Multilingualism and the New Language Policy in South Africa: Innovation and Challenges

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Abstract South Africa moved from two official languages - English and Afrikaans during apartheid to eleven official languages in the new democratic government. The new language policy also recognises South African Sign Language and encourages its development. This paper examines the apartheid and democratic language policies, their practicality and challenges with particular focus on political administration, education and the media, as they are important institutions in language policy implementation. The paper argues that there is still marginalisation of indigenous black South African languages even with new language policy.

Keywords: Language policy; apartheid; language attitude; bilingualism; language use.

Introduction

South Africa is a multilingual country like most countries of the world with four major groups (black Africans, Whites, Coloured and Indian/Asians), each struggling for their culture and language to be recognised. The population of South Africa according to the mid-year population estimates is 54.9 million (Statistics South Africa, 2015), with approximately 24 different home languages which belong to four different language groups: the Khoe and San languages, the African/Bantu languages, the Germanic languages and the Indic languages (Du Plessis, 2000:97). Nine of the South African indigenous languages were raised to the status of official languages including English and Afrikaans (the only two languages which have been enjoying official recognition) in 1994, "on the

ground that their usage includes about 98% of the total population" (Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 2003:6). According to Kloss (1978:9), the relationship between English and Afrikaans is very delicate and is based on balance of powers. However, while English is more powerful as a second language than Afrikaans, the latter is more deeply rooted as a first language in South Africa.

The issue of language policies in South Africa, that is, the character of the official language and the place of language in education policies, have been politically motivated, which has been a common trend in most other African countries. For example, countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, and Kenya use the language of their colonisers (English) as official language as well as the medium of instruction (MoI). The same applies to countries like Cameroon, Congo Democratic Republic and Benin using French. Although, each of these countries has recognition of one or more indigenous languages, the status given to the said indigenous languages and the practicality of their usage are not to be compared with that of their foreign counterpart.

During apartheid in South Africa, English and Afrikaans were accorded official status. However, the official recognition of Afrikaans was not in any way attributed to its position in the international market like English, neither was it based on the number of its speakers (about 3.5%) in South Africa. The recognition of Afrikaans also has never been based on its acceptability by

the majority of South Africans; rather, the officialisation occurred only after Afrikaans-dominant parties managed to obtain prominence in the Parliament. The Afrikaners, although minority (in terms of number of the speakers) dominated the political and economic landscape of the country from 1960s and their language was later imposed on other constituent groups who were considered and treated as inferiors, together with their cultures and languages. Undoubtedly, the previous status given to South African indigenous languages shows the superior versus the inferior during colonial and apartheid administrations. The inequality shown in the languages is demonstrated by the fact that Black people are usually expected to communicate with White, Indian/Asian or Coloured people in English or Afrikaans (Mda, 2004:183-4).

Previous Studies

Many studies have been conducted on different aspects of South African languages. Some of these studies have concentrated on the mother tongue and second language policies (Kloss, 1978); language of instruction in Black South African schools (Hartshorne, 1986); the position of English in South African schools (Meerkotter, 1986); bilingual and trilingual language policies (Schuring, 1993); comparison of new language policy with old language practices (Kamwangamalu, 2000); language rights (Perry, 2004) and indigenous languages and the media in South Africa (Du Plessis, 2006) among others. Other researchers (such as Du Plessis, 2000) have examined the multilingual profile as well as the issue

of language in different constitutions of South Africa, while Phaswana (2003) has assessed the extent to which South Africa's eleven official languages are used by the national government. A critique of language planning during South Africa's first decade of democracy has been done by Kamwendo (2006). However, this study tends to explore language policy and its practice in South Africa, before and during apartheid, as well as after apartheid. The study examines the innovation and restructuring in administration, education and media. Under education, the paper focuses on language as MoI and as a "subject". Under the language of media, the paper examines restructuring in language of television, radio and newspapers. The study also highlights the challenges facing the implementation of the new language policy as stipulated in the South African's constitution and suggests the way forward.

Language Policy before Apartheid

Language policy in South Africa has been characterised by portraying and protecting the interests of the people in power; this power has been shifting from the Dutch to the British. The issue of dominance of one language over the other in South Africa started with the coming of the Dutch who were not interested in learning the indigenous languages. Rather, they wanted the indigenes to learn their language, while they used interpreters for any inter-communication. Gradually, the indigenes started learning Dutch or what Phaswana (2003:117) calls "Cape Patois" or "kitchen Dutch" as they started working for them (the Dutch).

However, when the British came, they overpowered and took over from the Dutch and had interest in direct communication with the indigenous population contrary to the Dutch practice. The interest of the British in learning the African languages led to the production of books in the African languages such as Sesotho and Setswana, and the teaching of Blacks through their languages, though mainly for evangelical purposes.

The first official language in South Africa was introduced in 1822 when English was proclaimed the only official language of the Cape Colony, with the introduction and implementation of the British Policy of Anglicisation, which was directed at White Afrikaans-speaking community throughout the territory that became the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Alexander, 2003:8). English was used to maintain political and economic domination over Dutch and the indigenous population of South Africa, which evoked the negative attitude of Afrikaners (who were British rivals), to English (Phaswana, 2003:118). According to Jones (1966:13), "Boers disapproved when the British declared that English should be used as the only official language - a decision which continues to affect the thinking of many Dutch-descents (Afrikaners) of South Africa to date". The negative attitude of Afrikaners towards English also reflects in their more continuous attachment to their language and their preference to use Afrikaans in all areas of their lives. This can be seen in the preference of most Afrikaners in sending their children to Afrikaans medium schools, often from

pre-primary school to university. The attitude of Afrikaners towards English has led Afrikaners to struggle in guarding and retaining Afrikaans as an official language and developing it to be used in all contexts.

As early as 1882, English and Dutch were recognised as official languages of the Cape Parliament. Conversely, after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, which was won by the British, the status of Dutch changed to non-official language (KhaJawan, 2002; Blajberg, 1993). But in 1910, the Act of Union of South Africa was signed by the Dutch and British, and this led to a change in the constitution. The new constitution once again accorded Dutch and English the same status of official languages (Brown, 1992:74). Fifteen years later, there was an amendment of Article 137 of the constitution, which made Dutch, including Afrikaans, an official language of the Republic of South Africa. This constitutional amendment indirectly replaced Dutch with Afrikaans. The reason for replacing Dutch with Afrikaans according to Brown (1992:74) was because Dutch was no longer the language of the majority as it used to be; instead, the Boers used the creolised form (i.e. Afrikaans).The official recognition of Afrikaans in 1925 led to the gradual disappearance of Dutch as an official language of South Africa. However, Dutch remained on paper till 1983, when it was finally deleted (Van Rensburg & Jordan, 1995:119). During this period, indigenous languages were accorded an official status only at the regional level, or in the so-called "Bantustans" (Du Plessis, 2000:109).

One of the policies of missionary education during the 19th century was that English was the language of teaching and learning as well as a school subject, which continued by government-aided African education following the Union of South Africa in 1910 (Setati, 2002:6).

Apartheid Language Policy

The year 1948 was a turning point for Afrikaans; it was the year when the Afrikaner's National Party came into power. The year marked the birth of the superior versus the inferior, the recognised versus the marginalised and division/separation in all areas of the South Africa society, which lasted for 45 years (1948-1993). During this apartheid period, only two languages (Afrikaans and English) were recognised as the official languages of the central, provincial and local governments of South Africa, as well as the languages of administration. These two languages were also used for teaching and learning in schools and were the dominant languages of the media. Because the Afrikaners controlled political and economic power of the South African state, Afrikaans was developed in all forms in this era with the full support of the government to compete with English and possibly dominate it and all indigenous South African languages.

The decisions on language policies for education in South Africa had to do with issues of political dominance, the protection of power structure, the preservation of privileges and the distribution of economic resources (Hartshorne, 1986:83). The change from Union of South Africa to apartheid led

to separate education facilities and also the introduction of separate language policies for Whites, Black Africans, Coloured people and Indians from primary school up to the university. Here, the Provinces controlled education of the Whites, which was provided in Afrikaans and English. The education of Black Africans was administered by the Department of Bantu Education, which served as an agency of the central government. This Department insured the provision of three languages, namely Afrikaans, English and an African language of the area in Black schools. However, the education of Indians and Coloured was administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and Coloured Person's Representative Council, respectively; but the language used in the educational system of Coloured and Indians differed. While Afrikaans was used in the education of the Coloured, English was used in Indian schools (Kloss, 1978:14-15). The separate education facilities helped the government to enforce the apartheid laws and language policies.

In 1949, the apartheid government appointed a commission: "The Native Education Commission" headed by Dr. Eiselen to look into the organisation and administration of various branches of the Native Education Department. The Commission visited about 150 Bantu educational institutions and came up with recommendations on language in education in Black schools. The recommendations were:

i. All education except in the case of foreign language should be through the medium of the mother tongue for the first four school years, and be progressively extended year by year to all eight years of primary school.

ii. The first official language which is most generally used in the neighbourhood of the school should be introduced in the second year of schooling as a subject, and the second official language by the fourth year.

iii. Mother tongue medium should be used in teacher training colleges for the teaching of child psychology and the general principle of school organisation. However, the teaching of the two official languages should be compulsory for the teacher trainees and the ability of teachers in teaching them should be indicated in their certificates.

iv. One of the official languages should be a compulsory subject in the secondary school, which should have the same requirement for the second language for White learners. But if the second official language is taken as an optional subject, it should have the same status as the third language in European schools (Hartshorne, 1953:46).

However, these recommendations made by the Eiselen commission were not followed largely because of the apartheid government's concern to protect and expand the influence of Afrikaans in the educational system. If these recommendations were adopted, Afrikaans would be regarded as the second official language by teachers and communities and would therefore only be introduced in the fourth year of

schooling since Black learners preferred English to Afrikaans. Also, if the report was followed, English would be the subject taken by learners while Afrikaans would be taken as third language. Following these fears, English and Afrikaans were made compulsory subjects in secondary schools which were used as MoI when the transfer from mother-tongue instruction took place in the first year of the secondary school (Hartshorne, 1986:91). But ignoring the recommendations led to poor teaching and learning because of the lack of mastery of the languages of instruction and also the resentment the Black learners have towards Afrikaans. The negative attitude of Black learners towards Afrikaans resulted in the resistance to the imposition of Afrikaans on Black learners, their teachers and parents; which led to the Soweto uprising and massacre of 1976.

The enforcement of equal use of Afrikaans and English during apartheid was based on Section 108 of South Africa constitution of 1961, which guaranteed equal status of English and Afrikaans as official languages. Besides, the Constitution Amendment Act of 1963 also gave the State President the power to institute one or more Bantu languages as additional official languages in Black homelands (Kloss, 1978:15). The use of English and Afrikaans at all levels of education relegated indigenous languages to the periphery. Although the strategy of mother-tongue education was applied vigorously during apartheid era, it was never meant to favour or uplift Black learners; instead, it was geared towards fostering division among the people. It

sought to under-develop the Africans and limit their upward mobility, particularly Black African communities by facilitating more effective control through promoting an ethnic consciousness in place of African nationalism as well as limiting their social mobility and access to higher education (Hartshorne, 1992:188; Education Report, 1994:5). Although English and Afrikaans were compulsory for Black learners from their first year of school till they completed, African languages were not seen as being worth studying at the same level by the White learners. White learners took the African languages as optional subjects from standard 5, in 1978. However, it became compulsory subjects in standard 6 and 7 in 1985.

It is important to mention at this juncture that before apartheid, many schools were owned by the English-speaking missionaries who were engaged in the education of the natives. These missionaries had a strong British policy of language imperialism which involved teaching learners through the medium of English. But after the Union of South Africa, the Black learners' mother tongue was their language of instruction in grades 1 to grade 4, while English was used as MoI in upper primary. From grades 9 to 12, English and Afrikaans were used equally as MoI in schools. Large sections of the White population were made bilingual by creating dual-medium schools (henceforth, DMS) with the use of Afrikaans and English as MoI. During the era of apartheid, mother tongue instruction was extended to grade 8, while English and Afrikaans were

taught in grades 1 to 8 as subjects. Conversely, DMS were gradually replaced by monolingual schools, where the second official language was being taught only as a subject. For example, in Afrikaans-medium schools, English was taught as a subject from Grade 1 in English-medium schools, while Afrikaans was taught as a subject. But in German-medium schools, English and Afrikaans were introduced in Grade 2 and 5, respectively, and there was no mention of African languages. In Black schools, Afrikaans and English were used equally in addition to an African language spoken in that area. This was in accordance with Section 89(3) of the Republic of South Africa's constitution, which stipulated that in the homelands, one or more African languages may have official status in addition to Afrikaans and English. African languages were seriously marginalised during colonisation and apartheid; language and the policies were instruments of imperial domination. Nevertheless, there was a clear increase in the number of publications in African languages during apartheid, as the mother tongue policy was enforced. This was probably one of the best things that happened to African languages during apartheid.

Nonetheless, the right of learners to choose the language of instruction was not free as it was incorporated in "The Education and Training Act" (1991), which decreed that parents had a joint say in the choice of the MoI for their children. The choice is between English and Afrikaans, and in the case of Black learners, the choice included an African language. This medium was from the

first grade in school and it was contrary to the former decree which stipulated that the language a child knows best be used as the MoI till the fourth year when the parents could then choose the language of instruction for their child. What this meant is that, the parents could choose Afrikaans, English or an African language as the MoI. Despite this decree, the general choice of Black learner's parents was an African language from the first grade of school to the fourth grade and then English. In cases where a language was used as a subject, an African language, English and Afrikaans was a compulsory school subjects for Black learners until the ninth year of school and then two of these languages were compulsory. In practice, most of the pupils chose all the three languages until the last year of their school. In the schools for the Whites, they were also taught three languages as subjects, but unlike in Black schools, African languages were non-examinable subjects for them. According to Schuring (1993:240-241), the compulsory use and study of African languages was limited to the homelands, the Black schools and to one hour a week in non-black primary schools. Indian language was an optional non-examinable subject in the schools for the Indians, while in German schools, German was a MoI, and a compulsory subject in addition to Afrikaans and English (Schuring, 1993:240).

The preference of English among the Black learners was high compared to that of Afrikaans because of its association with apartheid and because English was viewed as a language of wider communication. The change from

Union of South Africa to apartheid era led to changes in language policy. The policy which stipulated that secondary schools were not only to use English as a MoI but also Afrikaans for some subjects which resulted in its resentment by Black learners and Soweto uprising of 1976. After the Soweto protest, there were many appeals from different government bodies to set up a commission to investigate the state of education in South Africa (Hartshorne, 1992:149) including language in education. The review brought an end to the imposition of Afrikaans as MoI in Black schools (Perry, 2004:114). This preference of English to Afrikaans by non-Afrikaners was viewed as a threat to the position and status of Afrikaans. This is still a subsisting perception in today's South Africa. The Afrikaners see the preference of English not only as a threat to Afrikaans but also as a conscious effort to murder their language which is part of their identity; a language which they had developed to serve in all contexts. Most Black South Africans certainly would hold different views; some would be glad to see Afrikaans' decline or at worst, disappear because of its association with atrocities of the apartheid era. According to Louw (2004: 47), the identity created with Afrikaans during apartheid is now under pressure as it has to come to terms with a loss of state patronage, and also face a degree of state hostility.

Although many people especially Blacks were completely opposed to apartheid, it was the period when mother tongue education was proposed for the first time for the Black learners and was used religiously. For example,

The Bantu Education Act (1953) stipulated that Black learners were to receive their education in mother tongue in lower and higher primary grades with transition to English and Afrikaans thereafter. But the Act was meant to prevent Black learners from being functionally competent in English and Afrikaans (the languages of power and social class), and by so doing, they might as well restrict them from better job opportunities (Perry, 2004:110). With the coming of democracy in 1994, South Africa faced the responsibility of innovating, restructuring and putting into practice a multilingual policy which is enshrined in the nation's new constitution.

South African's New Language Policy

The end of apartheid marked the beginning of freedom and recognition of human rights in South Africa, including cultural, religious and linguistic freedom. The emergence of democratic government brought an end to the official imposition of Afrikaans on Black Africans and the end to marginalisation of African languages in all sectors. With the new policy, nine indigenous languages: isiNdebele, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Northern Sesotho, Southern Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga were raised to the status of official languages, along with English and Afrikaans (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 1996; Section 6, chapter 1). The constitution further states that government must take practical measures to elevate the status and advance the use of the previously marginalised languages and that the national and provincial governments

must use at least two 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. Furthermore, the municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents in dealing with official matters. In addition, the constitution requires the national and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures to regulate and monitor the use of the official languages ensuring that they all enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

For the realisation of the objectives of language policies, the constitution provides the establishment of Pan South African Language Board (henceforth, PANSALB) by national legislation, which must promote and create conditions for the development and use of all the official languages, including the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and South African Sign Language. With regard to language policy, the constitution shows the mission and vision of South Africa's democratic government which is based on freedom and equality for all. PANSALB was established as an independent statutory body to promote and ensure respect for all languages commonly used by different communities in South Africa, including all South African heritage languages and all other languages used for religious purposes. PANSALB was also to monitor the observance of the constitutional provisions and principles relating to the use of languages as well as the content and observance of any

existing legislation, practice and policy dealing with language matters

With this innovation in the Constitution and particularly in the language policy, and the anticipated challenges in its practicality, the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology established a Language Plan Task Group (hereafter, LANGTAG) in 1995, whose responsibility is to advise the ministry on language issues.

The aim of LANGTAG was to make sure that all South Africans have access to all the sphere of the South African society. This can be achieved by:

1. developing and maintaining a level of spoken and written language which is appropriate for a range of contexts in the official language(s) of their choice;
2. giving access to learning of language(s) other than one's mother tongue;
3. elaborating and maintaining the African languages which have been marginalised by the linguistic policies of the past; and
4. establishing equitable language facilitation services, and its widespread.

In order for LANGTAG to fulfil these mandates, it set up different language interest committees, such as language equity, language development in South Africa, language as an economic resource, literacy, language in the public service, heritage language, Sign Language, language and augmentative and alternative communication, equitable and widespread language services, and language in education (Mda, 2004:180). These different language committees were to ensure

freedom of language right of individual and groups/communities. Through the process of consultation, the department provides a framework for language policy (Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 2003).

The National Language Policy Framework stipulates that every effort must be made to utilise language facilitation facilities such as translation and interpreting where it is possible for the purposes of conducting meetings or performing any specific government tasks. But on the matter relating to official correspondence, the language of the citizen's choice must be used. In addition, all oral communications must take place in the preferred official language of the target audience. Government publications, however, must be in all the eleven official languages, but in the case where documents will not be made available in the eleven official languages, the departments must publish documents simultaneously in at least six languages. Among all the eleven official languages, only English is selected for international communication or the language of the country concerned (Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology, 1998:19). The importance of English in South Africa is affected by a wider set of circumstances such as modern day science and information technology, tourism, sports and the need to be an open society, which local politicians or language planners do not have control over. The privileging of English in international communication led Afrikaners to raise the status of Afrikaans during the apartheid era.

New Language in Education Policy (LiEP)

In the recognition of the culturally diverse character of South Africa, the Language in Education Policy (henceforth, LiEP) was established by the Department of Education (DoE) to promote multilingualism, develop official languages and to respect all languages spoken in South Africa, including South African Sign Language (SASL) and individual's language right and means of communication in the education sector. The inherited LiEP in South Africa has been characterised by tensions, contradictions and sensitivities, and underpinned by racial and linguistic discrimination. A number of these discriminatory policies have affected either the learners' access to education or their success within it (Department of Education, 1997). The objective of the new LiEP is to retain the learner's home language for teaching and learning and at the same time encourage them to acquire additional language(s) which is seen as the nation's resources that need to be harnessed. The new LiEP seeks to facilitate communication across different races, languages and regions, while at the same time creating an environment in which respect for languages other than one's own be encouraged by eradicating the racially and linguistically discriminatory LiEP of the past.

The new constitution gives everyone the right to receive education in the official language of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable. In order to ensure the effective access and

implementation of this language rights, the constitution commands the state to consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account equity, practicability and the need to redress the imbalance of past racially discriminatory laws and practices. However, the presence of escape clause in the constitution gives government and other bodies the excuse to avoid adopting and implementing the language policy or for not adhering to the constitutional provisions with regards to language in full (Kamwendo, 2006; Webb, n.d.).

In schools, the importance is attached to language in two aspects; language as MoI and language as a subject. For language(s) of learning and teaching in a public school, it must be official language(s) (Department of Education, 1997). What this means is that any of the eleven official languages can be chosen, as opposed to the apartheid language policy that made English and Afrikaans compulsory. On language as a subject, the policy states that all learners shall offer at least one approved language as a subject in grades 1 and 2. However, from grade 3 onwards, learners are required to offer the language which is the MoI in their school and at least another official language as subjects, which is against the past policy where English and Afrikaans were compulsory subjects. In non-White schools, all language subjects receive equitable time and allocation in accordance with the new LiEP; this is a practice that is against the apartheid policy where African languages were dropped after Grade 4

except as an extra subject (Kloss, 1978:61). In addition, the following promotion requirements apply to language subjects:

  i. In Grade 1 to Grade 4, promotion is based on pass in one language and Mathematics.
 ii. From Grade 5 onwards, one language must be passed.
iii. From Grade 10 to Grade 12, two languages must be passed (Department of Education, 1997).

The new LiEP also has a clause for the protection of individual's language right in education. The learner must choose the language of teaching upon application for admission to a particular school. But the parent exercises the minor learner's language right by choosing the MoI for the child till such a child comes of age. The school must admit the learner where the school uses the MoI chosen by the learner, and where there is a place available in the relevant grade. However, where no school in a school district offers the desired language as a MoI, the learner may request the provincial education department to make provision for instruction in the chosen language.

The achievement of the new LiEP and the implementation of Section 6 of the constitution are entrusted to the PANSALB. The question remains whether indigenous African languages which have been raised to the status of official languages are (in practice) treated equally with Afrikaans and English in education sector according to the constitution. The response will emerge if one assesses the number of high schools and tertiary institutions where indigenous languages are used as

MoI, or twenty years is not enough for restructuring and putting facilities in place for these languages to be used at the same level as their counterparts. The answer to this question will obviously be that the equality of the languages is far from being a reality. The dominance of English as MoI in secondary schools and universities is growing and expanding, followed by Afrikaans. At present in some South Africa universities, language continues to be the sole factor for discrimination and separation. For example, The Universities of Stellenbosch and The Free State are formerly Afrikaans universities. But with the dawn of democracy, the two institutions became more inclusive with the introduction of dual MoI. However, it is not clear that these institutions of higher learning are free from discrimination. The concern here is that discrimination and racism can be hidden under the umbrella of "dual medium of instruction", where divisions, separation and marginalisation can still continue based on proficiency and choice of language. For instance, at the University of the Free State, there are separate classes for Afrikaans and English. Also, one of the requirements for advertised jobs at The University of the Free State is being proficient in both English and Afrikaans.

In this regard, this study assessed the job vacancies advertised on the school website on 18th January, and on 20th June, 2011. Out of ten jobs advertised on 18th January, eight of them have language proficiency in Afrikaans and English as inherent requirements for the jobs, while two jobs advertised have proficiency in English. On 20th June 2011, seven jobs were advertised, five of which required being proficient in English and Afrikaans, and one job required proficiency in English; no language is specified in one job advert. All these advertised jobs were "support services" not "academic" . According to Bamgbose (2000), language requirement is an effective means of exclusion and unjustifiable, especially when language requirement is unrelated to job.

If all the official languages of South Africa are equal in the real sense of it, proficiency in any two official languages would be sufficient for job recruitment. As it functions, language is manipulated to separate and exclude people in the classroom, as well as for applying for some jobs. That lectures are not given in any indigenous language is a clear indication that all official languages recognised by the South African constitution are not equal in practice. These issues highlight the larger problem of implementation of language policies from paper to the social contexts. Much still needs to be done to achieve equality of all languages in the education sector, which seems unrealistic for now. Although Afrikaans and English are still at the top, the official status of Afrikaans is changing and will obviously be reversed in the nearest future as many Black South Africans, particularly the young ones, have resistance to learning or speaking the language (Afrikaans) because of its role in the entrenchment of apartheid practice.

Language and Media in South Africa

The Media sphere is another area in South Africa that has tremendously

gone through innovation and restructuring in recent years, especially in the area of language. The TV1 was directed at the minority, but economically-advanced White population (Nixon, Online). The Whites then was the power holders. The then South African government feared that the enormous potential of English language programmes at their disposal would overshadow and eventually crowd out their Afrikaans competitors if adequate care was not taken (Kloss, 1978:19). This led to all programmes being broadcast evenly between English and Afrikaans. However, in 1981, another channel (TV2) was introduced to broadcast in African languages. This second channel was known as TV2 or TV3 depending on the time of the day and the language coverage. TheTV2 broadcast in Zulu and Xhosa, while TV3 broadcast in Sotho language group.

In 1996, the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (henceforth, SABC) restructured its two TV channels, so as to be more representative of the eleven official languages and to allocate more time to marginalised African languages. The new channels are SABC1, SABC2 and SABC3. The restructuring of the television channels resulted in Afrikaans having its airtime drastically reduced for other indigenous African official languages (Du Plessis, 2006:60). While none of these channels broadcast in all the eleven official languages, the majority of the programmes aired, especially in SABC1 and SABC2 are in indigenous languages and often subtitled in English. The target audience of SABC1 is Nguni language group which comprises of isiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati,

and isiNdebele, while the SABC2 targets Sotho language group; Setswana, Northern Sotho, Southern-Sotho, Tshivenda and Xitsonga. SABC2 also broadcast in Afrikaans and English. Nevertheless, SABC3 runs most of its programmes in English, with minimal airtime allocated to indigenous languages, which is often subtitled, and weekly Indian movies subtitled in English. The three local channels were restructured in such a way that they cover all the eleven official languages. For example, the same news content read in SABC2 and SABC3 in Afrikaans and English at 19h00 respectively is repeated on SABC1 in Nguni languages at 19h30 and then on SABC2 in Sotho languages at 20h30. Also, there is a 30 minutes programme (DTV) for the deaf community which is aired on SABC3 every Sunday by 11h30 to accommodate the deaf and their language (i.e. SASL). Although there is no time allocation to Khoisan, !Xu, Nama and Khwe in SABC, the only language in South African coats of arm is written in the Khoisa language "!ke e: /xarra //ke" (meaning diverse people unite).

The language of the radio is similar to that of the television in South Africa; English dominates. Radio stations in South Africa were also established by SABC in the only two former official languages, but also broadcast in African languages during apartheid; the time allocated to these African languages were very minimal. During the apartheid era, broadcasting in South Africa was totally in the hand of SABC which was controlled firmly by the state government. However, with the advent

of democracy, 18 radio stations were established with quite a number of stations operating outside of the government authority. These 18 radio stations cover all the South African official languages. Six of the radio stations broadcast in English (i.e. 5FM Music, Good Hope FM, Metro FM, Radio 2000, SA FM and Lotus FM). One station broadcasts in Afrikaans (RSG), while the other nine stations broadcast in other nine indigenous South African official languages (i.e. isiZulu (Ukhozi FM), isiXhosa (Umhlobo Wenene FM), Tshivenda (Phalaphala FM), Setswana (Motsweding FM), isiNdebele (Ikwekwezi FM), Sesotho (Lesedi FM), Sepedi (Thobela FM), Xitsonga (Munghana Lonene FM) and siSwati (Ligwalagwala FM). One station broadcasts in English and isiXhosa (Tru fm), and the last one is in !Xu and Khwe (X-K FM).

There are many daily and weekly newspapers printed in South Africa in English, Afrikaans and African languages. This study assessed 65 print newspapers on their websites, 56 out of these are written in English, while nine are in Afrikaans . The same also applies to 53 online newspapers assessed, two of these newspapers are in Zulu, one is in Chinese, six are in Afrikaans and the remaining 44 are in English. The study shows that English is the dominant language of the newspaper in South Africa. In addition, looking at the average daily/weekly readership, English seems to be the preferred and favoured language by the majority of South Africa populace. The same preference of English also holds for

community newspapers where the average daily readership of English newspapers is greater than those of indigenous African languages. The study therefore concludes that the language of mass media (television, radio and print media) in South Africa is dominated by English followed by Afrikaans. This shows that although, nine indigenous African languages have been raised to the status of official languages constitutionally and to be used equally with English and Afrikaans, this equality is yet to reflect in South African media.

Challenges and the Way Forward

The first challenge facing innovation and restructuring of language and LiEP in South Africa is proper monitoring and the observance of constitutional provisions. Although the actions of the South African government and language planners in particular are commendable, the development, acceptance, and the equal use of official indigenous languages are yet to be implemented. This should be addressed as a matter of urgency, especially in schools where the country is training the future leaders.

The gap between the constitutional and legislative positions and the actual practices in schools in the country remains very wide and often appears to be widening. There is need for the committees in charge of LiEP to have a routine check on all the schools' language policy, both as MoI and as subjects as well as the time allocated to each language. The assessment needs to extend to equal allocation of time and resources to each of the official languages as stipulated in 1997 LiEP. For example, one of the ways to make

this happen is for PANSALB to commend schools that adhere to the policies, and take action against those that violate the language policy stipulations and provisions.

Lack of available teaching materials in nine previously marginalised indigenous official languages is another area of concern to the development and use of these languages especially in education. African languages were marginalised and accorded a very low status during the apartheid era when they were used only in primary schools, irrespective of the number that speak each of the languages. The situation led to scarcity of written materials especially for institution of higher learning, while there were enough materials in English and Afrikaans for learners in all levels of education. Currently, despite the effort of government in establishing PANSALB, LANGTAG and LiEP to redress the imbalance of the past government especially in the area of developing and promoting African languages, the status of African languages has not satisfactorily improved, especially in post-primary schools. For example, some universities (such as the University of the Free State and Stellenbosch) which previously have Afrikaans as their MoI have not created an avenue for incorporating the Provinces' dominant languages into the institutions as MoI. It is important for the SA government to address this and all similar issues of institutional resistance to comply with constitutional provisions and policies on the advancement of African languages.

Evidently, attention, preference and funding are often more readily available for English and Afrikaans as languages which are prestigious and highly valued in all sectors than for indigenous languages. This is a critical issue that requires redressing by the relevant government agencies. Equal attention and funding of all the official languages need to be addressed by different bodies and sub-committees in charge of these languages in national, provincial, and local government levels.

Equally, there is a necessity for the section in Department of Education in charge of language to make enough funds available to train and organise workshops and in-service-training for language teachers, especially teachers of native languages.

Another challenge facing innovation and restructuring of languages and LiEP in South Africa is employment futures of those who study indigenous languages. When it comes to requirements for most jobs, proficiency in English and Afrikaans are often considered; African languages are seen as having little or no role to play in recruitment or employment. Government and all language stakeholders can address this issue by motivating the use of all the indigenous languages in a wider range of official domains; for example, make "a pass" in an African language a requirement for certain jobs and positions. Also, make an African language a compulsory requirement for admission into institution of higher learning; motivate the use of indigenous languages for transaction of certain types of official business, and a higher profile in political discourse (Bamgbose, 2000:40).

Finally, the negative attitude towards the indigenous languages, especially by their speakers is another challenge facing language stakeholders. The causes of this negative attitude are summarised by the Department of Art and Culture, Science and Technology (1998:5), that observed that the value of the indigenous languages were ignored to an extent that the languages are mostly regarded as subordinate instrument restricted to the domestic and religious domains and which is irrelevant in higher education. The status of English and Afrikaans puts all the indigenous languages at a disadvantage, thereby eliciting the negative attitude towards the native languages. Mda (2004:184) points out that many Black parents have often discouraged their children from using their mother tongue because they believe that their languages are "crippled" and have little or nothing to contribute to the economy and are associated with low class. In addition, these parents fear that their children could lack socio-economic access and mobility if they are taught in their home languages. Besides, there are few (if any) incentives offered to encourage either the study of African languages as subjects or their use as MoI in all levels of education, as well as for non-first language speakers to learn other African languages, other than theirs. This negative attitude was ingrained by the apartheid system through Bantu education. PANSALB, school authorities and teachers need to organise language awareness programmes, to enlighten, decolonise, encourage and motivate students as well as their parents on the value of their languages, and equality of all languages.

Conclusion

The language policy of South Africa has been characterised by competition and domination of one language over the others from colonisation, Union of South Africa, and apartheid eras. The status of the languages has been unequal – the superior versus the inferior. The dawn of democracy brought new language policy with mission to restructure the existing language policy and to elevate the status of previously marginalised languages. However, the constitution provides escape clauses . Escape clauses in the constitution and all the Acts and Bills concerning language give government and other institutions the excuse to avoid adopting and implementing language policy in full.

Language practices in political administration, education, and media explored in this paper show that the use of English and Afrikaans in South Africa is more prevalent in comparison to other official languages as it was in the apartheid era. What this means is that the language practices in these domains continue to defy the constitutional principle of language equity, namely, that all the eleven official languages need to be used equitably (Kamwangamalu, 2000) after 20 years of this declaration.

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