

**THE ATTITUDE OF BLACK PEOPLE OF HAMMANSKRAAL
TOWARDS AFRIKAANS AND CHANGES IN THIS REGARD: A
SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL STUDIES APPROACH**

by

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SUMMARY

This explorative, qualitative study examines the attitude of Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans. The role that Afrikaans plays in this attitude was looked at. Qualitative research methodology was employed. Mixed method approach was also considered. Qualitative research is used to explore and understand people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour as well as interactions. The findings of this study revealed that respondents' attitude towards Afrikaans was generally negative. Possible reasons are the severe impact of apartheid policies on Black people and the negative attitude of the *Boeremag* towards them. The introduction of Afrikaans in 1976 as the medium of instruction in Black schools played a major role in forming this attitude. A number of recommendations were made to address the negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

The following key concepts were identified by the researcher: culture, behaviour, language, attitude, language planning, language policy, corpus planning, status planning, conceptual analysis and relational analysis. The researcher employed the following to collect data: structured interviews, newspaper articles and stories told by respondents. The researcher interviewed 60 male and female respondents, including young people, middle-aged people and old people with a sample of convenience.

Narrative analysis and content analysis were employed as methods of analysis. This thesis listed keywords from newspaper articles, analysed and interpreted them by using conceptual content analysis, relational content analysis and interpretive content analysis. Stories told by respondents were also presented and interpreted.

The significance of the role that attitudes play in language education, planning and development was examined in this study, which also investigated the importance of language policy and the dimensions of language planning and looked at the historical overview.

The following four functions for an individual's attitudes that have important implications for attitude change were investigated: the instrumental function, the ego-defensive function, the value-expressive function and the knowledge function. This thesis also paid attention to classical conditioning, reinforcement and operant conditioning, human modelling, consistency and self-justification, age changes,

dramatic experiences, community effects, parental effects, peer group effects, institutional effect, mass media effects, rituals and situational effects.

The two theoretical approaches relevant to a study of language attitudes, namely, the behaviourist view and the mentalist view were examined. The cognitive component, the effective component and the action or conative component (the main components of attitudes) were brought into focus.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted anywhere for any other degree. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Signature

Piet Thapedi Shiburi

Date: 28 November 2019

KEY CONCEPTS

1. Culture
2. Behaviour
3. Language
4. Attitude
5. Language planning
6. Language policy
7. Corpus planning
8. Status planning
9. Conceptual analysis
10. Relational analysis
11. Afrikaans
12. Hammanskraal

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION OF THE RESEARCH

1.1 Introduction

There have been Black people and White Afrikaans-speaking people in South Africa for decades. They have interacted and engaged with each other, and many have even learnt each other's language. The introduction of the apartheid policy in 1948 seems to have affected both population groups. It is, therefore, important to investigate the attitudes of Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans. This researcher used newspaper articles, interviews, stories and a convenient sample of Black people from Hammanskraal. The period covered in the research was 1994 to 2016.

Language attitude has been an issue for investigation for a while, and many researchers have made important contributions in this field. Bichani (2015) conducted a study on language attitudes in two Arabic-speaking communities in the UK and findings showed that respondents' attitudes to their heritage language were generally positive.

O'Rourke's (2005) research on young people's attitudes towards Irish and Galician also found that their attitudes were positive to their languages. Fazakas (2015) carried out a study on the linguistic attitudes of the students of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania towards their mother tongue and the Romanian language. The outcome of this study indicated that students' attitudes towards their mother tongue were positive, but the same respondents had a neutral or controversial attitude towards the Romanian language.

An investigation undertaken by Magogwe (1995) on the language attitudes of Botswana Cambridge 'O' level Senior Certificate students in relation to the official functions of Setswana and English indicated that there were generally positive attitudes towards English and Setswana. The results also indicated that the students were instrumentally motivated to learn English because of the socio-economic value associated with it, and that they were integratively motivated to learn Setswana because Setswana is a symbol of nationhood and political independence.

Ali (2017) studied the attitudes of Algerian learners towards learning French and English as foreign languages. The findings showed the learners' positive attitudes towards both French and English. Abongdia (2009) investigated attitudes of Francophone learners towards English in Cameroon. The outcome of this study revealed the negative language attitudes that Francophone learners have towards English.

1.2 Problem Statement

South Africa experienced colonisation by the Dutch after the arrival and settlement in the Cape of Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch East India Trading Company in 1652. In 1795, the British took the Cape from the Dutch. British control brought missionaries to South Africa. The missionaries were concerned with converting Africans to Christianity. They were not interested in the total development of African languages. As a result, African languages were neglected as languages of teaching and learning.

The election of 1948 put the National Party in government. This party introduced apartheid ideology. As a result, South Africa experienced racial segregation. Language was also affected when English and Afrikaans were declared the official languages of South Africa. The introduction of Afrikaans as an official language in Black schools irritated Black people, and they forcefully challenged it. In line with what has been said above, (Mda, 2004) states the following:

“During the apartheid period (1948 until 1994), the different groups in South Africa were divided according to race, ethnicity, culture and language. This was achieved through policies such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Acts of 1950 and of 1957” (Mda, 2004:12).

1.3 Research Question

South Africa under apartheid experienced legislated racial exclusivity and State-sponsored linguistic inequality. The language policies under apartheid had symbolic and practical value for the ruling government and were challenged by the majority of Black South Africans. The example of this opposition was the Soweto Uprising of 16 June 1976 when students went to the streets to oppose the introduction of Afrikaans

as the medium of instruction. In other words, this was a clear rejection of the Afrikaans language policy. During apartheid, African languages were intentionally underdeveloped and neglected.

“Section 6 of the Constitution provides the principal legal framework for multilingualism, the development of the official languages and the promotion of respect and tolerance for South Africa’s linguistic diversity. It determines the language rights of citizens, which must be honoured through national language policies” (National Language Policy Framework, 2003:7).

What is the attitude of Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans in the period 1994 to 2016 and have there been changes in this regard? What are the possible reasons for the attitude and changes in the attitude?

The Language in Education Policy of the Department of Education stresses multilingualism as an extension of cultural diversity and an integral part of building a non-racial South Africa. The underlying principle is to retain the learner's home language for learning and teaching but to encourage learners to acquire additional languages as well. This policy deals with language or languages of learning and teaching in public schools, school curricula, and the language-related duties of provincial departments of education and school governing bodies. The purpose of the above information is to contextualise the study.

1.4 Sub-Questions

The Constitution emphasises that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and be treated equitably and also mandates change to the language situation throughout the country.

1. What role does the apartheid legacy play in the attitude and changes?
2. What role does Afrikaans play in this attitude as well as changes?
3. What role does reconciliation play as well as changes?
4. What is the impact of the new South Africa?
5. What role do language and culture play in society about this attitude?

1.5 Rationale

South Africa continued with its application of apartheid policy.

“In 1974, South Africa passed the Afrikaans Medium Decree forcing all Black schools to use Afrikaans and English as the languages of instruction. Afrikaans was used for mathematics, arithmetic, and social studies while English was used for general science and applied subjects. Indigenous languages were solely used for religious instruction, music, and physical education. At the time, most local governments recognised English and their indigenous languages as the official languages due to the prominence of English in business and bypassed Afrikaans because of its association with apartheid. The South African Government issued the decree after Afrikaans began to decline by invoking a clause of the 1909 Union of South Africa Act stating that only English and Dutch could be official languages. Since Afrikaans had replaced Dutch in 1925, the government policy made it the successor language to the clause. The policy had the effect of educating White students in their home language while forcing Black students to learn in the dual language system. Black South Africans criticised the decree because they viewed Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor”

<http://michiganintheworld.history.lsa.umich.edu/antiapartheid/exhibits/show/exhibit/o>
(2017 1

Herbert (1992) reveals that the significance of the role that attitudes play in language education, planning and development has been noted by researchers in Africa and elsewhere. He argues that the liberation War radicalised African politics and people were increasingly aware of language as a symbol of culture and nationalism. “Language attitudes have a profound effect on the life and language of bilinguals. The goal of language attitude studies is to contribute to our understanding of which languages are positively evaluated, which are learnt, which are used, and which are preferred by bilinguals” (Herbert, 1992:240). The above information helps to contextualise and unpack the research question as well as the aims and the objectives of this research study.

Webb (2000) states that language is seldom thought of as a problem. He says that as long as people are able to communicate with one another, can get answers to their questions or can provide information to others, they are happy. He again says

that as long as we can understand what someone is saying, and as long as we are able to read a newspaper, listen to the radio or watch television, we are satisfied. The scholar further indicates that as long as our immediate communicative needs are met, language is not experienced as a problem. The author highlights that, if we think a little more deeply about language, its role in society and the lives of people, we discover that language can indeed be a problem. According to Webb, language can create problems and language attitudes can be some of them.

He further says that language can be a carrier or conveyer of socio-cultural values and beliefs or a socialising instrument. The author indicates that the symbolic meaning of languages in South Africa also plays a role in linguistic and cultural alienation. He stresses that Sub-Saharan African communities (including South Africa) are generally characterised by a low esteem of their own cultures and this, together with the process of language contact, has the potential to lead to language shift/reculturalisation and language death/the loss of cultural diversity. In this situation language is considered to be related to culture. The above information also contributes to contextualising the research problem and the objectives of the study.

Language can also be regarded as a powerful social force that does more than transmit intended referential information. In addition to the above statement, Davies commented, "...speakers' language choices shape others' impressions of them impacting decision-making processes in an array of critical social and applied arenas" (Davies, 2004:7).

It is important to note that languages and speech communities change. In this regard, Rubin *et al.*, state, "All languages change in the course of time, and all speech communities change through time in respect to the functional allocations of the varieties of language used in them" (Rubin, *et al.*, 1977:2).

Webb (2000) comments that the link between language and culture is sometimes perceived to be very direct. He emphasises that some speakers of Afrikaans in South Africa, for instance, feel so strongly about this that they regard any changes to their language as a threat to their cultural identity. One also often hears the view that using a foreign language poses a threat to a person or a group's cultural identity; even acquiring such a language may lead to cultural alienation. Clearly, therefore,

languages in contact and conflict often also imply cultures in contact and conflict. “Culture stands in a causal and deterministic relationship to language, so that cultural changes automatically lead to linguistic changes” (Webb, 2000:122-123).

It is also important to take into account that language and culture are sometimes viewed differently.

“Some scholars have argued that language is part of culture, while others view culture and language as two different phenomena. The latter group point out, for instance, that the people of Western Europe and North America increasingly share the same culture even though both communities house a multiplicity of languages, many not even mutually intelligible. A view that seems to be generally accepted is that language can be considered as a cultural practice, and that language is both an instrument and a product of culture. This would mean that the diverse languages spoken by Western Europeans are not simply products of a given culture, but are also used to express cultural norms and practices that are increasingly similar in the different European countries” (Webb, 2000:272).

Edwards (1985) points out that the diversity of languages was seen to be rooted in the variety of social environments and thus, over time, a group comes to share a common language. He further states that these speech communities only survive as discrete entities as long as they preserve their language as a collective inheritance. This scholar continues to say that a nation’s self-respect hinges upon its ability and willingness to defend itself, but its very existence is inconceivable without its own language.

Attitudes and language also play an important role because attitudes to language reflect attitudes to the users of that language. “Attitudes are strongly influenced by social and political factors” (Mukhuba, 2005:271). Attitudes are important in language growth or decay. This study will focus on the attitude of the Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans as well as changes in this regard. This type of research has never been conducted before; therefore, the researcher will be the first to embark on it. Research of this nature will help educators and policymakers in the formulation of their language policies, in language planning as well as cultural policies.

The findings will also encourage sociolinguists and cultural studies workers to undertake intensive language research. Some of the work of scholars with some links to this research had to be refined to be directly appropriate. Although the research will focus on the period 1994 to 2016, background information which dates back before this period will be given as a starting point to position the study clearly and to give more information about this research project. It should be noted that language, culture, identity, behaviour and attitude are closely linked and have a major role to play in this research with the result that an emphasis will be placed on these factors.

Kennedy (1983) postulates that language is a social activity. He further indicates that the act of speaking takes place in a social setting between two or more persons who have particular messages to convey. He says that in order to understand the message, it is not sufficient to pay attention to the grammar of a language. It is important to know a great deal more about communication. He also states that we need to know something about the context of the speech act, something about the relationship of the participants, something about the rules for conversing, something about the mood of the speech act and something about the intentions of the speaker. According to Kennedy, language is important in society.

Webb (2000) takes this further by indicating that language not only enables us to talk about the world and display our knowledge and thoughts; it also provides us with a facility to express our intimate feelings and attitudes. He argues that the often-ignored function of language as a symbol of individual and group identity is probably its most important feature in multilingual and multicultural societies. The author even emphasises that we often ignore the power of language in bringing people together to start a social interaction. For people to meet and start talking is so normal that we tend to assume that it happens naturally, without any deliberate action by the participants. Webb indicates that language can reveal attitudes and feelings, and this is relevant in the research question of this study together with its aims and objectives.

1.6 Objectives

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 (Act No 47 of 1953) which was a South African segregation law, legalised several aspects of the apartheid system. Its important provision was to enforce racially separated educational facilities. The apartheid language policy was, therefore, imposed on Black schools. The above Act eventually led to the 1976 Soweto student uprising. The main objective of the study is to investigate the attitude of the Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans and changes in this regard from 1994 to 2016. The period 1994 to 2016 is chosen to limit the length of this research. The objectives of the research are to:

1. investigate the apartheid legacy in the attitude and changes in this regard;
2. look into the role of Afrikaans in this attitude as well as changes in this regard;
3. examine the role of reconciliation as well as changes in this regard;
4. analyse the impact of the new South Africa; and to
5. analyse the role of language and culture in society with regard to this attitude.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 outlines the orientation of the research.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature review.

Chapter 3 pays attention to the research design and methodology.

Chapter 4 focuses on the results.

Chapter 5 discusses the conclusions and recommendations.

1.8 Summary

This chapter introduced the research topic, indicating that the attitude of Black people in Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans was researched for the period 1994 to 2016. Problem statement was examined and it was indicated that South Africa experienced colonisation by the Dutch after the arrival and settlement in the Cape of Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch East India Trading Company in 1652. Research question and sub-questions were mentioned and the rationale was briefly discussed.

The objectives of the research were highlighted, and a brief chapter outline was presented in this way:

Chapter 1 outlines the orientation of the research.

Chapter 2 focuses on the literature review.

Chapter 3 pays attention to the research design and methodology.

Chapter 4 focuses on the results.

Chapter 5 discusses the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The review will start with the concept attitude, an overview of research on language attitudes, an overview of language policy and language planning and then give a historical overview of past events to position this research. Key terms on this topic will receive attention. Identification of gaps; in other words, what has been done and what has not been done on this research topic, will also be looked at to position the project.

2.2 Analysis and Interpretation of the Literature

Some of the information provided below specifically helped to determine where the attitude of Black people in Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans derives from. It should be noted that Coloured people are excluded when using the words “Black people” in this research.

2.2.1 The concept attitude

Manning (2007:396) defines attitude as a disposition or mood; the combination of thought and feeling that predisposes one to take action.

Giles (1982:132), Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum (1957) define attitude as a mental and neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations to which it is related.

Baker (1992:10) considers attitude as a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour.

“Attitudes reflect a favourable or unfavourable disposition towards language, whether conscious or unconscious” (Ajzen, 1988:4; Cluver, 2000:79),

Moodley (2003:96) says that attitude involves an emotional element and is thus somewhat subjective.

Rudwick (2004:166) defines attitude as neutral or ambivalent perceptions towards languages.

Obiols (2002:2) defines attitude as a “mental disposition towards something”, it acts as a bridge between opinion and behaviour <http://www.diva-porrtal.org/smash/get/diva2:518098/1> (2003:2).

Attitude is a summary evaluation of an object or thought <http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-90=481> (2016:19)

Oskamp (1977) sees attitude as a person’s bodily position or posture.

Kerlinger (1984) regards attitudes as enduring and organised structures of social beliefs that predispose individuals to think, feel, perceive and behave selectively towards referents or cognitive objects of attitudes.

The Collins Dictionary (1979:96) defines attitude as the way a person views something or tends to behave towards it, often in an evaluative way. This definition clearly means that attitude is the way a person interprets something. In other words, the way someone sees and understands something.

Wayne (2001:10-11) defines attitude as the positive or negative evolution of objects of thought which include social issues, groups, institutions, products and people.

It is clear from the above definitions that attitude is the way people think about things.

2.3 Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are opinions, ideas and prejudices that speakers have with respect to a language. For example, it is said that in order to learn a language, it often helps to have a positive attitude towards that language <http://consellodacultural.gal/cdsg/loia/socia.php?idioma=2&id=5> (2015:1).

Crystal (1997:215) defines language attitude as feelings people have about their language or the languages of others.

Edwards (1994:98) defines language attitude as a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects.

“The term “language attitudes” refers to a broad collection of empirical studies concerned with the distinctive social meanings of contrasting languages and language varieties” (Lampert, 1965; Giles *et al.*, 1975).

Ryan *et al.* (1982:7) define language attitudes as “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions towards different language varieties or speakers” <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:518098/1> (2003:2).

Garrett (2010) indicates that language attitudes permeate our daily lives. He argues that they are not always publicly articulated and that we are not always conscious of them. This scholar further says that these attitudes are overt and that we probably notice them in particular when they are negative and articulated explicitly, and often argumentatively, in public arenas such as the media or in our day-to-day conversations. The author goes on to say that although we may feel that there are many different ways of expressing our thoughts in our languages, language variation carries social meaning and so can bring very different attitudinal reactions, or even social disadvantage or advantage.

The above scholar extends this argument by adding that people hold attitudes to language at all levels; for example, spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages. He emphasises that even the speed at which we speak can evoke reactions.

Igboanusi (2001) expands Garrett’s argument by highlighting that every man or every group of people react in quite different ways to different things, ideas, events, among others, not excepting language. The scholar further states that by broad classification, such attitudes or reactions are either negative or positive. A reaction or attitude of any kind is believed to be dependent on, and informed by, several factors – historical, political, economic, ethnic, educational or religious. At times, an attitude can be the product of an unexplainable phobia or love for a given phenomenon.

Edwards (1985) postulates that in sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language, attitudes have traditionally been of great importance. He highlights that this is because people’s reactions to variations in language can reveal their perceptions of speakers; in this way, language attitudes are linked to views of identity.

One of the earliest research projects on attitudes towards Afrikaans was that of Vorster in 1976.

“An attempt was made to determine the extent and nature of hypothesised negative attitudes towards Afrikaans among a group of Black South African university students, compared with their attitude towards English. Male and female university students heard four tape-recorded voices speaking in both English and Afrikaans. They were not aware that the eight performances they heard came from only four voices. Each voice was accorded points for positive character traits. Highly significant differences were found between the points accorded for a voice speaking in English and the same voice speaking in Afrikaans. The differences between English and Afrikaans varied between the traits, which suggested the possibility of arriving at an Afrikaans and an English stereotyped profile” (Vorster, 1976:103).

Igboanusi (2001) states that the English language has sojourned in Nigeria for more than three centuries now. He further says that because of its historical antecedent, English still enjoys a prime place in Nigeria’s linguistic firmament. He indicates that it is well received among Nigerian peoples and it is the most widely spoken in metropolitan and cosmopolitan cities in Nigeria. He highlights that it is a fact that language manifests itself in every aspect of human life and in the activities of a society. The author goes on to say that it is against this background that English, the unifying language in multilingual and multicultural Nigeria, has been assigned many roles.

The scholar further points out that given the many important roles that the English language performs, it becomes expedient for any Nigerian that wants to be relevant to his social, economic, and political environment to learn and acquire some appreciable knowledge of English. The author goes on to say that this explains why both the literate and non-literate have a great respect for anyone who has an admirable proficiency in English. He confirms that educated Nigerians who are deficient in their mastery of English, and some of the uneducated lot make frantic efforts through private tuition to learn it.

It is important to take into consideration the role of language attitudes regarding cultural identity, self-esteem and intergroup relations. With regard to the above statement Webb (1984:451) comments,

“If one recalls the significance of language attitudes as markers of a community’s socio-cultural identity and self-esteem, and of intergroup relations, it is clear that the South African language attitude situation can have serious consequences such as continued language-based conflict, the continued marginalisation of people who have an insufficient knowledge of the dominant languages, the possibility of continued manipulation and discrimination, the possible cultural and linguistic alienation of people and loss of the country’s rich cultural and linguistic diversity”.

Attitudes to linguistic stimuli deserve attention in the discussion of language attitudes. “Attitudes to linguistic stimuli also play a major role. In sociolinguistics there is ample evidence showing that attitudes towards linguistic stimuli are determined, to a large extent, by the association of linguistic features and social groups and by the stereotypes attached to the latter. Assuming that the activity by which speakers proceed to a social attribution of linguistic stimuli is a cognitive process, one must admit that it is subject to variation” (Prikhodkine, 2013:1).

In general, people have attitudes/feelings about language, in particular, their language and the language of other people. They may feel that an unwritten language is not a real language. They may feel shame when other people hear their language. They may believe that they can know one language at a time. They may feel that the national language is the best language for expressing patriotism, the best way to get a job. <http://www.sil.org/language-assessment/language-attitudes> (2015:1).

Attitudes are crucial in language growth or decay, restoration or destruction: the status and importance of a language in society and within an individual derive largely from adopted or learnt attitudes. An attitude is individual, but it has origins in collective behaviour. Attitude is something an individual has which defines or promotes certain behaviours. Attitudes are learnt predispositions, not inherited; they

are likely to be relatively stable, and they have a tendency to persist.
<http://www.postcolonialweb.org/india> (2015:1), (Baker, 1992:9; Garrett, 2003:14).

The study of attitudes is also linked to the two theoretical approaches namely, behaviourist approach and mentalist approach and regarding this aspect Ihemere, (2006:1) has this to say “The fact that languages are not only objective, socially neutral instruments for conveying meaning, but are linked to the identities of social or ethnic groups, has consequences for the social evaluation of, and the attitudes towards, languages. In general terms, the study of language attitudes has been based on two theoretical approaches: the behaviourist approach, which is simply the responses people make to social situations, and the mentalist approach, which is an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and the person’s response”.

Pauwels (2016) emphasises that a mental rather than a behaviourist view of attitudes prevails in language attitudinal research focused on multilingualism. This entails seeing attitudes as an internal state by stimulation of some type that may mediate the organism’s subsequent response. Pauwels further says that such a view poses a methodological challenge because it is an internal state rather than an observable fact or event that needs to be investigated. The author states that this has led to the development of a variety of methods and tools for measuring and exploring language attitudes, especially by social psychologists of language.

There is a relationship between languages and identity. Appel (1987:16) comments, “if there is a strong relation between languages and identity, this relation should find its expression in the attitudes of individuals towards these languages and their users”. People have attitudes against each other. This issue is exposed further by Appel (1987:16) who stated, “The underlying assumption is that in a society social (or ethnic) groups have certain attitudes towards each other, relating to their differing social positions. These attitudes affect attitudes towards cultural institutions or patterns characterising these groups such as languages, and carry over to and are reflected in attitudes towards individual members of the groups”.

Attitudes cannot be observed directly but are demonstrated through actual behaviour. For example, how people treat speakers of other languages (avoidance, approach),

or in their desire (or not) to learn another language. The convergence of one's speech to conform to another's speech suggests a "positive attitude" towards the other's speech. Similarly, divergence suggests an intention for the opposite outcome.

Linguistically people view each other differently. Attitudinal studies aid in identifying how people of one language group view the personal characters and social statuses of speakers of another language and how they form associations about other languages. Therefore, the assessment of language attitudes aids in grouping communities based on their intergroup affinities, in combination with other methods.

Since attitudes cannot be studied directly, the assessment of language attitudes requires asking questions about other aspects of life. For example, a person can be asked about their opinion of a person whose speech sample they just heard. The responses reveal attitudes about both people and their language. Opinions and attitudes are noted about how those being interviewed might be willing to accommodate to the people and languages that they just heard on the recordings. Language attitudes can be identified by simply asking why certain languages are in use (or not) <http://www.sil.org/language-assessment/language-attitudes> (2016:1).

The study of language attitudes is important for sociolinguistics because it can, as Obiols writes "predict a given linguistic behaviour: the choice of a particular language in multilingual communities, language loyalty, language prestige..." (Obiols, 2002). Romaine says that the basis of attitude measurement is that there are underlying dimensions along which individual attitudes can be ranged. However, Romaine also points out that "the translation of attitude from the subjective domain into something objectively measurable is a common problem in any research that involves social categorisation and/or perceptual judgements" (Romaine, 1980:213). Many experiments have tried to analyse the complex relationship between people's attitudes and their behaviour, but the conclusions are far from unanimous <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:518098/1> (2003:2).

Attitude can be regarded as input and output. Baker, (1992:12) says the following in connection with this issue,

"Further explication of attitude comes from educational research, where attitude is considered both as input and output. For example, a favourable

attitude to maths or to language learning may be a vital input in maths or language achievement. In this sense, attitude is a predisposing factor, affecting the outcomes of education. Attitude can also be an outcome in itself. After a reading programme or a language-learning course, the teacher may hope for a favourable attitude to reading or the language learnt. Sometimes attitude may be as important an outcome as an achievement if further development or interest in a subject is sought. A skilled reader may shun books after formal education. A less skilled reader with a love of books may, because of a favourable attitude, carry on reading regularly into adulthood. Thus, attitude serves a double function. It is an important concept as it provides a passage and a product variable, a pre-disposer and an outcome”.

Language attitudes deal with different aspects. Garrett (2003:11-13) comments,

“The field of language attitudes encompasses a broad range of focuses, and in specific terms, reasons for studying language attitudes depend on the particular focus. The study of language attitudes seeks to do more than to discover simply what people’s attitudes are, and what effects they might be having in terms of behavioural outcomes. A further concern is to understand what it is that determines and defines these attitudes. Particular linguistic forms have understandably received a great deal of attention particularly from sociolinguists”.

Cargile argued, “language is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information” (Cargile *et al.*, 1994:211). From the job applicant who is chosen because of this “cultured” British accent to the Southern-American who is not selected because of their “unintelligent” dialogue, attitudes about specific forms of language can have a significant influence at many levels. At the macro-sociological level, images of cultures and societies are shaped based on the perceptions of language telecast on television and in film; at a micro-sociological level, relationships with friends and family can be permanently altered by the manner of language they employ.

The following argument regarding language and language attitude deserves attention:

“Thus, scholars have argued the importance of language attitude research within many domains. The media researcher purports that language influences cognitive images that we use to form collective realities” (Lippman, 1922); interpersonal experts employ listener- and speaker-based models to explain the impact of language in one-on-one and group dynamics (Berger and Calabrese, 1975); organisational scholars write of linguistic “first impressions” that impact past, present and future alliances. In sum, academics from many disciplines agree that language attitudes are an important enterprise. It is the method with which these researchers have chosen to analyse such attitudes that has differed widely” (Giles, 1983, cited in Davies, 2004:187-188).

Language and activities work together. Regarding this aspect, Appel indicates the following:

“The fact that language is often linked with specific activities or situations may cause a problem in the interpretation of results in language attitude research. Most studies have used tape recordings of the reading of formal prose or spontaneous speech concerning informal topics. However, certain languages do not seem appropriate for certain contexts, for example, the reading of a passage of a scientific article in a non-prestige minority language. If this factor is not taken into account, it may influence the ratings of the speakers” (Appel, 1987:18).

Moodley (2013) is of the view that attitude is not an easy attribute to measure because it is manifested as a result of strong beliefs and feelings. He goes further to say that it is also not a very easy concept to define.

Baker (1992) highlights the importance of cognitive, affective and the readiness components of attitudes. Baker argues that the cognitive component concerns thoughts and beliefs, whereas the affective components concerns feelings towards the attitude object. The author goes further by saying that the feeling may concern love or hate of the language or an anxiety about learning a minority language.

Action or conative component also plays an important role when dealing with attitudes. “The action or conative component of attitudes concerns a readiness for action. It is a behavioural intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances. A person with a favourable attitude to Irish might state they would send their children to a bilingual school. A person with a favourable attitude to bilingualism might indicate their readiness to enter adult language classes. However, the relationship between attitudes and action is neither straightforward nor simple” (Baker, 1992:12-13).

Fasold also devotes an entire section to the methods of measuring language attitudes. One important point that he makes is the distinction between direct and indirect methods: “A totally direct method would require subjects to respond to a questionnaire or interview questions that simply ask their opinions about one or another language. A totally indirect method would be designed to keep the subject from knowing that her language attitudes were being investigated” (Fasold, 1987:149). Based on the example that he gives, his point seems to be that, while indirect methods may be able to gauge language attitudes more accurately, they are not ideally suited to the questionnaire format. He also discusses open and closed questions on questionnaires and the advantages or disadvantages of each in obtaining the desired data (152). Such points are things to keep in mind, and so such information will be very useful for the current study. On the other hand, Fasold also devotes a section to social applications of the study of language attitudes and the first topic he mentions is group identity (Fasold, 1987:158-164; Serafin, 2009:23).

Sadanand’s (1993) work on language attitude towards English among labourers in India is potentially more useful. In the article, “Assessing attitudes to English and language use”, he outlines in detail his own methodology, as well as offering a description of other possible methodologies and their advantages and disadvantages. Sadanand also describes the measurement scale he developed to rate the responses of his respondents (125-127). This provides some ideas to keep in mind when the results of the current questionnaire are processed. He also reproduces his questionnaire as an appendix (Serafin, 2009:23).

“Legal and judicial settings also offer much scope for language attitudes in crucial social episodes. Seggie (1983) presented the voices of speakers in RP, broad

Australian and Asian-accented English in the role of defendants. RP speakers were adjudged guiltier when the crime was embezzlement, whereas Australian-accented speakers were more severely judged when the crime was physical assault. In other words, “white-collar” crimes tend to be associated with prestige speakers whereas crimes of violence are cognitively aligned more with non-standard users” (Giles, (1983), cited in Davies, 2004:193-196).

“Language attitudes affect local conditions. Language attitudes are, of course, sensitive to local conditions and changes in the socio-political milieu. For instance, Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) found that Anglo-Canadian secondary school students had less favourable attitudes towards Italian language usage when the demographic proportions of Anglos and Italians in their immediate school environment were equal, as opposed to when Anglos were the clear majority. Such findings illustrate the notion that negative language attitudes are not as prevalent when there is a clear in-group and out-group. Bourhis (1983) has also shown that the changing political climate in Quebec has been associated with modifications in attitudes towards the use of Canadian French and English” (Giles, (1983), cited in Davies,..... :(193-196).

Psychologists’ ability to predict action from attitude, or attitude from action, is somewhat imperfect. Behaviour tends not always to be consistent across contexts. As props on the stage change, as different actors and actresses change, different scripts are enacted and repertoires of behaviour are available or not, behaviour may change accordingly and attitudes may become imperfect explainers and predictors of behaviour. As Ajzen (1988) argues, ‘Every particular instance of human action is, in this way, determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction’ (45).

The role of behaviour in attitudes is also important. “This argument moves to the current belief that underlying attitudes can be indicated by observation of behaviour or, more efficiently, by self-reports. Both observation and self-reports can validly (and sometimes invalidly) indicate latent response dispositions. Further, attitudes may be better predictors of future behaviour than observation of current behaviour. Attitudes tend to be less affected by situational factors and can be measured more reliably” (Baker, 1992:15-16).

Language attitudes can work with the experimental approach. This idea is expressed by Baker (1992:22-23) in this way:

“Another example of important themes in language attitudes includes the experimental approach of the matched guise technique used to infer attitudes to language varieties. Evaluations of speakers of particular languages or dialects provide an indirect measure of language attitude, especially in terms of status, prestige and social preferences. Language attitudes have also been examined in term of language preferences, reasons for learning a language, language teaching, language groups and communities, uses of language, classroom processes in language lessons and parent’s language attitudes”.

Baker (1992) indicates that the interest in much of the research on attitude to a specific language is concentrated on the reasons for favourability and unfavourability towards those languages. The author goes further to say that there is often a foundational interest in the valence of the attitude. This scholar emphasises that as part of the “market research” tradition in opinion surveys, a measure of language attitude may indicate the health of that language in society. Baker (1992) again points out that the extent of goodwill may affect decisions of language policy and language planning. However, the author further states that the more typical concern of research on language attitudes to specific languages is on the differences between groups of individuals.

Gender, age or language background are important when dealing with attitude. “Thus differences according to gender, age or language background may be explored. Are females or males more favourably disposed to Gaelic? Are older people rather than younger people more favourable to Frisian in the Netherlands? Whether an attitude to a language has one general component or is multi-component in a hierarchical or multi-dimensional manner has attracted considerable research” (Baker, 1992:30).

Both instrumental orientation and integrative orientation have an impact as far as attitudes are concerned. “Two components of language attitudes have been located by research: an instrumental orientation and an integrative orientation. Instrumental motivation reflects pragmatic, utilitarian motives. It is characterised by a desire to

gain social recognition or economic advantage through knowledge of a foreign language. An instrumental attitude to a language is mostly self-oriented and individualistic and would seem to have conceptual overlap with the need for achievement. Instrumental attitudes to learning a second language, or preserving a minority language might be, for example, for vocational reasons, status, achievement, personal success, self-enhancement, self-actualisation or for basic security and survival” (Baker, 1992:31-33).

Baker (1992) emphasises that an integrative attitude to a language is mostly social and interpersonal in orientation. He also says that such an attitude has conceptual links with the need for affiliation. It has been defined as a desire to be like representative members of the other language community. Thus, an integrative attitude to a particular language may concern attachment to, or identification with, a language group and its cultural activities.

Gordon (1980) also found that people with integrative attitudes tended to have more favourable attitudes to second language learning than those with instrumental attitudes. However, certain reservations should be noted.

Strong (1984) indicates that learning a second language and the act of becoming bilingual may invoke more favourable integrative attitudes. The author further argues that integrative attitudes may both be the cause and the effect of becoming or staying bilingual. Gardner (1985) adds by saying that the evidence suggests that the most customary chronological order is integrative attitudes affecting learning.

This scholar further states that people who score highly on the integrative dimension may not necessarily be motivated to learn a second language or maintain their bilingualism. Integrative attitudes may be directed at friendships, sociability or gregariousness without being focused on language learning or maintenance.

Some research has shown that attitudes other than integrative promote the learning of a second language. Lukmani (1972) found that female school pupils in Bombay gave instrumental rather than integrative reasons for learning English. Garner (1985a) notes two weaknesses in this conclusion: the measurement by Lukmani (1972) concerned orientation which is not precisely the same as motivation, and a lack of statistical significance in the comparison of orientations.

The classification of reasons for learning a language into instrumental and integrative categories need not be straightforward Oller, Hudson & Liu (1977). For example, there is a difference between Burstall *et al.* (1974) and Lukmani (1972) who both include travelling abroad as an item in their measurement scales. The former authors regarded such travel as integrative, the latter author as instrumental. Factor analysis, for example, does help considerably in the clarification and classification of individual items on a scale Gardner and Smythe (1975). However, different groups of people from different contexts and different countries may validly interpret the same item in different ways. The travelling abroad, for example, could represent an integrative attitude for one person or ethnic group, an instrumental attitude for another person or group.

These two orientations have been studied by research which concentrates on learning a second language. Little research exists on the way these attitudes explain the continuation of bilingual skills or the erosion of a language or bilingualism. The potential exists for language attitudes to become helpful explanatory variables in language decay where minority languages are declining or in peril.

The lack of an integrative attitude with respect to relationships with and among the minority group may be a valuable concept at both the individual and societal levels of explanation. Similarly, lack of an instrumental attitude for economic, political, social, educational or vocational reasons may be a source of personal and group reasons for minority language decay. However, the power of these orientations in both minority language situations, especially where there is language erosion, has yet to be fully tested.

These two orientations are not necessarily opposites or alternatives. Both are capable of existing within an individual at the same time. A person may be motivated in different strengths by both orientations. It is possible to possess both instrumental and integrative attitudes, with different contexts and expectations affecting the balance of their relative power. Siguan and Mackey (1987) give the example of somebody who learns a language for the primary purpose of becoming integrated into the group which speaks it and may also believe that integration in the new group will have a personal advantage for him and will even help him to rise in society.

“One theme relating to language attitudes to education concerns the factors contributing to language loss and language retention Ramage (1990). Thus Gardner, Lalonde and MacPherson (1985) found that favourable language attitudes were related to less attrition in a learnt language. Where learners had positive attitudes to a language, they were less likely to lose competence in that language. Language attitude characteristics were also found to be a major factor in the retention of second language skills following an intensive learning course” (Gardner, Moorcroft & Metford, 1989; Baker, 1992:36-37).

Baker (1992) points out that it is an implicit and explicit assumption of much language policy and provision that attitudes can or should change. For example, one outcome of bilingual education may be a favourable attitude to a second language or a heritage minority language. The author further says that the recent considerable expansion in the teaching of Welsh to adults in Wales by Ulpans, evening classes and summer schools presumably aims to influence attitudes to the Welsh language and culture in addition to teaching language skills. In a melting pot or transitional-assimilationist language context (for example, in-migrants mastering English), engendering positive attitudes to the majority tongue and culture is often a covert part of the transitional programme.

The scholar continues to say that where a language is fighting for survival, encouraging positive attitudes becomes crucial. As Lewis, for example, asserts, “in some instances a language policy is in fact largely if not principally concerned with inculcating attitudes either to the languages or to the speakers of those languages” (Lewis, 1981:262). Attitudes change over time – rarely are they static. It is important to note that attitude change in a language context has a strong political dimension. Attitudes to language may change by slow evolution and gradual development. They can also take “U” turns parallel with sudden religious conversion. Language attitudes may change due to internal thinking; more often they change by exposure to social influence” (Baker, 1992:97).

Garrett (2010) stresses that attitudes to language, positive and negative, are often influenced by the process of standardisation in languages. He writes that many languages are said to have a standard variety. There are also strong negative attitudes about whole languages rather than aspects of usage within a language. He

notes that the labelling of language behaviour and languages is also a window into people's attitudes.

“For those interested in language attitude change, one danger is to focus solely on a present, person-oriented perspective or on a contemporary socio-political perspective. It is perhaps salutary and important to take an historical perspective. Such a perspective may start from a portrayal of how much language attitudes have changed over a century or more. The historian may be able to explore and evaluate the historical causes of language attitude change. By examining ideology and institution, power and prestige, conflicts and class, figureheads and fashions, important factors in historical change may be teased out. The description of historical attitude change and the analytical evaluation and interpretation of causes of change are rarely examined by social-psychological theorists nor sociolinguists. However, such an historical approach is a vital foundation in the study of language change” (Baker, 1992:97-98).

It is therefore, of vital importance to understand that attitude contributes to language growth or destruction.

Functional theory also plays a major role in this regard and therefore deserves attention.

2.3.1 Functional theory

Katz (1960:10) provides four functions for an individual's attitudes. The four functions have important implications for attitude change.

2.3.1.1 The utilitarian or instrumental function

Attitudes may change when there is some reward. Acquisition of a minority language, using and maintaining a language or acquiring a positive attitude to that language may depend on gaining reward and avoiding punishment. Having left school, adults need rewards to use a minority language. One example would be employment prospects that utilise or allow minority language usage. For minority language speech events to become more frequent, some tangible, social or individual reward system preferably needs to exist. Minority language television, discos, pop music,

novels, papers, concerts, for example, all provide the stage upon which the prestige and status of a language is viewed and acted out.

Such status and prestige supply and control the rewards and reinforcement for speaking a minority language. Where everyday events of perceived high status are almost entirely in the majority language, there may be little hope of attitude change. Attitude change can be made more probable when rewards can be gained, and punishment avoided for speaking a minority language.

2.3.1.2 The ego-defensive function

Basic inner security is essential for psychological health. People who hold attitudes that lead to insecurity, embarrassment and anxiety are likely to change their attitudes to achieve greater security and less anxiety. Speaking a minority language in a majority environment may lead to such anxiety. Being a peripheral member of a group, not sharing the common threats of identity of a group and lacking some of the status attributes of a reference group may lead to attitude and behavioural change. Majority group members sometimes defend their egos by denigrating a minority language. Fearing that minority language groups might be given privileges or greater worth, majority groups may hold negative attitudes towards such minorities to enhance their own self-worth and distinctiveness. Attitude change strategies, therefore, need to ensure that ego defence mechanisms are either enhanced (for example, by adding to self-esteem) or are not threatened nor attacked. Threats need to be removed, or catharsis needs to occur, or an individual needs to develop more self-insight (Katz, 1960:10).

2.3.1.3 Value-expressive function

Katz (1960:10) suggested that attitudes are expressed and activated when they are congruent with personal values and the self-concept. For minority language attitudes to become more favourable, it is evident that deep-rooted personality characteristics need to be considered (Herman, 1968). The psychological notion of self-concept, the picture we hold of our self, may be a powerful governor of attitude change. When, for example, self-concept in adolescence moves towards conformity with peer group identity, the peer group may become an important determinant of change towards, or away from, minority language and cultural identification. If social comparison occurs

with majority cultural forms, then self-concept and attitudes may change accordingly. If the social comparison process occurs with indigenous cultural forms, minority language and culture may be more open to positive attitude change. Attitudes do not exist in a vacuum. They are part of an individual's whole psychological functioning (Bain and Yu, 1984). An individual with certain personality characteristics may be more or less open to attitude change.

2.3.1.4 Knowledge function

An attitude is said to have a cognitive or a knowledge component. Attitudes facilitate understanding of people and events. Katz (1960) contended that attitudes are more susceptible to change when the knowledge function is known and understood. For example, adolescents for whom knowledge of Anglo-American popular music is necessary in order to gain peer status or to conform to group norms, will be likely to have, or change to, attitudes congruent with popular culture and their peer group. Knowledge of a minority or majority culture, social organisation, politics and education, for example, can affect attitude. In this sense knowledge precedes attitude, and helps explain attitude (Baker, 1992:99-101).

Classical conditioning

Attitudes towards stimuli may become more favourable if they are associated with pleasant events. This is the essence of Pavlovian or classical conditioning. A simple experiment will illustrate this. In the Staats (1958) study, positive words such as "beauty", "sweet" and "gift", were presented simultaneously with one group of male names (for example, "Jack", "Tom", "Bill"). More negative words such as "bitter", "ugly" and "sad" were presented with a different set of male names. The first condition resulted in a positive attitude towards male names; the second condition resulted in a decrease in positive attitude. Ryan's research suggested that when children of bilingual parents observe the contexts that accompany use of their second language, such children form negative and positive attitudes towards that language (1979).

Reinforcement and operant conditioning

Attitudes may be made more favourable by the suitable arrangement of reward. This is the essence of operant conditioning. Insko (1965) found that students who were reinforced with “good” when they agreed or disagreed with certain statements of attitude, changed their attitudes over a one-week period in the expected direction. Thus, maintaining favourable attitudes to minority languages or changing attitudes in a favourable direction may require constant reinforcement. Such reinforcement cannot be arranged in the precisely predetermined manner of operant conditioning experiments. Nevertheless, institutional and individual reinforcement may be required for favourable language attitudes to be fostered.

Reinforcement of attitudes need not be social and external. Self-reinforcement is an especially important idea (but not exclusively), in analysing resistance to change. Children’s self-control over their aggression is an example of how early parental reinforcement of self-control eventually becomes self-reinforcing. Most children achieve self-control without the need for external reinforcement. In the same way, attitudes can change from external reinforcement to self-reinforcement. Encouragement for a favourable attitude to Irish or Gaelic given early on may eventually become self-reinforcing, partly because such an attitude relates to ego identity, self-esteem and self-respect. Self-reinforcement is also an important concept in that it reveals that external reinforcement may have little or no effect on changing attitudes. Encouragement of a favourable attitude to Welsh may be not enough, given self-reinforcement for holding a neutral or unfavourable attitude.

Human modelling

Imitation of someone else may be a powerful source of attitude change. Human models need to be highly regarded, respected, admired and credible in what they say and do. Imitating the attitudes of the model becomes positively reinforcing. The imitator attempts to take on some of the attributes of the favoured model, thus positively affecting feelings of status and worth. Models can range from parents, siblings, peers, teachers, to cultural and media figures. Attitude may change as a result of the content of a model’s speech, conversation or message.

Unfortunately, research has failed to give consistent results, mainly due to the variety of variables involved and their interactive nature (Kahle, 1984; Cacioppo and Petty,

1982). Who is speaking may be more crucial. Triandis (1971) suggested that physical attractiveness, clothes and speech, expertise, age, race and nationality are some of the variables affecting the persuasiveness of the communicator. Models have to be perceived as having the appropriate status for their verbal communications to effect attitude change. Where the “in” group is a majority language group, and the “out” group is a minority language group, finding a model to maintain favourable minority language attitude may be difficult.

Consistency and self-justification

A variety of social-psychological theories (Heider, 1958; McGuire, 1981, Festinger, 1957) suggest that attitudes change when an individual has to strive to achieve consistency and an internal logic in attitude systems. Festinger’s Cognitive Dissonance Theory assumes that our attitudes must be in harmony, but when discordant or cacophonous attitudes arrive, attempts will be made to harmonise and seek concert (1957). When inconsistent attitudes are held, tension may result. There may follow a need to reduce tension by changing one of the attitudes. Cognitive discomfort may require attitude change or attitude rationalisation, especially when the integrity of the self-concept is at stake.

A classical piece of research in support of cognitive theory is by Festinger and Carlsmith (1959). They asked some college students to engage in very boring tasks (for example, turning a screw through 45 degrees). The monotonous and repetitive tasks lasted an hour. The students were then asked to lie about the task. The students were requested to tell those waiting to perform the same tasks that they were enjoyable, fun, interesting, intriguing and exciting. Some of the students were offered 20 dollars for lying, others were offered just one dollar. A person may be more easily persuaded to act contrary to belief if the reward is high. That is, being given 20 dollars (in the mid-1950s) may seem to be justification for lying.

A one-dollar reward is much less justification; hence, there may be more dissonance. To reduce dissonance the subject may decide that the experimental task was fun. The results supported dissonance theory, in that after the experiment, subjects offered one dollar reported that they actually enjoyed the task more than did the twenty-dollar group. Operant conditioning theory predicts the opposite: the higher the

reward, the more the attitude change. In this situation, striving for consistency seemed to be more important than cash. Cognitive dissonance theory seems to have strong validity. The theory has received considerable investigation, strong support and refinements; it has also encountered critiques, for example (Aronson, 1980; Bem, 1967).

An important piece of research by Bourhis and Giles (1977) showed how cognitive dissonance may work in speech style and identity.

Language attitudes vary. A few people may have constantly changeable views. Others may hold deep-seated convictions that are relatively impervious to persuasion. Where deep-seated convictions about a language exist, there is likely to be a strong emotional commitment. Abelson (1988) argued that conviction consists of three factors: emotional commitments, ego pre-occupation and cognitive elaboration. Abelson's studies suggested that convictions may be acquired by learning and thinking first followed by emotional commitment Abelson, (1988). Alternatively, emotional commitment may precede cognitive deliberation. When emotion (for example, sudden conversion) comes first, cognitive processes may be distorted in the service of prejudiced conclusions (Abelson, 1988). This suggests the narrow line between commitment and fanaticism (Baker, 1992:102-105).

Age Changes

Age also plays important role as far as attitudes to language are concerned.

Attitudes to language tend to change with age. During the teenage period, attitudes to Celtic minority languages tend, as a generalisation, to become less favourable. Research is needed on changes that may occur at different periods; in the 20s, around the 40s, for example, as older age is reached. Life-span research suggests that some men undergo a midlife crisis around 40 years of age (Levinson, 1978). Around the 40s, a person's life history may be reviewed, past values may be re-evaluated, and the future may be re-assessed. The age change issue with respect to language attitudes has received little attention. However, it raises the question whether attitude change is purely social or partly psychological. The assumption in social psychology has tended to be that attitude change is through social interaction and environmental experience. Genetic endowment, physiological states, body

chemistry and maturation may possibly play a small part in language attitude change. However, age-linked changes are more likely to result from social than physiological changes.

Dramatic Experiences

Another implicit assumption in attitude change is that such changes often occur slowly and gradually, but dramatic experiences also have a role to play. They evolve and develop rather than change dramatically and quickly. As McQuire argues, “the possibility of sudden ideological shifts deserves sympathetic consideration to counterbalance the strong gradualist bias of twentieth-century science” (McQuire, 1985:254).

That there can be revolutionary rather than gradual change is witnessed in religious conversion (for example, John Newton, the hymn writer). Mass attitude shifts were said to have occurred following the assassination of the civil rights leader, Martin Luther King (Riley and Pettigrew, 1976). Language activists sometimes produce situations which potentially cause language attitude shift. Quebec, Israel, the Basque country and Wales have each witnessed well-publicised tension and strife. While the clashes may be of a broad political nature in which language is just one element, confrontations may have affected language attitudes.

Maiming or killing, personal or non-personal violence, mass protest or guerrilla activity by whatever group may change attitudes “overnight”. Some may react with hostility to the minority language; others might convert to its cause. The publicity of a single significant event may change language attitudes in different directions for different people. Whether the significant event is enacted or imposed by government (for example, a policy switch) or effected by a group in radical opposition (for example, setting fire to “English” owned second homes in Wales), attitudes may quickly change in an intended or unintended manner.

Community Effects

In most minority language communities, there is an uneven balance of minority language speakers and non-speakers (Jones, 1990).

Research on racial integration, such as Tajfel (1981), provides some clues about the circumstances that may affect language attitude change when community relationships are considered.

- (1) Change may occur when community integration is sustained. Migrant workers, who move from job to job and from community to community, may be much less likely to change their attitudes towards an indigenous language than those who settle in that community. As Jones (1990) has shown, the rapid turnover of in-migrants in Welsh heartland communities provides serious problems for language planning and provision. A fast turn-around in a community also implicates change in attitudes to language in such communities, where polarization of attitudes may become an instant safeguard.
- (2) Change may occur when it is felt to be voluntary. Imposing conformity in an authoritarian, rule-bound manner is unlikely to change attitude. Informing and consulting and giving freedom of choice are paths that are more likely to lead to language attitude change. Convictions, unlike imposed conformity, do not occur instantaneously.
- (3) Change may occur when areas of similarity between monolinguals and bilinguals are used to promote contact. Music, sport, a common goal, religion, hobbies and interests may promote contact, integration and change of attitude. For a minority language speaker, the danger is that common goals and interests will evoke attitude change that is less favourable to that language. Working through a common denominator language (English) may make the minority language attitude less favourable. However, as recent community movements in Ireland and North Wales have shown, when indigenous language groups actively plan contact and events with in-migrants and monolingual individuals, such contact can be on “minority language terms”.

- (4) Change may occur when relationships between monolingual and bilingual individuals in the community are close, warm, friendly and intimate. Passing sociability does not provide the mechanisms and motivation for attitude change. A bunker attitude to monolinguals by minority language bilinguals often appears to monolinguals as a logical defence of a prized possession. As a Welsh poet, Thomas, has articulated, being welcoming to in-migrant English-speaking monolinguals may be the path to language death. Bunkers can be secure, but, in the long term, they are unlikely to succeed. The global village of the twentieth century ensures no long-term future for highly protected and introspective minority language communities. Marketing the minority language seems a more likely route to language maintenance and restoration. Such marketing would seem to suggest friendship and no separatism as a channel for language attitude change.
- (5) Change may occur when the social, economic, political and cultural environment is supportive of minority languages and bilingualism. Communities cannot create attitude change without the conditions for integration and intimacy to occur. Disparity in status or salary between a monolingual and a minority language bilingual, especially when in favour of the former, is tantamount to undermining community integration and consequent language attitude change. Thus, in Gwynedd, a county in North Wales, most jobs require fluency in Welsh and English. To be a teacher, administrator, clerk or secretary, the ability to communicate in Welsh and English is often made an essential condition of employment. Recent British educational developments, particularly the formulation of the National Curriculum, have given the Welsh language a more prominent and established place in almost all schools in Wales. Such a supportive ethos of the indigenous language at a government level is an important foundation for community efforts in language attitude change.

Parental Effects

Parents sometimes play a major role as far as language attitudes are concerned.

The influence of parental language attitudes on children's language attitudes is likely to be considerable. The moderate correlations between language background and attitude have confirmed this. There is a danger, however, that children's attitudes tend to match, or be similar to, their parents'. A high correspondence may be due to the effects of relations, neighbours, friends and school. Cross-generational similarities in terms of community, economic conditions and especially cultural experiences may underlie parental effects rather than, or as well as, parental indoctrination.

Some children grow up with opposite views to their parents. Such a reaction to parents could indeed demonstrate the effect of parental influence. Parents who are strongly anti-minority language may provoke a pro-minority language reaction in their offspring. However, the more common situation seems to be congruence between parental and child language attitudes, with mechanisms such as introjection, modelling, identification, rewards and punishments and social comparison contributing to that congruence.

Peer Group Effects

It is popular to believe that familial influence on language attitudes has weakened during this century, with other socialisation agencies such as peer groups and mass media having increasing effects.

Institutional Effect

Various institutions may affect language attitudes. Through the status given to a language and through the teaching of a language (in school, adult classes) attitudes to a language may change. A language that has no place in daily business, administration and transactions is likely to be linked with attitude decline. When a minority language is the modus operandi in public transactions and discourse, attitudes may stay or become more favourable. In Wales, strong and successful attempts have been made for Welsh to become increasingly part of institutional life. Increasing the prestige of a language by institutional activity in that language provides the conditions for the evolution of more favourable attitudes.

Of all the institutions that may be linked with attitude change, school is often regarded as influential. Attending a bilingual or monolingual school, delivery of the curriculum in a minority language, using that minority language in extra-curricular activities and in the hidden curriculum are all expected to change language attitudes. By language used to communicate the curriculum, by cultural lessons (history, geography, social and personal development) via the language of playground and sports field, language attitudes may evolve and change. Past studies on school effectiveness have demonstrated that similar pupils are affected differently by differing schools (Rutter, *et al.*, 1979; Smith and Tomlinson, 1989; Morimore *et al.*, 1988; Reynolds, 1985).

Mass Media Effects

Popular belief asserts that mass media affect attitudes in an influential manner. Overall, research suggests that mass media do not have large effects on public attitudes McGuire (1985). Television, records, cassettes, videos, satellite broadcasts, films, radio and computer software, are often regarded as having an influence on language attitudes of teenagers in particular. The research of Jones (1982), further analysed by Baker (1985) suggested that the effect of mass media on language attitudes was small, unexpectedly so. More active, participatory cultural forms were found to be more influential in changing language attitudes between the ages of 10 and 13. As the research has indicated, mass media are only one part of teenage culture. A study by Baker and Waddon (1990) suggested that youth culture is essentially about values, mores, customs and conventions. Mass media are only one input into conventions and intentions. Despite the long hours of viewing of television, despite its presentation of social values, research suggests that the effect of mass media is too easily over-emphasised. Being such an obvious and ever-present article of daily life may lead to the exaggeration of the actual influence of mass media on language attitudes. Nevertheless, some influence must be assumed.

Rituals

Attitudes may be changed by a variety of ritual and ceremonial devices aimed at influencing language use and attitude. A May Day parade or pageantry may be conducted partly to influence attitudes to a nation. In Wales, the eisteddfodic rituals,

with chaired bards, the orders of green, blue and white druids, the ceremony to crown the winning poets, the ritual hymn singing at Cardiff Arms Park before international rugby matches, may all stimulate favourable attitudes towards the Welsh language.

Situational Effects

The discussion of the question “who effects language attitude change?” has beneath it the question of “what situations engender attitude change?” McGuire (1985) lists five types of situation:

- (1) *Mass media* provide a one-direction flow of information. A person is passive, unable to participate by presenting alternative attitudes. Putting a person into a non-active, receive-only mode may account for mass media not being the most influential source of language attitude change.
- (2) *Suggestion*. A suggestion situation is when a repetitive provision of information is made. No arguments for a change of attitude are presented. In Wales, language activists sometimes write slogans on walls and in public places: “Addysg Gymraeg” (a call for Welsh-medium education) and “Cymraeg-iaith ein plant?” (a call to preserve Welsh in the language of the children) are two examples. Attitude change towards Welsh is hoped for by the suggestibility of slogans. Persuasion is attempted by punchy public phrases. Millions of pounds spent on advertisements on undergrounds and billboards attest to the belief that brevity has benefits.
- (3) *Group Discussion*. Group discussion is different from mass media and repetitive suggestions because of the intended active participation of the group members. Individual attitudes may be expressed, explored and may evolve, for example, of the uses and value of a minority language may reveal not only agreements and disagreements but alternative ideas not previously considered or ideas that are more complex and multidimensional than first conceived. Such discussions need not be formal as in discussions in the street, in the tavern or at a meal.

- (4) *Conformity*. Some situations may seek to induce attitude change by attempting conformity. Being made to feel “the odd one out”, as when language causes individual ostracism in a group. The in-migrant, for example, may be pressured by a group to attend language classes. Acceptance is the promised prize, although not always delivered. Exclusion from social acceptance is the punishment for failing to conform. Conformity in minority language communities may depend on the balance of power.
- (5) *Indoctrination*. When stimuli, response possibilities, motivational states and reinforcements are tightly controlled, indoctrination may occur. While such changes tend to be associated with political prisoners, religious ‘cult’ communities, extreme youth political movements and some military operations, some of the routes to indoctrination are worth listing:
- a) depersonalisation
 - b) weakening confidence
 - c) confusing with discrepant information
 - d) monopolising communication
 - e) instigating guilt and shame, increasing anxiety.

The list provides a suggestion of what needs to be avoided in changing attitudes in a democratic society (Baker, 1992:106-112)

2.3.2 Language planning

Language planning and language policy also play an important role in language attitudes and therefore deserve attention because the majority of different language speakers are affected in both language planning and language policy decision-making.

Kennedy (1983) maintains that language planning is a problem-solving activity concerned with deliberate language change for specific aims, which may be social, political or educational (or a mixture of all three).

Shohammy (2006) defines language planning as a process designed to affect language use within a particular speech community. He goes on to say that it is mostly visibly undertaken by government.

Cooper (1989) is of the view that language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.

Grin (1996) points out that language planning is a systematic, rational, theory-based effort at societal level to solve language problems to increase welfare. The author says that it is typically conducted by official bodies or their surrogates and aimed at some or all of the population living under its jurisdiction.

Language planning is frequently undertaken for the express purpose of solving communication problems. Nevertheless, ill-conceived, poorly informed policies can result in negative impacts on those affected by them <http://www.cal.org/areas-of-impact/language-panning-policy> (2016:1).

Bright (1992) indicates that language planning has dimensions and the scholar continues to say that traditionally, there are two dimensions of language planning: Corpus planning deals with norm selection and codification, as in the writing of grammars and the standardisation of spelling: status planning deals with initial choice of language, including attitudes towards alternative languages and the political implications of various choices.

A third major type of planning that is particularly important for education is known as language acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989:45). Choosing which languages will be used as mediums for instruction is particularly important in acquisition planning as one must not only learn the language but use it to learn <http://www.cal.org/areas-of-impact/language-panning-policy> (2016:1).

In a 1968 study, Kloss uses the term “status planning” to refer to those planning decisions intended to enhance or diminish the status of a language. He establishes four categories that relate to language status (Kloss, 1968).

- (1) The origin of the language used officially. It may be an indigenous language, (that is, one spoken by a large part of the population), in which case the state is called an endoglossic state. Most European countries are examples of endoglossic states. If, on the other hand, the national/official language is an imported one, we speak of an exoglossic state. Many of the states that used to be colonies, which may be linguistically heterogeneous, have chosen the former colonial language as their national language, usually for purely practical reasons; examples are Ghana, Nigeria, the Cameroons and some smaller South-East Asian countries, (such as, Malaysia, East and West Samoa and the Philippines). In order to accommodate those states which are neither endoglossic nor exoglossic but show features of both, the term “mixed states” is used. They include, for instance, states that are in the process of shedding the colonial language in favour of an indigenous one, like Papua New Guinea (which has three official languages: Hiri Motu, Neo Melanesian or Tok Pisin, both pidgins and English), or Tunisia (which also has three languages: Arabic, Tunisian and French).
- (2) The development status of a language is the second criterion for Kloss. According to the degree of elaboration, for example, as a result of language development, a language may achieve one of six types of status:
 - (a) a fully modernised standard language that fulfils all needs of modern society, for example, French;
 - (b) a standard language spoken by a relatively small group only, which, because it is not used by many speakers, has limited scope, such as Welsh;
 - (c) an archaic language, which once flourished but is not now equipped for coping with modern science and technology (Latin, for example);
 - (d) a young standard language, recently codified and standardised for some specific purpose (such as education), like Luganda in Uganda;
 - (e) an unstandardised language for which alphabetisation has only recently been carried out, as has happened with Somali in Somalia;
 - (f) a preliterate language, that is, one which has not yet undergone graphisation, such as Galla in Ethiopia.

- (3) The third category of language status considers languages with regard to their legal position. As a result of language-planning decisions, a language may be recognised as:
- (a) the sole national official language, such as French in France or German in Germany and Austria;
 - (b) a joint official language, in other words, co-equal in terms of use for government functions, as with French and Dutch in Belgium, English and Afrikaans in South Africa, or French, German and Italian in Switzerland;
 - (c) a regional official language, such as one that enjoys official status on a regional basis, like Catalan in Catalonia, German in eastern Belgium or Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian (among others) in the Soviet Union);
 - (d) a promoted language, which is one that is used by various authorities for specific purposes, as is the case with Spanish in some parts of the United States or with West African Pidgin English in Cameroon;
 - (e) a tolerated language, that is, one that is neither officially supported by public agencies nor proscribed. There are many languages in Western Europe which are more or less left to their own devices, such as Basque and Catalan in France, the Asian languages of immigrants in the UK, or Turkish, Greek, Italian, Spanish and other migrants' languages in western European countries;
 - (f) a proscribed language, or one against which there are government restrictions and sanctions. This was the position of Catalan, Basque and Galician in Franco's Spain, of Welsh and Irish Gaelic until the 1920s in the United Kingdom, or of Scots Gaelic after the uprising of 1745 (Hoffman, 1991:207-209).
- (4) The ratio of users of a language to the total population is Kloss's last factor among those that can affect language status. He does not try to establish any kind of quantification-based criteria. These categories do not, however, take into account the area of language function, or the uses to which it is put

(for instance, in education, or in religious worship), which is considered to be highly relevant in determining language status (Hoffman, 1991:207-209).

Hoffmann (1991) observes that language can sometimes be given prestige. Experience has shown that the prestige of a language is enhanced significantly, for example, once it becomes accepted as the medium of education. The adoption of Swahili in Tanzania as a language of instruction up to secondary level, or that of Quechua in Peru or Welsh in Wales, contributed to making these languages more acceptable, apart from gaining more speakers. The decision by the Catholic Church in favour of the use of vernacular languages instead of Latin provided a substantial boost for minority languages such as in American Indian communities in Central and South America and for Creole varieties, which began to be used in religious services in place of the standard forms. Kloss, then, sees status planning primarily as resulting from a series of planning decisions and in terms of official attitudes towards a country's language or languages.

The Centre for Applied Linguistics (CAL), believes that language diversity should be seen as an asset, not as a problem. CAL conducts original research in the field and facilitates collaboration nationally and internationally among scholars and other stakeholders. CAL is committed to making significant contributions to the dialogue and the debate around language planning and policy with the goal of expanding language choices and widening the context within which language policy decisions are made. In particular, CAL focuses on language in education planning as a means of promoting language acquisition and achieving greater equity of access to resources <http://www.cal.org/areas-of-impact/language-panning-policy> (2016:1).

Rubin *et al.* (1977) point out that National development planning can also include language planning. He argues that language planning is a latecomer to the family of national development planning. This author comments that although deliberate attempts to change or preserve languages and their use may be as old as economic policy-making efforts in human societies, and thus long antedate the modern concept of planning, it is only very recently that these activities in the language area have been recognised as an aspect of national planning that can be investigated with the same conceptual tools that are appropriate for general development planning. He says that experience shows that national planning involving language has been a

part of general development planning, and the interdependency between the programmes of developing language, education, communication and the economy needs to be considered in a systematic way.

The National Development Plan of South Africa indicates that learners' home language should be used as a medium of instruction for longer and English should be introduced earlier in the foundational phase. It further says that training and effective support materials should be available for teachers and learners to facilitate the transition to English as the language of learning and teaching.

However, language planning can be identified separately if we direct our attention to those planned activities that attend to the valuation of language resources, the assignment of preferences to one or more languages and their functional ordering, and developing the language resources and their use in a manner consistent with declared objectives identified as planned targets. Just as economic planning is merely one among many measures by which an economy develops, language planning, too, does not exhaustively account for the developments recorded in the language situation. As in other spheres of planning, the span of planned intervention, control and effectiveness depends on the type of planning envisaged and practised, and it is important to distinguish between the output of planned development, its secondary effects and the effects generated by other sources" (Rubin, *et al.*, 1977:4-5).

Hoffmann (1991) mentions that one of the most important decisions an emerging new nation (or newly autonomous region) has to make is the selection of its national language (or its official regional one). He says that choosing a flag and a national anthem usually presents relatively few problems and the making of a Constitution may be a more difficult undertaking. But the choice of a language that is to have a symbolic function and a practical application for a nation can be a complex issue with far-reaching consequences. Ideally, the chosen language should also serve as an official language to be used as the medium of internal communications.

The author goes further by indicating that national languages are important in many countries and therefore receive attention. He points out that nowadays very few nations actually find themselves in the position of having to select a national

language. But there are many countries attempting to change from one particular strain of language to another, or trying to change the assignment of particular functions from one language or variety to another. This scholar adds that some countries are reconsidering their language policies with a view to establishing more than one national language or more than one official language, while others find themselves forced to provide administrative or educational services for one or several of their linguistic minorities. He stresses that these decisions require, in some instances, the linguistic systems themselves to be the subject of close scrutiny. When this happens, the language(s) may be found not to be adequate for particular communicative purposes, or to be in need of elaboration or standardisation. Language planning is concerned both with the symbolic function of language within a society and with the instrumental use that its speakers make of their language.

In South Africa the National Language Framework aims to:

- (1) promote the equitable use of the 11 official languages;
- (2) facilitate equitable access to government services, knowledge and information;
- (3) ensure redress for the previously marginalised official indigenous languages;
- (4) initiate and sustain a vibrant discourse on multilingualism with all language communities;
- (5) encourage the learning of other official indigenous languages to promote national unity and linguistic and cultural diversity, and to
- (6) promote good language management for an efficient public service administration to meet client expectations and needs (National Language Policy Framework, 2003:10).

Kennedy (1983) comments that an ideal language-planning programme would consist essentially of three major phases. First, establishing facts about the situation, isolating the problem and suggesting alternative strategies and solutions to accomplish the goals of the programme; second, implementing the favoured solution; third, evaluating the programme to provide feedback for any necessary revision. He

indicates that language planning must take place in a social context. He further says that to ignore sociolinguistic factors, such as attitudes or needs of groups who will be affected, can result in the failure of language-planning programmes.

The above ideal language-planning programme is also relevant to the South African language-planning approach.

Language planning can also play an important role in the spread of linguistic innovations.

“In as much as language planning can promote or retard language spread and the spread of linguistic innovations, it is clear that our understanding of the diffusion of communicative innovations depends in part on our understanding of the role of language planning. Conversely, since language planning can be viewed as an attempt to win or block acceptance for changes in language structure or use, an understanding of the diffusion of innovation in general and of communicative innovation, in particular should be useful to language planners (Cooper, 1989:45).

The author continues to say that at first blush, the notion of language planning as the promotion of innovation or as a set of marketing strategies for behavioural change may seem strange. He reports that we are accustomed to viewing language structure or use as products whose acceptance can be planned, implemented and evaluated. The scholar highlights that language structure and language use are, in fact, planned, and while some planners may not view their activities as analogous to those performed by the product managers of a new toothpaste, or a detergent or an automobile, there is much to commend the analogy.

Appel (1978) on the other hand says that language planning is, in fact, a part of or the factual realisation of, language policy: a government adopts a certain policy with regard to the language(s) spoken in the nation and will try to carry it out in a form of language planning. He points out that any case of language planning is based on a certain language policy and this will often reflect a more general government policy.

The education system, according to Hoffman (1991), is by far the most important tool for implementing a government's language-planning policy. He reports that government policies can also be carried out indirectly, in the sense that they may not

be deliberately set out by government but reflect official attitudes. For instance, in the last 200 years or so, the attitudes of the state towards minority languages often came to the fore in the armed forces. He continues to say that in countries with military conscription the rule was usually to insist on the use of the national language within all sections of the services.

Hoffmann (1991) argues that official languages also play important roles. Consequently, speakers of regional languages or varieties had to learn to use the official language or at any rate to improve their knowledge of it. He indicates that at a non-governmental level, political parties and other organisations interested in promoting a language can put pressure on governments to take actions that favour their language; they can organise classes or engage in cultural activities in the language concerned. The scholar further says that there are many different reasons why deliberate language planning is undertaken. He reports that political, educational and practical considerations may lead planners to formulate policies that have the effect of changing the status of a particular language or variety.

The author goes further by pointing out the following:

“First of all, language planning should be explicitly directed by the basic psychological and societal functions which languages perform. As regards the psychological functions, the role of language in personal cognitive and affective development needs to be considered. Regarding the latter, note must be taken of their function as instruments in the transfer of information and as socialising instruments, that is, in conveying values, attitudes, perceptions, norms and so on. In addition, their participatory function (allowing access to rights and privileges), their role in social binding (group formation) and their symbolic role (including their role in identity construction) should be given consideration. The construction of language policies obviously has to account for all these functions.

Secondly, language planners should be aware of the likely impact of language policies in effective linguistic transformation. Though language planning is vital to linguistic transformation, its role is sometimes over-estimated. In and of themselves, language policies and language planning cannot accomplish much and certainly cannot drive transformation. At most, they have a facilitating role.

A third consideration is that language policy development and language planning is not an autonomous phenomenon nor is it primarily a linguistic exercise. Both are part of higher-order concerns and are subordinate to the realisation of the political philosophy of the state. This means that language policy development and language planning must be situated within the macro-context of the national government” (Webb, 2000:73-74).

Webb (2000) regarding language and language planning states the following “the potential role of language in public life must be kept in mind all the time. Languages are not only means of communication, or instruments for the transfer of information. They can also play constructive roles in promoting productivity, effectivity and efficiency in an institution and in establishing institutional cohesion and loyalty, and are important factors in the construction of identity – personal, social and national. Language planning must therefore not be based on the view that languages (or multilingualism) are problems or that they should be protected because they are objects of human rights. They are also resources, and this fact should be a constant point of departure in all language policy development.

Webb (2000) argues that languages can be viewed as resources and this resource approach needs a brief discussion. He comments as follows “languages are resources because they can be used by people (or a government, a country) to achieve various goals for the benefit of the people, the government or the country. They are similar to natural resources (water, coal) and human resources (knowledge, skills). Languages provide access to people’s knowledge and skills, they allow one to harness the cooperation and enthusiasm of people, they can be used to raise the productivity, the effectiveness of an institution, and they can be used to obtain employment. An appropriate example in the South African context comes from the Khoisan community. It is generally accepted that people from these communities have an enormous knowledge of nature; for instance, the uses and dangers of roots and (desert) plants. If one wants to access this knowledge, proficiency in the languages of the community is essential” (Webb, 2000:93-95).

Webb (2000) goes further to say that the promotion of languages also deserves attention. He indicates that language promotion cannot occur effectively as an isolated programme of action: He argues that the Bantu languages in South Africa

will not acquire parity of esteem or equitable treatment merely through, for example, supporting literary competitions in these languages. Nor will it help much to simply decree that certain languages will henceforth have parity of esteem and be treated equitably. He says that language promotion will only occur meaningfully if the languages concerned acquire value, in particular, economic and educational value. He continues to highlight that this is dependent upon the economic and educational prosperity of the communities who use the languages.

“Furthermore, it must be a consultative process, with the full participation of all interested parties, and it must be directed at continual dialogue between government agencies, the private sector, labour organisations and the union movement, non-governmental organisations and any other bodies which may want to be involved” (Webb, 2000:93-95).

Grabe (1993:4, vii-ix) provides a useful overview of recent developments within language policy and planning. He points out that during the eighties, in effect, one would probably have had to say that language policy and planning would not have been able to drive constructive strategies for handling complex and deep-seated national problems. At that time language policy and planning theory was, in general terms:

- (a) practised in a monolithic way, with language policy and planning directed at single languages;
- (b) was seen as a wholly linguistic exercise, and
- (c) was directed mainly at the national level and concerned mainly with the selection of a national language.

However, certain international events have changed the theory and practice of language policy and planning. For example, the disintegration of the USSR, the economic, political (and cultural) integration of Western Europe, and migration patterns in Europe and the USA (also in South Africa), with more foreigners effectively penetrating the economic worlds of the working classes. In Africa, too, there has been a gradual growth of the culture of democracy following independence. These events have led to an increased awareness of the possibility of cultural domination and assimilation, the perception of a threat to cultural integrity, an

increase in cultural loyalty, a re-awakening of ethnic nationalism and a demand for minority rights by the members of minority communities.

Thinking about language politics has been influenced by these developments, and there is a wider acceptance of linguistic diversity. There is widespread support for the rights of minority languages, and the integrity and legitimacy of non-standard varieties (the “vernacular”) is taken as given. Language policy and planning reflect these developments in that they have become:

- (a) pluralistically oriented, that is, practised with explicit reference to all the variables in a given context (such as all the languages);
- (b) a political activity, which looks at language in its broader socio-political context, accepting that language is more than just a reflection of society, but that it is also socially constitutive (and as such can contribute to correcting social injustice), and they are
- (c) directed at all levels of public administration, such as regional and local levels, as well as at large corporations.

Webb (2000) maintains that today, language policy and planning is a non-technicist activity, being particularly sensitive to the use of language for hegemonic goals, as an instrument of power, and as an instrument of discrimination, manipulation and exploitation.

Appel (1987) comments that official or governmental language planning takes place via language agencies, academies or departments.

“The task of such a department might be to devise an orthography for an unwritten language, to revise a spelling system or to coin new words. Although governments may be powerful, it is still difficult for them to force people to speak in a certain way. Often the (unconscious) choices of individuals, exhibited in their daily speech, will conflict with official, deliberate language planning as set down in proposals by a language academy. Frequently, language – in any case, spoken language – goes its own way (that is, the way speakers want it to go). For example, the Spanish academies in Latin American countries and Spain have made frequent proposals to replace English loanwords with new Spanish words, but speakers generally persist in using the loanwords” (Guitarte and Quintero, 1974).

Appel (1987) observed that the French Government even went so far in 1975 as to pass a law stating that people could be fined for using a loanword where a French equivalent exists. He says that in most cases, language planning has had more success with regard to written language than spoken language. He further emphasises that in this way a literary standard may be created which differs considerably from the vernacular.

This scholar continues to say that depending on the situation in a country or in a speech community, language planning may take different forms. The author notes that in developing nations, often the first task is to determine which language (or languages) should fulfil the role of a national language. He points out that many countries that have become independent went through this process of selecting a national tongue. For example, Indonesia adopted Bahasa Indonesia as its national language, and Mozambique chose Portuguese. In all countries, minority languages are in use next to the national one(s). The author goes further to say that language planning is concerned with the position of these minority languages: are they to be tolerated, stimulated or oppressed and are they to be used in education and in administration.

The issue of minority languages is important as far as language policies are concerned. "Minority languages are crucial when language policies are developed. Even if a government does not have a publicly stated policy with regard to minority languages, it must have a covert one, because, for instance, not supporting minority languages might result in language decay or even loss, which could be the ultimate, hidden goal of the government. Language planning can also be directed at the (further) development of both national and minority languages. This further development can affect any aspect of the spoken and written language, like the revision of the spelling system, the choice of a particular variety of the newly selected national language as the standard variety, and so forth" (Appel, 1987:47-50).

Appel (1987) says that where the language only exists in a spoken form, an orthography can be devised. He reports that language development as a type of language planning occurs in all kinds of countries and speech communities; in developing as well as developed countries, although in differing degrees and in industrialised, developed countries with a long tradition of one or more national

languages. He confirms that language development generally is a relatively marginal enterprise, but in developing nations many language development activities must be carried out.

The author further utters the following “an important question: how can the direction of language planning best be determined? If one claims that any case of planning (from the planning of household activities to economic planning) aims at improving the situation, the problem lies in the definition of “improvement” (apart, of course, from the problem of how to attain this improved situation). Translated to language planning the question can be formulated as: is there an “optimal language”, a particular code to be selected and developed further, to serve the communicative needs of the speech community optimally? In the literature on language planning two answers to this question can be found, answers based on different theoretical views of the social nature of language and the scope of linguistics” (Appel, 1987:47-50).

Tauli (1968) sees language as a tool or an instrument, which implies that it can be evaluated, changed, regulated and improved and even that new languages can be created. According to Tauli, it is possible to evaluate languages with regard to their efficiency, since linguists are quite able to make value judgements and to point to illogical constructions or unclear structures. Tauli also notes, however, that we do not need primarily the evaluation of languages as wholes “but evaluation of concrete linguistic features from the point of economy, clarity, elasticity, etc. It is essential to stress that such an evaluation is possible and is objectively verifiable, in many cases quantitatively measurable. “Thus we can say that a certain linguistic feature or language is better than another from a certain point of view” (Tauli, 1968:11).

Tauli (1968) states that languages differ with regard to economy and redundancy in grammatical structure. He gives the example of the German expression *du kommst* (“you come”) in which the meaning “second person singular” is expressed twice: by *du* and the suffix *-st*. In the corresponding English utterance “you come”, this meaning is only expressed once, so in this respect, English is more economical” (Tauli, 1968:11).

The following are the comments by Appel (1987) regarding language planning: The second theory of language planning claims that such an undertaking is theoretically

impossible. This theory, which is often called the sociolinguistic theory of language planning, is based on two principles:

- (a) All known languages are symbolic systems of equal native value;
- (b) Language planning should not only deal with the technical aspects of language but also with its social aspects. Principle (a) is in agreement with a generally accepted assumption in modern linguistics, supported by research on many languages. The normative, prescriptive linguistics from before the nineteenth century has evolved into a science with descriptive and theoretical aims in which value statements with regard to the superiority of languages or linguistic structures have no place. Haugen, who adheres to this position, further states that “when judged by strictly logical standards, natural languages are both redundant and ambiguous” (Appel, 1987:47-50).
- (c) Familiarity with more than one language makes one painfully aware of the inadequacies of each. This is indeed the reason for the development of logic and mathematics: these allow one to escape from the logical imperfections of natural languages. However, who would wish to replace language with mathematics in our social life? The rich diversity of human languages and dialects is part of the human condition. “To iron them out so that all languages would either be uniformly logical or identical in reference is not only a labour of Sisyphus but a monstrous goal of a humanist” (Haugen, 1971:288). In this view, “primitive languages” do not exist either. Of course, some languages lack the vocabulary necessary for talking about certain aspects of modern life in industrialised societies, but that does not make them primitive. In fact, they often have very complex grammars. Further, vocabularies turn out to be easily expandable (Appel, 1987:47-50).
- (d) In the second principle of the sociolinguistic theory of language planning, already touched upon in the quotation from Haugen, the social nature of language is stressed. Languages are produced by people in their daily interactions. They have different social values and peoples’ identities are strongly linked to the language they speak. Therefore, languages cannot simply be considered as tools, like a hammer or a saw. Language planning

must be regarded as a form of social planning, in which an account of the social status of a language, its use in varying social contexts, its relationship to the identity of various groups of speakers, and so forth, must play a primary role. This view does not deny the feasibility of planned language development, but it claims that the possibilities are limited and subject to social conditions (Appel, 1987:47-50).

Appel (1987) argues that generally, linguists have not paid much attention to language planning. He says that there are two reasons for this apparent lack of interest. (1) Most linguists hold the view that language is an “autonomous system” that cannot be deliberately changed by variables outside the system (cf. Rubin & Jernudd, 1971a). (2) In most cases, language planning is concerned with the written language, and speech is considered secondary. As Haugen (1966b:53) says, for linguists, this “turns things upside down. It considers as primary what linguists regard as secondary and assigns value to something which the linguist considers only a shadow of reality.

Ferguson (1968) points out that initial fact-finding is the first stage in language-planning processes. He postulates that an overview of the language situation must be obtained before any further steps can be taken. He indicates that against such a background study information must be gathered on, for example, the number of mother tongue and second-language speakers of each language, its social distribution, its sociolinguistic status, the existence of written forms, the elaborateness of the vocabulary. Which facts are studied will depend on the actual sociolinguistic situation in the speech community. For instance, in developing countries, more facts will be unknown, especially when the language situation is very complex, as in many African nations.

The above initial fact-finding approach is also relevant in the South African language-planning situation.

“In such cases even the number of speakers of the national language must be ascertained by a survey, as well as the number of languages actually spoken. An example is the linguistic survey of Ethiopia, which was a four-year project done by a number of scholars. Seventy languages were involved from four different language

families. The number of speakers ranged from 7,800,400 for Amharic, an Ethiopian Semitic language, to 250 for Kwegu, a Nilo-Saharan language” (cf. Bender, *et al.*, 1976).

“It must also be noted that recently in many western countries multilingualism has increased because of immigration from former colonies and the settlement of immigrant workers. This was one of the reasons for establishing the Linguistic Minorities Project in Great Britain” (Ferguson, 1968:32). One of its goals was to conduct a survey of the number of languages spoken and the number of speakers of each language. It was found, for instance, that in the London Borough of Haringey, schoolchildren spoke 87 languages, Greek and Turkish having the most mother-tongue speakers.

Ferguson (1968) goes further to indicate that minority language treatment refers to decisions on the use of minority languages in education, administration and by the public. For example, in South American countries minority languages are used to some extent in primary education: Guarani in Paraguay and Quechua in Ecuador. In Friesland, in the northern part of the Netherlands, Frisian is permitted alongside Dutch in administration. Such forms of minority language treatment are often devised for the sake of minority language maintenance.

The author continues to say the following “the third procedure is that of codification, which is an explicit statement of the code via dictionaries, grammars, spellers, punctuation and pronunciation guides and so on. Codification is a prerequisite for the standardisation of a language. If a speech community does not have a standard language, or wants to adopt a new standard language, this sometimes does not exist in a standardised form. The central problem in codification is, of course, that of heterogeneity. For example, codification of the grammar of a language is not simply writing the grammatical rules of the language, but generally means that one, two or more rules from different dialects will have to be chosen as a “standard”. Codification implies that a standard variety is established and generally this will be based on one of the varieties or dialects of the language in question.

In Tanzania, for instance, many dialects of Swahili were spoken. The dialect to be codified had already been selected before independence Ferguson, (1968:32). In

1930, the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, later called the East African Swahili Committee was established to the form of Swahili to be used in education in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). They chose Kiungala, the dialect spoken in Zanzibar Town, to form the basis for the standard language. Therefore, Kiungala grammar and vocabulary were codified.

Codification is not only necessary when a (new) national language is adopted, but it can also be part of minority language treatment. In particular, when minority languages acquire an educational or administrative status, the need arises for a codified form. For instance, since 1957, vernacular teaching has been possible in the Philippine public school system. However, instructional materials were hardly available or not at all, and most vernaculars did not exist in a codified form. Since then, many linguists have been engaged in studying and scientifically describing dozens of Philippine languages. Such a description necessarily comes down to codification. In this sense also, dialectologists aiming to describe a dialect are working on its codification” (Ferguson, 1968:32).

“It is important to note that language codification and graphisation are taken seriously. When languages do not exist in a written form, codification will imply graphisation: the reduction of spoken language to writing, or the devising of graphic symbols to represent the spoken form. The first decision in the process of graphisation, of course, concerns the choice of alphabet or script. Subsequently, the important question will be: what is the relationship between phonemes and graphemes, or how should words be spelled? The last planning procedure is the modernisation of language (also called cultivation or elaboration). Codification and modernisation together make up the activity of language development. According to Ferguson (1968:32), (the) “modernisation of a language may be thought of as the process of its becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication; it is in a sense the process of joining the world community of increasingly inter-translatable languages as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse” (Ferguson, 1968:32).

Ferguson (1968) postulates that languages can sometimes be modernised and that there are two processes regarding the modernisation of a language: (a) the expansion of the lexicon, and (b) the development of new styles and forms of

discourse. He further states that until now, the second aspect has received far less attention than the first one. This scholar goes on to say that when a language has always functioned only in informal contexts, people will lack the skills to use it appropriately if it is selected as a national language or as a medium of instruction in schools. In such cases, language planning could include the development of style manuals and writing books. Lexical expansion is one of the most discussed issues in language planning. Newly promoted national languages and officially recognised minority languages often lack the vocabulary to talk about many aspects of the modern, scientific and industrialised world.

This author emphasised that all the procedures in a language-planning programme are (unconsciously) applied by individual speakers of a language. For example, modernisation of languages has always occurred and always occurs, because people adapt their language to their communicative needs. As Ferguson points out, the process of modernisation is not really new or “modern”. It is essentially the same process that English went through in the fifteenth century or Hungarian in the nineteenth century, when the language was extended to cover topics and to appear in a range of forms of discourse for which it was not previously used, including non-literary prose and oral communication such as lectures and professional consultations.

Regarding implementation, Appel (1987:50-55) has this to say “Implementation is the third stage of the language-planning process. Language committees or academies can have far-reaching plans for a language, but these mean nothing if they do not affect ordinary language use. Common implementation techniques are the publication of word lists and grammars, the funding of language maintenance efforts (in the case of minority languages) and the publication of textbooks for schools. The vocational training of teachers in a (new) language, the publication of government decisions in a certain language, the passing of laws concerning language use, and so on”.

The author continues to indicate the following “The fourth and last stage of the language-planning process is that of evaluation: are the goals attained? Many evaluation studies show that language planning can be successful. For example, Swahili has become a real, multipurpose national language in Tanzania; it is even

used in secondary education where it has to compete with English, which occupies a strong position. The two Norwegian standard languages seem to be merging gradually (in their written forms) as a result of the planning efforts of the government. The introduction of new orthographies in the USSR has been successful” (Appel, 1987:50-55).

“Sometimes language planning may not succeed if language habits do not change. On the other hand, language planning can also fail because individual speakers do not change their language habits, or they change them in a direction differing from the one planned. This becomes particularly clear for the expansion or the innovation of the lexicon. Language committees nearly always try to reduce the number of borrowed words, but the purist forms they propose are often not adopted by the speech community. Speakers are obstinate and language goes its own way. Furthermore, in many cases language planning only affects the written form of the language, but the spoken varieties remain unchanged, even when the aim was to effect a change of the oral language. In fact, language planning is a circular process, because evaluation implies discovering and interpreting facts about languages and language use, which is the first stage in a new process of language planning” (Appel, 1987:50-55).

According to Appel (1987:56), there are factors influencing language planning which are discussed as follows:

Social-demographic factors include the number of languages spoken, the numbers of their speakers, and their geographical distribution. An example is East Africa, particularly the contrast Tanzania-Kenya. Tanzania has many languages (about a hundred) with comparable numbers of speakers. The fact that these ethnolinguistic units were numerically small clearly favoured the selection of Swahili as a national language cf. Whiteley, (1971). In contrast to Tanzania, Kenya has a relatively small number of languages. They were able to compete with Swahili, and therefore, the position of English could strengthen.

Social and demographic factors can also indirectly influence language planning. For instance, Indonesia and Malaysia consist of thousands of islands. There has always been the need for a lingua franca, a common language. The fact that Malay became

this lingua franca was determined in good measure by the fact that native speakers of Malay lived on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, the most important sea route in this area. As a commonly used lingua franca, Malay was selected as a national language in Malaysia and as the base for the national language Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, although it was culturally and quantitatively (with regard to numbers of mother-tongue speakers) not the most important language of the Malay-Polynesian group cf. Alisjahbana (1974). Linguistic factors mainly have to do with the status and the character of a language, and the (dis)similarities between languages. The concept “status of a language” refers to the degree of (modernised) development as well as literary tradition. Many native languages in developing African nations could never be considered as candidates for a national language because of their low degree of modernised development, especially where fully developed colonial languages were in use.

In South India, most people would have welcomed the continuation of English as the official language. According to Apte (1976), it was claimed that Hindi was not as well developed as some other Indian languages, particularly Tami and Bengali, which have long literary histories. Similarities and dissimilarities between languages can be very important in language planning. For example, the strong position of Swahili in Tanzania was fostered by the fact that Swahili is a Bantu language and that more than 90% of the population speak Bantu languages. Swahili is closely related to several of these languages and therefore not difficult to learn.

Malay does not have social dialects as Javanese has, where different words are used to express the same idea depending on the age, rank and social position of the addressee. In the view of Alisjahbana, this is one of the reasons why Javanese, numerically and perhaps also culturally the most important language, did not become the national language of Indonesia. It would not have been impossible, of course, to develop a Javanese language with simplified registers as found in the Javanese speech community in Surinam. Social-psychological factors, in their broadest sense, concern the attitudes of people towards a language.

These attitudes are related to the social distribution of languages in the speech community, and the social meanings attached to the various languages. Many languages in developing African countries are closely identified with a single ethnic

group. Other ethnic groups might develop negative attitudes towards them, especially if one such language were to become the national one. The national hegemony of one (ethnic) language seems to imply domination by the original speakers of that language, that is, by one specific ethnolinguistic group. Political factors are of considerable importance in language planning. Here the direct relation between general policy and language policy becomes visible. In 1984 and 1985 Bulgaria made efforts to 'bulgarise' the ethnic Turks living in Bulgaria. They were forced to choose between either adopting a new Bulgarian name instead of their Turkish one or of returning to Turkey. The changing of names is a typical example of language policy.

The strong relationship between general political aims and language planning can also be demonstrated by the case of Irish. Somewhere between 1750 and 1850 the majority of the Irish people seem to have shifted from Irish to English. Irish gradually became the language of an impoverished and disinherited peasantry. In 1893, the Gaelic League that tried to foster the revival of Irish was founded. It became closely connected to the independence movement. Strangely enough, the success of that movement, culminating in the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, weakened the League and with it, the language movement. However, the many efforts of the Irish government, in trying to spread the use of Irish, reflect the general policy of establishing an Irish identity; language is considered to be an important part of that identity. The general policy of the former colonial powers was also expressed in language planning. For example, Belgium and Great Britain promoted the use and standardisation of local languages in their African territories.

This form of planning, which had a "paternalistic flavour" Spencer (1974:168), derived from a colonial policy that emphasised "separate development" for different races in contact in Africa. In contrast, the Portuguese authorities pursued a policy of restricted assimilations and discouraged the use of local languages; nothing was allowed to appear in print in an African language without concurrent translation into Portuguese (Spencer, 1974). The strong influence of political factors on language planning can also be illustrated with cases of bilingual education or minority language education. They concern the relationship between language and religion, and, more specifically, the use of local languages in the spread of religion.

Sudan inherited English as an official language, although it was only used by a very small, but important elite (cf. Whiteley, 1974). English has been replaced by Arabic, however, which was already a first language for half of the population. The government has successfully promoted the use of Arabic in connection with the Islamisation of the country. The work of Christian missionaries has strongly favoured the use and standardisation of local or vernacular languages instead of national or colonial ones. Because of their evangelical interests, these missionaries studied local languages, wrote grammars, orthographies, schoolbooks and religious books and translated the Bible into many of these languages. It was their intention that evangelisation would be most successful if it was undertaken by means of the mother tongues of the people. The Summer Institute of Linguistics still offers facilities for this type of work, for example, in Papua New Guinea (cf. Appel, 1987:56-58; Welmers, 1974).

2.3.3 Language policy

Language policy, however, refers to the set of ideas and beliefs, rules and regulations, including the “language practices...and management decisions of a community or polity” (Kamwangamalu, 2004:243; Spolsky, 2004:9).

Mesthrie *et al.*, (2009:371) indicate that: “Language policy is sometimes used as a synonym of language planning. However, more precisely, language policy refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process”.

Trudell and Piper (2014:5) define language policy “as the set of principles formulated and legally established by the state, intended to guide language use particularly in public domains”.

Language policy and planning are taken seriously by different countries in the world. Decisions around language policy and planning are made every day, both formally by governments and informally by scholars and community leaders. These decisions influence the right to use and maintain languages, affect language status and determine which languages are nurtured. Language policy and planning decisions have a major impact on language vitality and, ultimately, on the rights of the individual. They may be undertaken with formal, official government sanction or

reflected in unofficial and informal practices <http://www.cal.org/areas-of-impact/language-panning-policy> (2016:1).

The apartheid language policy promoted Afrikaans and English as languages of domination. The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 made the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools compulsory. Afrikaans was used for mathematics, arithmetic and social studies. During apartheid, Afrikaans became the language of instruction in several universities. It was used in big business. Apartheid government gave subsidies to Afrikaans language projects. South African indigenous languages were marginalised. They were not developed. They were only used for religion instruction, music and physical education. They were not used in the fields of science, education and technology.

They were not used for economic value or were not used in economic, cultural and practical situations. The apartheid government sought to limit them to use within the family, the Bantustan and the school. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 also had major implications for languages of learning and teaching in Black schools. This has contributed on Black South Africans' language attitudes towards Afrikaans, and in particular, those of the residents of Hammanskraal.

Section 6 of the Constitution provides the principal legal framework for multilingualism, development of the official languages and the promotion of respect and tolerance for South Africa's linguistic diversity. It determines the language rights of citizens, which must be honoured through national language policies. The Constitution emphasises that all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and be treated equitably, thereby enhancing the status and use of indigenous languages (National Language Policy Framework, 2003:7).

“Language policy decisions can be put into practice in a variety of ways. A government may formulate laws which specify the use of a particular language, for instance, in government administration, or it may encourage the world of business and commerce to adopt certain linguistic practices by offering subsidies or threatening sanctions. Additionally, publishing may be sponsored in one particular language and/or restricted in another” (Hoffmann, 1991:214-215).

Webb (2000) stipulates that language policies should not be directed at the promotion of languages for and unto themselves. He says that languages should be developed (or promoted) with the purpose of serving the interests of the people of a country. This means that the language policy should be directed by the needs of the people, for instance, their need for educational development, economic growth and democratisation.

“Language policy must be developed in the same way as all other policies are developed. The language policy must

- exhibit the same features that government policies usually have;
- be authoritative (that is, have the necessary government support);
- be embedded in the political ideology of the country (the national ideals as expressed by the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the reconstruction and development policies);
- explicitly state the exact goals it wishes to achieve;
- be directed at solving the problems that exist in the area of its jurisdiction;
- be an orderly and informed process, that is, based on a strategic analysis of the language politics of the country, and based on reliable information, and
- describe the resources required to realise its aims, the skills needed, the structures necessary, that is, it must specify what must be done, how, by whom, with what and when” (Webb, 2000:93-95).

Some government departments, municipalities, entities and enterprises have already developed their own language policies to comply with the Use of Official Languages Act, 2012 (Act No. 12 of 2012). It is important to pay close attention to these policies.

2.3.3.1 Language policy of the National Department of Health

The policy of the National Department of Health (NDoH) aims to:

- (i) promote official languages of the NDoH in order to ensure constitutional language equity and language rights as required by a democratic dispensation;
- (ii) facilitate equitable treatment of the official languages of the Republic and ensure equitable access to the services and information of the NDoH;

- (iii) promote good language management to ensure efficient and effective public service administration that meets the needs of the public, and
- (iv) prevent the use of any language(s) for the purposes of exploitation, dominance and discrimination within the NDoH (National Department of Health Language Policy, 2015:4).

2.3.3.2 *Language policy of the National Department of Public Service and Administration*

The policy of the National Department of Public Service and Administration (DPSA) aims to:

- (i) promote all languages in the Republic in order to ensure constitutional language equity and language rights as required by a democratic dispensation;
- (ii) recognise multilingualism as a source to maximise collaborative partnerships in nation-building, economic development and social cohesion;
- (iii) promote good language management to ensure efficient public administration that meets the needs of the public and to ensure equitable access to the services and information of the DPSA;
- (iv) prevent the use of any language(s) for the purposes of exploitation, domination and discrimination within the DPSA;
- (v) enhance people-centredness by addressing the interests, needs and aspirations of language communities through ongoing dialogue and debate;
- (vi) recognise a community-based approach, that is, a decentralised and participatory approach to language planning and policy implementation in which each government structure is given the power to identify its own working languages, as the most viable manner in which to promote multilingualism given South Africa's highly pluralistic society, and
- (vii) support special redress programmes for previously marginalised official indigenous languages, and the learning and teaching of all the official languages of the Republic at all levels of schooling (DPSA Language Policy, 2016:4-5).

2.3.3.3 Language policy of the National Department of Arts and Culture

The language policy of the National Department of Arts and Culture aims to:

- (i) promote the equitable use of the 11 official languages;
- (ii) facilitate equitable access to government services, knowledge and information;
- (iii) ensure redress for the previously marginalised official indigenous languages;
- (iv) initiate and sustain a vibrant discourse on multilingualism with all language communities;
- (v) encourage the learning of other official indigenous languages to promote national unity and linguistic and cultural diversity;
- (vi) promote good language management for efficient public service administration to meet client expectations and needs;
- (vii) promote language equity and language rights as required by a democratic dispensation;
- (viii) recognise that languages are resources to maximise knowledge, expertise and full participation in the political and socio-economic domains;
- (ix) work in collaborative partnerships to promote constitutional multilingualism;
- (x) prevent the use of any language for the purpose of exploitation, domination and discrimination, and
- (xi) enhance people-centredness in addressing the interests, needs and aspirations of a wide range of language communities through ongoing dialogue and debate with the National Department of Arts and Culture (National Language Policy Framework, 2003:10-11).

2.3.3.4 Language policy of the National Department of Basic Education

The language policy of the National Department of Basic Education aims to:

- (i) promote full participation in society and the economy through equitable and meaningful access to education;

- (ii) pursue the language policy most supportive of general conceptual growth among learners, and hence to establish additive multilingualism as an approach to language in education;
- (iii) promote and develop all the official languages;
- (iv) support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa, including languages used for religious purposes, languages which are important for international trade and communication, and South African Sign Language, as well as Alternative and Augmentative Communication;
- (v) counter disadvantages resulting from different kinds of mismatches between home languages and languages of learning and teaching;
- (vi) develop programmes for the redress of previously disadvantaged languages (Department of Basic Education Language in Education Policy, 1997:2).

2.3.3.5 Language policy of the City of Tshwane

The language policy of the City of Tshwane aims to:

- (i) ensure the translation of the language rights enshrined in the Constitution into a coherent and effective approach to multilingualism in the municipality;
- (ii) ensure the promotion of the equitable use of the official languages of the municipality;
- (iii) ensure the facilitation of equitable access to municipal services and information;
- (iv) ensure the redress of the linguistic inequalities of the past which resulted in the underdevelopment of the African languages;
- (v) ensure the protection of language diversity and the promotion of respect for multilingualism and unity in diversity;
- (vi) ensure the use of multilingualism for effective administration and communication in the municipality;
- (vii) ensure prevention of the use of language for the purposes of exploitation, domination and discrimination;

- (viii) use all the official languages of the municipality to ensure transparent, accountable local government that is responsive to the linguistic needs of its constituency;
- (ix) enable municipal employees and the residents of Tshwane to participate in decision-making processes, and
- (x) address the needs, aspirations and interests of language communities in the spirit of *batho pele* (City of Tshwane Language Policy, 2012:3-4).

2.3.3.6 Language policy of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality

The language policy of the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality (EMM) aims to:

- (i) ensure the translation of the language rights enshrined in the Constitution into a coherent and effective approach to multilingualism in the EMM;
- (ii) ensure promotion of the equitable use of the official languages of the EMM;
- (iii) ensure facilitation of equitable access to municipal services and information;
- (iv) ensure redress of the linguistic inequalities of the past which resulted in the underdevelopment of the African languages;
- (v) ensure protection of language diversity and promotion of respect for multilingualism and unity in diversity;
- (vi) prevent the use of language for the purposes of exploitation, domination and discrimination;
- (vii) address the needs, aspirations and interests of language communities in the spirit of *batho pele*;
- (viii) use all the official languages of the municipality to ensure transparent, accountable local government that is responsive to the linguistic needs of its constituency, and
- (ix) upon request to make provision for the use of South African Sign Language if and when considered necessary (EMM Language Policy, 2007:9-11).

2.3.3.7 Language policy of the Council for the Built Environment

The language policy of the Council for the Built Environment (CBE) aims to:

- (i) promote all official languages to enjoy parity of esteem and equitable treatment by the national government;
- (ii) facilitate equitable access by the public to the services and information of the CBE, and
- (iii) promote good language management by the CBE (Council for the Built Environment Language Policy 2017:73).

2.3.3.8 *Language policy of Umalusi*

The language policy of Umalusi aims to:

- (i) promote all languages in the Republic in order to ensure parity of esteem and the equitable treatment of all official languages required by our democratic dispensation;
- (ii) recognise multilingualism as a resource to maximise collaborative partnerships in nation-building, economic development and social cohesion;
- (iii) promote good language management by Umalusi to ensure efficient public service administration that meets the needs of the public and ensures equitable access to the services and information offered by Umalusi, and
- (iv) prevent the use of any language(s) for the purpose of exploitation, domination and discrimination within Umalusi (Umalusi Language Policy, 2016:27).

2.3.3.9 *Language policy of Freedom Park*

The language policy of Freedom Park aims to:

- (i) promote parity of esteem and equal treatment of official languages of the Republic of South Africa;
- (ii) regulate and monitor the use of at least three official languages for all Freedom Park's staff, visitors and stakeholders;
- (iii) facilitate equitable access to services and information of Freedom Park;
- (iv) promote good language management by Freedom Park for efficient public service administration and to meet the needs of the public, and
- (v) promote diversity, equity and reconciliation through the principle of functional multilingualism (Freedom Park Language Policy, 2015:7).

It is important to mention that language policy is not adequately implemented in our country. Because this thesis is about attitudes, it is important to sketch the historical background of the relationship between White Afrikaans-speaking people and Black people in South Africa.

2.4 Historical Overview

2.4.1 The Frontier

Early research indicates that the frontier was of great importance in the attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans-speaking people. Roots and origins found in the irrational and anachronistic inheritance from Boer frontiersmen who sought to deny the growing reality of a common society. Inherent in historiographical tradition was the assumption of continuity, the assumption that attitudes formed in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century interior, attitudes that flew in the face of the reality of interdependence, remained the heritage of South African colonists, including many later British settlers, into the twentieth century and explained the policies of racial supremacy of twentieth-century governments. The inter-war liberal viewed South African history in terms of a battle of metropolitan influences and the backwards-looking and negrophobic tendencies of the isolated frontiers of White settlement (Keegan, 1996:1).

Boer group identity and solidarity were forged out of the hostile and dangerous conditions on the frontier, faced as they were with the constant threat of attack, impoverishment and displacement at the hands of indigenous people, and the daily struggle to tear a means of survival from the barren environment. Racial exclusion and discrimination, coupled with deeply ingrained racial attitudes, were born out of conditions of peril. This explains the peculiar contours of the twentieth-century South African economy and society. The natural development of a more inclusive society had become distorted by the dysfunctional forces of Afrikaner-Boer republican-settler racism. The inevitable corollary was that the order grew out of the peculiar nature of South Africa's own colonial history; hence, it was unique and not imported from elsewhere (Keegan, 1996:1-2).

2.4.2 The Great Trek and the Boer War

It should be noted that the concept “Afrikaners” refers to White Afrikaans-speaking people. Coloureds and other people who speak Afrikaans are excluded.

Historian Scholtz saw the Great Trek as the culmination of the culture clash between the Afrikaner and the British. This culture clash was seriously put to the test in the Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, especially during the two wars in 1880-81 and 1899-1902 (Lehmann and Reckwitz, 1992:56). According to Lehmann and Reckwitz (1992:56), the desire for freedom was one of the motivating factors in the lives of the Voortrekkers. The above scholars further say that these wars provided the Afrikaners with a mythology that would be of fundamental importance to Afrikaner nationalism.

2.4.3 The 1924 elections

The years 1924 and 1948 marked two significant stages in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism as the dominant political and social force in South Africa, and in the evolution of the country’s segregationist race policies (Cameron, 1986:248). In the general election of 1924, the National Party defeated the South African Party and formed a coalition government with the South African Labour Party (LP), which became known as the Pact Government (Callinicos, 1993:1).

The information below about the 1924 elections supports the above information.

The two main parties, Creswell’s LP and Hertzog’s National Party (NP) entered into a coalition and formed the Pact Government. The Pact Government represented the two main groups: the White unionist miners of the LP headed by Colonel F. H. P. Creswell and the Afrikaner farmers who resented Smuts’ support of industrialists who were taking cheap Native (Black) labour away from farms. The election was held on 17 June 1924, and the Pact Government won, defeating Smuts’ South African Party (SAP). The SAP won 53 seats, the NP won 63 seats, the LP won 18 seats, and the Independent candidate won one seat in the 134-seat House of Assembly. The 1924 elections brought Hertzog into power as prime minister.

After coming to power, the Pact Government introduced the civilised labour policy and legislation which advanced the interests of White farmers and workers in the public sector. The civilised labour policy was a policy aimed at replacing Black workers with poor White Afrikaners. The policy was enforced in government jobs and in the mining industry through legislation such as the Industrial Conciliation Act No. 11 of 1924, the Minimum Wage Act No. 27 of 1925 and the Mines and Works Amendment Act No. 25 of 1926.

Protective tariffs were introduced for local industry, the agricultural sector received subsidies from government and the state-owned company, the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR) was formed through the Steel Industry Act, No. 11 of 1928. The Pact Government moved towards Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaans was adopted as an official language of the Union with Act No. 8 of 1925, a new national flag was introduced and the National and Flag Act No. 40 of 1925 was enacted. The system of racial segregation became dominant [http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african \(1\)](http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african-1).

The South African general election held on 19 June 1924 was a realigning election in the Union of South Africa's House of Assembly to elect 135 members. Rising discontent with the government of Jan Smuts led to the defeat of his government by a coalition of the pro-Afrikaner NP and the South African Labour Party (a socialist party representing the interests of the White proletariat).

Smuts had angered South African Nationalists with his moderate stance on South African independence from the British Empire. The worldwide depression after the end of the First World War had led to a strike in South Africa, known as the Rand Rebellion. The Rebellion had been defused through a combination of military force and negotiation with the outgunned unions, earning Smuts the enmity of the labour voters. As a consequence, Smuts' SAP was defeated by a Nationalist-Labour Pact, James Hertzog formed the government and became prime minister, a position he was to hold until 1939 [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South-African-gener \(1\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South-African-gener-1).

As a result of this, Black people were denied the franchise. Economically the country was isolated and the economy was in crisis. Growth declined drastically and public sector debt increased dramatically. The police and justice system violated most

human and civil rights and was mainly used to defend apartheid. Part of the country lived under a state of war; assassinations and bombing of political opponents were rife. Governance was largely defined by national security with little respect for the rule of law. The state became more isolated, more corrupt and more dependent on extrajudicial measures to sustain itself (Cameron, 1986:249).

Mainstream liberal historians in the inter-war years developed the idea that South African history was characterised in the main by the emergence of an integrated, albeit radically unequal, multi-racial society. The liberal's concern was to chart the historical origins of the exclusionary and oppressive policies of poverty and rightlessness under which Black South Africans laboured in the twentieth century (Keegan, 1996:1).

2.4.4 The 1948 elections

1948 was the most critical year in South Africa's political history since the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The key political event of 1948 was the electoral victory of the NP, which elevated Malan to the prime ministership and led to a cabinet composed exclusively of Afrikaans-speaking ministers. Scholarly attention has generally focused on the construction of the apartheid edifice of the thoughtfully rationalised and systematically implemented system of White supremacy. This was far more extensive and oppressive than the segregation that preceded it as the major political development of the dozen or so years that followed the 1948 election, and that ended with the shooting dead of 69 Africans by police at Sharpeville in 1960 (Sheridan and Hunt, 1991:15).

The 1948 South African general elections are also put in this way:

The 1948 South African general election took place on May 1948. Out of a total of 150 constituencies that sent representatives to parliament, 12 were unopposed, 11 of these were for the United Party (UP) and one seat was for the NP. The election centred upon the remaining 138 constituencies. The Native (Bantu) population was taken off the common roll in the Cape Province in 1936: they had no voice in the election. Of the remaining Black population, only the Coloureds in the Cape Province could vote. The elections were to be decided by the White population, which comprised one-fourth of South Africa's population.

On 29 March 1948, Malan made a campaign speech in which, for the first time, apartheid was projected as a policy of race relations. A month before the election, Malan outlined the NP's general election manifesto at a speech in the Paarl constituency, Western Cape Province. Malan's election manifesto criticised the Smuts government for a general neglect of the racial problem, with special emphasis on the problem of the ever-increasing influx of Natives and Indians into European areas, a lax policy towards Communism at home, the neglect of South Africa's economic interests, and a policy of liberal immigration which was threatening White South Africans. The manifesto then went on to outline how the NP would correct these wrongs.

How would apartheid be implemented? First, there would be the introduction of a registration system for Whites and non-Whites. Native reserves would have to be built up and developed to accommodate the Bantu (African) population. Only Natives (Africans) who were guaranteed work would be allowed to live in urban areas, but in line with the principle of residential segregation. Natives could not have any political rights in White areas, but they could be represented in the Senate by Europeans. Non-Whites could not attend White universities. Coloureds would be separated and have their own areas, and they would have special representation in the Senate by a Senator nominated by the government. Residential segregation also applied to Indians.

Following the manifesto of the NP, the UP published its own manifesto, which consisted of 24 clauses, most of them dealing with economic matters without reference to the Native question, location of Native labour force in separate townships parallel to industrial areas. In the last days of the election campaign, Prime Minister Smuts began to take a more active part. Two days before the country went to the polls, Smuts declared that the UP's colour policy is clear, and that the UP stands for good treatment for non-Whites and stands for the continuation of White leadership in South Africa as in the past. If White leadership would be lost, then Whites would lose South Africa. Smuts said that apartheid, separate development and Natives going back to the reserves was not acceptable. Before the elections, Smuts felt confident that all sections of the population would agree with his policy and would return his party to power for another five years.

The Reunited National Party (RNP) and the Afrikaner Party merged in 1940, forming the NP. The 1948 general election was contested by the RNP or *Herenigde Nasionale Party* (HNP) led by Malan, the UP led by Jan Smuts, the LP and Independents. The number of registered voters was 1 337 534, the total number of votes (voter turnout) was 1 073 364, the number of invalid or blank votes was 7 393, and the total number of valid votes was 1 065 971. The UP obtained 524 230 votes, the HNP obtained 401 834 votes, the LP obtained 27 360 votes, and the Independents obtained 70 662 votes.

In the 1948 general election, the NP won the most seats on its policy of racial segregation, known as apartheid. The NP led by Malan won 70 seats. The UP of Jan Smuts won 65 seats, the Afrikaner Party (AP) of Nicolaas Havenga won 9 seats, the LP of John Christie won 6 seats, and Independents won 3 seats in the 153 seat House of Assembly [http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african\(1\)](http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african(1)).

The parliamentary election in South Africa on 26 May 1948 represented a turning point in the country's history. The UP, which had led the government since its foundation in 1933 and its leader, incumbent Prime Minister Jan Smuts, was ousted by the RNP (*Herenigde Nasionale Party* [Afrikaans]), led by Malan, a Dutch Reformed cleric. During the election, both the UP and NP formed coalitions with smaller parties. The UP was aligned with the left-leaning LP, while the AP sought to advance Afrikaner rights by allying with the HNP. Because of legislation relating to franchise requirements, very few people of Coloured and Asian descent were able to vote in this election; Africans had been banned altogether since the late 1930s, except for a limited number of Africans meeting electoral qualifications voting for four "own" White MPs separately.

The HNP, realising that many White South Africans felt threatened by Black political aspirations, pledged to implement a policy of strict racial segregation in all spheres of life. The Nationalists labelled this new system of social organisation "apartheid" ("apartness" or "separation"), the name by which it became universally known. The HNP also took advantage of White fear of Black-on-White crime and promised Whites safety and security from the Black-on-White crime and violence, which was widespread.

In contrast to the HNP's consistent, straightforward platform, the UP supported vague notions of slowly integrating the different racial groups within South Africa. Furthermore, White dissatisfaction with the domestic and economic problems in South Africa after World War II, the NP's superior organisation and electoral gerrymandering, all proved to be significant challenges to the UP campaign [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South-African-gener\(1\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South-African-gener(1)).

1948 was a political watershed for South Africa, since, for the first time, the apartheid tradition was statutorily defined and enforced. The NP came to power largely as a result of the apartheid slogan and proceeded to implement the policy in practice by means of legislation. Even before the 1948 election, Malan had explained how apartheid would affect the Black people of South Africa. Reserves would be retained, and if possible enlarged. Peasant farmers would receive instruction in scientific farming methods, soil conservation and agriculture in general. On the basis of its intention to convert reserves into homelands with an independent system of government, the Malan government planned to abolish Black representation in parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council. As a temporary measure Blacks would continue to have representation in the parliament through White representatives, to serve as their constitutional link with the White government. NP policy was aimed at creating separate amenities for Blacks so that they would no longer be admitted to White universities (Cameron, 1986:278).

Malan rejected the recommendations of the Fagan Commission appointed by Smuts in 1946 to investigate the position of Blacks in South Africa. The commission had acknowledged a Black urban population as an irreversible fact but, in drafting legislation, it was not prepared to accept the existence of a permanent urban Black population. During the first two years of the Malan regime, immediate steps were taken to implement the apartheid policy. As a first step, the intermingling of races in White areas would be subjected to close scrutiny (Cameron, 1986:278).

The following apartheid laws were implemented:

- Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949
- Immorality Amendment Act of 1950

- Group Areas Act of 1950
- Bantu Authorities Act of 1951
- Bantu Education Act of 1953
- Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953
- Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953
- Resettlement of Natives Act of 1954
- Native Urban Areas Amendment Act of 1955
- Separate Universities Act of 1958

Through its rigid apartheid legislation, the government eliminated all possible points of political accommodation between African aspirations and continued White control. The 1948 election had constituted something of a referendum among White voters on the future of Black-White relations. The NP, with its slogan of the *swart gevaar* (Black peril) and the *oorstroming* (swamping) of the cities, won a plurality of parliamentary seats and, in alliance with the much smaller AP, was able to form a government policy towards Africans in the face of what they perceived as a growing Black threat to their existence. The introduction of apartheid and the intensification of discrimination at a time of growing political consciousness and rising expectations among Black and brown South Africans provoked an organised movement of mass peaceful defiance on a scale far exceeding anything that had ever happened in South Africa before. At the December 1949 conference of the African National Congress (ANC), its militant Youth League triumphed over more conservative tendencies. Boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience and non-cooperation were adopted (Omer-Cooper, 1987:205).

The attempt to re-organise South African society in accordance with the principles of apartheid was embodied in a long series of interrelated laws (Omer-Cooper, 1987:196). The innovation was that what had previously been left to custom had now become incorporated in written laws (Selby, 1973:246).

One can say that the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948 really institutionalised racial discrimination. These race laws affected every aspect of social life. The introduction of the Population Registration Act in 1950 forced all South Africans to be racially classified. Failure to comply with race laws led to harsh punishments. All Black people were required to carry passbooks containing fingerprints, photo and information on access to non-Black areas. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 created the homeland system in South Africa. All political rights, including voting, held by Africans, were restricted to the designated homeland (Sheridan and Hunt, 1991:15).

In the period from 1959 to 1961 when the NP Government was completing the framework of *baasskap* apartheid and crowning its achievement by transforming South Africa into an Afrikaner republic, the fundamental basis of apartheid policy was beginning to change. The main reasons for this were the major changes which had taken place and were taking place in the world since 1948, the changing economy of South Africa and the need to defuse growing African militancy. Ever since 1948 South Africa had been the target of continuous international criticism. South Africa, by openly embodying racism in law, increasing inequality by government action and removing rights that had been previously enjoyed, was moving in exactly the opposite direction to the rest of the world (Omer-Cooper, 1987:211).

Most of the homelands lacked natural resources, and they were not economically viable. They were also small and fragmented. They lacked the autonomy of independent states. As a result, apartheid was criticised by the international community. In 1961 South Africa was forced to withdraw from the British Commonwealth by member states that were against the apartheid system. In 1985 the governments of the United States and Great Britain imposed selective economic sanctions on South Africa in protest against its racial policy. These were framed not only in the light of apartheid dogma but also with an eye to the interests of the White population in general and, more specifically, those sections of the White population of Afrikaner farmers, Afrikaner workers and Afrikaner businessmen from whom the party derived its main political support. Fundamental to the whole theory of apartheid was a belief in the importance of racial purity (Omer-Cooper, 1987:196).

Apartheid in public places was not new because there had been separate buses, separate railway coaches, separate benches in public parks and separate bathing facilities on beaches for the different races before 1948 (Selby, 1973:246).

2.4.5 The 1994 elections

Pressure against apartheid continued from within and outside South Africa. The South African Government under President F. W. de Klerk started to get rid of the apartheid regime during the 1990s. 1990 was the year that revealed a new strategic approach as far as the NP was concerned. Formerly banned Black organisations were legalised and jailed Black leaders were released. In 1994 the country's Constitution was rewritten, and free general elections were held for the first time in its history. Nelson Mandela became the first Black president.

2.4.6 The *Boeremag*

The *Boeremag* contributed to a great extent as far as attitude is concerned. The main objective of this right-wing organisation was to topple the democratic government and revert to the era of apartheid. The people who supported the *Boeremag* contended that the ANC took power in South Africa illegally. They claimed that organised Black gangs were secretly trained by the ANC to kill White farmers. They also indicated that the *Boeremag* was there to protect White farmers from being attacked and to dismantle the ANC led government.

On the other hand, the enemies of the *Boeremag*, including the South African Government, alleged that the *Boeremag* was a terrorist organisation. South African law enforcement officials believed that the *Boeremag* was responsible for the bombings in Soweto in 2002. It is estimated that the South African police arrested 26 alleged members of the *Boeremag* in November and December 2002, and confiscated 1,000 kg of explosives. Because the *Boeremag* is predominantly dominated by White Afrikaans-speaking people, Black people regard it as a threat; it reminds them of the apartheid era and their suffering at that time. Thus, they see the White Afrikaans-speaking community as people who want to get rid of them, hence they have a negative attitude towards them.

Many within the ANC ranks had come to believe that the liberation of Africans from their national oppression constituted the central feature of the anti-apartheid struggle while at the same time demanding a common front comprising all democratic forces arrayed against the fascist apartheid regime (Sheridan and Hunt, 1991:27).

Black people still blame apartheid for all the suffering and hardships that they continue to experience. They regard them as people who are merciless and cruel. They thought the new South Africa would bring an immediate end to their suffering. They did not believe that it would be many years before their problems become a thing of the past.

South Africa is emerging from a troubled history. A collision of cultures does not necessarily lead to subjugation and hegemony. It may also lead to a subtle cross-pollination of ideas, words, customs, art forms, culinary and religious practices. These dynamic interactions have always played a role in cultural enrichment which binds our nation in many forms in linguistic, cultural, culinary and religious diversity (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996:8).

The advent of democracy in South Africa has provided unique and exciting opportunities. For the first time in the history of the country, all arts and culture practitioners have the right to participate in creating public policy and structures that directly affect their livelihood and the quality of life of the community at large (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage, 1996:5, 8).

The advent of formal apartheid, with its overt use of culture as a political strategy, led to a stifling of expression, and indeed, to distortions (White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage 1996:5, 8). According to this White Paper, it is a national tragedy that we speak of a culture of violence, in the community, in the family and against children. Education and culture work hand-in-hand. Culture and the arts have an important part to play as far as the promotion of reconciliation is concerned, and culture is regarded as an important component of national life that enhances all of our freedoms.

2.5 Definitions of the Concepts

The concepts culture, behaviour and language are defined. These three concepts are important in the research because they help to clearly explain and reveal the negative attitude of the Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans and changes in this regard. These concepts are defined to assist the researcher with more information. The concepts fit into the thesis because they contain relevant information about the research topic.

2.5.1 Culture

Fourie (2001:367) indicates that there are many different and often divergent definitions of culture. He further notes that Hebdige, (1993:359) points out that culture is a notoriously ambiguous concept that has acquired a number of often contradictory meanings as everything from the cultivation of civilisations, human faculties or manners, the improvement of the intellect by means of education, to the cultivation of plants and animals.

The concept of culture defined as people's worldview is the one most closely related to the traditional concerns of the humanities. In the humanities, culture has been an elitist and aesthetic concept involving the best which has been thought and said worldwide (Brogger, 1992:32).

Culture can also include the particular characteristics of everything people in recognisable groups say, as values, perceptions, symbols, codes and assumptions which are the blueprints or templates for behaviour. Culture is concerned with how societies structure themselves and it is also an indicator of the most important values, knowledge and thought in a society. Usually, culture expresses itself through the arts and lifestyles, behaviour patterns, knowledge and belief systems; it can also be defined as the transformation of nature into the human environment.

This concept again can be defined as the total way of life of people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his group, a way of thinking, feeling, and believing, an abstraction from behaviour, a theory on the part of anthropologist about the way in which a group of people in fact behave, a storehouse of pooled learning, a set of standardised orientations to recurrent problems, a learnt behaviour, a mechanism for

the normative regulation of behaviour, a set of techniques for adjusting both to external environment and to other people, a precipitate of history or a behavioural map, sieve or matrix.

Popular definitions define culture broadly as including everything that occurs in society, that is, all the customs, beliefs, values, norms and practices, as well as the material artefacts, objects and instruments handed down from one generation to another (Fourie, 2001:367-368).

Culture is the ways of living built by a human group and transmitted to succeeding generations. Culture is the development or improvement of the mind, morals; etc. <http://www.kgbsd.org/cms/lib/AKO1001769/Centricity/Domain/882/Culture%20Ess2> (2016:1).

Hofstede (1991:4) is of the view that culture is the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another.

Geertz (1973:145) argues that culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their action.

Fox (1990:10) defines culture as a set of understandings and a consciousness under active construction by which individuals interpret the world around them...or a tool kit or set of scenarios that individuals use to implement or stage their life.

2.5.2 Behaviour

The Oxford Dictionary (1948:96) defines behaviour as a way of treating others or as manners. The Collins Dictionary (1979:138) defines it as a manner of behaving or conducting oneself. The above definitions confirm that culture and behaviour are closely linked. In other words, one cannot talk about behaviour without including culture.

Behaviour should be viewed in reference to a phenomenon, an object or person. It can be seen in reference to social norms, or the way in which one treats others or handles objects <http://www.unexco.org/education/mebam/module-4>.(2016:1).

Behaviour, therefore, is the way an individual acts towards people, society, or objects. It can be either bad or good. It can be normal or abnormal according to society norms. Society will always try to correct bad behaviour and try to bring abnormal behaviour back to normal [\(2016:1\)](http://www.unexco.org/education/mebam/module-4).

Behaviour is something that a person does that can be observed, and repeated <http://www.iris.peabody.vanderbit.edu/wp-content/uploads> (2015:1).

Manning (2007:396) defines behaviour as one's bearing, demeanour and conduct. The following sentence supports this idea: Behaviour is the manner of behaving or conducting oneself <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/behaviour> (2015:1).

Behaviour is the range of actions and mannerisms made by individuals, organisms, systems or artificial entities in conjunction with themselves or the environment, which includes the other systems or organisms around as well as the physical environment. It is the response of the system or organism to various stimuli or inputs, whether internal or external, conscious or subconscious, overt or covert, voluntary or involuntary <http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/behaviour> (2015:1).

Business dictionary.com agrees with the above definition, defining behaviour as a response of an individual or group to an action, environment, person, or stimulus <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/behaviour.html> (2015:1).

Behaviour refers to actions usually measured by commonly accepted standards <http://www.dictionary.reference.com/behaviour> (2015:1).

2.5.3 Language

Owens (1988:3, 391) sees language as a socially shared code or conventional system for representing concepts through the use of arbitrary symbols and rule-governed combinations of those symbols. Owens further indicates that language evolves within specific historical, social and cultural contexts. In other words, language plays an important role in society.

Language is the expression of ideas by means of speech sounds combined into words. Words are combined into sentences, this combination answering to that of

ideas into thoughts <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/329791/language> retrieved (2015:1).

Language is a process of free creation; its laws and principles are fixed, but the manner in which the principles of generation are used is free and infinitely varied. Even the interpretation and use of words involves a process of free creation <http://www.is.muni.c-4th/152941/pdf-m/diploma.Thesis-Grov> (2016:1).

People have always liked playing with language, the proofs of that are countless puns, plays on words, riddles, anagrams, metaphors, chants and rhymes, let alone poetry and literature itself. Language is an endless source for human with and creativity <http://www.is.muni.c-4th/152941/pdf-m/diploma.Thesis-Grov> (2016:1).

Lombard (1985:1) defines language as the means by which the human being expresses thoughts, feelings and needs in an understandable way. Here Lombard looks at language as a useful tool for effective communication. He sees language as something helpful in life.

Merriam-webster.com agrees with the above definition when it defines language as the system of words or signs that people use to express thoughts and feelings to each other (<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/language> 2015:1).

Language is the ability to acquire and use complex systems of communication, particularly the human ability to do so, and language is any specific example of such a system <http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/language> (2015:1).

Language is a body of words and the systems for their use common to a people who are of the same community or nation, the same geographical area, or the same cultural tradition <http://www.dictionary.reference.com/browse/language> (2015:1).

Language is the primary means of human communication. It is a powerful social force that does more than convey intended referential information. It also indicates both personal and social characteristics of the speaker. Depending on the particular listener, a speaker's accent, speech patterns, vocabulary and intonation can serve as markers for evaluating that speaker's appearance, personality, social status and

character, among other things <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:518098/1>
(2003:2).

The most important concepts for this research are culture, behaviour, language and language attitude.

2.6 Summary

Chapter 2 paid special attention to the literature review. It looked at the following aspects: the analysis and interpretation of literature, language attitudes, language planning and language policy, historical overview and definitions of concepts. The concept attitude was defined as a disposition or mood, the combination of thought and feeling that predisposes one to take action. Attitude was also defined as a neutral state of Bragger readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related.

Language attitude was defined as opinions, ideas and prejudices that speakers have with respect to a language. It was also indicated that language attitudes permeate our daily lives and that they are overt and that we probably notice them in particular when they are negative and articulated explicitly, and often argumentatively, in public arenas such as the media or in our day-to-day conversations.

One author defined language planning as a problem-solving activity with deliberate language change for specific aims, which may be social, political or educational. Another author defined it as a process designed to affect language use within a particular speech community and most visibly undertaken by government.

Language policy was defined as a set of ideas and beliefs, rules and regulations, including the language practices and management decisions of a community. It was also indicated that language policy is sometimes used as a synonym of language planning. The author further pointed out that more precisely, language policy refers to the more general linguistic, political and social goals underlying the actual language planning process.

The apartheid language policy promoted Afrikaans and English as languages of domination. The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 made the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools compulsory.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Research design and methodology play an important role in any research project and this chapter will focus on the methods used to collect and analyse the data.

The Department of Statistics at the University of Pretoria was consulted on the selection of newspaper articles and on the formulation of interview questions and the sampling of interviewees. They also approved them.

This research applied a qualitative research methodology. “Qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. Qualitative research is also used to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem. It made use of structured interviews. Qualitative research is basically used to explore and understand people’s beliefs, attitudes and behaviour as well as interactions. Qualitative data collection methods vary using unstructured or semi-structured techniques. Some common methods include focus groups (group discussions), individual interviews and participation/observations. The sample size is typically small and respondents are selected to fulfil a given quota” <http://www.snapsurveys.com/blog/qualitative-vs-quantitative-research> (2017:1).

Marshall and Rossman (2006:2) see qualitative research as pragmatic, interpretive and grounded in the lived experiences of people. This research methodology was chosen because it strengthens an understanding, interpretation of meaning and intentions underlying human interaction. The researcher also followed this methodology, as it is the most relevant to the research that was embarked on. Mixed method approach was also used. Mixed method approach is the application of both qualitative and quantitative research approaches in a single study. A quantitative methodology was used in the statistical analysis of data collected. “Mixed methods research involves the use of more than one approach to or method of design, data collection or data analysis within a single program of study, with integration of the different approaches or methods occurring during the program of study, and not just at its concluding point” (Bazeley, 2006:64-74).

3.1.1 Data collection

Interviews

Dornyei (2007) argues that interviewing is a natural and socially acceptable way of collecting data as it can be used in various situations covering a variety of topics. This study used structured interviews. Structured interviews stick to the use of an interview protocol to guide the researcher. It is a firm interview style because only the questions on the interview protocol are asked. A questionnaire is a data collection instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents <http://www.gfmer.ch> (2017 1). Likert Scale was applied in the interview questions. “Likert Scale is a psychometric scale where questions based on this scale are normally used in a survey. It is one of the most widely used question types in a survey. In a Likert Scale Survey respondents simply do not choose between “yes/no”, there are specific choices based on “agreeing” or “disagreeing” on a certain question in the survey <http://www.questionpro.com/article/likert-scale.survey-ques> (2017 1).

The advantageous side of the Likert Scale is that they are most universal method for survey collection, therefore they are easily understood. The responses are easily quantifiable and subjective to computation of some mathematical analysis. Since it does not require the participant to provide a simple and concrete yes or no answer, it does not force the participant to take a stand on a particular topic, but allows them to respond in a degree of agreement; this makes question-answering easier on the respondent. Also, the responses presented accommodate neutral or undecided feelings of participants.

These responses are very easy to code when accumulating data since a single number represents the participant’s response. Likert surveys are also quick, efficient and inexpensive methods for data collection. They have high versatility and can be sent out in person. Attitudes of the population for one particular item in reality exist on a vast, multi-dimensional continuum. However, the Likert Scale is uni-dimensional and only gives 5-7 options of choice, and the space between each choice cannot possibly be equidistant.

Therefore, it fails to measure the true attitudes of respondents. Also, it not unlikely that people's answers will be influenced by previous questions, or will heavily concentrate on one response side (agree/disagree).

Frequently, people avoid choosing the "extremes" options on the scale, because of the negative implications involved with "extremists"; even an extreme choice would be the most accurate" <http://www.psyc450.wordpress.com/the-likert-scale-advantages-and-disadvantages> (2017 1).

The researcher used information from interviews that reveals the attitudes of Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans. The researcher interviewed 60 respondents: 36 males, 24 females, 20 18 to 35 years old, 20 36 to 46 years old, and 20 47 years old and older. When developing questions, the following information was used: home language, educational background, the area where one lives, yes or no, strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree as well as associating a certain language with certain acts. Every respondent was asked the same questions. In collecting data, the researcher used structured interviews and questions and respondents' answers were noted in this regard. Respondents' negative behaviour in answering questions as well as their tone was also taken into account. The researcher used Black people in shopping malls, bus stations and other places, such as wedding ceremonies and funerals. The researcher applied for ethical clearance and approval was granted by Faculty of Humanities Research Ethics Committee. The researcher informed respondents about the study he was conducting and that they were free to withdraw at any time. The researcher also informed them that their information and names will be kept confidential. In choosing respondents, the researcher used a sample of convenience.

Newspapers

The researcher used relevant articles from two newspapers that were widely read by the majority of Black people during the period 1994 to 2016: the Sowetan and City Press. Newspapers articles from one edition per week that specifically focused on attitudes of Black people towards Afrikaans were

used. The researcher used keywords, such as “Afrikaans” and “attitudes” and “Black attitudes” to select the articles.

Stories

The researcher used stories from respondents. Respondents spontaneously told stories. Most stories were about relationships between employer and employee.

The researcher searched 301 newspapers. Out of these, only 11 newspaper articles were relevant to the search topic.

3.1.2 Methods of analysis

The researcher applied the following methods of analysis.

- (i) Narrative analysis
- (ii) Content analysis

3.1.2.1 Narrative analysis

Narrative analysis was applied to the stories told by respondents. Cortazzi (1993) indicates that narrative analysis basically uses stories of peoples’ past life experiences. The scholar further points out that a primary way in which individuals make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form. The author argues that narrative is a primary act of mind, the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful and a means by which humans represent and restructure the world. He says that it is a specific cultural system, the organising principle by which people organise their experience in the social world.

Riessman (1993) is of the view that narrative analysis takes as its object of investigation the story itself.

Narrative analysis is the methodology that examines the stories people tell, the language they use, and elements of narrative structure to interpret qualitative data that preserves the meaning that participants ascribe to their experiences <http://.etd.ohiolink.edu/rws-etd/document/get/to> (2016:1).

Narratives or stories occur when one or more speakers engage in sharing and recounting an experience or event. Typically, the telling of a story occupies multiple turns in the course of a conversation and stories or narratives may share common structural features. Narratives or stories may be oral or written, be elicited, for example, during an interview or naturally occurring. They can be very short or long, told as a way to share one's biography (life stories), focus on events and the meaning of those events for those experiencing them (such as oral histories and auto-ethnographies) and focus on the ordinary stories people tell as a way to share everyday experiences <http://www.qualres.org/HomeNarr-3823.html> (2016:1).

A medical dictionary defines narrative analysis as a method of qualitative research in which the researcher listens to the stories of the research subjects, attempting to understand the relationships between the experiences of the individuals and their social framework <http://medical-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/narrativeanalysis> (2016:1).

3.1.2.2 Content analysis

Content analysis was applied in newspaper articles. Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. He emphasises that researchers quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer, the audience and even the culture and time of which these are part.

Krippendorff (2004) goes on to regard content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use. He says that as a technique, content analysis involves specialised procedures. The author indicates that it is learnable and divorceable from the personal authority of the researcher. According to him, content analysis provides new insights, increases a researcher's understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions. This scholar again highlights that content analysis is a scientific tool.

Content analysis is also utilised to explore mental models and their linguistic, affective, cognitive, social, cultural and historical significance. Content analysis can be used to examine any piece of writing or the occurrence of recorded

communication. The link between culture and language is that they both express thoughts, values and so forth.

Content analysis reveals international differences in communication content. It detects the existence of propaganda. It identifies the intentions, focus or communication trends of an individual, group or institution. It describes attitudinal and behavioural responses to communication and determines the psychological or emotional state of persons or groups.

The following types of content analysis were applied in the research: conceptual analysis, relational analysis and interpretive analysis. In conceptual analysis, a concept is chosen for examination, and the analysis involves quantifying and tallying its presence [http://www.rangahau.co.nz/analysis/82/\(2016\(1\)\)](http://www.rangahau.co.nz/analysis/82/(2016(1))).

Relational analysis, like conceptual analysis, begins with the act of identifying concepts present in a given context or sets of texts; however, relational analysis seeks to go beyond presence by exploring the relationships between the concepts identified ([http://www.rangahau.co.nz/analysis/82/\(2016\(1\)\)](http://www.rangahau.co.nz/analysis/82/(2016(1)))).

Interpretive content analysis is specially designed for latent content analysis in which researchers go beyond quantifying the most straightforward denotative elements in a text [http://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:10110878\(2016\(1\)\)](http://link.springer.com/article/10.1023/A:10110878(2016(1))).

According to Babbie (2001:304), content analysis can be defined as “the study of recorded human communications. It is “essentially a coding operation” with coding being “the process of transforming raw data into a standardised form” (Babbie, 2001:309).

Ryan and Bernard (2000:780) see content analysis as one of the “major coding traditions”. They say that “coding forces the researcher to make judgements about the meanings of contiguous blocks” and coding is “the heart and soul” of text analysis. According to them, classical content analysis “comprises techniques for reducing texts to a unit-by-variable matrix. That matrix is analysed quantitatively to test hypotheses”, and the researcher can then produce a matrix by applying a set of codes to a set of qualitative data, the assumption being that the codes of interest have already been discovered and described (Ryan and Bernard, 2000:785).

Lasswell, Lerner and Pool (1952:34) differ from Ryan and Bernard when they state, “content analysis operates on the view that verbal behaviour is a form of human behaviour, that the flow of symbols is a part of the flow of events, and that the communication process is an aspect of the historical process...content analysis is a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity, precision, and generality, what is said on a given subject in a given place at a given time”.

Berelson slightly differs from Lasswell, Lerner and Pool, describing content analysis as a “research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Berelson, 1952:18)

Stone, Dunphy, Smith and Ogilvie (1996) see content analysis as a research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics with text.

Weber (1990:9) agrees with the above authors when he says that content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from the text.

Berger (1991:25) maintains that content analysis is a research technique that is based on measuring the amount of something in a representative sampling of some mass-mediated popular form of art.

Neuman (1997:272-273) describes it as a technique for gathering and analysing the content of the text. He says that the content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes or any message that can be communicated. He continues to point out that the text is anything written, visual or spoken that serves as a medium of communication.

Neuendorf (2002:10) states that content analysis is a summarising quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method. The author further argues that it is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented.

As will become clear from the table in Chapter 4, a number of keywords were chosen that, in the context, revealed the attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans. Some of the keywords are:

Minority language

Status

Language

Afrikaans

Enjoy

Elevation

Student

University

Black

Apartheid

3.2 Summary

This chapter focused on the research design and methodology. This research applied a qualitative research methodology. This research methodology was applied in structured interviews. Qualitative research is basically used to explore and understand people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour as well as interactions. "Qualitative research is primarily exploratory research. It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. Qualitative research is also used to uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem. Qualitative data collection methods vary using unstructured or semi-structured techniques. Some common methods include focus groups (group discussions), individual interviews and participation/observations. It outlined in detail data collection methods.

Interviews, questionnaires, newspapers and stories were used to collect data. Interviewing is a natural and socially acceptable way of collecting data as it can be used in various situations covering a variety of topics. This study used structured interviews. Structured interviews stick to the use of an interview protocol to guide the researcher. It is a firm interview style because only the questions on the interview protocol are asked. A questionnaire is a data collection instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of gathering information from respondents.

The researcher used relevant articles from two newspapers that were widely read by the majority of Black people during the period 1994 to 2016: the Sowetan and City Press. Newspaper articles from one edition per week that specifically focused on attitudes of Black people towards Afrikaans were used.

The researcher used stories from respondents. Respondents spontaneously told stories, most of which were about relationships between employer and employee.

The following methods of analysis were used: narrative analysis and content analysis. Narrative analysis was applied to the stories told by respondents. Content analysis was applied to newspaper articles. Different authors defined narrative analysis and content analysis.

Cortazzi (1993) indicates that narrative analysis basically uses stories of peoples' past life experiences. The scholar further points out that a primary way in which individuals make sense of experience is by casting it in narrative form. The author argues that narrative is a primary act of mind, the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful and a means by which humans represent and restructure the world. He says that it is a specific cultural system, the organising principle by which people organise their experience in the social world.

Krippendorff (2004) defines content analysis as a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. He emphasises that researchers quantify and analyse the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer, the audience and even the culture and time of which these are part.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Analysis and Interpretation of Newspaper Articles

4.1.1 Introduction

Newspapers are an important source of information and a common form of written texts. They are widely read types of written texts and as such deserve to be studied, analysed and interpreted. The two newspapers that were used for analysis and interpretation are the Sowetan and City Press, which are widely read by Black people. Only 11 newspaper articles reveal the attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans. These newspaper articles do not specifically relate to Hammanskraal. The keywords below are some of the critical issues that contribute to the research topic.

| Keywords | Article 1 | Article 2 | Article 3 | Article 4 | Article 5 | Article 6 | Article 7 | Article 8 | Article 9 | Article 10 | Article 11 |
|-------------------|--|--|--|---|---|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | Why should a minority language like Afrikaans enjoy elevated status in the new South Africa? | Language must not decide where you can study | Blacks owe their freedom to the class of '76 | Language problems in official domains of language use | Stellenbosch University changes its language policy | Afrikaans varsities vow to change | Protocols for school emblems after Afrikaans school plans Voor-trekkers insignia | Campus race wars: Why we fight each other? | Away with Afrikaans, Tuks students chant outside court | Concern about the status of African languages as school subjects | Afrikaans must be a choice; it must not be imposed upon us |
| Minority language | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Status | x | | | | x | | | | | | |
| Language | x | X | X | X | x | x | | x | | x | |
| Afrikaans | x | X | X | X | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Enjoy | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Elevation | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Student | x | X | X | | x | x | | x | x | | x |
| University | x | X | | | x | x | | x | x | | x |
| Black | x | X | X | X | | x | | x | x | | x |
| Apartheid | x | X | | | | x | | x | | | |
| Youth | x | | X | | | | | | | | |
| White | x | X | | X | | x | | x | | | |
| School | x | | | X | | x | x | | | x | |
| Custodian | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Beneficiary | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Policy | x | | | X | x | x | | x | | | |
| Covet | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tuition | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Culture | x | X | | | | x | | x | | | |
| South Africans | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Understand | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Racism | | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Manifest | | | | | | | | x | | | |
| Study | | X | | | | x | | x | | | |
| South Africa | | X | | | | x | | | | | |
| Stellenbosch | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Decide | | X | | | | | | | | | |

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|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Protect | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rightfully | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Face | X | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Admit | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Defence | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Population | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reclaim | X | | | | | x | | x | | x | |
| Humanity | X | X | | | | x | | x | | | |
| Colonialism | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sexism | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Listen | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Need | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Allow | X | X | | | | | | x | | | |
| Cry | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Angry | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Talk | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Victory | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Closure | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Group | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Should | X | | | | | x | | x | | | |
| Freedom | | | | X | | | | | | | x |
| Land | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Struggle | | | X | | | | | x | | | |
| Oppressed | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Problems | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Domain | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Attitude | | | | X | | x | | x | | | |
| Action | | | | X | | x | | x | | | |
| Dissatisfaction | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Parents | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Solution | | | | X | | | | x | | | |
| Dispute | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| English | | | | X | x | | | | | | |
| Demand | | | X | x | x | | x | | | | |
| Instruction | | | | x | x | | | | | | |
| Document | | | | x | | x | | | | | |
| Behaviour | | | | x | | | | x | | | |
| Summons | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Mother tongue | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Multilingualism | | | | x | x | | | | | | |
| Court | | | | x | | | | | x | | |

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|----------------|---|--|---|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| Emphasis | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Inclusivity | | | | | X | | | X | | | |
| Diversity | | | | | X | | | X | | | |
| Knowledge | | | | | X | | | X | | | X |
| Proposal | | | | | X | X | | | | | |
| Tolerance | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Respect | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Opportunity | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| Stakeholders | | | | | X | X | | | | | |
| Change | | | | | X | X | X | | | | |
| Protest | | | | | X | X | | X | | | |
| Transformation | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Structure | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Challenge | | | | | | X | | X | | | |
| Development | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Education | | | | | | X | X | X | | | |
| Empowerment | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Democracy | | | | | | X | X | | | | |
| Gender | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Equity | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Management | | | | | | X | | X | | | |
| Vision | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Discrimination | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Communication | | | | | | X | | X | | | |
| Department | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| Contribution | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Segregation | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| Attack | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Fight | | | | | | | | X | | | X |
| Leadership | | | | | | | | X | | | X |
| Imagination | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Right | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Dialogue | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Majority | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Disruption | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Peace | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Cooperation | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Emotive | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Synonymous | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Forget | x | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Prominent | x | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|
| Express | x | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Preference | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| People | x | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Ability | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| Produce | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Results | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Advantage | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Rigorously | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Defend | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Battle | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| Governing body | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Autonomy | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Promote | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| Oversight | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Involvement | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ensure | x | | | | | x | | | x | | |
| Success | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Important | x | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Retain | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Discretion | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Determine | x | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Rightly | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Occupy | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Position | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Academic | x | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Address | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Support | x | | | | | | x | | | x | |
| Use | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Progressively | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Move | x | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| Erupt | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Report | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Recommendation | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Review | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Revealingly | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Scrap | x | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Access | x | | | | | | x | | | | |
| Outside | x | | | | | | | | | x | |
| Reason | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Direct | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Discontent | x | | | | | | | | | | |

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|--------------|---|---|---|--|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| Assumption | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Highlight | x | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| Reality | x | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| Society | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Roam | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Amenity | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Achieve | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Integration | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Assimilation | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Obligation | x | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accommodate | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Naïve | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Think | x | | X | | | | | x | | | | |
| Speedily | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Willingly | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reluctance | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Idea | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Equality | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Voluntarily | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sacrifice | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Feeling | x | | | | | | | x | | | | |
| Superiority | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Threat | x | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| Violence | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pride | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Restore | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dignity | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Confidence | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Construct | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Legacy | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Great | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Prestigious | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Associate | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Privilege | x | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| History | x | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Effective | x | | | | | x | | | | | | |
| Ways | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Excellence | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ownership | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Celebrate | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Identity | x | | | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|--|---|--|
| Pressure | x | | | | x | | | | | | |
| Perpetuate | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Destroy | x | | | | | | | x | | | |
| Disappear | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reflect | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Preserve | x | | | | | x | | | | | |
| Heritage | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Proudly | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Production | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Blame | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Necessity | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Forefront | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Generation | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Politics | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Safe | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mission | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Collective | x | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Foundation | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Destiny | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Agitate | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Simply | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Main | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Speak | | X | | | | | | x | | | |
| Prefer | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Experience | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Daily | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Perceive | | X | | | | x | | | | | |
| Economy | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Infiltrate | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Intellectually | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Inferior | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Suffer | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Confront | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Distastefully | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Conversation | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Forgiveness | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Continue | | X | | | | | | | | x | |
| Reciprocate | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Compassion | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Active | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Retribution | | X | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|---|---|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Believe | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Thought | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Perspective | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Politically | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Delineate | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Basis | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Want | X | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Function | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Provide | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Restrict | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reassess | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Belong | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Different | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accept | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Include | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Commitment | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maintenance | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Powerful | X | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Economic | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Social | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tool | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Intend | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Existence | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Excuse | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Maintain | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Show | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Interest | X | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Purpose | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dishonest | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dismantle | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Inhumanity | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Exactly | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Truth | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Choose | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dream | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Accomplish | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Role | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pain | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Desperately | X | | | | | | | | | | |
| Imposition | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Encounter | | | X | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--|---|--|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| Peacefulness | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Seriousness | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Love | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Respect | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Mistaken | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Community | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Embrace | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Salute | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Raise | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Symbolise | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Solidarity | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Overcome | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Defiance | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Detention | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Disappearance | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Grave | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Oppressor | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Political | | X | | | | | x | | | | |
| Weapon | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Mind | | X | | | | | | | | | |
| Official | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Display | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Propose | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Offer | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Familiar | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Close | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Chase | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Demand | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Quick | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Similar | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Arrive | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Attend | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| According | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Apparently | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Order | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Following | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Event | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Statement | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Relentless | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Conduct | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Replace | | | | x | | | | | | | |

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|---------------|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|--|---|--|--|--|
| Institution | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Dissolve | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Dismiss | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Proceed | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Culminate | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Comprise | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Additional | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Indication | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Decrease | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Contribute | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Establish | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Predominantly | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Evident | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Allege | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Contain | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Request | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Immediately | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Security | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Apparently | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Refuse | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Call | | | | X | | | | | X | | | |
| Irate | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Complain | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Aggressive | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Motive | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Determination | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Resist | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Note | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Advance | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Response | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Read | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Prefer | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Accommodate | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Find | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Insistence | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Politicise | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| Prepare | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Reject | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Construction | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Imply | | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Specific | | | | | | | X | | | | | |

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|---------------|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|
| Prevent | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Isolation | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Foster | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Care | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Divide | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Information | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Convey | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Facilitate | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Capability | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Hope | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Implement | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Decline | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Process | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Refusal | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Entitle | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Receive | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Expect | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Region | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Comment | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Rightful | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Conceal | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Strategy | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Interrogation | | | | | X | | | | | | | |
| Declare | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Happen | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Slow | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Correct | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Argue | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Rapid | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Dominate | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Biggest | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Advent | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Embark | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Initiative | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Diversify | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Serve | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Define | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Ideology | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Guide | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Various | | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Organisation | | | | | | | | | X | | | |

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|----------------|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Agree | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Death | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Legislation | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Ensure | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Represent | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Demographics | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Resources | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Acquire | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Pursue | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Cautiously | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Minimise | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Previously | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Entrench | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Currently | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Appear | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Significant | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Wish | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Suffer | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Analysis | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Relatively | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Swiftly | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Sentiment | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Monitor | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Critics | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Genuine | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Affectionately | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Campus | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Resolve | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Disadvantaged | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Arduous | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Exhausting | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Element | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Decline | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Destruction | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Demonstrate | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Release | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Worsen | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Rampant | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Residence | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Uncertainty | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Direction | | | | | | X | | | | | |

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|---------------|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|
| Eventually | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Framework | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Mindful | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Imbalance | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Interference | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Shape | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Relation | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Ethnicity | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Add | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Value | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Consider | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Officer | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Hint | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Award | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Selectively | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Broaden | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Explain | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Consultation | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Abide | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Practise | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Disciplinary | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Target | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Disparity | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Redress | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Remain | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Investigation | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Exception | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Multicultural | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Environment | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Separate | | | | | | X | | | | | |
| Protocol | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Emblem | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Questionable | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Complaint | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Derogatory | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Offensive | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Principle | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Follow | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Nonracialism | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Chaos | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Surprise | | | | | | | | | | X | |

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|--------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|
| Inherently | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Nervous | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Remove | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Gratitude | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Fortunate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Convince | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Deficiency | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Alienate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Trivial | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Unnecessary | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Pertain | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Impression | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Mutual | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Engage | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Rejection | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Label | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Artefact | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Exist | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Allocate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Evident | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Exclusionary | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Remain | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Measure | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Common | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Greater | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Forefront | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Brutality | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Campaign | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Suggest | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Perpetrator | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Minimal | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Consequences | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Witness | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Denigration | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Demonstrate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Natural | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Remember | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Impose | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Enemy | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Disturb | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Pacify | | | | | | | | X | | | |

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|--------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| Message | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Affordable | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Victimise | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Quiet | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Ignore | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Unrest | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Firmly | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Appease | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Disrupt | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Illegal | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Detriment | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Authority | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Incidence | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Vandalise | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Trouble | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Perpetrate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Aggressor | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Prompt | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Extreme | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Polarisation | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Negotiate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Variety | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Endure | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Grievance | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Peacefully | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Put | | | | | | | | X | | X | |
| Insist | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Operate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Usual | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Adhere | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Norms | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Beautifully | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Disgusting | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Moment | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Retaliate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Reaction | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Damage | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Limit | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Uprising | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Rise | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Shout | | | | | | | | X | | | |

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|-------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|
| Spirit | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Clash | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Frame | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Overcome | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Completely | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Removal | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Imagine | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Sensible | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Approach | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Reach out | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Asleep | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Engineer | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Diverse | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Emotional | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Feedback | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Focus | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Negative | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Difference | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Focus | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Negative | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Obscure | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Legitimate | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Underlying | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Fundamental | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Create | | | | | | | | X | | | |
| Chant | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| March | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Arrest | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| Subject | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| System | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Favour | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Progressive | | | | | | | | | | X | |
| Choice | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Conduct | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Cause | | | | | | | | | | | X |
| Disregard | | | | | | | | | | | X |

The information provided below is based on the context of some of the newspaper articles consulted by the researcher.

The following word appears 11 times:

Afrikaans

The following words appear 8 times:

Language

Student

Black

The following word appears 7 times:

University

The following words appear 5 times:

White

School

Policy

The following words appear 4 times:

Apartheid

Culture

Reclaim

Humanity

Demand

The following words appear 3 times:

Study

Fight

Attitude

Action

Diversity

Knowledge

Change

Protest

Education

Ensure

Support

Move

The following words appear twice:

Status

Youth

South Africa

Face

Freedom

Struggle

Solution

English

Instruction

Document

Multilingualism

Court

Inclusivity

Proposal

Stakeholders

Challenge

Democracy

Management

Communication

Leadership

Forget

People

Ability

Battle

Governing body

Promote

Important

Retain

Determine

Academic

Use

Scrap

Access

Outside

Highlight

Reality

Obligation

Feeling

Threat

Privilege

History

Effective

Pressure

Destroy

Preserve

Politics

Collective

Speak

Perceive

Continue

Want

Powerful

Interest

Political

Call

The following words appear once:

Minority language

Enjoy

Elevation

Custodian

With regard to relational content analysis, the following words are related:

Those that are related to conflict; these words imply war:

Fight

Clash

Retaliate

Offensive

Battle

Struggle

Defiance

Dispute

Protect

Resist

Those that are related to violence; these words imply war and destruction:

Destroy

Disruption

Uprising

Disrupt

Chaos

Destruction

Unrest

Vandalise

Damage

Those that are related to trouble; these words imply provocation and violence:

Perpetuate

Agitate

Confront

Disturb

Oppressor

Aggressor

Perpetrator

Aggressive

Restrict

Angry

Perpetrate

Derogatory

Disgusting

Those that are related to inequality; these words imply discrimination:

Segregation

Disparity

Separate

Racism

Sexism

Discrimination

Those that are related to functionality; these words imply power:

Effective

Powerful

Those that are related to safeguarding; these words imply safety.

Defence

Protect

Those that are related to acceptance; these words imply peace.

Tolerance

Respect

The following newspaper articles were not analysed by the researcher; they only confirm the researcher's findings. They were chosen because the researcher managed to get access to them, although there might be others that hold different views:

What has come out very clearly from the South African Broadcasting Corporation's Greatest South African Show is that a great number of White South Africans have a high regard for the perpetrators of apartheid, and thus still uphold the evils and principle of the apartheid regime. The fact that Black people have sacrificed their rightful ownership to land, jobs and mineral wealth does not seem to count for much with many White South Africans. Life has even been better for Whites in the new dispensation than it ever was during the apartheid era except for a few Whites who live in informal settlements, and this is why they show no remorse or shame for a system that committed terrible atrocities.

This is not only shockingly immoral but is perhaps a lesson for all Africans. White people have to start taking responsibility not only for their role in the apartheid regime but also for playing a role in the continuation of the degradation of Black people. If they are not willing to help eradicate the poverty that many Black people face, perhaps reparation is a better course than reconciliation (City Press, 2004:20).

The *Boeremag* treason trial had a plan to blow up former president Nelson Mandela with a homemade bomb in 2002. Self-confessed coup plotter Deon Crous testified in the Pretoria High Court that he and five of the *Boeremag* accused had decided to assassinate Mandela with a homemade bomb after reading in a newspaper that he would open a school near Tzaneen in Limpopo. Crous said they decided to murder Mandela as it would have triggered "the night of the long knives", when Blacks would start killing Whites in the country, creating chaos and paving the way for a violent coup.

The plan had initially been to plant a bomb at the school, but when this was found not to be feasible, they decided to plant the bomb at an excavation in the road leading to the school. The plan was abandoned when Mandela arrived at the school by helicopter. Crous said Wilhelm Pretorius had told them how he managed to ward off a group of women and police who were looking at the bucket containing the bomb mixture next to the road by telling them that it was a commando exercise. He and van Rooyen were both dressed in their commando unit uniforms at the time (Sowetan, 2004:2).

The *Boeremag* treason trial is the most expensive in South Africa's legal history and has already cost the taxpayer R20.4 million in legal aid fees alone for 21 accused. The trial came to a standstill when (the) alleged military commander of the organisation, Tom Vorster, after more than two months in the witness stand, declared that he was no longer willing to participate in the trial. A highly emotional Vorster, who has been in custody since his arrest in November 2002, told Judge Eben Jordaan that he would no longer co-operate in order to protest against the alleged violation of his and his family's rights (The Citizen, 2009:4).

Racism continues to permeate our legal system and most institutions, particularly in the Western Cape. After all one does not expect a system that has, for decades, undermined the Black people of South Africa to change its mindset in just 10 years. Anyone who denies the existence of racism within the judiciary is certainly not Black, or is conveniently naïve. A discussion regarding Black magistrates in the Western Cape demonstrates a clear pattern of racist behaviour. Black legal professionals are perceived by their White peers as "not appropriately qualified", "not articulate", "inefficient" and "underperforming".

Surely some judges, advocates, attorneys, magistrates and prosecutors bring their personal and racist prejudices into the courtroom. We need to question the legitimacy of our judiciary given the demographics of the South African society. The struggle for democracy was won in 1994, but it is a process for which we should all assume responsibility (City Press, 2004:20).

The ANC attacked the country's White judges, warning of a popular antagonism towards the judiciary and the courts if they did not change their mindset. In its traditional January 8 birthday declaration, the party accused the judiciary of having a collective mindset that was not in line with (the) "vision and aspirations of the millions who engaged in the struggle to liberate our country from White minority domination".

The remarks issued in Umtata in the Eastern Cape follow the war of words between some Black and White judges over judgement in cases involving the government. One example of these was around the pharmaceutical industry's case against Health Minister Manto Tshabalala Msimang and her department

over medicine pricing, which saw two Black judges ruling in favour of the government while a White judge sided with the controversy around the exclusion of White candidates from a list of new judges appointed by the president.

In the statement, the ANC acknowledged that much has been done to change the racial and gender profile of the judiciary, but said a lot more needed to be done. It said the “reality” was that many judges and magistrates “do not see themselves as part of the masses” and this should no longer be allowed to continue. “If this persists for too long, it will inevitably result in popular antagonism towards the judiciary and our courts, with serious and negative consequences for our democratic system as a whole”, the ANC warned (Sunday Times, 2005:1).

From the above information one can clearly see how the attitude of Black people towards White Afrikaans-speaking people was formed. The fact that apartheid policies were strongly pushed by White Afrikaans-speakers led to this attitude, which remains a challenge in South Africa.

4.2 Interpretation of Interview Results

4.2.1 Introduction

Interview results will be presented and interpreted. (Refer to the appendix for percentages in this regard.)

100% of respondents were from Hammanskraal. 60% of male respondents and 40% of female respondents participated. Even the free-born respondents had negative attitudes towards Afrikaans.

The following age groups of respondents took part:

18-35 years (young people)

36-46 years (middle-aged people)

47 years and above (older people)

60% of respondents spoke Setswana

1.7% of respondents spoke Isindebele

3.3% of respondents spoke Isizulu

18.3% of respondents spoke Sepedi

16.7% of respondents spoke Xitsonga

16.7% of respondents attended primary school

80.0% of respondents attended secondary school

1.7% of respondents attended Further Education and Training College

1.7% of respondents attended university

The response to the statement “Afrikaans should be offered as a subject at school” clearly showed that the majority of respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans as they disagreed with the statement.

The response to the statement “I would consider sending my children to an Afrikaans school” also indicated that respondents, who disagreed with the statement, have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

The response to the statement “The existence of Afrikaans has contributed to the development of South Africa” revealed that many respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is a fast-growing language” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by also disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “When someone addresses me in Afrikaans I ignore him/her” revealed that most respondents (who agreed with the statement) have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

The response to the statement “I would never consider reading anything in Afrikaans” also indicated that majority of respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Knowledge in Afrikaans is helpful in running a business” indicated that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “When I hear an Afrikaans song on radio I switch to another station” also showed that many respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is an important South African language” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Knowledge of Afrikaans is useful when looking for a job” also revealed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

Because this thesis is about attitudes, it is important to pay attention to the following stories that were told by respondents:

These stories were spontaneously told during the interviews..

Story 1

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and the Black job seeker. (The term “boss” implies power and this was used by respondents when they were interviewed.)

The Afrikaans-speaking boss forced the Black job seeker to speak Afrikaans. After that he told the Black job seeker in Afrikaans to go to Mandela to look for a job. The main characters are the employer and the employee. The event took place between the employer and the employee, in the house. Both main characters are involved in a conflict.

Here he showed a negative attitude to the Black job seeker by forcing him to speak Afrikaans. The Black job seeker felt oppressed by the way he expressed his feelings

and he felt discriminated against when the Afrikaans-speaking boss told him in Afrikaans to go Mandela to look for a job. The Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role; that is why the respondent associated Afrikaans with negative behaviour. This could have contributed to the respondent's negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

Story 2

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

She used Afrikaans to discriminate against her employee. She used Afrikaans to refuse to allow her to go home. The main role players are the employer and the employee. The event took place between the employer and the employee. The event took place in the house. Both role players are involved in a conflict.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role by speaking Afrikaans to discriminate against the employee. She also showed a negative attitude by refusing her permission to go home in Afrikaans.

Story 3

Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

He used Afrikaans to keep his Black employee's identity document. He also used Afrikaans to shout at him and threw the identity document to him. The main role players are the employer and the employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss showed a negative attitude by using Afrikaans to keep his Black employee's identity document. He again showed a negative attitude by shouting at his Black employee in Afrikaans and by throwing the identity document to him. His employee felt oppressed and discriminated against.

Story 4

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

She used Afrikaans to refuse to pay her Black employee. She harassed her in Afrikaans and tried to kill her with her car. The main characters are the employer and

the employee. The event took place between the employer and the employee inside the yard.

Again, here the Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role by showing a negative attitude in speaking Afrikaans to refuse to pay her Black employee. She also played a negative role by harassing her Black employee in Afrikaans and trying to kill her with her car.

Story 5

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss used Afrikaans to accuse his Black employee of a bad smell. The main role players are the employer and the employee. The event took place in the house between the employer and the employee. Both role players are involved in a conflict.

Here he displayed a negative attitude in speaking Afrikaans to accuse his Black employee of smelling badly. His Black employee felt offended.

Story 6

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

She shouted at her Black employee in Afrikaans not to sit in the front seat of her car but to climb into the back of the car. The role players are the employer and the employee. The event took place in a car between the employer and the employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role by showing a negative attitude in shouting at her Black employee in Afrikaans not to sit in the front seat of her car but to climb into the back of the car.

Story 7

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss instructed her Black employee in Afrikaans not to use her toilet. The role players are the employer and the employee.

She displayed a negative role by showing a negative attitude in instructing her Black employee in Afrikaans not to use her toilet.

Story 8

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss used Afrikaans to fire his Black employee because his hair was long. The main role players are the employer and the employee. The event took place in the house between the employer and the employee.

Here the Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role by showing a negative attitude in using Afrikaans to fire his Black employee because his hair was long.

Story 9

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss used Afrikaans to give his Black employee tea without milk. The main characters are the employer and the employee. The event took place between the employer and the employee in the house.

Here he played a negative role by showing a negative attitude in using Afrikaans to give his Black employee tea without milk.

Story 10

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss used Afrikaans to tell his Black employee that there was nothing he could do to him for treating him badly. The event took place in the house between the employer and the employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss played a negative role by showing a negative attitude in using Afrikaans to tell his Black employee that there was nothing he could do to him for treating him badly.

Story 11

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss screamed at her Black employee in Afrikaans not to mix her clothes with theirs. The event took place in the house between the employer and the employee.

She played a negative role by showing a negative attitude by screaming at her Black employee in Afrikaans that she should not to mix her clothes with theirs.

Story 12

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and her Black employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss instructed her Black employee in Afrikaans not to sit in her chair. The event took place between the employer and the employee in the house.

She plays a negative role by showing a negative attitude in instructing her Black employee in Afrikaans not to use her chair.

Story 13

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and his Black employee.

He shouted at his Black employee in Afrikaans, denying him promotion. The main role players are the employer and the employee. The event took place in the workplace between the employer and the employee.

The Afrikaans-speaking boss also played a negative role by revealing a negative attitude in shouting at his Black employee in Afrikaans, denying him promotion.

Story 14

The Afrikaans-speaking boss and the Black job seeker.

He intentionally used Afrikaans to interview the Black job seeker. The main characters are the employer and the employee. The event took place between the employer and the employee in the workplace.

Here again he played a negative role by revealing a negative attitude in intentionally using Afrikaans to interview the Black job seeker.

The 14 stories that respondents told about their experiences with Afrikaans indicated a negative attitude towards Afrikaans. The stories were about relationships between employer and employee.

The implications of all the interview results indicate that the respondents are negative towards Afrikaans.

Majority of responses clearly answer the researcher's questions about the attitude of the Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans.

4.3 Summary

Chapter 4 analysed and interpreted newspaper articles. It mentioned the two newspapers that were used for analysis and interpretation, namely, the Sowetan and City Press. Keywords were listed, analysed and interpreted. Interview results were also interpreted as follows:

100% of respondents were from Hammanskraal. 60% of male respondents and 40% of female respondents participated. Even the free-born respondents had negative attitudes towards Afrikaans.

The following age groups of respondents took part:

18-35 years (young people)

36-46 years (middle-aged people)

47 years and above (older people)

60% of respondents spoke Setswana

1.7% of respondents spoke Isindebele

3.3% of respondents spoke Isizulu

18.3% of respondents spoke Sepedi

16.7% of respondents spoke Xitsonga

16.7% of respondents attended primary school

80.0% of respondents attended secondary school

1.7% of respondents attended Further Education and Training College

1.7% of respondents attended university

The response to the statement “Afrikaans should be offered as a subject at school” clearly showed that the majority of respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans as they disagreed with the statement.

The response to the statement “I would consider sending my children to an Afrikaans school” also indicated that respondents, who disagreed with the statement, have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

The response to the statement “The existence of Afrikaans has contributed to the development of South Africa” revealed that many respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is a fast-growing language” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by also disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “When someone addresses me in Afrikaans I ignore him/her” revealed that most respondents (who agreed with the statement) have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans.

The response to the statement “I would never consider reading anything in Afrikaans” also indicated that majority of respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Knowledge in Afrikaans is helpful in running a business” indicated that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “When I hear an Afrikaans song on radio I switch to another station” also showed that many respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is an important South African language” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor” showed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by agreeing with the statement.

The response to the statement “Knowledge of Afrikaans is useful when looking for a job” also revealed that respondents have a negative attitude towards Afrikaans by disagreeing with the statement.

Stories told by respondents were given attention. They revealed negative attitudes of Afrikaans speaking bosses towards black people.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

On the basis of responses to the interview questions, there seems to be no change in the attitude towards Afrikaans, at least as regards the respondents from Hammanskraal. Possible reasons are the severe impact of apartheid policies on Black people and the negative attitude of the *Boeremag* towards them. The introduction of Afrikaans in 1976 as the medium of instruction in Black schools played a major role in forming this attitude. The reconciliation brought by the 1994 elections brought some hope of peace and the impact of the new South Africa, particularly the acceptance of the new Constitution, also brought some hope of forgiveness. The interview responses indicated the clash of cultures between Black people and Afrikaans-speaking people: this also affected attitudes to language. Interviews, stories and newspaper articles helped me to answer the research question by revealing the attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans.

This explorative, qualitative study examined the attitude of the Black people of Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans. The study also examined the role that Afrikaans played in this attitude. Qualitative research methodology, which is basically used to explore and understand people's beliefs, attitudes and behaviour as well as interactions, was employed in the research.

The following key concepts were identified by the researcher: culture, behaviour, language and attitude. The significance of the role that attitudes play in language education, planning and development was examined, and this thesis also investigated the importance of language policy and the dimensions of language planning. The historical overview was also examined.

The following four functions that have important implications for attitude change were investigated: the instrumental function, the ego-defensive function, the value-expressive function and the knowledge function. This thesis also paid attention to the classical conditioning, reinforcement and operant conditioning, human modelling, consistency and self-justification, age changes, dramatic experience, community effects, parental effects, peer group effects, instrumental effects, mass media effects, rituals and situational effects.

The two theoretical approaches relevant to the study of language attitudes, namely, the behaviourist view and the mentalist view, were examined. The cognitive component, the effective component and the action or conative component, which are the main components of attitudes, were addressed in detail.

Chapter 1 introduced the research topic, describing how the attitude of Black people in Hammanskraal towards Afrikaans was to be researched from the period 1994 to 2016. Research questions were outlined. The rationale was also briefly looked at and the objectives of the research were highlighted. Chapter outlines were briefly indicated.

Chapter 2 paid specific attention to the literature review and discussed the following aspects: analysis and interpretation of literature, language attitudes, language planning and language policy, historical overview and definition of concepts.

Chapter 3 focused on the research design and methodology, outlining data collection methods in detail. In this regard the researcher employed the following data collection methods: structured interviews, newspapers and stories told by respondents. The researcher interviewed 60 respondents, male and female, young people, middle-aged people and old people, using a sample of convenience. Narrative analysis and content analysis as methods of analysis were employed by the researcher in this chapter.

Chapter 4 listed keywords from newspaper articles, analysed and interpreted them by using conceptual content analysis, relational content analysis and interpretive content analysis. Stories that were told by respondents were also presented and interpreted. The chapter introduced the two newspapers that were used for analysis and interpretation, namely, the Sowetan and City Press. Interview results were also interpreted.

In conclusion, the findings of this study, together with the literature that has been consulted, indicate that it is important to research language attitudes. The findings could contribute significantly in informing policy decisions.

5.2 Recommendations

The researcher hopes that there will be other researchers who will embark on this type of research and take it further. It is therefore recommended that further research be conducted in the following areas:

- The attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans in the rest of South Africa
- The attitude of Afrikaans-speaking people towards African languages
- The attitude of Black people towards African languages that are not their home languages

It is also recommended that the National Language Service of the National Department of Arts and Culture should play a leading role in addressing this negative attitude towards Afrikaans by using its language policy to promote:

- the equitable use of the 11 official languages;
- multilingualism;
- language rights as required by a democratic dispensation;
- monitor government language structures;
- guide the establishment of language units, draft, review or finalise provincial language policies and facilitate annual language awareness campaigns;
- encourage people to use their own languages and learn other languages;
- create awareness of the benefit of living in a multilingual society;
- create awareness of the value of South Africa's linguistic diversity;
- promote greater language tolerance in South Africa, and
- ensure correct understanding of the Constitution.

The new language policy should also be used to emancipate the Black languages to the level of Afrikaans as internationally respected modern language of culture and science. Attitude change should be made more favourable by the suitable arrangement of reward. Institutional and individual reinforcement should be required for favourable language attitude to be fostered. It is further recommended that the National Department of Basic Education should also make sure that this negative attitude towards Afrikaans is addressed satisfactorily through its language in education policy to:

- promote multilingualism;
- develop the official languages;
- promote respect for all languages used in the country;
- facilitate communication across the barriers of colour, language and religion, and to
- support the teaching and learning of all other languages required by learners or used by communities in South Africa.

It is also further recommended that the Pan South African Language Board should contribute in addressing this negative attitude towards Afrikaans by:

- raising awareness;
- creating conditions for the development of and the equal use of all official languages;
- preventing the use of any language for the purposes of exploitation, domination or division;
- non-diminution of rights relating to language and the status of languages existing at the commencement of the Constitution;
- the extension of those rights relating to the language and the status of languages which at the commencement of the Constitution were restricted to certain regions;
- investigating complaints about language rights violations from any individual, organisation or institution;
- conducting hearings and making recommendations;
- conducting research;
- fostering respect for and encouraging the use of other languages in the country, and by
- encouraging the best use of the country's linguistic resources.

The researcher recommends that White Afrikaans-speaking people should be made aware of the significant influence their verbal and non-verbal communication could have on the attitude of Black people towards Afrikaans.

Governmental bodies should develop plans to implement the language policies and develop all relevant languages to the higher level.

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Interviews

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Structured Interview

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APPENDIX

City Press October 24 2004. Many Whites still cherish apartheid. P.20

City Press October 24 2004. Racism exists in judiciary. P.20

Sowetan October 27 2004. Bomb meant for Mandela. P.2

Sunday Times January 9 2005. ANC threatens judges. P.1

The Citizen May 5 2009. *Boeremag* treason trial is the most expensive in SA's history. P. 4

Statistics

| | | V1: Do you live in Hammanskraal? | V2: What is your gender? |
|---|---------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| N | Valid | 60 | 60 |
| | Missing | 0 | 0 |

Frequency Table

V1: Do you live in Hammanskraal?

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Yes | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V2: What is your gender?

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Male | 36 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 |
| Female | 24 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Statistics

V3: What is your age?

| | | |
|----------------|---------|--------|
| N | Valid | 60 |
| | Missing | 0 |
| Mean | | 40.63 |
| Std. Deviation | | 12.952 |
| Minimum | | 18 |
| Maximum | | 70 |

V3: What is your age?

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid 18 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| 19 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.3 |
| 20 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 6.7 |
| 22 | 3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 11.7 |
| 23 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 13.3 |
| 24 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 16.7 |
| 25 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 18.3 |
| 26 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 20.0 |
| 28 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 23.3 |
| 31 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 25.0 |
| 32 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 26.7 |
| 33 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 30.0 |
| 34 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 33.3 |
| 36 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 35.0 |

| | | | | |
|-------|----|-------|-------|-------|
| 38 | 5 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 43.3 |
| 39 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 45.0 |
| 40 | 4 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 51.7 |
| 41 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 53.3 |
| 42 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 55.0 |
| 43 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 58.3 |
| 44 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 60.0 |
| 45 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 61.7 |
| 46 | 3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 66.7 |
| 48 | 4 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 73.3 |
| 49 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 75.0 |
| 51 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 76.7 |
| 52 | 3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 81.7 |
| 54 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 85.0 |
| 55 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 88.3 |
| 58 | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 91.7 |
| 59 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 93.3 |
| 61 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 95.0 |
| 62 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 96.7 |
| 65 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 98.3 |
| 70 | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Statistics

Vr_r: Age groups

| | | |
|---|---------|----|
| N | Valid | 60 |
| | Missing | 0 |

Vr_r: Age groups

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid 18-35 years | 20 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 33.3 |
| 36-46 years | 20 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 66.7 |
| 47 years and older | 20 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Statistics

| | N | |
|---|-------|---------|
| | Valid | Missing |
| V4: What is your home language? | 60 | 0 |
| V5: Highest educational level | 60 | 0 |
| V6.1: With which language group(s) do you associate the following Acts? Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act | 60 | 0 |
| V6.2: Separate Universities Act | 60 | 0 |
| V6.3: Bantu Authorities Act | 60 | 0 |
| V6.4: Bantu Education Act | 60 | 0 |
| V7: Do you make use of Afrikaans (speak, read, write)? | 60 | 0 |
| V8: If yes to the previous question, please indicate under what circumstances | 0 | 60 |
| V9.1: Please answer each of the following questions: Knowledge of Afrikaans helps me to understand people of other cultures | 60 | 0 |
| V9.2: Afrikaans should be offered as a subject at school | 60 | 0 |
| V9.3: I would consider sending my children to an Afrikaans school | 60 | 0 |
| V9.4: The existence of Afrikaans has contributed to the development of South Africa | 60 | 0 |
| V9.5: Afrikaans is a fast-growing language | 60 | 0 |
| V9.6: When someone addresses me in Afrikaans I ignore him/her | 60 | 0 |
| V9.7: I would never consider reading anything in Afrikaans | 60 | 0 |
| V9.8: Knowledge in Afrikaans is helpful in running a business | 60 | 0 |

| | | |
|--|----|---|
| V9.9: When I hear an Afrikaans song on radio I switch to another station | 60 | 0 |
| V9.10: Afrikaans is an important South African language | 60 | 0 |
| V9.11: Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor | 60 | 0 |
| V9.12: Knowledge of Afrikaans is useful when looking for a job | 60 | 0 |

Frequency Table

V4: What is your home language?

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Setswana | 36 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 60.0 |
| Isindebele | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 61.7 |
| Isizulu | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 65.0 |
| Sepedi | 11 | 18.3 | 18.3 | 83.3 |
| Xitsonga | 10 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V5: Highest educational level

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Primary school | 10 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 16.7 |
| Secondary school | 48 | 80.0 | 80.0 | 96.7 |
| FET College | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 98.3 |
| University | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

**V6.1: With which language group(s) do you associate the following Acts?
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act**

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Afrikaans | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V6.2: Separate Universities Act

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Afrikaans | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V6.3: Bantu Authorities Act

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Afrikaans | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V6.4: Bantu Education Act

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Afrikaans | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V7: Do you make use of Afrikaans (speak, read, write)?

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid No | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V8: If yes to the previous question, please indicate under what circumstances

| | Frequency | Percent |
|---------|-----------|---------|
| Missing | 60 | 100.0 |

V9.1: Please answer each of the following questions: Knowledge of Afrikaans helps me to understand people of other cultures

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 58 | 96.7 | 96.7 | 96.7 |
| Agree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 98.3 |
| Strongly agree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.2: Afrikaans should be offered as a subject at school

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 55 | 91.7 | 91.7 | 91.7 |
| Agree | 3 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 96.7 |
| Strongly agree | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.3: I would consider sending my children to an Afrikaans school

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V9.4: The existence of Afrikaans has contributed to the development of South Africa

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 59 | 98.3 | 98.3 | 98.3 |
| Agree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.5: Afrikaans is a fast growing language

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V9.6: When someone addresses me in Afrikaans I ignore him/her

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| Disagree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 3.3 |
| Strongly agree | 58 | 96.7 | 96.7 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.7: I would never consider reading anything in Afrikaans

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Disagree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 1.7 |
| Strongly agree | 59 | 98.3 | 98.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.8: Knowledge in Afrikaans is helpful in running a business

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V9.9: When I hear an Afrikaans song on radio I switch to another station

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 2 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Disagree | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 5.0 |
| Neutral | 1 | 1.7 | 1.7 | 6.7 |
| Strongly agree | 56 | 93.3 | 93.3 | 100.0 |
| Total | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

V9.10: Afrikaans is an important South African language

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V9.11: Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly agree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

V9.12: Knowledge of Afrikaans is useful when looking for a job

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid Strongly disagree | 60 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

1. Do you live in Hammanskraal?

| | | | |
|-----------|---|----|---|
| Yes 60 | 1 | No | 2 |
|-----------|---|----|---|

Section A

2. What is your gender?

| | | | |
|------------|---|--------------|---|
| Male 36 | 1 | Female 24 | 2 |
|------------|---|--------------|---|

3. What is your age? _____ Years

4. What is your home language?

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| Setswana | 1 36 |
| Sesotho | 2 |
| Isindebele | 3 1 |
| Tshivenda | 4 |
| Isizulu | 5 2 |
| Sepedi | 6 11 |
| IsiXhosa | 7 |
| Xitsonga | 8 10 |
| Siswati | 9 |
| Other (specify) | 10 |
| | |

5. Educational level

| Did you attend | Yes | No |
|------------------|-----|----|
| No schooling | 1 | 2 |
| Primary school | 1 | 2 |
| Secondary school | 10 | |
| FET College | 1 | 2 |
| University | 48 | |
| | 1 1 | 2 |
| | 1 1 | 2 |

Section B

6. With which language group(s) do you associate the following Acts?

| | I don't know | English | Afrikaans | No group in particular |
|------------------------------------|--------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|
| Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act | 1 0 | 2 0 | 3 60 | 4 0 |
| Separate Universities Act | 1 0 | 2 0 | 3 60 | 4 0 |
| Bantu Authorities Act | 1 0 | 2 0 | 3 60 | 4 0 |
| Bantu Education Act | 1 0 | 2 0 | 3 60 | 4 0 |

7. Do you make use of Afrikaans (speak, read, write)?

| | | | |
|-----|---|----|---|
| Yes | 1 | No | 2 |
| | | 60 | |

8. If yes to the previous question, please indicate under what circumstances?

| | Yes | No |
|-------------------------------------|-----|----|
| When shopping | 1 | 2 |
| When making use of public transport | 1 | 2 |
| At school | 1 | 2 |
| At funerals | 1 | 2 |
| At work | 1 | 2 |
| On the sport field | 1 | 2 |
| When relaxing with friends | 1 | 2 |
| Other please (specify) | 1 | 2 |
| | 1 | 2 |

9. Please answer each of the following questions:

| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly agree |
|---|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| Knowledge of Afrikaans helps me to understand people of other cultures | 1 58 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 1 | 5 1 |
| Afrikaans should be offered as a subject at school | 1 56 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 2 | 5 2 |
| I would consider sending my children to an Afrikaans school | 1 60 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 0 |
| The existence of Afrikaans has contributed to the development of South Africa | 1 59 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 1 | 5 0 |
| Afrikaans is a fast growing language | 1 60 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 0 |
| When someone addresses me in Afrikaans I ignore him/her | 1 1 | 2 1 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 58 |
| I would never consider reading anything in Afrikaans | 1 0 | 2 1 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 59 |
| Knowledge of Afrikaans is helpful in running a business | 1 60 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 0 |
| When I hear an Afrikaans song on radio I switch to another station | 1 2 | 2 1 | 3 1 | 4 0 | 5 56 |
| Afrikaans is an important South African language | 1 60 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 0 |
| Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor | 1 0 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 60 |
| Knowledge of Afrikaans is useful when looking for a job | 1 60 | 2 0 | 3 0 | 4 0 | 5 0 |

10. Tell me your life story regarding your experiences with Afrikaans at home, school, university and in everyday life.

Story 1

“When I was looking for a job, the Afrikaans-speaking boss forced me to speak Afrikaans. He told me to Mandela to look for a job. I was inside his house”.

Story 2

“My boss used Afrikaans to discriminate against me. She used Afrikaans to refuse to allow me to go home. I was inside her house”.

Story 3

“My boss used Afrikaans to keep my identity document. He also used Afrikaans to shout at me and threw the identity document to me”.

Story 4

“My boss used Afrikaans to refuse to pay me. She harassed me in Afrikaans and tried to kill me with her car. I was inside the yard”.

Story 5

“My boss used Afrikaans to accuse me of a bad smell. I was inside his house”.

Story 6

“My boss shouted at me in Afrikaans not to sit in front seat of her car but to climb into the back of the car”.

Story 7

“My boss instructed me in Afrikaans not to use her toilet”.

Story 8

“My boss used Afrikaans to fire me because my hair was long. I was inside his house”.

Story 9

“My boss used Afrikaans to give me tea without milk. I was inside his house”.

Story 10

“My boss used Afrikaans to tell me that there is nothing I can do to him for treating me badly. I was inside his house”.

Story 11

“My boss screamed at me in Afrikaans not to mix my clothes with theirs. I was inside her house”.

Story 12

“My boss instructed me in Afrikaans not to sit in her chair. I was inside her house”.

Story 13

“My boss shouted at me in Afrikaans to deny me promotion. We were in the workplace”.

Story 14

“The Afrikaans-speaking boss intentionally used Afrikaans to interview me. We were in the workplace”.