end of apartheid. Here, the dominant white minority, although not the numerical majority, still enjoyed 'majority' status thanks to their politically and socially entrenched oppressive racism. At the end of apartheid, "broadcasting policy and legislation thus became a cultural site for ideologically deconstructing the apartheid regime and reconstructing a new national identity based on the principles of truth, reconciliation, solidarity, diversity, plurality, democracy and development" (Banda, 2006: 462). It was with this in mind that the SABC was given a public service mandate by South Africa's government, and the performance of SABC TV in this regard is an issue which will be discussed at length in the chapters to come.

2.8 - Conclusion

As it is now hopefully evident, the role that ideology and hegemony play in language planning and policy and the media is central and unmistakeably essential. Furthermore, the decisive role that language plays in ideological struggle is also a central concern when investigating ideology within these social realms. Additionally, the ability of language and the media to be of major significance in terms of creating a national identity has also hopefully been suitably contextualised, as this theme will recur at a later stage. Now that ideology and hegemony have been theorised, the foundation has been set for the next step, which is to locally contextualise these issues within the past and present language planning and policy and media spheres. Although this description is technically meant to form part of the data presentation and analysis along with the discussion in

Chapter 4, much of what is to be found in the content of the survey and focus group interview questions was based on the discussion of South Africa's past and present social landscapes. As such, this is the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3: SOUTH AFRICA'S, AND THE SABC'S, PAST AND PRESENT LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

3.1 - Introduction

In the previous chapter, the relevance of ideology to language planning and policy, the media and the concepts of national identity and nation-building were theoretically dealt with. As a further precursor to the actual investigation of the ideologies which operate within South African society, its media landscape and the SABC, these spheres need to be locally contextualised in order to allow for ideologically significant events to be mentioned, and further extrapolated to the ideologies operating within the SABC today. In order to understand the social milieu surrounding each of South Africa's eleven official languages, it is necessary to trace their linguistic and political trajectories, starting with the moment at which they first came into contact. This involves an analysis of linguistically and ideologically significant events, in terms of both the SABC itself and South Africa as a whole. This description will encompass events which transpired both before and after the inception of South Africa's first democratic constitution in 1994. The analysis will focus on three periods, namely: pre-apartheid (see 3.2), apartheid (see 3.3) and post-apartheid (see 3.4), as events in all of these eras continue to contribute to the ideological positioning of South Africa's institutions, and its people's linguistic tendencies and attitudes.

Kamwangamalu (2001: 407) offers a simplified timeline, outlining four discrete periods of linguistic influence in South Africa's history. The first era is that of Dutchification, which refers to a time where "the official promotion and use of the Dutch language in all higher domains" was preferred. This era occurred between 1652-1795, and again between 1803-1806 (Kamwangamalu, 2001). The second era was characterised by Anglicisation, and this occurred from 1806-1948. This was obviously a time when the British and their language, English, were politically and ideologically dominant. The third era is that of Afrikanerisation, which took over from Anglicisation in 1948 and lasted until 1994. Here, the Afrikaner National Party took control of government and their language, Afrikaans, "took centre stage in the administration of the state ... the use and power of Afrikaans increased dramatically" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 408). The final period is the language democratisation period, which began when South Africa held its first democratic elections in 1994. This period, which is ongoing, was "brought about by the recognition that South Africa is a multilingual rather than the bilingual country it had been assumed to be ... this recognition translated into a new, multilingual language policy" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 408). Each of these eras will be explored more thoroughly as the chapter progresses.

A distinction was made in the previous chapter (2.5) between ideological as opposed to normative language planning. The trend of ideological language planning and policy, which began with the arrival of the first colonisers in 1652 and lasted until the drafting of South Africa's Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a) in 1993, was replaced by a normative language policy by the democratic government. The Anglicist and Orientalist policies of the pre-apartheid era, and the Bantu Education Act (1953) in the apartheid era, are a few of the examples of ideological language planning. The inclusive multilingual and multicultural policies of the post-apartheid government are, conversely, an example of normative language planning, and all of these concepts will be expanded upon in this chapter.

Apart from discussing the linguistically and politically important events of each era, this analysis will also focus on the constitutional provisions relevant to language and the media of the relevant period, as well as the language policies of the SABC. Initially, this will entail a look at the events which led to the establishment of English as a dominant language in the country in the era prior to apartheid. Here, the role of the British colonisers will come into focus. The Afrikaans language also played a big role in the pre-apartheid period, where it was pitted against English in a struggle for domination. For reasons which are soon to be explored, the indigenous African languages played almost no role in the pre-apartheid era in terms of language policy or national administrative practice. Whilst they were given more prominence during apartheid, this was merely part of an Orientalist strategy (see 2.5) aimed at maintaining the elite closure which speakers of English and Afrikaans enjoyed. Although the indigenous languages gained parity, at least in terms of language policy, in the democratic era, it remains to be seen whether this linguistic equality has been adequately provided for by the South African government and SABC. Furthermore, the possible effects of the SABC's interpretation and subsequent enactment of broadcasting policy on South African citizens is of concern, where "increased language visibility in the media for a minority language plays an important role in cultivating positive language attitudes" (Du Plessis 2006a: 84).

3.2 – Pre-apartheid era (1652 - 1948): language in South Africa

3.2.1 – Colonial era: Dutch, English and African languages

The very first emergence of a foreign language in South Africa, Dutch, came hand-in-hand with the establishment of a trading station at the Cape by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 (De Kadt, 2006; Du Plessis, 2003; Kamwangamalu, 2001; Mesthrie, 2002; Moloi, 1999; Steyn, 1995). In the time directly following the arrival of the Dutch people, their language enjoyed uncontested supremacy as "the language of the administration, courts of law, church and education" (Steyn,

1995: 97). This would continue until the arrival of the British and their subsequent habitation at the Cape of Good Hope in 1795, with the intention of controlling the important sea route between Europe and Asia. Control of the Cape changed hands between the British and Dutch during the Napoleonic wars, although the British eventually claimed complete ownership in 1806 (Mesthrie, 2002). At this stage, the British embarked upon a mission aimed at creating "a colony that was British in character as well as in name" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 365). The success of this undertaking relied heavily upon the reintroduction of their policy of Anglicisation, which had been partially introduced during their first period of occupation in 1795. By intensifying this policy, the British "sought to replace Dutch by English in all spheres of public life" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 365). This attempt to rule through coercion (see 2.1) marked the first overt confrontation between the English and Dutch (later Afrikaans) languages, a confrontation which was to last for centuries and have a significant impact upon the trajectory of these and other languages throughout South Africa's existence. Dutch speakers first attempt at mobilising an opposition to the English-only policies of the British administration occurred in 1857, with their lobbying to have their language play a more prominent role in the administration of the colony. The rejection of two pro-Dutch petitions, as well as the relative successes of Anglicisation, meant that "many Afrikaners consequently became politically apathetic with the result that politics was dominated by English speaking people" (Steyn, 1995: 98).

Although the British administrators had little or no regard for the indigenous languages in terms of recognising them in their rudimentary and largely monolingual language policies, they did have a profound effect on these languages, in terms of being the first to actually attempt to record and document standard varieties of these African languages. What is problematic here is that, especially in British colonies in Africa, "it was the victorious who were keen to learn the languages of the defeated ... hence in such contexts linguistic imperialism is not to be seen as the imposition of a colonial language on the colonised but entails the imposition of a colonial version of an indigenous language on Africans" (Makoni & Meinhof, 2004: 80-81). Approximately a decade after the British claimed ownership of the Cape, around 1820, was "the period when African languages were being written down for the first time by missionaries" (Mesthrie, 2002: 16). Thus, this early development and standardisation of the African languages was largely due to "the external force of missionary influence" (Mesthrie, 2002: 16). Makoni and Meinhof (2003: 6) describe how the concept of 'development' can be ideologically important as "the extent of the involvement of African communities in the development of their own languages has been very limited ... done 'for' native speakers, and rarely 'with' them". Although innocent and well-intentioned, the efforts of the missionaries were misguided, mistakenly "select[ing] specific dialects to be standardised into

separate and distinct languages" (Barnett, 2000: 67). This separation of 'discrete' languages and dialects was a simplification. Here, "the dividing up of a continuum into separate 'boxes' or discrete languages was an arbitrary procedure ... the decision about separate categories was determined by outsiders without any reference to the sociolinguistic identities of the local communities" (Makoni & Meinhof, 2003: 7). At a later stage, this was to be the foundation upon which "the rhetoric of language rights and cultural pluralism ... a central facet of apartheid policies, which aimed to construct separate ethnic identifications amongst the majority of black South Africans" (Barnett, 2000: 67) was based.

Even though it was still not officially recognised by the British, the Dutch language and its speakers continued to flourish and grow. 1875 saw the instigation of an Afrikaans movement "dedicated to promoting the use of the Afrikaans language" (Meredith, 2007: 81), the *Genootskop van Regte Afrikaanders* (Fellowship for True Afrikaners). This event is recognised by many as the initiation of what would later become known as the First Afrikaans Language Movement (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 369). Although it was a gradual process, it was also around this time that Afrikaans was emerging as a colloquial form of Dutch, and which would eventually come to function alongside the Dutch language. This was primarily due to the fact that the number of native speakers of Dutch was diminishing, whilst the number of South African-born Afrikaans speakers was on the rise. Political unrest between the British and Afrikaner people resulted in the Afrikaner's migrating away from the Cape and establishing republics in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State (Mesthrie, 2002). Within the republics, Dutch was declared the sole official language. The subsequent discovery of precious metals in the now Afrikaner-controlled interior Transvaal area led the British to annex it as a colony in 1877. In this period, as "the wave of anger over Britain's annexation of the Transvaal spread" (Meredith, 2007: 81), Afrikaner nationalism gained momentum as a response to the greed of the British and their policy of Anglicisation. Two wars were fought between the British and the Afrikaners in this period; the first was in 1881 in which the Afrikaners won back control of the Transvaal. The second, which is now known as the Anglo-Boer War, lasted from 11 October 1899 until 31 May 1902. Here, the Afrikaners were decimated in a heavy defeat, and thus again lost control of the Transvaal. The 1902 treaty of Vereeniging sealed the British victory and again handed them territorial control. This treaty, "in an attempt to promote national unity" (De Kadt, 2006: 46) espoused that education in all government schools had to take place in English. When compared to post-apartheid conceptions of what national unity and nation-building is, it is clear that "the concept of *nation* in South Africa's history has undergone historical phases and is subject to multiple interpretations" (Tomaselli, 2002: 133), and this will be expanded upon as each stage of South Africa's history is examined.

This insistence on an English-only education system resulted in a fresh wave of Afrikaner nationalism, where "the status of Afrikaans as bearer of local cultural values and the identity of the Afrikaner union began to gain prominence" (Mesthrie, 2002: 18). This resulted in the development of "numerous cultural, political and social organisations to promote the development of "pure" Afrikaans" (De Kadt, 2006: 46), including the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns in 1909 and, most infamously, the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1918. Afrikaner hyper-nationalism would come to play an important role in the continued representation of the Afrikaans language in South Africa's post-apartheid language policies. By 1920, two Dutch universities (Stellenbosch and Potchefstroom) were, unofficially, doing some teaching in Afrikaans. Both of these were institutions which would have a lasting impact on the linguistic attitude of Afrikaners as well as the lifespan of Afrikaans far into the future.

During this era, nation-building as a means of encouraging the peaceful co-existence of divergent racial, linguistic or cultural groups, was non-existent in what was a fragmented and partisan society. There was, however, voracious partisan support for each of the linguistic groups involved, where the English, Afrikaans and African people all subscribed to separate notions of a national identity. Here, "exclusive subgroup identities, without any overarching national identities, were characteristic of how most South Africans identified themselves" (Masenyama, 2005: 17)

3.2.2 – The Statehood era

In 1908, the National Convention was again tackling the issue of national unity. In a show of tolerance both sides ceded, and article 137 of the Constitution of the Union was adopted. It stipulated that "both the English and Dutch languages shall be the official languages of the Union and shall be treated on a footing of equality and shall possess and enjoy equal rights and privileges" (Steyn, 1995: 101). For the first time, South Africa was now officially recognised as a bilingual state and the failure of the new government to constitutionally recognise any of the African languages or the multilingual reality of the country was a coercive strategy (see 2.1) aimed at marginalising African languages and their speakers. This event was one of the main precursors which led up to the formation of the Union in 1910. In the previous chapter, it was mentioned how language policy does not always translate into language practice. Such was the case here, as at the time of "the establishment of the Union almost 90% of the civil service were English speaking [so] bilingualism couldn't be enforced" (Steyn, 1995: 101). As had been the case up until the formation of the Union, African languages were marginalised to the point where they hardly even played a role in the education system, let alone be recognised in the Union's Constitution. However, there had not yet

been an overt anti-African political, cultural or linguistic agenda, although under the newly-formed Union this was soon to change. The Land Act of 1913 “set aside most of the country’s land for control by whites [and] destroyed the economic independence of black people” (Mesthrie, 2002: 18). This was merely the beginning of what was to be nearly eight decades of legislated marginalisation for South Africa’s black population.

Throughout this period, the Afrikaans language continued to grow, at first operating unofficially alongside Dutch as the medium of instruction in Dutch schools until it eventually succeeded Dutch as the unofficial medium of instruction in 1914 (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 388). However, it was not until 1925 when the preference for Afrikaans was made official in an amendment to article 137 of the Constitution of the Union which read, “the word ‘Dutch’ in section one hundred and thirty seven of the South Africa Act, 1909, and wheresoever else that word occurs in said Act, is hereby declared to include Afrikaans” (Steyn, 1995: 102). Also around this time, the early 1930’s, African languages gained some footing when missionaries requested that African languages be used as a medium of instruction in the initial years of schooling. This request was accommodated by 1935, when all of South Africa’s four provinces of the time utilised the pupil’s mother tongue for a minimum of the first two years, after which an official language was to take over as the medium of instruction (Kamwangamalu, 2001). In the majority of cases, the official language which took over from the mother tongue as medium of instruction was English. This, coupled with the reluctance of the British to fully institutionalise the Union’s official bilingual language mandate, led to increased friction between the British and the Afrikaner peoples. With tensions between two official languages and their speakers growing, based mainly upon the different stances on racial politics, a whites-only non-democratic election was held in 1948. The Afrikaner-supported National Party won the election, thanks mostly to the policies of segregation which they were espousing. This coming to power of the Afrikaner people is widely regarded as the official birth of apartheid in South Africa.

This was also the period when “national broadcasting in South Africa was inaugurated ... when the SABC was formed ... in 1936” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 29). Although offering only radio services at first (television was only introduced in 1976), it is interesting to note that these radio services “were divided along language and racial lines, which reinforced, and served to draw the contours, of a segregated apartheid society and social issues” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 29). The SABC, from its very inception, served the political interest of the white minority.

3.2.2.1 – Language policy in the Statehood era

In terms of the language policies of the pre-apartheid era, both the British and Afrikaners enforced what Faingold (2004: 15) calls a Type 7 constitution, which designates one or more official languages, but does "not establish any language provisions to protect the language rights of individuals or groups [nor] ... assume any linguistic obligations towards their citizens". The pre-apartheid language policies can be further defined in terms of Faingold's differentiation between a 'hands-off' and a 'hands-on' constitutional approach to language policy. A hands-on approach "opts for the promulgation of one or more official languages and ... may also opt for drafting language provisions that specify the language rights of official languages, national languages, and other languages" (Faingold, 2004: 19), while a 'hands-off' approach does not designate an official or national language or make provisions for language rights or obligations of its country's citizens. All three eras in South Africa's history have been characterised by a 'hands-on' approach. The difference, however, is in the nature of the language provisions which comprise the constitutional language policy of the time. Where the pre-apartheid era was 'hands-on' in the sense that it did identify two languages which it declared official, it stopped short of legislating terms which were intentionally linguistically destructive to competing languages, which was one of the characteristics of the apartheid era language policies. However, language policy in the Statehood era also failed to create conditions and rights which would have been conducive for the language growth of the indigenous languages, conditions which contributed to the marginalisation of South Africa's African languages. The post-apartheid era, whilst in keeping with the 'hands-on' approach, legislated conditions which aimed to assist and improve upon the linguistic situation of the same languages which were marginalised and neglected in the pre-apartheid and apartheid eras. Although the specific contexts and policies of the apartheid and post-apartheid eras will be revisited in greater detail at a later stage, they needed to be briefly mentioned here in order to give some cohesion and context to this discussion of Faingold's 'hands-off' versus 'hands-on' dichotomy.

At the end of the pre-apartheid era, it was already possible to notice the emerging racially and linguistically based anti-African agenda of the Afrikaners. Although the British themselves had also pursued mono- or bilingual language policies, these were more aimed at privileging themselves (and later, by implication and obligation, the Afrikaners) as opposed to actively disenfranchising others. The unavoidable confrontation between Dutch/Afrikaans and English would also prove to have an enduring effect on South African society. The resolve and unity that Afrikaans speakers developed initially in response to the threat of English would, in the future, be their language's only saving grace. In the apartheid era, the role of the British was obviously diminishing due to the

coming to power of the Afrikaner's political party, the National Party, and the fact that South Africa was soon to be free from colonial rule. Their language English, however, was already firmly entrenched in South African society and it would eventually come to play quite an ironic role in black South Africa's resistance to the apartheid regime. This will, however, be further discussed later in this chapter (3.4.1).

3.2.2.2 – Nation-building and national identity in the Statehood era

The statehood era did not exhibit any of the tendencies which have been said to be characteristic of modern day nation-building. Instead, the state sought to intensify the separate development of the African languages and identities in an effort to further inculcate their aim of separate development into South African society. If anything, the English and Afrikaner people attempted to impose their identities on the indigenous people, in line with the prosyletic model of national identity.

3.3 – The apartheid era (1948-1993): language in South Africa

Now that the Afrikaner-controlled National Party was in control of the country, they could more actively and overtly pursue their racially motivated "repressive divide-and-rule linguistic separatism ideology" (Taylor, 2002: 317). As a result, all policies made during apartheid, both those regarding language and those not, were "driven by a two-pronged logic: to counteract the hegemony of English foisted upon the country ... and to pursue the principle of separate development" (Heugh, 2002a: 450). This attempt to rule and dominate the indigenous African population socially, politically and linguistically, is another example of the coercive strategies (see 2.1) adopted by the Afrikaners in their quest to entrench apartheid. In practice, the education system held the potential to execute much of what the Afrikaner government was seeking to achieve, and this will be expanded upon shortly.

The first ideologically and linguistically important act of the apartheid government was the development and execution of the Group Areas Act of 1950. In keeping with their aim of separate development for different racial groups, the apartheid government "followed a policy of dividing the African population into disparate ethnic groups through its infamous homeland policy, which stripped black South Africans of their citizenship and rights within South Africa, leaving them attached to a homeland, or Bantustan, determined by their ethnic identity" (De Kadt, 2006: 51). Although they were still part of South Africa and therefore had to comply with its laws and bilingual

English-Afrikaans language policies, the homelands and self-governing regions had their own language policies for education which permitted the use of a mother-tongue language alongside the two official languages of the country. This would also affect the ways in which Nguni and Sotho languages were divided, and contributed to entrenching the related languages as apparently discrete entities. There were four homelands or Bantustans, namely: Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; and six self-governing regions, namely: KwaZulu, Qwaqwa, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa and Gazankulu (Webb, 1995). These contributed significantly to the aim of the apartheid government of keeping the African population segregated to lessen the chance of a unified black opposition challenging the white minority. Apart from physically separating the black population, the Group Areas Act also paved the way for the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which was arguably one of the most important events in the apartheid era.

Before launching into the Bantu Education Act and its many implications, it is necessary to note that the foundations upon which this Act was based were fundamentally theoretically flawed in two respects. Firstly, the identification of language with cultural identity (along with the further identification of these two with political identity) "runs counter to the position, almost universally espoused by social scientists, that political structure and language communities do not necessarily overlay each other" (Herbert, 1992: 4). Thus, the one cornerstone of apartheid policy which associated language with culture, and then with a homeland, was clearly not a logical connection. The second flawed aspect of the apartheid system, upon which the Bantu Education Act was based, was the assumption (or construction) of discrete African languages. The languages that South Africa's black population use are part of four major language groups, namely: Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda, and "the phonetic and grammatical differences between the various clusters of each group generally do not constitute any great barrier to mutual intelligibility ... [s]peakers of these clusters are therefore able to converse with one another without serious difficulty" (Wilkes, 1995: 91). It appears, therefore, that in the interest of facilitating its aim of segregating the black population for political ends, the apartheid government took advantage of the "language boundaries ... artificially introduced as part of missionary politics" (Webb, 1995: 27). By also entrenching the segregation of the linguistic continuums of the mutually intelligible Nguni and Sotho languages with broadcasting policy and practice that provided radio and then television services in different languages for specific Bantustans, the apartheid government was able to further operationalize their efforts to separate and dominate the black population. Decades later, when the 'discrete' Nguni and Sotho languages would be made official, the association of these languages to the 'divide and rule' policies of apartheid, as well as the necessity for these languages to perform alongside 'majority' languages in all spheres of democratic society, would arguably play major roles in the minority

languages speakers preconceptions and attitudes about the allegedly diminished capabilities of these languages.

3.3.1 – The Bantu Education Act

Although there were a multitude of political events which occurred during apartheid which were aimed at the oppression of South Africa's majority non-white population, it is undoubtedly the Bantu Education Act which was to play a major role in the reshaping of South African society and the shaping of its citizen's language attitudes. As "one of the most devastating legacies of our … apartheid past" (Alexander, 2001: 117), the Bantu Education Act (no. 47 of 1953), which was developed to "reinforce tribal and ethnic identity ... to 'divide and conquer' by encouraging ethnolinguistic divisions within the black community" (Reagan, 2002: 423), had two main objectives. Firstly, in line with the aim of limiting the popularity, success and spread of the English language, "it was aimed at ensuring equity between English and Afrikaans by using them equally as a medium of instruction in black schools" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 391). Secondly, "it was intended to extend mother-tongue education from grade 4 to grade 8 in black schools" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 391), which would have the desired effect of encouraging the separate development which the apartheid government was so eager to institutionalise. Here, it is possible to see how both Orientalism and Anglicism can operate as complementary language policies within the broader structures of inequality, as theorised in the previous chapter (see 2.5). By insisting upon an extended period of schooling in the mother tongue (and thereby restricting access to the languages of power, namely English and Afrikaans) the apartheid government utilised the Orientalist strategy to perpetuate the system of inequality in the name of "maintaining an undereducated class for cheap labour" (Heugh, 2002a: 453). In a similar way, the Anglicist policy of forcing all learners to abandon mother tongue education after the formative eight year period, and switch to education in an official language in a situation where "the policy of separate development made it very difficult for black pupils to have contact with mother-tongue speakers to practise their English" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 390), resulted in black learners achieving only a limited competence in a desirable language which almost guaranteed upward social mobility. This, like the Orientalist policy mentioned above, resulted in a situation where the education system was reinforcing and protecting the elite closure which speakers of English and Afrikaans enjoyed by ensuring that "the development of high levels of proficiency in English and Afrikaans by black people was not facilitated" (Kaschula, 1999: 65).

The black population, recognizing that the Bantu Education Act was a mechanism designed to perpetuate the social structures of inequality and "an attempt to retribalize black South Africans"

(Reagan, 2001: 54), developed a strong resistance to the policy which culminated in the "bloody Soweto uprising of 16 June 1976" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 394). Consequently, the government revised the Bantu Education Act in 1979 and "reintroduced African languages as the medium of learning for the first four years of primary school, after which parents could choose one of the then two official languages – English or Afrikaans – as the medium of instruction" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 394). Throughout this era it is important to note that the language attitudes which are most prevalent in contemporary South African society were being developed, such as the perception that education in one's African mother tongue is a barrier to the acquisition of English, as well as the identification of the English language as a vehicle for opposing the divisive apartheid system.

In reacting to the misconception that English is the only language capable of delivering quality education to the South African majority, Heugh (2002b: 186) describes "one of the strange anomalies of the apartheid years of education", where the matriculation results steadily improved during the first stage of Bantu Education (1953-1979). Since this stage made use of eight years of mother-tongue instruction, we can see the positive effect that mother-tongue education has upon the holistic cognitive development of the student. It is widely accepted, and has been confirmed by numerous international language studies, that "in ideal conditions, most pupils need 6-8 years of learning a second language … before they can use it effectively as a medium of learning" (Heugh, 2002b: 186), and as such "the apartheid policy of mother-tongue education for up to eight years … was not in itself unsound" (Mesthrie, 2002: 19-22) However, the fact that the apartheid government was using first language education as a "strateg[y] … to deny the Blacks access to higher education and thus restrict their social and economic mobility" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 394) led to the black pupils mistakenly perceiving education in their mother-tongue as being a barrier to success and a mechanism of oppression.

3.3.1.1 – The Bantu Education Act and ideology

Afrikaans, as the language of the apartheid state, had become "too closely connected with the divide-and-rule policy" (Mesthrie, 2002: 22) and as such emerged from the Soweto Uprisings period with the stigma of having been the tool of ethnic repression. English, although once considered by "both the Boers and the Blacks … as an instrument of domination" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 394) during those very early years of enforced Anglicisation, emerged after the Soweto uprising in a strong ideological and practical position. Ideologically, "as the language of liberation and national unity" (Deumert, 2000: 412) and as a portal to "international communication, higher levels of education and the economy" (Heugh, 2002b: 180), English exerted a strong influence on the

South African landscape. Afrikaans, now associated with the oppressive apartheid state, was not favoured as a language of learning, while English, with its new status as the language of liberation, enjoyed a bolstered prominence indigenously in both educational and societal settings. The African languages had fallen prey to what Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1994, in Alexander, 2004: 121) has called 'the colonised mind', where "the vast majority of black people simply do not believe that their languages can or should be used for higher order functions even though they cherish them and are completely committed to maintaining them in the primary sphere of the family, the community and the church".

In terms of the ideological outcomes of the Soweto Uprising, we can see how the Bantu Education Act and its mother-tongue educational policies had a great impact on the ideological standings of both the colonial and indigenous languages. The misuse of mother tongue education by the Afrikaner government had created the misconception that formative education in one's indigenous mother tongue was detrimental to one's chances of acquiring the more prestigious English language. Furthermore, the association of the Afrikaans language with the oppressive apartheid state, as well as "the rejection of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in 1976 ... had the uncalculated effect of advancing the position of English, not only over Afrikaans, but also over African languages" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 395). As the Soweto uprising constituted the beginning of the downfall of apartheid, and was therefore the precursor to an era where "national unity in a multicultural society is inextricably linked to the official recognition and perpetuation of diversity" (Strydom, 2001: 107), the history of Afrikaans did not support its use in a society seeking national ethic unity. As the above has exhibited, the Bantu Education Act, and the resistance to it, proved to be a formative event in terms of language attitudes. English was the only language to emerge in a better ideological position, and it was to go from strength to strength during the remainder of the apartheid era, and on into democracy.

3.3.2 – The launch of SABC television

Coincidentally, the Soweto uprising occurred in the same year as the launch of the SABC's television service, in 1976. When considering that the white supremacist and racial Nationalist government "deliberately manipulated and censored the media ... to prevent a breakdown in the morale of the country and to appear indestructible" (Breytenbach, 1997: v), it was no surprise that television's entry into South African society was somewhat delayed when compared to the rest of the world, due to the ruling National Party having internal conflicts over television's potential "deleterious effects" (Barnett, 1998: 552). These were obviously borne out of a fear of the effect that liberal international television would have on the South African public, as well as making the

international community's widespread condemnation of apartheid known to all South Africans. At a time where "South Africa's internal crises increased and the international attention to the apartheid regime gradually rose" (Orgeret, 2004: 150), the National Party "feared that television represented threats from both within and outside the national society" (Orgeret, 2004: 150). As such, "television remained subject to tight control by the state ... [and] South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) [TV] was incorporated into the network of cultural, economic, and political institutions through which Afrikaner nationalism secured hegemony over state apparatuses" (Barnett, 2000: 67).

The Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976) was the first piece of broadcasting legislation that contained provisions which were directly related to the SABC's newly launched television service, and it did provide conditions that allowed multilingual broadcasting. The Act stated that "the corporation shall frame and carry out its broadcasting programmes with due regard to the interests of English, Afrikaans and Bantu culture" (Broadcasting Act 73 of 1976: 12(3)). It is clearly evident that the total lack of detailed mandates allowed the public broadcaster free reign, and which would also make it susceptible to government influence. As a result, media output was "organised along racial lines ... the ideologically divided media entrenched and perpetuated social schisms rather than striving for social cohesion" (Wasserman & De Beer, 2005: 42).

At first there was only one channel operating for five hours in the evening, "and the broadcast time was equally divided between English and Afrikaans languages" (Teer-Tomaselli: 2004: 29). In 1982, a second channel was introduced, which carried split signals. TV2, which broadcast in Nguni languages (isiZulu and isiXhosa), and TV3, which broadcast in Sotho languages (North and South Sotho), shared a frequency but were beamed to different parts of the country (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004). This was in line with the ruling National Party's agenda of using broadcasting to "reproduce notions of separate and distinct populations, with their own separate cultures ... along the lines of separate services for black and white audiences" (Barnett, 1998: 552). The organisation of the SABC TV News service at the time symbolises the SABC's political orientation and motivation perfectly, as "the news bulletins were separately produced in different ethnic languages reflecting different news values and reinforcing the apartheid ideology of different development" (Orgeret, 2004: 150). At a later stage, in the late 1980's, the SABC again reorganised its channel structure. While TV1 remained an English/Afrikaans channel, the TV2 and TV3 became a signal integrated channel called Contemporary Cultural Values (CCV). On this channel, "although there was a significant amount of African language programming ... the 'glue' which held the programming of CCV together was English" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 29). This development was a reflection of the hegemonic dominance of the English language, and was a sign of things to come in terms of the SABC's assigning of roles to specific languages.

The SABC TV channel restructure which occurred in the late 1980's was the SABC's response to the shifting political climate within South Africa. From the very day of its inception, SABC television had "helped to consolidate National Party influence over white South African opinion up to 1990" (Tomaselli, 2002: 130-131). Acknowledging that the repressive apartheid regime was slowly crumbling, the SABC no longer wanted to be "perceived as the voice of the government" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 29), and as such "pragmatism, rather than propaganda, became the dominant ethos" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 29). In the 1980's, in an obvious attempt to regain the confidence of its viewing public, the SABC published and released a short book titled *This is the SABC*. The very first point that it communicates is that the SABC "takes note of and adapts to the changing demands of the day" (SABC, 198-?: ii) (undated in publication), indicating that the SABC was aware that the apartheid government was soon going to fall from power, and also that if it was going to survive as a national broadcaster, the SABC needed to modify its public image. Here, the SABC also committed itself, in principle if not in practice, to take "into account the wishes and needs of the various language groups in South Africa in order to inform, educate and entertain them constructively" (SABC, 198-?: ii).

The restructuring of its television service necessitated changes in the SABC's corporate philosophy, with a greater emphasis now being placed on achieving mainly commercially driven goals. This was in line with the SABC's acknowledgement of "the role of the advertiser in respect of his contribution to SABC revenue" (SABC, 198-?: ii), and resulted in the SABC considering the advertisers interests when planning programming choices and scheduling. In the years leading up the democratisation of South Africa and its media landscape, the SABC was struggling to come to terms with its chronic schizophrenia as, "in its attempt to be a fully fledged public broadcaster, it was forced to rely more and more on commercial logic, which meant providing inexpensive programming that appealed to the largest possible segment of the attractive high-end audience ... this seriously compromised the public mandate of the Corporation" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 30). In practice, this meant reneging on its promises and obligations to broadcast equally in all eleven languages, and to revert to the mostly English programming favoured by the audience due to the favourable and financially secure audiences such programming attracted.

3.3.3 – Nation-building and national identity in the apartheid era

Up until the end of the apartheid era, it could be said with confidence that "language has never been able to help South Africans to bring about nation building among the citizens from different backgrounds and different political ideologies" (Moloi, 1999: 25). However, a trend that did

emerge during the apartheid era was that the African identities, joining in resistance against primarily the Afrikaner government, also used English as a means to combat the apartheid system. While the realisation of a cohesive multilingual and multicultural national identity was yet to emerge, it was evident that the conditions for such a development would most likely be enshrined in South Africa's first democratic constitution, which was soon to be implemented. However, the democratic government would have to counteract the legacy left by the prosyletic national identity encouraged by the apartheid regime.

3.4 – Post apartheid, pre democracy (1993 - 1996): the transition period

The transitional period between the ideological (if not yet constitutional) downfall of apartheid and the birth of democracy saw political and linguistic confrontation on a national level. There was, however, recognition of the need for "widespread political, social and economic change as the society attempt[ed] to redress the harms and injustices perpetrated by the apartheid regime" (Reagan, 2001: 52). With speakers of English, Afrikaans and African languages all competing for powerful ideological and political positions in the lead up to the drafting of South Africa's first democratic Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), this was to be a crucial period for languages in South Africa. Since, in an ideal situation, "the purpose of language legislation in the constitution should be to solve conflicts and differences among speakers of different languages coexisting within the same nation to achieve language justice for all citizens" (Faingold, 2004: 19), South Africa's first non-racial and inclusive constitution needed to reflect these principles. For the first time in South Africa's history, a constitution was to be adopted that both mirrored and sought to foster the multilingual reality of the country, a constitution that would seek ascendancy via ideological domination and consent as opposed to coercion (see 2.1).

In line with the multilingual policies of the new Constitution, the broadcasting sector was being "reconfigured around the normative ideal of the electronic media serving as a single public sphere at a national level, providing a space for democratic communication and national unification" (Barnett, 1998: 552). The SABC, as the newly reconfigured public broadcaster, was to undergo many changes and encounter many challenges in this period as it was subjected to close scrutiny by a number of broadcasting regulators. All of these policies and the social and ideological implications which were linguistically relevant to both the country and the SABC will now be further examined.

3.4.1 – South Africa's transitional linguistic landscape

In the negotiations that preceded the drafting of the first democratic Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), "it was English that was the *de facto* lingua franca" (Mesthrie, 2002: 22), elevating its popularity and status above that of the other ten apparently discrete major languages which were in use around the country and its former homelands and self-governing regions. However, the continued symbolic domination of English and its "long-standing ideological association ... with the aspiration to common society, and the ideologically entrenched notion of English as a language of liberation inform[s] the status of English in politics" (Ridge, 2000: 167). This issue is a common problem "throughout the entire post-colonial world [where] English has been marketed as the language of "international communication and understanding", economic "development", "national unity" ... but these soft-sell terms obscure the reality of globalisation, which is that ... the global cultural and linguistic ecology is under threat" (Phillipson, 2000: 99). As it will be seen, the multi-party negotiations which preceded the drafting of the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a) found a unique way of dealing with the varied linguistic demands it was subjected to. What was to emerge from this period would be "a new constitution that counts amongst the more progressive in the world" (Mesthrie, 2006: 151).

It is important to note that language was not a major concern for the African National Congress (ANC), the political party who had the support of the majority of black South Africans. This was mainly due to the "hegemonic and liberatory status of English within the liberation movement" (Du Plessis, 2000: 103), which was therefore "regarded as a language of liberation and a language through which opposition to the Afrikaans-speaking government would be mediated" (Heugh, 2002a: 456). As such, the ANC lacked clarity and positioning on a number of language issues, as was evident in the press release issued in 1992 by the ANC Language Commission, which was established to serve as a 'think-tank' on relevant language issues. In a vague and non-committal proposal, the commission suggested that "all eleven languages receive full recognition, yet ... none be declared official" (Du Plessis, 2000: 103).

This situation was very clearly a big threat to the Afrikaans language, and as such "the Afrikaans community played a very active role in the language debate" (Du Plessis, 2000: 104). The then ruling National Party's Minister of Constitutional Affairs, G. Viljoen, declared "the official status of Afrikaans to be non-negotiable" (Du Plessis, 2000: 104). Given that the English language was already firmly entrenched as an official language, both ideologically and practically, maintaining the official status of Afrikaans as an official language alongside English "would have given off signals to the majority of the population that nothing had changed ... if English and Afrikaans were to remain

as official languages, there was a strong case for some African languages to be given the same status" (Mesthrie, 2002: 22). Ultimately, the ANC opted for an eleven official language policy, which was described by many as "a compromise between the ANC's covert English agenda and the overt Afrikaans agenda of the Afrikaner negotiators" (Du Plessis, 2000: 104). This description is perhaps not entirely fair, as "empowering the majority of South Africans meant empowering their languages too" (Mesthrie, 2002: 22), necessitating the need for constitutionally enshrined cultural and linguistic pluralism. However, as pointed out by Mesthrie (2002: 22) it would be naive to ignore the question as to whether the eleven official language policy "was an enlightened decision or one of political and symbolic expediency".

3.4.1.1 – South Africa's Interim constitution

South Africa's journey as a democratic nation officially began with the development of the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a) which came into effect on 27 April 1994, and which was "negotiated by the participants in the multiparty negotiating process leading up to 1994" (Webb, 2002a: 48). In the preamble is the acknowledgment of the need to "create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state in which there is equality ... the promotion of national unity and the restructuring and continued governance of South Africa". (Interim Constitution, Preamble: 1993a).

Chapter 1, Section 3 of the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a) deals directly with the issue of language, and immediately states that "Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu shall be the official South African languages at national level" (Chapter 1, Section 3.1: 1993a). The decision to have eleven official languages has been described as "eleventh-hour compromise" (Heugh, 2002a: 460), although many would also argue that, given the unique and politically sensitive context of the time, there were not many alternatives.

In the list of Constitutional principles outlined in the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), it is stated, in Principle III, that the "Constitution shall prohibit racial, gender and all other forms of discrimination and shall promote racial and gender equality and national unity". This is indicative of the recognition of the need to abolish all social practices aimed at disenfranchising one race, culture or gender over another. Furthermore, with specific regard to language, Principle XI stipulates that "the diversity of language and culture shall be acknowledged and protected, and conditions for their promotion shall be encouraged" (Webb, 2002a: 49).

As the subsequent discussion on the Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) will show, there were tendencies to word phrases in such a way as to leave sentences open for slightly different interpretations, or at the very least to allow for leeway in terms of applying the Constitution to the letter. The same is true for the Interim Constitution, starting with Section 3.1 of Chapter 1 (1993a). The loophole provided here, i.e. – 'at national level', is as a result of "the lack of specification about the official languages that must be used at the provincial and national level" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 413). It is compounded a few clauses later when stating that "wherever practicable, a person shall have the right to use and to be addressed in his or her dealings with any public administration at the national level of government in any official South African language of his or her choice ... regional differentiation in relation to language policy and practice shall be permissible" (Chapter 1, Section 3.3: 2003).

The wording of Principle XX states that "the allocation of powers between different levels of government shall be made on a basis which is conducive to financial viability at each level of government … which recognises the need for and promotes national unity and legitimate provincial autonomy" (Webb, 2002a: 49). In terms of the language debate, this Principle is especially significant in two respects. Firstly, as it delegates decision-making to the provincial departments, this Principle in part exonerates the national government from any blame that should arise out of problems in implementing the ambitious eleven language policy. Secondly, by stating that the allocation of 'powers' is conducive to 'financial viability', the Interim Constitution lays the foundation for the argument refuted by Heugh (2002a) and Webb (2002b), that implementing a government, education and justice system where eleven languages are to be used is economically unfeasible. According to Webb (2002b: 213), "discussions about such costs are often exaggerated" (Webb, 2002b: 213), whilst Heugh (2002a: 452) believes that "an overwhelming dependence upon Western influences in the economic structure, the education system and the ruling class thought in general draws the implementation of language policy irrevocably towards monolingualism". Discussions which are to follow will indicate whether the final Constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) expunged the limitations of its predecessor, or exacerbated them, as the tendency to make use of vague and non-committal worded policies appeared regularly throughout South Africa's Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a).

The development of the first regulatory body tasked with monitoring the extent to which language policy was being implemented would also occur in this transitional era as a result of a necessary decision taken by those who negotiated the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a). LANGTAG, the Language Plan Task Group, was the precursor to PanSALB before it was officially established and appointed by the Senate after the finalisation of the country's Constitution Act 108

of 1996. As a policy advisory body, LANGTAG was tasked with providing the government with guidelines for "the realisation of language policy and planning ... the promotion of multilingualism ... the development of the African languages; and ... combating the trend towards unilingualism resulting from the perception by many South Africans that multilingualism is a problem" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 416). As a short-term initiative of the Department of Arts, Science, Technology and Culture aimed at assisting and advising its then-minister Ben Ngubane "on planning for policy making within the language guidelines of the new constitution ... the LANGTAG dossier ...form[ed] an important foundational set of research documents for the (macro) sociolinguistics of post-apartheid South Africa" (Mesthrie, 2002: 24-25). The scope of the research included detailed reports on the following areas: language services, language equity, language as an economic resource, heritage and sign languages, education, and the position of African languages (Mesthrie, 2002).

With such a strong theoretical "enabling framework" (Heugh, 2002a: 463) formulated by LANGTAG, and an ambitious and admirable Constitution being developed of which it was part, PanSALB was well placed to fulfil its role as "a proactive agent for, and watchdog over, linguistic rights" (Mesthrie, 2002: 24). PanSALB was deployed as an independent and permanent body tasked with "promot[ing] respect for ... further[ing] the development of the official South African languages" (Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), Chapter 1: Section 3.10a). Additionally, PanSALB was envisaged as a 'hands-on' panel which "shall be consulted, and be given the opportunity to make recommendations, in relation to any proposed legislation contemplated in this [language policy] section" (Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), Chapter 1, Section 3.10b). Since PanSALB only started operating after the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) came into effect in April 1996, when its board members were appointed (Heugh, 2002a), the discussion on PanSALB will continue at the relevant stage of the next section (3.4.2.1).

3.4.2 – South Africa's media landscape in the transitional period

The years between 1990 and 1992 saw a series of intense debates about the future role of broadcasting in South Africa. The outgoing and incoming governments, media industry stakeholders as well as leftist civil society groups were all represented, and three broad tendencies emerged from their discussions. The civil groups, in seeking a compromise, "argued for a strong public service broadcasting sector, as part of a pluralistic broadcasting environment regulated by an independent agency which would guarantee diversity by extending the scope for both commercial and community broadcasting" (Barnett, 1998: 554). Representatives from existing and prospective

privately-owned commercial broadcasters sought a more extensive deregulation of the industry, as well as the commercialising of the broadcasting service. Finally, the ANC, which "mistrusted moves towards re-regulation as attempts to deny any new government the same media power as the outgoing one ... established a commitment to an independent public service broadcaster regulated by an independent body" (Barnett, 1998: 554). All of these conflicting positions would, in some way, impact upon the broadcasting legislation which was soon to be developed and implemented. Ultimately, when on 27 April 1994 South Africa formally "moved from an authoritarian state under oligarchic white minority rule to a democracy ... this historical moment brought to an end decades of repressive state regulation of the media" (Wasserman & De Beer, 2005: 36).

Despite having been a multilingual broadcaster since its inception, SABC TV, at the behest of the apartheid government, was using language as a divisive tool, in line with the ideological tenets of the ruling National Party. The country's public broadcaster, the SABC, had for years been the mouthpiece of the racially divisive and repressive National Party, and the only piece of broadcasting legislation, Broadcasting Act 73 of 1976 mentioned above, did little to lessen the possibilities and opportunities for the apartheid government to manipulate the broadcaster. In the years leading up to the downfall of apartheid, the SABC was wise enough to begin the process of distancing itself from the racist regime, and had already begun restructuring its broadcasting service by the time the transitional period had begun in 1993, and had already appointed a new board in this year. As mentioned above under Section 3.4.2, the SABC's transition to being a true public broadcaster was not an easy one. The increasing commercial and political pressures being placed upon the SABC at the end of the apartheid era lead to its abandoning of racially motivated segregationist broadcasting, and also resulted in its initial reliance on producing programming aimed at the more economically attractive, and mainly white, audience.

3.4.2.1 – National broadcasting policy in the transitional period

In 1993, the Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976) was amended (Broadcasting Amendment Act 73 of 1993b) to make possible the "establishment of the first independent SABC board ... one of the most important developments that introduced the dawn of a new broadcasting era in South Africa" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 53). Similar to the way in which PanSALB was established as an independent language rights watchdog, the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act (Act 53 of 1993c) paved the way for the creation of the first independent broadcasting regulator in the country, the IBA (Independent Broadcasting Authority), which was initially intended to regulate the restructuring of the broadcasting landscape during the transitional period. In practice, this meant that "broadcasting

be taken out of control of cabinet ministers, and made independent of direct government influence ... secur[ing] a plurality of independent broadcasters ... [and] imply[ing] both the deconcentration of media industries and the separation of media from the state" (Barnett, 1998: 555). Section 2 of the Act states that the primary aim of the IBA is "to provide for the regulation of broadcasting and for that purpose to ... promote the provision of a diverse range of sound and television broadcasting services on a national, regional and local level, which, when viewed collectively, cater for all language and cultural groups and provide entertainment, education and information" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 53). The provision for the establishment of the IBA in South Africa's Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a) was crucial as, "with the inevitability of political pressures, it is essential to have independent boards which can act as trustees of independent broadcasters and protect them from the grasp of unprincipled political forces" (Mpofu, 1996: 13).

The abovementioned IBA Act also specified that "the transformation of broadcasting could not proceed before the completion of inquiries into three issues: the means of protecting the viability of the public broadcaster; limitations on cross-media ownership; and local content quotas on South African radio and television broadcasters" (Barnett, 1999: 283). This 'Triple Inquiry' was concerned primarily with the national broadcaster, the SABC, and "how much of the broadcasting market the SABC should be allowed to control in the future, and the related question of how a transformed SABC should be financed" (Barnett, 1998: 555). The enquiry recognised the social need for public service broadcasting, whilst also acknowledging that commercial broadcasters "should be freed from public service obligations to concentrate on their main task of delivering audiences to advertisers and profits to shareholders" (Barnett, 1998: 555-556). Similarly, it was also perceived that "public service broadcasting should be the sole responsibility of a non-commercial broadcaster delivering educational, religious and cultural programming ... the SABC should reduce its dependence on advertising revenue because this compromised its new public service mandate" (Barnett, 1999: 284). As it will soon be seen, "finance recurs as a major issue in the development and longevity of minority ethnic media" (Husband, 2000: 205). With the likelihood that public service provisions would not be extended to new commercial broadcasters, "the national public service broadcaster ... [would suffer] a serious competitive disadvantage, and thus threaten its long-term financial viability" (Barnett, 1998: 556).

In other submissions made during the Triple Enquiry, there were suggestions that public service broadcasting, in the interests of serving the needs of minority cultures and languages, "would be best served by a diversity of public and commercial broadcasters operating at both national and regional scales, rather than a single, centralised national public service broadcaster" (Barnett, 1998: 556). However, the SABC, through a language policy formulated in 1994, was quick to

explicitly reject “regionally decentralised broadcasting as an option for realising the constitutional principles on language, on the grounds that this would only reproduce past notions of separate language groups existing in discrete regions” (Barnett, 2000: 57-58). This was a valid reason for repudiating the decentralisation of the national broadcaster, as such a move would not have been in line with the democratic principles of South Africa’s Interim and Final Constitutions and of the SABC’s language policies, which all sought to encourage the formation of a cohesive and inclusive national identity based on the equitable treatment of South Africa’s eleven official languages.

In its recommendations to Parliament the IBA’s Triple Enquiry Report, published in August 1995, advocated “the paring down of the SABC to two television channels, and the licensing of an independent commercial channel” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 31). The SABC, it was decided, could meet its public service obligations with the first 2 of its three channels, with the third channel being relicensed as a commercial station “with significant public service obligations” (Barnett, 1998: 558). Additionally, the Report also suggested a three-tier system of broadcasting licenses be instituted – public, private and community (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004). Another important outcome of the Enquiry was its recommendation that the SABC sell eight of its commercial radio stations. Although this is not of direct significance to television broadcasting, the fact that the SABC eventually sold six of these stations meant that, because “these profitable stations were a significant source of revenue for the public broadcaster” (Barnett, 1998: 558), this put to the test the SABC’s ability to deal with the financial constraints of public service broadcasting. However, an amendment made to the Triple Enquiry Report by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Communications in 1996 which allowed the SABC to retain its third television station meant that the SABC would indeed have an interest in the commercial broadcasting sector. Here, “the third channel was envisaged as a commercially-oriented service which would cross-subsidize the public service programming on the other two channels ... and thus balance the SABC’s public service role in providing programming in eleven languages with the demands of financial viability” (Barnett, 2000: 72). This is noteworthy in the sense that the commercial ideology held out, to some extent, over the pluralist ideology, revealing broadly that “demands of economics shape the linguistic landscape” (Kriel, 2003: 159), and more specifically “the significance of market mechanisms in determining the viability of policies for language equity that have been implemented in the context of a commercial funding structure” (Barnett, 2000: 60).

3.4.2.2 – SABC broadcasting policy in the transitional period

The SABC, prior to the transitional period, had already begun radical restructuring, and had shifted its focus to primarily financial motives. In light of the newly-developed Interim Constitution, and in the response to the ongoing Triple Enquiry initiated in the transitional phase, the SABC had to acknowledge "the importance of languages in promoting democracy ... [and the need to] provide[] top quality programmes in all eleven official languages" (Kaschula, 2006: 145) and thus began embracing its public service mandate. The SABC also "recognised that broadcasting is one of the few opportunities for historically separated sectors of South African society to get to know each other, while celebrating cultural differences" (Smith, 2002: ii).

With this in mind, a SABC language policy document entitled "Vision and Values" was released in 1994, which "declared a strong commitment to using broadcasting as an instrument of nation-building [as] different languages and regions should be reflected to the nation and to themselves" (Barnett, 2000: 57). It also obligated the SABC to provide "fair, equitable, and accessible programming to all South Africans and to rectifying past imbalances" (Barnett, 1999: 285). Although public service broadcasting, when legislated, "should be designed to liberate rather than restrict the programme makers" (Mpofu, 1996: 16), the tensions between commercial and public broadcasting systems would be a recurring issue in the SABC post-apartheid genesis.

The SABC was the first institution, government or private, who attempted the practical implementation of the constitutional recognition of eleven languages. In line with this, and leading up to the re-launch of SABC television in February 1996, the SABC reorganised the structure of its television stations, with the proviso that "the equitable treatment of language is achieved across the television portfolio as a whole, not on each individual channel" (Kaschula, 2006: 147). What was previously mainly a 'black' channel, CCV-TV, was re-launched as SABC 1. This channel, which had the largest footprint, broadcast most of its prime-time programming in the Nguni group of languages, with some SePedi, Ndebele and English (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004). TV1, which had been the 'white' channel, was re-launched as SABC2, and covered the mainly Sotho languages of Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana, as well as Afrikaans (Barnett, 1998). SABC3, the new commercially-orientated channel, was "designed to meet the needs of the urban, educated audiences of all races" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2004: 34), and thus was declared an all-English channel.

Just prior to the re-launch of its channels, in 1995 the SABC underwent the first of two editorial policy adjustments it would carry out in the democratic era, which "is more than can be said for most state institutions" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 91). The first was adopted on 16 February 1995 and came into effect the following month (Du Plessis, 2006a; 2006b). As policies which provided "for

the operationalization of multilingualism in broadcasting at the SABC [both versions] play an important role within the process of repositioning the national broadcaster" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 91). The 1995 policy allows for "multilingual television services that will provide "equitable" programming in all official languages ... emphasis[ing] the principle of equality although in a pragmatic way ... a distinction is made between home language and shared languages ... a useful distinction for programming on the television services" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 59). The policy also takes into account the need to rectify imbalances between the languages, a legacy of apartheid, and aims to achieve this with "time allocation, quality of services, transmitter coverage and allocation of financial and other services to meet the requirements of equity" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 93). Ideally, these would be the criteria against which the evaluation of SABC TV's linguistic practices could be performed. However, due to limitations of scope and time (see 6.2), the actual data used in this dissertation was obtained from the 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report (see 4.3.2 and 5.3), and not collected independently. This data was provided in terms of the SABC's commitment to its public service mandate across all its channels, confirmed when the 1995 SABC policy document commits itself to "provide a portfolio of public television services which, in combination, provides equitable programming in all eleven official languages" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 92). Both the 1995 SABC policy and the 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report fail to provide quantitative benchmarks for the use of each of the eleven official languages, and this point will be revisited later (see 5.3.2 and 6.3).

Status planning is the dominant approach, in line with the 'reverse covert planning' technique of rectifying poor attitudes towards languages (see 2.5). Here, the SABC seeks to "treat all languages fairly and equitably ... develop and expand programmes for the benefit of the African population ... maintain language equitability in respect of locally produced programmes... make news programmes available in all official languages at varying times, either nationally or regionally" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 92-94). Corpus planning would be achieved by being "sensitive to the sociolinguistic dynamics and needs in programming [and] demonstrating the full resources and capabilities of all languages ... thereby playing an active role in enhancing the language development of the country" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 94). Despite the progressive and commendable steps the SABC took in drafting this policy, the policy itself "neglects to provide quantitative benchmarks with regard to time allocations [for each official language] ... [it] does not provide a multilingual template or formulaic approach that can regulate multilingual broadcasting in a quantitative manner" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 59). Additionally, questions about the practicalities of operationalizing the policy could arise, relating to the fact that the corpus of the nine African languages (which can be categorised as either Nguni or Sotho language groups) could be perceived as very similar, having once arguably existed as part of the same linguistic continuum. This would draw attention to the

possibility that the SABC had not paid sufficient attention to formulating a systematic approach to implementing multilingualism according to its policies. A proposal which has been made by prominent South African language-planner Neville Alexander, and which was first suggested by Jacob Nhlapo (a 1940's ANC member), is to create "a *Standard Nguni* based on Ndebele, Swazi, Xhosa and Zulu, and a *Standard Sotho* based on Pedi, South Sotho and Tswana [as] both language groups are essentially clusters of mutually intelligible dialects" (Deumert, 2000: 412). This would enable a more cost-effective implementation of multilingualism, as the production of programmes for broadcasting would be more than halved. However, coming at the end of apartheid and at the same time as the view that the "languages of the people are not permitted to be developed by them in their own way" (Reagan, 2001: 61), this proposal "has been seen as controversial and has often been misunderstood" (Heugh, 2002a: 457). This is somewhat of a pity, as Alexander's proposal could have formed the basis of a compromise in the argument between practicality and cost, in terms of implementing an active and integrative African language policy both at the government and television broadcasting level.

3.4.3 – Nation building in the transitional period

Due to the "deliberate fragmentation of the country's people at the hands of the National Party ... [who] did not create one national spirit but in following the logic of apartheid, encouraged the nature of divisive and contending nationalisms in the guise of 'protecting minorities', 'own affairs' and 'own development'" (Mpofu, 1996: 14), there was much work to be done if all South Africans were to participate equally in the formation and maintenance of a national identity. This task fell on the shoulders of policy-makers in government and, by implication, on the shoulders of South Africa's primary state media institution, the SABC. Although the question of the SABC's ability to create a situation which encouraged the co-existence of multiple cohesive identities is one which this thesis seeks to address, it can at least be pointed out that the SABC's policy which was developed at the end of the transitional era and beginning of the democratic era was, in theory, supportive of an integrationist or multi-cultural model of national identity.

3.5 – The democratic era in South Africa (1996 - present)

South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy was made final when the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) was officially adopted on 8 May 1996. Although much of the initial work had been done by those drafting the Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a), the Final Constitution (Act 108 of

1996) needed to clearly demarcate, and further enshrine and entrench, the principles espoused by its predecessor. The final Constitution would set the tone for linguistic development in post-apartheid South Africa. In the context of globalisation and when considering the hegemony of English, especially in South Africa, "given the strength of market forces in the free market system, it is clear that linguistic transformation will not occur in a spontaneous, natural way ... the linguistic development, transformation and reconstruction of South African society will, in the first place, need clear government support ... in the form of language legislation that is supported by language policies in all domains and at all levels of government" (Webb, 2006: 159). Another issue to overcome was the fact that although "African languages are positively associated with tradition and culture [they] have perhaps become too closely connected with the divide-and-rule policy of apartheid to be considered as languages of educational and economic progress" (Mesthrie, 2006: 151).

3.5.1 – South Africa's final Constitution

Before discussing the specific policies and provisions advocated by the Final Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), it is important to note that "the new constitution, passed in 1996, placed emphasis on the link between language, culture and development in its recognition of eleven languages for official purposes ...as a symbolic gesture towards national unity and language maintenance … there is little room for discontent with this inclusiveness … but ample room for uncertainty surround[ing]the practicality of the proposals" (Mesthrie, 2006: 152).

In the preamble, there is the need to "recognise the injustices of our past ... believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity ... heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights" (preamble). With regards to language, Section 6.1 of Chapter 1 (1996) states that "the official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu", and Section 6.4 of the same chapter declares that "all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably", whatever that may entail. Another stipulation which is similar to those included in the Interim Constitution is the need to "recognise[] the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages" (Chapter 1, Section 6.2: 1996). However, as with the Interim Constitution, the wording is vague and the lack of quantitative commitments to multilingualism are revealing in their absence. Here, "the national government and provincial governments may use any particular official

languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages" (Chapter 1, Section 6.3: 1996). It is clear that 'functional differentiation' has been accepted here, where "it is not the government's view that all eleven official languages be used for all official functions in all domains of public life" (Webb, 2002a: 51). However, the move to declare that a minimum of two languages may be declared the language of government at provincial level is an improvement of the one language, as stated in the Interim Constitution. Conversely, however, the existence of a number of 'escape clauses' such as usage, practicality, expense and regional differentiation, for example, "in the absence of clearer definitions, could be used to undermine the language stipulations" (Webb, 2002a: 51). One last point is that the non-diminution clause, which obligated the government to maintain the rights and status of the two former official languages, English and Afrikaans, no longer exists. In effect, this now "opens the way for the non-recognition of Afrikaans as a provincial official language in, for instance: KwaZulu Natal" (Webb, 2002a: 52).

The section which relates to the creation of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) is largely unchanged in the final Constitution. Crucially, however, the clause which states that "the Pan South African Language Board shall be consulted, and be given the opportunity to make recommendations, in relation to any proposed legislation contemplated in this section" (Chapter 1, Section 3.10b: 1993a) has been omitted. The removal of this clause was one of the reasons that PanSALB has been seen to have been largely ineffective, as "the structural conditions ... under which its legislation ... placed it, as well as political pressures which threatened the independence of the board, have rendered the body structurally weak" (Heugh, 2002a: 465). Despite the fact that "financial constraints and the lack of political support have made it difficult for PanSALB to execute its constitutional mandate to promote multilingualism" (Kamwangamalu, 2001: 416), it has "achieved many important milestones ... it has, specifically, begun to establish the infrastructure (lexicographic units, provincial language committees, national language bodies, databanks etc.) which are essential for planning and for the implementation of policy" (Alexander, 2004: 125).

Other sections in the final Constitution which relate directly to language are contained in Chapter 2, in the Bill of Rights. Here, equality "includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms ... to promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken" (Chapter 2, Section 9.2: 1996), thus paving the way for legislation aimed at correcting the wrongs of the past. Similarly, in order to avoid repeating the errors of previous governments, "the

state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth" (Chapter 2, Section 9.3: 1996).

Webb (2002a: 56) is critical of the vague and non-committal wording which characterises the final Constitution, stating that "the set of stipulations cannot be regarded as language policy ... they are at most a set of principles which must underpin any pursuant comprehensive national language policy". Ridge (2004: 200) concurs with Webb, believing that "idealist discourse is dominant in the language sections, making them less readily implementable than they would have been" (Ridge, 2004: 200). The result of this was that the "practices that attempt to realise the new constitutional ideals and the policies they engendered … [were] less tangible … here the successes to date have been more symbolic than material" (Mesthrie, 2006: 151). As the following section discussing the SABC's post-apartheid language policy will show, the fact that the constitution of the country is not as specific and quantitative as one would have hoped for means that all other state institutions (including the media), which have to construct their policies within the parameters set out by the Constitution, are hampered by such limitations.

3.5.2 – South African broadcasting policy in the democratic era

After the IBA and their Triple Enquiry, the next piece of national broadcasting legislation in South Africa was the Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999). This new act "replaced all previous broadcasting legislation bringing language legislation into correlation with the language provisions of the new Constitution" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 90). The new act contains both general and specific language mandates for each of the three tiers of broadcasting it allows for. Here, community, public and commercial broadcasters are governed by Section 3.6 of the Act, which states that "a range of programming in the Republic's official languages must be extended to all South Africans as circumstances permit". Specifically, commercial broadcasters are subjected to the following stipulations under Section 30(1) of the Act: "commercial broadcasters when viewed collectively- (a) must as a whole provide a diverse range of programming addressing a wide section of the South African public; (b) must provide, as a whole, programming in all South African official languages; (c) may provide programming in languages other than South African official languages, where the Authority is convinced that such services can be commercially viable". The commercial arm of the SABC is not subject to any additional regulations, as the Act (Section 11(a)) states that it is subject to the same commercial broadcasting policies and structures as outlined above.

The public service legislation contained in the Broadcasting Act (Act 4 of 1999) compels the SABC to "(a) make services available to South Africans in all the official languages; (b) reflect both the unity and the diverse cultural and multilingual nature of South Africa and all of its cultures and regions to audiences; (c) strive to be of high quality in all of the languages served" (Section 10(1)).

Again, as with the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), "no quantitative requirements or directives are included ... although the Broadcasting Act clearly provides for a multilingual public service" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 55). Another important development in South Africa's broadcasting landscape at this time was the establishment of ICASA (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa) with ICASA (Act 13 of 2000). This "statutory body established in 1999, is responsible for regulating the distribution of the official languages on the SABC's public service broadcasting service through "language quota" stipulations in the corporations broadcasting licenses" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 90). In effect, ICASA was introduced "to ensure compliance by broadcasters in South Africa with the IBA Act and the Broadcasting Act" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 56), and to "regulate broadcasting in the public interest and to ensure fairness and a diversity of views broadly representing South African society" (Chapter 1, Section 2(a)). However, "ICASA only managed to deal with the amendments of SABC radio and television licenses during 2005 when the new licensing conditions for the SABC ... became effective in June of that year" (Du Plessis, 2006b: 56). In the 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report (see Appendix VII), the compliance of SABC to the ICASA quotas is appraised, with their performance being judged in terms of language delivery of languages 'other than English' (Afrikaans, isiXhosa and isiZulu) and 'marginalised' (i.e. – minority) languages (Sepedi, seSotho, seTswana, isiSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga and isiNdebele) (SABC, 2011: 5). The failure of ICASA to determine language delivery in terms of each of South Africa's languages derives from both the government's and the SABC's failure to stipulate language-specific quantitative guidelines for SABC TV in their post-apartheid language and broadcasting policies. A more detailed discussion on ICASA's quotas for SABC TV will be discussed later (see 4.3.2 and 5.3).

3.5.3 – SABC broadcasting policy in the democratic era

The period after 1996 saw the SABC struggling to adequately fulfil its public service mandate, due to the financial pressures it was under as a result of the significant downscaling of its commercial services and the subsequent reduction in income. Despite this, in its 2004 editorial language policy the SABC had included many features not present in the 1995 edition, including a "set of guidelines for equitable language treatment [and] a set of guidelines for the allocation of broadcasting time" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 95). Equitable treatment was described as "being fair, just

and reasonable, not necessarily allocating equal time ... achieved through both unilingual and multilingual programming, as well as through the rotation of cognate languages" (Du Plessis, 2006a: 95). However, one major difference between the 1995 policy document and the 2004 version is the wording, where the 1995 provisions start with "The SABC shall ...", whilst the 2004 provisions start with "The SABC commits itself to ... / undertakes to ...". This is clearly a downgrade, where the level of commitment to following through on the undertakings is vastly diminished.

Much of what has been examined in this section on post-apartheid constitutional and SABC language policies was developed at the time when democracy was emerging in the country (i.e. – around 1996). The following section will briefly examine the 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report, in order to ascertain both the degree to which SABC is complying with its multilingual language mandate and the ICASA quotas, as well as the Corporation's plan for the future. The programming strategy of the SABC is said to "ensure[] that the corporation promotes democracy, non-racism, nation building and empowerment by broadcasting news, current affairs and innovative programmes in all South Africa's official languages" (SABC, 2008-2009: 35). At a time where the SABC was undergoing monumental turmoil and instability, the Acting Group CEO in his message claimed that "putting audiences at the heart of the SABC and empowering public service broadcasting in the letter and the spirit of the Broadcasting Act, the Broadcasting Charter, and ICASA regulations" (SABC, 2008-2009: 7) was still a major priority. Similarly, Irene Charnley, Chairperson of the SABC Interim board, stated that "the SABC continued to exceed its local content quotas on its television and radio services" (SABC, 2008-2009: 5). The figures presented in this Annual Report formed the basis of the discussion about SABC TV's language delivery (see 5.3.1).

The aspect of nation-building and social cohesion is an area where the SABC feels it has made significant advances in order to "promote issues of national importance and nation building across portfolio of services, including programming that promotes democracy and tolerance and reflects the aspirations of South African citizens … programmes that promote social cohesion include … Khululeka, 90 Plein Street, Tshwaraganang, Our Moment, Talk SA, Sinekghono, Shift, Issues of Faith, Trace your Roots, Chat Room, Spirit Sunday" (SABC, 2008-2009: 24). The report also states that the SABC "is committed to delivering against its mandate through … [the use of] the eleven official languages in the delivery of content - all in the interests of nation-building and ensuring access to public broadcasting for all" (SABC, 2008-2009: 35).

The public service channels, SABC 1 and 2, "play a significant role in … efforts to fulfill [SABC TV's] public service mandate … [these channels] increased their local content delivery from 55% in 2007/08 to 60% in 2008/09" (2008-2009: 44). What is interesting to note here is that the SABC, although satisfying local content quotas (see 4.3.2 and 5.3.1), is yet to frame any of its linguistic

practice analysis in terms of its performances in each of the eleven official languages. However, it is worth noting that both of SABC TV's two public service channels, as well as its public commercial channel (SABC 3) easily exceeded ICASA's local content quota's in all genres, including children's programming, current affairs, documentaries, drama, education and informal knowledge building.

3.5.4 – Nation building in the democratic era

The final Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) explicitly entrenched conditions aimed at promoting a unified nation in Chapter 1 (Section 3) which states, "(1) there is a common South African citizenship; (2) all citizens are- *(a)* equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship; and *(b)* equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship; (3) national legislation must provide for the acquisition, loss and restoration of citizenship". As it has been theorised at length, the role of the public service broadcaster in nurturing a national identity is paramount as, "if a public service broadcaster is such a vital tool in uniting, building and reinforcing a uniquely South African cultural identity ... [it] has an exceptionally dynamic role to play in a country ... which has historically lacked a public arena [] which, ideally, all citizens within the country could access" (Ryan, 2000: 2). One of the aims of this dissertation is to ascertain whether the SABC has made efforts in this regard and, if so, to what extent (see 1.4.2).

In its 2008-2009 Annual Report, the SABC tells of the development of its Public Broadcasting Services (PBS) Committee, a requirement of the Broadcasting Act of 1999. The committee is meant to ensure that "the PBS Division builds up and retains audience share and reach through radio and television programming and delivers content that is relevant to a wide range of viewers and listeners" (SABC 2008-2009: 92). This execution of this mandate would promote a cohesive national identity, should it be applied fairly across all of the countries eleven official languages.

3.6 – Conclusion

Now that the South African context has been investigated at length in terms of the historical roles of both language and the media, the next step is to state the means by which I aim to examine the effects of this history on the language attitudes of South Africa's citizens today. Thus, the next chapter will consist of the methodology of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 – Introduction

The research instruments employed to operationalize the research design and methodology are informed by the research questions outlined earlier (see 1.4). The aim of this chapter is to explain how the five chosen research instruments, i.e. – the historical description, the SABC TV linguistic practice analysis, the pilot study and survey, and the focus group interview, relate to each other and integrate to form a cohesive and appropriate way of investigating the research questions which were initially devised.

Each of these aspects of research is representative of different, yet harmonious, methodological approaches. Before examining the methodology of each of the research techniques, a general discussion on research methodology will be provided, in order for it to become clear how each of the approaches relates to each other. The relationship of the chosen approaches to the complex and multifaceted issue of research methodology as a whole will also be briefly discussed. By doing so, the relevance of the chosen approaches to the research questions will also become apparent. The validity and reliability of each of the selected data collection methods will also be discussed, as these issues will prove to be central to becoming aware of, and overcoming, the challenges and limitations of the research project. As "all research designs have their strengths and weakness" (Hofstee, 2006: 109), these will also be pointed out as the chapter progresses, painting an accurate picture of what this study hopes to achieve, and how it plans to do so. At all times, great care has been taken to ensure that the various components of research have been conducted according to sound and accepted ethical practices, and this has necessitated ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu Natal as well as the use of informed consent documents. These, as well as other ethical considerations relevant to this study, will be further explored later (see 4.4).

4.2 – Research paradigms

All research can be classed as either qualitative or quantitative in nature, although these categories are not mutually exclusive. One of the main differences between the two types of research is the way in which they approach the issue of research design, as "quantitative researchers consult their lists of possible designs and select one (or develop one from the models available), while qualitative researchers almost always develop their own designs as they go along, using one or more of the available strategies or tools as an aid or guideline" (De Vos & Fouché, 1998b: 77). The

inductive approach advocated by qualitative research allows patterns in the data to emerge which affects the design of the research project, whilst quantitative research relies upon procedure to produce relevant data (deductive approach). Despite their different approaches to research, and the different contexts to which they are suited, "both qualitative and quantitative researchers use careful, systematic methods to gather high-quality data" (Neuman, 2006: 181).

Since the point of a research design is to ensure that the investigation or analysis of the research questions is as systematic and comprehensive as possible, the concepts of validity and reliability have been developed to monitor and corroborate both qualitative and quantitative research processes. Generally speaking, irrespective of whether it is quantitative or qualitative research, validity refers to the ability of the data-gathering technique to measure what it is meant to measure. Reliability, on the other hand, determines whether a particular technique, "applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 119). In terms of the relationship between validity and reliability, "reliability is necessary for validity ... [but] does not guarantee that a measure will be valid ... a measure can produce the same result over and over (i.e., it has reliability), but what it measures may not match to the definition of the construct (i.e., validity)" (Neuman, 2006: 196).

According to Yin (2009), the quality of a research design may be judged on the fulfilment of four key criteria. *Construct validity* requires that the research design "identif[ies] correct operational measures for concepts being studied" (Yin, 2009: 40) with the "use [of] multiple sources of evidence ... [to] establish [a] chain of evidence" (Yin, 2009: 41). *Internal validity* is more relevant to explanatory or causal (as opposed to exploratory or descriptive) studies, where research design should be "seeking to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions" (Yin, 2009: 40). The *external validity* of a research design refers to the extent to which the findings may be extrapolated and "defines[] the domain to which the study's findings can be generalized" (Yin, 2009: 40). Finally, to achieve *reliability* a research design needs to demonstrate "that the operations of a study – such as the data collection procedures, can be repeated, with the same results" (Yin, 2009: 40). These concepts will be further exemplified at a later stage in terms of each of the research tools that were used (historical description see 4.3.1, SABC TV language practice evaluation see 4.3.2, pilot study see 4.3.3, survey see 4.3.4, focus group interview see 4.3.5).

As each approach has its strengths and weaknesses, and is better suited to accessing and revealing different kinds of information, sometimes a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, the multi-method approach, is preferable as "by combining multiple methods it is possible to elicit important new insights into the causes and consequences of beliefs and behaviour" (Axinn & Pearce, 2006: 1). This is especially important in studies where there are numerous data or

information gathering stages, as a combination of approaches often ensures that the data gathering process yields as comprehensive and applicable information as possible. Each of these three approaches will now be briefly described, as they all play a part in the methodological approach of this study.

4.2.1 – Quantitative research

The quantitative approach, where scientific knowledge is considered the only valid form of knowledge, is known as positivism and is characterised by deduction, which seeks to prove one or more premises in order to deduce that the pre-conceived conclusion is also true. While the strengths of the quantitative approach lie in its reliance on precision and control, it is true that these are characteristics of research which are not necessarily sought after in social science research, where "quantification can become an end in itself rather than a humane endeavour seeking to explore the human condition" (Burns, 2000: 10). In practice, quantitative research strictly follows a predetermined "straightforward sequence: first conceptualisation, followed by operationalization, followed by applying the operational definition or measuring to collect the data" (Neuman, 2006: 184). This is characterised by attempts to identify one or more variables, measurement of the variable, as well as of relationships between variables.

Quantitative validity "indicates whether a measure properly captures the meaning of the concept or construct it measures" (Gunter, 2002: 212), and there are three kinds of quantitative validity relevant to this study: *criterion-related*, *content* and *construct*. *Criterion-related* validity "is the degree to which a measure is related to some other standard or criterion that is known to indicate the construct accurately" (Durrheim, 1999: 83). There are two ways in which criterion-related validity may be tested, i.e. – concurrent and predictive validity. Concurrent validity refers to the "degree to which a new measure is related to pre-existing measures of the same construct" (Durrheim, 1999: 84-85). Predictive validity is not relevant to this study as it is applicable to measures that wish to predict performance on another criterion. This may, however, be a possibility for further research, and this will be discussed later (see 6.3). The second type of validity is *content*, and this "is established by determining the extent to which a measure reflects a specific domain of content" (Durrheim, 1999: 85). The final type of quantitative validity is *construct validity*, and it refers to a "theoretical and empirical task of determining the extent to which a measure is empirically related to other measures with which it is theoretically associated" (Durrheim, 1999: 87). Gunter (2002: 213) also makes a distinction between internal and external validity, where "internal validity means that the design of the research project is free from theoretical or methodological

error, and ... [e]xternal validity ... addresses whether the results can be generalized to other situations or groups of people ... [where] [l]ow external validity means that the results are unique to the ... setting in which they were obtained." Finally, quantitative reliability "refers to the dependability of the research instrument, that is, the extent to which the instrument yields the same results on repeated trials" (Durrheim, 1999: 88). All of these measures of quantitative validity and reliability will be applied to the quantitative measures used in this study, namely the evaluation of SABC TV's linguistic practices (see 4.3.2) and the language attitudes survey (see 4.3.4).

4.2.2 – Qualitative research

Qualitative research "lies within the interpretivist paradigm, which focuses on social constructs that are complex and always evolving" (Clayton & Gorman, 2005: 3). Furthermore, qualitative research can be classed as an "inductive approach" (Maxwell, 1996: 17) which means that adhering to the particular processes involved in conducting the research is seen as more important than arriving at a particular or favourable conclusion. Qualitative research also differs from quantitative research in that it attempts to always "study human action from the perspective of social actors themselves" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). The reason for describing qualitative research as 'interpretative' is because the main aim of qualitative research "is not to explain human behaviour in terms of universally valid laws or generalization, but rather to understand and interpret the meanings and intentions that underlie everyday human action" (Schurink, 1998: 240).

In qualitative research, validity is often unable to "comply with the requirements set out by researchers from the quantitative paradigm" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 274) and qualitative researchers are "more interested in authenticity than validity ... [where] authenticity means giving a fair, honest and balanced account of social life from the viewpoint of someone who lives it every day" (Neuman, 2000: 171). Here, validity and reliability are less about empirically measuring, and more about evaluating whether the research instrument is valid or reliable. In the qualitative paradigm, "most qualitative researchers accept the basic principles of validity and reliability, but rarely use the terms because of their association with quantitative measurement ... qualitative researchers apply the principles differently" (Neuman, 2006: 194). In their attempts to render their work reliable, qualitative researchers "use a variety of techniques ... to record their observations consistently" (Neuman, 2006: 196). As such, studies aimed at producing reliable data should utilise a multitude of data sources, measurement methods, and analytical procedures to access multiple perspectives on the same phenomenon (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This is known as triangulation, which also impacts upon the reliability of a qualitative study, which places much emphasis on

“dependability or consistency ... [where] qualitative researchers use a variety of techniques ... to record their observations consistently” (Neuman, 2006: 170).

Although the central tenets and foundational principles of quantitative and qualitative research are divergent, and possibly at times even appear juxtaposed, it is possible for a ‘methodological pluralism’ to exist, and this is the focus of the next section.

4.2.3 – Mixed method research

Although, in the past, qualitative and quantitative methods “were thought to represent two mutually exclusive conceptual paradigms that embodied incompatible assumptions about the nature of the world” (Waysman & Savaya, 2006: 141), more recently there has been a general tendency towards “combining multiple methods ... to elicit important new insights into the causes and consequences of beliefs and behaviour” (Axinn & Pearce, 2006: 1). By definition, mixed method research strategies are those “that are explicitly designed to combine elements of one method, such as structured survey[s] ... with elements of other methods, such as unstructured interviews, observations or focus groups in either a sequential or simultaneous manner” (Axinn & Pearce, 2006: 1). A useful concept in multi-method approaches to methodology is that of triangulation, which “involve[s] combining data sources to study the same social phenomenon” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998: 41). Here, “the choice of methods is intended to investigate a single social phenomenon from different vantage points” (Brannen, 2005: 176). In this particular study *data*, *theory* and *methodological* triangulation are all relevant, which is evident in the use of multiple sources of data, interpretive perspectives, and methodological approaches respectively.

As the following discussion on the specific methodology of this study will show, the multi-method combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches strengthened this study. Combining qualitative approaches (historical description, focus group interview) and quantitative methods (SABC language practice analysis, survey) allowed for an attempt at eliminating the issues of subjectivity which haunt qualitative data collection and analysis methods.

4.3 – Research instruments

This project is classed as a case study, which may be broadly described as an approach which may be “used in many situations, to contribute to our knowledge of individual, group, organisational, social, political and related phenomena” (Yin, 2009: 4). More specifically, a case study may be viewed as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and

within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident ... [it] relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion" (Yin, 2009: 18). It is therefore evident that such a research design must necessarily "go beyond being a type of qualitative research, by using a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence" (Yin, 2009: 19). As such, as it will soon be discussed in this section, this study makes use of both qualitative and quantitative research tools in order to conduct a methodical and comprehensive case study.

According to Yin (2009: 3), it is important to "openly acknowledge the strengths and limitations of case study research", and as such it needs to be established that a "common concern about case studies is that they provide little basis for scientific generalization" (Yin, 2009: 15). However, transferability is more of a concern in mixed-method case study research where the results of a study are only intended to be "generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes" (Yin, 2009: 15). This limitation has been taken into account when analysing and interpreting the survey and focus group interview data used in this study and will be reflected in the discussion regarding the generalizability of the results generated by these research tools (4.3.4 and 4.3.5).

Yin (2009) lists five components of case study research design. *Study questions*, which should comprise of exploratory 'how' and 'why' questions, such as the research questions provided in section 1.4. The s*tudy proposition* should state the purpose of the study, "as well as the criteria by which an exploration will be judged successful" (Yin, 2009: 28), and this has been done in 1.2 (Statement of purpose) and 1.5 (Operationalizing the research questions). In terms of this study, the aim was to explore whether there are links between the ideologies evident in the language policies and practices of the SABC and the language attitudes of a sample of the audience to which it broadcasts. Success will not only depend on whether or not such links were found, as whether the research design was appropriate and provided adequate and objective opportunities for such links to become apparent is also a priority. The *unit of analysis* is related to the fundamental problem of defining exactly what the 'case' is. The 'unit' can be an individual, or "some event or entity other than a single individual" (Yin, 2009: 29), and defining exactly who or what the unit comprises is crucial as "each unit of analysis and its related questions and propositions would call for a slightly different research design and data collection strategy" (Yin, 2009: 30). This study, with its triangulation approach, investigates a variety of units, with specific approaches being chosen for each component of the research design. The various units in each of the research tools utilised in this study are as follows: the historical analysis looks at South African society as a whole, and also goes into some detail about each individual language where relevant; the SABC and SABC TV are the

'units' in the analysis of their language policies and practices; the sample population (University of KwaZulu Natal students at Durban's Howard College) was the unit under investigation with the language attitudes survey, and individual students were the units of analysis with the focus group interview that was conducted. The fourth component of a case study is the attempt to link the data to the propositions, satisfying the requirement of "combin[ing] or calculat[ing] [the] case study data as a direct reflection of [the] initial study propositions" (Yin, 2009: 34) or research questions, and this will occur in the relevant data presentation and analyses in the next chapter. Finally, the *criteria for interpreting the findings* need to be adequately substantiated and demarcated. Here, the researcher needs to "identify and address rival explanations for [their] findings" (Yin, 2009: 34) in order to satisfy the need to have explored all other potential causes and effects of the data and analyses in question before drawing any conclusions from the research. This has been done the by appraising the validity and reliability of each of the research tools utilised in this study.

The methodology of this case study project comprises a total of five different data gathering stages. The first stage is the qualitative historical description of South Africa's and the SABC's past social, political and linguistic landscapes, and this has been partially completed with the descriptive content in Chapter 3. The discussion of the relevant ideological and functional outcomes of the historical analysis will be provided in the following chapter (see 5.2.5), whilst the motivation for deciding upon this mode of data collection will be provided in this chapter (see 4.3.1). The second stage of the data collection process was a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the SABC's linguistic practices. Since a new and detailed analysis of SABC TV's language practice would be a massive undertaking on its own, pre-existing data from the SABC's 2008-2009 Annual Report was used. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter (see 4.3.2). The pilot study and survey formed part of the same stage of data collection, although the pilot study was conducted on a smaller scale and used for different purposes, having been used to test the efficiency of the measure, as opposed to being used as a data collection tool such as was the case with the proper survey (see 4.3.3 and 4.3.4). Finally, the focus group interview allowed a more thorough phenomenological qualitative investigation of the themes that emerged in the analysis of the survey and allowed for the triangulation of the various data sources (see 4.3.5).

The construct validity of the project, i.e. – the relevance of the measures to the concepts that are being studied, is vastly improved thanks to the fact that multiple measures have been used to answer each research question. In terms of the internal and external validity of the project (Yin, 2009), the internal validity of the project is strong as the research measured have been applied in and ordered and sequential manner, allowing the preceding measures (i.e. – the historical analysis and SABC TV language policy and practice analysis) to inform the subsequent measures (i.e. – the

language attitudes survey and the focus group interview). The external validity is weak, and this is due to the limitations of the sample size as well as due to the unique social and political context in which the study took place. As such, no generalizations or extrapolations may be applied to populations not included in the initial sample. The overall reliability of the study is also strong, and this is due to the fact that the research tools were developed according to the thorough and appropriate theoretical, social, political and ideological framework that was initially developed. These concepts will now be further exemplified in terms of each of the research measures that were utilised (see 4.3).

4.3.1 – Historical description

The qualitative data collected and collated in this first stage would set the scene and provide a body of accurate and relevant information on which subsequent stages of data gathering could be based, as many questions used in the survey and focus group interview were based on insights gained from the historical document analysis. “Documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic” (Yin, 2009: 101), and in this case it forms the substrate of the research project as a whole. The historical description in Chapter 3 and the discussion on the ideologically significant events in Chapter 5 (see 5.2) also provided the basis for the analysis of the survey and focus group instruments.

The aim of this initial research phase was to pinpoint the key political, social, and ideological events which occurred within the public, linguistic and media landscapes throughout South Africa’s history. In order to be able to devise data collection strategies which would accurately access those behavioural and attitudinal dispositions which this study seeks to uncover, it was necessary to first examine the relevant “social phenomena in their historical context” (De Vos & Fouché, 1998b: 80) in order to “trace[] the development of social forms over time” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 399). In this study, this meant looking at the political and social trajectories of the country’s eleven official languages in order to shed light on the current situations of the languages in question.

As a qualitative method, historical research does not have a list of steps to follow when analysing historical data but rather aims to identify socially, politically or ideologically significant patterns and events. However, when considering that historical research “is informed by a particular theoretical paradigm” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 403), and that if the sources of information are numerous and detailed enough, it is possible to compile an accurate historical account of the theoretical construct in question. In the case of this study, it is within the South African contexts of language, media and ideology where the issues are to be examined. Thankfully, these are all issues

which have been extensively studied, in some way or another by a multitude of respected local and international scholars, and “their analyses can give ... an initial grounding in the subject” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 402). As such, there was a wealth of reliable historical accounts from which a detailed account of the social, political and ideological development of language, politics and the media landscape could be synthesised.

As a qualitative method, evaluating “historical data and information is often referred to as historical criticism and the reliable data yielded by the process are known as historical evidence ... that body of validated facts and information which can be accepted as trustworthy, as a valid basis for the testing and interpretation of hypotheses” (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 56-57). In order to combat the criticism that is sure to arise around the questions of researcher bias or subjectivity, there are two ways to appraise the authenticity and accuracy of such information, namely external and internal criticism. External criticism “is concerned with establishing the authenticity or genuineness of data” (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 57), whilst internal criticism is aimed at evaluating the accuracy of the document and “the credibility of the author” (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 57). In terms of this study, data was collated from a large variety of credible sources; i.e.: qualitative ethnographic historical analysis (see throughout Chapter 3, 4.3.1, 4.4.1), language policy and practice analyses (see throughout Chapter 3, 4.3.2, 4.4.2), pilot study and language attitudes survey (see 4.3.4, 4.4.3), focus group interview (see 4.3.5, 4.4.4); and analysed transparently with a multitude of suitable tools (see 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 respectively) in order to ensure that no one viewpoint was amplified or ignored.

Burns (2000: 484) details the six steps which generally comprise a historical analysis: “(1) identification of the topic and specification of the universe of data required ... (2) initial determination that such data exists and is available, (3) data collection through consideration of known data ... and the unearthing of new data and previously unknown data, (4) initial writing of report, (5) interaction of writing and additional data search as gaps become apparent, (6) completion of interpretive phase.” Even though these steps were closely adhered to in the historical analysis, this form of research is still open to criticism. In terms of validity and reliability, major limitations include a lack of an “opportunity to test the conclusions in a new situation ... much is so specific to the actual study situation or event that it may well be unique ... a second limitation is that the data are always incomplete ... this can lead to oversimplification ... and overgeneralization ... due to false reasoning, analogy and superficial similarity of situations” (Burns, 2000: 488). Thankfully, these limitations are, to a point, redeemable with the use of triangulation, where additional methods or frames of reference (i.e. – the survey and focus group interview) will either corroborate or refute the themes which emerged in the historical analysis. The limitations of this particular stage

of the research process (i.e. – the historical description) will be discussed later in this section (see 4.4.1).

A large component of the historical description involved analyses of both national and SABC language policies. According to Jensen, (2002: 284), "policies are codified plans of action ... policy research is focussed within existing institutions, and on agendas set by those institutions". As such, the policies which existed during each stage of South Africa's history (i.e. – pre-apartheid, apartheid and democracy) will be discussed. Pillay (1999: 241) has suggested that policies may be developed from either pluralist or elitist standpoints, where "the former believes that the power to influence decision-making is not concentrated in a few people, [and] the latter considers it to be concentrated in the hands of the elite in a society". As the discussion in the previous chapter on each of South Africa's and the SABC's language policies has shown, there has been both pluralist (post apartheid) and elitist (pre democracy) influences on policies in the differing eras. Whilst the origin of the factors influencing the policy may not always be overtly stated, the provisions within the policy itself are most often indicative of the location of power and the ideologies involved. Policy analysis may include research to ascertain whether policy objectives have been met, as well as an examination of the effects of these policies on society. This study aims to do both, by firstly determining whether the SABC's post-apartheid policy provisions have been met (i.e. - linguistic practices analysis, see 5.3), and secondly aiming to access the language attitudes fostered by prior and current SABC language policy and practice (i.e. - language attitudes survey data analysis, see 5.5).

Although the practice of compiling a historical description relies a great deal on the author's ability to objectively analyse the body of available data, like all research tools it is an approach informed by one or more theoretical paradigms, which in this case includes that of inductive interpretivist qualitative research. These principles will guide the researcher and help to ensure that the data is collected and analysed in line with established methodological practices, essential if the researcher hopes to avoid compromising the validity and reliability of the study. One of the primary ways of ascertaining whether historical analyses have been conducted objectively is by gauging the extent to which external and internal criticisms have been acknowledged. These criticisms refer to the relevance of data and the question of researcher bias respectively, which in turn may also be linked to the issues of validity and reliability. The body of data from which the historical description was drawn comprises a vast number of relevant and highly regarded books, scholarly journal articles and prior research, and as such the validity of the historical description should stand up to any critique. The principle of authenticity is also inextricably linked with that of internal criticism or reliability. As valid or relevant as the available data might be, the researcher must necessarily approach the subject matter from an objective point of view, and this issue is at the core of concerns

regarding internal criticism and reliability. By providing as thorough and systematic an analysis as possible, the researcher aimed to privilege no one perspective over another, thus achieving a degree of reliability and satisfying the conditions required to withstand questions of internal criticism. In terms of generalizibility, the historical description is a very context-specific practice, where all content is applicable only within the spheres demarcated at the start of the particular research project.

4.3.2 – Evaluation of SABC TV's linguistic practices

"The most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources" (Yin, 2009: 103), and as such the historical description was followed by a 'one-shot case study', the aim of which was to "thoroughly describe a single unit during a specific period in time" (De Vos & Fouché, 1998b: 125). This took the form of an evaluation of the SABC's allocation of airtime to the eleven official South African languages, and was judged on the extent to which their practice complied with the quotas outlined by ICASA (SABC, 2008-2009: 98). The evaluation would provide quantitative and qualitative information about SABC TV's allocation of airtime to South Africa's eleven official languages, and would thus inform the nature of the questions used in the pilot study, survey and focus group interview. The quantitative data supplied in the SABC's 2008 – 2009 Annual Report about language use by SABC TV between 31 March 2008 and 29 March 2009 would be supplemented by a qualitative analysis of the text accompanying the numerical information (see 5.3.1) (see Appendix VII).

As mentioned earlier (see 3.5.2) the ICASA quotas appraise SABC TV's language delivery of the languages it defined as 'other than English' (Afrikaans, isiXhosa and isiZulu) and 'marginalised' (Sepedi, seSotho, seTswana, isiSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga and isiNdebele), with four criteria governing the broadcasting practices of the public service broadcaster: (1) a minimum number of hours of prime time programming in languages other than English (excluding marginalised languages); (2) a minimum number of hours of programming in marginalised languages during prime time; (3) a minimum number of hours of prime time programming in languages other than English (including marginalised languages); and (4) a minimum number of hours of programming in languages other than English, including marginalised languages, in the performance period (SABC, 2008-2009: 72). Here, 'prime time' refers to the four hour period between 18h00 and 22h00 daily (SABC: 2011, 5) whilst the 'performance period' refers to the period during which the entire body of data was collected, i.e. - 31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009. Language delivery is measured in the average hours and minutes per week of the performance period or during prime time.

At face value, this quantitative language content analysis would give some indication of the extent to which SABC TV was fulfilling its obligation to treat all eleven languages equally. Qualitatively, the content analysis would analyse other contextual information supplied with the quantitative data. Here the way that the data was framed (i.e. – the ideological implications of defining languages as 'Other than English', as well as information that is conspicuous by its absence, were taken into account in order to further investigate the conditions under which SABC TV's programming practices are produced. Gunter (2002: 220) describes the five main purposes of media-related content analysis, most of which are applicable to this study: "(1) describing patterns or trends in media portrayals, (2) testing hypotheses about the policies or aims of media producers, (3) comparing media content with real world indicators (4) assessing the representation of certain groups in society (5) drawing inferences about media effects". In the discussion in the following chapter (see 5.3), the representation of specific linguistic groups was analysed, and current linguistic trends and performances were compared to governmental and SABC broadcasting policies as well as ICASA quotas in the aim of attributing language attitudes to ideologies portrayed by the media. Although not a primary concern of this study, the delivery of local content across SABC TV's three channels was also briefly examined, as this has the potential to impact upon the amount of time utilised for local languages, as well as upon the ability of SABC TV to foster a multilingual and multicultural national identity.

The document that was used for this part of the study was the SABC's 2008-2009 Annual Report, downloaded from the SABC's website, www.sabc.co.za. The 107 page report is split into eleven chapters, namely: Annual Report 2008-2009 cover, **Chairperson, Group CEO and CFO statements**, **Context and Performance Management**, **Performance: Public Broadcasting Services**, Performance: Public Commercial Services, Other Activities, **Growth, Compliance and Complaints**, **About the SABC**, Annual Financial Statements, Glossary of terms, Contact us". Those that appear in bold type have been used either in the quantitative of qualitative content analyses of SABC's language practices (see 5.3), or in the qualitative discussion about the SABC in post-apartheid South Africa (see 3.5.2).

In terms of the quantitative analysis, the issues of validity and reliability are easily dealt with here. As the quantitative content analysis is solely directed at detailing SABC TV's linguistic performance in terms of each of the eleven official languages, and this information is partially provided in the SABC's 2008 – 2009 Annual Report, this aspect of the study may be described as valid as it succeeds in measuring the pre-determined subject of linguistic performance. A weakness here, however, is the reliance on data supplied by the SABC, as the shortcomings of their data limits the detail and extent of the linguistic evaluation of SABC TV conducted in this study. This limitation

will be further dealt with later (see 6.2). The content validity is high, as the quantitative data is clearly deals with the linguistic performance of SABC TV, albeit to slightly vague criteria. The construct validity is not as strong, with the information being provided lacking precision according to the airtime afforded to each specific language. Reliability is less of a concern here, as merely reporting on figures arrived at by the SABC is not a process which required much methodological preparation. There are, however, a few ethical concerns regarding this component of the study, and these will be discussed later in the chapter (see 4.5). In terms of the generalizibility of the quantitative content analysis, the linguistic performance indices are not applicable to any time period outside of the dates specified above.

The qualitative component of the content analysis is more open to criticisms regarding validity and reliability due to the abstract nature of both the data and the analysis. However, it is for this exact reason that this research project has made use of a multi-method triangulation research design. With preceding qualitative (historical description) and quantitative (content analysis) data on which to base observations during the qualitative content analysis, the validity and reliability of this measure is greatly improved. In terms of validity, the continuity of the separate yet interrelated research stages means that the content under investigation, i.e. – the relationship between the social and political trajectories of South Africa's eleven official languages and their prevalence on SABC TV, remains in focus. Again, the reliability of this particular phase of the research project is dependent upon the researcher. Given the context-specific nature of the content analysis, as well as of the preceding qualitative research tools, there is no other way to determine reliability other than to ensure that the researcher retains an objective viewpoint throughout the investigation. Conducting a systematic investigation as far as possible by triangulating qualitative analysis with both quantitative and qualitative data already established has ensured that precautions have been taken in the aim of achieving methodological reliability.

With the quantitative and qualitative information gathered by this stage of the research process, as well as the preceding historical analysis, the pilot study and survey were developed, and these will now be discussed.

4.3.3 – Pilot study

The pilot study was a small-scale testing of the survey, in order to ascertain whether the questionnaire was optimally designed to gather as much useful data as possible. According to Neuman (2006: 191), "reliability can be improved by using a pretest or pilot version of a measure first", and for that reason, a pilot survey was distributed prior to the large scale survey. The reality

that “no matter how carefully you design a data-collection instrument ... there is always the possibility – indeed the certainty – of error” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 244) means that any kind of pre-testing will benefit the questionnaire. Despite the fact that the pilot survey was only completed by twenty-five randomly selected participants (Grade 12 pupils from a Durban high school) it was still able to indicate areas where improvements were needed, as “it’s not usually essential that the pre-test subjects comprise a representative sample, although you should use people for whom the questionnaire is relevant” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 244-245). This is because “the researcher does not plan on generalizing the findings ... the purpose of a pilot study [is] an investigation of the feasibility of the planned project and to bring possible deficiencies in the measurement procedure to the fore” (Strydom, 1998: 179).

The pilot study (see Appendix I) consisted of 14 questions over four A4 pages, as well as a cover page stating the reason for the survey, and the fact that participation was confidential and voluntary. The questions were asked in a range of closed-ended formats including multiple choice and matrix-style questions, as these would be utilised in the main survey. Respondents were asked to identify questions in the survey that they did not understand, and although no one chose to do this, there were a few instances where questions had been left out, and therefore these were identified as being ambiguous or unclear. The 14 questions included: demographic information (age, gender and first language), SABC TV viewing habits, perceived use of languages by SABC TV, attitudes towards multilingual broadcasting, and attitudes towards South Africa’s eleven official language policies. These questions did not differ significantly from those that were used in the final instrument.

A difference between the pilot study and the survey is that the former did not undergo the same quantitative SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) analysis as the survey, as the pilot study was conducted not for the collection of data for analysis, but rather for the reasons mentioned above. The final survey also had an additional eight questions, which had been removed from the pilot survey to decrease the length of time it took to complete the questionnaire. While the questions that did not feature were adjudged by the researcher to be easy to interpret for the prospective participants, the fact that the eight additional questions did not undergo pre-testing does negatively affect the validity of this particular component of the research. The pilot study also established that the cost of the surveys would be R2 each, at a total cost of R1000 for the 500 surveys. It was also established that the researcher did not have the expertise to collate and interpret the data with the use of the SPSS computer program, and as such the help of an experienced professor from the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN) Statistics and Actuarial Science

Department was secured to assist with the input and collation of survey data when it became necessary. This process will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

The pilot study, which saw 25 Grade 12 high school students complete an abridged 14 question survey, was carried out purely in order to qualitatively analyse whether the questions were unambiguous and comprehensible. Since according to Neuman (2006: 191), "reliability can be improved by using a pretest or pilot version of a measure first", the pilot study was aimed purely at improving the response rate to, and increasing the reliability of answers obtained from, the primary survey sample. Due to the reduced scope of the data collection and analysis of the pilot study, issues of validity and generalizibilty are not relevant. However, informed consent was still obtained from the participants (see Appendix I).

4.3.4 – Survey

As a method of data collection, surveys are best suited and "appropriate for research questions about self-reported beliefs or behaviours" (Neuman, 2006: 273). As with most research tools, there is a variety of survey methods that may be utilised. Surveys can be either descriptive or analytic in nature. In this study, the analytical survey was chosen as it not only "collect[s] descriptive data, but attempt[s] to go on to examine relationships among variables ... such exploratory surveys have also played a prominent part in research into the social effects of the media" (Gunter, 2002: 215). Where the descriptive survey seeks to merely describe the population in question, the analytic survey goes a step further and "seeks to find out why people behave the way they do ... to determine whether there are causal relationships between certain kinds of behaviour and various social and demographic characteristics of people" (Berger, 2000: 188-9). In practice, this entails "explor[ing] the associations between particular variables" (Oppenheim, 2003: 21).

Another important factor to note with the survey and sample population in this project is the fact that since the study is in part focussing on the role of the media in attitude formation, the sample population must necessarily be thought of as a media audience. Media audiences, in a broad sense, refers to "people who are exposed to, or who respond to, media culture ... in its broadest sense, the term 'audience' is almost interchangeable with 'society', for it is used to refer to the many ways in which the media relate to the broader social world" (Stokes, 2003: 129). In order to investigate the target media audience, Priest (1996: 73) suggests that "those interested in the interaction of media information with general public opinion will usually combine public opinion survey data with content analysis". As one of the central features of this study, the linguistic practices analysis was used in conjunction with the focus group interview. While the sample used in

this study is indeed considered as a media audience, these are not the only parameters defining the population from which it came. A small project such as this has to be modest and realistic when selecting a population from which to draw a sample if it is to have any hope of any degree of generalizability within the sample population itself. With this in mind, and in the interests of time, cost and ease of application, the population that was selected was University students in Durban, and specifically those from Howard College campus. Additionally, "the practicalities of obtaining access to the sample often determine the method of questionnaire administration" (Frazer & Lawley, 2000: 9), and as such it was decided that the quickest and easiest way to obtain survey responses would be to distribute them by hand on the campus in question. Due to limitations of time and manpower, a target was set at obtaining 500 survey responses. Once the sample population had been selected, the next step was to go about identifying the participants who would be completing the questionnaire. Respondents were "selected for the study on the grounds that they [were] available, convenient to access and prepared to participate" (Gunter, 2002: 216), and as such the sampling method was the very definition of non-probability sampling. Half of the surveys were distributed by the researcher and an assistant on foot over all parts of the campus, and respondents were chosen at random. People who were sitting down were targeted, and asked to leave the survey where they were seated should they complete it before we could make our way around to collect it. This was done to ensure that the respondents did not feel any pressure to fill out the questionnaire rapidly, which hopefully would have resulted in the respondents taking the time to complete the questionnaire as thoroughly, accurately and honestly as possible. The other half of the surveys were completed by tutorial groups consisting of Linguistics 1 and 2 students, on the basis that they were conveniently and easily accessible. The sample population and sample survey do of course have their weaknesses, and these will be discussed later in this chapter (see 4.4.3).

Apart from the suitability of the survey to the investigation of public opinion, other factors also make it a useful mode of data collection. These include: low cost in time and money, easy to get information from many people very quickly, analysis of answers to close questions is straightforward, less pressure for an immediate response, lack of interviewer bias (Gillham, 2002). Conversely, the same aspects that make a survey potentially useful are also those that make it potentially useless. Possible problems include: low response rate, difficulty motivating respondents, the need for relatively simple questions (which then reduces the complexity inherent in the issues), misunderstandings cannot be corrected, impossible to check seriousness or honesty of answers (Gillham, 2002). These were all successfully combated though a number of strategies. A high response rate was achieved due to the lack of pressure on the respondents, as well as the fact that

the survey was being conducted on a university campus and students were willing to spend a few minutes completing the questionnaire. The need to use simple questions was not an issue as the sample population of university students is no doubt capable of understanding the questions and responding appropriately. For a similar reason, there is no reason to doubt the honesty or sincerity of the answers. Misunderstandings were almost entirely eliminated due to the majority of the survey questions having been piloted weeks earlier. However, there was still a minor issue with Question 19, and this will be discussed later in this section.

Although most of the literature suggests that surveys should be between 4 – 6 pages, the fact that the twenty-two items in this survey were spread out and easily navigable is the reason for the additional page. According to Neuman (2006: 292) "for highly educated respondents and a salient topic, using questionnaires of 15 pages may be possible". Since the sample population consists solely of tertiary education candidates, the fact that they had to respond to a twenty-two question, seven page survey should not be seen as a problem. Instructions were also provided beneath each question, directing the participants to either 'tick one', tick one or more' or to make 'one tick per language'. All questions were closed questions, where participants had to choose one or more options from those provided by ticking the appropriate box or boxes. Five of the twenty-two questions were matrix-style tables, where respondents were required to assess independent variables (e.g. news, sport, movies, etc) with a number of dependant variables (e.g. – isiZulu, Xhosa, English). According to Neuman (2006: 295), the matrix question "is a compact way to present a series of questions using the same response categories". The other seventeen questions were all multiple choice questions. Some of these were ordinal questions, which required the respondents to choose between positive, negative or neutral ways to end a sentence, e.g. – 'I think broadcasting in eleven languages... is SABC TV's constitutional obligation; is probably very expensive and not worth the cost; is a good idea but hard to implement in South Africa; I don't know'. There were eleven of these in total. There were four double-barrelled questions where respondents either had to choose the language they thought was the highest or lowest cultural or commercial value, or choose between two other options – 'all languages have the same value' or 'I don't know'. Question 9 was a scaled response item, where "ratings can be used in various ways: (1) as objective assessments ... (2) in a subjective, projective way to tell us something about the rater's percepts and attitudes" (Oppenheim, 2003: 232). A potential problem with this technique is the assumption that the intervals between the numerical values of the answers are equal, although in this case this was not an issue as respondents had to rate the regularity with which SABC TV uses each of the eleven official language as 'always, mostly, sometimes, not often, never'. There was one routing question

(Question 14), which was aimed at eliciting a reason for the respondents selecting a language as commercially weak, had they made a selection in the previous question.

Wherever necessary or relevant, neutral positions and responses to questions were provided. While the risk is that respondents will "pick no opinion or neutral response to avoid the cognitive effort of answering ... putting pressure on respondents to give a response [may cause] people [to] express opinions on fictitious issues, objects and events" (Neuman, 2006: 289). Additionally, it is always possible that respondents may also sincerely not have an attitude or position towards a certain standpoint. It is therefore very important to allow for this to be captured in the data. In this study, of the fifteen questions that had a neutral option (namely Questions 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21), many respondents opted for the neutral response, and this would be an obstacle in the data collection and analysis associated with these questions. Question 19 did not have a neutral position, and this had a negative impact upon the response rate for this particular question. Many participants did not respond to this item (almost 50%), and in this case non-response was taken as a neutral response. The issues surrounding the neutral responses will be expanded upon in the following chapters (see 5.5.6 and 6.3).

The wording and order of the questions and answers was presented in such a way as to encourage responses from respondents. Knowing that the sample would be taken from a population of university students, slightly lengthier answers were provided than the usual 'yes', 'no', 'maybe' and 'I don't know'. The motivation for this was that using terms such as 'is a great idea', 'is unfair' and 'neglects to recognise' would make respondents more likely to adopt a position. The assumption that was made was that the sometimes unconventional answers would more easily maintain the interest of an educated sample population, in line with the advice of Oppenheim (2003: 179) who suggests that "the best guide to the writing of attitude statements is to say that they should be meaningful and interesting, even exciting, to the respondents". Each and every response set in the survey used in this project, where relevant, has two 'positive' and two 'negative' responses, in addition to the one neutral response.

The twenty-two questions contained in the survey all reflect the theoretical constructs that have been discussed and developed in the previous three chapters, and the theoretical motivation for each question will now be provided. In terms of answering the research questions demarcated earlier (see 1.4), the survey questions were aimed at answering research questions 1.4.4, 1.4.5 and 1.4.6, i.e. - those questions are aimed at identifying the influence that apartheid and post-apartheid SABC language policy and practice had upon the language attitudes of the sample. The question order saw easier questions such as demographic information and television program genre preferences provided first. The first two questions were used to determine the language and gender

demographic (i.e. – independent variables) of the sample population. Here, 'selected responses' questions required respondents to first indicate their gender and age (Question 1) and then their first, second and third languages (Question 2). Question 3 required the respondent to indicate what genre, and in what language, they watch on SABC TV. Throughout the survey, questions of a similar nature were clustered together, to improve the cognitive ease and speed with which the participant could complete the questionnaire and for ease of analysis of the data. As such, the next four multiple choice questions (Questions 4 -7) dealt with attitudes towards SABC TV's multilingual broadcasting policy and practice (see 3.5.2). Question 4 looked to determine whether speakers of each language are **aware of SABC language policy** (see 3.5.3). Questions 5, 6, 7, 10 looked to access **language attitudes** with regards to the effectiveness and use of a **multilingual broadcasting system.** Question 8 aimed to access attitudes towards **language harmonization** (see 3.4.2.2). Question 9 looked to determine **perceived use** of each of the **11 official languages by the SABC** (as attitudes are based on these perceptions). Question 11 aims to determine which language is considered to have the **highest commercial** value, Question 12 aims to determine which language is considered to have the **highest cultural** value, Question 13 aims to determine which language is considered to have the **lowest cultural** value, and Question 14 determines a reason for choosing the answer to Question 13. The previous three questions aim to ascertain whether respondents have identified any languages as being more culturally or commercially valuable than others. What these questions hoped to uncover is the position of the English language in relation to the African languages, as well as the perceived potential of African languages to function in a commercially orientated broadcasting system. Questions 15, 16, 18, 21 and 22 also looked to access language attitudes about **the position of English** and its prominence in the SABC's broadcasting system, in relation to the African languages. Questions 17 and 20 aimed to look at the **perceived responsibility of the SABC to develop the grammar and vocabulary (corpus)** of previously disadvantaged and underdeveloped African languages (see 2.5). Question 19 aimed to access the **perceived suitability** of each official language in terms of the **different genres** of TV shows, and by doing so elicit attitudes about the capability of each language to function alongside English as a broadcasting medium.

As part of the process of obtaining assistance with the statistical component of the survey research, the statistician and I met twice before I conducted the survey. As such, the preliminary consultations required the researcher to explain the nature of the entire research project, as well as of the statistical components where assistance is required. Demarcation of variables was also established, and a timeline for completion of the report was also agreed upon. Once the report had been completed, another consultation was arranged where the content of the twenty seven page report, which had been collated and analysed with the use of version 15 of SPSS (Statistical Package

for the Social Sciences), was explained and discussed. Here, three additional analyses were requested and the report was amended (see Appendix III, table's 40b-43b). The additional tables that were requested illustrated the difference between English and Zulu respondents with regards to survey questions 17, 20, 21 and 22, as these comparisons had been provided for all other relevant questions in the original report.

Without going into too much detail, the quantitative survey data was analysed with the use of SPSS, and results were presented in a multitude of formats including tables, bar graphs and histograms. The main statistical measures of significant relationships between variables which were used were those of correlational significance, chi-square and p-value. Broadly speaking, the primary functions of SPSS include the ability to "(1) summarise [the] data, (2) compile appropriate tables and graphs, (3) examine relationships among variables, (4) perform tests of statistical significance based on ... hypotheses" (Mouton, 2001: 583). The basic rationale behind chi square is based on the calculation of "how far [the actual or obtained frequencies] are from the expected frequencies" (Gillham,2002: 73), as the difference between the *expected* and *obtained* frequency of a certain characteristic is the basis of chi square. Furthermore, "social science considers a *p* value of less than 0.05 to demonstrate that observed differences were statistically significant" (Yin, 2009: 34). The data analysis will be conducted in the following chapter (5.5), and the data is affixed (see Appendix III).

As a quantitative measure, judging the validity and reliability of the survey is a more regimented and systematic process than with the qualitative measures used prior to this point. Tests of quantitative validity (see 4.2.1) will now be applied. Despite the dearth of similar pre-existing measures on which to base the survey used in this study, the fact that the survey used in this study was based upon extensive and applicable theoretical and methodological research means that this particular study has a high concurrent validity. According to Oppenheim (2003: 144), survey questions should be thought of as "measures; each question has a job to do, and that job is the measurement of a particular variable", and the careful creation, selection and ordering of the questions used in the survey in question has hopefully contributed significantly to its concurrent validity. In terms of survey questions aimed at eliciting attitudinal dispositions, "sets of questions are more reliable than single opinion items; they give more consistent results, mainly because vagaries of question wording will probably only apply to particular items" (Oppenheim, 2003: 147). Again, the exhaustive identification of the different areas of concern within the overall issue of language attitudes that the study has attempted to access has hopefully made further contributions to a high concurrent validity. In terms of the construct validity of a measure, the task is to ascertain whether "a measure is empirically related to other measures with which it is theoretically associated" (Durrheim, 1999: 87). This survey was constructed upon the basis of a contextual historical

description and the basic tenets governing quantitative questionnaires and attitude measurement. Although this upholds the concurrent validity of the study, the lack of similar successful measures on which to base the survey in question negatively impacts the construct validity of the same study. Finally, content validity is applicable at both the level of the survey as a whole and the level of the individual questions. As mentioned above, the historical description made it possible to identify all the relevant issues permeating throughout the content area covered by the phenomenon, and designing survey questions that embodied all of these issues went a long way towards contributing to the achievement of content validity. In terms of the individual questions, close application of the in-depth methodological analysis of quantitative survey design and attitude measurement meant that each question about each facet of the construct included the most representative and balanced items from each content area.

Gunter's (2002: 213) distinction between internal and external validity aims to ascertain whether the design of a measure is free from theoretical or methodological error and whether the results can be generalized to other situations or groups of people. This study has a high internal validity, as the data collection and analysis were both based upon a comprehensive theoretical framework which included a detailed historical description and extensive methodological preparation. However, the fact that the sample population is only representative of a small sector of the University of KwaZulu Natal's student body means that the external validity of this study is low. The sample is also open to additional external validity criticisms, which revolve around the fact that the sampling techniques used included simple random and convenience sampling. While simple random sampling may be defended upon the grounds that the researcher may make observations in the field as to the similarity with the sample population at any stage of the data collection process, and subsequently target a particular segment of the population to ensure that the demographics of the final set of data are comparable to the population from which the sample was drawn. However, the convenience sampling used to gather half of the surveys is indefensible as an empirically valid approach to data collection. While University of KwaZulu Natal students did indeed complete these surveys, the half of the sample population data collected by means of convenience sampling was from Linguistics students, whose demographic and linguistic composition may indeed differ from that of the sample population as a whole. However, these external validity issues could be easily remedied with the use of a larger and more representative sample, and this will be discussed later (see 6.2).

Quantitative reliability "refers to the dependability of the research instrument" (Durrheim, 1999: 88) and the ability of the measure to yield the same data on repeated trials. Having adhered closely to the themes derived from an extensive historical analysis, as well as the methodological

procedures taken from the vast array of literature, the measure is reliable in that it successfully uncovers the language attitudes which it set out to investigate initially. However, the issues with the survey sample mentioned above mean that the results are not generalizible beyond the pre-determined sample population. In terms of statistically analysing the reliability of specific survey questions, "the reliability of a scale can be assessed ... by a correlation coefficient" (Oppenheim, 2003: 147), and this has been performed on the responses to survey question 19 (see Appendix II). This was done in an attempt to extract some relevant information from the responses to a question which was poorly designed. In this case, the strong negative correlation between the mean perceived use for a language and the number of missing responses (i.e. - the higher the perceived use the less the number of missing responses) meant that doubts about the reliability for this set of data could be diminished.

4.3.5 – Focus group interview

In terms of the multi-method triangulation approach to research adopted in this study, the qualitative data obtained from the focus group interview would offer an invaluable framework against which the quantitative survey results and qualitative historical analysis could be further analysed as "one of the most important sources of case study information is the interview ... because of the usual association between interviews and the survey method" (Yin, 2009: 106). This study is aimed at understanding the factors which have influenced people's languages attitudes. The focus group interview, as "an ideal way to study how people feel about things or to delve into the complexities of their opinions and attitudes" (Stokes, 2003: 148), is an approach to data collection which lends itself to this study. Additionally, the phenomenological analysis of the interview data "should enable the essence of the phenomenon to become more visible, allowing you to build up a picture over time in terms of emerging patterns, relationships and interconnections" (Grbich, 2007: 87). The most common uses for focus group interviews, and the reasons for deciding to use a focus group interview at this stage of the project, are to "evaluate the survey process ... stimulate new ideas and create concepts in order to learn more about people's ranges of opinion and experience ... evaluate the success or failure of a particular social programme in a specific setting ... gain insight into inexplicable patterns in data gathered by surveys" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 316). These uses are all applicable here, as the project aims to further investigate the causes of the language attitudes, the presence and nature of which were established in the previous stage of data collection, the survey.

A typical focus group interview has between six and twelve participants with a moderator who "is trained to be nondirective and to facilitate free, open discussion by all group members" (Neuman, 2006: 412). While "groups with four to six participants are popular because smaller groups are easier to recruit and host ... their small size limits the range of experiences available" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 317). Similarly larger groups also inhibit the elicitation of data, as "groups with more than twelve members limit each participant's opportunity to share experiences" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 317). Along with the composition of the group, the location of the interview is also crucial, as "successful recruitment may depend on the accessibility of the venue to participants" (Bloor, et al. 2001: 37). In this study, a venue in the Linguistics Department on the campus in question was chosen, Room L134, ideal due to it being on familiar territory and easy to locate.

There are many advantages of the focus group interview as a research tool, including the fact that "the natural setting allows people to express opinions/ideas freely, the interpretation of quantitative survey results is facilitated [and] participants may query one another and explain their answers to each other" (Neuman, 2006: 412). This social setting and group interaction means that quite often focus group interviews are able to "create[] a richer set of data than can sometimes result from a single interviewer's interaction with a single respondent" (Priest, 1996: 109). Furthermore, "it is generally suggested that it is more appropriate to work with strangers instead of groups of friends ... because the level of things taken for granted which remains implicit tends to be higher in the latter" (Flick, 1998: 123). Other advantages are that focus group interviews "can be conducted at a relatively modest cost and in a relatively brief time ... allow the ... flexibility that is so important for exploring unanticipated issues ... add to the understanding and interpretation of a specific phenomenon and [it] can be a source of validation for data gained by means of other ... research methods" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 325). These factors all contributed to the decision to make use of a focus group interview for this study, and will all be justified later in this section.

Although the focus group interview is widely recognised as lacking structure, especially in a quantitative sense, the design of the question schedule is still of utmost importance as "it establishes the agenda for the group interview and provides the structure within which the group members will interact" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 318). This interview guide should have the following structure: "*opening question*: ... factual as opposed to an attitude-based question ... intended to establish what characteristics the group members share ... *introductory question*: ... introduces the general topic of discussion ... intended to foster conversation and interaction among group members ... *transitional question*: ... the logical link between the introductory question and the key questions ... participants become aware of how others view the topic ... *key questions*: ... two to five key questions [that] require the greatest attention in the subsequent analysis ... *ending question*: ...

closes the discussion ... participants to identify the most important aspects that were discussed" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 319). This structure was adhered to in the development and design of the focus group interview schedule used in this study.

As with every research tool, focus group interviews are also vulnerable to methodological attack. However, the fact that methodological triangulation is being made use of in this study means that the other research tools that are contributing to the pool of data are not guilty of the same methodological weaknesses. At the most basic of levels, a potential problem with focus group interviews "is how to document the data in a way that allows the identification of individual speakers and the differentiation between statements of several parallel speakers" (Flick, 1998: 124). In an attempt to combat the possible inaccuracies arising from this predicament, the focus group interview session was recorded with a digital dictaphone, and the researcher kept note of important utterances and moments in the focus group interview. Additionally, the data was transcribed immediately after the session whilst the memories of the event were still fresh in the mind, to ensure that the transcription (see Appendix III) was as accurate as possible. Since "the quality of the data collected owes much to the skills of the facilitator" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 41), every effort was made to document the focus group interview as accurately as possible.

Adhering to the principles of a phenomenological analysis would also contribute to the transparency of this particular stage of data gathering and analysis. Phenomenology "is a theoretical point of view that advocates the study of direct experience taken at face value; and one which sees behaviour as determined by the phenomena of experience" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 31). The aim of such research is to "investigate the meaning of the lived experience of a small group of people from the standpoint or phenomenon" (Schram, 2003: 70), and it is based upon the assumption that "human behaviour occurs and is understandable only in the context of relationships to things, people, events, and situations" (Schram, 2003: 71). Furthermore, another assumption which is central to the phenomenological approach is that "the meaning of a particular aspect of experience can be revealed through dialogue and reflection" (Schram, 2003: 71). Possible steps in phenomenological research include "transcription ... bracketing and phenomenological reduction ... listening to the interview for a sense of the whole ... delineating units of general meaning ... delineating units of meaning relevant to the research question ... training independent judges to verify the units of relevant meaning ... eliminating redundancies ... clustering the units of relevant meaning ... determining themes from clusters of meaning ... contextualisation of themes ... composite summary" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 329-333). Another important step in the phenomenological analysis process is bracketing and phenomenological reduction, which entails "suspending (bracketing) as much as possible the researcher's meaning and interpretations and

entering into the world of the unique individual who was interviewed" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 329). All steps mentioned above were closely followed when conducting the focus group interview data analysis, which will appear in the following chapter (see 5.6).

The focus group interview was conducted on 13 August 2010 with seven randomly selected participants who had taken part in the survey and supplied their names at the bottom of the survey cover page as an indication that they would be willing to participate in a focus group interview. A group e-mail (see Appendix IV) was sent out to all 122 of the candidates who supplied their e-mail address, explaining the purpose of the e-mail and the focus group interview, as well as the date, time and location that it would be occurring. Potential participants were asked to respond to the e-mail if they would be able to attend. Thirteen people responded, and I contacted all of them to attend the focus group interview. In order to encourage participation, it was mentioned that there would be refreshments (muffins and fruit juice) for all focus group interview participants, and ultimately only seven of the thirteen initial respondents made themselves available for the session.

All focus group interview participants were also asked to sign an informed consent document (see Appendix III), similar to that used on the cover page of the survey. Below this, in point and paragraph format, the reason for the focus group interview was briefly explained, as was the fact that the 45 minute session would be recorded, that all information supplied will be confidentially dealt with, and that participation in the focus group interview was voluntary and participants could withdraw at any time. Below this was a text box asking participants to provide their name, student number and signature indicating that they have read and understood the information provided, and agree to take part in the study.

Having noted and had time to reflect upon the outcome of the survey, the semi-structured questionnaire for the focus group interview was devised (see Appendix V), based upon the interview design mentioned above. Once the focus group interview was completed, the next step was to prepare the data for analysis. This was not an easy task, as the "interactive effect results in data which may include instances where people talk at once, where sentences remain unfinished, where people go on to contradict themselves and others, where people's arguments develop as they discuss the topic with others, and where people misinterpret others comments and take the discussion off in another direction" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 58). A necessity for any academic research focus group interview which aims to be "detailed and rigorous ... [is] a thorough transcription of the tape recording of the focus group" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 59). Whilst the transcription conventions used in discourse analysis studies may be in excess of what is required here, the fact remains that "the transcript needs to reproduce as near as possible the group as it happened" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 61). For the purposes of this study, only the relevant excerpts of the focus group interview were

transcribed (for a list of the transcription conventions used, please consult Appendix III). In order to ensure continuity and cohesion, the recording was listened to in its entirety on 5 occasions before any transcription occurred. Additionally, as some questions were revisited during the focus group interview, the transcription was not conducted chronologically, but instead was done thematically, grouping responses to the same questions together. This would lend the transcription to the phenomenological analysis for which it was intended (see 5.6).

The four page transcription was analysed in two ways, in the aim of conducting a thorough phenomenological analysis. Firstly, logical analysis, "a method suitable ... for revealing the interrelation of definitions, beliefs or evaluations, whether individual or social" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 70) was used. The aim of this approach is "to reveal the logical shape of an informant's ideas ... instead of measuring the informant against the researcher's logic, the research attempts to elicit the informant's logic" (Bloor, et al., 2001: 70). In practice, this entails the highlighting of potential patterns within the statements of the participant, as well as investigating whether the participant holds similar attitudes and beliefs about related issues. A concept which goes hand in hand with the logical analysis of the focus group interview are the 'common sense assumptions' theorised by Fairclough (2001). Here, common sense assumptions refer to ideologically significant linguistic choices which are "routinely drawn upon in discourse ... which come to be taken as mere 'common sense', and which contribute to sustaining existing power relations". Although Fairclough is more concerned with the micro-linguistic level of texts and utterances, his assertion that certain linguistic choices may appear as the logical option due to their hegemonic and ideological standing, may be extrapolated to the broader macro-level social context. In practice, this entails highlighting instances where attitudes towards specific language policies or practices are mistakenly based upon a common sense assumption about the ability or status of a particular language or languages. Responses to questions posited in the focus group interview were interpreted within the context of the theoretical framework (see Chapter 2) and historical analysis (see Chapter 3, and 5.2).

As a qualitative measure, "information acquired by using focus group interviews is not generalizable ... because focus groups contain only a small sample of people, the data do not produce typical or projectable information for the whole universe under study" (Schurink, et al., 1998: 325). However, the thorough historical analysis that comprised the first stage of data collection and interpretation for this study would have developed a detailed framework against which to judge comments made in the focus group interview, as ideologies that were uncovered in the historical analysis could be used to interpret the answers provided by the focus group interview participants.

Validity and reliability are not as easy to determine as with quantitative studies. To address the qualitative concern of 'authenticity' (see 4.2.2), the methodological, contextual and theoretical data collected in the preceding stages of the research process was considered when designing the focus group interview questionnaire. Although this will be dealt with at length in the following chapter (see 6.2), for the purposes of this discussion it will help to mention that in terms of convergent validity of the focus group interview (Cohen & Manion, 1989) (see 4.3.5), the results of the qualitative data analysis of the focus group interview uncovered similar attitudinal dispositions to those that emerged from the survey, and as such, the convergent validity of the focus group interview data with the survey results may be confirmed. However, the technique of convergent validity is flawed, as it does not take into account the possibility that the initial measure is not valid, i.e. – in this case, it would presume the validity of the survey, and its data and analysis. As such, the focus group interview is not being labelled as valid, but only as convergently valid with the survey.

In terms of the reliability of the focus group interview, the issue of researcher bias is an important factor that influences the data gathered in an interview setting. Researcher bias may include "the attitudes and opinions of the interviewer; a tendency for the interviewer to see the respondent in his own image [and] to seek answers that support his preconceived notions; misperceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the respondent is saying; and misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked" (Cohen & Manion, 1989: 318). Given the numerous opportunities and potential for bias to influence the focus group interview, as well as the unique context of each focus group interview and the people involved, there is no strong basis on which to assert that the data collected is strongly reliable or generalizible. While steps were taken to counteract these many forms of bias, including the careful formulation of the question schedule and the grounding of the analysis in the relevant context, the focus group interview is useful only as a means to corroborate or further investigate themes that have already emerged.

4.4 – Ethical considerations

In this study, the primary ethical principle which governed data collection was "that no harm should come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the research" (Oppenheim, 2003: 83). This was achieved first by obtaining ethical clearance from the University for the Study, and second by using an informed consent form to fully informing potential pilot study, survey and focus group interview participants of the requirements of taking part in the study (see Appendices I, II and VI respectively). The fact that data provided by the SABC was used for the linguistic programme

analysis (see 4.3.2 and 5.3) has ethical issues as the veracity of the provided data may be called into question. However, given the fact that the SABC is accountable to multiple broadcasting regulations and regulators, it is highly unlikely that such information would be intentionally incorrect. Additionally, while it would be preferable to gather such data independently (and this will be discussed later, see 6.2) constraints upon the scope, man power and time frame of this small scale research project made it both unfeasible and impractical.

4.5 – Conclusion

Having set the scene with the theoretical overview in Chapter 2, the historical description in Chapter 3, and the methodological framework in this chapter (Chapter 4), the following chapter will present both the various sets of data collected during the research process, and the analyses performed on this data.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

5.1 – Introduction

The collection and analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data via the five tools described in the previous chapter (i.e. - historical description, linguistic evaluation of SABC TV broadcasting practice, pilot study, survey and focus group interview) was done according to the norms and established practices of the relevant methodological approaches described in the previous chapter, as well as within the parameters defined by the six research questions detailed earlier (see 1.4). This chapter will present and analyse the data collected with each of the five research tools.

5.2 – Historical description

The historical description which was presented in Chapter 3 was done as a precursor to an analysis of the past and present social, political and linguistic milieus within which SABC TV has operated and now operates. This data was collected with research questions 1.4.1, 1.4.2, and 1.4.3 in mind. All theoretical constructs outlined in Chapter 2 combined to form a framework which enabled the identification of the **ideologically significant events** emanating from the time periods described in Chapter 3. This analysis will now be provided in terms of the ideologies that have emerged during each era that constitutes South Africa's eventful social, political and linguistic history, and the impact that these ideologies may have had on the language attitudes of South African society. The eras under investigation are as follows: pre-apartheid (see 3.2), apartheid (see 3.3), the transitional period (see 3.4) and the democratic era (see 3.5). Whilst many of the ideologies that are about to be described are inextricably linked and have developed over long periods of time, they will be analysed here in terms of their historical trajectories across South Africa's pre-apartheid, apartheid, transitional and democratic eras, for ease of reference with the information provided earlier (see Chapter 3).

5.2.1 – Pre-apartheid era (1652 – 1948)

YEAR	SEE	EVENT	IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATION(S)	POTENTIAL EFFECT ON SAMPLE POPULATIONS LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
1652	2.5	Arrival of the Dutch in South Africa, who impose their language upon the local population in all spheres	Coercive ideological language planning of the Dutch aimed at creating and maintaining elite closure	Marginalisation of local languages by a colonial force placing these languages, and their speakers, in opposition for the first time
1795 – 1806	2.5	Arrival of the British, who won control of South Africa in 1806	A new challenge to Dutch rule, the battle for ideological and substantive control of South Africa begins	Both colonial powers begin their marginalisation of the indigenous population in their quest to control the country
	3.3	British missionaries begin to record indigenous languages according to Western frames of reference	The imposition of discrete linguistic boundaries between mutually intelligible Nguni and Sotho languages	This introduction of tangible and ideological boundaries between the African languages would be one of the cornerstones on which the apartheid government would base its divisive policies when it eventually came to power in 1948
1908	3.2.2 2.6 2.7	Article 137 of the Constitution of the Union is adopted, recognizing South Africa as a bilingual state and installing English and Afrikaans as official languages	The Anglicist strategy of imposing English and Afrikaans as official languages resulted in the overt and covert positioning of these languages in opposition to the indigenous African languages	This was a conduit for the further imposition of the government's ideological system upon the indigenous population, engendering their reliance on these languages for adequate social mobility. Along with the Land Act of 1913, this successfully promulgated differences between the language groups, thereby repressing the notions of cultural homogeneity, pluralist national identity and an inclusive public sphere
1936	3.2.2 2.5	Formation of the SABC, which divided its radio services upon linguistic and racial grounds	The SABC's use of Orientalist strategies enabled the minority government to limit access to the languages of social and economic mobility	The use of radio to further subjugate speakers of the indigenous languages contributed to creating deep-seated ideological fragmentations of South Africa's multilingual and multicultural society that would come to obstruct the formation of a cohesive integrationist national identity in the post-apartheid era

5.2.2 – The apartheid era (1948 – 1993)

YEAR	SEE	EVENT	IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATION(S)	POTENTIAL EFFECT ON SAMPLE POPULATIONS LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
1948	3.3	End of British rule as Afrikaner government comes to power	English and Afrikaans retain official status	English is formally entrenched as an official language, and is ideologically embedded in society as a language of social and economic power
1950	3.3	Group Areas Act of 1950	First overt racially motivated repressive divide-and-rule separatism policy emerges	The relocation of speakers of apparently culturally and ethnically discrete language varieties into segregated homelands or Bantustans reinforced linguistic boundaries introduced by the British missionaries
1953	3.3.1 2.5	Bantu Education Act (no. 47 of 1953) – Equal use of Afrikaans and English in African schools	An attempt to restore parity between Afrikaans and English	By using both of these as languages of instruction in African schools, the Afrikaner government recognized the hegemony of English and tried to gain parity for Afrikaans by imposing it upon African schools (Anglicist strategy)
	3.3.1 2.5	Bantu Education Act (no. 47 of 1953) – Increasing mother tongue education to 8 years	The use of Orientalist strategies by the Afrikaner government to further institutionalize its goals of separate development and maintain the elite closure enjoyed by English and Afrikaans	Although this in itself is not unsound educational practice, it was an attempt at ideological language planning by the apartheid government. This misuse of mother tongue education would position speakers of African languages in opposition to their own languages, perceiving education in their mother tongues as a barrier to acquiring the English language and further damaging their chances of achieving the linguistic competences and social mobility they so desired
1976	3.3.1 3.3.3 2.2	Soweto Uprising – the reaction of the African population against the Bantu Education Act	English wields hegemonic dominance whilst the reputation of Afrikaans suffers in the eyes of the African population	Already associated with economic and social mobility, English was further strengthened with the common sense assumption that it should function as a conduit for the united African population's liberation struggle. Conversely, Afrikaans is associated with the oppressive apartheid state
1976	3.3.2	Launch of SABC TV	Broadcasting Act (Act 73 of 1976) vaguely institutes conditions for multilingual broadcasting	A lack of specific guidelines makes it possible for SABC TV to organize services in accordance with the apartheid ideologies, further entrenching and perpetuating the divisive racial and linguistic boundaries promoted by the separatist state
Late 1980's	3.3.2 2.7	SABC TV channel restructure	SABC TV services realigned along commercial lines	Possibly cognizant of the shifting political and ideological power, the SABC tries to rid itself of the 'national broadcaster' moniker

5.2.3 – Post-apartheid, pre-democracy (1993-1996): the transition period

YEAR	SEE	EVENT	IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATION(S)	POTENTIAL EFFECT ON SAMPLE POPULATIONS LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
1993	3.4	Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993)	South Africa's languages compete for ideological and constitutional ascendance with eleven being declared official	Following the ideological downfall of apartheid, the drafting of a democratic constitution would impact the hierarchy of South Africa's many languages, as well as the trajectories that these languages would follow in the years to come
	3.4.2.1 3.4.2.2	Broadcasting Amendment Act 73 of 1993	Established the SABC as an independent entity, and preceded the creation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA)	Committed the SABC to cater for all language and cultural groups, and gave reason to believe that the broadcaster would reflect the multilingual reality of the country
	3.5.2	SABC is reconfigured in line with constitutional multilingual language policies	Policies put in place would position it as a public broadcaster that served a single public sphere without linguistic, political, cultural or racial bias	The theoretical configuration of the SABC was to come into sharp focus, having to deal with public service and commercial pressures whilst operating under the auspices of an independent regulating body, ICASA
	3.4.1	English adopted as the de facto lingua franca in the negotiations preceding the drafting of South Africa's Interim Constitution	This both confirmed and perpetuated the hegemonic position of English	A situation where only English and Afrikaans would retain official status would mean that no progress would have been made in terms of constitutionally recognising and enshrining South Africa's linguistic and cultural pluralism. Thus, the government fully committed to the formation of a democratic multilingual Republic, by basing the constitutional document on the parameters of normative language planning, where the policy was aimed at serving the interests of the entire citizenship of South Africa. While the normative ideals of creating an inclusive multilingual society may have been behind the eleven official language policy, ideological issues surrounding these languages would impact upon the degree to which these languages would be cultivated to the point where the policy could be fully executed
	3.4.1 2.1 2.5	Outgoing Afrikaner government declares the official status of Afrikaans non-negotiable	The confrontation between the covert ideological power of English language and the overtly coercively dominant Afrikaans language would	

			have a profound impact upon the nine apparently discreet African languages	
1995	3.4.2.1	Triple Enquiry Report	Acknowledged the public service and commercial pressures faced by the SABC	Neither ideology prevails. Two SABC TV's channels (SABC 1 and SABC2) are to operate as public service channels whilst the third (SABC 3) is to be a commercially-oriented and viable service that would subsidize the public service channels. At the policy level, it became clear that concerns regarding economic viability and practicality were as important as those regarding inclusive plurality and a substantive public sphere

5.2.4 – The democratic era in South Africa (1996 – present)

YEAR	**SEE**	**EVENT**	**IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATION(S)**	**POTENTIAL EFFECT ON SAMPLE POPULATIONS LANGUAGE ATTITUDES**
1996	3.5.1	Final Constitution (Act 108 of 1996)	This would set the tone for linguistic development in post-apartheid South Africa	It is debatable whether the Final Constitution followed through by clearly demarcating, and further enshrining and entrenching, the principles espoused by its predecessor, especially in terms of quantitative benchmarks
	3.4.2.2	SABC re-launch	The SABC would be the first institution, government or private, to attempt to implement the constitutional recognition of 11 languages	The SABC's tendency towards practicality was evident in the proviso that one channel was to operate commercially, and that their equitable treatment of all eleven languages would occur across all three channels, thus failing to specify quantitative benchmarks in terms of hours of broadcasting per official language, in line with the vague policies at national level
2000	3.5.2 5.3	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (Act 13 of 2000) (ICASA)	Intended to monitor and regulate the SABC's use of each of the eleven official languages, ICASA had to operate within the vague broadcasting provisions in the Final Constitution	By setting minimum guidelines for 'languages other than English' and 'marginalised languages' as opposed to defining parameters for each of the eleven official languages, ICASA and SABC TV calls into question the commercial and linguistic viability of marginalised languages, and positions them subserviently in relation to the hegemonic English and powerful isiZulu and isiXhosa languages

5.2.5 – Summary

The implications of South Africa's historical practices, as well as the perceptions and attitudes of South African society as a result of the ideologies from previous political dispensations, are as follows:

1. The engineered presence of nine discrete African languages.
2. The perceived diminished capacity (status and corpus) of African languages in society, education and broadcasting.
3. The implications of the association of Afrikaans with the apartheid regime.
4. The perception of English as a language of liberation, and social and economic mobility.
5. The amplified perceived relevance of commercialism and practicality to public service broadcasting in South Africa.

5.3 – SABC TV Linguistic Evaluation

The SABC TV linguistic evaluation was approached from both quantitative and qualitative perspectives. The quantitative data supplied in the SABC's 2008 – 2009 Annual Report about language delivery by SABC TV between 31 March 2008 and 29 March 2009 would provide some indication of the extent to which SABC TV was fulfilling its ICASA quotas (see 3.5.2). This is supplemented by a qualitative analysis of the text accompanying the numerical information with the intention of providing additional data for research questions 1.4.2 and 1.4.3.Here, a content analysis would analyse other contextual information supplied with the quantitative data (as well as information that is conspicuous by its absence). Wherever applicable, the association of the data to Gunter's (2002) five main purposes of media-related content analyses will be made clear (see 4.3.2).

5.3.1 – Quantitative content analysis

Although the intention here was to analyse SABC TV's use of each of South Africa's eleven official languages, the study had to work within the limits of the data supplied in the SABC's 2008-2009 Annual Report (see 6.2). The quantitative language delivery quotas delineated by ICASA for SABC TV fail to specifically mention each of the eleven official languages individually, but rather grouped them according to whether they were either 'languages other than English, excluding marginalised languages' and 'marginalised languages' (see 3.5.2 and 4.3.2). This has qualitative relevance too, and this will be expanded upon in the following section (5.3.2). The ICASA quotas

rightfully differ for the two public service channels (i.e. – SABC 1 and SABC 2), as opposed to the commercial channel (i.e. – SABC 3). Whilst the public service channels have quotas for both prime time (18h00-22h00) and the entire performance period (31 March 2008 – 29 March 2009), as well as 'Other than English' and 'Marginalised', the commercial channel is judged only on 'Other than English' broadcasting for the entire performance period. Performance for the public service channels is measured by a weekly average of the number of hours and minutes of programming they have been utilised for during the entire specified performance period as well as during prime time. The performance of SABC 3, the commercial channel, is given as a percentage.

Both public service channels exceeded the ICASA quotas for broadcasting in languages 'Other than English' during the performance period, with SABC 1 achieving 54 hours 18 minutes (exceeding the ICASA quota of 39 hours) and SABC 2 achieving 43 hours 58 minutes and 59 seconds (exceeding the ICASA quota of 41 hours) At face value, with a week consisting of 168 hours, languages other than English made up 32.3% and 26% of SABC 1 and SABC 2 programming respectively, over the performance period. Therefore, English broadcasting dominated both channels, accounting for 67.7% and 74% of broadcasts on SABC 1 and SABC 2 respectively. Over the same period, English accounted for 91.7% of programming on SABC 3, making the prevalence of English over all three channels 77.8% during the performance period. This figure is provided tentatively, and the issues revolving around this limitation will be discussed later (see 6.2). The public service channels were not fully compliant with ICASA quotas for language delivery during prime time. SABC 1 was 2 hours 18 minutes shy of its 16 hours 48 minutes quota for broadcasting in 'Total other than English', whilst SABC 2 was a mere 12 minutes shy of its quota of 19 hours 36 minutes quota in this same category in prime time. SABC 1 failed to meet its 1 hour 6 minutes quota for 'Marginalised' language delivery, having averaged 45 minutes during prime time each week during the performance period. In this category, SABC 2 exceeded its ICASA quota of 1 hour 24 minutes by 10 minutes. The final ICASA category for the two public service channels regarding their language delivery during prime time was 'Other than English', excluding the marginalised languages. Both SABC 1 and SABC 2 failed to meet the ICASA quotas, SABC 1 falling 1 hour 58 minutes short of the 15 hours 42 quota, and SABC 2 just 32 minutes shy of the 18 hours 12 minutes quota. SABC 3's 'Other than English' language delivery during the performance period falls short of the 8.29% stipulated by ICASA, having only utilised languages other than English for 8% of all broadcasting during the performance period.

The differences between comparisons on SABC 1, SABC 2 and SABC 3 language performances and ICASA quotas across all categories was relatively negligible. Whilst it is commendable that SABC TV has endeavoured to meet or almost meet its ICASA quotas, it is also

worth noting that the way in which the ICASA quotas are structured, i.e. the lack of specificity and reference to each of the eleven official languages, has a dramatic effect on the ability of SABC TV to achieve compliance with ICASA quotas, and ostensibly with constitutional-level language and broadcasting 'equitable treatment' policies (see 3.5.1 and 3.5.3). This will all be dealt with in the subsequent qualitative content analysis. Although not central to this study, it must be noted that SABC TV's compliance to ICASA quotas for local content per genre exceeded in all categories on the two public service channels, in some cases considerably (SABC, 2008-2009: 71). Furthermore, from the data provided in the SABC 2008-2009 Annual Report, it is evident that in most genres there is minimal dependence on international programming, which is a commendable effort by SABC TV. Since the language delivery of the local content is unknown, it is near impossible to draw any further relevance from the issue of local content per genre (see 5.5.6).

5.3.2 – Qualitative content analysis

The qualitative analysis of SABC TV's language delivery and compliance with ICASA quotas will take the form of a content analysis (see 4.3.2), the aim of which is to examine the context of the data provided by the SABC, as well as the implications of the way in which their ICASA compliance quota figures were provided.

The first possible relevant use of a content analysis is to describe patterns or trends in media portrayals (Gunter, 2002). With regards to the way in which ICASA and SABC TV frame their language delivery quotas, a noticeable and significant trend is the categorisation of languages, as opposed to the mentioning of each of South Africa's eleven official languages individually. The classification of marginalised languages and languages other than English (excluding marginalised languages) is indicative of a clear linguistic hierarchy. Ideologies that may be at work here include the implications surrounding the perception that nine discrete African languages exist, the perceived diminished capacity (status and corpus) of marginalised African languages in society, education and broadcasting (see 5.2.5). Another use of a content analysis is to test hypotheses about the policies or aims of media producers (Gunter, 2002). Whilst SABC TV's linguistic performance falls short of entrenching the inclusive multilingual principles espoused in the constitution, it must be pointed out that the configuration of SABC TV's language delivery is akin to the linguistic and demographic structures of the country as a whole, where speakers of marginalised languages represent a minority of the population. This is in line with another use of a content analysis for the comparison of media content (i.e. language delivery) with real world indicators (i.e. linguistic demographics) (Gunter, 2002). As such, the classification of languages evident in the SABC 2008-2009 Annual report is

evidence of the prevalence of ideologies purporting the amplified perceived relevance of practicality and equitability to public service broadcasting in South Africa (see 5.2.5).

Another use of the content analysis is to assess the representation of certain groups in society (Gunter, 2002). The classification used by the ICASA and the SABC in the SABC's 2008-2009 Annual Report fails to explicitly provide actual figures for English language delivery on two of the three channels (i.e. – SABC 1 and SABC 2), leaving the reader to have to infer the amount of English programming, and making it difficult to compare to language delivery in the other categories (i.e. – languages other than English, and marginalised languages). In the SABC 2008-2009 Annual Report, the fact that language delivery for all languages is provided in relation to English is evidence of its prevalence and hegemony, in line with the perception of English as a language of social and economic mobility (see 5.2.5). A final use of content analysis is the use of this method to draw inferences about media effects (Gunter, 2002). This study looked beyond just a content analysis to perform this function. As such, the effects of these SABC TV practices (and the resultant ideologies) (see 5.3.1 and 5.3.2) upon the language attitudes of the sample population was the next issue to be dealt with, and this was done with the use of a survey, the discussion of which is to follow (see 5.4 and 5.5)

5.4 – Pilot Study

As was mentioned earlier (see 4.3.3), the pilot study was conducted solely for the purpose of pre-testing the language attitudes survey, and therefore was aimed more at ironing out any problems with the measure, as opposed to gathering quantitative data that would be analysed and discussed. As such, the data collected from the pilot study did not contribute in any way to the answering of research questions 1.4.4, 1.4.5 and 1.4.6, as the survey was to be used for this purpose. Since the results of the pilot study, and the subsequent changes that were made to the survey, have already been discussed (see 4.3.3), the data collected by the survey will now be provided and analysed.

5.5 – Survey

The survey was utilised to collect data which would be analysed with the aim of establishing answers to research questions 1.4.4, 1.4.5, and 1.4.6. These three research questions were all aimed at trying to understand the relationship between SABC TV's policy and practice and people's language attitudes, and comprise of many different themes such as: standardisation of languages

(standard Sotho or Nguni), the efficiency of multilingual broadcasting in South Africa, the social and functional capability of African languages, the perceived positions of English and the African languages in South African society, and the role and responsibilities of the public broadcaster. The report compiled with the use of SPSS by the statistician (see Appendix III) will be contextualised in terms of the research questions mentioned above.

5.5.1 – Demographic information

Survey questions 1 and 2 ascertained the age, gender, and language proficiencies of the 458 respondents. The age groups of 18, 19, 20 and 21 or older were almost equally represented in the sample (see Appendix III, Table 1), whilst females outnumbered males 2:1 (see Appendix III, Table 2). This was neutralised due to the fact that first language was the construct being investigated, and as such survey question 3 sought to determine the first language (and if relevant – second and third languages) of the respondents. Race was deliberately avoided as a demographic category, as the focus was on peoples' linguistic, as opposed to racial, backgrounds. In terms of first language, English dominated as 51.3% (235 respondents) of the sample indicated that they speak it as a first language, followed closely by the 187 (40.8%) respondents who specified isiZulu as their first language. The next biggest language group were first language isiXhosa speakers (16 respondents, 3.5%) (see Appendix III, Table 3a). Since the sample consisted primarily of first language English and isiZulu speakers (92%, 422 respondents), the analysis of the survey data was framed in terms of the differences between the responses of speakers of these two languages. A limitation here is the fact that the sample is not demographically congruent with South Africa's population, and this will be discussed later (see 6.2). Of the 195 respondents (i.e. – 42.5% of the sample) who signalled that they utilise a second language, 92 respondents (47.2%) spoke English and Afrikaans, whilst 45.1% (88 respondents) spoke isiZulu and English (see Appendix III, Table 3b), clearly illustrating the prevalence of English within the sample. An additional 156 respondents (i.e. – 34% of the sample) indicated that they spoke three languages. As such, a total of 353 of the 458 respondents (77%) indicated that they speak two or more languages, thus making the sample population overwhelmingly bilingual or multilingual.

Survey question 3 sought to determine the viewing habits of the sample population. English programming dominates the preferences of the sample as a whole across all genres, and in some cases up to 84.1% of respondents preferred English programming (see Appendix III, Table 5). If considering that the prevalence of English across all three of SABC TV's channels is almost as high as

84.1% (see 5.3.1), the motivating factors that have instilled English as a preferred linguistic medium might be a reflection of its prominence on SABC TV. This will be discussed later (see 5.5.7.3).

5.5.2 - Standardisation of the African languages

Survey question 8 dealt with the issue of the harmonisation of languages that fall within either the Sotho or Nguni language groups. The prevalence of the perception that there are indeed nine discrete African languages within South Africa is evident in the fact that the most common response for first language speakers of both English and isiZulu was that a strategy of harmonisation will fail to recognise the cultural and linguistic distinctness of the languages in question (69 of 238 responses (29%), and 57 of 187 responses (30%) respectively) (see Appendix III, Table 28a). First language English and isiZulu respondents differed significantly in their selection of each of the other possible answers to this survey question. In terms of harmonisation being a cheaper and easier option, 21% (49 of 238 respondents) of first language English speakers indicated their support of this approach, compared to only 15% (28 of 187 respondents) of isiZulu first language speakers. The other statistically significant difference between the two language groups was in their response to the suggestion that language harmonisation would be unfair on the smaller African languages. Here, 25% (47 of 187 respondents) of first language isiZulu speakers chose this option, compared to the 11% (26 of 238 respondents) of first language English speakers. This difference may be attributable to the differing social, political and ideological trajectories of the English and the African languages and their speakers, and this will be further discussed later (5.5.7.1).

5.5.3 - Efficiency of multilingual broadcasting in South Africa

Question 6 sought to access the attitudes of the sample population towards a minority multilingual broadcasting system (see 2.4) (see Appendix III, Table 26). The overall trend of the responses across first language English and isiZulu speakers was that different languages appearing on different channels would be easier to watch (157 of 447 responses, 35.1%), and also that implementing a minority broadcasting system would be a wise commercial decision (109 of 447 responses, 24.3%), where different languages would be offered on separate channels. However, 100 of the 447 first language English and isiZulu respondents (22.3%) also indicated that minority broadcasting defeats the point of multilingual broadcasting. Important observations based upon statistically significant differences between the responses of first language English and isiZulu speakers are that a higher proportion of isiZulu speakers regard multilingual broadcasting as both a

constitutional obligation and as fair to all languages, whilst a higher proportion of English respondents regard multilingual broadcasting as being hard to implement and not worth the cost. This difference in attitudes of the first language speakers of English and isiZulu is a common trend that has been observed over a number of the survey question responses (see 5.5.2, 5.5.4, 5.5.5 and 5.5.6), and this will be discussed at a later point (see 5.5.7.1).

Question 7 (see Appendix III, Table 27) also sought to investigate the attitudes of the survey sample towards multilingualism, and in this case in terms of their perceptions of multilingual programmes. The first language speakers of both English and isiZulu indicated generally similar responses in terms of all the possible responses for this question. Whilst almost half of the English respondents indicated that these programmes accurately depict South African society (118 of 241 responses, 49%) and that they reinforce a unified national identity (56 of 241 responses, 23%), the responses to these same questions for isiZulu speakers were relatively similar, garnering 73 of 191 responses (38%) and 87 of 191 responses (46%) respectively. The only other response that attracted more than a negligible amount of responses was the 16% of English speakers (38 of 241 responses) who acknowledged the impracticality or futility of watching multilingual programming if not proficient in one or more of the languages used. The responses to this survey question were at odds with the trends observed in other questions (where issues of practicality even more strongly influenced the responses of first language English speakers) (see 5.5.2, 5.5.3, 5.5.4). However, the responses to this survey question were promising in that a majority of respondents were cognizant of the multilingual reality of South Africa, and the related issue of the media and multilingual programming being used as a tool to foster a unified yet multilingual national identity. This will be discussed at a later stage (see 5.5.7.2).

Survey question 10 dealt with the challenges faced by multilingual broadcasting, and specifically by those languages which are considered to be previously marginalised (i.e. - seSotho, seTswana, isiSwati, tshiVenda, xiTsonga and isiNdebele) (see 2.4). Proportionally more first language English speakers (compared to first language isiZulu speakers) believe that broadcasting in previously marginalised languages is too expensive (23 % and 9% respectively), whilst the preferred response for both English and isiZulu first language speakers was that it is unnecessary as most people prefer to watch programming in one of the major languages (24% and 27% respectively) (see Appendix III, Table 28). Again, the acceptance of SABC TV's tendency towards practicality by first language English speakers is observable. However, 26% of isiZulu first language speakers also exhibit a willingness to condemn SABC TV's execution of multilingual broadcasting, with 13% (23 of 180 respondents) indicating that the SABC was not sufficiently committed to broadcasting in previously marginalised languages, and a further 13% (24 of 180 respondents) indicating that programming in previously

marginalised languages was not up to standard. Predictably, first language speakers of English continued to favour issues of practicality in their condoning of SABC TV's treatment of previously marginalised languages (see 5.5.2, 5.5.4, 5.5.5 and 5.5.6). However, the number of first language isiZulu speakers who looked to justify the SABC TV's poor usage of previously marginalised languages did so in terms of demographics and viewer preferences as opposed to cost and suitability (see 5.5.3 and 5.5.6).

Survey question 21 continued to probe the challenges that SABC TV faces in terms of functioning as a multilingual broadcaster that treats all eleven of South Africa's official languages equitably (i.e. – being pragmatic, reasonable and fair with regards to language delivery) (see 3.5.3). The question posed that previously marginalised languages (which were not specified in the question, leaving people to infer what they are, see 6.2) are not utilised as often as the demographically and ideologically powerful languages (i.e. – isiZulu, English, isiXhosa and Afrikaans), and respondents were required to select one of four possible justifications for this. There was a fifth option, 'I don't know', and 80 of 438 respondents (18.2%) selected this option. The inclusion of neutral responses will be dealt with later (see 6.2). The most common response, for first language speakers of both English (50%, 115 of 230 respondents) and isiZulu (31%, 55 of 177 respondents), was that such a broadcasting system mirrored a situation where the majority of people did not speak these minority languages, thus condoning SABC TV's reliance on the majority languages (see Appendix III, Table 40b). A further 11.7% (27 of 230 respondents) of first language English speakers and 22% (39 of 177 respondents) of first language isiZulu speakers also justified SABC TV's reliance on demographically bigger languages based on the popularity and ideological supremacy of the major languages, as well as the supposed diminished capabilities of the minority languages as a legacy of the apartheid era. Interestingly, only 16.4% (67 of 407 respondents) of all first language English and isiZulu respondents chose to explicitly accuse SABC TV of failing to execute its multilingual mandate. Observations about first language English speakers that can be made based on their responses to survey question 21 is that they are again overwhelmingly in favour of practicality, where the linguistic performance of SABC TV could be relative to the demographics of its audience. Whilst first language isiZulu speakers also adopted this point of view, it was to a lesser degree, with comparatively more isiZulu speakers indicating that the disparate functional capabilities of the languages in question is as a result of the apartheid era, and that SABC TV is failing to execute its public service mandate, when compared to their English counterparts. These tendencies are similar to those uncovered by a number of other survey questions (see 5.5.2, 5.5.3), and this will be further exemplified later (see 5.5.7.2).

5.5.4 – Perceived social and functional capability of the African languages

Survey questions 11, 12, 13 and 14 sought to uncover the sample population's perceptions regarding the social and functional capability of South Africa's eleven official languages. These four survey questions asked each respondent to indicate which language they thought has the highest commercial and cultural value, as well as the language with the lowest perceived commercial value and the reasons why. English was selected by 89% of the sample population (405 of 455 respondents) as having the highest commercial value (see Appendix III, Table 32), possibly an indication of the hegemonic dominance enjoyed by this language. Interestingly, only 10.9% (50 of 458 respondents) of the entire sample population thought that English was also the language with the highest cultural value (see Appendix III, Table 33). Of these, 35 were first language English speakers (35 of 234 respondents), indicating that the cultural and commercial values of English are very different in the eyes of the sample population and in the eyes of English speakers themselves (see 9.1). Of the 161 out of 184 (87%) isiZulu first language speakers who chose English as the language with the highest commercial value, 118 of them (64%) selected isiZulu as the language with the highest cultural value (see 9.2). Here, isiZulu speaker's belief in their language as a vehicle for the maintenance of their culture is at odds with the relative apathy of English speakers, where 83% (176 of 211 respondents) of first language English speakers who stated that English has the highest commercial value did not support English as the language with the highest cultural value (see 9.3). In terms of the language with the lowest commercial value, 31.2% of all respondents selected 'I don't know', whilst 22.3% selected 'Tsonga'. Here languages other than Tsonga, Swazi, Ndebele, Afrikaans, Venda, and Northern Sotho were only selected by 7.6% of the sample population (34 of 452 respondents) for survey question 13. Whilst there was a high percentage of people who indicated that they were unable to select a language with a low commercial value, the prevailing responses (when asked 'Why?' by survey question 14) among those who did select a language were 'I have never heard of this language', 'I hardly ever hear it on TV', and 'Because it can't compete with the bigger languages' (see Appendix III, Table 36). Here, the fact that these minority languages enjoy less prominence on SABC TV is one of the reasons that they are assigned a lower commercial value than the more prominent languages, such as IsiXhosa, isiZulu and English. The data collected by this survey question offered one of the clearest glimpses of the difference in language attitudes between first language English and isiZulu speakers in the sample population, and of the role of the media in affecting the viewing public's attitudes towards languages. This will be further exemplified later (see 5.5.7.2).

Survey question 16 dealt with the second language viewing preferences of the sample population, i.e. – the language that they would prefer to watch on TV should their mother tongue be unavailable. The majority of respondents selected Afrikaans (21.8%, 97 of 445 respondents), English (20.9%, 93 of 445 respondents), 'I wouldn't watch TV' (12.4%, 55 of 445 respondents), and isiZulu (11.7%, 52 of 445 respondents) (see Appendix III, Table 38a). Of the 55 respondents who indicated that they would not watch TV in a language other than their mother-tongue, 51 were first language English speakers, and only 2 were first language isiZulu speakers (see Appendix III, Table 38b). In terms of the second language viewing preferences of the 200 English speaking respondents who responded to this survey question, 88 (44%) of them selected Afrikaans, 51 (25.5%) selected 'I wouldn't watch TV', and 38 (19%) indicated isiZulu (see Appendix III, Table 38b). Here, a tendency towards mono- or bilingualism is evident in the first language speakers of English, which is juxtaposed by the multilingual preferences of the 170 first language speakers of isiZulu who answered this question, and selected English (32.9%, 56 respondents), SeSotho (12.9%, 22 respondents), isiXhosa (12.3%, 21 respondents) and isiSwati (11.7%, 20 respondents). These tendencies are in line with those observed earlier (see 5.5.3), where first language English speakers may be seen to be uninterested in inclusive multilingual broadcasting, as opposed to first language isiZulu speakers who seem more open to such a broadcasting system. This may be a result of the longstanding hegemonic dominance enjoyed by the English language, and the effect of this on the language attitudes of the sample population. This will be dealt with later (see 5.5.7.2).

5.5.5 - Perceived positions of English and the African languages in South African society

Survey questions 15, 20, 22 all sought to uncover the linguistic attitudes of the sample population in terms of the way in which they saw the relationship between English and the African languages in South Africa's social and broadcasting landscapes. The data yielded by survey question 15 was compromised to a certain extent by the inclusion of a meaningless neutral option in the response set, namely 'I knew that, it is obvious'. Of the five possible responses, all contained either a positive or negative sentiment with regards to a hypothetical situation in which English was the most frequently utilised language on SABC TV. However, the option 'I knew that, it is obvious' does not offer any opportunity to gain insight into those who may have chosen this option. Whilst it is a neutral option, and these are arguably mandatory components of balanced response sets, it does not offer a justification (and an associated ideological implication) for its neutrality, rendering it useless as an object of analysis. This limitation will be discussed later (see 6.2). Unfortunately, 35.8% (160 of 447) of all respondents did indeed select this option (see Appendix III, Table 37). The

remainder of the responses in this particular set will still offer insight into the sample populations attitudes regarding the ideologically powerful position of English on SABC TV. 20.6% (92 of 447) of all respondents said that the dominance of English is warranted as the better quality programmes are in English. A mere 10.3% (46 of 447) of respondents indicated that the dominance of English is unfair, as there are 10 other official languages in South Africa. Considering that this was the only option in the response set that contained negative sentiment towards the hypothetical English-dominated broadcasting system, the fact that it garnered so few responses is further proof of the hegemonic dominance that the English language enjoys.

Survey question 20 sought to determine what the sample population thought were the reasons behind the slow social development of the minority languages since the implementation of the multilingual Constitution (Act 200 of 1993a). Of the 234 English first language speakers who answered this question, 29% (68 respondents) indicated that it was because these minority languages have too few speakers, 25.2% (59 respondents) indicated that they did not know, and 22.2% (52 respondents) indicated that it was because the government had failed to set the trend (see Appendix III, Table 43b). In terms of isiZulu first language speakers, the majority of the 183 respondents (26.2%, 48 respondents) were either unwilling to commit to a particular viewpoint and selected 'I don't know', or indicated that they thought that it was because the government had failed to set trend (26.2%, 48 respondents). 14.2% (26 respondents) of the isiZulu-speaking sample population indicated that the situation was the fault of the SABC, whilst a further 14.2% (26 respondents) indicated that the previously disadvantaged languages had failed to develop because there are too few speakers of these languages (see Appendix III, Table 43b). The implications of the responses for both the first language speakers of English and isiZulu are ideologically revealing. The fact that the majority of the English speakers indicated that there are too few speakers for them to be able to rapidly and easily develop is again an indication of their tendencies towards linguistic apathy and practicality. A combined 40.4% (74 respondents) of isiZulu first language speakers blamed either the government or the SABC for the fact that the previously marginalised have been neglected. By holding either the government or the SABC accountable for this, the isiZulu speaking sample population again exhibit the tendencies of African language speakers to actively pursue the preservation of their languages. The fact that 25.6% (107 of 417 respondents) selected 'I don't know' is perhaps an indication that the response set was not ideally formulated. In retrospect, there should have been the option to indicate whether the respondent thought that previously marginalised languages had in fact been developed since 1994 (see 6.2).

Survey question 22 sought to determine which languages the sample population thought could function alongside the demographically and ideologically dominant languages of English,

isiZulu and isiXhosa. Respondents were asked to 'tick one or more' option in the response set, and all eight remaining languages were presented. Both first language English and isiZulu speakers (411 respondents) thought that many previously disadvantaged languages were incapable of functioning alongside the languages mentioned above (see Appendix III, Table 41a). Northern Sotho and Venda (0.5%, 2 respondents each), Ndebele (1.4%, 6 respondents) and Tswana (1.9%, 8 respondents) all received a negligible amount of votes. The majority of the 230 first language English speakers selected Afrikaans (54.7%, 126 respondents), whilst their next highest response was 'None of these languages' (16%, 37 respondents). As with many other of the survey questions (see 5.5.2, 5.5.3, and 5.5.4) first language isiZulu speakers exhibited much more belief in the capabilities of some of the previously marginalised languages. Of the 181 isiZulu speaking respondents who answered this question, 20.4% (37 respondents) selected Sotho, 12.7% (23 respondents) selected Swazi, and a further 18.7% (34 respondents) selected all the African languages. This survey question again revealed the lack of belief in the previously marginalised languages by first language English speakers, and the juxtaposed confidence in these selfsame languages by the majority of isiZulu first language speakers. This will be further exemplified later (see 5.5.7.2).

5.5.6 - The roles and responsibilities of the SABC as a public broadcaster

Survey question 4 aimed to ascertain the degree to which the sample population is aware of what SABC TV's language policy is. Whilst the majority of the 429 (first language English and isiZulu) people who responded to this question indicated that they did not know (178 responses, 41.5%), 131 respondents (30.5%) correctly indicated that the policy in question espouses equal treatment (see Appendix III, Table 24). However, if you look at each of these responses in terms of the language demographic it can be observed that a higher proportion of first language isiZulu speakers were aware of the equal treatment policy, whilst a higher proportion of first language English speakers indicated that they were unaware as to the specifications of the SABC's language policy (see 5.1 and 5.2). Having established the sample population's awareness of SABC's language policy, the subsequent survey question (Question 5) was aimed at determining the effectiveness of a multilingual broadcasting system. Here, the 249 English and 198 isiZulu speakers who responded to this question were divergent in the answers that they provided. The majority of English first language speakers indicated that multilingualism is hard to implement in broadcasting (120 respondents, 48%) and not worth the cost (60 respondents, 24%). While the majority of isiZulu first language speakers also perceived multilingualism as hard to implement in broadcasting (81 responses, 41%), a statistically significant higher proportion of isiZulu respondents indicated that

multilingual broadcasting is fair to all languages (59 respondents, 30%), and that multilingual broadcasting is the SABC's constitutional obligation (37 respondents, 19%) (see Appendix III, Table 25).

Survey question 9 dealt with the sample population's perceptions of SABC TV's usage of each of the eleven official languages. The responses to this question would be important as they would hopefully establish the perceptions of SABC TV practice upon which the sample population's language attitudes have been based. Methodologically, this question did prove to be mildly problematic (see 6.2). The issue was that many of the options were left blank, although these missing responses were themselves statistically revealing. As can be seen in Figure 3, there is a strong negative correlation between the perceived use of a language and the number of missing responses, i.e. – the higher the perceived use of a language, the less missing responses for the language (see Appendix III, Table 30). Whilst there is reluctance to draw too many conclusions from the data and statistical observations garnered from this survey question, a possible trend that may be observed is that the entire sample population, irrespective of their first language, is fairly correct in their perceptions of the extent to which SABC TV utilises each of the eleven official languages, correctly identifying English, isiZulu, Afrikaans and isiXhosa as the four most prominent broadcasting languages. As such, it could be suggested that the language attitudes of the sample population that have been derived from observing the linguistic practices of SABC TV have been based upon an accurate awareness of the SABC's language preferences. However, this particular survey question has too many methodological weaknesses to render information that could stand up to any form of criticism. Future studies within this same context would need to collect such information to strengthen whatever arguments it would eventually posit (see 6.2).

Survey question 17 sought to determine what the sample population thought SABC TV's responsibilities were as a public broadcaster in terms of improving the corpus and status of South Africa's official languages. Of the five possible responses, two absolved SABC TV of the responsibility, two saddled the SABC with the responsibility, and one was the neutral 'I don't know' option. A total of 95 respondents (40.2%) of the 236 English first language speakers who answered this question believe that the SABC is either neglecting its obligation to improve the corpus and status of South Africa's official languages, or that it is ideally placed to make such changes. 91 respondents (38.5%) of the 236 first language English speakers who answered this question were more forgiving of the SABC, indicating that the SABC is either not responsible for doing so, or that the SABC can only work within the governmental context where minority languages have already been neglected (see Appendix III, Table 42b). At least in terms of their responses to this question, first language English speakers are fairly equally divided in their perceptions of the SABC's responsibility to develop the

status and corpus of South Africa's official languages. isiZulu first language speakers can be seen to be less forgiving of the SABC than their English counterparts, with a total of 91 (49.7%) of the 183 first language isiZulu respondents indicating that the SABC is either neglecting its obligation to improve the corpus and status of South Africa's official languages, or that it is ideally placed to make such changes. In comparison, only 48 (26.2%) absolve the SABC of such responsibility by indicating that the SABC is either not responsible for doing so, or that the SABC can only work within the governmental context (see Appendix III, Table 42b). Here, the differing responses between the first language English and isiZulu speakers is once again observable on the basis that the English speakers in the sample exhibit less of a will to see the SABC commit to multilingual broadcasting, whilst the majority of the isiZulu speaking component of the sample looks to hold the SABC accountable for what it feels is a failure of its responsibility to develop the status and corpus of the previously disadvantaged and marginalised languages. This will be discussed later (see 5.5.7.4).

Survey question 18 was aimed at exposing the attitudes of the sample population regarding a hypothetical situation in which international English language programming proliferates throughout that SABC TV's programming schedule. Having established earlier (see 5.3.2) that SABC TV fulfilled its local content quota across all channels and genres, the purpose of hypothetically suggesting a reliance on international English programming was to gauge the responses of the sample population. The majority of first language English speakers indicated that this was acceptable either because these programmes are more popular than those in previously marginalised languages (49%, 114 of 231 respondents), or that it was proof that English was a more powerful language (26%, 61 of 231 respondents) (see Appendix III, Table 39b). Surprisingly, a mere 19 of 231 (8%) of the first language English respondents indicated that this was acceptable due to it being a cheaper option than broadcasting in all eight Nguni and Sotho languages. Whilst the first language English speakers have displayed a tendency towards practicality and sustainability in their responses to most of the questions where this is an issue, their atypical response in this case perhaps indicates that they are not willing to justify cost-effective monolingual broadcasting if that means utilising primarily cheaper international English programmes at the expense of locally produced English of African language programmes. The attitudes of the majority of first language isiZulu speakers are comparable with those of the first language English speakers for this survey question, as they indicated that a reliance on international English programming was acceptable either because these programmes are more popular than those in previously marginalised languages (24%, 43 of 180 respondents), or that it was proof that English was a more powerful language (37%, 66 of 180 respondents) (see Appendix III, Table 39b). However, not surprisingly, 21% (38 of 180 respondents) indicated that such a situation was unfair on the rest of South Africa's official languages, continuing the trend where the first

language isiZulu speakers in this study have been quick to defend and fight for the equitable treatment of all of South Africa's official languages.

Survey question 19 was aimed at uncovering the sample population's attitudes towards each of the eleven official languages by asking them to decide which languages are suitable for broadcasting in a number of different genres. In retrospect, survey question 19 should have been radically redesigned, for the matrix-style format in which the question was presented meant that it would have taken a very long time to comprehensively answer the question. With over half of the sample population failing to respond to this item, and considering the fundamental errors that plague this item, any remaining data is not a viable source of analysis. Ideally, this would have been ironed out during the pilot study. However, this particular item was not one of those included in the shortened pilot study, and as such it did not undergo any pre-testing. This will be further discussed later (see 6.2).

5.5.7 – Summary

Before presenting and discussing the data that was gathered with the final stage of the research project, the focus group interview, it will help to first condense and summarise all of the observations that were made based on the data that was collected from, and the observations that were made about, the survey questionnaire. In the name of continuity and consistency, this will be done according to the ideologies established earlier (see 5.2.5).

5.5.7.1 - The engineered presence of nine discrete African languages

In terms of the sample population, first language speakers of both English and isiZulu believed language harmonisation (between those in the Nguni and Sotho language families) would fail to recognise the cultural and linguistic distinctness of the minority languages in question. However, differences between first language English and isiZulu speakers were observable on two key criteria in survey question 8, namely: harmonisation being a cheaper option (favoured by first language English respondents), and harmonisation being unfair on the speakers of the minority languages (favoured by first language isiZulu respondents). This juxtaposition between the linguistic neutrality exhibited by the first language English respondents and the willingness of first language isiZulu speakers to oppose any attempts to marginalise the minority languages would be a common trend throughout the analysis of the survey data. Having laid a solid foundation in Chapter 3 with the historical analysis of the differing social, political and ideological trajectories of the English and the

African languages and their speakers, it can be stated that the hegemony of English throughout each of the eras (particularly at the end of apartheid) has left its speakers content with the existing power structures, whilst speakers of the African languages (both those considered to be majority and minority) have become used to having to struggle against the ideological supremacy of English in order to establish a footing for their own languages to take hold. Another survey question (Question 6) was concerned with ascertaining the attitudes of the sample population towards a minority broadcasting system (see 2.4). Here, a higher proportion of isiZulu speakers regarded multilingual broadcasting as both a constitutional obligation of SABC TV and as fair to all languages, whilst a higher proportion of English respondents regarded multilingual broadcasting as being hard to implement and not worth the cost. Again, the trend was observable (within the sample population) that first language isiZulu speakers were willing to fight for the fair treatment and social standing of all South Africa's eleven official languages, whilst first language speakers of English were content for SABC TV's broadcasting system to be arranged in ways practicable and cost effective, as opposed to fair and equitable.

5.5.7.2 - The perceived diminished capacity (status and corpus) of African languages: in society, education and broadcasting

Survey question 7 was aimed at ascertaining the sample population's attitudes towards multilingual programming. Responses here for first language speakers of both English and isiZulu were comparable in terms of their recognition that these programmes accurately depict South African society and that they reinforce a unified national identity. The cohesion between the attitudes of the English and isiZulu components of the sample population is evidence that South Africa's minority languages have a role to play in fostering a multilingual and multicultural national identity, one of the few legitimate broadcasting uses of indigenous minority languages that the first language English speakers will acquiesce to. As seen in the responses of the sample population to survey question 10 (see 5.5.3), proportionally more first language English speakers (compared to first language isiZulu speakers) believe that broadcasting in previously marginalised languages is too expensive, whilst the preferred response for both English and isiZulu first language speakers was that such a broadcasting system is unnecessary as most people prefer to watch programming in one of the major languages. The isiZulu speakers within the sample population did, however, indicate that they thought SABC TV was not sufficiently committed to broadcasting in previously marginalised languages, and that programming in previously marginalised languages was not up to standard. Again, the neutral trend of the English first language speakers in the sample population was evident,

content with the structure of SABC TV's language delivery. Also observable was the willingness of first language speakers of isiZulu to condemn what they considered to be a poor execution of a multilingual broadcasting mandate.

A related issue here is that of the perceived cultural and commercial values assigned to each of South Africa's eleven official languages by the sample population. The data collected here (by survey questions 11, 12, 13 and 14, see 5.5.4) proved to offer some of the clearest insights in to the different attitudes and approaches of first language speakers of English and isiZulu in the sample population. Whilst the majority of the sample population (almost 90%) indicated that English was the language with the highest commercial value, a mere 10.9% of the same population (and only 35 of the 234 first language English respondents) also chose English as the language with the highest cultural value. In terms of the language with the highest cultural value for first language isiZulu speakers, 64% of the isiZulu component of the sample population chose their own language, compared to the 83% of first language English speakers who did not choose their own language. It would be difficult to get a clearer picture of the linguistic neutrality exhibited by the first language English speakers in the sample population, no doubt made possible thanks to the long term hegemony their language has enjoyed. Furthermore, this can be juxtaposed to first language isiZulu speakers pro-active dedication to language maintenance, and the cultural significance that they assign to their language. When viewed in light of the historical analysis provided earlier (see Chapter 3 and 5.2), these tendencies can be seen as end results of language trajectories that have undergone different, yet related, social and political journeys.

Survey question 16 investigated the second language viewing preferences of the sample population. First language isiZulu speakers were able to also watch TV in English, SeSotho, isiXhosa and isiSwati, whilst first language English speakers relied heavily on Afrikaans programming, did not watch TV, or to a lesser extent watched isiZulu programming. The willingness of the isiZulu speakers in the sample to view broadcasting in alternative languages could point to the degree to which three of these languages (isiZulu, isiSwati and isiXhosa) are related as part of the Nguni language family, as well as of their openness to inclusive multilingual broadcasting.

Whilst there has never been an overt anti-Afrikaans agenda, or anything like it, Afrikaans fell out of favour politically and ideologically at the end of apartheid. In policy, Afrikaans lost no standing, with all other languages being promoted to join the existing official languages of Afrikaans and English. The equitable treatment policies espoused by the government, and then by the SABC, would dilute the amount of airtime enjoyed by Afrikaans, which now had to share with English, as well as nine additional languages. With all this in mind, Afrikaans still enjoys a good share of quality broadcasting, and this is possibly due to the resilience shown by its speakers throughout its history.

5.5.7.3 - English as a language of liberation, and social and economic mobility

As it was earlier stated (see 5.3.1), the prevalence of English across all three of SABC TV's channels is almost as high as 84.1%. Directly proportional to this figure is the fact that the majority of the sample population in question prefer English programming across all genres. Whilst it is difficult to determine the directionality of this relationship, it remains that English is the preferred broadcasting medium for both SABC TV and SABC TV viewers. Seeing as English is, demographically speaking, one of the smaller of South Africa's official languages, it follows that forces other than just the number of speakers of a language are at play in determining the linguistic hierarchy of South African society and within the SABC. The status of English as a language of liberation, as well as its undeniable force as an international language, makes it an appealing choice for broadcasters and audiences alike.

5.5.7.4 - The amplified perceived relevance of commercialism and practicality to public service broadcasting in South Africa

Survey questions 4 and 5 exhibited that a higher proportion of first language isiZulu speakers were aware of the SABC's language policy, that multilingual broadcasting is fair to all languages, and that multilingual broadcasting is the SABC's constitutional obligation, in comparison to their English counterparts within the sample population. With their language having enjoyed a near-constant hegemony since its arrival in South Africa, speakers of English are neutral about actively entrenching it in society, in comparison to the speakers of competing languages (i.e. – isiZulu), who have for decades been struggling against the elite closure of English and looking to establish linguistic parity. Survey question 21, which probed the challenges that SABC TV faces in terms of functioning as a multilingual broadcaster that treats all eleven of South Africa's official languages equitably, again uncovered similar attitudinal trends between the English and isiZulu speaking components of the sample population. A majority of first language speakers of both English and isiZulu indicated that a reliance on majority languages was permissible as such a broadcasting system mirrored a situation where the majority of society did not speak these minority languages. Again, the first language English speaking component of the sample can be seen to favour the issue of practicality and cost effective broadcasting. It is hard to criticise first language isiZulu speakers for exhibiting the same tendency here, as comparatively more isiZulu first language speakers also indicated that SABC TV is failing to execute its public service mandate, in comparison the their first language English counterparts. Whilst both the first language English and isiZulu speakers in the sample population

exhibited a willingness to accept that a measure of practicability needs to be taken into account when broadcasting, the isiZulu component of the sample population did exhibit a desire for the SABC to be more accountable to its multilingual policies. This is once again congruent with the trend established thus far, where the first language isiZulu speakers look to take a more proactive role in terms of securing fair treatment for their language.

Further investigating the potential perceived roles of a public broadcaster, survey question 17 was aimed at determining what the sample population thought SABC TV's responsibilities were in terms of improving the corpus and status of South Africa's official languages. Both the English and isiZulu speakers within the sample population were of the belief that it was SABC TV's responsibility to contribute to developing a language. This does reveal a general commitment to multilingualism on behalf of the sample population, but as usual there is a significant amount of first language English speakers questioning issues of practicality.

5.6 – Focus Group Interview

Research questions 4, 5, and 6 formed the basis of the 20 open-ended questions used in the semi-structured focus group interview (see Appendix V). This was to be the final part of the multi-method triangulation approach to research adopted in this study, further investigating the causes of the sample populations' language attitudes, the presence and nature of which were established in the previous stage of data collection, the survey. The focus group interview question schedule had the following structure: opening questions, introductory question, transitional questions, key questions and an ending question. Having obtained the data, phenomenological and logical analyses were conducted (see 4.3.5). Due to the small sample (only seven out of the 458 survey respondents took part), the methods of analysis, as well as to the fact that the comments of the participants must be interpreted within a constructed and specific social setting, the data generated by this focus group interview is not generalizable. Other factors also affected the suitability of the data collected by the focus group interview, and these included: the skills of the researcher as an interviewer, the group dynamic between the participants, and to a lesser degree, the methods used to record the interview. While these will all be discussed later (see 6.2), the many small issues with this component of the study rendered the data collection and analysis methodologically weak. For this reason, the data analysis of the focus group interview is succinct, not looking to infer or enforce meaning or patterns unnecessarily.

Of the seven focus group interview participants, two were first language English speakers and five were first language isiZulu speakers. For ease of reference, the gender of these participants

will also be referred to in the transcriptions. The two English participants were both females and appear as ‘EF1’ and ‘EF2’ (English Female), whilst the remaining two male and three female isiZulu speaking participants appear as ‘ZM1’ (Zulu Male), ‘ZM2’, ‘ZF1’ (Zulu Female), ‘ZF2’ and ‘ZF2’. The analysis that is to follow is based upon the focus group interview transcriptions (see Appendix VI), and will follow the steps of phenomenological, logical and common sense assumption analysis outlined earlier (see 4.3.5). As with the analysis of the survey data, the focus group interview data will be looked at in terms of the first language of the participants. Topics that they were questioned on were as follows: their SABC TV viewing preferences, the extent to which they think SABC TV affects language attitudes, what they think should be the priorities of a public service broadcaster, what they think SABC TV’s language policy should be, the importance of SABC TV’s language policy mirroring that of the government, what SABC TV’s language practice says about cultural and commercial values of the various official languages and the use of multilingual programming.

5.6.1 - SABC TV viewing preferences

Not surprisingly, all of the focus group interview respondents indicated that they watch SABC TV. Their viewing preferences according to genre were not a central concern of this study, and the question investigating this was posed merely as an ice-breaker to stimulate the conversation (see Appendix V, 1). When asked what language they prefer to watch their selected genre in, ZF3 indicated that English soap operas were her preference, whilst ZF2, EF1 and EF 2 all said that they preferred English language programming in general (see Appendix VI, 2). This is congruent with the results of the survey, where up to 84% of respondents preferred to watch English programming (see 5.5.1).

5.6.2 – Can SABC TV affect language attitudes?

The ability of SABC TV language delivery to affect language attitudes was the next issue raised (see Appendix VI, 3). The group was initially reluctant to provide an answer. However, EF2 made the point that if the way a language is used reflects badly upon the language, then it will negatively impact attitudes towards the language in question, saying “if it’s a really stupid soapie in a specific language, I think then you get like a slightly negative view of the language. But if it’s really good and interesting and quality…”. During the analysis, this comment made it clear that the preoccupation with other issues had obstructed the fact that the standardisation of a language in the media is also a huge concern, where the way in which a language is used is just as important as

whether it is used at all. No other respondents were willing to provide an answer, possibly due to the group dynamics or the nature of the question. Both limitations will be discussed later (see 6.2). A subsequent focus group interview question more directly probed this issue later in the session (see Appendix VI, 11), asking participants "How has the SABC TV's language use influenced your language attitudes, if at all?". Again, the majority of respondents were unwilling to answer, except for EF2 who said that "I guess subconsciously it makes me feel that hardly anyone speaks those other languages. I know that because it is an official language there must be quite a lot of people who speak it in South Africa, but it feels like I don't even remember half the names of those languages". Whilst it could be pointed out that her linguistic neutrality is in line with that of the first language English speaking contingent of the sample population who answered the survey (see 5.5.3, 5.5.4, 5.5.5 and 5.5.6), the fact remains that the context surrounding her responses is severely hampered by many limitations (see 6.2), which would mean that any conclusions drawn from the focus group interview data would be tenuous at best.

5.6.3 – What are the priorities of SABC TV as a public service broadcaster?

In seeking to ascertain what the focus group interview participants thought the priorities should be for a national broadcaster like the SABC (see Appendix VI, 4), they were asked about the conflicting demands of commercial and public service broadcasting. The hegemony of English was immediately evident when ZF2 said "I think that they should focus on all [languages], but mostly English because that is the common one". The tendency towards practicality and commercialism evident in the language attitudes of first language English speaking survey respondents was once again visible, with EF1 saying "[the SABC's] main objective is to make money, they going to do what the public wants … they not going to make a channel for sign language if there's only 50,000 people who are going to watch it", as well as "I also think since most of our programming is American … then that is the kind of comedy … that we are used to so we judge things by that standard. Whereas South Africa has its own flavour, but people are used to and comfortable with the American…". When the group was asked how they would compromise between the cultural values of certain languages and the commercial aims of the SABC, again the English speaking respondents were the only people willing to answer. EF1 said "If SABC had more channels then they could have one channel per language group, then you wouldn't have to flip between channels to see the [languages] you know", whilst EF2 said "I don't think that you can ever really properly compromise, there are so many different languages and different amounts of people speaking the languages, you can't resolve that". Here, both EF1 and EF2 can be seen to lean towards issues surrounding practicality. It is

unfortunate that the first language isiZulu speakers who attended the focus group interview did not offer any answers. Again, this could have been remedied with a number of strategies, and these will be discussed later (see 6.2 and 6.3).

When probed with the question "With regards to the smaller African languages, are there enough speakers to justify having a separate channel?" (see Appendix VI, 4), the isiZulu speakers did finally offer some valuable insights. ZF1 immediately responded with "I think they prefer watching in Zulu", which ZF2 ratified by saying "It's just better". The failure to probe here represents a failure on behalf of the interviewer to gain additional information on what could have been a very interesting and enlightening topic. When EF1 made the interesting point that speakers of marginalised languages should be the ones developing these languages (by saying "I think also another thing they could do, because they obviously don't have writers in the marginalised languages, is to open and say 'If you have a script in a marginalised language tell us, and if its good we'll arrange to broadcast', because the people who speak it are the ones who need to come forward"), both ZF1 and ZF2 agreed. Contrary to the neutrality exhibited by the English speaking component of the survey sample, an English speaker (EF1) is seen here to be more sympathetic towards the marginalized languages, as well as more open to their development and use on SABC TV. Here, the isiZulu speakers taking part in the focus group interview could be seen to both defend the use of their own first language, as well as the right of speakers of minority languages to defend their own language. Although these tendencies were also evident in the responses of isiZulu speakers to the survey (see 5.5.3, 5.5.4, 5.5.5 and 5.5.6), this study will stop short of making broad conclusions based on the outcome of the focus group interview which was arguably compromised due to methodological shortcomings (see 6.2).

Regarding whether the focus group interview participants thought that multilingual programmes are a true reflection of society (see Appendix VI, 4), only the English speakers responded. Here EF1 said "No" outright, whilst EF2 was marginally more diplomatic by saying "I don't think so ... if there is a language that I don't understand then I'm not going to watch the programme because I'm not going to know what's happening". These responses can be tentatively compared to those of the first language English speaking component of the survey sample, who consistently exhibited linguistic neutrality. Again, the isiZulu respondents did not provide answers, and this could have been due to a number of factors (see 6.2).

When questioned about whether they thought harmonizing languages into a standard Sotho and a standard Nguni was a good idea (see Appendix VI, 4), it was the English speaking respondents who were again the only people to answer the question, despite the fact that their first language would not even be affected by such a strategy. However, both EF1 and EF2 raised relevant issues.

Here, EF1 said “I think that you could get irritated if you listening to the way this person is speaking and it’s not how you say it” pointing to the issues that would arise if the superimposed form was unlike any of the languages. EF2, on the other hand, said “I think that a lot of people … have pride in their language and they don’t want it to just get lumped in with three other languages, they want it to stand on its own because it’s their mother tongue”, correctly indicating that the speakers of the Nguni and Sotho languages in question have pride in their languages. This is another example of an English speaker exhibiting attitudes dissimilar to those who were part of the survey sample, where the first language English speaker spoke out in defense of the African languages during the focus group interview. Whilst the context of the situation must be noted, where speakers of differing languages are taking part in the same focus group interview and where it may be seen as rude to criticize a language other than your own (see 6.2). However, the fact remains that these sentiments challenge the assumptions that were based on the survey, as well as the preceding stages of data collection, suggesting that the language attitudes of the sample population may be more complex than first thought.

5.6.4 – What is SABC TV’s language policy, and what should SABC TV’s language policy be?

The focus group interview also sought to determine the degree to which the participants were familiar with SABC TV’s actual language policy (see Appendix VI, 5). Immediately, EF1 suggested a more practical solution, saying “maybe they should survey people and ask which languages they are comfortable in and make a percentage of programmes [based on how many speakers of a language there are]”. One of the more interesting outcomes of the focus group interview took place next, when ZF1 said that SABC TV should “at least provide subtitles for like Afrikaans, because some of us don’t understand Afrikaans”. When probed with the question “What language would the subtitles be in?” she immediately responded “In English”, to which EF2 said “Yes”. ZM1 summarised the situation perfectly, identifying the hegemony of English by saying “I think the SABC focuses on English, because if they are broadcasting in Zulu, they have English subtitles, but they don’t have subtitles for other languages when they are broadcasting in English”. The follow up question was aimed at uncovering what the participants thought SABC TV’s language policy and practice said about the treatment of South Africa’s eleven official languages. The hegemony of English was again prominent, with ZF1 saying “I think the focus is mostly on English”, and ZF indicating she believed the SABC favours “English, Zulu and Xhosa”. The importance of practicality to the two first language English speakers also was once again evident. EF1 said that “surely it should be done according to how many speakers of a language there are ... it doesn’t have

to be their mother tongue, they just have to understand it" and also that "[the SABC is] a business, they are doing what brings them money", backed up by EF2 who commented that "in fairness, they can't really operate unless they get money in ... if it's such a small percentage of people watching in a certain language, they are not going to be able to continue".

The next issue that was raised was whether the focus group interview participants thought that it is important that the SABC TV language policy mirrors that of South Africa's Constitution (see Appendix VI, 6). EF2 thought this was important, breaking the trend of English speakers throughout the survey and focus group data analyses, indirectly indicating that the public service directive of the SABC was important, saying "if they call themselves the South African Broadcasting Commission then yes ... if they want to affiliate themselves with the government and all the policies, it is their responsibility to uphold their beliefs". ZM1 also went slightly against the trend of first language isiZulu speakers by condoning a more practical approach to language delivery by the SABC. He said "we need one policy to cater for the whole nation ... we need to see how many speakers there are of the minor languages, and depending on the number of people who are watching on SABC ... they can determine the amount of programmes in those languages". To further test the extent to which the focus group interview subjects were inclined towards practicality, the question "Do you think a policy that says 'treat all languages equally' is unrealistic?" was posed, with two participants, EF1 and ZF1 answering "Yes" (see Appendix VI, 6).

5.6.5 – What does SABC TV's language policy and practice say about the cultural and commercial values of South Africa's languages?

As in the survey (see 5.5.4), the focus group participants were questioned about the perceived cultural and commercial values of languages in South Africa (see Appendix VI, 7). As with many other questions posed during the session, the majority of participants were unwilling or unable to answer. EF1 tentatively answered, saying "Yes, I don't think it gives you a negative or positive view of the language, but it makes you think "OK, you <the language> obviously aren't being used so…" Whilst EF1 is not exhibiting negative sentiment, she is again favouring the issue of practicality.

5.6.6 – Summary

Trends that can be tentatively extracted from the data and analysis conducted during this qualitative component only partially corroborate those that emerged during the preceding stage of

the research – the survey questionnaire. There, the first language English speaking section of the sample population were linguistically neutral, due to the unchallengeable hegemony of English, whilst the first language speakers of isiZulu exhibited a more proactive approach to language preservation and development, as well as having deeper cultural associations with their languages. In the focus group interview, the trend was slightly reversed in some cases, with the English participants at times exhibiting more sympathy for the marginalised languages, and the isiZulu speakers appearing more receptive to the issues of practicality when judging SABC TV's language delivery (see 5.6.3). In this way, the focus group interview did provide some interesting additional qualitative information, indicating that the language attitudes of differing linguistic groups may be slightly more complex than first thought. Additionally, the focus group interview also offered a small chance to test the convergent validity of the various other methodological approaches used in this study. However, apart from being relevant only to the participants who were involved, the data collected from the focus group interview is also limited in a number of other ways, and these will be discussed later (see 6.2).

5.7 – Conclusion

The various methodological approaches that were described in Chapter 4 and analysed in Chapter 5 (historical description, see 4.3.1 and 5.2; evaluation of SABC TV's linguistic practices, see 4.3.2 and 5.3; pilot study, see 4.3.3 and 5.4; survey, see 4.3.4 and 5.5; and focus group interview, see 4.3.5 and 5.6) were done so in the aim of answering the research questions posed in Chapter 1. Since extensive analysis and discussion has already been provided in the chapters themselves, the following chapter will briefly revisit the research questions, summarising and concluding what has been a challenging and enlightening study. The limitations of the study, as well as the potential for further research, will also be briefly dealt with.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 - The research questions revisited

This study aimed to answer as best as possible the following research questions (see 1.4):

1. What historical forces have shaped the current SABC TV language policy?
2. What provisions have been made in the current SABC TV language policy to correct past inequities?
3. What modes of language planning have been employed in implementing the current SABC TV language policy?
4. How has apartheid language policy and practice in the SABC influenced public attitudes towards the eleven official languages policy?
5. How has post-apartheid language policy and practice in the SABC influenced public attitudes towards the eleven official language policy?
6. What is the perceived role of the English language in the broadcast media, pre- and post-apartheid?

An assortment of complementary data-gathering techniques were arranged in a multi-method and triangulation approach to answering the complex research problem and research questions. Research question 1 was answered with the historical analysis of South Africa's and the SABC's social, political, and media landscapes. Ideologically significant events which were identified included the introduction of tangible linguistic and ideological boundaries between the African languages, the hegemony of English as a language of social and economic mobility and as the language of the indigenous African populations struggle against apartheid, speakers of African languages being placed in opposition to their own languages due to the misuse of mother tongue education, the association of Afrikaans with the oppressive apartheid state and the theoretical commitment of the democratic government and the SABC to fostering inclusive multilingualism. Research questions 2 and 3 were answered by a quantitative and qualitative analyses of the SABC's current language policy and language practices. Whilst at face value SABC TV was seen to more or less meet the language delivery quotas stipulated by ICASA during the given period, further investigation determined that the manner in which the quotas were framed made it easy for the SABC to employ practicable strategies in implementing the multilingualism espoused by the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). Research questions 4, 5 and 6 comprised many different themes such as: standardisation of languages (standard Sotho or Nguni), the efficiency of multilingual broadcasting in South Africa, the social and functional capability of African languages, the perceived

positions of English and the African languages in South African society, and the role and responsibilities of the public broadcaster. A survey questionnaire and focus group interview were used to gather information about the language attitudes regarding these issues from a predetermined sample population, which comprised of mainly first language English and isiZulu speakers. Linguistic attitudes between these two language groups were observed to significantly different on a number of key criteria, potentially due to those ideologically significant events uncovered with the historical description, as well as to the language policies and practices utilised by SABC TV. First language English speakers were neutral with regards to many of the issues surrounding the efforts of SABC TV at inclusive multilingual broadcasting, possibly influenced by the hegemony of English, as well as having a vested interest in maintaining the elite closure and high levels of linguistic capital (see 2.7) enjoyed by its speakers. This often materialised in the form of tendencies towards practicality, either defending the SABC or condoning its current equitable treatment practices on this basis. Juxtaposed to the first language English speaking component of the sample population were the first language isiZulu speakers who exhibited much more of a loyalty towards their language, and towards the African languages in general. However, they too at times acquiesced to the demands of practicality, although not to the extent of the first language English speakers. This may be another indication of the hegemony English, the pervasiveness of which was at the core of most instances where practicality preferred by isiZulu speakers in the sample population.

6.2 Challenges and limitations

The first limitation that needs to be addressed is the fact that, from the outset, this study intended to investigate the language attitudes of a predetermined sample population. As a result, the results are not generalizable beyond University of KwaZulu Natal students in Durban. However, half of the 500 surveys that were distributed were completed by Linguistics students (see 4.3.4), and hence the generalizability of the data may be called into question with this criticism. Due to limitations of scope and time, the data used for the evaluation of SABC TV's linguistic practices was obtained from the 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report (see 4.3.2, 4,4 and 5.3), and not collected independently. Having had to infer the amount of programming in certain languages (due to the way in which the SABC frames its language delivery statistics), there can be many doubts as to the veracity of this quantitative data. Here, issues such as whether advertising time is included in their figures can have a dramatic effect on the calculations made during the quantitative analysis of SABC TV's language practices (see 5.3.1).

In terms of the survey, one of the biggest points of contention was the use of neutral responses in the questionnaire. In many cases, survey respondents selected the neutral response, and this was counterproductive in terms of enabling the survey to gather rich and informative data. Of the survey questions that had a neutral option, questions 15, 20 and 21 were most problematic. The neutral option used in question 15 did not offer any opportunity to gain insight into why someone may have chosen this option, failing to offer a justification and an associated ideological implication for its neutrality (see 5.5.5). In answering survey question 20, 25.6% (107 of 417 respondents) selected 'I don't know', indicating again that the response set was not ideally formulated. In retrospect, there should have been the option to indicate whether the respondent thought that previously marginalised languages had in fact been developed since 1994 (see 5.5.5). In answering survey question 21, 80 of 438 respondents (18.2%) selected the 'I don't know' option (see 5.5.3). The other options within the response set were too wordy, and although they balanced the response set with both positive and negative sentiments, the options were all too long and for this reason the respondents may have just opted out and gone for the neutral response. This survey question was also limited in the way that it requires respondents to make a judgement about 'previously marginalised' languages, without these languages being specified in the question (see 5.5.3). Thus, respondents had to infer which languages were marginalised, and this unnecessary additional cognitive work may also have impacted upon the high frequency of 'I don't know' responses.

Ironically, another damaging limitation was with question 19 as it did not have a neutral position, negatively impacting upon the response rate for this particular question where almost 50% of participants did not respond to this item (see 4.3.4). Here, the non response was taken as a neutral response, an option which should have been included in the question in the first place. Survey question 9 (see 5.5.6) was also mildly problematic in terms of missing responses. The way that the questions was presented, in a matrix-style format, would have required a fair amount of time and effort to complete, and would need to be redesigned if it were to successfully perform the task for which it is intended.

In terms of convergent validity, the qualitative data analysis of the focus group interview uncovered a few similar attitudinal dispositions to those that emerged from the survey. However, the technique of convergent validity is flawed, as it does not take into account the possibility that the initial measure is not valid, i.e. – in this case, it would presume the validity of the survey, and its data and analysis. This could be remedied by using a larger and more representative survey sample, and also by modifying the methodology surrounding the focus group interview. Amongst the factors that impeded upon the suitability of the data collected by the focus group interview included: the

skills of the researcher as an interviewer, the group dynamic between the participants, and to a lesser degree the methods used to record the interview (see 5.6). One of the more telling issues here was the fact that the focus group interview conducted in this study consisted of both first language speakers of English and isiZulu. The unwillingness of some respondents to provide answers may have had something to do with the group dynamics and the potentially sensitive and personal topics surrounding language attitudes. This could have been easily remedied by holding separate focus group interview sessions for the two language groups, a linguistically homogenous situation which would have allowed for richer and more specialised focus group interview data collection and analysis.

6.3 Options for further research

Options for further research within this topic are numerous, especially when considering that South Africa's democracy is still one of the youngest in the world, as well as the role of a national broadcaster in ratifying governmental language policy. However, in terms of this study specifically, there are two main avenues that should be tended to first. The sample population used in this study is not demographically congruent with South Africa's population, and the most obvious avenue for further research would be to investigate the language attitudes of a sample population big and representative enough to allow the results to be generalized. The next opportunity to extend or intensify the research conducted in this study would be collect data regarding SABC TV's language practices independently, which would allow the implications of the evaluation of the SABC TV's language practices to be more confidently asserted (see 3.4.2.2 and 5.3.2). Another issue that arose during the analysis of the focus group interview was the fact that this study's preoccupation with other issues had obstructed the fact that the standardisation of a language in the media is also a huge concern, where that way in which a language is used is just as important as whether it is used at all (see 5.6.2). This would lend itself to further investigation with a similarly structured study.

6.4 Conclusion

This small scale study was aimed at uncovering the language attitudes of a sample population, and attributing these attitudes to ideologically significant events in South Africa's past, as well as investigating the role of SABC TV in broadcasting in the democratic era and the relationship between SABC TV and its viewers. Much care was taken to devise a thorough, valid and reliable multi-method approach to researching these issues, and as such a variety of research tools

were utilised. The various data collection processes did at times have their limitations, but these were accounted for in the data analyses and discussions, and would have impacted upon the extent to which results could be extrapolated or generalized. However, despite the small scale of the study and its methodological weaknesses, it did manage to paint a fairly vivid picture in terms of the differing attitudes fostered by the first language speakers of English and isiZulu in the sample population. This hopefully contributed in a small way to developing an understanding of the relationship between these speakers, as well as of their attitudes towards and expectations of language policies and practices at the level of both the SABC TV and government. By better understanding the intricacies of the complex and unique social milieu within it works, the SABC can be better equipped to formulate and execute policies and practices to best serve the needs of all South Africans.

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UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

APPENDICES TO MASTERS THESIS

Nurturing a multilingual dispensation: The ideological influence of SABC TV broadcasting policy and practice on the language attitudes of a predetermined sample population.

VOLUME II

By:

Robert Evans

207524850

Durban, South Africa

November 2011

APPENDICES

Appendix I. Pilot Study informed consent and questionnaire

Department of Linguistics

UKZN [Howard College Campus]

Researcher: Robert Evans [Student no.: 207524850, cell no.: 082 485 2080]

Project Supervisor: Mrs. Rosemary Wildsmith

I am conducting a PILOT study on SABC TV, and need **your help** to understand the effects of their language use in television programming. Your help will eventually enable me to understand the relationships between different languages and their uses, as well as how SABC TV's language policy and practice impacts your attitude towards South Africa's official languages.

This pilot consists of 14 questions which only require you to choose a response out of a number of provided options. The data will be handled confidentially at all times, and your name and personal details will never be revealed.

- This is a voluntary and **confidential** questionnaire. Be assured that confidentiality will be preserved – all of the analyses will focus on patterns in the data over many individuals, rather than on individuals themselves. Your name will not appear in any published documents, and no individual information about you will be passed on to any other party under any circumstances.

CONSENT

I confirm that I have read the above information. I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____-

_____

.1. AGE & GENDER?

[tick**one**]

	18	19	20	21	22
MALE					
FEMALE					

……..

.2. WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK?

[tick**one** or **more**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
1st language											
2nd language											
3rd language											

……..

.3. WHAT DO YOU WATCH ON SABC TV? AND IN WHAT LANGUAGE?

[tick**one** or **more**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
NEWS											
SPORT											
EDUCATION											
CHILDREN'S SHOWS											
MOVIES											
SERIES											

SOAP OPERA											
NONE											
OTHER ……											

……..

.4. THE SABC'S CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY SAYS…

[tick**one**]

GIVE PREFERENCE TO LANGUAGES WITH MORE SPEAKERS	
TREAT ALL 11 LANGUAGES EQUALLY	
GIVE PREFERENCE TO COMMERCIALLY VIABLE LANGUAGES	
GIVE PREVIOSLY MARGINALISED LANGUAGES MORE AIRTIME	
USE BIGGER LANGUAGES LIKE ENGLISH, ZULU & XHOSA MORE OFTEN	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

5. I THINK BROADCASTING IN ELEVEN LANGUAGES…

[tick**one** or **more**]

IS SABC TV'S CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION	
IS MOST FAIR TO VIEWERS, WHO ARE SPEAKERS OF ALL LANGUAGES	
IS PROBABLY VERY EXPENSIVE, AND NOT WORTH THE COST	
IS A GOOD IDEA, BUT HARD TO IMPLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.6. I THINK HAVING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES ON SEPARATE CHANNELS…

[tick**one** or **more**]

WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO WATCH TV	
IS DEFEATING THE POINT OF MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING	
IS PROBABLY A WISE DECISION, COMMERCIALLY	
SENDS OUT A BAD MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICAN'S ABOUT UNITY	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.7. FROM MY PERSPECTIVE, SABC TV USES THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGES…

[**one** tick per language]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
ALWAYS											
MOSTLY											
SOMETIMES											
NOT OFTEN											
NEVER											

……..

.8. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN BROADCASTING IN PREVIOUSLY MARGINALISED LANGUAGES BECAUSE…

[tick**one**]

IT IS EXPENSIVE &THE SABC DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH MONEY	
THE LANGUAGES ARE UNDER DEVELOPED & NOT SUITABLE FOR TV	
SABC WONT FULLY COMMITT ITSELF TO MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING	
THE QUALITY OF PROGRAMMES ARE USUALLY BELOW AVERAGE	

MOST PEOPLE PREFER TO WATCH SOMETHING MAINSTREAM IN A BIGGER LANGUAGE	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.9. I THINK THE LANGUAGE WITH THE HIGHEST COMMERCIAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME COMMERCIAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.10. I THINK THE LANGUAGE WITH THE HIGHEST CULTURAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME CULTURAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.11. THE LANGUAGE WITH THE LOWEST COMMERCIAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME COMMERCIAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.12. WHY?

[tick**one** or **more**]

I HARDLY EVER SEE IT ON SABC TV	
I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF THIS LANGUAGE	
BECAUSE SABC TV NEGLECTS IT	
BECAUSE IT CANT COMPETE WITH THE BIGGER LANGUAGES	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.13. IF TOLD ENGLISH WAS THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED LANGUAGE ON SABC TV, I WOULD THINK…

[tick**one** or **more**]

GREAT, NOW WE CAN ALL LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH	
IT'S NOT MY MOTHER TONGUE, BUT IT WILL HELP ME GET A JOB	
I KNEW THAT, IT IS OBVIOUS	
THAT IS NOT FAIR, THERE ARE 10 OTHER OFFICAL LANGUAGES TOO	
THE BEST QUALITY PROGRAMMES ARE IN ENGLISH ANYWAY	

……..

.14. APART FROM YOUR MOTHER TONGUE, WHICH LANGUAGE WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HEAR ON A TV PROGRAMME?

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
I WOULDN'T WATCH TV											

Appendix II. Survey informed consent and questionnaire

Department of Linguistics

UKZN [Howard College Campus]

Researcher: Robert Evans [Student no.: 207524850, cell no.: 082 485 2080]

Masters Dissertation [Sociolinguistics]

Project Supervisor: Mrs. Rosemary Wildsmith

I am conducting a study on SABC TV, and need **your help** to understand the effects of their language use in television programming. Your help will enable me to understand the relationships between different languages and their uses, as well as how SABC TV's language policy and practice impacts your attitude towards South Africa's official languages.

This survey consists of **22 questions** which only require you to choose a response out of a number of provided options. The data will be handled confidentially at all times, and your name and personal details will never be revealed.

- This is a **confidential**questionnaire; confidentiality will be preserved as all of the analyses will focus on patterns in the data over many individuals, rather than on individuals themselves. Your name will not appear in any published documents, and no individual information about you will be passed on to any other party under any circumstances.
- Your participation in this study is **voluntary** and you may decline to participate without penalty.
- If you decide to participate, you **may withdraw** from the study at any stage and for any reason without penalty.
- Non-participation in this questionnaire will not result in any discrimination of any kind.
- All data collected from these questionnaires will be dealt with in accordance with the ethical rules of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The questionnaire will take about 5 minutes to complete.

Please read EACH QUESTION carefully and take a moment to think about your answer.

CONSENT

I, _____ (name of participant), confirm that I have read the above information. I agree to participate in this study. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

Participant's signature _____ Date _____

If you are willing to participate in a **focus group** later this semester, please provide your e-mail address:

_____

.1. AGE & GENDER?

[tick**one**]

	18	19	20	21	22
MALE					
FEMALE					

……..

.2. WHAT LANGUAGES DO YOU SPEAK?

[tick**one** or **more**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
1st language											
2nd language											
3rd language											

……..

.3. WHAT DO YOU WATCH ON SABC TV? AND IN WHAT LANGUAGE?

[tick**one** or **more**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
NEWS											
SPORT											
EDUCATION											

CHILDREN'S SHOWS											
MOVIES											
SERIES											
SOAP OPERA											
NONE											
MUSIC											
OTHER ……											

……..

.4. THE SABC'S CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICY SAYS…

[tick**one**]

GIVE PREFERENCE TO LANGUAGES WITH MORE SPEAKERS	
TREAT ALL 11 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES EQUALLY	
GIVE PREFERENCE TO COMMERCIALLY VIABLE LANGUAGES	
GIVE PREVIOUSLY MARGINALISED LANGUAGES MORE AIRTIME	
USE BIGGER LANGUAGES LIKE ENGLISH, ZULU & XHOSA MORE OFTEN	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.5. I THINK BROADCASTING IN ELEVEN LANGUAGES…

[tick**one** or **more**]

IS SABC TV'S CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION	
IS MOST FAIR TO VIEWERS, WHO ARE SPEAKERS OF ALL LANGUAGES	
IS PROBABLY VERY EXPENSIVE, AND NOT WORTH THE COST	
IS A GOOD IDEA, BUT HARD TO IMPLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.6. I THINK HAVING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES ON SEPARATE CHANNELS…

[tick**one** or **more**]

WOULD MAKE IT EASIER TO WATCH TV	
IS DEFEATING THE POINT OF MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING	
IS PROBABLY A WISE DECISION, COMMERCIALLY	
SENDS OUT A BAD MESSAGE TO SOUTH AFRICAN'S ABOUT UNITY	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.7. I THINK MULTILINGUAL PROGRAMMES…

[tick**one**]

ACCURATELY DEPICT SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY	
ARE A BAD IDEA, VIEWING IS DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE WHO DON'T SPEAK THE LANGUAGES USED	
REINFORCE THE IDEA OF A UNIFIED NATIONAL IDENTITY	
IS A WASTE OF TIME, THE SABC SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON MAKING SEPARATE PROGRAMMES FOR EACH LANGUAGE	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.8. THE NINE OFFICAL **AFRICAN** LANGUAGES CAN BE DIVIDED INTO SOTHO OR NGUNI LANGUAGES. I THINK MAKING TV PROGRAMMES IN A STANDARDISED SOTHO OR NGUNI, INSTEAD OF IN EACH OF THE NINE LANGUAGES, …

[tick**one**]

IS A GREAT IDEA – CHEAPER AND EASIER	
IS UNFAIR ON THE SPEAKERS OF THE SMALLER AFRICAN LANGUAGES	
IS A GOOD WAY FOR THE SABC TO BE BOTH PROFITABLE AND REPRESENTATIVE	
NEGLECTS TO RECOGNISE THAT EACH OF THE NINE AFRICAN LANGUAGES ARE CULTURALLY AND LINGUSTICALLY DISTINCT	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.9. FROM MY PERSPECTIVE, SABC TV USES THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGES…

[**one** tick per language]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
ALWAYS											
MOSTLY											
SOMETIMES											
NOT OFTEN											
NEVER											

……..

.10. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN BROADCASTING IN PREVIOUSLY MARGINALISED LANGUAGES BECAUSE…

[tick**one**]

IT IS EXPENSIVE &THE SABC DOES NOT HAVE ENOUGH MONEY	
THE LANGUAGES ARE UNDER DEVELOPED & NOT SUITABLE FOR TV	
SABC WONT FULLY COMMITT ITSELF TO MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING	
THE QUALITY OF PROGRAMMES ARE USUALLY BELOW AVERAGE	
MOST PEOPLE PREFER TO WATCH TV PROGRAMMES IN A BIGGER LANGUAGE	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.11. I THINK THE LANGUAGE WITH THE HIGHEST COMMERCIAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME COMMERCIAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.12. I THINK THE LANGUAGE WITH THE HIGHEST CULTURAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME CULTURAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.13. THE LANGUAGE WITH THE LOWEST COMMERCIAL VALUE IS…

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
ALL LANGUAGES HAVE THE SAME COMMERCIAL VALUE											
I DON'T KNOW											

……..

.14. WHY?

[tick**one** or **more**]

I HARDLY EVER HEAR IT ON SABC TV	
I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF THIS LANGUAGE	
BECAUSE SABC TV NEGLECTS IT	
BECAUSE IT CANT COMPETE WITH THE BIGGER LANGUAGES	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.15. IF TOLD ENGLISH WAS THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED LANGUAGE ON SABC TV, I WOULD THINK…

[tick**one** or **more**]

GREAT, NOW WE CAN ALL LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH	
IT'S NOT MY MOTHER TONGUE, BUT IT WILL HELP ME GET A JOB	
I KNEW THAT, IT IS OBVIOUS	
THAT IS NOT FAIR, THERE ARE 10 OTHER OFFICAL LANGUAGES TOO	
THE BEST QUALITY PROGRAMMES ARE IN ENGLISH ANYWAY	

……..

.16. APART FROM YOUR MOTHER TONGUE, WHICH LANGUAGE WOULD YOU MOST LIKE TO HEAR ON A TV PROGRAMME?

[tick**one**]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
HERE											
OR											
I WOULDN'T WATCH TV											

……..

.17. IN TERMS OF IMPROVING THE SOCIAL STATUS AND GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF A LANGUAGE, THE SABC IS …

[tick**one**]

NEGLECTING TO FULFILL ITS OBLIGATION TO DO SO FOR THE SMALLER AFRICAN LANGUAGES	
NOT RESPONSIBLE	
A NATIONAL BROADCASTER AND THEREFORE IDEALLY PLACED TO MAKE THESE IMPROVEMENTS	
ONLY ABLE TO WORK WITHIN THE GOVERNMENTAL CONTEXT – THE GOVERNMENT HAS NEGLECTED TO DEVELOP PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTGAED LANGUAGES, SO THE SABC HAS LITTLE TO WORK WITH	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.18. THE SABC'S RELIANCE ON INTERNATIONAL ENGLISH PROGRAMMES IS …

[tick**one**]

UNFAIR ON THE OTHER TEN OFFICAL LANGUAGES	
A CHEAPER OPTION, AND THEREFORE JUSTIFIABLE	
PROOF THAT ENGLISH IS THE MOST POWERFUL LANGUAGE IN THE COUNTRY	
BECAUSE THESE PROGRAMMES ARE MORE POPULAR THAN LOCALLY MADE PROGRAMMES USING THE SMALLER AFRICAN LANGUAGES	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.19. FROM MY PERSPECTIVE, THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGES ARE **NOT** SUITABLE CHOICES FOR…

[**one** or **more** ticks per language]

	Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu
NEWS											
SPORT											
EDUCATION											
MOVIES											
SOAP OPERAS											
CHILDRENS SHOWS											
MUSIC											
OTHER ……											

……..

.20. THE FACT THAT THE PREVIOUSLY MARGINALISED AFRICAN LANGUAGES HAVE NOT EVOLVED MUCH SINCE THE NATIONAL ELEVEN LANGUAGE POLICY WAS DEVELOPED IN 1994 IS …

[tick**one**]

THE FAULT OF THE NATIONAL BROADCASTER	
NOT A PROBLEM, THIS POLICY IS ONLY A TOKEN GESTURE OF EQUALITY ANYWAY	
BECAUSE THESE LANGUAGES ARE NOT CAPABLE OF COMPETING WITH THE BIGGER LANGUAGES IN TERMS OF VOLUME OF SPEAKERS	

BECAUSE THESE LANGUAGES ARE NOT CAPABLE OF COMPETING WITH THE BIGGER LANGUAGES IN TERMS OF GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY	
BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED TO SET THE TREND OF IMPROVING THE MARGINALISED LANGUAGES	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.21. THE FACT THAT THE PREVIOUSLY MARGINALISED AFRICAN LANGUAGES HAVE NOT BEEN UTILISED MUCH BY SABC TV, IN COMPARISON TO THE BIGGER LANGUAGES LIKE ENGLISH AND ZULU, IS …

[tick**one**]

A LEGACY OF APARTHEID – BECAUSE OF APARTHEID THEY WERE NEGLECTED, AND NOW THEY ARE LESS CAPABLE AND LESS POPULAR THAN THE BIGGER LANGUAGES	
LOGICAL – THE MAJORITY OF SABC VIEWERS DO NOT SPEAK THESE LANGUAGES ANYWAY	
EVIDENCE OF A NATIONAL BROADCASTER FAILING TO PROPERLY EXECUTE ITS MULTILINGUAL MANDATE	
BECAUSE SPEAKERS OF THESE MARGINALISED LANGUAGES NEED TO LEARN TO USE THE BIGGER LANGUAGES IN ORDER TO FUNCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA	
I DON'T KNOW	

……..

.22. ENGLISH, ZULU, AND XHOSA ARE CLEARLY THE MOST FREQUENTLY USED LANGUAGES ON SABC TV. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGES DO YOU THINK COULD FUNCTION ALONGSIDE THESE LANGUAGES?

[tick**one** or **more**]

	Afrikaans	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Sotho	Swazi	Tswana	Tsonga	Venda	Xhosa
HERE									
OR									
NONE OF THESE LANGUAGES									

……..

END.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

Appendix III. Quantitative SPSS survey data

Language use in television programming on SABC TV

1 Questionnaire

Each of 458 University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College Campus) students was asked to complete a questionnaire on issues relating to the SABC's language policy and related issues. The questionnaire consists of 2 demographic and 20 SABC language policy related questions. The purpose of the analysis is to describe the responses of these students to the various issues that were raised in the language policy questions.

2 Profile of respondents

Table 1 – Age

Age	**Frequency**	**%**
18	114	25
19	116	26
20	103	23
21 or older	117	26
Total	450	100

The 4 age groups (18, 19, 20, 21 or older) are almost equally represented in the sample.

Table 2 – Gender

Gender	**Frequency**	**%**
Male	163	36
Female	290	64
Total	453	100

Females outnumber males almost 2:1 in the sample.

Table 3a – First language

Language	**Frequency**	**%**
English	235	51.3
Zulu	187	40.8
Xhosa	16	3.5
Others	20[1]	4.4
Total	458	100

1 Languages other than English, Zulu, Afrikaans and Xhosa appear 11 times.

Table 3b – Two languages listed

Languages	**Frequency**	**%**
English/Afrikaans	92	47.2
Zulu/English	88	45.1
Others[1]	15	7. 7
Total	195	100

1 "Others" include 9 cases where English is second language and 4 cases where Zulu is second language.

Table 3c – Three languages listed

Languages	**Frequency**
Zulu/English/Xhosa	48
English/Afrikaans/Zulu	25
Zulu/English/Afrikaans	18
Others[1]	65
Total	156

1 Languages other than English, Zulu, Afrikaans and Xhosa appear once 33 times and twice 4 times i.e. only 8.8% of the 156*3 = 468 languages specified.

Figure 1a – First language

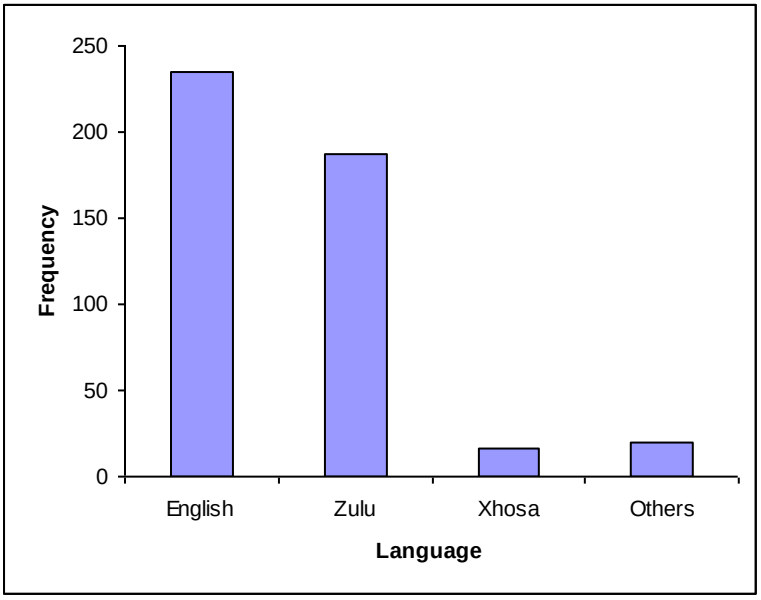


Figure 1b – Two languages

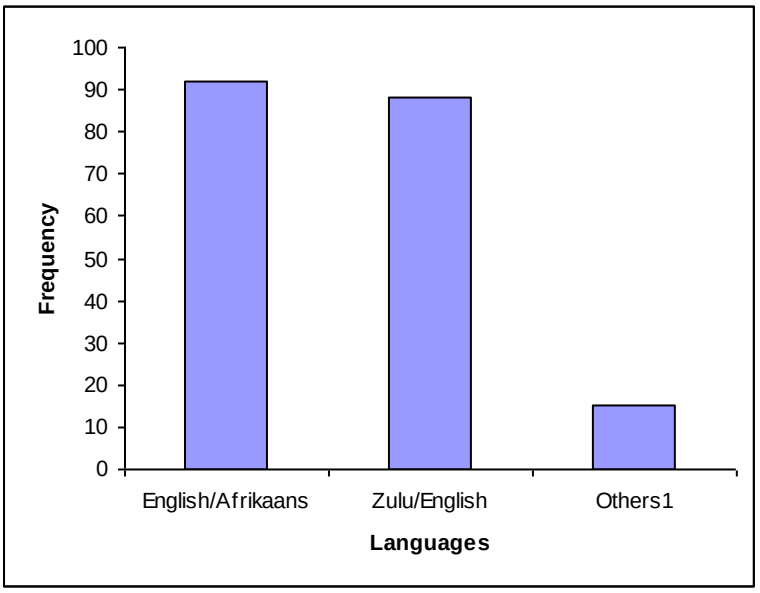
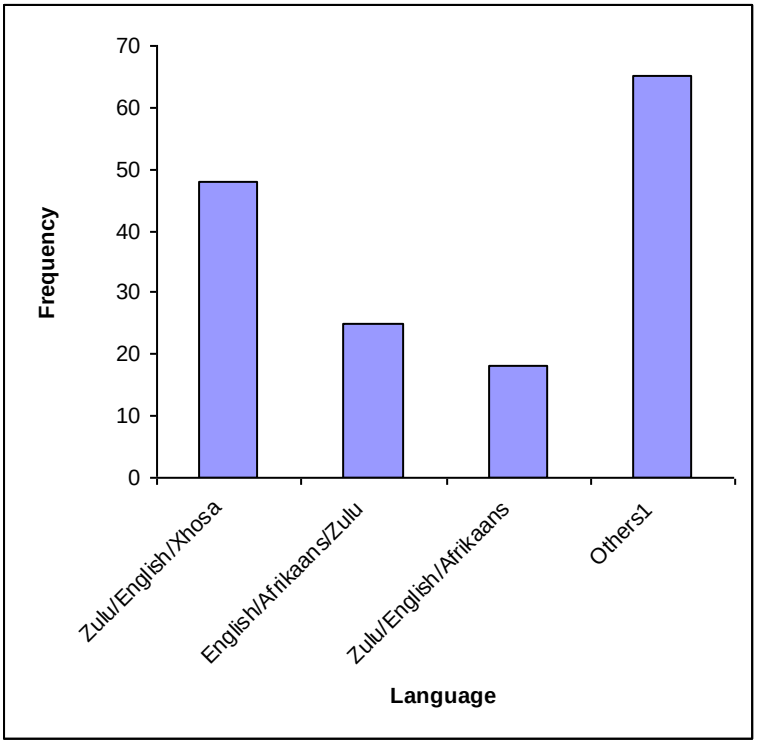


Figure 1c – Three languages



1 Over 90% of the respondents have either English or Zulu as first language.

2 Afrikaans is the most popular second language for English speaking respondents, while English is the most popular second language for Zulu speaking respondents.

3 Xhosa is a popular choice as a third language among respondents with Zulu as first language and English as second language.

4 The percentages of the respondents that listed 2 and 3 languages are 41.3 (189 out of 458) and 35.8% (164 out of 458) respectively.

5 Few of the respondents listed languages other than English, Zulu, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

3 What people watch and in what language

3.1 General

Table 4 – Viewing percentage per program type

Program type	Percentage[1]	Rank
News	83.2	1
Sport	54.8	6
Education	44.3	7
Children's shows	36.9	8
Movies	82.3	2
Series	76.4	3
Soap operas	61.6	5
Music	65.3	4

1 This was calculated by expressing the number of respondents who answered the question as a percentage of 458.

News has the highest percentage of respondents who answered, followed by movies.

Table 5 – Majority languages viewing percentages

Program type	Percentage English	Percentage English/Zulu
News	57.6	13.1
Sport	79.3	8.8
Education	81.3	8.9
Children's shows	78.1	7.1
Movies	84.1	11.9
Series	68.6	11.7
Soap operas	58.2	10.3
Music	56.9	25.4

English viewing dominates with English/Zulu a distant second.

3.2 News

Table 5a – News watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	220	57.7
English/Zulu	50	13.1
Zulu	36	9.5
English/Zulu/Xhosa	26	6.8
English/Afrikaans	12	3.2
Other	37[1]	9.7

1 Except for Afrikaans (4 responses) and Xhosa (2 responses) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which except for 1 case include English and/or Zulu.

Table 5b – News watching for Gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch news	34	43
English	82	135
English/Zulu	12	37
Zulu	12	24
English/Zulu/Xhosa	10	16
English/Afrikaans	3	9
Other	10	26

Chi-square = 7.209 with p-value 0.302. There is no difference in news watching patterns for males and females for the different language groups.

3.3 Sport

Table 6a – Sport watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	200	79.7
English/Zulu	22	8.8
Zulu	10	4
Other	19[1]	7.6

1 Except for Afrikaans (1 response) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 6b – Sport watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch sport	49	158
English	86	109
English/Zulu	13	9
Zulu	4	6
Other	11	8

Chi-square = 28.330 with p-value 0.000. A higher proportion of males (than females) watch sport.

3.4 Education

Table 7a – Education watching for different languages

Language(s)	Frequency	Percentage
English	165	81.3
English/Zulu	18	8.9
Other	20[1]	9.9

1 Except for Afrikaans (1 response), Zulu (1 response) and Venda(1 response) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 7b – Education watching for gender and language

Language(s)	Males	Females
Do not watch education programs	101	153
English	49	112
English/Zulu	7	11
Other	6	14

Chi-square = 4.104 with p-value = 0.250. There is no difference in education watching patterns for males and females for the different groups.

3.5 Children's shows

Table 8a – Children's shows watching for different languages

Language(s)	Frequency	Percentage
English	132	78.1
English/Zulu	12	7.1
Other	25[1]	14.8

1 Except for Zulu (4 responses), Afrikaans (1 response) and Tswana (1 response) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 8b – Children's shows watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch children's shows	122	166
English	33	95
English/Zulu	3	9
Other	5	20

Chi-square = 14.270 with p-value 0.003. A higher proportion of females (than males) watch children's programs.

3.6 Movies

Table 9a – Movies watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	318	84.4
English/Zulu	45	11.9
Other	14[1]	3.7

1 All the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 9b – Movies watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch movies	33	48
English	112	201
English/Zulu	15	30
Other	3	11

Chi-square = 2.226 with p-value 0.527. There is no difference in movie watching patterns for males and females for the different groups.

3.7 Series

Table 10a – Series watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	241	68.9
English/Zulu	41	11.7
English/Zulu/Xhosa	14	4
English/Afrikaans	11	3.1
Other	43[1]	12.3

1 Except for Afrikaans (2 responses), Swazi (1 response) and Venda (1 response) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 10b – Series watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch series	53	55
English	81	155
English/Zulu	14	27
English/Zulu/Xhosa	5	9
English/Afrikaans	3	8
Others	7	36

Chi-square = 15.988 with p-value 0.007. A higher proportion of males (than females) do not watch series. A lower proportion of males from the "others" group watch series.

When performing a separate test on just the languages listed, it is found that the proportions of males and females that watch series do not differ across the English, English/Zulu, English/Zulu/Xhosa and English/Afrikaans language groups (Chi-square = 0.25 with p-value = 0.969).

3.8 Soap operas

Table 11a – Soap opera watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	165	58.5
English/Zulu	29	10.3
English/Afrikaans	15	5.3
Afrikaans	12	4.3
English/Zulu/Afrikaans	12	4.3
Other	49[1]	17.4

1 Except for Northern Sotho (2 responses) and Venda (1 response) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 11b – Soap opera watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch soaps	81	95
English	47	113
English/Zulu	11	18
English/Afrikaans	4	11
Afrikaans	5	7
English/Zulu/Afrikaans	2	10
Other	13	36

In the calculation of the chi-square statistic the multiple language groups (English/Zulu, English/Afrikaans,English/Zulu/Afrikaans) were combined. For this table chi-square = 11.553 with p-value 0.021. A higher proportion of males (than females) watch Afrikaans series. A higher proportion of males in general do not watch series.

3.9 Music

Table 12a – Music watching for different languages

Language(s)	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
English	170	56.9
English/Zulu	77	25.8
English/Zulu/Xhosa	14	4.7
Other	38[1]	12.7

1 Except for Zulu (3 responses) and Afrikaans (2 responses) all the cases listed under "other" involve 2 or more languages, which all include English and/or Zulu.

Table 12b – Music watching for gender and language

Language(s)	**Males**	**Females**
Do not watch music programs	69	90
English	56	111
English/Zulu	26	50
English/Zulu/Xhosa	2	11
Other	10	28

In the calculation of the chi-square statistic the multiple language groups (English/Zulu,English/Zulu/Xhosa) were combined. Chi-square = 6.560 with a p-value of 0.087. A higher proportion of males (than females) do not watch music programs.

4 Viewing patterns among gender and age groups

Table 13 – News watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	24	30	29	46	129
	no	4	4	15	11	34
Female	yes	65	74	53	54	246
	no	21	8	6	6	41
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 14 – Sport watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	19	23	33	39	114
	no	9	11	11	18	49
Female	yes	39	38	28	26	131
	no	47	44	31	34	156
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 15 – Education watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	13	13	16	20	62
	no	15	21	28	37	101
Female	yes	47	32	28	29	136
	no	39	50	31	31	151
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 16 – Children's shows watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	10	12	11	8	41
	no	18	22	33	49	122
Female	yes	38	31	24	30	123
	no	48	51	35	30	164
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 17 – Movies watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	22	29	33	46	130
	no	6	5	11	11	33
Female	yes	72	72	52	44	240
	no	14	10	7	16	47
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 18 – Series watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	22	21	30	37	110
	no	6	13	14	20	53
Female	yes	72	63	50	48	233
	no	14	19	9	12	54
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 19 – Soap opera watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	13	17	24	28	82
	no	15	17	20	29	81
Female	yes	58	53	42	41	194
	no	28	29	17	19	93
Total		114	116	103	117	450

Table 20 – Music watching according to gender and age group

Gender	watch/age	18 years	19 years	20 years	21 + years	Total
Male	yes	15	21	26	32	94
	no	13	13	18	25	69
Female	yes	66	52	40	41	199
	no	20	30	19	19	88
Total		114	116	103	117	450

The results of a categorical data analysis of combining the counts in tables 13 to 20 into one table are shown in the table below.

Table 21 – Categorical data analysis results

Maximum Likelihood Analysis of Variance

Source	DF	Chi-Square	Pr>ChiSq
Intercept	1	204.04	<.0001
program	7	345.91	<.0001
age	3	1.81	0.6135
gender	1	16.70	<.0001
program*age	21	20.77	0.4728

program*gender	7	52.64	<.0001
age*gender	3	3.77	0.2875

Table 22a – Program watching according to gender

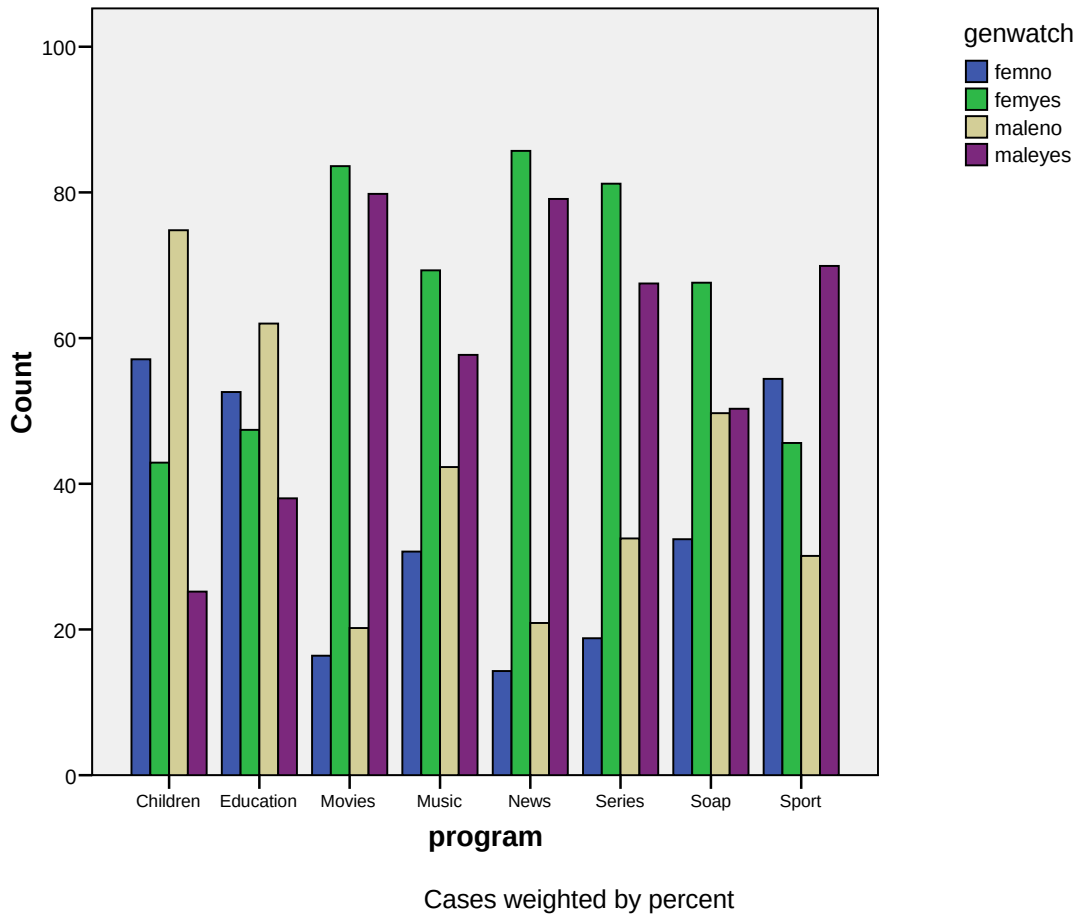
program			watch		Total
			n	y	
children	gender	f	164	123	287
		m	122	41	163
	Total		286	164	450
education	gender	f	151	136	287
		m	101	62	163
	Total		252	198	450
movies	gender	f	47	240	287
		m	33	130	163
	Total		80	370	450
music	gender	f	88	199	287
		m	69	94	163
	Total		157	293	450
news	gender	f	41	246	287
		m	34	129	163
	Total		75	375	450
series	gender	f	54	233	287
		m	53	110	163
	Total		107	343	450
soap	gender	f	93	194	287
		m	81	82	163
	Total		174	276	450
sport	gender	f	156	131	287
		m	49	114	163

Total	205	245	450

Table 22b – Program watching according to gender (percentages)

Program	Gender	%yes	%no
Children	female	42.9	57.1
Children	male	25.2	74.8
Education	female	47.4	52.6
Education	male	38	62
Movies	female	83.6	16.4
Movies	male	79.8	20.2
Music	female	69.3	30.7
Music	male	57.7	42.3
News	female	85.7	14.3
News	male	79.1	20.9
Series	female	81.2	18.8
Series	male	67.5	32.5
Soap	female	67.6	32.4
Soap	male	50.3	49.7
Sport	female	45.6	54.4
Sport	male	69.9	30.1

Figure 2 – Program watching according to gender (percentages)



The following programs are watched more by females than males: children's programs, soap operas, education programs, series and music programs.

Males watch more sport than females.

For news and movies there is little difference between the proportions of males and females watching.

Table 23 – Program popularity according to gender

Program	**Females watching**	**rank**	**Males watching**	**rank**
Children	123	8	41	8
Education	136	6	62	7
Movies	240	2	130	1

Music	199	4	94	5
News	246	1	129	2
Series	233	3	110	4
Soap	194	5	82	6
Sport	131	7	114	3

5 Awareness of language policy

Table 24 – Awareness of language policy for 2 main languages

	1st language		
Response	**English**	**Zulu**	**Total**
Preference more speakers	19(8)	12(6)	31
Treat all equally	48(20)	83(44)	131
Prefer commercially viable	17(7)	8(4)	25
Favour marginalized	9(4)	4(2)	13
Prefer bigger languages	28(12)	23(12)	51
Don't know	119(50)	59(31)	178
Total	240	189	429

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 31.388 with p-value = 0.000. The significant chi-square value is due to

1 A higher proportion of 1st language Zulu speaking respondents preferring the “treat all languages equally” option.

2 A higher proportion of 1st language English speaking respondents preferring the “don’t know” option.

For all other options there is little difference between the responses for the 2 groups.

6 Language attitudes concerning the effectiveness and use of a multilingual broadcasting system

6.1 Broadcasting in eleven languages

Table 25 – Broadcasting in eleven languages for 2 main languages

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Constitutional obligation	16(6)	37(19)	53
Fair to all languages	43(17)	59(30)	102
Not worth cost	60(24)	13(7)	73
Hard to implement	120(48)	81(41)	201
Don't know	10(4)	8(4)	18
Total	249	198	447

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 43.629 with p-value = 0.000. The significant chi-square value is due to

1 A higher proportion of 1st language Zulu speaking respondents regarding it as a constitutional obligation.

2 A higher proportion of 1st language Zulu speaking respondents regarding it as fair to all languages.

3 A higher proportion of 1st language English speaking respondents regarding it as not worth the cost.

4 A higher proportion of 1st language English speaking respondents regarding it as hard to implement.

6.2 Having different languages on separate channels

Table 26 – Having different languages on separate channels – 2 main languages

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Easier to watch on TV	97(38)	60(29)	157
Defeating the point of multilingual broadcasting	50(20)	50(24)	100

Wise commercially	52(20)	57(28)	109
Bad message about unity	37(15)	36(17)	73
Don't know	19(7)	4(2)	23
Total	255	207	462

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 13.909 with p-value = 0.008. The significant chi-square value is due to

1 A higher proportion of 1st language English speaking respondents regarding having different languages on separate channels as easier to watch.

2 A higher proportion of 1st language Zulu speaking respondents regarding having different languages on separate channels defeating the point of multilingual broadcasting and as being wise commercially.

3 A higher proportion of 1st language English speaking respondents don't know.

6.3 Multilingual programs

Table 27 – Multilingual programs – 2 main languages

Response	**English**	**Zulu**	**Total**
Accurately depicts SA society	118(49)	73(38)	191
Viewing difficult if you don't speak the language	38(16)	7(4)	45
Reinforce unified identity	56(23)	87(46)	143
Should have separate programs	19(8)	7(4)	26
Don't know	10(4)	17(9)	27
Total	241	191	432

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 43.668 with p-value = 0.000. The significant chi-square value is due to a disagreement on all the alternative answers.

6.4 Difficulty of sustaining broadcasting in previously marginalized languages

Table 28 – Difficulty of sustaining broadcasting in previously marginalized languages – 2 main languages

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Expensive	53(23)	17(9)	70
Language not suitable for TV	25(11)	19(11)	44
SABC insufficiently committed	25(11)	23(13)	48
Program quality below average	42(18)	24(13)	66
People prefer bigger language programs	57(24)	48(27)	105
Don't know	33(14)	49(27)	82
Total	235	180	415

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 21.303 with p-value = 0.001. The significant chi-square value is due to

1 A higher proportion of English speaking respondents thinking sustaining broadcasting in previously marginalized languages is expensive.

2 A higher proportion of English speaking respondents thinking sustaining broadcasting in previously marginalized languages will result in below average quality programs.

3 A higher proportion of Zulu speaking respondents don’t know.

7 Language harmonization

Table 28 – Language harmonization – 2 main languages

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Cheaper and easier	49(21)	28(15)	77
Unfair on smaller African languages	26(11)	47(25)	73
Profitable and representative	50(21)	29(16)	79
Fails to recognize distinctness	69(29)	57(30)	126

Don't know	44(18)	26(14)	70
Total	238	187	425

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 27.250 with p-value = 0.002. The significant chi-square value is due to the two language groups disagreeing on all the alternatives except “fails to recognize distinctness”.

8 Perceived use of official languages

Table 29 – Perceived use of official languages (percentages)

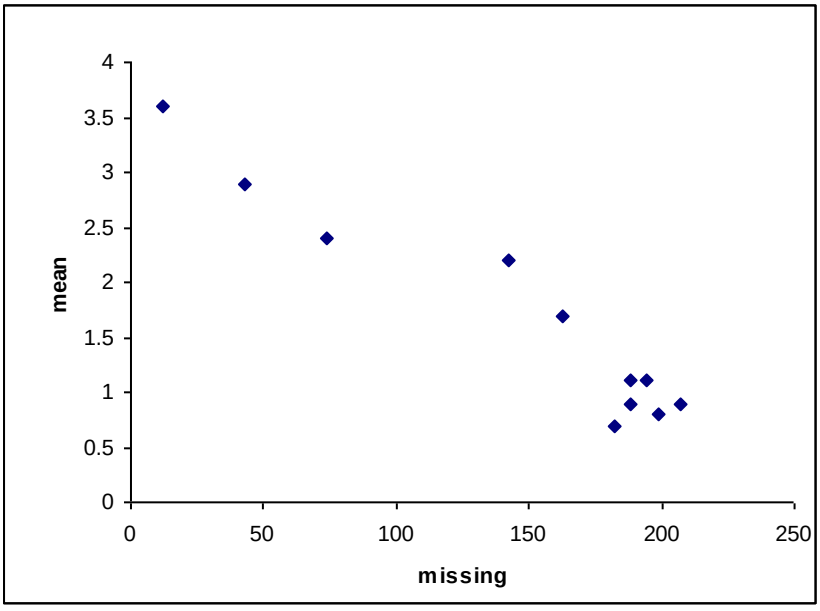
	Perceived use						
Language	**never**	**not often**	**sometimes**	**mostly**	**always**	**mean[1]**	**rank**
Afrikaans	1	9.6	52.6	26	10.7	2.4	3
English	0.2	0.2	4.7	34.1	60.8	3.6	1
Ndebele	26.3	54.1	17.8	1.1	0.4	0.9	8
Northern Sotho	34.3	47	13.9	3.2	1.6	0.9	9
Sotho	12.2	27.5	44.7	12.5	3.1	1.7	5
Swazi	36.3	45.6	16.2	1.2	0.8	0.8	10
Tswana	25	45.5	25	3.4	1.1	1.1	7
Tsonga	43.8	45.3	9.8	0.7	0.4	0.7	11
Venda	24.8	42.6	29.3	2.2	1.1	1.1	6
Xhosa	4.1	17.4	44.3	27.5	6.6	2.2	4
Zulu	0	1.7	24.3	52	21.9	2.9	2

1 The calculation of the mean is based on using values of 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4 for never, not often, sometimes, mostly, always respectively and using the percentages as weights.

Table 30 – Missing responses versus mean per language

Language	missing	mean
Afrikaans	74	2.4
English	12	3.6
Ndebele	188	0.9
Northern Sotho	207	0.9
Sotho	163	1.7
Swazi	199	0.8
Tswana	194	1.1
Tsonga	182	0.7
Venda	188	1.1
Xhosa	142	2.2
Zulu	43	2.9

Figure 3 – Missing responses versus mean per language



There is a strong negative correlation between the mean perceived use for a language and the number of missing responses i.e. the higher the perceived use the less the number of missing responses.

Table 31 – Mean perceived use as rated by speakers of 2 main languages

Language	English mean	Zulu mean
Afrikaans	2.3	2.4
English	3.4	3.8
Ndebele	0.9	1
Northern Sotho	0.7	1.1
Sotho	1.2	2.1
Swazi	0.6	1.1
Tswana	0.8	1.4
Tsonga	0.6	0.7
Venda	0.8	1.4
Xhosa	1.9	2.4
Zulu	2.9	3

There is not much difference between the mean perceived uses of the languages for the English and Zulu speakers.

9 Commercial and cultural values of languages

Table 32 – Language with highest commercial value

Language	Frequency	Percent
English	405	89
Zulu	16	3.5
English/Zulu	13	2.9
All same	11	2.4
Other	6	1.3
Don't know	4	0.9
Total	455	100

English has by far the highest commercial value.

Table 33 – Language with highest cultural value

Language	Frequency	Percent
Zulu	214	46.7
All same	122	26.6
English	50	10.9
Afrikaans	16	3.5
Xhosa	9	2
Others	11	2.4
Don't know	36	7.9
Total	458	100

Zulu is the language with the highest cultural value. English has a much lower cultural rating than its commercial rating.

Table 34a – Highest commercial value and highest cultural value – English 1st language

Culture/Commerce	English	Zulu	All same	Don't know	Other	Total
Afrikaans	9	0	0	0	0	9
English	35	0	0	0	0	35
Zulu	64	5	0	0	2	71
All same	75	0	4	1	2	82
Don' know	21	0	1	1	2	25
Other	7	0	1	2	2	12
Total	211	5	6	4	8	234

Table 34b – Highest commercial value and highest cultural value – Zulu 1st language

Culture/Commerce	English	Zulu	All same	Other	Total
English	9	1	1	1	12
Zulu	104	7	1	6	118
All same	28	0	3	0	31
Don't know	8	0	0	0	8
Other	12	3	0	0	15
Total	161	11	5	7	184

Table 34c – Highest commercial value and highest cultural value – 1st language other than English or Zulu

Culture/Commerce	English	Other	Total
English	2	0	2
Zulu	14	1	15
Don' know	8	1	9
Other	7	2	9
Total	31	4	35

1 Over 90 % (211 out of 234) of the respondents with English as 1st language regard English as the language with the highest commercial value, while only 15% (35 out of 234) regard English as the language with the highest cultural value. Of the 211 who regarded English as the language with the highest commercial value 75 (36%) changed to “all the same”, 64 (30%) to Zulu and 21(10%) to “don’t know” as a language with the highest cultural value.

2 Over 87 % (161 out of 184) of the respondents with Zulu as 1st language regard English as the language with the highest commercial value, while 64% (118 out of 184) regard Zulu as the language with the highest cultural value. Of the 118 who regarded Zulu as the language with the highest cultural value 104 (88%) changed to English as a language with the highest commercial value.

3 Over 83% (176 out of 211) of the respondents with English as a 1st language who stated that English has the highest commercial value did not support English as the language with the highest cultural value.

4 Over 94% (111 out of 118) of the respondents with Zulu as a 1st language who stated that Zulu has the highest cultural value did not support Zulu as the language with the highest commercial value.

5 Over 88% (31 out of 35) of the respondents with a 1st language other than English or Zulu regard English as the language with the highest commercial value, while 43% (15 out of 35) regard Zulu as the language with the highest cultural value.

10 Language with lowest cultural value and reasons for choice

Table 35 – Language with lowest cultural value

Language	Frequency	Percent
Don't know	141	31.2
Tsonga	101	22.3
Swazi	38	8.4
Ndebele	33	7.3
All same	33	7.3
Afrikaans	25	5.5
Venda	24	5.3
Northern Sotho	23	5.1
Other	34	7.6
Total	452	100

Figure 4 – Language with lowest cultural value

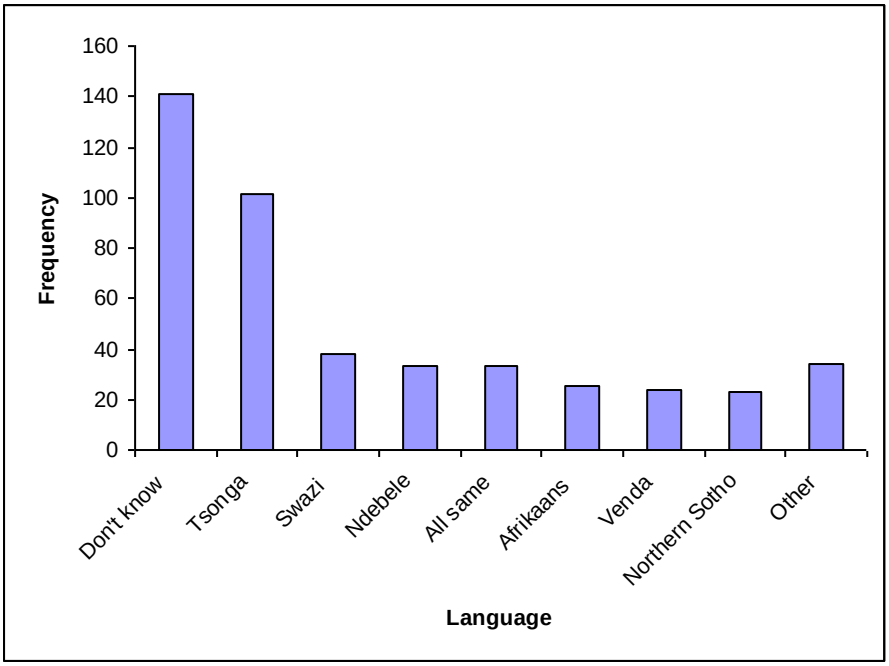


Table 36 – Language with lowest cultural value and main reason(s)

Language	Main reason(s)
Don't know	Don't know
Tsonga	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete
Swazi	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete
Ndebele	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete
All same	Don't know
Afrikaans	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete
Venda	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete
Northern Sotho	Never heard language or on TV, Can't compete

11 Position of English in relation to African languages in SABC broadcasting system

11.1 Attitude towards English being most used language on SABC

Table 37 – Attitude towards English being most used language on SABC

Response	Frequency	Percent
Can learn to speak English	70	15.7
Help getting a job	27	6
Obvious	160	35.8
10 other official languages too	46	10.3
Best quality programs in English	92	20.6
Obvious and best quality programs in English	13	2.9
Other[1]	39	8.7
Total	447	100

1 Two or more reasons combined

11.2 Language besides mother tongue preferred on TV

Table 38a – Language besides mother tongue preferred on TV

Language	Frequency	Percent
Afrikaans	97	21.8
English	93	20.9
Ndebele	11	2.5
Northern Sotho	3	0.7
Sotho	26	5.8
Swazi	25	5.6
Tswana	12	2.7
Tsonga	10	2.2
Venda	9	2
Xhosa	31	7
Zulu	52	11.7
Don't watch	55	12.4
Other	21	4.7
Total	445	100

Table 38b – Language besides mother tongue preferred on TV per 1st language group

Language/1st lang.	English	Zulu	Other languages
Afrikaans	88	5	4
English	0	56	7
Ndebele	1	10	0
Northern Sotho	1	2	0
Sotho	2	22	2

Swazi	3	20	2
Tswana	0	9	3
Tsonga	3	5	2
Venda	2	7	0
Xhosa	4	21	6
Zulu	38	0	3
Don't watch	51	2	2
Other	7	11	3
Total	200	170	34

English speaking respondents prefer Afrikaans and Zulu, while Zulu speaking respondents prefer English and Xhosa.

11.3 Attitude towards SABC reliance on international English programs

Table 39a – Attitude towards SABC reliance on international English programs

Response	**Frequency**
Unfair on other languages	63
Cheaper and sustainable	39
English most powerful	139
Programs more popular	163
Don't know	33
English most powerful and more popular	5
Other	5
Total	447

Table 39b – Attitude towards SABC reliance on international English programs – English, Zulu 1st language only

Response	English	Zulu
Unfair on other languages	15(6)	38(21)
Cheaper and sustainable	19(8)	17(9)
English most powerful	61(26)	66(37)
Programs more popular	114(49)	43(24)
Don't know	18(8)	14(8)
Other	4(2)	2(1)
Total	231	180

Percentages are shown in brackets.

Chi-square = 37.518 with p-value = 0.000. The responses differ on “unfair on other languages” (higher percentage from Zulu group), “English most powerful” (higher percentage from Zulu group) and “programs more popular” ((higher percentage from English group).

11.4 Utilizing previously marginalized languages less than bigger ones

Table 40a – Utilizing previously marginalized languages less than bigger ones (total)

Response	Frequency
Legacy of apartheid	69
Majority viewers do not speak these languages	176
Failure to execute multilingual mandate	75
Learn to use bigger languages	35
Don't know	80
Other	3

Table 40b – Utilizing previously marginalized languages less than bigger ones according to English and Zulu first language speakers

Response	English	Zulu	Total

Legacy of apartheid	27	39	66
Majority viewers do not speak languages	115	55	170
Failure to execute multilingual mandate	34	33	67
Learn to use bigger languages	17	15	32
Don't know	37	35	72

Chi-square = 16.939 with a p-value of 0.002. The responses of English and Zulu first language speakers differ significantly. This is mainly due to

1 A higher percentage of Zulu first language speakers (than English first language speakers) giving "legacy of apartheid" as a reason.

2 A higher percentage of English first language speakers (than Zulu first language speakers) giving "majority of viewers do not speak languages" as a reason.

11.5 Language that could function besides English, Zulu and Xhosa

Table 41a – Language that could function besides English, Zulu and Xhosa (total)

Language(s)	**Frequency**
Afrikaans	153
Ndebele	6
Northern Sotho	2
Sotho	55
Swazi	26
Tswana	10
Venda	2
None	63
Afrikaans/African languages	78
Sotho/African languages	30
Other	17
Total	442

Afrikaans, Sotho and Swazi (in this order) are the dominant languages that could function besides English, Zulu and Xhosa.

Table 41b – Language that could function besides English, Zulu and Xhosa according to English and Zulu first language speakers

Language(s)	English	Zulu	Total
Afrikaans	126	19	145
Ndebele	3	3	6
Northern Sotho	1	1	2
Sotho	11	37	48
Swazi	2	23	25
Tswana	2	6	8
Venda	0	2	2
None	37	22	59
Afrikaans/African languages	17	13	30
Sotho/African languages	9	21	30
Afrikaans/Sotho	19	19	38
Other	3	15	18
	230	181	411

Chi-square = 125.775 with a p-value of 0.000.The responses of English and Zulu first language speakers differ significantly. This is mainly due to English first language speakers favouring Afrikaans as a language that could function besides the most frequently used TV languages and Zulu first language speakers favouring other African languages (mainly Sotho or Swazi).

12 Perceived sustainability of languages on TV

12.1 Role of SABC in improving social status, grammar and vocabulary

Table 42a – Role of SABC in improving social status, grammar and vocabulary (total)

Response	Frequency
Neglected obligation	69

Not responsible	59
Ideally placed to make improvements	132
Can only work within government context	89
Don't know	105
Total	454

Table 42b – Role of SABC in improving social status, grammar and vocabulary according to English and Zulu first language speakers

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Neglected obligation	31	32	63
Not responsible	34	22	56
Ideally placed to make improvements	64	59	123
Can only work within government context	57	26	83
Don't know	50	44	94
Total	236	183	419

Chi-square = 8.179 with a p-value of 0.085. There is some evidence that the responses of English and Zulu first language speakers differ significantly. This is mainly due to a higher percentage of English first language speakers (than Zulu first language speakers) being of the opinion that the SABC can only work within government context.

12.2 Lack of evolvement of previously marginalized languages since national eleven policy

Table 43a – Reasons for lack of evolvement of previously marginalized languages since national eleven policy (total)

Response	Frequency
Fault of SABC	47
Policy is only a token gesture	36
Cannot compete with big languages-volume	100
Cannot compete with big languages-grammar	35
Government failed to set the trend	104
Don't know	118
Other	8

Total	448

Table 43b – Reasons for lack of evolvement of previously marginalized languages since national eleven policy according to English and Zulu first language speakers

Response	English	Zulu	Total
Fault of SABC	19	26	45
Policy is only a token gesture	15	21	36
Cannot compete with big languages-volume	68	26	94
Cannot compete with big languages-gram.	21	14	35
Government failed to set the trend	52	48	100
Don't know	59	48	107
Total	234	183	417

Chi-square = 17.571 with a p-value of 0.004. The responses of English and Zulu first language speakers differ significantly. This mainly due to

1 A higher percentage of Zulu first language speakers (than English first language speakers) giving "fault of SABC" as a reason.

2 A higher percentage of Zulu first language speakers (than English first language speakers) giving "policy is only a token gesture" as a reason.

3 A higher percentage of English first language speakers (than Zulu first language speakers) giving "cannot compete with big languages in terms of volume of speakers" as a reason.

13 Suitability of languages for TV programs

Table 44 – Non responses for non-suitability of languages for types of programs

Program	Frequency	% non response	Rank
News	208	45.4	5
Sport	201	43.9	6
Education	234	51.1	2
Movies	180	39.3	7
Soap operas	220	48	3

Children's shows	249	54.4	1
Music	218	47.6	4

For most of the program types the non response is either just under or just over 50%. This suggests that a considerable percentage of the respondents do not consider any of the languages not suitable choices for programs. The non suitable languages mentioned more than 10 times are listed in the table below for each program type.

Table 45 – Responses to languages not suitable for

a News

Languages	**Frequency**
Afrikaans	25
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	12
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	16
Northern Sotho	22
Swazi	23
Tsonga	29

% response = 2.6 to 6.3

b Sport

Languages	**Frequency**
Afrikaans	26
All but English	13
Ndebele	13
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	13
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	18
Northern Sotho	20
Swazi	13
Tswana	13
Tsonga	24

Venda	17

% response = 2.8 to 5.7

c Education

Languages	**Frequency**
Afrikaans	35
All but English	12
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	13
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	15
Northern Sotho	14
Swazi	15
Tsonga	22
Venda	16

% response = 2.6 to 6.6

d Movies

Languages	**Frequency**
Afrikaans	27
All but English	18
Ndebele	17
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	25
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	25
Northern Sotho	14
Swazi	12
Tsonga	12
Venda	16

% response = 2.6 to 5.5

e Soap operas

Languages	Frequency
Afrikaans	22
All but English	12
Ndebele	19
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	21
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	15
Northern Sotho	14
Swazi	19
Tswana	10
Tsonga	17
Venda	14

% response = 2.6 to 4.8.

f Children's shows

Languages	Frequency
Afrikaans	29
All but English	10
All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	13
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	13
Swazi	12
Tsonga	23
Venda	20

% response = 2.2 to 6.3.

g Music

Languages	Frequency
Afrikaans	35
All but English	15
Ndebele	11

All but Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu	15
All but Afrikaans, English, Zulu	15
Swazi	12
Tswana	11
Tsonga	18
Venda	18

% response = 2.4 to 7.6.

The percentages that consider language as not suitable for TV programs are generally small (below 8% in all cases).

Appendix IV. Focus group e-mail

Subject: Can you Assist?

Hello UKZN student!

If you are receiving this e-mail, it is because you kindly assisted me by last semester by completing one of 500 surveys I needed as part of the research for my Masters thesis. In case you can't remember, the survey was investigating the effects of SABC TV's language policy and practice on your language attitudes.

I am once again asking for your assistance, as I need to conduct a focus group to further explore the themes and patterns that emerged after analysing the survey results. If you are willing to spend 45 minutes participating in a group discussion at a location on Howard College campus this **Friday (13 August) between 12h30 and 13h30**, please respond to this e-mail with your **name** and **cellular phone number**. I will reply and confirm the time and location should your assistance be required.

During the 45 minute session I will ask the group of 8-10 people what their thoughts are on a number issues relevant to my research questions. There will be no pressure to answer any questions you are not comfortable with, and any data collected with be dealt with confidentially. There will be refreshments (fruit juice and muffins) for the participants.

Thank you once again for your help!

Regards

Robert Evans

Department of Linguistics
UKZN [Howard College Campus]
Researcher: Robert Evans [Student no.: 207524850, cell no.: 082 485 2080]
Masters Dissertation [Sociolinguistics]
Project Supervisor: Mrs. Rosemary Wildsmith

Appendix V. Focus group interview question schedule

Opening questions: ... factual as opposed to attitude-based questions ... intended to establish what characteristics the group members share

1) Do you watch TV? (ice breaker)
2) What do you watch on SABC TV, and in what language?

Introductory question: ... introduces the general topic of discussion ... intended to foster conversation and interaction among group members

1) Do you think that your attitudes towards languages can be affected by what you see on TV?

   Probing Question: If so, in what ways?

Transitional questions: ... the logical link between the introductory question and the key questions ... participants become aware of how others view the topic

1) What do you think the priorities should be for a national broadcaster like the SABC (i.e. – commercial or public service)?
2) Therefore, what do you think SABC TV's language policy should be?

Key questions: ... two to five key questions [that] require the greatest attention in the subsequent analysis

1) Do you think it is important that the SABC TV language policy & practice mirrors that of South Africa's Constitution?
2) Do you think that the amount of time allocated to a particular language is an indication of its commercial or cultural value?

   Probing question: Do you think that this is an accurate depiction of reality in SA?
3) With your answer to the previous question in mind, what do you think about SABC TV's use of each of the eleven official languages?

   Probing questions: English? Zulu and Xhosa? Previously marginalized African languages?
4) What role do you think multilingual programs on SABC TV play in reinforcing a cohesive national identity?

   Probing question: Are they a good way to utilize multiple languages to appeal to many language groups? Are they unfair on viewers who only speak one language? Is there a way to compromise between the two viewpoints?
5) South African sociolinguist Neville Alexander suggested that in order to make it easier to implement the eleven language policy (for both the government and the SABC), The African languages are harmonized into a standard Sotho and a standard Nguni.

   Do you think this is a good idea, given that languages within the same groups are relatively mutually intelligible?

   Is it unfair to combine the languages as each has its own culture?

Is it a fair enough compromise given the challenges of implementing a broadcasting policy with eleven official languages?

Ending question: ... closes the discussion ... participants to identify the most important aspects that were discussed

1) How has the SABC TV's language use influenced your language attitudes, if at all?

Appendix VI. Focus group interview informed consent, transcription conventions and transcription

Department of Linguistics

UKZN [Howard College Campus]

Researcher: Robert Evans [Student no.: 207524850, cell no.: 082 485 2080]

Masters Dissertation [Sociolinguistics]

Project Supervisor: Mrs. Rosemary Wildsmith

13 August 2010

This **focus group** will consist of questions relating to your language attitudes, and about your perceptions regarding SABC TV's language use. The 45 minute session will be digitally recorded, and the data collected will be handled confidentially at all times, and your name and personal details will never be revealed.

- Your participation in this study is **voluntary** and you may decline to participate without penalty.
- If you decide to participate, you **may withdraw** from the study at any stage and for any reason without penalty.
- Non-participation in this questionnaire will not result in any discrimination of any kind.
- All data collected from this session will be dealt with in accordance with the ethical rules of the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

CONSENT

By signing below, Iconfirm that I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, should I so desire.

Name	Student Number	Signature

Transcription conventions (Coates 2003):

- An equals sign (=) at the end of one speakers utterance and at the beginning of the next indicates a latched utterance
- Words appearing between asterisks (**) on adjacent lines were spoken simultaneously (i.e. – overlapping speech)
- (( )) indicates uncertainty as to the accuracy of the transcription
- ((xxx)) is used where speech is impossible to make out
- Angled brackets give <additional information>

Focus Group Interview Transcription:

Opening questions:

1) Do you watch TV? Do you watch SABC TV?

EF1: *yes* *yes*

EF2: *yes* *yes*

ZF1: *yes* *yes*

ZF2: *yes* *yes*

ZF3: *yes* *yes*

ZM1: *yes* *yes*

ZM2: *yes* *yes*

2) What do you watch on SABC TV, and in what language?

ZF1: Soap operas

ZF3: Mostly soapies, in English

Interviewer: Sport?

ZF2: I'll never!

ZM1: Yes, on the weekends

EF1`: Thursday girls' night movies

Interviewer: What language do you mostly watch TV in?

ZF2: Mostly English

ZF1: *English*

EF1: *English*

EF2: *English*

Introductory question:

3) Do you think that your attitudes towards languages can be affected by what you see on TV?

<group mutters whilst considering their answers>

ZF1: Jaaaaaa….

ZF2: Sometimes

EF1: It does

EF2: Like if it's a really really stupid soapie in a specific language, I think then you get like a slightly negative view of the language. But if it's really good and interesting and quality…

Interviewer: So it depends on the way in which the language is used?

EF2: Ja

ZF1: Like when it's Zulu its Tsotsitaal, you know, like it's in the gangster?

Interviewer: So they don't use a standardized Zulu, they use a gangster style?

ZF1: *Ja, Tsotsitaal*

ZF2: *Yes*

ZF3: *Yes*

Transitional questions:

4) What do you think the priorities should be for a national broadcaster like the SABC (i.e. – commercial or public service)?

ZF2: I think that they should focus on all of them, but mostly English because that is the common one

EF1: Their main objective is to make money, they going to do what the public wants, they not going to put something, they not going to make a channel for sign language if there's only 50,000 people who are going to watch it…

Interviewer: So you think they should focus on the commercial aspect as opposed to the public service broadcasting aspect?

EF2: I think if you can get quality programmes in various langauges, then go for it. But the majority of non-English programmes can be really really stupid.

EF1: I also think since most of our programming is American, well not most but all the soapies and stuff, then that is the kind of comedy or whatever that we used to so we judge things by that standard. Whereas South Africa has its own flavour, but people are used to and comfortable with the American…

Interviewer: How would you compromise between the cultural values of certain languages and the commercial aims of the SABC?

EF1: If SABC had more channels then they could have one channel per language group, then you wouldn't have to flip between channels to see the ones you know

EF2: I don't think that you can ever really properly compromise, there are so many different languages and different amounts of people speaking the languages, you can't resolve that.

Interviewer: With regards to the smaller African languages, are there enough speakers to justify having a separate channel?

ZM1: No I =

ZF1: = I think they prefer watching in Zulu

ZF2: It's just better

ZM1: No I think it is maybe better to mix Zulu and these other smaller languages because <unclear>

EF1: I think also another thing they could do, because they obviously don't have writers in the marginalized languages, is to open and say 'If you have a script in a marginalized language tell us, and if its good we'll arrange to broadcast', because the people who speak it are the ones who need to come forward

ZF1: *Ja*

ZF2: *Ja*

5) Therefore, what do you think SABC TV's language policy should be? What should their objectives be in terms of the treatment of all the official languages?

EF1: Maybe they should survey people and ask which languages they are comfortable in and make a percentage of programmes um…

Interviewer: Based on how many speakers of a language there are?

EF1: Ja

ZF1: And at least provide subtitles for like Afrikaans, because some of us don't understand Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Ok, so then what language would the subtitles be in?

ZF1: In English!!

ZF2: *Ja*

EF2: *Ja*

ZM1: I think the SABC focuses on English, because if they are broadcasting in Zulu, they have English subtitles, but they don't have subtitles for other languages when they are broadcasting in English

Interviewer: What do you think the SABC TV language policy says about the treatment of South Africa's eleven official languages?

ZF1: I think the focus is mostly on English

ZF2: English, Zulu and Xhosa

EF1: Surely it should be done according to how many speakers of a language there are. It doesn't have to be their mother tongue, they just have to understand it.

Interviewer: From what you have seen on TV, do you think the SABC is committed to being a fully fledged multilingual broadcaster?

EF1: No, they a business, they doing what brings them money, they don't care about the other things

EF2: In fairness, they can't really operate unless they get money in. If it's such a small percentage of people watching in a certain language, they not going to be able to continue

EF1: You've got to do what the customer wants, or they just going to close down!

Key questions:

6) Do you think it is important that the SABC TV language policy mirrors that of South Africa's Constitution?

<silence>

EF1: I don't know

EF2: If they call themselves the South African Broadcasting Commission then yes! If they want to affiliate themselves with the government and all the policies, it is their responsibility to uphold their beliefs or whatever

ZM1: To add on what she said, we have discrepancies with polices. We need one policy to cater for the whole nation. We need to see how many speakers there are of the minor languages, and depending on the number of people who are watching on SABC and then they can determine the amount of programmes in those languages.

Interviewer: Do you think a policy that says 'treat all langauges equally' is unrealistic?

EF1: *Yes*

ZF1: *Yes*

7) Do you think that the amount of time allocated to a particular language is an indication of its commercial or cultural value?

EF1: Yeesss, I don't think it gives you a negative or positive view of the language but it makes you think "OK, you <the language> obviously aren't being used so…

8) What do you think about SABC TV's use of each of the eleven official languages, which languages do you think they use more often?

ZM1: *English*

ZF1: *English*

EF2: *English*

ZF2: English and Zulu. Xhosa.

EF2: Quite a lot of Afrikaans. It's like SABC 1 is African languages, SABC 2 is for Afrikaans…

ZM1: I think the SABC is using English and Zulu because in South Africa we are more busy with these two languages

9) Do you think multilingual programmes are a true reflection of society?

EF1:No

EF2: I don't think so

Interviewer: What role do you think multilingual programs on SABC TV play in reinforcing a cohesive national identity?

EF2: I don't think it will help that much. If there is a language that I don't understand then I'm not going to watch the programme because I'm not going to know what's happening.

10) South African sociolinguist Neville Alexander suggested that in order to make it easier to implement the eleven language policy (for both the government and the SABC), The African languages are harmonized into a standard Sotho and a standard Nguni. Do you think this is a good idea, given that languages within the same groups are relatively mutually intelligible?

EF2: I don't know because I don't speak any of those languages, but I think that a lot of people would … they have pride in their language and they don't want it to just get lumped in with three other languages, they want it to stand on its own because it's their mother tongue. I think people would feel like that.

EF1: I think that you could get irritated if you listening to the way this person is speaking and it's not how you say it

Interviewer: So if the superimposed form is unlike any of the languages?

EF1: Ja exactly

Ending question:

11) How has the SABC TV's language use influenced your language attitudes, if at all?

EF2: I guess subconsciously it makes me feel that hardly anyone speaks those other languages. I know that because it is an official language there must be quite a lot of people who speak it in South Africa, but It feel like I don't even remember half the names of those languages

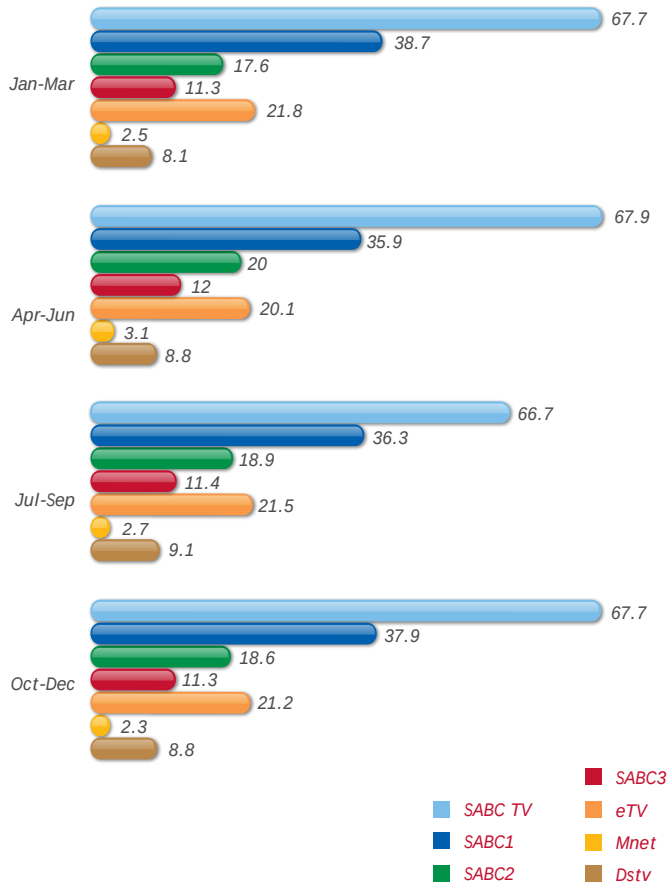
Appendix VII. 2008-2009 SABC Annual Report - Audience Growth, Compliance and Complaints

Growth

Audience Growth

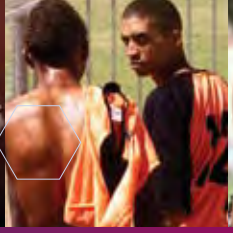
Prime time television audience share

Quarterly Performance Levels 08/09 in terms of percentage of television audience



As regards radio, LSMs 1, 2 and 3 have seen a decline in radio listening. This decline in listenership could be attributed to the national decrease in the size of these three LSM groups. Alongside this decline was growth in the LSMs 5, 6 and 9 audience brackets.

The cast of our local favourite soap, Generations.



Tshisa | Zone 14 | Ubizo | Tsha Tsha.

14

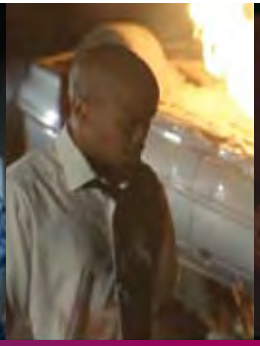
one of SABC1's flagship dramas Zone 14

A Place Called Home | Home Affairs.

Top 20 programmes across the SABC TV Network: FY 08/09 *(All SABC1 programmes)*

	Programmes	Channel	Genre	Adults 16+		
				AMR %	SHR %	AMR
1	*Generations*	SABC1	Soap Opera	25.6	61.9	5 891 680
2	*Tshisa*	SABC1	Drama	23.1	56.7	5 356 720
3	*Shakespeare: Death of a Queen*	SABC1	Drama	22.8	56.9	5 289 690
4	*Soul City*	SABC1	Drama	22.6	53.4	5 226 937
5	*Generations 15 year Birthday Special*	SABC1	Soap Opera	22.0	53.8	5 105 677
6	*Generations 15 year down Memory Lane*	SABC1	Variety	20.9	54.0	4 844 636
7	*Zone 14*	SABC1	Drama	20.6	53.9	4 553 235
8	*Mirror Mirror*	SABC1	Drama	20.2	51.5	4 675 149
9	*Shakespeare: Ugugu No Andile*	SABC1	Drama	20.2	51.4	4 670 030
10	*Ubizo: The Calling*	SABC1	Drama	19.5	49.3	4 528 858
11	*Glory to Victory*	SABC1	Drama	18.9	47.7	4 377 452
12	*SAMA Awards 2008*	SABC1	Variety	18.8	57.3	4 353 364
13	*Tsha Tsha*	SABC1	Drama	18.6	46.0	4 312 391
14	*A Place Called Home*	SABC1	Drama	17.8	43.5	4 124 625
15	*Case 474*	SABC1	Drama	17.6	44.7	4 073 895
16	*A Drink in the Passage*	SABC1	Drama	17.1	44.1	3 967 048
17	*Shakespeare: Izingane Zobaba*	SABC1	Drama	17.0	45.1	3 934 138
18	*Telkom Charity Cup*	SABC1	Sport	16.8	49.8	3 902 703
19	*Shakespeare: Entabeni*	SABC1	Drama	17.7	45.8	3 731 004
20	*Home Affairs*	SABC1	Drama	16.8	44.0	3 894 934

Source: TAMS (Arianna)



Scenes from the Mzansi version of Shakespeare.

Compliance with Licence Conditions

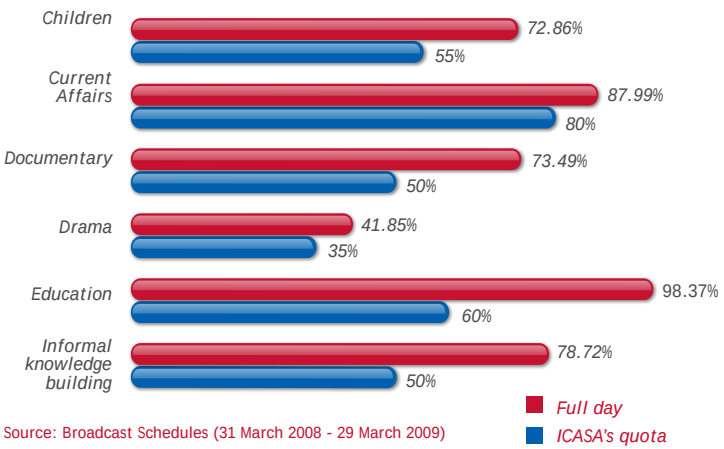
The individual licence conditions for the SABC's channels and radio stations specify minimum quotas for each service. Television is measured on the weekly average over a year, while radio has daily and weekly quota requirements.

During the year under review, both radio and television continued to surpass the minimum requirements for local content quotas stipulated in the Regulations on South African Content. Whilst television channels have complied with quotas across the full performance period, they have slightly underperformed with respect to marginalised languages and languages other than English, during primetime.

Television

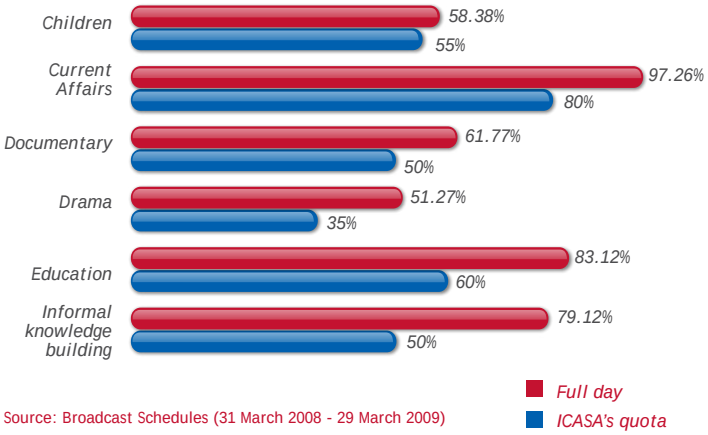
All local content quotas were met and exceeded during the year under review.

SABC1 as PBS channel
% local content per genre



Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)

SABC2 as PBS channel
% local content per genre



Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)

Local content Askies featured on SABC2.

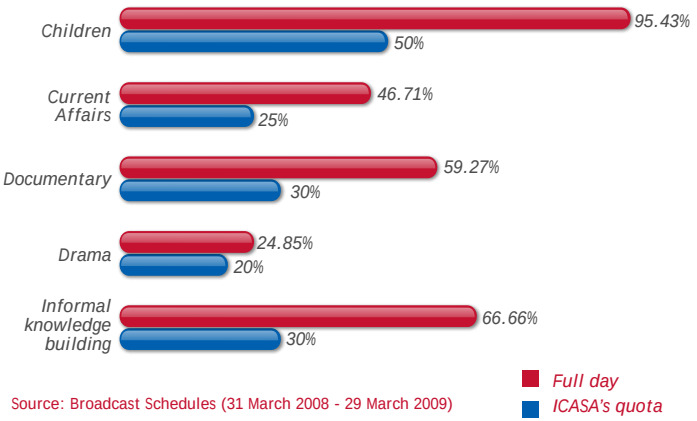
98

percentage of local content on SABC1 Educational programmes

Local content Moferefere featured on SABC1.

SABC3

% local content per genre



Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)

Language

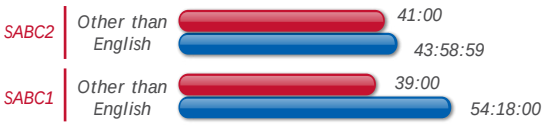
Language quotas for the PBS Channels are based on four different criteria:

- ★ A minimum number of hours of programming in languages other than English, excluding marginalised languages in prime time.
- ★ A minimum number of hours of programming in marginalised languages in prime time.
- ★ A minimum number of hours of programming in languages other than English, including marginalised languages in prime time.
- ★ A minimum number of hours of programming in languages other than English, including marginalised languages in the performance period.

The graphs below reflect the SABC's performance against these quotas:

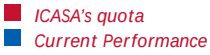
Language delivery during TV performance period

Current performance vs ICASA's quota



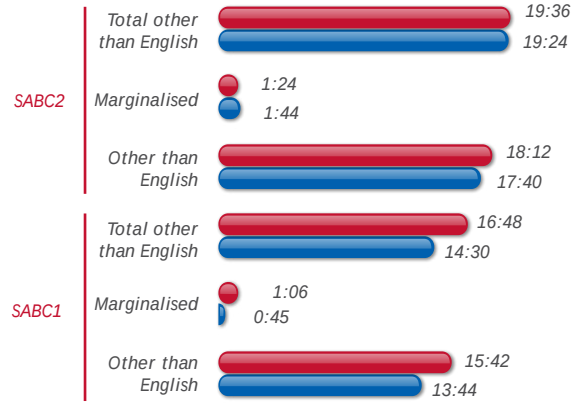
Average Hours/min per week

Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)



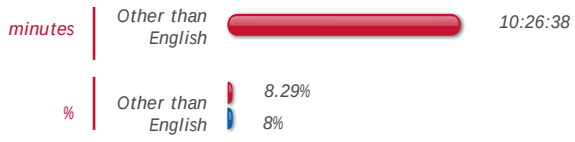
Language delivery during Prime Time

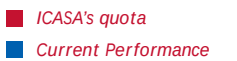
Current performance vs ICASA's quota



SABC3's language delivery during TV performance period

Current performance vs ICASA's quota





Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)

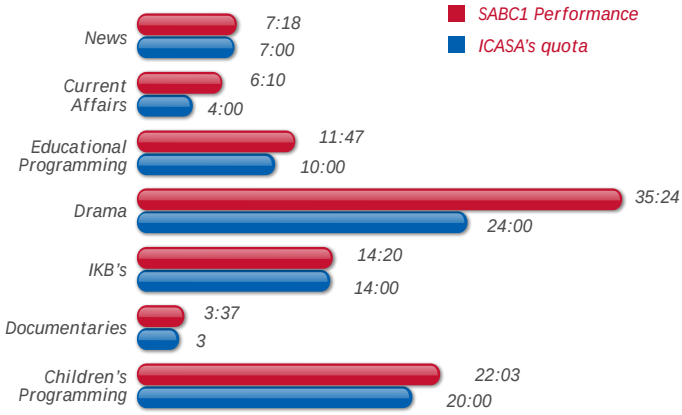
A scene from our local Award winning movie Tsotsi.

Local content Muvhango featured on SABC2.

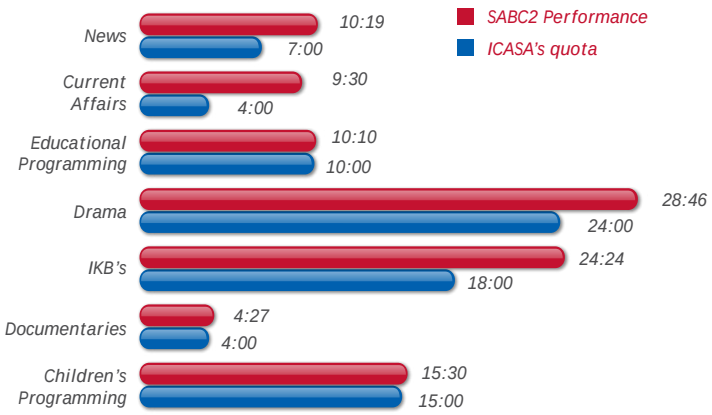
Genre Quotas

Genre quotas are applicable to television Channels for both the performance period and prime time.

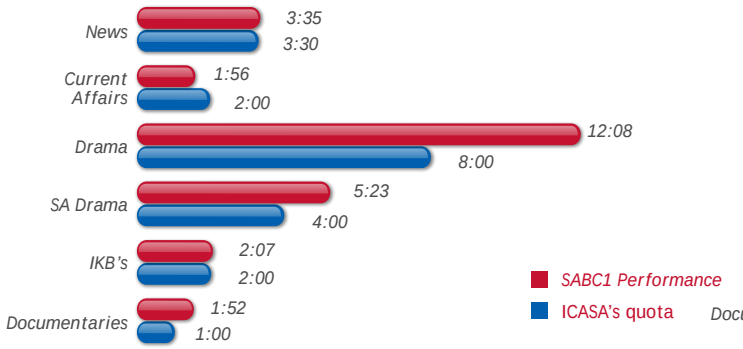
SABC1 TV Performance period - *Genre quotas*



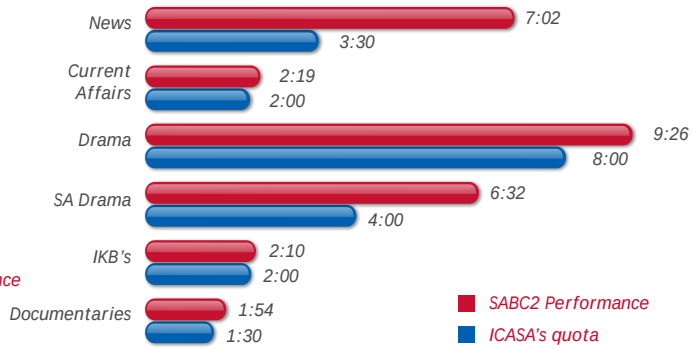
SABC2 TV Performance period - *Genre quotas*



SABC1 Prime Time - *Genre quotas*



SABC2 Prime Time - *Genre quotas*

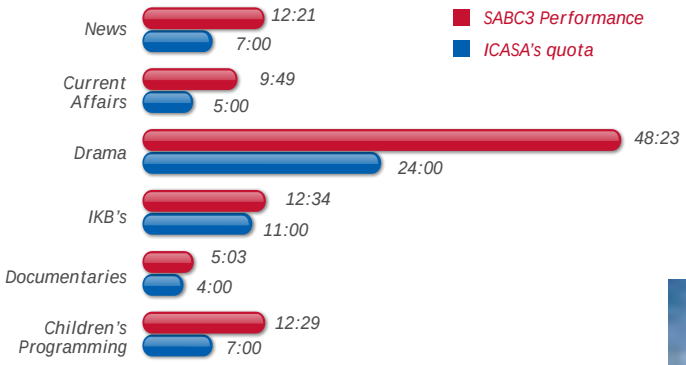


Average hours/min per week | Source: Broadcast Schedules (31 March 2008 - 29 March 2009)

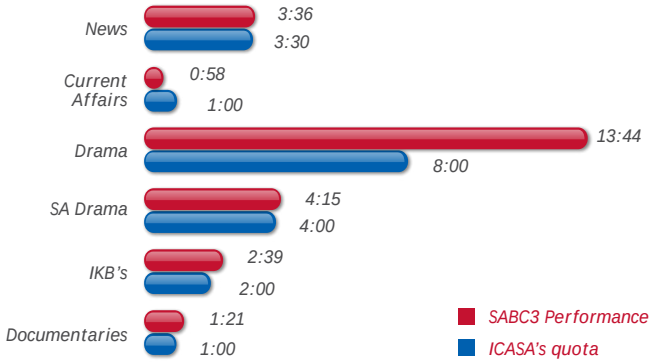
Local Magazine programme Top Billing featured on SABC3.

Broadcasting from the new facilities at Radio Park.

SABC3 TV Performance period - *Genre quotas*



SABC3 Prime Time- *Genre quotas*



Advertising Quotas

The SABC's licence conditions state that the television Channels may not:

- ★ During any licence year, broadcast more than an average of 10 minutes of advertisements per hour on the licenced service.
- ★ Air in excess of 12 minutes of advertising in any one hour.

Radio

All PBS Radio stations complied with and exceeded local content quotas as reflected in the schedule alongside.

Genre quotas on radio station performance in minutes and percentages

Radio Stations at week 13	News			Current Affairs			IKB	Education	Children			Drama
	Mon-Fri	Sat	Sun	Mon-Fri	Sat	Sun	Weekly	Weekly	Mon-Fri	Sat	Sun	Weekly
ICASA's Quota minutes												
Ikwekwezi FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	135	80	70	140	60	60	1 800	430	65	85	65	360
%	225	133	117	233	100	100	1 000	143	108	142	108	240
MLFM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	85	80	75	110	60	60	1 385	385	70	60	60	225
%	142	133	125	183	100	100	769	128	117	100	100	150
Thobela FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	213	110	80	101	60	60	1 665	420	80	60	60	160
%	355	183	133	168	100	100	925	140	133	100	100	107
Phalaphala FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	132	65	60	110	60	90	2 240	365	65	60	60	135
%	220	108	100	183	100	150	1 244	122	108	100	100	90
Ukhozi FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	84	60	60	165	60	110	2 955	320	61	75	70	260
%	140	100	100	275	100	183	1 642	107	102	125	117	173
Lesedi FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	92	65	65	191	60	60	2 060	445	64	60	65	185
%	153	108	108	318	100	100	1 144	148	107	100	108	123
Umhlobo Wenene FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	97	90	80	170	60	60	1 065	295	60	60	60	160
%	162	150	133	283	100	100	592	98	100	100	100	107
Ligwalagwala FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	99	60	60	110	60	60	1 870	355	60	60	85	240
%	165	100	100	183	100	100	1 039	118	100	100	142	160
Motsweding FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**150**
Minutes	109	60	60	133	60	60	1 080	350	65	60	60	255
%	182	100	100	222	100	100	600	117	108	100	100	170
SAfm	**90**	**90**	**90**			**Daily - 240**	**360**	**240**			**Weekly - 60**	**150**
Minutes	110	100	100			326	1620	320			85	150
%	122	111	111			136	450	133			142	100
RSG	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**60**	**180**	**300**			**Weekly - 60**	**150**
Minutes	116	60	60	202	60	60	1 325	330			200	155
%	193	100	100	337	100	100	736	110			333	103
Lotus FM	**60**	**60**	**60**	**30**	**30**	**30**	**60**	**120**			**Weekly - 30**	**-**
Minutes	70	65	65	60	30	55	1 345	475			55	-
%	117	108	108	200	100	183	2 242	396			183	-
X-K FM	**30**	**30**	**30**	**30**	**30**	**30**	**180**	**300**			**Weekly - 15**	**-**
Minutes	66	50	50	99	55	55	1 580	425			785	-
%	220	167	167	330	183	183	878	142			5 233	
tru fm (CKI FM)	**60**	**60**	**60**	**30**	**30**	**30**	**60**	**120**			**Weekly - 30**	**-**
Minutes	70	65	65	60	30	55	1 345	475			55	-
%	177	108	108	200	100	183	2 242	396			183	-

Complaints

The SABC has made a concerted effort to re-assure its audiences of the significance it attaches to every complaint received and to impress upon its staff the importance of taking every complaint seriously and acknowledging the time and effort taken by the listener or viewer to raise an issue of concern. Audiences have clearly also started to understand their right to complain if they are dissatisfied and are increasingly recognising the mechanisms, both formal and informal, that are available to them for this purpose.

During the 2008/09 fiscal year, the SABC dealt with complaints from regulatory bodies such as the Broadcast Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA), the Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa (ASA) and the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) as well as with complaints addressed directly to the SABC.

★ **BCCSA**

A total of 112 complaints against SABC services were processed by the BCCSA. Of these complaints, 106 cases were dismissed, while the SABC was found to be in contravention in six instances. There has been a substantial decrease in the number of complaints received this year compared to last year, from 165 to 112. This is attributed to educating staff about the applicable regulations and educating audiences on their rights and obligations in terms of the BCCSA Code of Conduct, with advertisements being broadcast in all languages across radio and television services.

★ **ASA**

Only nine complaints against advertising in various formats by SABC services were reported. All of these were dismissed by the ASA.

★ **ICASA**

Only one SABC case was heard at ICASA into a complaint by the Freedom of Expression Institute regarding the alleged blacklisting of commentators and analysts by the Head of News. The matter was still being considered by the Complaints and Compliance Committee of the Regulator by the end of the financial year.

★ **SABC Services**

In addition to the complaints dealt with by regulatory authorities, the SABC also received complaints directly and dealt with them at that level.