

CHAPTER 4

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 focused attention on factors to be considered in the choice and design of a research instrument, on the nature of the data being gathered, on statistical procedures implemented to obtain, validate, and interpret the data, as well as a discussion of the application of the research instrument in the field. Chapter 4 will reveal the results obtained by the research instrument of choice, namely the questionnaire of which the purpose was to provide a sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

Wolck (1986:36) says with regard to language policy, that it is now standard procedure to check out the target's population's expectations and desires before making any final plans or major decisions.

Wolck warns against the danger of over-emphasising technical representativeness. He says the following in this regard:

[...] we need to accept that unless the characteristics of the sample can be extrapolated to the population within measurable and acceptable confidence limits (which are related to sample size), it is likely to be representative only in a non-technical sense. However, there seems to be little point in aiming for technical representativeness in the face of diminishing analytical returns [...]. An extreme example of this effect is Houck's work (1968), where we find a meticulous account of a technically acceptable random sampling procedure but no subsequent linguistic analysis at all (Milroy 1987:22).

As was pointed out in Chapter 3, par. 3.5.1, this research project was undertaken with a small sample size, minimal financial resources, and within a limited time-frame. Due to these limitations, technical representativeness was not expected, but the results of this research project can represent an example of the kind of information that should be considered when engaging in the process of local language planning and policy formulation. Although limited to sociolinguistic information pertaining to Atteridgeville and Mamelodi, it provides guidelines as to

which issues should receive attention when embarking on language audits of the other areas under the jurisdiction of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. Similar language audits thus need to be undertaken to provide a linguistic profile representative of the whole area. The results can additionally be used to make certain projections, especially in terms of the likely acceptance by this part of the population of language-related decisions made by the Council regarding the extent and range of the utilisation of indigenous languages.

4.2 Procedure

The chronological order of questions posed by the questionnaire (see Appendix A) will not necessarily be followed in this discussion. Results will be relayed in the order dictated by their relevance to the discussion at that stage. The questions will, however, be clearly identified throughout the discussion of the results. The results will be presented in tabular format, and where relevant, the results of various questions will be combined in a single table. Discussions will revolve around intra- and inter-tabular results.

As was pointed out in 3.5.4, dimensions of variation (or variables) within a community are either dependent, or independent. Characterising variables as dependent or independent depends on each individual research study. In this case, the following independent variables were identified: Age, gender, home language, education, employment status and residential status. It has been said that the purpose of the research project was to establish to which extent the independent variables (personal/demographic data) mentioned above have an influence on dependent variables. Dependent variables in this research project are be characterised as the languages spoken in the areas under investigation, language competence, language preference, situational contexts these languages are used in, and the perceived status of the respective languages.

Discussion of the results will therefore be preceded by a breakdown of the demographical characteristics (independent variables) of the sample group, as these dictate the introduction of the dependent variables identified for the purposes of this research project.

4.3 Results

Please note:

- (a) Mamelodi and Atteridgeville will occasionally be abbreviated as "M" and "A" respectively.
- (b) The respective languages have been abbreviated as follows: Afrikaans = "Afr", English = "Eng", Ndebele = "Nde", Northern Sotho = "NS", Southern Sotho = "SS", Swazi = "Swa", Tsonga = "Tso", Tswana = "Tsw", Venda = "Ven", Xhosa = "Xho", and Zulu = "Zul".
- (c) "N" denotes "number of", i.e. number of respondents, or language options.
- (d) All decimals have been rounded off, except for values less than 1.

4.3.1 Basic demographical information

As a matter of interest, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council's (formerly known as the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Council) official website reveals that the metropolitan area as we know it today was founded in the 1880's in the area known today as the Central Area of Pretoria. The Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Area (GPMA) was the name given to the large jurisdictional area of approximately 130,000 ha on the north-western side of the Gauteng province. The GPMA in 1996 had an estimated population of 1,48 million people, representing 21% of the population of Gauteng. Initial development of Atteridgeville only commenced in the 1940's and today has an estimated population of 44,756. Mamelodi was developed during the 1950's and today has an estimated population of 174,661. The Demarcation Board's website reveals that the population of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council consists of 68% Africans, 28% whites, 2% coloureds, 1% Indian, and 1% "other".

The following tables show the results of questions formulated to obtain the demographical characteristics (independent variables) of the sample group, and will be followed by a discussion of the implications of these results, where applicable.

Table 4.1 Place of residence (Q1)

SAMPLE	RESIDENTS TOTAL (N)	TOTAL SAMPLE (N)	SAMPLE %
Mamelodi	174,565	150	50
Atteridgeville	46,127	150	50
Grand Total		300	100

Source: Statistics SA

Table 4.1 serves as confirmation of the sample size and sampling procedure as discussed in 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 respectively.

Table 4.2 Gender (Q2)

GENDER	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Female	65	61	189	63
Male	35	39	111	37
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

According to Census 1996 (Source: Statistics SA), the actual combined population of Atteridgeville and Mamelodi comprises of 52% male and 48% female residents. The sample, however, comprises of 63% female and 37% male respondents. The reasons for the obvious discrepancy might be related to the typical "township" scenario where men are forced by circumstances to find work away from home to support their families. These men return to their families during their annual leave cycles, or over weekends. Women might also be working outside the township areas, for example as domestic workers, and only return home at night after they had finished working. They, however, permanently reside in the specific area, whereas the men might visit occasionally. Those men, or women, not permanently residing in the relevant households were therefore not taken into account by the sampling protocol.

Table 4.3 Age distribution (Q3)

AGE (years)	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
16-19	12	21	50	17
20-24	19	23	62	21
25-29	12	11	34	11
30-39	23	17	60	20
40-49	15	15	45	15
50-59	11	7	27	9
60+	8	5	20	7
Grand Total	100	100	298	100

Frequency missing: M = 1, A = 1

Table 4.3 indicates the number of respondents counted within each age group interval in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville respectively, as well as the overall totals in terms of age group intervals. Two respondents declined to answer this question. These results compare well with the results of Census 1996 (Source: Statistics SA), for example the fact that the majority of the actual combined population of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville was between the ages of 30 and 49 (29%), whereas 35% of the sample group reported the same age. Census 1996 found that 25% of the combined population was between the ages of 5 and 19. This sample group, however, only comprised of respondents older than 16 years of age who were though capable of understanding the questionnaire (17%). Census 1996 reported that 23% of the combined population is between the ages of 20 and 29, where this sample group indicated that 32% of the respondents were between the ages 20-29. Despite the differing age intervals, it could be deduced that the sample group is a relatively fair reflection of the actual population.

The initial selection of age groups was based upon considerations that will be revealed in the discussion that follows:

The majority of the sample group falls in the 20-24 years age group (21%), followed closely by 20% in the 30-39 years age group. The 20-24 years age group represents individuals who are furthering their education, or who are entrants to the labour market. They have completed their schooling in the transitional period characterised by political turmoil and uncertainty as the previous government made way for the first democratically elected government.

The 30-39 years age group represents a group of respondents who under ideal circumstances would have settled into a permanent career and have attained their personal goals. Most of them might have been hampered in their goals by the politics practiced by the previous government.

17% of the respondents are in the 16-19 year age group, representing respondents who are nearing the end of their school career, and who are perhaps contemplating their future in the labour market. Some might already be enrolled at tertiary institutions, while others might be directly seeking employment in the labour market. They represent the generation that had least been disadvantaged by the country's socio-political past.

15% of the sample group falls in the 40-49 years age bracket. These respondents represent individuals who are nearing their retirement age, and who might be concerned over provisions made for retirement. They might also be reflecting on policies followed in the past that directly influenced the attainment of their personal goals and thus they might have hopes and aspirations for the progress of younger generations.

The 25-29 years age group, representing 11% of the sample group, are individuals who are working towards the realisation of their personal goals. Their lives have to a greater extent been influenced by apartheid politics followed by the previous government than the younger groups.

9% of the sample group falls in the 50-59 years age group, representing individuals who might have already retired, or who are to retire shortly. The 60+ years age group representing 7% of the sample group, are individuals who in general might have retired a few years ago, and who might have the practical experience some of the younger groups might lack, but who do not necessarily keep up with modern trends in terms of socio-political change and the nature and realisation of personal goals. They, along with most of the older groups, represent generations who had spent most of their lives under the apartheid government.

When comparing the age group intervals of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, it follows that 43% of the respondents in Mamelodi are under 30 years of age, whereas 55% of respondents in Atteridgeville are under the age of 30. It should thus be noted that Atteridgeville consists of a population where the majority of the respondents are relatively young. This difference comes to the foreground specifically with regard to the 16-19 years age group interval where there are 14 more respondents to be found in Atteridgeville when compared to Mamelodi, whereas 10 more older respondents in Mamelodi are to be found in the 30-39 years age group interval than in Atteridgeville.



Table 4.4 How long have you been living in this area? (Q5)

RESIDENTIAL STATUS (years)	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
0-1	7	1	11	4
2-5	22	3	37	12
6-10	16	4	30	10
11-19	15	27	64	21
20+	40	65	157	53
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: M = 1

Table 4.4 reflects possible migration trends, and the majority of the total sample group, 53%, indicated that they have been living in their respective areas for more than 20 years. This fact might have positive implications for the validity of the sociolinguistic profile in terms of questions relying on the respondents' sociolinguistic knowledge of the areas in question.

From the results it can be deduced that the residents of Atteridgeville are more inclined to remain in that area for longer periods of time than is the case in Mamelodi. The figures indicate that 92% of the respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville had been living there for more than 10 years, whereas 55% of the respondents in Mamelodi have been living there for more than 10 years. Atteridgeville therefore seems to be more stable in terms of migrational volatility. This fact, however, might not be of major importance, since the majority of the sample group still report to have been living in their respective areas for longer than 20 years.

Table 4.5 Level of education (Q7)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
No education	5	1	10	3
Grade 1	1	0	1	0.3
Grade 2	1	0	1	0.3
Grade 3	1	0	2	1
Grade 4	1	0	2	1
Grade 5	2	2	6	2
Grade 6	1	2	5	2
Grade 7	6	5	16	5
Grade 8	7	9	25	8
Grade 9	7	2	13	4
Grade 10	12	9	32	11
Grade 11	11	9	29	10
Grade 12	25	27	79	26
Tertiary	19	33	79	26
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

Table 4.5 indicates that 3% of the total sample group is without formal education, 5% attained the highest primary school qualification, 26% is in possession of the highest secondary school qualification, and another 26% reports to have tertiary education, or is in the process of gaining a tertiary qualification. Respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville, in comparison to Mamelodi, have the least number of respondents reporting to be without formal education, and the highest number of respondents reporting to have tertiary qualifications. This corresponds with the fact that there are more elderly people in the Mamelodi area who might not have had the same educational opportunities or aspirations as the younger generations, of which the majority is to be found in Atteridgeville.

Table 4.6 Level of education (Summary)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Primary	19	10	43	14
Secondary	62	57	178	59
Tertiary	19	33	79	26
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

The results of Census 1996 (Source: Statistics SA) revealed that 50% of the total population of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville completed secondary school. Table 4.6 reveals that the majority of the respondents, 59% out of the total of 300, had attempted to complete secondary school. 44% of those respondents continued with tertiary education, representing 26% of

the overall total, of which 5% managed to complete their tertiary education according to the results of Census 1996.

Table 4.7 Religious distribution (Q6)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	M%	A%	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Other Christian	29	12	61	20
Lutheran	14	20	51	17
Z.C.C.	15	14	43	14
Roman Catholic	11	12	35	12
Anglican	6	12	27	9
Dutch Reformed	5	8	20	7
Apostolic	7	7	22	7
Methodist	3	5	11	4
Nederduits Hervormd	2	3	8	3
No religion	3	3	10	3
Presbyterian	3	1	5	2
Full Gospel	1	2	5	2
African Independent	1	0	1	0
Congregational	0	0	0	0
Jewish	0	0	0	0
Islam	0	1	1	0
Hindu	0	0	0	0
Other non-Christian	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

Table 4.7 shows the different religious denominations and the number of respondents affiliated to the respective denominations. These denominations were obtained from the census survey conducted in 1991, and from the results it is clear that these options did not cover all the denominations in an effective way, since the majority of this sample group (20%) reported to be affiliated to "Other Christian" denominations not specified here. According to the SAIRR's SA Survey 1997/98, the largest grouping of "Other Christian" churches are the African Independent Churches, and one of the most dramatic aspects of religious affiliation has been the rise of this movement that had originally resulted from a number of breakaways from various mission churches. Respondents might not, however, be aware that their churches in fact are considered to be "African Independent Churches".

Especially with regard to Mamelodi this seemed to be a problem, since the majority of Mamelodi's respondents (29%) indicated that they were affiliated to "Other Christian" denominations, followed by respondents affiliated to the Z.C.C. denomination with 15%. The majority of

Atteridgeville's respondents were members of the Lutheran church (20%), followed by 14% reporting to be Z.C.C. members.

Since the Mamelodi respondents are on average older than those in Atteridgeville, it might be possible that "Other Christian" denominations are the more traditional religions still practiced by some people in rural areas that still might be practiced by a few urbanised residents. As had been stated above, "Other Christian" denominations could in actual fact be "African Independent Churches", which the SAIRR's SA Survey 1997/98 stated, had developed as a result of people finding themselves in a transitional phase somewhere between traditional African religion and Christianity. The reason for ascertaining religious affiliation is to establish whether links exist between certain denominations and home language, as will be discussed at a later stage, and to determine which languages are active in the religious domain.

Table 4.8 Home language (Q4)

HOME LANGUAGE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
NS	41	39	120	40
Tsw	13	27	59	20
Zul	21	13	51	17
Nde	13	3	25	8
Tso	3	5	11	4
Swa	5	2	10	3
Ven	2	5	10	3
SS	1	4	7	2
Afr	1	1	2	1
Eng	1	1	2	1
Xho	0	2	3	1
Other	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

Since it could not be assumed that the first language that a respondent had learnt as a child would be that respondent's home language, it was asked what language the respondent grew up with. To assume that the first language of contact would be a respondent's home language, would exclude factors such as residential status and personal circumstances. For the purposes of this research project, the language the respondent grew up with will be regarded as the respondent's home language, since that would be the language the respondent had been exposed to most, and that would probably be the language through which initial cognitive development took place.

As a matter of interest, and in order to indicate to what extent the home language profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville differs from the national picture, the following information was derived from South Africa Yearbook 2000-2001, based upon the results of Census 1996:

Zulu is the mother-tongue of 22,9% of the South African population, followed by 17,9% Xhosa, 14,4% Afrikaans, 9,2% Northern Sotho, and 8,6% English.

Table 4.8 indicates that Northern Sotho is by far the language that can be characterised as being the home language of the majority of the respondents (40%) residing in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. This fact was taken into consideration where language combinations had to be created in order to define and report on some of the results in a meaningful manner. Tswana, with 20%, and Zulu with 17% are the other two important home languages. The main differences between Mamelodi and Atteridgeville are with regard to Tswana and Zulu. 13% of the respondents reported to have grown up with Tswana in Mamelodi, whereas 27% reported to have grown up with Tswana in Atteridgeville. The opposite is true with regard to Zulu, where 21% of the respondents in Mamelodi reported to have grown up with Zulu, whereas 13% had indicated Zulu in Atteridgeville.

Table 4.9 First language (Q10)

FIRST CONTACT LANGUAGE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
NS	40	43	124	41
Tsw	14	22	54	18
Zul	21	14	52	17
Nde	13	3	24	8
Tso	3	6	14	5
Ven	2	4	9	3
SS	1	4	7	2
Swa	5	0	7	2
Afr	1	1	4	1
Eng	0	1	2	1
Xho	0	1	2	1
Other	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: A = 1

As explained above, the first language that a respondent learnt will not be regarded as that respondent's home language, but rather the language the

respondent grew up with. Table 4.9, however, does not seem to reflect major differences between the reported home languages and first languages. The three main home languages identified in Table 4.8 remain in the exact same order in this table, being Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu. Interestingly enough, the most important difference seems to be a minor movement away from Northern Sotho (1%), in terms of respondents that first learnt Northern Sotho but grew up with another language, a more noticeable shift towards Tswana (2%) in terms of respondents who grew up with Tswana, but learnt another language first. Zulu remained exactly the same with 17%, thus it might follow that respondents representing the Zulu group are not inclined to replace their language with another. In terms of first language, Census 1996 (Source: Statistics SA) confirms the order stated above, namely that Northern Sotho (50%) is the first language of the majority of the residents, followed by Tswana (15%), then Zulu (10%).

Table 4.10 Religious affiliation by home language

RELIGION	HOME LANGUAGE														TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	NS %	TSW %	ZUL %	NDE %	TSO %	SWA %	VEN %	SS %	XHO %	AFR %	ENG %					
Other Christian	17	10	33	28	27	50	20	0	33	0	0	0	61	20		
Z.C.C.	16	17	16	8	18	0	10	14	0	0	0	0	43	14		
Lutheran	21	20	12	16	9	20	10	0	0	0	0	0	51	17		
Roman Catholic	11	8	10	12	9	10	20	29	0	50	100	100	35	12		
Dutch Reformed	7	10	8	0	0	10	10	0	0	0	0	0	20	7		
Apostolic Faith Mission	6	5	8	24	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	22	7		
Methodist	3	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	11	4		
Anglican	12	15	4	4	0	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	27	9		
Nederduits Hervormd	1	2	2	4	9	0	10	29	0	0	0	0	8	3		
Presbyterian	3	0	2	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2		
No Religion	4	2	2	0	9	0	10	0	0	50	0	0	10	3		
African Independent.	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
Full Gospel	2	0	0	4	9	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	5	2		
Islamic	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0		
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100		

Table 4.10 indicates the distribution of religious affiliation amongst the various home language groups. As was discussed above, the three home languages that reported the highest number of respondents out of a total of 300 are Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu. 21% of the Northern Sotho group indicated that they were affiliated to the Lutheran church, while 17% reported to belong to Other Christian denominations. 20% of the Tswana group is Lutheran, followed by 17% affiliated to the Z.C.C.

Of the Zulu-speaking respondents, 33% is affiliated to Other Christian denominations, with 16% being members of the Z.C.C. When taking into consideration that 14% overall reported to be members of the Z.C.C, and 20% indicated that they were affiliated to Other Christian denominations, it becomes clear that the Zulu-speaking respondents on average report a higher degree of affiliation to the Z.C.C and Other Christian denominations than other groups with 16% and 33% respectively.

That 33% of the Zulu-speaking respondents belonging to Other Christian denominations, corresponds with a previous assumption regarding the Zulu-speaking respondents' culture, namely that Zulu-speaking respondents are less inclined to replace their language with another (Table 4.9). The above-mentioned above-average religious affiliation to Other Christian denominations might be seen as a further possible indication that the Zulu-speaking respondents are more inclined to preserve traditional values.

Table 4.11 Employment status (Q8)

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Unemployed	33	15	72	24
Full time	20	27	70	23
School	11	19	45	15
Student	10	20	45	15
Part time	8	6	21	7
Pension/Can't work	9	5	20	7
House wife	5	8	19	6
Self-Employed	4	1	7	2
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: M = 1

Table 4.11 indicates that the majority of the respondents reports to be either unemployed (24%), or employed full time (23%). Census 1996 (Source: Statistics SA) reported a matching 24% of residents being unemployed in the combined areas of residence, and 41% being employed full/part time. By implication, 32% of the sample group reported to be employed full/part time. 20% of the respondents residing in Mamelodi reports to be working full time, whereas 27% is employed full time in Atteridgeville. A huge discrepancy, however, exists with regard to the unemployed status reported by the sample group, where 33% of Mamelodi's respondents reported to be unemployed, whereas only 15% indicated the same in Atteridgeville. This corresponds with what was

pointed out previously, namely that respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville, in comparison to Mamelodi, have the least number of respondents reporting to be without formal education (Table 4.5), and the highest number of respondents reporting to have tertiary qualifications. This, in turn, again corresponds with the fact that there are more elderly people in the Mamelodi area (Table 4.3) who might not have had the same educational opportunities or aspirations as the younger generations, of which the majority is to be found in Atteridgeville. Given the above-mentioned results, it might be fair to assume that a general link seems to exist between unemployment, age, and level of education - the older the respondent, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of unemployment.

Table 4.12 Employment status by home language

EMPLOYMENT STATUS	HOME LANGUAGE													TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	AFR %	ENG %	NDE %	NS %	SS %	SWA %	TSO %	TSW %	VEN %	XHO %	ZUL %				
Unemployed	0	0	42	26	14	20	18	22	0	0	25	72	24		
Full time	100	100	13	22	43	0	45	20	40	33	24	70	23		
School	0	0	4	18	14	20	0	19	20	67	10	45	15		
Student	0	0	17	13	14	10	9	20	20	0	16	45	15		
Part time	0	0	8	6	0	10	9	8	0	0	10	21	7		
Pension/Can't work	0	0	17	3	0	40	9	3	0	0	10	20	7		
House wife	0	0	0	9	14	0	0	7	20	0	2	19	6		
Self-employed	0	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	0	0	4	7	2		
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	299	100		

Frequency missing = 1

Table 4.12 shows the distribution of employment status amongst the various home language groups. In focusing on the three major home language groups, it again is confirmed that a large number of respondents across the various home language groups are unemployed. The majority of Northern Sotho-speaking respondents are unemployed (26%), as well as the majority of Tswana- and Zulu-speaking respondents with 22% and 25% respectively. Although too small to be of statistical significance, it is interesting to note that the total of four respondents reporting English and Afrikaans, the previously advantaged languages, to be their home languages are in both cases employed full time. This might to a certain extent support the perception that a high proficiency in English or Afrikaans is regarded favourably in the employment sector. This issue will be dealt with in more detail at a later stage.

Table 4.13 Occupation (Q9)

OCCUPATION	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Skilled Worker	16	26	20	21
Customer Services	12	22	16	17
Public Service	12	13	12	13
Professional	4	17	10	11
Teacher	12	7	9	9
Domestic	12	7	9	9
Nurse	10	4	7	7
Policeman	10	2	6	6
Informal Sector	10	2	6	6
Grand Total	100 (N=49)	100 (N=46)	95	100

Table 4.13 indicates in which professions those respondents that do work are to be found. This question includes reference to all respondents who are employed in any manner, whether they are employed full time, part time, or are casual student workers. A total of 95 respondents answered this question, and based upon the nature of their responses, the various occupations that had been reported, were grouped together in order to enhance definition.

Since some of these classifications necessitate further comment, the following explanations are given: The **Professional** classification includes respondents who are practicing professions like engineering or accountancy, whereas respondents who are actively practicing a trade, were classified as **Skilled Workers**, for example a respondent working at a shunting yard, or another reporting to be a plumber. Respondents who reported to be cashiers, or work as waiters, were allocated to the **Customer Services** classification, whereas respondent working at various government institutions were classified as being active in the **Public Service**. **Domestic Workers** are those respondents who indicated that they are employed in the more affluent neighbourhoods as domestic staff. Respondents who reported to be self-employed, such as street vendors or spaza-shop owners, were classified as being employed in the **Informal Sector**.

Since the number of respondents who answered this question is relatively small, no statistically significant conclusions could be drawn, but some general observations were made because of the fact that the respective groups of respondents representing Mamelodi and Atteridgeville are nearly similar in size.

A majority of the 95 respondents (21%) reported to be Skilled Workers. 26% of these respondents resides in Atteridgeville, whereas 16% is from Mamelodi. Of the 11% respondents who are professionally employed, 17% is to be found in Atteridgeville, whereas only 4% resides in Mamelodi. The majority of respondents who have indicated that they are informal workers, are from Mamelodi (10%), with only 2% reporting the same in Atteridgeville. Although on a very small scale, this supports observations made earlier, namely that Atteridgeville on average seems to have more young respondents with a higher level of education, and who are more likely to be working in the formal employment sectors.

Table 4.14 Occupation by home language

OCCUPATION	HOME LANGUAGE												TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	AFR %	ENG %	NDE %	NS %	SS %	SWA %	TSO %	TSW %	VEN %	XHO %	ZUL %			
Skilled Worker	0	0	17	18	33	100	33	12	50	0	22	20	21	
Customer Services	50	0	33	15	33	0	0	12	0	0	28	16	17	
Public Service	0	0	0	9	0	0	33	18	25	0	17	12	13	
Professional	0	100	17	9	33	0	0	12	0	100	0	10	11	
Teacher	0	0	0	9	0	0	17	6	25	0	17	9	9	
Domestic	0	0	17	12	0	0	0	24	0	0	0	9	9	
Nurse	50	0	0	12	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	7	7	
Policeman	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	6	6	
Informal Sector	0	0	17	6	0	0	17	0	0	0	11	6	6	
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	95	100	

Table 4.14 indicates the distribution of the classified occupations amongst the various home language groups with regard to the total of 95 respondents. The reported occupations of the respondents seem to be evenly distributed amongst the various home language groups. The distribution amongst the three major home language groups reveals the following information: The majority of the Northern Sotho-speaking respondents (18%) indicated that they are employed as Skilled Workers. 24% of the Tswana-speaking respondents reported to be Domestic Workers, whereas 28% of the Zulu-speaking respondents are employed in the Customer Services domain. An interesting observation is that both the respondents that reported English to be their home language are practicing a Professional occupation, and the same applies to one of the two Afrikaans-speaking respondents who is employed as a Nurse, the other being involved in Customer Services.

The above-mentioned section focused on the results of questions formulated to obtain the demographical characteristics (independent variables) of the sample group, and discussed the implications of these results, where applicable. One of the most important observations made was that it might be fair to assume that a general link seems to exist between unemployment, age, and level of education - the older the respondent, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of unemployment. Three major home language groups were identified, namely Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu. Discussion evolved around the distribution of demographical characteristics amongst the three major home language groups.

4.3.2 Language proficiency

The following section shows the results of questions formulated to establish the varying degrees of proficiency in the respective languages as reported by the respondents. The respondents were asked to indicate how well they understand, speak, read, and write the respective languages. There was no manner by which to establish whether the respondents were reacting truthfully to the questions posed. In that light, this section should rather be regarded as an indication of self-reported proficiency on the part of the respondents, which of course leaves room for subjectivity.

Indirectly, however, a self-reported high proficiency in a language might indicate a positive attitude or a sense of pride with regard to the respondent's mastery of that specific language. On the other hand, a self-reported low proficiency in a language might indicate the opposite, namely that the respondent does not feel that mastery of that specific language is highly regarded. Self-reported proficiency levels were therefore interpreted as being of indirect value in terms of language planning and policy formulation in the areas under investigation.

A fieldworker, for example, reported that a specific respondent falsely indicated that s/he was highly proficient in understanding, speaking, reading and writing all the languages. When spoken to in Tsonga, the home language of the fieldworker, the respondent clearly did not understand, or declined to answer. The fieldworker was consequently instructed to omit that respondent from the number of inhabitants in the

household and to repeat the sampling protocol. Another individual from the same household was interviewed.

The contents of Tables 4.15 - 4.18 necessitate further comment: **Well** indicates that a respondent understands, speaks, reads, or writes a language extremely well, or fluently. A **Little Bit** indicates an average proficiency, whereas **Not at All** indicates no knowledge whatsoever. Should a respondent indicate that s/he understands, speaks, reads, or writes a language a **Little Bit/Not at All**, but expressed a desire to be highly proficient in that language, the answer was recorded as "**I Want To** understand, speak, read, or write that language **well**".

Table 4.15 Comprehension by language (Q12)

UNDERSTAND	WELL %	LITTLE BIT %	NOT AT ALL %	WANT TO %	TOTAL (N)
Afr	46	41	7	6	300
Eng	82	14	2	2	300
Nde	31	23	36	10	300
NS	78	15	6	2	300
SS	46	22	29	3	300
Swa	18	20	51	10	300
Tso	20	18	53	9	300
Tsw	62	23	14	0.3	300
Ven	9	12	70	10	300
Xho	19	24	46	11	300
Zul	59	18	16	7	300

Table 4.15 indicates the distribution of the varying degrees of proficiency in understanding the respective languages with regard to the total of 300 respondents. In assessing the languages individually, the following observations were made: 46% of the respondents indicated that they understand Afrikaans well, with a further 41% indicating an average proficiency. This translates into a total of 87% of the respondents having at least an average proficiency in understanding Afrikaans. 7% of the respondents reported that they do not understand Afrikaans at all, and by implication indicated that they have no desire to understand it, while 6% expressed the desire to understand it well.

In general, the respondents were very confident in expressing their proficiency in understanding English. A total of 82% indicated that they were highly proficient in understanding English, with 14% expressing an average proficiency. This indicates that 96% of the respondents have at

least an average understanding of English. 2% of the respondents claimed to have no understanding of English, with another 2% expressing the desire to understand it well. This self-reported confidence in understanding English, however, is contradicted by the MarkData Report (2000:8) that was conducted on behalf of PANSALB, where it was found that only 22% of the 2,160 nationally surveyed respondents understands speeches made in English by Ministers in Government, Councillors in municipalities and officials. It was furthermore found that 63% of Tswana-speakers, 67% of Ndebele-speakers, and 83% of Venda-speakers often do not or seldom understand the communication. It must be noted, however, that both rural and urban respondents participated in the survey. It can be assumed that urban dwellers, such as the inhabitants of Atteridgeville and Mamelodi, are more exposed to English than people living in remote urban villages or towns.

78% of the respondents reported to understand Northern Sotho very well, and 15% reported an average understanding. 93% of the sample group thus possesses over an average understanding of Northern Sotho. 6% of the respondents reported to have no understanding of Northern Sotho, while 2% expressed the desire to understand it well.

The corresponding figures for Tswana is 62% (very well) and 23% (average), totaling an 85% average understanding of Tswana. 14% of the respondents claimed to have no understanding of Tswana. There were no respondents who expressed the desire to understand it well.

With regard to Zulu, 59% of the respondents indicated that they understand Zulu very well, with a further 18% stating that they have an average understanding of Zulu. 77% of the respondents thus possesses over an average understanding of Zulu. 16% of the respondents reported that they do not understand Zulu at all, while 7% expressed the desire to understand it well.

The above-mentioned translates into the following: 96% of the respondents believe they have an average understanding of English (with the majority reporting a high proficiency), followed by 93% average understanding of Northern Sotho, 87% of Afrikaans, 85% of Tswana, and 77% of Zulu.

The relatively high average proficiency in Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu might be explained by observations made with regard to figures

displayed in Table 4.8, namely that 40% of the respondents indicated Northern Sotho to be their home language, followed by 20% that reported Tswana to be their home language, and 17% that indicated Zulu. Although only 2 respondents indicated that their home languages are Afrikaans and English respectively, 87% of the respondents reported an average understanding of Afrikaans, and 96% indicated an average understanding of English, again emphasising the fact that these two languages seem to enjoy a high functional status in the sample group under investigation, as discussed at Table 4.12.

Table 4.16 Spoken proficiency by language (Q13)

SPEAK	WELL %	LITTLE BIT %	NOT AT ALL %	WANT TO %	TOTAL (N)
Afr	41	42	10	7	300
Eng	79	16	4	1	300
Nde	27	22	40	11	300
NS	77	16	6	1	300
SS	41	22	33	5	300
Swa	16	17	56	12	300
Tso	17	16	58	10	300
Tsw	63	21	14	1	300
Ven	6	8	74	12	300
Xho	15	20	53	12	300
Zul	59	15	18	8	300

Table 4.16 indicates the distribution of the varying degrees of proficiency in speaking the respective languages with regard to the total of 300 respondents. In assessing the languages individually, the following observations were made: 41% of the respondents indicated that they speak Afrikaans well, with a further 42% indicating an average proficiency. This translates into a total of 83% of the respondents having at least an average proficiency in speaking Afrikaans. 87% indicated above that they have an average understanding of Afrikaans, thus the respondents seem to be more confident in understanding Afrikaans than speaking it. 10% of the respondents reported not to speak Afrikaans at all, with 7% expressing the desire to speak it well.

As with regard to understanding English, the respondents were yet again very confident in expressing their proficiency in speaking English. A total of 79% indicated that they were highly proficient in speaking English, with 16% expressing an average proficiency. This indicates that 95% of the respondents have at least an average speaking proficiency in English,

whereas 96% expressed an average understanding of English. 4% indicated that they do not speak English at all, and 1% expressed the desire to speak it well.

77% of the respondents reported to speak Northern Sotho very well, and 16% reported an average speaking proficiency. 93% of the sample group thus possesses over an average speaking proficiency in Northern Sotho, exactly the same percentage that had indicated an average understanding of Northern Sotho. 6% of the respondents indicated that they do not speak Northern Sotho at all, with 1% reporting that they would like to speak it well.

The corresponding figures for Tswana is 63% (very well) and 21% (average), amounting to 84% with an average speaking proficiency in Tswana, compared to 85% who reported an average understanding of Tswana. 14% indicated that they do not speak Tswana at all, and 1% of the respondents would have liked to speak it well.

With regard to Zulu, 59% of the respondents indicated that they speak Zulu very well, exactly the same percentage that indicated that they understand it very well. A further 15% stated that they have an average speaking proficiency in Zulu. 74% of the respondents thus possesses over an average speaking proficiency in Zulu, compared to 77% who indicated an average understanding of Zulu. 18% of the respondents reported that they do not speak Zulu at all, while 8% expressed the desire to speak it well.

The fact that the percentages for the average proficiency in speaking the respective languages are lower than the average proficiency recorded for understanding the languages, indicates that the data could be relied upon in the sense that it could be expected that in order for respondents to be able to speak a certain language, they must in the first instance be able to understand that language.

Table 4.17 Reading proficiency by language (Q14)

READ	WELL %	LITTLE BIT %	NOT AT ALL %	WANT TO %	TOTAL (N)
Afr	61	21	12	5	300
Eng	83	9	6	2	300
Nde	15	15	58	11	300
NS	66	15	16	3	300
SS	34	15	47	4	300
Swa	11	11	68	10	300
Tso	12	8	70	10	300
Tsw	51	18	30	2	300
Ven	5	5	80	10	300
Xho	11	13	66	10	300
Zul	44	17	30	8	299

Table 4.17 indicates the distribution of the varying degrees of proficiency in reading the respective languages with regard to the total of 300 respondents. In assessing the languages individually, the following observations can be made: 61% of the respondents indicated that they read Afrikaans well, with a further 21% indicating an average proficiency. This translates into a total of 83% of the respondents having at least an average proficiency in reading Afrikaans, corresponding exactly with the percentage reported for an average speaking proficiency in Afrikaans, although more respondents indicated that they read it very well than those who reported to speak it very well. 12% of the respondents reported not to read Afrikaans at all, with 5% expressing the desire to read it well.

As with regard to understanding and speaking English, the respondents were confident in expressing their proficiency in reading English. A total of 83% indicated that they were highly proficient in reading English, 4% more than the 79% who reported a high proficiency in speaking English. 9% expressed an average proficiency in reading English. This indicates that 92% of the respondents have at least an average reading proficiency in English, whereas 95% expressed an average speaking proficiency in English. 6% indicated that they do not read English at all, and 2% expressed the desire to read it well.

66% of the respondents reported to read Northern Sotho very well, compared to the 77% who indicated that they speak Northern Sotho very well. 15% reported an average reading proficiency in Northern Sotho. 81% of the sample group thus possesses over an average reading proficiency in Northern Sotho, whereas 93% had reported that they have an average proficiency in speaking Northern Sotho. 16% of the

respondents indicated that they do not read Northern Sotho at all, with 3% reporting that they would like to read it well.

The corresponding figures for Tswana is 51% (very well) and 18% (average), totaling an 69% average reading proficiency in Tswana, compared to 84% who reported an average speaking proficiency in Tswana. 30% indicated that they do not read Tswana at all, and 2% of the respondents would have liked to read it well.

With regard to Zulu, 44% of the respondents indicated that they read Zulu very well. A further 17% stated that they have an average reading proficiency in Zulu. 61% of the respondents thus possesses over an average reading proficiency in Zulu, compared to 74% who indicated an average speaking proficiency in Zulu. 30% of the respondents reported that they do not read Zulu at all, while 8% expressed the desire to read it well.

The average proficiency in reading the respective languages is thus lower than the average percentages recorded for the proficiency in speaking those languages. It might be safe to assume that with regard to the multilingual nature of discourse within the given geographical context, it is more important to have an average understanding and speaking proficiency in those languages than being able to understand the written forms of those languages.

Table 4.18 Written proficiency by language (Q15)

WRITE	WELL %	LITTLE BIT %	NOT AT ALL %	WANT TO %	TOTAL (N)
Afr	56	26	13	5	300
Eng	82	9	7	2	300
Nde	13	12	65	10	300
NS	63	13	20	4	300
SS	28	15	54	4	300
Swa	8	8	73	10	300
Tso	9	6	74	10	300
Tsw	46	14	37	3	300
Ven	5	4	80	11	300
Xho	9	13	68	10	300
Zul	39	15	37	10	300

Table 4.18 indicates the distribution of the varying degrees of proficiency in writing the respective languages with regard to the total of 300

respondents. In assessing the languages individually, the following observations were made: 56% of the respondents indicated that they write Afrikaans well, with a further 26% indicating an average proficiency. This translates into a total of 82% of the respondents having at least an average proficiency in writing Afrikaans, whereas 83% of the respondents reported an average reading proficiency in Afrikaans. 13% of the respondents reported not to write Afrikaans at all, with 5% expressing the desire to write it well.

A total of 82% of the respondents indicated that they were highly proficient in writing English, 1% less than the 83% who reported a high proficiency in reading English. 9% expressed an average proficiency in writing English. This indicates that 91% of the respondents have at least an average writing proficiency in English, whereas 92% expressed an average reading proficiency in English. 7% indicated that they do not write English at all, and 2% expressed the desire to write it well.

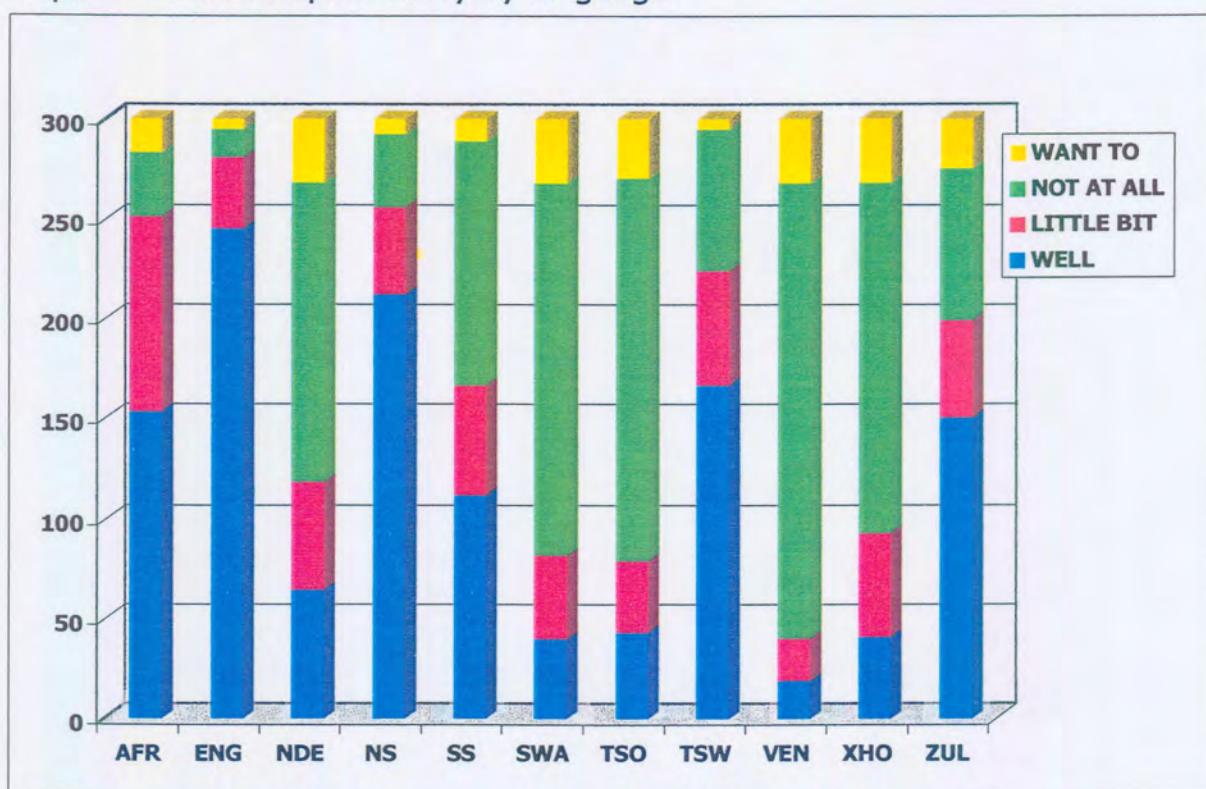
63% of the respondents reported to write Northern Sotho very well, compared to the 66% who indicated that they read Northern Sotho very well. 13% reported an average writing proficiency in Northern Sotho. 76% of the sample group thus possesses over an average writing proficiency in Northern Sotho, whereas 81% had reported that they have an average reading proficiency in Northern Sotho. 20% of the respondents indicated that they do not write Northern Sotho at all, with 4% reporting that they would like to write it well.

The corresponding figures for Tswana is 46% (very well) and 14% (average), totaling an 60% average writing proficiency in Tswana, compared to 69% who reported an average reading proficiency in Tswana. 37% indicated that they do not write Tswana at all, and 3% of the respondents would have liked to write it well.

With regard to Zulu, 39% of the respondents indicated that they write Zulu very well. A further 15% stated that they have an average writing proficiency in Zulu. 54% of the respondents thus possesses over an average writing proficiency in Zulu, compared to 61% who indicated an average reading proficiency in Zulu. 37% of the respondents reported that they do not write Zulu at all, while 10% expressed the desire to write it well.

It is interesting to note that respondents regard their reading and writing proficiency in Afrikaans and English to be equally well, whereas with regard to Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu, they seem to have more confidence in their reading skills than in their writing ability. Based upon the assumption that proficiency in the respective languages under investigation is needs-driven in terms of their instrumental function within the given geographical area, the conclusion that could be drawn at this stage is that it is more important to understand either the spoken or written variety of a language than to actually speak or write that language.

Graph 4.1 Overall proficiency by language



Graph 4.1 is a visual presentation of the overall proficiency (combined understanding, speaking, reading and writing skills) of the respondents in terms of the respective languages.

The most obvious observation would be that the overall self-reported proficiency level in English is perceived to be very well. Of further interest is that a high number of respondents reported that they have no proficiency in Venda, Tsonga, Swazi, and Xhosa, by implication not

expressing any desire to learn it. A final observation in terms of overall proficiency is the fact that a few more respondents reported to be very proficient in Afrikaans than is the case with Zulu, the latter being one of the major home languages of the area.

4.3.3 Language preference/knowledge in situational domains

The following section shows the results of questions formulated to establish language use in various situational domains.

Table 4.19 Language use by domain (Q11)

SITUATION	NS %	TSW %	COMB., INCL. ENG %	ENG %	ZUL %	2 OTHER LANGUAGES %	NDE %	SS %	TSO %	AFR %	SWA %	VEN %	XHO %	TOTAL (N)
Family	37	15	8	0	16	6	7	4	3	0	2	2	1	300
Friends	42	14	13	4	10	9	2	2	1	1	1	0	0	300
Hospital	37	12	14	21	7	2	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	300
Shopping	38	11	14	19	9	3	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	300
Church	41	16	9	4	14	6	2	3	3	1	1	0	1	297
Meeting	37	10	14	21	8	4	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	300
Policeman	44	11	12	11	8	4	2	2	1	3	1	0	0	300

Frequencies missing: Church = 3

Table 4.19 indicates the distribution of the respective languages amongst various domains of language use. The contents of Table 4.19 necessitate further comment: Should a respondent have indicated the use of various languages in combination with English, the option **Comb, incl. Eng.** was ticked off by the fieldworker. The option **2 Other Languages** refers to any combination of languages excluding English, Northern Sotho, Tswana, or Zulu.

The results were interpreted in the following manner: 37% of the respondents indicated that they use Northern Sotho as the main language of communication with family members, followed by 16% that reported

Zulu to be the language they use when amongst their family members, and 15% that speak Tswana to their families.

Whilst socialising with friends, 42% indicated that they communicate in Northern Sotho, 14% used Tswana, whereas 13% reported to make use of a combination of languages, including English. Northern Sotho could thus be seen as a common denominator in the social context, because more respondents use Northern Sotho amongst friends (42%) than the reported 37% who use it amongst their respective families. With regard to Zulu, 10% of the respondents use it in a social context, compared to the 16% who indicated that they use it amongst their respective family members.

The local hospital/clinic scenario was used to establish which languages are used in the domain of basic services, in this case the delivery of health services. 37% of the respondents reported to use Northern Sotho, followed by 21% who indicated that they use English. 14% reported to use a combination of languages, including English. These figures thus indicate that 35% of the respondents make use of English to a varying degree. It can furthermore be established that English would be the choice of the majority if the doctor/nurse happens to be of European descent, since only 2% opted for Afrikaans.

38% of the respondents reported to use Northern Sotho when shopping, or conducting business of a commercial nature. 19% indicated the use of English, followed by 14% who reported to use a combination of languages, including English. The high usage of English might be an indication that a certain degree of shopping might take place outside the area of residence, most probably in the city of Pretoria itself.

With regard to religious practice, the majority of the respondents reported the use of Northern Sotho (41%), followed by 16% indicating Tswana to be the language of religious practice. 14% of the respondents practice their religion in Zulu. Only 4% indicated the exclusive use of English, and 9% indicated a combination of languages, including English. In total, 13% of the churchgoing respondents in varying degrees thus reported to practice their religion in English.

A community meeting was decided upon to represent the domain of local governance. 37% of the respondents indicated that they would use Northern Sotho at a community meeting. 21% reported that they prefer English, whilst a further 14% indicated use of a combination of languages,

including English. 35% of the respondents thus reported to use English to a certain degree.

In the law-enforcement domain, 44% of the respondents said that they would use Northern Sotho when addressing a police officer, followed by 12% indicating the use of a combination of languages, including English. 11% reported that they would employ the use of English and Tswana respectively. 23% thus to a certain degree reported the use of English. Out of a total of 29 respondents who overall had indicated the use of Afrikaans, the majority (34%) indicated that they would use Afrikaans when addressing a police officer. This seems to support the notion that Afrikaans still is being regarded as the so-called "language of the oppressor".

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the above-mentioned discussion, is that Northern Sotho, albeit with a small margin, is the language that dominates across the various domains. Besides Northern Sotho, Tswana and Zulu are used in the more personal domains of family, friendship, and practicing religion - whereas the use of English, or any combination of languages including English, seem to be limited to the more formal domains of conducting commercial business, participating in community meetings, visiting the doctor, and communicating with a police officer.

Table 4.20 Which language would the respondent use to address... (Q19)

ETHNIC GROUP	AFRICAN %	WHITE %	COLOURED %	INDIAN %
Afr	0.3	17	45	7
Eng	22	78	52	92
Nde	3	0	0	0
NS	42	0	0.3	0
SS	1	0	0	0
Swa	1	0	0	0
Tso	1	0	0	0
Tsw	13	0	0	0
Ven	1	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Zul	14	0	0	0
Afr/Eng	2	4	3	1
Other	0.3	0	0	1
Grand Total	100	100	100	100

Frequencies missing: African = 1, Coloured = 1, Indian = 1

Table 4.20 indicates which languages respondents deem suitable to address an unknown person belonging to a similar or different ethnic group. The majority of the respondents encountering another African would address that person in Northern Sotho (42%). 22% would choose English to solicit a response, followed by 14% who would rely on Zulu. 13% would address that person in Tswana. All three major home language groups are well represented, and it is revealed that English is regarded as a common denominator in this regard, being the second choice.

The majority of the respondents encountering a white person would address that person in English (78%). 17% would choose Afrikaans to solicit a response, followed by 4% who seems uncertain whether the use of English or Afrikaans would be suitable. Table 17, however, indicated that 79% of the respondents reported a very high proficiency in speaking English, and 41% of the respondents reported to speak Afrikaans well. This information roughly translates into the following: 1% of the respondents would thus choose to address a white person in Afrikaans, although they are even more proficient in English, whereas 34% who are able to speak Afrikaans well, still would use English. These facts could be interpreted as the deliberate avoidance of using Afrikaans, related to the fact that the language Afrikaans still might be associated with its use during the apartheid-era and it is consequently being regarded in a negative light. The perpetuation of a feeling of political imbalance thus manifests itself through the use of Afrikaans.

This assumption is strengthened further by the revelation that 45% of the respondents would address a coloured person in Afrikaans, whereas it was reported above that only 17% would address a white person in Afrikaans. 52% would revert to English when encountering a coloured person. 92% of the respondents would attempt to solicit conversation with an Indian person in English, whereas only 7% would deem Afrikaans fit under such circumstances.

The assumptions made, however, might not be totally justified, since some respondents might have interpreted the question as a kind of a test to establish whether they know which languages are appropriate to use under the given circumstances, while the purpose of the question was to establish which languages they would use as such. Regardless of the latter possibility, the answers still reveal an underlying perception towards different ethnic groups and appropriate language use.

Table 4.21 Linguistic differentiation (Q27)

LINGUISTIC DIFFERENTIATION	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Yes	99	87	278	93
No	1	13	21	7
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: A = 1

Table 4.21 reveals that there are definite indications that the languages spoken in the Pretoria-area might not, according to the respondents, resemble the so-called "pure" or "deep" varieties of the languages spoken in rural areas. "Pure" or "deep" was reportedly the respondents' interpretation of a standardised version of a language. It might thus be justified to assume that linguistic variation occurs that indicate the existence of dialects, or sociolects, the use of which are geographically limited. This is not, however, limited to African languages, as it is a well-recorded fact that linguistic variation in the manner of dialects does exist. This question was thus posed to establish whether this is the case in the Pretoria area, and 93% of the respondents reported that they are capable of identifying another person as being foreign to the area by listening to the manner in which this person speaks.

Table 4.22 Reasons given for linguistic differentiation (Q28)

REASONS FOR DIFFERENTIATION	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Accent and intonation	47	69	158	57
Rural variety	25	14	56	20
Combination of all mentioned reasons	21	9	43	15
Mamelodi/Atteridgeville dialect is a mixture	5	9	19	7
Other	1	0	2	1
Grand Total	100	100	278	100

Frequencies missing: A = 22

A variety of answers were given to the above-mentioned question, and the responses were organised in a manner that enables interpretation. Table 4.22 reveals that those respondents not being able to identify a foreigner to the area (7%), all reside in Atteridgeville. This assumption might not be totally conclusive, because it might be contributed to a specific fieldworker not being clear in presenting the question to the respondents, resulting in a low response frequency.

57% of the respondents reported that the accent or intonation of an individual revealed his/her foreigner status. A Mamelodi-respondent

reporting English to be his home language, for example said the following in this regard: "**They are pulling [sic] the last vowel and they are a bit faster than us**". 20% of the respondents indicated that they could tell that the individual was expressing him/herself in a manner normally associated with the "deep" versions of the languages as they are being spoken in the rural areas. In giving evidence, they indicated that some individuals would divulge their foreigner status by using turns of phrases and expressions not typically heard in urbanised settings. A Northern Sotho speaking respondent from Atteridgeville said the following: "**They use more idioms in rural areas**". Another Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Mamelodi said the following in this regard: "**They [people from rural areas] speak deep [sic] and complicated Northern Sotho**".

15% of the respondents could not isolate a specific reason, and conveyed an answer that represents a combination of the reasons mentioned in the table, introducing a cultural aspect to the debate. These answers included the following: A Tswana-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville for example said the following: "**People in urban areas don't respect their languages as compared to those living in rural areas**". A Swazi-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville reported the following: "**Because people turn [sic] to forget their culture they therefore turn to forget speaking their languages well, specially those living in urban areas**". A Tswana-speaking respondent from Mamelodi reported the following: "**Those from rural areas are real Africans, they don't forget their culture, they speak their language 100%**".

7% of the respondents directly implied that the languages spoken in the areas under investigation differ from the rural varieties of those languages by indicating that foreigners to the area would not be familiar with the specific dialects spoken in those areas, i.e. "a mixture" of languages". A Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville indirectly supported this notion by saying the following: "**People like to speak Northern Sotho although they're not fluent**". Another Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville reported the following: "**In urban areas we mix those languages so that everyone can be able to understand what is said**". A Ndebele-speaking respondent from Mamelodi expressed a similar notion: "**Pretoria Ndebele is mixed with Northern Sotho**". A Zulu-speaking respondent from Mamelodi said the following: "**In Pretoria, we mix Zulu and Sepedi [Northern Sotho]**". Another Zulu-speaking respondent from Mamelodi reported the following:

"Because the language we use in Mamelodi is a combination of other languages".

Table 4.23 Personal spoken linguistic preference (Q25)

SPOKEN PREFERENCE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
NS	40	27	100	33
Zul	16	20	54	18
Eng	14	17	47	16
Tsw	11	21	47	16
Nde	7	1	12	4
Tso	3	3	10	3
Afr	2	3	7	2
SS	1	3	7	2
Swa	4	1	7	2
Ven	1	3	6	2
Xho	1	0	1	0.3
Other	1	0	1	0.3
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: A = 1

Table 4.23 shows the results of a question formulated to establish which language a respondent likes to speak most. Their answers pertain to languages that they are able to speak, and reflect a personal preference. Indirectly it might be seen as a reflection of attitudes towards certain languages. In terms of Northern Sotho, 40% of the respondents in Mamelodi reported that they prefer speaking Northern Sotho, whereas only 27% of the respondents reported the same in Atteridgeville, although 43% reported to grow up with Northern Sotho in Atteridgeville.

Interestingly enough, Table 4.8 indicated that Northern Sotho is the language reported to be the home language of the majority of the respondents with 40% from 300, corresponding with the above-mentioned 40% that prefer to speak Northern Sotho in Mamelodi. It had also been pointed out earlier (see Table 4.3) that the respondents in Mamelodi are in general older than those in Atteridgeville, where it was noted that Atteridgeville consists of a population where the majority of the respondents are relatively young. It could therefore be assumed that the older respondent would prefer a language that he/she is more acquainted with than to speak another language such as English.

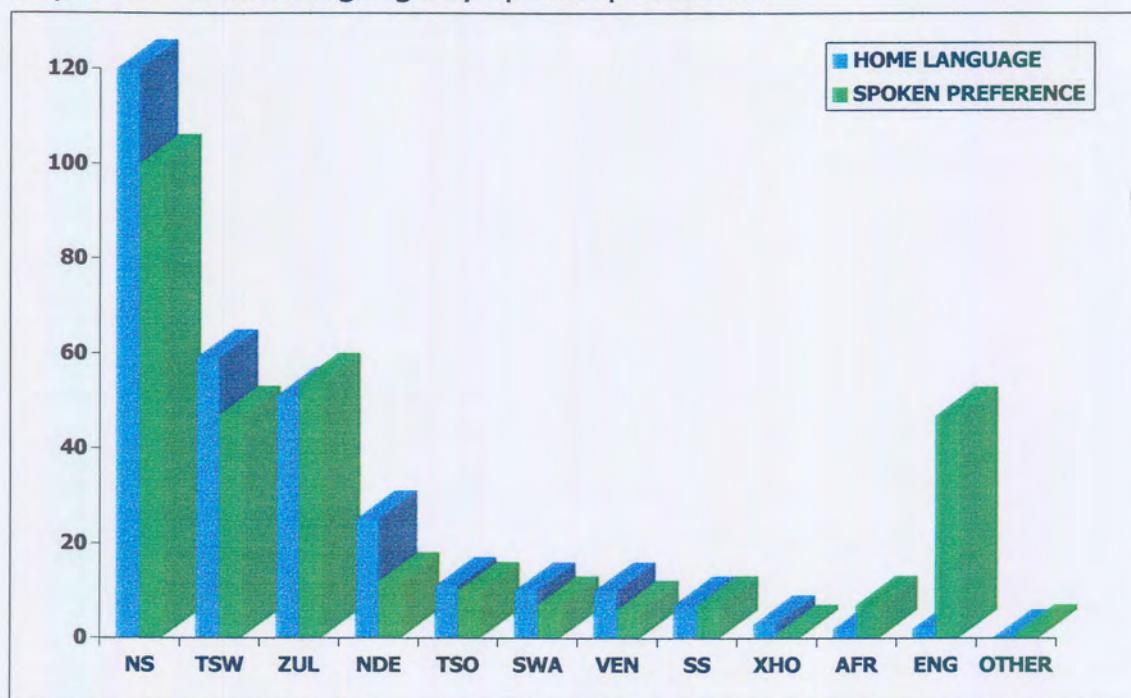
11% of the respondents in Mamelodi indicated that they prefer to speak Tswana, whereas 21% reported the same in Atteridgeville. The lower

percentage of respondents preferring Tswana in Mamelodi (11%) when compared to the 21% in Atteridgeville, corresponds with the lower percentage of respondents who reported to have grown up with Tswana in Mamelodi (13%), whereas 27% reported to have grown up with Tswana in Atteridgeville. The greater difference is thus to be found in Atteridgeville where respondents who grew up with Tswana don't necessarily regard it as their first choice.

With regard to Zulu, 16% of the respondents in Mamelodi indicated that they prefer to speak Zulu, although 21% indicated that they grew up with Zulu. The opposite is true with regard to Zulu in Atteridgeville, where 13% had indicated that they grew up with Zulu, whereas 20% indicated that they prefer to speak Zulu. In terms of personal preference, non-Zulu speaking respondents in Atteridgeville thus seem to regard Zulu in a more positive light than in Mamelodi.

14% of the respondents in Mamelodi prefer to speak English, whereas 17% reports the same in Atteridgeville. A possible conclusion that could be drawn at this stage, is that the respondents in Atteridgeville are more prone to speak other languages than their home languages, and this might be related to factors discussed previously (see Table 4.5), namely that respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville, in comparison to Mamelodi, have the least number of respondents reporting to be without formal education, and the highest number of respondents reporting to have tertiary qualifications. This, as was pointed out, corresponds with the fact that there are more elderly people in the Mamelodi area who might not have had the same educational opportunities or aspirations as the younger generations, of which the majority is to be found in Atteridgeville. Younger people are thus more educated and versatile in their approaches towards linguistic preferences.

Graph 4.2 Home language by spoken preference



Graph 4.2 is a visual representation of home languages in relation to spoken preference, which should be interpreted along with the above-mentioned discussion. Most of the languages compared above indicate a tendency of moving away from home language in terms of spoken preference.

There are a few exceptions, however. As had been discussed above, more respondents reported that they prefer to speak Zulu (mainly in Atteridgeville), than had indicated that they grew up with it. The same holds true for English, where a large discrepancy is revealed with regard to home language versus spoken preference. It can therefore be expected that of those respondents indicating a language other than their home language as their spoken preference, a large percentage is predisposed towards English. A very small percentage indicated the same towards Afrikaans.

Table 4.24 Leisure preference - reading (Q29)

READING PREFERENCE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng	71	80	219	76
NS	5	5	15	5
Zul	8	1	14	5
Eng.+home language+other	6	2	12	4
Eng+non-home language	2	3	7	2
Tsw	3	1	6	2
Nde	1	1	4	1
Afr	1	1	3	1
Tso	0	2	3	1
SS	1	1	2	1
Mixed/All languages	1	0	2	1
Swa	0	1	1	0.3
Ven	0	1	1	0.3
Home language+other	0	1	1	0.3
Xho	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	290	100

Frequencies missing: M = 8, A = 2

Table 4.25 Leisure preference - radio/television (Q30)

LISTENING PREFERENCE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng	55	59	165	57
NS	11	9	29	10
Eng.+home language+1 other	9	6	21	7
Zul	7	5	17	6
Tsw	4	7	16	6
Mixed/All languages	6	1	10	3
Nde	2	2	6	2
SS	1	3	6	2
Xho	1	1	4	1
Home language+other	1	1	4	1
Afr	1	1	3	1
Tso	0	2	3	1
Eng+non-home language	1	1	2	1
Swazi	0	1	1	0
Venda	0	1	1	0
Home language+Afr	1	0	1	0
Grand Total	100	100	289	100

Frequencies missing: M = 10, A = 1

Tables 4.24 and 4.25 indicate the respondents' linguistic preferences towards leisure functions, namely **reading** in a specific language; or towards **listening** to the radio or watching a television programme. These questions were posed in a hypothetical manner by the fieldworkers,

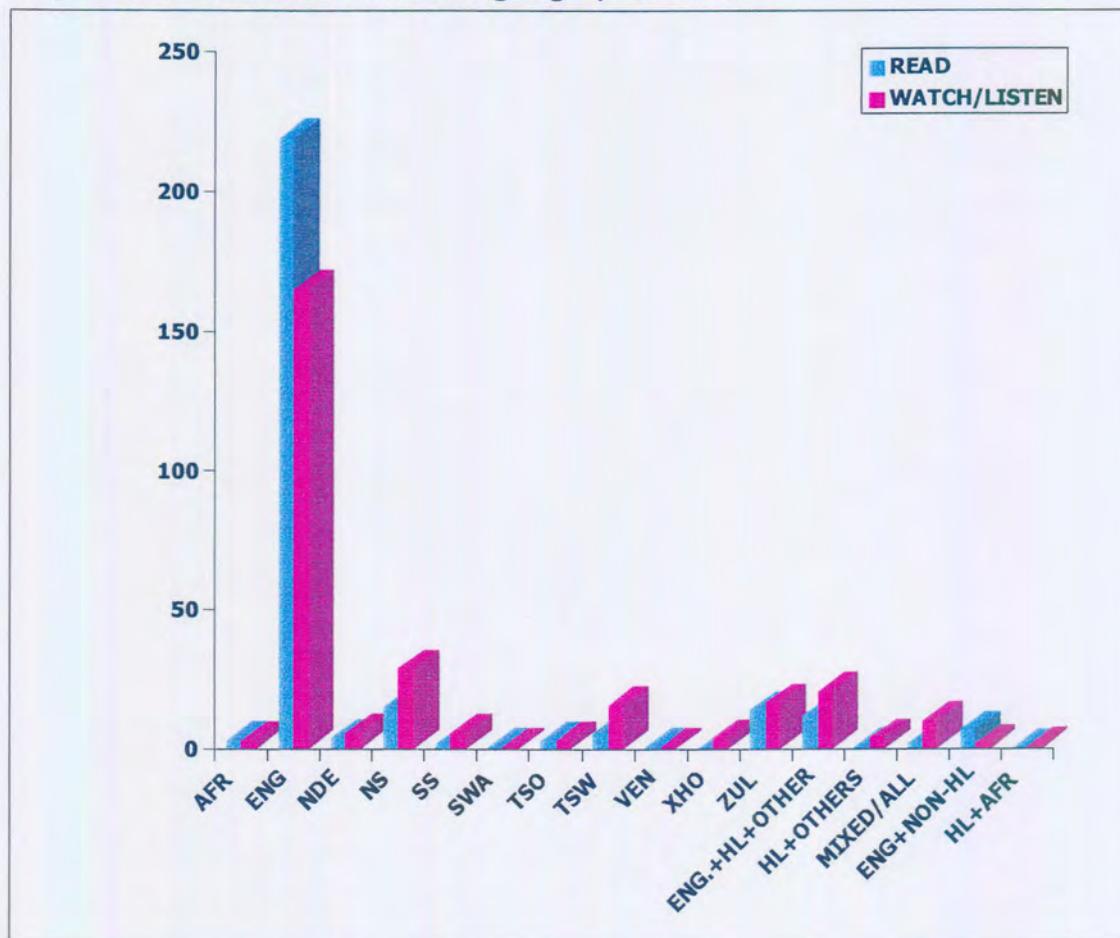
since some respondents are, for example, not highly proficient in reading any language, and furthermore the respective languages respondents opted for might not in actual fact be available.

The contents of these tables necessitate further comment: Respondents tended to report a combination of various languages in their replies, thus provision was made for the interpretation of their preferences by indicating whether or not these combinations included their home languages.

With regard to Table 4.24, the overall majority of the respondents (76%) indicated that they preferred English reading material, followed by Northern Sotho and Zulu with 5% respectively, with 4% choosing a combination of languages including English and their respective home languages. Table 4.17, however, indicated that 92% of the respondents have at least an average reading proficiency in English, thus it could be assumed that not all respondents who possess over an average reading proficiency in English, would choose English reading material.

Table 4.25 reveals that the majority of respondents (57%) prefer English listening, albeit with a narrower margin than in the case of reading in English. Table 16, however, indicated that 96% of the respondents have at least an average understanding of English, thus a large percentage of respondents capable of understanding English, choose to do their listening in other languages. 10% prefer Northern Sotho, 5% more than is the case when reading in Northern Sotho. Another 7% indicated that they would prefer a combination of languages, including English and their respective home languages. Overall, 12% of the respondents preferred a combination of languages, and one Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Mamelodi who chose Northern Sotho and English, expressed her opinion in this regard in the following manner: **"Old grannies need to know [what's going on] too, so much of them never had the opportunity to learn English, they only know Northern Sotho".**

Graph 4.3 Leisure function language preference



Graph 4.3 reveals that with regard to listening to the radio or watching television, respondents in general seem to favour languages other than English. The reason for this conclusion is that the graph clearly indicates that more respondents would want to read in English than is the case when listening to the radio or watching television. For example, more respondents expressed the desire to listen to the radio or watch television in Northern Sotho, than those respondents who indicated that they would want to read in Northern Sotho. The majority of those not expressing the desire to read in Northern Sotho, most probably would be found under those opting for English.

Since reading a certain language presupposes at least an average proficiency in that language, respondents might be more cautious in expressing their desire to read the printed version of that language. That might explain the higher frequency of respondents opting to listen to the respective languages, rather than to read in them.

The exception to this rule is with regard to English. The high number of respondents reporting that they prefer to read in English, invites some speculation: Respondents either indicated by their answers that they are able to and prefer to read English, or they indicated a desire to have a high reading proficiency in English. The reasons being what they may, the implication is clear, namely that English is the preferred choice in this regard. A possible explanation would be the high status attached to the use of English in these communities. This issue will be dealt with in more detail in section 4.3.4.

Table 4.26 Linguistic tolerance - friendship (Q20)

LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE - FRIENDS	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Yes	89	90	268	89
No	11	10	31	10
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: A = 1

Table 4.26 indicates the degree of linguistic tolerance in terms of socialising with friends. This table shows that 89% of the respondents socialise beyond linguistic boundaries. This information supports the information revealed in Table 4.19, where, for example, it was revealed that Northern Sotho could be seen as a common denominator in the social context, since more respondents use Northern Sotho amongst friends (42%) than the reported 37% who use it amongst their respective families. With only 10% of the respondents denying that they socialise with friends from other language groups, it follows that linguistic diversity cannot be seen as a significant social factor in the forming of social ties within a highly multilingual community. Ethnic consciousness thus seems to be low in this regard.

Table 4.27 Linguistic tolerance - marriage (Q21)

LINGUISTIC TOLERANCE - MARRIAGE	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Yes	97	95	286	95
Uncertain	3	5	11	4
No	1	1	2	1
Grand Total	100	100	299	100

Frequency missing: A = 1

Table 4.27 reveals that the majority of the respondents (95%) see no reason why marriages should not take place across linguistic boundaries. For the purposes of this discussion, the 4% who had reported to be **Uncertain** was allocated to the **No**-category. 5% of the respondents thus denied that multilingual marriages would take place.

If assumed that respondents who engage in multilingual friendships would not object to multilingual marriages, the following conclusion could be drawn: Of the respondents (10%) who reported that they do not have friends belonging to other language groups (Table 4.26), a conservatively estimated 5% by implication thus would not object to other individuals who would wish to engage into a multilingual marriage. Respondents living in multilingual urbanised areas such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville thus display a high degree of linguistic tolerance and a low degree of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Question 22 was only applicable to respondents who answered **No** to Question 21, namely to state a reason for saying that people with different home languages would not marry one another. Only 1 respondent from Mamelodi and Atteridgeville respectively expressed the opinion that individuals should not venture into multilingual, or rather, multicultural marriages: The respondent from Mamelodi stated the following reason: "**They [people of a similar ethnic background] grow up knowing each other better than the members of other ethnic groups**". The respondent from Atteridgeville also by implication voiced the personal opinion that cultural diversity was not an ideal point of departure for a marriage by saying that "**They belong to different cultures**".

4.3.4 Perceived language status

The following section shows the results of questions formulated to establish the status of the respective languages within the communities under investigation.

Table 4.28 Language acquisition (Q17)

IMPORTANCE	IMPORTANT %	UNSURE %	UNIMPORTANT %	TOTAL (N)
Afr	63	12	25	300
Eng	100	0	0	300
Nde	36	24	40	300
NS	80	8	12	300
SS	44	23	33	300
Swa	33	21	47	300
Tso	36	19	45	300
Tsw	53	15	33	300
Ven	32	19	48	300
Xho	35	20	45	300
Zul	60	16	24	300

Table 4.28 depicts the perceived importance attached to the status of the respective languages in terms of children learning those languages. The most important observation to be made is that all the respondents feel that children should be taught English at school. No respondent expressed any doubt in this regard. Northern Sotho followed with 80%. Interestingly enough, 63% of the respondents regards Afrikaans as a language that children should be taught, while the other major languages of the areas in question scored somewhat lower in terms of perceived importance, namely Zulu (60%), and Tswana (53%).

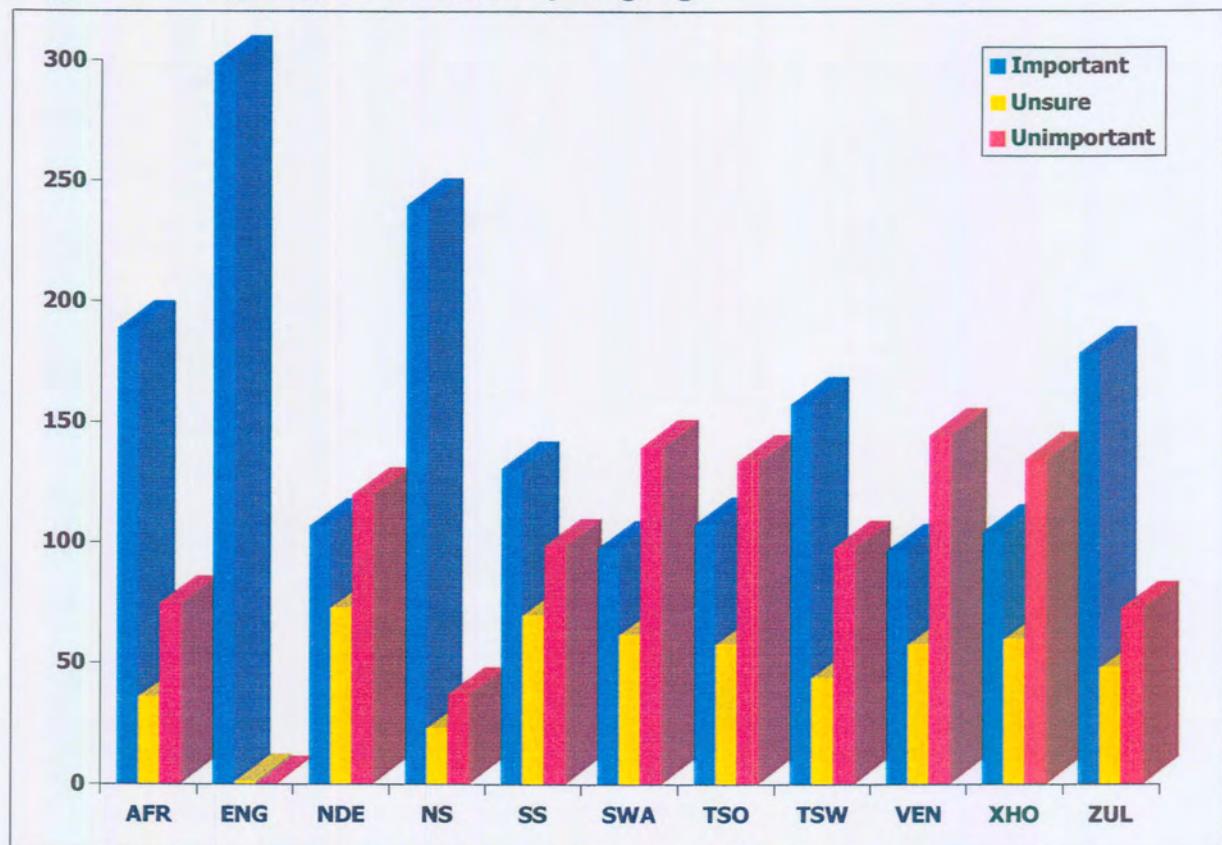
Respondents indicated a relatively high degree of indifference towards Ndebele, with 24% of the respondents indicating that they are unsure whether children should be taught Ndebele, 23% of the respondents expressed the same attitude towards South Sotho, and 21% towards Swazi.

The main languages regarded as being unimportant, are Venda (that according to Table 9 is the home language of 3% of the respondents) with 48% - although another 32% of the respondents indicated that they regard Venda as being important). Swazi (that according to Table 4.8 is the home language of 3% of the respondents) was regarded as

unimportant by 47% - although another 33% regarded Swazi as being important. Tsonga (the home language of 4% of the respondents) followed with 45% - although 36% indicated that Tswana would be important. Not one of those languages reported to be unimportant in terms of acquisition, was not balanced out by a more or less equal percentage of respondents indicating that they are in fact of importance.

Due to the fact that such a high percentage of the respondents above indicated that Venda, Swazi and Tsonga were of importance, (coincidentally, these languages were revealed to be the three least understood languages according to Table 4.15), the potential negative status attached to those languages is in effect being balanced out. No language could thus be singled out that could be interpreted as being extremely unimportant in terms of children learning that language. It could therefore be assumed that respondents who do not have a high proficiency in those languages feel that it might be beneficial for children to master those languages not generally spoken in their respective areas of residence.

Graph 4.4 Importance of tuition by language



Graph 4.4 is a visual presentation of the results obtained for Question 17, as discussed under Table 4.28.

Table 4.29 Preferred medium of instruction - primary school (Q18)

PRIMARY SCHOOL	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng+other	39	57	143	48
Afr, Eng+other	27	31	87	29
Eng	20	3	35	12
Afr+Eng	7	1	13	4
All languages	1	5	8	3
NS	1	3	5	2
Zul	2	0	3	1
All languages, except Afr	1	1	3	1
SS	1	0	2	1
Afr	1	0	1	0
Nde	0	0	0	0
Swa	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

Table 4.29 indicates which languages schools should use as medium of instruction in primary schools. The contents of Tables 4.29 and 4.30 necessitate further comment: Since respondents in general had been inclined to choose a combination of languages, the languages of preference were combined in a manner that enables noteworthy comment. " ... +other" therefore indicates languages other than Afrikaans and English.

Overall, 48% of the respondents chose a combination including English, whereas 29% preferred a combination including Afrikaans, English and Other. Only 12% indicated that English should exclusively be used as the medium of instruction in primary schools. This translates into 93% of the respondents preferring English to be included as medium of instruction.

There are, however, major differences of opinion with regard to respondents in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. 39% of the respondents in Mamelodi prefer that English and other languages should be the medium of instruction in primary schools, while 57% indicated the same in Atteridgeville. With regard to the sole use of English, 20% of the respondents in Mamelodi and 3% in Atteridgeville answered affirmatively. The respondents in Atteridgeville, therefore, seem to be more in favour of a combination of languages that includes English, whereas the

respondents in Mamelodi are more inclined towards the sole use of English.

Table 4.30 Preferred medium of instruction - secondary school (Q18)

SECONDARY SCHOOL	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Afr, Eng+other	29	55	126	42
Eng+other	33	16	74	25
Eng	28	12	60	20
All languages	1	12	19	6
Afr+Eng	7	5	18	6
Afr	1	0	1	0.3
All languages, except Afr	1	0	1	0.3
Afr+1other	1	0	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0
NS	0	0	0	0
SS	0	0	0	0
Swa	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Zul	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	300	100

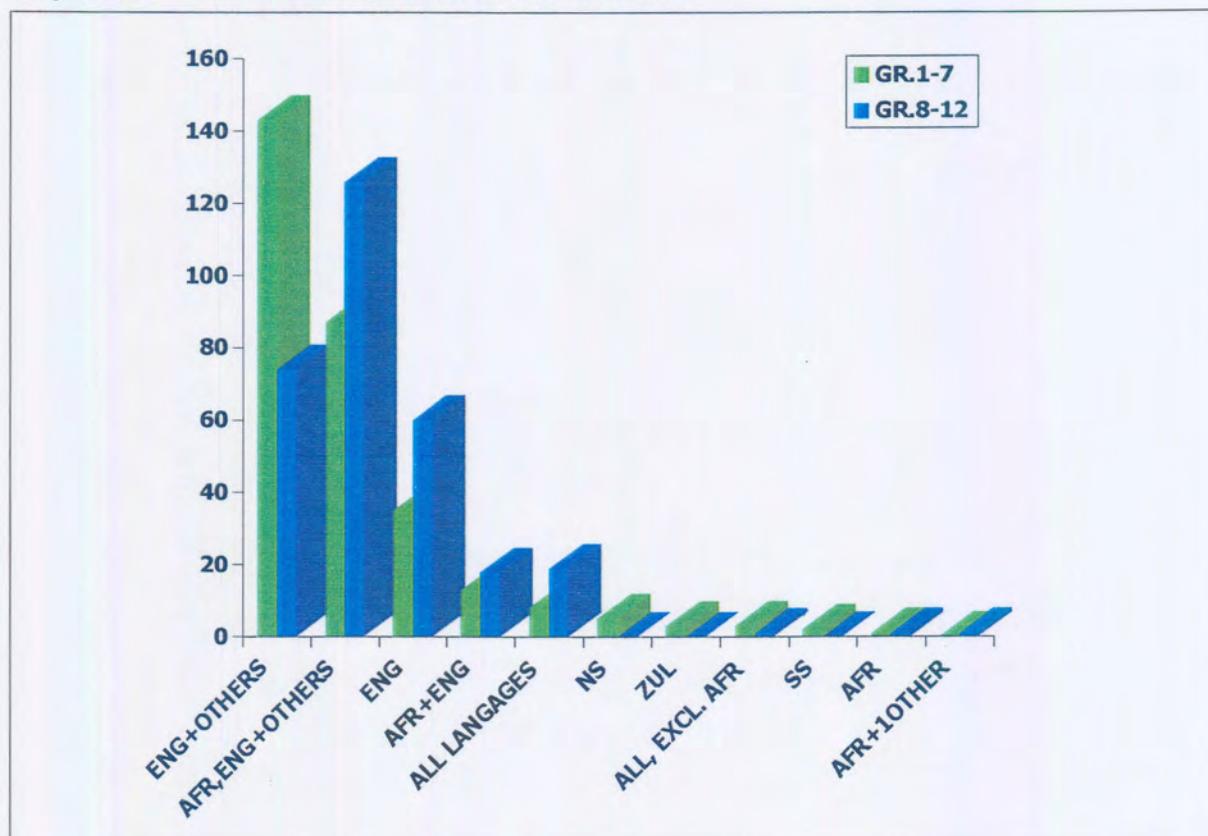
Table 4.30 indicates which languages schools should use as medium of instruction in secondary schools. Overall, 42% of the respondents chose a combination including Afrikaans and English, whereas 25% preferred a combination including English and other languages. 20% indicated that English should exclusively be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. This translates into 87% of the respondents preferring English to be included as medium of instruction.

The majority of Mamelodi's respondents (33%) opted for a combination of languages, including English. That English in this regard is considered to be more important in Mamelodi is further strengthened by the fact that 28% of Mamelodi's respondents prefer English as the sole medium of instruction, an increase of 8% over the 20% that chose the sole use of English as medium of instruction in primary schools, compared to 12% in Atteridgeville. Atteridgeville's respondents, however, also indicated a more favourable attitude towards the sole use of English, with 12% of the respondents opting for English in secondary schools, compared to the 3% who opted for English as the sole medium of instruction in primary schools.

There is, however, an increase in the desire to include Afrikaans as medium of instruction in secondary schools, since the combination including Afrikaans has scored the highest overall percentage (42%), whereas only 29% of the respondents indicated that a combination of languages that include Afrikaans should be used as a medium of instruction in primary schools.

This reported increase in desire towards the use of a combination of languages that includes Afrikaans, can mainly be contributed to 55% of the respondents from Atteridgeville who prefers that Afrikaans be included, whereas respondents in Mamelodi is still more in favour of a combination including English (33%), followed by 29% of the respondents who chose a combination including Afrikaans as medium of instruction in secondary schools.

Graph 4.5 Preferred medium of instruction



Graph 4.5 is a visual presentation of the overall results obtained with regard to the preferred media of instruction in primary and secondary schools respectively, as discussed under Tables 4.29 and 4.30.

Table 4.31 Preferred medium of instruction by gender - primary school

PRIMARY SCHOOL	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng+other	49	47	143	48
Afr,Eng+other	29	29	87	29
Eng	11	12	35	12
Afr+Eng	2	6	13	4
All	3	3	8	3
NS	2	2	5	2
SS	2	0	2	1
Zul	2	1	3	1
All, except Afr	2	1	3	1
Afr	0	1	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 111)	100 (N = 189)	300	100

Table 4.31 indicates whether male and female respondents differ with regard to the preferred medium of instruction in primary schools. 49% of the male respondents preferred English and other languages as medium of instruction in primary schools, and 47% of the female respondents opted for the same combination. 29% male and female respondents respectively opted for any combination including Afrikaans, English, and other languages. 11% of the male respondents, and 12% of the female respondents preferred English. The results obtained suggest that gender (an independent variable) has no influence on the respondents' choices regarding the preferred medium of instruction (a dependent variable) in primary schools.

Table 4.32 Preferred medium of instruction by gender - secondary school

SECONDARY SCHOOL	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Afr, Eng+other	46	40	126	42
Eng+other	23	25	74	25
Eng	18	21	60	20
Afr+Eng	5	6	18	6
All	6	6	19	6
Afr	0	1	1	0.3
All, except Afr	1	0	1	0.3
Afr+1 other	0	1	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0
NS	0	0	0	0
SS	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Zul	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 111)	100 (N = 189)	300	100

Table 4.32 indicates whether male and female respondents differ with regard to the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools. 23% of the male respondents preferred English and other languages as medium of instruction in secondary schools, and 25% of the female respondents opted for the same combination. 46% male and 40% female respondents respectively opted for any combination including Afrikaans, English, and other languages. 18% of the male respondents, and 21% of the female respondents preferred English.

The results obtained yet again show that gender (an independent variable) holds little significance for the respondents' choices regarding the preferred medium of instruction (a dependent variable) in secondary schools, although there is a slight difference in terms of the combination "**Afrikaans, English, and other**", where 6% more males than females opted for this combination, whereas 3% more females than males opted for the sole use of English.

Table 4.33 Preferred medium of instruction by home language - primary school

PRIMARY	HOME LANGUAGE												
	AFR %	ENG %	NDE %	NS %	SS %	SWA %	TSO %	TSW %	VEN %	XHO %	ZUL %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng+other	0	0	36	54	71	60	45	36	70	33	47	143	48
Afr,Eng+other	50	50	20	32	14	20	36	39	20	0	20	87	29
Eng	0	0	28	7	0	0	9	15	0	0	20	35	12
Afr+Eng	50	50	12	2	0	0	9	2	10	0	6	13	4
All	0	0	0	3	0	10	0	3	0	67	0	8	3
NS	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	5	2
All, except Afr	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	1
SS	0	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Zul	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	4	3	1
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100

Table 4.33 indicates the preferences of the respective home language groups in terms of medium of instruction in primary schools. In again focusing on the three main home language groups, it is revealed that 54% of the Northern Sotho-speaking respondents is in favour of a combination of languages including "**English and other**". 32% is in favour of the combination "**Afrikaans, English and other**", whereas 7% chooses the sole use of **English**. Of the respondents representing the Tswana-group, 39% opted for the use of "**Afrikaans, English and other**", 36% voted in favour of "**English and other**", and 15% was predisposed towards English. The majority of the Zulu-speaking respondents (47%) opted for "**English and other**", and 20% chose "**Afrikaans, English and other**" and "**English**" respectively. Overall, the "**English and other**"-combination seems to be the most popular choice among the respondents.

Although not statistically significant, the most meaningful observations to be made are the following: The Northern Sotho-group did not reveal a strong preference towards the sole use of English when compared to other groups; the majority of the Tswana-group (albeit by a small margin) revealed an inclination supporting a combination including the use of Afrikaans; whereas the majority of the Zulu-group tend to lean towards a combination including "**English and other**".

Table 4.34 Preferred medium of instruction by home language - secondary school

SECONDARY	HOME LANGUAGE													TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	AFR %	ENG %	NDE %	NS %	SS %	SWA %	TSO %	TSW %	VEN %	XHO %	ZUL %				
Afr,Eng+other	50	50	28	44	43	50	55	42	20	67	41	126	42		
Eng+other	0	0	16	33	29	30	27	22	40	0	12	74	25		
Eng	0	0	36	16	29	0	9	19	10	0	33	60	20		
Afr+Eng	50	50	12	3	0	10	0	7	10	0	6	18	6		
All	0	0	4	4	0	10	9	10	20	33	4	19	6		
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0.3		
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0.3		
All, except Afr	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3		
Nde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
SS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Tso	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Ven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Zul	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	300	100		

Table 4.34 indicates the preferences of the respective home language groups in terms of medium of instruction in secondary schools. In still focusing on the three main home language groups, it is revealed that 44% of the Northern Sotho-speaking respondents is in favour of a combination of languages including "**Afrikaans, English and other**". 33% is in favour of the combination "**English and other**", whereas 16% chooses the sole use of **English**.

With regard to the Northern Sotho-speaking respondents, these results indicate an increased desire towards the use of English as sole medium of instruction in secondary schools, with an 11% increase in the number of respondents opting for English. This increase is largely the result of lesser respondents opting for the "**English and other**"-combination.

Of the respondents representing the Tswana-group, 42% opted for the use of "**Afrikaans, English and other**", 22% voted in favour of "**English and other**", and 19% was predisposed towards English. These results indicate a gain for both the "**Afrikaans, English and other**"-, and the "**English**"-only options, with the "**English and other**"-option losing ground. The majority of the Zulu-speaking respondents (41%)

opted for "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 12% chose "**English and other**" and 33% preferred "**English**".

The Zulu-speaking respondents revealed an even stronger inclination towards the sole use of **English** as medium of instruction in secondary schools than was the case in primary schools, overall representing the group that favours the sole use of English by a larger majority than the other groups who are more inclined to opt for a "**English and other**"-combination. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 revealed that respondents representing the Zulu-group are not inclined to replace their home language with another, in the sense that all of the respondents who had learnt Zulu first as a child, had all grown up in Zulu. The conclusion to be drawn from the above-mentioned discussion is that if Zulu-speaking respondents were to be confronted with a decision in this regard, they would probably opt for English rather than other African languages, an observation confirmed by their stronger inclination towards the sole use of English above.

Apart from the slight deviation in terms of the preferences of the Zulu-speaking respondents, it is safe to conclude that the independent variable "Home language" does not have a statistically significant influence on the preferred medium of instruction (dependent variable) in neither primary- nor secondary schools.

Table 4.35 Medium of instruction by level of education - primary school

PRIMARY	LEVEL OF EDUCATION				
	GRADES 0-7 %	GRADES 8-12 %	TERTIARY %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng+other	37	50	48	143	48
Afr,Eng+other	30	26	34	87	29
Eng	12	13	8	35	12
NS	2	1	4	5	2
Afr+Eng	5	4	4	13	4
All	5	3	0	8	3
SS	0	1	1	2	1
All, except Afr	5	0	1	3	1
Zul	5	1	0	3	1
Afr	0	1	0	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0
Afr+ 1 other	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 43)	100 (N = 178)	100 (N = 79)	300	100

Table 4.35 indicates the preferences of the respondents allocated to the respective levels of education in terms of medium of instruction in primary schools. These results revealed that 37% of the respondents with a primary school education (representing 14% of the sample group) is in favour of a combination of languages including "**English and other**". 30% is in favour of the combination "**Afrikaans, English and other**", whereas 12% chooses the sole use of **English**.

With regard to the respondents with a secondary school qualification (representing 59% of the sample group), 50% opted for the use of "**English and other**", 26% voted in favour of "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 13% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**.

The majority of the respondents with a tertiary qualification (representing 26% of the sample group), 48% opted for the use of "**English and other**", 34% was inclined towards "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 8% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**. Of interest would be the decline in the percentage of respondents with a tertiary qualification who had opted for the sole use of English as medium of instruction in primary schools. Across the respective levels of education it seems as if the majority of respondents are predisposed towards the "**English and other**"-combination as medium of instruction in primary schools.

Table 4.36 Medium of instruction by level of education - secondary school

SECONDARY	LEVEL OF EDUCATION				TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	GRADES 0-7 %	GRADES 8-12 %	TERTIARY %			
Afr,Eng+other	44	37	52		126	42
Eng	23	20	19		60	20
Eng+other	21	30	15		74	25
All	5	4	11		19	6
Afr+Eng	5	8	3		18	6
Afr	0	1	0		1	0.3
All, except Afr	2	0	0		1	0.3
Afr+1 other	0	1	0		1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0		0	0
NS	0	0	0		0	0
SS	0	0	0		0	0
Tso	0	0	0		0	0
Tsw	0	0	0		0	0
Ven	0	0	0		0	0
Xho	0	0	0		0	0
Zul	0	0	0		0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 43)	100 (N = 178)	100 (N = 79)		300	100

Table 4.36 indicates the preferences of the respondents allocated to the respective levels of education in terms of medium of instruction in secondary schools. These results revealed that 44% of the respondents with a primary school education (representing 14% of the sample group) is in favour of a combination of languages including "**Afrikaans, English and other**". 21% is in favour of the combination "**English and other**", whereas 23% chooses the sole use of **English**. In terms of preference of those with a primary school qualification with regard to medium of instruction in secondary schools, the "**English and other**"-combination lost ground to the other two options which gained in popularity.

With regard to the respondents with a secondary school qualification (representing 59% of the sample group), 37% opted for the use of "**Afrikaans, English and other**", 30% preferred "**English and other**", and 20% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**. The "**English and other**"-combination again lost some ground amongst respondents with a secondary school qualification in terms of the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools.

The majority of the respondents with a tertiary qualification (representing 26% of the sample group), 15% opted for the use of "**English and other**", the majority (52%) was inclined towards "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 19% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**.

Of interest would be the increase in the percentage of respondents with tertiary qualifications who had opted for the "**Afrikaans, English, and other**"-option as medium of instruction in secondary schools. This could be contributed to the sharp decline in respondents opting for "**English and other**" as the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools.

The results of Tables 4.35 and 4.36 indicate that with regard to the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools and across the respective levels of education of the respondents, the majority of the respondents in general prefer the "**Afrikaans, English and other**"-option. The conclusion to be drawn is that respondents favour the notion of "additive multilingualism". This is based upon the observation that the preferred option with regard to medium of instruction in primary school is "**English and other**", whereas the "**Afrikaans, English and other**"-option gained in popularity with regard to the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools.

The conclusion to be drawn is that Level of Education (the dependent variable) yet again does not seem to influence the dependent variable (preferred medium of instruction), since there are no noteworthy differences in the preferences of respondents allocated to the respective levels of education.

Table 4.37 Preferred medium of instruction by residential status - primary school

PRIMARY	RESIDENTIAL STATUS			TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	0-9 YEARS %	10-19 YEARS %	20+ YEARS %		
Eng+other	54	55	41	143	48
Afr,Eng+other	22	26	33	86	29
Eng	13	8	13	35	12
Afr+Eng	7	1	4	13	4
All	1	4	3	8	3
Zul	0	0	2	3	1
All, except Afr	0	0	2	3	1
NS	0	4	1	5	2
SS	0	1	1	2	1
Afr	1	0	0	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 68)	100 (N = 74)	100 (N = 157)	299	100

Frequency missing: 1

Table 4.37 indicates the preferences of the respondents living in their area of residence for a differing number of years (residential status) in terms of medium of instruction in primary schools. These results revealed that 54% of the respondents living in the area for 0-9 years (representing 23% of the sample group) is in favour of a combination of languages including "**English and other**". 22% is in favour of the combination "**Afrikaans, English and other**", whereas 13% chooses the sole use of **English**.

With regard to the respondents living in the area for a period of 10-19 years (representing 25% of the sample group), 55% opted for the use of "**English and other**", 26% voted in favour of "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 8% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**.

The majority of the respondents living in the area for 20 years or more, (representing 52% of the sample group), 41% opted for the use of "**English and other**", 33% was inclined towards "**Afrikaans, English and other**", and 13% was predisposed towards the sole use of **English**. Of interest would be the decline in the percentage of respondents living in the area for longer than 20 years who had opted for the use of "**English and other**", with the combination "**Afrikaans, English, and other**" gaining some popularity as medium of instruction in primary schools when

compared to other groups. Across the respective years of residence-categories it however seems as if the majority of respondents are, albeit in varying degrees, predisposed towards the "**English and other**"-combination as medium of instruction in primary schools.

Table 4.38 Preferred medium of instruction by residential status - secondary school

SECONDARY	RESIDENTIAL STATUS				TOTAL %
	0-9 YEARS %	10-19 YEARS %	20+ YEARS %	TOTAL (N)	
Afr,Eng+other	21	53	46	125	42
Eng	18	19	22	60	20
Eng+other	50	18	17	74	25
All	1	7	8	19	6
Afr+Eng	9	4	6	18	6
All, except Afr	0	0	1	1	0.3
Afr+1 other	0	0	1	1	0.3
Afr	1	0	0	1	0.3
Nde	0	0	0	0	0
NS	0	0	0	0	0
SS	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0
Zul	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 68)	100 (N = 74)	100 (N = 157)	299	100

Frequency missing: 1

Table 4.38 indicates the preferences of the respondents living in their area of residence for a differing number of years (residential status) in terms of medium of instruction in secondary schools. These results revealed that 50% of the respondents living in the area for 0-9 years (representing 23% of the sample group) is in favour of a combination of languages including "**English and other**". 21% is in favour of the combination "**Afrikaans, English and other**", whereas 18% chooses the sole use of **English**. When compared to the preferences in terms of the medium of instruction in primary schools, a lower percentage of the respondents living in the area for 0-9 years thus opted for "**English and other**", with the "**English**-only option thus gaining some ground with regard to the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

With regard to the respondents living in the area for a period of 10-19 years (representing 25% of the sample group), 53% opted for the use of

"Afrikaans, English and other", 18% preferred of "English and other", and 19% was predisposed towards the sole use of English. When compared to the preferences in terms of the medium of instruction in primary schools, a lower percentage of the respondents living in the area for 0-9 years thus opted for "Afrikaans, English and other", with the "English"-only option, as with the previous group, gaining some ground with regard to the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

The majority of the respondents living in the area for 20 years or more, (representing 52% of the sample group), 17% opted for the use of "English and other", 46% was inclined towards "Afrikaans, English and other", and 22% was predisposed towards the sole use of English. Of notable interest would be the decline in the percentage of respondents living in the area for longer than 20 years who had opted for the use of "English and other", with the combination "Afrikaans, English, and other" being the most popular choice as medium of instruction in secondary schools as opposed to the two other groups who had favoured the "English and other"-combination.

Across the respective years of residence-categories it seems as if the majority of respondents are predisposed towards the "English and other"-combination as medium of instruction in primary schools. The majority of those living in the area for longer than 20 years (who represent 52% of the sample group), however, opted for the "Afrikaans, English and other"-combination for the medium of instruction in secondary schools.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon might be the fact that those who had resided in the Pretoria-area for a longer time, might have lived the reality that Afrikaans used to be a politically advantaged language until the recent past, and possibly today still remains to be the home language of a large portion of Tshwane's employers. Based upon this historical fact, the respondents thus might deem it necessary for school-leavers who plan to enter the labour market in the Tshwane-area to be proficient in Afrikaans.

The conclusions to be drawn at this stage are, firstly, that residential status (the dependent variable) yet again does not seem to influence the dependent variable (preferred medium of instruction in primary schools), since there had been no significant differences in the responses of respondents. On secondary school level, however, a subtle change

occurred in terms of respondents living in the area for 20 years or longer who had favoured a combination that includes Afrikaans.

Table 4.39 Preferred medium of instruction by occupational category - primary school

PRIMARY	OCCUPATION										TOTAL (%)
	PROFESSIONAL %	NURSE %	TEACHER %	POLICE %	DOMESTIC WORKER %	CUSTOMER SERVICES %	SKILLED WORKER %	INFORMAL SECTOR %	PUBLIC SERVICE %	TOTAL (N)	
Eng+other	50	43	44	50	22	63	60	33	33	45	47
Eng	30	14	33	0	22	13	5	17	8	14	15
Afr, Eng+other	10	14	11	50	44	13	20	33	50	24	25
Afr+Eng	10	29	0	0	11	6	0	0	0	5	5
All	0	0	0	0	0	6	10	0	0	3	3
All, except Afr	0	0	11	0	0	0	5	0	0	2	2
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	1	1
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	1
Nde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zul	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	95	100

Table 4.39 indicates the preferences of those respondents who had reported to be either full time or part time employed for medium of instruction in primary schools. These respondents represent 32% of the total sample group. The results reveal that the majority of the respondents, 47%, prefer that a combination of "**English and other**" be used as the medium of instruction in primary schools, followed by 25% who opted for the "**Afrikaans, English and other**"-combination. 15% of the respondents was predisposed towards the sole use of English.

Although the cells are too small to draw statistically meaningful conclusions, the following interesting observations were made: The majority of those respondents that indicated that they were professionally employed, had opted for the "**English and other**"-combination (50%), followed by 30% of the who preferred English. The majority of the teachers (44%) indicated that they prefer "**English and other**" to be the medium of instruction in primary schools, whereas 33% had opted for the sole use of English. These two groups represent those respondents more in favour of English, or a combination of English and other languages. Those professionals employed in the private sectors of society, such as engineers or accountants, might be more prone to choose English since English seems to be the language of formal business. Teachers might, for a number of practical reasons which will be discussed at a later stage, deem it important to use either English alone, or apply a combination of languages that includes English, as the medium of instruction in primary schools.

The majority of domestic workers (44%) and respondents employed in the Public Service (50%) respectively preferred the "**Afrikaans, English and other**"-combination. With Afrikaans being the dominant home language of Pretoria's white community, it might seem logical that those respondents who are employed as domestic workers in those households might be more exposed to Afrikaans than other groups. They thus might regard it important that learners are taught in Afrikaans, since their working environment is mostly Afrikaans and they might deem it important for learners to have a good proficiency in Afrikaans. The same holds true for workers in the Public Service, who because of the nature of their work with the general public and the presumed higher prevalence of Afrikaans amongst the white community in the Tshwane-area, also seem to think that knowledge of Afrikaans would be beneficial to learners.

Table 4.40 Preferred medium of instruction by occupational category - secondary school

SECONDARY	OCCUPATION										
	PROFESSIONAL %	NURSE %	TEACHER %	POLICE %	DOMESTIC WORKER %	CUSTOMER SERVICES %	SKILLED WORKER %	INFORMAL SECTOR %	PUBLIC SERVICE %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Afr, Eng+other	20	29	22	50	67	50	30	33	50	37	39
Eng+other	10	29	33	50	0	19	40	33	33	26	27
Eng	50	14	33	0	33	13	15	17	17	20	21
All	10	0	11	0	0	13	10	0	0	6	6
Afr+Eng	10	29	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	4	4
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	1	1
All, except Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	1
Nde	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tso	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tsw	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zul	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afr+1 other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	95	100

Table 4.40 indicates the preferences of those respondents who had reported to be either full time or part time employed for medium of instruction in secondary schools. These respondents represent 32% of the total sample group. The results reveal that the majority of the respondents, 39%, prefer that a combination of "**Afrikaans, English and other**" be used as the medium of instruction in secondary schools, whereas 47% preferred the "**English and other**" option for primary schools. 27% opted for the "**English and other**"-combination. 21% of the respondents was predisposed towards the sole use of English, an increase of 6% over those that chose English as medium of instruction for primary schools.

Occupation, representing the independent variable in this case, does not seem to influence the dependent variable, namely the preferred medium of instruction in primary or secondary schools. These results again confirm

a desire for a language policy that favours "additive multilingualism" as had been pointed out at Tables 4.35 and 4.36. The latter indicated a similar trend with regard to the preferred medium of instruction in secondary schools across the respective levels of education of the respondents.

At this stage it in general becomes apparent that the independent variables **gender, home language, level of education, residential status** and **occupation** do not have a significant influence on the preferred medium of instruction (dependent variable) in neither primary nor secondary schools. An aspect that does emerge from the above-mentioned discussion is that the majority of the linguistic community under investigation favours a multilingual approach in terms of medium of instruction. They also tend to lean towards a policy that gradually adds more languages to the individual learner's repertoire, supporting a policy that equips a learner with proficiency in English, Afrikaans, and other dominant African languages of the area. Their linguistic preferences in terms of medium of instruction seem to be needs-driven. Those needs are based upon the linguistic realities the respondents are confronted with, and are therefore area-bound.

Table 4.41 Languages perceived to command respect (Q16)

STATUS	BE RESPECTED BY PEOPLE			TOTAL %
	YES %	UNCERTAIN %	NO %	
Afr	49	22	29	100
Eng	87	5	8	100
Nde	42	24	35	100
NS	76	11	13	100
SS	47	25	28	100
Swa	34	27	39	100
Tso	36	20	44	100
Tsw	62	20	18	100
Ven	30	25	45	100
Xho	37	26	37	100
Zul	59	19	22	100

Table 4.41 indicates the degree to which the 300 respondents graded the respective languages in terms of being respected by other people. Again only focusing on the main languages of the area, Table 4.41 reveals that 87% of the respondents regarded knowledge of English as necessary to gain the respect of other people. 5% seemed to be uncertain whether the use of English would command respect, whereas 8% felt that it does not.

With regard to Northern Sotho, the majority of the respondents (76%) expressed the opinion that the use of Northern Sotho would generate respect. Northern Sotho, however, is the home language of 40% of the sample group, thus respondents with home languages other than Northern Sotho also regard it as a language that commands respect. 11% of the respondents were uncertain, and 12% indicated that the use of Northern Sotho does not command respect.

The majority of the respondents (62%) regarded Tswana in a positive light in this regard (Tswana is the home language of 20% of the sample group), followed by 20% who were uncertain, whereas 18% deemed it not important at all in terms of gaining the respect of others. 59% of the respondents felt that the use of Zulu, the home language of 17% of the respondents, commands respect. 19% of the respondents was uncertain, and 22% indicated that the use of Zulu would not generate respect in others.

In terms of the less represented home languages such as Venda, it seems as if those languages are not regarded as languages that command respect. For example, more respondents deem Venda not capable of generating respect (45%) than those who do (30%). Only 3% of the respondents reported Venda to be their home language. The degree of uncertainty also increases with regard to those less represented home languages.

The conclusion to be drawn is that respondents, besides their obvious vote of confidence in English, in general regard the use of the main home languages of the area to generate respect in others, even though those languages - as is the case with some of the respondents - are not their own home languages. The respondents seem to be influenced yet again by the greater linguistic picture.

Table 4.42 Languages perceived to increase employment opportunities (Q16)

STATUS	GET A JOB/BETTER JOB			
	YES %	UNCERTAIN %	NO %	TOTAL %
Afr	74	7	19	100
Eng	94	4	3	100
Nde	20	34	46	100
NS	49	27	24	100
SS	25	35	40	100
Swa	17	31	52	100
Tso	17	28	54	100
Tsw	38	41	22	100
Ven	14	30	56	100
Xho	20	33	47	100
Zul	41	28	31	100

Table 4.42 indicates the degree to which respondents graded the respective languages in terms of either finding employment, or advancing in a career. Table 4.42 reveals that 94% of the respondents regarded knowledge of English as necessary to find employment or advance in their careers. 87% indicated that English command respect, thus English is regarded even higher in terms of the employment sector. 4% seemed to be uncertain whether the use of English would be beneficial in finding employment or advancing their careers, whereas 3% felt that it would not be beneficial at all.

With regard to Northern Sotho, the majority of the respondents 49% expressed the opinion that the use of Northern Sotho would help them to find employment or advance their careers. Although the use of Northern Sotho commands respect according to the majority of the respondents (76%), respondents do not regard Northern Sotho as being equally important in finding employment. The degree of uncertainty also increased when compared to Table 4.41, as 27% of the respondents were uncertain whether knowledge of Northern Sotho would be helpful when seeking employment, and only 11% felt uncertain with regard to Northern Sotho's ability to command respect. 24% of the respondents indicated that they do not regard knowledge of Northern Sotho as being beneficial in finding employment or advancing their careers.

38% of the respondents regarded Tswana in a positive light in this regard, although a far greater percentage revealed that the use of Tswana commands respect (62%). 41% of the respondents had been indifferent, whereas 22% deemed it not important at all in terms of finding

employment or advancing their careers. 41% of the respondents felt that knowledge of Zulu would benefit future career moves, whereas 59% had indicated that it commands respect. 28% of the respondents was uncertain, and 31% indicated that knowledge of Zulu would not be to their advantage.

Interestingly enough, Afrikaans was evaluated more positively in this regard, with 74% of the respondents indicating that knowledge of Afrikaans would be beneficial in finding employment or advancing their careers. This percentage is much higher than the 49% who thought that Afrikaans was a language that commanded respect. In terms of functionality in the career domain, Afrikaans thus scored higher than Northern Sotho (49%), Zulu (41%), and 38% Tswana.

The above-mentioned discussion indicates that respondents do not necessarily align respect for the respective languages with their functionality in the career domain. Although an individual thus might be respected for his mastery of certain local languages, it does not imply that the individual in question would have an advantage in the labour market. Based upon the respondents' reactions, knowledge of Afrikaans and English is regarded as being more important than the local African languages where the labour market is concerned.

Table 4.43 Language perceived to be important in seeking assistance (Q16)

STATUS	ASK FOR HELP			
	YES %	UNCERTAIN %	NO %	TOTAL %
Afr	70	10	20	100
Eng	89	4	7	100
Nde	55	16	29	100
NS	85	8	7	100
SS	57	17	26	100
Swa	45	21	34	100
Tso	46	18	36	100
Tsw	68	17	16	100
Ven	40	20	40	100
Xho	48	21	31	100
Zul	69	14	17	100

Table 4.43 indicates the degree to which respondents graded the respective languages in terms of asking for the help of strangers. This Table reveals that 89% of the respondents regarded knowledge of English

as necessary when asking for help, 2% more than the 87% who had indicated that the use of English commands respect. 4% seemed to be uncertain whether the knowledge of English would be necessary in asking for help, whereas 7% felt that it would not. With regard to Northern Sotho, the majority of the respondents (85%) regarded knowledge of Northern Sotho as important when having to ask for assistance, whereas 76% expressed the opinion that the use of Northern Sotho would command respect. 8% of the respondents were uncertain, and 7% indicated that the use of Northern Sotho would not be necessary when having to ask for assistance.

The majority of the respondents 68% regarded Tswana in a positive light in this regard, as opposed to the 62% who had indicated that the use of Tswana commands respect. 17% of the respondents had been indifferent, whereas 16% deemed it not important at all in terms of asking for help. 69% of the respondents felt that knowledge of Zulu would be appropriate when asking for help, although only 59% indicated that the use of Zulu commands respect. 14% of the respondents was uncertain, and 17% indicated that knowledge of Zulu would not be needed when asking for assistance.

Afrikaans again scored a rather high 70% in terms of its usefulness when having to ask for assistance.

Table 4.44 Language perceived to be important in attaining personal goals (Q16)

STATUS	GET THE THINGS YOU WANT IN LIFE			
	YES %	UNCERTAIN %	NO %	TOTAL %
Afr	64	13	23	100
Eng	89	5	6	100
Nde	36	30	35	100
NS	70	18	12	100
SS	36	35	30	100
Swa	30	31	39	100
Tso	27	30	43	100
Tsw	52	30	19	100
Ven	24	31	45	100
Xho	30	33	37	100
Zul	53	27	20	100

This question was hypothetically formulated in order to establish the degree to which respondents graded the respective languages in terms of

achieving their personal goals. The results of Tables 4.41-4.44 reveal that 89% of the respondents regarded knowledge of English as necessary to achieve their personal goals, 87% feels that the use of English commands respect, and 94% regards it beneficial in terms of career-orientated goals. In terms of these results, it can be assumed that although the perceived functional status of English is very high, it scores slightly lower on terms of commanding the respect of others. The contrary is proven to be true for the three main African languages spoken in the areas under investigation, as will be pointed out in the following section:

With regard to Northern Sotho, the majority of the respondents (70%) expressed the opinion that the use of Northern Sotho would help them to achieve their personal goals, 76% indicated that the use of Northern Sotho commands respect, and 49% felt that Northern Sotho would be beneficial in terms of career-options. Although the use of Northern Sotho thus commands respect according to the majority of the respondents, respondents do not regard Northern Sotho as being equally important in achieving their personal goals, nor is it regarded to be very important in the advancement of their careers. The conclusion to be drawn is that although Northern Sotho's functional status is not particularly high, knowledge of Northern Sotho is deemed necessary in order to command the respect of fellow-citizens in the Tshwane-area.

52% of the respondents regarded Tswana in a positive light in this regard, although a far greater percentage revealed that the use of Tswana commands respect (62%), whereas 38% felt that Tswana would be helpful when seeking employment. 53% of the respondents felt that knowledge of Zulu would help them to achieve their personal goals, whereas 59% had indicated that it commands respect, and 41% though it to be beneficial in the labour market. Zulu is thus regarded as being slightly more important than Tswana in the labour market. As had been pointed out with regard to Northern Sotho, although Tswana and Zulu's respective functional status is not particularly high, knowledge of those two languages is apparently deemed important in order to command the respect of fellow-citizens in the Tshwane-area.

With regard to Afrikaans, the majority of the respondents (64%) expressed the opinion that the use of Afrikaans would help them to achieve their personal goals, 49% indicated that the use of Afrikaans commands respect, and 74% felt that Afrikaans would be beneficial in terms of career-options. Although the use of Afrikaans thus commands a

lesser degree of respect when compared to the other languages, respondents regard Afrikaans as being rather important in achieving their personal goals, and it is regarded to be very important in the advancement of their careers. Knowledge of Afrikaans is thus not deemed necessary in order to command the respect of fellow-citizens in the Tshwane-area, but its functional status is rather high when compared to the other main languages of the area. The conclusion to be drawn is thus similar to the one arrived at with regard to English, although English scored much higher in terms of earning the respect of fellow-citizens than is the case with Afrikaans.

Table 4.45 Languages perceived to be important for community leaders to know (Q23)

PERCEIVED STATUS	M %	A %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng	35	43	117	39
NS	29	21	75	25
Zul	11	9	31	10
Tsw	7	9	24	8
NS+Eng	1	8	14	5
All S.A. languages	7	0	11	4
NS+other	5	1	9	3
Eng+other	3	3	9	3
SS	1	1	3	1
Tso	0	2	3	1
Nde	0	1	1	0
Venda	0	1	1	0
Afr	0	0	0	0
Swazi	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	298	100

Frequencies missing: A = 2

Table 4.45 indicates the preferences of the respondents with regard to languages important people in the respective communities should know. In focusing on the more popular preferences, it is revealed that the majority of the respondents (39%) would prefer that important people in their communities know English. 25% is in favour of Northern Sotho, followed by 10% who had opted for Zulu, and 8% who prefer that important people have a high proficiency in Tswana.

More respondents from Atteridgeville prefer that important people should have knowledge of English (43%) than the 35% who had expressed the

same sentiment in Mamelodi. Northern Sotho was the more popular choice in Mamelodi with 29% of the respondents opting for Northern Sotho, whereas 21% chose Northern Sotho in Atteridgeville. Respondents from Mamelodi and Atteridgeville do not greatly differ in terms of their attitude towards Zulu and Tswana.

As was pointed out previously (Table 4.3), the respondents from Atteridgeville are on average younger than those residing in Mamelodi, and it had been established that younger respondents are more inclined towards the use of English. The fact that more respondents from Atteridgeville prefer that important people in their community should have a high proficiency in English, thus corresponds with the above-mentioned results.

Table 4.46 Reasons supplied for above-mentioned choice (Q24)

REASONS FOR CHOICE	TOTAL (N)	%
Respondent's home language - majority understand it	98	33
English - majority understand it	83	28
Not respondent's home language - majority understand it	61	21
English - it's beyond cultural boundaries/a compromise	31	10
Eng - international language	10	3
Other	10	3
Eng+Afr - majority understand it	3	1
Grand Total	296	100

Frequencies missing = 4

Table 4.46 indicates the motivation behind the respondents' preferences in this regard. These explanations were grouped together in Table 4.46. The results reveal that the majority of the 300 respondents prefer that important people should be proficient in their respective home languages. 28% of the respondents opted for English, and as had been pointed out above, the majority of those who had opted for English, reside in Atteridgeville rather than Mamelodi. Interestingly enough, 21% of the respondents chose languages other than their respective home languages, excluding English. This corresponds with information supplied at Table 4.41, namely the fact that, for example, 76% of the respondents indicated that knowledge of Northern Sotho is necessary in order to command the respect of fellow-citizens in the Pretoria-area, although it is the home language of 40% of the respondents.

The following paragraphs provide examples of the answers the respondents offered as explanation for their preferences, some of them supporting the conclusion that was arrived at above:

- A Tswana-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville voiced the opinion that important people in Atteridgeville should be proficient in Zulu: "**Most spoken language by Africans, everyone should know Zulu**".
- A Zulu-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville opted for Northern Sotho: "**Although Northern Sotho's in urban areas don't speak clear Northern Sotho, but it is important because they all try to speak it**".
- Another Zulu-speaking respondent from Atteridgeville preferred that important people should be proficient in English: "**It is important because it is regarded as medium of instruction - it is assumed that everyone understands it**".
- A Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Mamelodi felt that important people should satisfy the community in general by showing mastery of all languages: "**All languages, because most people are not satisfied if a leader knows only a specific language**".
- A Tswana-speaking respondent from Mamelodi expressed a similar opinion, favouring an approach that enables the whole community to participate: "**All languages, to communicate with everyone including the illiterates**".
- A Ndebele-speaking respondent from Mamelodi prefers that important people addressing the community should be proficient in two local languages, namely Zulu and Northern Sotho: "**[...] because most pensioners and most blacks speak and understand Northern Sotho and Zulu**".
- A Northern Sotho-speaking respondent from Mamelodi opted for English: "**It is an international language**".

Table 4.47 Important languages for community leaders to know by gender

LANGUAGE	MALE %	FEMALE %	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng	41	38	117	39
NS	25	25	75	25
Zul	9	11	31	10
Tsw	7	9	24	8
NS+Eng	5	5	14	5
All languages	4	4	11	4
NS+other	3	3	9	3
Eng+other	2	4	9	3
SS	2	1	3	1
Tso	2	1	3	1
Afr	0	0	0	0
Nde	1	0	1	0
Swa	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	1	1	0
Xho	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100 (N = 110)	100 (N = 188)	298	100

Frequencies missing: Male = 1, Female = 1

Table 4.47 indicates the respective preferences of male and female respondents with regard to languages important people in their community should know. There are no significant differences between male and female respondents with regard to their preferences in this regard. 41% of the male respondents are predisposed towards English, and 38% of female respondents feel the same. 25% of male and female respondents respectively expressed the opinion that important people in their community should be proficient in Northern Sotho. 9% male respondents and 11% female respondents respectively opted for Zulu. 7% of the male respondents chose Tswana, and 9% of the females reported the same. Gender, as an independent variable thus does not seem have an influence on the dependent variable, namely language preference in terms of important people's mastery of the respective languages.

Table 4.48 Language community leaders should know by home language

LANGUAGE	HOME LANGUAGE													TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
	AFR %	ENG %	NDE %	NS %	SS %	SWA %	TSO %	TSW %	VEN %	XHO %	ZUL %				
Eng	100	100	32	45	43	0	36	27	40	33	46	117	39		
NS	0	0	20	35	0	60	18	17	20	0	16	75	25		
Zul	0	0	24	3	14	10	0	3	20	67	26	31	10		
Tsw	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	31	10	0	0	24	8		
NS+Eng	0	0	4	6	0	0	18	7	0	0	0	14	5		
All languages	0	0	8	1	14	20	0	2	0	0	8	11	4		
NS+other	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	9	3		
Eng+other	0	0	4	1	0	10	0	8	0	0	2	9	3		
SS	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	1		
Tso	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	0	3	1		
Nde	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3		
Ven	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	1	0.3		
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Swá	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	298	100		

Frequencies missing = 2

Table 4.48 indicates the preferences of the respective home language groups with regard to languages important people in their community should know. The majority of the Northern Sotho-speaking respondents (representing 40% of the sample group) indicated that they would prefer that important people have knowledge of English (45%), followed by 35% who chose Northern Sotho. With regard to the Tswana-speaking group (representing 20% of the sample group), the majority was predisposed towards Tswana (31%), followed by English (27%), with Northern Sotho in the third place (17%). The majority of the Zulu-speaking respondents (representing 17% of the sample group) would prefer that important people have knowledge of English (46%), followed by Zulu (26%), and Northern Sotho with 16%.

As was pointed out previously (Table 4.45), English is the most popular choice in this regard. The majority of the Northern Sotho-speaking and Zulu-speaking respondents thus indicated above that they prefer that important people have knowledge of English, whereas - albeit by a small margin - the majority of the Tswana-speaking respondents preferred that their home language be used by important people. The conclusion to be drawn is that home language (being the independent variable) does not seem to have an influence on the dependent variable, namely the

language respondents would prefer important people in their community should be proficient in.

Table 4.49 Language community leaders should know by age group

LANGUAGE	AGE GROUP					TOTAL %
	16-24 (%)	25-34 (%)	35-49 (%)	50+ (%)	TOTAL (N)	
Eng	44	39	44	19	115	39
NS	23	28	30	19	75	25
Zul	9	12	7	17	31	10
Tsw	9	6	6	13	24	8
NS+Eng	5	6	3	4	14	5
All languages	2	1	6	9	11	4
NS+other	2	3	3	6	9	3
Eng+other	4	0	1	9	9	3
SS	1	3	0	0	3	1
Tso	0	1	0	4	3	1
Nde	1	0	0	0	1	0.3
Ven	0	0	1	0	1	0.3
Afr	0	0	0	0	0	0
Swá	0	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	296	100

Frequencies missing = 4

Table 4.49 indicates the preferences of the respective age groups with regard to languages important people in their community should know. With regard to English, 44% of the 16-24 year old respondents (representing 37% of the sample group), 39% of the 25-34 year old respondents (representing 22% of the sample group), 44% of the 35-49 year old respondents (representing 24% of the sample group), and 19% of those being 50 and older (representing 16% of the sample group) preferred that important people addressing their community should have knowledge of English.

23% of the respondents in the 16-24 year bracket preferred Northern Sotho, 28% of those in the 25-34 year old interval chose Northern Sotho, 30% of those being between the ages of 35-49 preferred Northern Sotho, and 19% of those being 50 years of age or older was predisposed towards Northern Sotho. With regard to Tswana, 9% of the 16-24 year old respondents, 6% of the 25-34 year old respondents, 6% of the 35-49 year old respondents, and 13% of those respondents being 50 and older preferred that important people have knowledge of Tswana.

In terms of Zulu, 9% of the 16-24 year old respondents, 12% of the 25-34 year old respondents, 7% of the 35-49 year old respondents, and 17% of those being 50 and older preferred that important people are proficient in Zulu.

Across the respective age-group intervals it is revealed that the majority of respondents are predisposed towards important people knowing English, with the exception of respondents in the 50+ age group whose preference for English equals their preference for Northern Sotho (19%).

The conclusion to be drawn at this stage is that the age of the respondent (the independent variable) yet again does not seem to greatly influence the dependent variable (preferred language that important people should use in their community), apart from the possibility that younger respondents might be more predisposed towards English (cf. Table 4.45).

Table 4.50 Language community leaders should know by residential status

LANGUAGE	RESIDENTIAL STATUS				
	0-9 YEARS (%)	10-19 YEARS (%)	20+ YEARS (%)	TOTAL (N)	TOTAL %
Eng	41	42	37	117	39
NS	35	26	21	75	25
Zul	7	10	12	30	10
Tsw	9	7	8	24	8
NS+Eng	0	5	6	14	5
All languages	3	3	4	11	4
NS+other	3	1	4	9	3
Eng+other	1	0	5	9	3
SS	0	3	1	3	1
Tso	0	0	2	3	1
Nde	0	1	0	1	0.3
Ven	0	1	0	1	0.3
Afr	0	0	0	0	0
Swa	0	0	0	0	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	297	100

Frequencies missing = 4

Table 4.50 indicates the preferences of the respondents living in their area of residence for a differing number of years (residential status) with regard to languages important people in their community should know. These results revealed that 41% of the respondents living in the area for 0-9

years (representing 23% of the sample group) prefers that important people should be proficient in English. 35% is in favour of Northern Sotho, 9% chose Tswana, whereas 7% preferred the Zulu.

With regard to the respondents living in the area for a period of 10-19 years (representing 24% of the sample group), 42% opted for the use of English, 26% preferred Northern Sotho, only 7% was in favour of Tswana, and 10% was predisposed towards the use of Zulu.

The majority of the respondents living in the area for 20 years or more, (representing 52% of the sample group), 37%, prefer that important people should have knowledge of English, 21% opted for the use of Northern Sotho, 8% was inclined towards Tswana, and 12% was predisposed towards the use of Zulu. Of interest would be the fact that more respondents preferred Tswana above Zulu in the group who had resided in the area for a period of less than 10 years, whereas respondents living in the area for more than 10 years seemed to be slightly more inclined to favour Zulu.

Across the respective years of residence-categories it becomes clear that the majority of respondents are predisposed towards English in this regard. This corresponds with the fact that a large majority (87%) of the respondents regarded knowledge of English as necessary to gain the respect of other people (Table 4.41).

Residential status (the independent variable) thus does not seem to greatly influence the dependent variable (preferred language important people should know), since there had been no significant differences in the responses of respondents.

Table 4.51 Language community leaders should know by level of education

LANGUAGE	LEVEL OF EDUCATION				TOTAL %
	GRADES 0-7 (%)	GRADES 8-12 (%)	TERTIARY (%)	TOTAL (N)	
Eng	10	42	49	117	39
NS	36	24	22	75	25
Zul	17	10	8	31	10
Tsw	12	8	5	24	8
NS+Eng	0	6	4	14	5
All languages	12	2	4	11	4
NS+other	5	3	3	9	3
Eng+other	7	1	5	9	3
SS	0	2	0	3	1
Tso	2	1	1	3	1
Nde	0	1	0	1	0.3
Afr	0	0	0	0	0
Swa	0	0	0	0	0
Ven	0	1	0	1	0
Xho	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Total	100	100	100	298	100

Frequencies missing = 2

Table 4.51 indicates the preferences of the respondents allocated to the respective levels of education with regard to the language important people in their community should know. These results revealed that 10% of the respondents with a primary school education (representing 14% of the sample group) is in favour of English. 36% is in favour of Northern Sotho, 12% prefers that important people should be proficient in Tswana, and 17% is predisposed towards Zulu.

With regard to the respondents with a secondary school qualification (representing 59% of the sample group), 42% opted for the use of English, 24% voted in favour of Northern Sotho, 8% was predisposed towards the use of Tswana, and 10% prefers that Zulu is used by important people.

The majority of the respondents with a tertiary qualification (representing 26% of the sample group), 49%, opted for the use of English, 22% was inclined towards Northern Sotho, 5% chose Tswana, and 8% was predisposed towards the use of Zulu by important people. Of interest would be the increase in the percentages of respondents with a secondary or higher qualification who opted for English in this regard. Across the

respective levels of education it in general again becomes apparent, as was the case with regard to residential status, that the majority of respondents are predisposed towards English, although those with a primary school qualification seem to be more in favour of Northern Sotho. It could, therefore again be assumed that the status of the respective languages in the area under investigation is needs-driven, since those with a primary school education would presumably be less likely to be highly proficient in English than those with higher qualifications, thus they would presumably be more inclined to favour African languages that they understand better. The main African languages of the area are thus also regarded as being relatively important, especially by - as was pointed out above - older, less educated respondents.

The status of English was thus shown to be high under those respondents who are assumedly fairly proficient in the language, and although not statistically proven - those that are not expected to be as proficient, are less inclined to choose English.

Since the cells representing the independent variables **gender, home language, age group, residential status, and level of education** differ in size, it could not be suggested that these independent variables greatly influences the dependent variable (preferred language important people should know). An aspect that however does emerge from the above-mentioned discussion is that the sample group selected from the linguistic community under investigation favours English by a large majority. This majority could be described as young male or female respondents living in their area of residence for varying periods of time with at least secondary school qualifications.

Table 4.52 The language the president should use when addressing the nation (Q26)

PERCEIVED STATUS	TOTAL (N)	%
Eng	231	77
Any non-home language + Eng	14	5
NS	12	4
Zul	9	3
Any combination - home language + Eng	9	3
4/more other languages	9	3
Home language + other	5	2
Tsw	4	1
Xho	3	1
Nde	2	1
Afr	1	0.3
SS	1	0.3
Swa	0	0
Tso	0	0
Ven	0	0
Grand Total	300	100

Table 4.52 indicates the preferences of the respondents with regard to the language an important person, in this case the president of the country, should use when addressing the nation. Since many respondents' answers comprised of a combination of languages, new classifications had been included to accommodate mention of the respondents' home languages in their responses. The individual language options, however, are not necessarily the home language of the respondents, and are to be interpreted as languages that the respondents in general attach varying degrees of status to in this regard.

The majority of the respondents indicated that they prefer that the president should address the nation in English (77%), presumably because of the fact that English is regarded as a language that the majority of the nation would understand. 5% of the respondents followed with "**Any non-home language + English**"-combination. Home language, therefore, does not seem to influence respondents' preferences in this regard.

An interesting observation is that respondents are more inclined to prefer English on a national level than on a local level, since only 39% of the respondents had indicated that important people in their own community should be proficient in English (Table 4.45). Besides the 77% who had

indicated that they would prefer the president to use English when addressing the nation, the high prevalence of respondents opting for a combination of languages (13%) further strengthens the argument that respondents regard transparency on the levels of local- and national governance as being important. The MarkData Report (2000:9) supports this argument with an even stronger desire expressed for the use of indigenous languages. The findings stated that 24% of the sample group surveyed nationally indicated that they would prefer Ministers in government, Councillors in municipalities, and officials to make speeches in Zulu, 21% preferred Afrikaans, 20% Xhosa, 16% Southern Sotho, 8% Northern Sotho, and 7% Tswana. No distinction, however, was made between national and local government representatives.

The status of the respective languages does thus not seem to be dependent on the individual characteristics of the respondents, but are in fact needs-driven. Respondents are thus capable of distinguishing between linguistic needs and realities within their own communities, and the linguistic realities that exist outside their area of residence - therefore perhaps the increase in the percentage of respondents who had opted for English where the nation as a whole is concerned. These observations correspond with observations made earlier with regard to preferred medium of instruction where preferences were also based upon area-bound linguistic realities the respondents are confronted with.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

Chapter 1 identified **what** was being investigated, Chapter 2 explained **why** it is necessary, and Chapter 3 pointed out **how** the relevant data were gathered. Chapter 4 revealed the results obtained by the research instrument of choice, namely the questionnaire of which the purpose was to provide a sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

It has been pointed out that this research project can only represent an example of the kind of information that should be considered when engaging in the process of local language planning and policy formulation. This research project was undertaken with minimal financial resources, a small sample size, and within a limited time-frame. In this light, and although the utmost care was taken in terms of statistical representativeness and accuracy, this research project should be regarded

as a point of departure for decision-makers engaging themselves in the process of formulating and implementing a local language policy.

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, Chapter 5 will conclude the research project with an in-depth analysis of the implications of the results for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council with regard to the formulation of a local language policy, and measure the proposals against theoretical insights discussed up to this stage.

CHAPTER 5

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

5.1 Introduction

It has been said that the purpose of this research project was to obtain a sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, the results of which would be relevant to the process of planning and implementing a language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. Another aspect of this research project was to establish to which extent the independent variables (personal/demographical data) have an influence on dependent variables. The independent variables were identified as age, gender, home language, education, employment status, occupation and residential status. Dependent variables in this study were characterised as the languages spoken in the areas under investigation, language competence, language preference, the situational contexts these languages are used in, and the perceived status of the respective languages.

Discussion of the implications of the obtained results will therefore be preceded by a summary of the most important demographical characteristics of the sample group.

5.2 Basic Demographical Information - Results

5.2.1 Gender (Table 4.2)

The sample comprises of 63% female and 37% male respondents. The reason for the difference in gender composition might be related to the typical "township" scenario where men were forced by circumstances to find work away from home to support their families, and thus do not reside in the respective areas permanently.

5.2.2 Age (Table 4.3)

When comparing the age group intervals of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, it was revealed that 43% of the respondents in Mamelodi are less than 30 years of age, whereas 55% of respondents in Atteridgeville are under the age of 30. It should thus be noted that Atteridgeville consists of a

population where the majority of the respondents are relatively young. This difference comes to the foreground specifically with regard to the 16-19 years age group interval where there are 14 more respondents to be found in Atteridgeville when compared to Mamelodi, whereas 10 more older respondents in Mamelodi are to be found in the 30-39 years age group interval than in Atteridgeville.

5.2.3 Residential Status in Years (Table 4.4)

From the results it was deduced that the residents of Atteridgeville are more inclined to remain in that area for longer periods of time than is the case in Mamelodi. The figures indicate that 93% of the respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville have been living there for more than 10 years, whereas 55% of the respondents in Mamelodi have been living there for more than 10 years. Atteridgeville therefore seems to be more stable in terms of migrational volatility. This fact, however, might not be of major importance, since the majority of the sample group still report to have been living in their respective areas for longer than 20 years.

5.2.4 Level of Education (Table 4.5)

Respondents surveyed in Atteridgeville, in comparison to Mamelodi, have the least number of respondents reporting to be without formal education, and the highest number of respondents reporting to have tertiary qualifications. This corresponds with the fact that there are more elderly people in the Mamelodi area who might not have had the same educational opportunities or aspirations as the younger generations, of which the majority is to be found in Atteridgeville.

5.2.5 Religious Affiliation (Table 4.7)

The majority of Mamelodi's respondents (29%) indicated that they were affiliated to "Other Christian" denominations, followed by respondents affiliated to the Z.C.C. denomination with 15%. The majority of Atteridgeville's respondents were members of the Lutheran church (20%), followed by 14% reporting to be Z.C.C. members.

5.2.6 Home Language (Table 4.9)

It was pointed out that the language the respondent grew up with had been regarded as the respondent's home language, since that would be

the language the respondent had been exposed to most, and that would probably be the language through which initial cognitive development took place.

Northern Sotho is by far the language that can be characterised as being the home language of the majority of the respondents (40%). This fact had been taken into consideration where language combinations had to be created in order to define and report on some of the results in a meaningful manner. Tswana, with 20%, and Zulu with 17% are the other two important home languages. The main differences reported between Mamelodi and Atteridgeville were with regard to Tswana and Zulu. 13% of the respondents reported to have grown up with Tswana in Mamelodi, whereas 27% reported to have grown up with Tswana in Atteridgeville. The opposite is true with regard to Zulu, where 21% of the respondents in Mamelodi reported to have grown up with Zulu, whereas 13% indicated Zulu in Atteridgeville.

5.2.7 Employment status (Table 4.13)

The majority of the respondents reported to be either unemployed (24%), or employed full time (23%). 20% of the respondents residing in Mamelodi reported to be working full time, whereas 26% is employed full time in Atteridgeville. A huge discrepancy exists with regard to the unemployment status, where 33% of Mamelodi's respondents reported to be unemployed, whereas only 15% indicated the same in Atteridgeville.

A general link seems to exist between unemployment, age, and level of education - the older the respondent, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of unemployment.

5.2.8 Occupation (Table 4.14)

The majority of the 95 respondents who had indicated that they were either employed full- or part time, (7%), reported to be Skilled Workers. 26% of those respondents resides in Atteridgeville, whereas 16% is from Mamelodi. Of the 3% respondents who are professionally employed, 17% is to be found in Atteridgeville, whereas only 4% resides in Mamelodi. The majority of the respondents who have indicated that they are informal workers, are from Mamelodi (10%), with only 2% reporting the same in Atteridgeville. Although on a very small scale, this supports observations made earlier, namely that Atteridgeville on average seems to have more

young respondents with a higher level of education, and who are more likely to be working in the formal employment sectors.

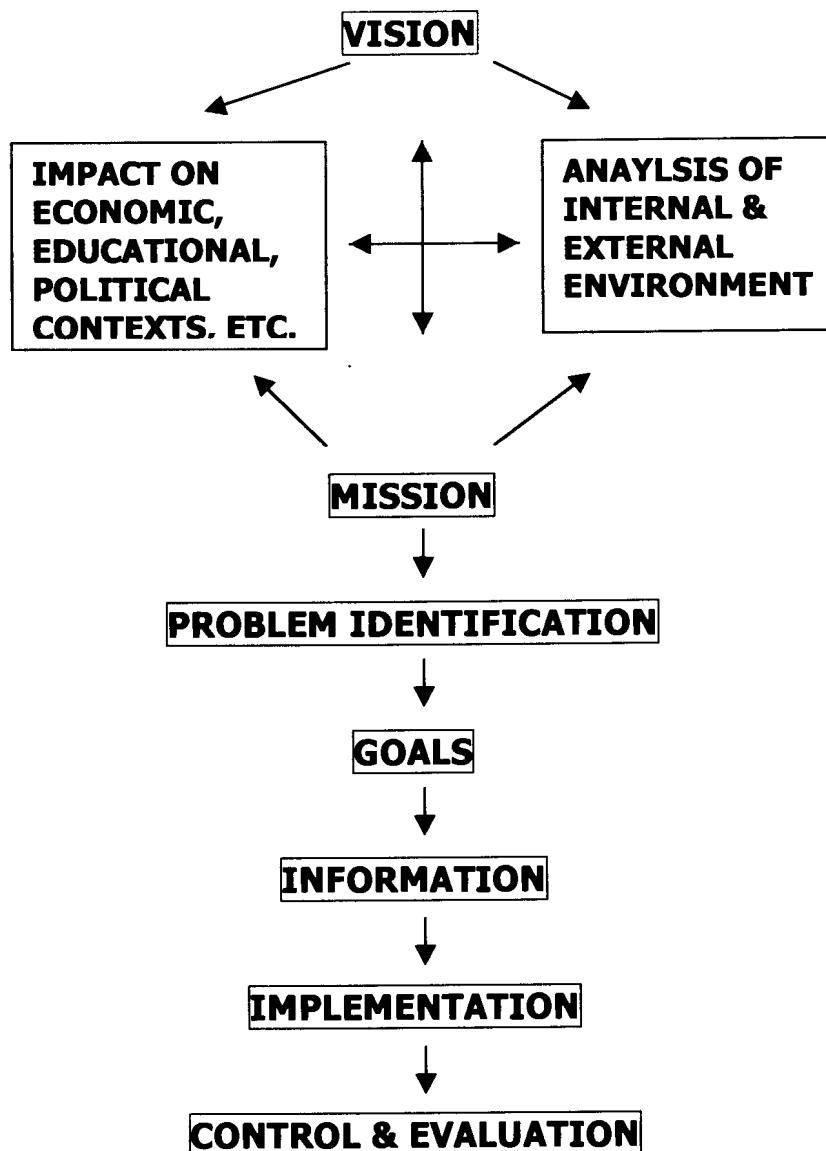
The discussion above evolved around the personal characteristics of the respondents. It has been said that the purpose of this research project was to obtain a sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. The overall results obtained revealed linguistically relevant information on various levels, namely on the levels of self-reported language proficiency, linguistic preferences, as well as the status of the respective languages as perceived by the respondents. Having thus defined the linguistic attributes of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville (Chapter 4), the relevance of these characteristics needs to be established against the background of language planning (as was discussed in Chapter 2) and language attitudes (as was discussed in the introduction to Chapter 3).

5.3 Constituent factors underlying language planning and policy formulation

The following discussion will be based upon constituent factors that should be inherent to language planning and policy implementation. According to Webb (2002:38) language planning is based on 'theories' about two constituent factors, namely language and planning, and the interrelationship between language and public life.

Webb (2002:39-41) supplies a framework using the South African situation as an example - see Figure 5.1. This framework embraces the notion of a "systematic, rational, theory-based effort" that forms part of the definition of language planning supplied in Chapter 1, section 1. The framework is based upon generally accepted strategic business planning principles, and in his application it outlines the constituent factors underlying the design and implementation of a language planning policy in practice. It serves as a point of departure for the following section that will apply each of the constituent factors of the language planning framework to more general observations relating to the process of developing a language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. Section 5.4 will then conclude with specific proposals towards the implementation of a local language planning policy.

Figure 5.1 Framework for strategic planning



5.3.1 Vision

In discussing the framework (Webb 2002:39) states that policy development firstly has to be linked directly with the **vision** a country has set for itself, that is, the national ideals that the country, through its government, wishes to achieve. For example the South African Constitution expresses the desire that the country develops into a liberal democracy. Any language policy decision proposed as part of a future policy must necessarily be consonant with developing a democracy.

Broadly speaking, the Constitution thus expresses South Africa's vision as the desire that the country develops into a liberal democracy. The processes of language planning and policy formulation conducted by the Tshwane Metropolitan Council should therefore reflect this vision in the implementation of its language policy.

5.3.2 Mission

The **mission** of a government, as defined in the discussion of the framework (Webb 2002:39), can be said to be expressed in the country's constitutional stipulations, and consists of the broad goals the government wishes to achieve in relation to its various areas of jurisdiction. In the South African case, the decision to promote eleven languages as official languages can be regarded as a mission statement

Webb (2002:123) points out that at the provincial (regional) level legislatures have the right to select their province's official languages from the list of national official languages. A number of them have done so: Gauteng selected Afrikaans, English, Zulu and Northern Sotho; the Western Cape Afrikaans, English and Xhosa; and the Free State Afrikaans, English, Sotho and Xhosa. Since this research project had been conducted in Gauteng, it is important to note that Webb (2002:70) points out that Gauteng with a population of 7 348 423, has three statistically major home languages, namely Zulu (21.5%), Afrikaans (16.7%) and Sotho (13.1%). English follows with 13.00%. The high prevalence of Zulu and Northern Sotho in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville as major home languages thus corresponds with Gauteng Province's overall linguistic profile.

Policy formulation must be influenced by the spirit of the national ideology, and must become instrumental in social reconstruction. Local language policies must not merely reflect the language stipulations of the Constitution, but must actively direct decisions about the management of language in multilingual South Africa. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council, must therefore itself be a multilingual and pluricultural institution, which reflects the multilingual nature of South African society, and acts as an agent of social reconstruction.

This research project seeks to supply decision-makers with information pertaining to the sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, thereby contributing to the process of gathering information that reflects the internal realities of the areas under investigation. With regard to

external realities, this project examines related issues that should guide and support a local government in the formulation and implementation of language policies.

5.3.3 Obstacles

The third factor defined in the planning framework (Webb 2002:39) is the set of **problems**, which act as obstacles to the realisation of the country's vision and its mission. These need to be identified, and information has to be collected about them and the **internal** (sociolinguistic realities of the country) and **external** (issues outside the language issue which have a bearing on the language policies of the country) contexts in which these problems are situated

The following section focuses on problems obscuring the path towards the formulation and implementation of language policies, and offers alternatives or solutions to the problems encountered by providing theoretical background and practical examples derived from the research project.

5.3.3.1 Lack of state intervention

The current status of language policy implementation (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.6.3) creates the impression that the language issues are to be left to their own devices, and that the socio-economic and political realities of the country will eventually lead to the automatic solution of language-related problems - without Government intervention. The serious nature of these realities, however, as such indicates Government's responsibility to take action by means of formulating appropriate policies, which include language planning policies. It is imperative that South Africa develops a national language plan, and devises strategies for its implementation.

Webb (2002:13) focuses the attention on a crucial deficiency in the Government's policy formulation. He argues that policy-developers and decision-makers in the public and private sectors never consider language to be a factor of any significance in economic or political planning. For example, in the Government's macro-economic policies, neither the Reconstruction and Development Programme (the RDP) nor the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) makes any reference to language. Insofar as the political and business leadership in this country

(and in Africa as a whole) is concerned, language is thus not considered to be important in the areas of formal, public life.

5.3.3.2 Language planning approaches

In Chapter 2, section 2.2.1, Bamgbose (1991:31-33) took this debate on the national language question even further by identifying three possible approaches, namely the *status quo* approach where a language is chosen by a government in order to attain their goals in the shortest possible time; the *radical approach* that favours a national language where immediate steps are taken to develop and spread its use in a wide range of domains; and finally the *gradualist approach* that tries to achieve a compromise between the consideration of having an indigenous language for authenticity and the requirement for a language for running the country in an efficient manner.

Given the multilingual nature of South Africa and the objections raised against electing a single national language, it follows that ways should be sought in which to address this reality. It becomes apparent that the Tshwane Metropolitan Council will have to give serious attention to the underdeveloped status of indigenous languages that at this stage do not support socio-economical and technological advancement.

Regarding the concept of language rationalisation where governments attempt to influence the language repertoire of its citizens (cf. Laitin in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1), language-rationalisation policies thus usually entail the specification of a domain of language use and a requirement that the language chosen by the ruler be employed within a specific domain, it might be insightful to comment on the results obtained in Chapter 4 - Table 4.19 in this regard:

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from the respondents' preferences within various local situational contexts (domains of language use), namely that of the family, whilst socialising with friends, and when attending church, is that Northern Sotho, albeit with a small margin, is the language that dominates across the various domains. Besides Northern Sotho, Tswana and Zulu are used in the more personal domains of family and friendship, whereas English, or any combination of languages including English, seem to be limited to the more formal domains of conducting commercial business, participating in community meetings, visiting the doctor, and communicating with a police officer. English thus

has a higher status in the more formal domains, a fact that again highlights the underdeveloped status of indigenous languages. Language rationalisation favouring the use of English in the more formal domains would only serve to broaden the gap resulting from the existing asymmetrical power relations.

Debates surrounding language rationalisation should also take into account the status of languages within the speech communities. Chapter 4 - Table 4.46 indicated that the majority of the respondents preferred that important people addressing their community should be proficient in English (39%). The independent variables gender, home language, age, residential status, and level of education did not have a significant influence on the preferred language important people should be proficient in (dependent variable). An aspect that did emerge is that the linguistic community under investigation favours English by a large majority, although the main African languages of the area are, however, also regarded as being relatively important, especially among the older, less educated respondents. The status of English was shown to be high among those respondents who are assumedly fairly proficient in the language, and although not statistically significant - those that are not expected to be as proficient, are less inclined to choose English.

Chapter 4 - Table 4.47 revealed that 31% of the respondents who nominated their home languages as a language that important people should use when addressing the community did so because they felt that the majority of the residents would understand that language, and another 21% nominated an African language other than their home language for the same reason. This translates into a total of 52% expressing the desire that the message being conveyed should be transparent to the community as a whole by utilising a local language.

In terms of the preferred language that the president should use when addressing the nation (Chapter 4 - Table 4.53), respondents were said to be capable of distinguishing between linguistic needs and realities within their own communities, and the linguistic realities that exist outside their area of residence - therefore perhaps the increase in the percentage of respondents who had opted for English where the nation as a whole is concerned (77%).

Should social enforcers rationalise that English should be applied across all the identified domains of formal language use within the given local

geographical context of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, they would thereby negate the preferences of the most disadvantaged respondents in this research project, namely the older, less educated respondents who expressed the desire to be addressed in a local language of the area.

Chapter 4 - Table 4.3 highlighted the plight of these respondents by indicating that when comparing the age group intervals of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, it was revealed that 57% of the respondents in Mamelodi are 30 years or older, whereas 45% of respondents in Atteridgeville are 30 years or older.

Chapter 4 - Table 4.5 furthermore indicated that respondents surveyed in Mamelodi, in comparison to Atteridgeville, have the highest number of respondents reporting to be without formal education, and the lowest number of respondents reporting to have tertiary qualifications. This in turn corresponds with the above-mentioned fact that there are more elderly people in the Mamelodi-area. These respondents might not have had the same educational opportunities or aspirations as the younger generations, of which the majority is to be found in Atteridgeville. It was these older, less educated respondents who expressed the desire to be addressed in a local language of the area.

It does not seem as if attitudes expressed by the respondents in this research project support a local language policy favouring the sole use of English, although it has a high status in terms of the more formal functions. It yet again becomes clear that a policy supporting the use of multiple languages must be implemented by the Tshwane Metropolitan Council if they are committed to the notion of equal access to knowledge and skills, to efficient administration, and to effective service delivery.

5.3.3.3 Language attitude and language planning

Relevant authorities need information for the construction of socially meaningful language policies that will at the same time be expressions of the Constitutional language stipulations. Properly controlled surveys and audits of local government regions should provide relevant linguistic information, including reference to language attitudes.

Baker's (1992:12-13) discussion on the nature of attitudes proved insightful. He identified three main components of attitude: the cognitive, affective, and readiness for action components. The cognitive component,

according to him, relates to views and beliefs. The affective component concerns feelings toward the attitude object (i.e. toward the language). The readiness for action (conative) component of attitude is described as a 'behavioural intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances'. He emphasises that the relationship between attitudes and action is neither straightforward nor simple. The importance of knowledge of language attitudes, especially in multilingual contexts, is underscored in these words:

Attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community (1992:21).

Ioratim-Uba (1995:38) also emphasises the importance of language attitudes within the language planning area when he says that language attitudes are vital for language planning, which may affect language use generally, and language in education in particular. Unwelcome language policies that probably failed to take cognisance of relevant language attitudes have previously led to violent clashes. Empirically verified language attitudes are therefore a *sine qua non* for effective language policies.

Language attitudes could affect nation building, since languages have such an important role in a community. It was indicated how their perceived status can reflect power-relations in terms of access to the economy and education - and thereby reflect, or be used as a tool to achieve (or even withhold) elite social status. If a language thus has a low status its speakers will have little access to the higher occupational opportunities, and may have little hope of personal advancement. Language attitudes can furthermore influence learning, determine language choice, and result in cultural discrimination through feelings of extreme loyalty or threatenedness.

As pointed out in Chapter 2, par. 2.2.1, Bamgbose (1991:15-16) notes that it is not language that divides but the attitude of the speakers and the sentiments and symbolism attached to the language. Table 4.21 (Chapter 4) illustrated this point by revealing the following in terms of the respective languages respondents deem suitable to address an unknown person belonging to a similar or different ethnic group: The majority of

the respondents encountering another African would address that person in Northern Sotho (42%); 22% would choose English to solicit a response, followed by 14% who would rely on Zulu; and 13% would address that person in Tswana. All three major home language groups were well represented, but it was revealed that English is regarded as a common denominator in this regard, being the second choice. Implications for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council would be that civil servants addressing the public would at least have to be proficient in Northern Sotho and English.

Only 1% of the respondents would choose to address a white person in Afrikaans, although those respondents are even more proficient in English, whereas 34% who are able to speak Afrikaans well, still would use English. It was mentioned that these facts could be interpreted as the deliberate avoidance of using Afrikaans, related to the fact that Afrikaans still might be associated with the apartheid-era and is consequently regarded in a negative light. The perpetuation of a feeling of political imbalance thus manifests itself through the use of Afrikaans.

The reason for these asymmetric power-relations (Webb 2002:83) relates to the prestigious status of English. The indigenous languages, however, have very little prestige, to such an extent that they can be described as marginalised. Even the terms *major language* and *minor language*, pose problems. English, for instance, is not a major language of South Africa on statistical or geographical terms, and the indigenous languages are, generally speaking. However, sociopolitically, the situation is reversed. Webb (2002:84) says that, in general terms, the status and social meanings of the languages are as follows:

English is valued for its usefulness as an instrument for international contact and communication, as a means of access to all domains of human achievement, as a symbol of prestige and civilisation, and as a language of wider communication in formal public domains within the country and within large parts of Africa. Since English-speaking South Africans were largely opposed to Apartheid, it is regarded as a politically 'neutral' language.

The equation: *a (mere) knowledge of English = 'success, being civilised'* is strongly operative in large sections of South African society. It is a demonstrably destructive equation, and it is essential that attempts be made to normalise the expectations of English. This idea does not mean in any way that the role of English in

national life or the personal lives of individual South Africans should be diminished. It does mean, however, that there should not be such an exclusive focus on English as a language of education, and that the indigenous languages should play a more constructive role. Afrikaans has an ambivalent status. Many of its white speakers see it as the embodiment of their socio-cultural identity, and argue that it has the same instrumental value as English, even internationally, since Afrikaans can be understood in the Netherlands and parts of Belgium (as well as former Dutch colonies). For many non-Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, on the other hand, Afrikaans is stigmatised as the 'language of the oppressor', and since 1994, when white (Afrikaans-speaking) political control came to an end, a process of demise set in, and Afrikaans has increasingly become functionally restricted regarding high-level public domains. [...] it is also true, though, that Afrikaans is still accepted by all communities (at least until relatively recently) as a useful instrument of the workplace.

Webb says that the indigenous languages are widely used for private communication but have very low public status in general. This is apparent from remarks such as the following (2002:85):

In South Africa, people who come from the Northern Transvaal, the Vendas, when they come into Johannesburg they hide the fact that they are Vendas, they don't speak in Venda. People who come from the same area, the Tsonga, when they come into areas like Johannesburg, hide this fact - Wally Serote, a poet and a leading figure in the ANC, 1989, quoted by Woods, 1995; and

The pathetic consequence (of the policy of mother-tongue instruction in black schools in South Africa) is that most of them (i.e. the black people) have come to hate their languages and consider them irrelevant to the education process - C.T. Msimang, 1991.

Webb concludes by saying that ironically, the 'recognition' of the indigenous languages as official languages in the former self-governing regions and the 'national states' probably led to some elevation in their status within their own communities, though this has not yet been investigated. Equally ironically, the strengthening of the position of the Nguni and Sotho languages, combined with the ongoing debate about harmonisation (unification) of these two sets of 'languages', seem to be

stimulating linguistic consciousness in the Venda, Tsonga, Southern Ndebele and Swazi communities, as evidenced by the creation of the Committee for Marginalised Languages.

The implication of this observation is that if the Tshwane Metropolitan Council recognises the indigenous languages of the area in their internal and external language policies, they would contribute to the process of elevating the status of these languages - and thereby address the existing asymmetrical power-relations in terms of attitude towards those languages.

A survey of literature on the sociology of defiance proved to be useful in understanding how power relates to language attitudes. St Clair (1982:166) says the following in this regard:

Although there are many interesting models of deviance which relate to language loyalty, the most insightful one relating to the interaction of language, power and social distance comes from the labeling theory of Becker (1973). His approach to deviance is based on the root metaphor of social stigma in which the mere act of defining a group as deviant by isolating its members from the remainder of the society and punishing them as rule breakers creates and perpetuates a community of outsiders. Those who do the labeling usually belong to a well-organised pressure group or professional organisation whose views are found to be acceptable to the power structure.

St Clair (1982:167) concludes by saying that what is significant about this research into the sociology of deviance is that it provides great insight into how language attitudes reflect power and social status between groups within a political framework. Power is used to legitimate the language and culture of the in-group and to separate them from those whom they define as their outsiders.

Since political power is used to legitimate the language and culture of the in-group and to separate them from those whom they define as outsiders, in this case those who have a mastery of English which is regarded as being 'civilised' or 'educated', the Tshwane Metropolitan Council is faced with the challenge of addressing asymmetrical power-relations manifesting themselves in the expressed language attitudes (self-reported low status of indigenous languages) of the communities under investigation.

5.3.3.4 Language and economy

Another issue that needs to be re-introduced at this stage, is the perception held by decision-makers that to adopt a multilingual approach would place a heavy financial constraint on a government. Chapter 2, section 2.3.1 revealed that numerous arguments in favour of centralisation have been offered, relying on the premise that linguistically diverse countries are synonymous with economic underdevelopment. Laitin (1992:53) argued that although correlation analysis involving all countries of the world suggests that there is a positive statistical relationship between societies with diverse speech communities and low levels of economic development, the data are not so clear. In Chapter 2, section 2.3.1, Laitin (1992:53-55) was quoted to say that African data, based on socio-economic indicators from forty African countries, cannot demonstrate a statistical relationship between language diversity and economic growth.

The notion of the economics of language was already extensively addressed in Chapter 2, section 2.3, where Grin and Vaillancourt (1997:48-49) clarified the issues at stake as follows:

From an economic standpoint, the first question to address is how far multilingualism is, indeed, a resource (because it may generate both costs and benefits), and then how multilingualism affects society's 'welfare' - or well-being.

The most important aspect that emerged from the discussion in Chapter 2 is the notion of regarding languages as resources, or in economic terms, as commodities.

The results of this research project indicates that the respondents are aware of the fact that certain languages are a bigger commodity in the local labour market, and that their preferences are in fact needs-driven in this regard. This point was illustrated in the discussion of the results of Tables 4.42-45 where it was revealed that respondents do not necessarily align respect for certain local languages with their functionality in the career domain. Although an individual thus might be respected for his mastery of certain local languages, it does not imply that the individual in question would have an advantage in the labour market.

Based upon the respondents' reactions, knowledge of Afrikaans and English is regarded as being more important than the local African languages where the formal labour market is concerned. Although the use of Afrikaans for example commands a lesser degree of respect when compared to the other languages, respondents regard Afrikaans as being rather important in achieving their personal goals, and it is regarded to be very important in the advancement of their careers. Knowledge of Afrikaans is thus not deemed necessary in order to command the respect of fellow-citizens in the Pretoria-area, but its functional status is rather high when compared to the other main languages of the area.

The above-mentioned results regarding the status of English and Afrikaans within the labour market correspond with a statement that Coulmas (1992:80) made, namely that the more people learn a language, the more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it. There is no reason why this argument should not hold true for the advancement of the local African languages. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council is in a position to promote the use of the indigenous languages of the area. They would thereby create a demand for speakers of those languages, which should motivate non-speakers of those languages to acquire it, which would in turn enhance the linguistic market value of the languages in question.

It follows that the Tshwane Metropolitan Council now has the opportunity to support the notion of investing in multiple languages to generate maximum wealth within the linguistic domain, and by doing so, to indicate their willingness to bring about changes that could ensure the general well-being of the population. The consequences of not adequately preparing learners for the formal labour market became all too apparent in terms of the results discussed with regard to employment status, as discussed in Table 4.13 where it was revealed that a huge discrepancy exists with regard to the unemployment status in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville respectively, where 33% of Mamelodi's respondents are reportedly unemployed, whereas only 15% indicated the same in Atteridgeville. A general link was identified between unemployment, age, and level of education - the older the respondent, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of unemployment.

The reasons for the lower employment status of older respondents could be contributed to various factors, one of course being the fact that philosophies supported by the previous government rendered the majority

of the population ill-equipped to enter a labour market dominated by Afrikaans and English, the remnants of which still are apparent in the high status attached to these two languages.

Attitudes towards languages thus seem to dictate their status in terms of the higher functions. The above-mentioned section emphasised the fact that the Tshwane Metropolitan Council should, in adherence to the proposed South African Languages Bill, invest in language research projects in order to ascertain what the attitudes and preferences of the citizens are towards languages spoken in their respective areas of residence. Another reason for conducting this research project is the fact that in order for local governments to address the low status of indigenous languages, they need information on its actual use, i.e. which languages are used for which functions. The more functions a language fulfil, the higher its status, and vice versa. In concluding Chapter 2, section 2.3.3, the argument favouring the development of the indigenous languages in South Africa was strengthened by the following observation:

The underdevelopment of the languages of the Third World countries is an indication and part of their [the countries'] economic underdevelopment (Coulmas 1992:50-51).

5.3.3.5 Conclusion

Having discussed the third factor in the planning framework as the set of *problems* that act as obstacles to the realisation of the country's vision and its mission, some areas of concern have manifested themselves with regard to the South African Government's progress in terms of the implementation of language policies. All these concerns relate to the fact that in theory, on a political level, it might be desirable to promote the notion of multilingualism as the Constitution stipulates, while in reality the status quo approach seems to be followed when it comes to actively addressing the issue. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.6, the Government seems to be silently supporting the notion of language rationalisation favouring English, although the Constitution supports the gradualist approach. These obstacles could be summarised as follows:

- language is never considered to be a factor of any significance in economic or political planning in the Government's macro-economic policies - neither the RDP nor GEAR makes any reference to language;

- lack of state involvement in monitoring and enforcing language rights by legal intervention;
- lack of information - properly controlled surveys and audits of local government regions should provide relevant linguistic information, including reference to language attitudes;
- a number of general signs that official public life is gradually becoming more unilingual/English (see Chapter 2, par. - 2.6.3, the proposals put forward by parliamentarians, parastatals and the private sector);
- 'invisibility' of the indigenous languages, and thus the denial of access and equity to the speakers of those languages (asymmetrical power-relations);
- the (unacknowledged) desire to retain the privileges which a knowledge of English guarantees for the benefit of the already privileged; and
- unwillingness to invest in the notion of languages being an economic resource.

5.3.4 Objectives

According to the framework (Webb 2002:40), language planners should formulate specific **objectives**, or goals, which need to meet the criterion of being a clear expression of the country's vision and mission and of contributing towards a resolution of the identified problems. The set of language policy goals constitute, in effect, the language policy of the Government and should have the status of a legal document.

Having established that the two most important language political challenges in South Africa (as elsewhere in Africa) are the negative status of the indigenous languages and the lack of understanding of the fundamental role of language in personal and public life, it should be apparent that these issues must form an integral part of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council's objectives where the formulation of a local language policy is concerned. Having identified South Africa's vision as the desire that the country develops into a liberal democracy, and the country's mission statement the decision to promote eleven official languages at the national level, concrete steps such as the above-mentioned measures need to be taken to ensure effective governance. This issue will be addressed in section 5.4.

5.3.5 Implementation

The next element in the framework (Webb 2002:40) is the plan of **implementation**; that is the detailed plan according to which the specific goals of the policy are to be achieved. The language plan describes who does what, where, how and with what resources, and specifies the necessary management mechanisms and implementation strategies, the required resources (human, financial, technological and social), time schedules, support services, and how complaints should be mediated.

A good indication of a government's commitment with regards to the implementation of a language policy would be found in the internal mechanisms of governance, for example guidelines state departments should adhere to. Webb (2002:106-107) makes the following observations with regard to the proposed South African Languages Bill and language use in state departments:

[...] the proposed bill requires all state departments to develop language policies, stipulating that not less than four languages be used for all official business at the national level (selected on a rotational basis from each of four categories of the official languages). If accepted, the bill will compel bodies of state to 'recognise the principle of multilingualism', to ensure that all the official languages 'enjoy parity of esteem and be treated equitably', to 'elevate the status and advance the use of the historically marginalised languages of South Africa (p.1 of the unnumbered proposed bill), to ensure 'intergovernmental co-ordination and harmonisation of multilingualism' (p.4 of the proposed bill) and to establish language units which must, *inter alia*, 'conduct language surveys and audits relevant to its sphere of activity with a view to assessing the appropriateness of an existing language policy and practice' (p.8 of the proposed bill).

Since the proposed Languages Bill has not yet been made public, this section will rely on Webb (2002:107) who identified certain areas of concern, namely that the proposed South African Languages Bill [see Chapter 2, section 2.5.2] seems to have been developed on the assumption that policy documents need not be very specific (and presumably, that decisions on specific issues and on specific measures should more appropriately be part of a plan of implementation). This is in his opinion a pity, since the language political situation in South Africa is

serious enough to warrant a far more pro-active approach. He says a language policy should demonstrate to citizens that the indigenous languages are wholly suitable for use in any high-function public context, and that their use will most certainly lead to more effectiveness and efficiency and higher productivity in the state administration. The following is a summary of measures that should in his opinion form part of any language policy proposal:

- an 'imperfect knowledge' of Afrikaans and English should not be used as a barrier to the occupational progress of civil servants;
- a knowledge of at least one indigenous language must be required for appointments and promotion in the civil service;
- the indigenous languages must be developed as instruments of technology and used in information pamphlets for the state's extension services with farmers, the provision of medical and psychological information to the public, legal advice, etc.;
- the indigenous languages must be used as languages of staff training;
- indigenous languages must immediately be introduced to perform prominent functions, initially at least in official letterheads, the names of buildings and public signs, such as road signs;
- programmes must be developed for training civil servants in handling the multilingual (and multicultural) reality of South Africa, and in handling ethnic nationalism and related phenomena;
- the current language-skills needs in the civil service, and the staff-development programmes available to meet these needs, must be determined; and
- positions must be created in every government body for language planners, editors, translators, interpreters and terminologists, and in-service language training programmes for such persons should be provided.

Section 5.4 will focus the attention on how the Tshwane Metropolitan Council could contribute towards promoting the indigenous languages within the structures of local governance - as stipulated in the country's mission statement and the proposed South African Languages Bill. The above-mentioned notion finds further more general expression in what Webb (1992:429), calls the *revalorisation* of languages. He says that if languages do not have the necessary status they will not be effective instruments of access, and that there are a number of steps a government can take to revalorise a language, such as giving it statutory recognition,

supporting its promotion as an instrument of development and occupational advancement, funding its corpus development, recognising its use as a medium of school instruction and as a language of the courts, etc.

The Council would furthermore be well advised to conduct internal language audits to establish the extent of multilingualism within the local government structures. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council, however, need also take into consideration the preferences of the inhabitants. It was said that this research project would provide decision-makers with the kind of information necessary to develop an informed language policy for the area. The stipulations and the preferences of the inhabitants might in certain cases not correspond. In order to comply with the above-mentioned stipulations, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council is therefore faced with the immense task of implementing a local language policy that addresses negative attitudes towards indigenous languages by revalorising and promoting the status of those languages.

It was stated above that the preferences of the local population also need to be considered in the process of planning and implementing a language policy. In summary, the following specific observations derived from the results of the survey should be taken into account when developing a language policy proposal for the Tshwane area:

- Northern Sotho is by far the language that can be characterised as being the home language of the majority of the respondents (40%). Tswana, with 20%, and Zulu with 17% are the other two important home languages;
- the demographical results confirmed that Mamelodi and Atteridgeville can be classified as highly diverse areas, not alone in the number of languages spoken in the area, but also with regard to age, level of education etc.;
- despite these highly diverse characteristics, a surprisingly high degree of linguistic tolerance was observed. 89% of the respondents do socialise beyond linguistic boundaries, and it follows that linguistic diversity holds no threat to the forming of social ties within a highly multilingual community. The same conclusion was drawn with regard to multilingual marriages, where the majority of the respondents (95%) saw no reason why marriages should not take place across linguistic boundaries;

- the majority of the languages compared indicated a shift away from home language in terms of spoken preference. Respondents in general indicated that they prefer to speak a language other than their respective home languages. Of those respondents indicating a language other than their home language as their spoken preference, a large percentage is predisposed towards English. A very small percentage indicated the same towards Afrikaans;
- within various domains of language use, namely that of the family, whilst socialising with friends, and when attending church, Northern Sotho, albeit with a small margin, is the language that dominates across the various domains. Besides Northern Sotho, Tswana and Zulu are used in the more personal domains of family and friendship, whereas English, or any combination of languages including English, seem to be limited to the more formal domains of conducting commercial business, participating in community meetings, visiting the doctor, and communicating with a police officer;
- the majority of the respondents preferred that important people addressing their community should be proficient in English (39%). 52%, however, motivated their choice by expressing the desire that the message being conveyed should be transparent to the community as a whole. The MarkData Report (2000:8) revealed even stronger support for the use of indigenous languages (cf. discussion Chapter 4, Table 4.15). The independent variables gender, home language, age, residential status, and level of education did not have a significant influence on the preferred language important people should be proficient in (dependent variable). An aspect that did emerge is that the linguistic community under investigation favours English by a large majority. The main African languages of the area, however, are also regarded as being relatively important, especially by older, less educated respondents;
- in terms of the preferred language that the president should use when addressing the nation, respondents were said to be capable of distinguishing between linguistic needs and realities within their own communities, and the linguistic realities that exist outside their area of residence - therefore perhaps the increase in the percentage of respondents who opted for English where the nation as a whole is concerned;
- respondents are aware of the fact that certain languages are more of a commodity in the labour market, and that their preferences are

in fact needs-driven in this regard. It was revealed that respondents do not necessarily align respect for the respective languages with their functionality in the career domain. Although an individual thus might be respected for his mastery of certain local languages, it does not imply that the individual in question would have an advantage in the labour market;

- a huge discrepancy exists with regard to the unemployment status with regard to Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, where 33% of Mamelodi's respondents reported to be unemployed, whereas only 15% indicated the same in Atteridgeville. A general link was identified between unemployment, age, and level of education - the older the respondent, the lower the level of education, and the higher the degree of unemployment;
- the widely held belief that English is highly regarded amongst non-mother-tongue African speakers of English has also been shown quite clearly. For example, it was pointed out that the majority of the respondents prefer English, along with other languages, to be the medium of instruction. They furthermore perceive their overall proficiency in English to be very high; and they attach a very high status to English in terms of its function within the more formal domains;
- the majority of the linguistic community under investigation favours an approach of additive multilingualism in terms of the preferred medium of instruction - a policy that equips a learner with proficiency in English, Afrikaans, and the dominant African languages of the area;
- there were definite indications that the languages spoken in the Pretoria-area might not resemble the so-called "pure", or standardised versions of the languages. 93% of the respondents reported that they are capable of identifying another person as being foreign to the area by listening to the manner in which this person speaks; and
- the results of this research project confirm that a multilingual language policy is not only the most sensible option, but also the preferred option. The latter is of extreme importance, since language policy can come to nothing if attitudes towards it are not favourable.

A final noteworthy observation is that the independent variables **gender**, **home language**, **level of education**, **residential status** and **occupation** do not have a significant influence on the respondents'

linguistic preferences. The respondents' linguistic preferences in general seem to be needs-driven. Those needs are based upon the linguistic realities the respondents are confronted with, and are therefore area-bound. Those needs are, however, also based upon an existing asymmetrical power relation in terms of the high status attached to English as opposed to the lower status attached to the indigenous languages.

As Baker (1992:21) pointed out, attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. He concluded by saying that language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. In this regard, it is important to point out that the respondents in general expressed a favourable attitude towards a multilingual approach in terms of language planning and policy.

Furthermore, those needs, for example expressed in the positive attitudes towards English in terms of spoken preference and its perceived status in the labour market, however, could be counter-balanced should the proposed local language policy support the promotion of the indigenous languages - thereby heightening their status as commodities in the linguistic market. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council, in implementing a local language policy that adheres to national ideals and language stipulations, should therefore provide the impetus for creating the need for proficiency in, and the use of the local indigenous languages, thereby engineering favourable attitudes towards those languages.

Some of the main reasons for supporting a multilingual approach towards language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council, are that the results of this research project confirmed that Mamelodi and Atteridgeville are highly diverse areas, and display a high degree of linguistic tolerance. Furthermore, there is no resistance found in speaking languages other than home languages, in fact - the majority of the languages compared indicated a shift away from home language use in terms of spoken preference.

The results of this research project, as well as the fact that linguistic preference in general proved to be needs-driven and not the result of personal characteristics, supports the argument that the linguistic community under investigation would probably not resist the implementation of a language policy that embraces the use of multiple

languages. If the above-mentioned findings are superimposed across all linguistic communities in South Africa, the resulting policy of additive multilingualism would not only be plausible, but would in most cases be the preferred alternative. Serious consideration thus needs to be directed towards the implementation of a multilingual language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council, which would result in a multilingual society by means of an additive multilingualism approach that supports initial home language instruction in schools, promotes the use of a widely-used lingua franca (for example Northern Sotho), and supports the use of an ex-colonial language, in this case English.

5.3.6 Control and evaluation

The framework (Webb 2002:40) indicates that the plan of implementation should obviously also contain performance indicators, which will enable supervisory agencies to determine the effectiveness of policy implementation. A language policy will thus include **control** and **evaluation** measures, directed in particular at determining the degree to which a country's vision and the government's mission have been realised.

5.3.7 General remarks

The application and implementation of the constituent factors underlying the language planning framework requires absolute dedication on the part of language planners and local decision-makers. Webb (2002:41-42) points out that language planning is a difficult task, since it is difficult to change people's patterns of language use, language norms, language attitudes and beliefs about language. It is thus necessary to insist that language planning meets the following criteria:

- it remains a rational exercise, based on reasoning and factual material and subject to objective justification;
- it requires deciding which languages must be used for which official functions, that is, one should first determine which official functions have to be performed, and then decide which languages would be most appropriate for those functions;
- language planners must be fully informed about all the relevant facts, such as the precise sociolinguistic realities of the situation that need to be transformed, the exact goals they are expected to achieve, and the resources available to them;
- language audits be undertaken of the communities involved;

- strategic analysis of the internal and external environments of the communities is necessary;
- language planning needs strong backing by political leaders, effective policies and strong governmental bodies;
- policies need to be formalised in legislation (as acts, ordinances, and bylaws) or issued as regulations, instructions, proclamations, administrative rulings and decisions of law courts; and
- the machinery of government need to adopt a radically pro-active approach and become, in itself, an agent of social change.

The ultimate conclusion on the nature of language planning as propagated by this research project is that responsible language planning cannot occur in isolation. It was argued that the focus of language planning is the socio-economic, educational, and political welfare of society. Language planning, however, should not only evolve around language maintenance and promotion, but should also be concerned with the role of language in the development of disadvantaged communities. Government intervention is necessary in this regard. Local governments need to ensure that language policies are not merely formulated as part of a theoretical exercise aimed at adhering to Constitutional stipulations on paper, but in their implementation of language policies they need to take active, committed steps toward ensuring that indigenous languages acquire parity of esteem and are treated equitably. In order for indigenous languages to be utilised to their fullest potential, their status needs to be elevated - i.e. they need to acquire economic and educational value.

A survey of the literature revealed that governments are often criticised for their apparent lack in actively investing time and resources in the implementation of a language policy. Laitin (1992:112), for example, observed that many African languages, used by missionaries, colonial governments, and international organisations, are sufficiently developed for easy incorporation in technical domains. The promotion of these languages is a quite popular political stance, in general. But when the policy begins to get specific, coming down to actually choosing which vernacular will be promoted, or relying upon it to teach chemistry or mathematics, or demanding that government forms be filled out in it, the general support gives way to specific objections.

A possible reason for decision-makers not taking action might be a lack of information on the causes and consequences of their language planning acts. Besides providing decision-makers and interests groups with a

comprehensive sociolinguistic profile of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville, the results of this research project confirm that a multilingual language policy is not only the most sensible option, but also the preferred option. The latter is of extreme importance, since language policy can come to nothing if attitudes towards it are not favourable.

The preceding section applied each of the constituent factors of Webb's language planning framework to more general observations relating to the process of developing a language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. Section 5.4 will formulate specific proposals towards the implementation of a local language planning policy.

5.4 Proposals towards a language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council

The proposed South African Languages Bill delegates the necessary mandate to implement and enforce language policies, compelling all municipal structures to formulate a local language policy.

Furthermore, the constitutional language stipulations (Source: official Government website) include mention of the following:

- the provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national and each provincial government must use at least two official languages; and
- municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

In adherence to the proposed South African Languages Bill, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council will have to develop a language policy that recognises the principle of multilingualism. The Council should therefore consider the establishment of language units that must conduct language surveys and audits relevant to its sphere of activity in order to assess the appropriateness of existing language practices. This research project serves to assist in the latter. It supplies decision-makers with information regarding local language use, knowledge, status and self-reported linguistic needs and attitudes.

Responsible language planning on local level, however, should also take into consideration the national vision and mission as stipulated by the Constitution, take into consideration the stipulations of the proposed South African Languages Bill in terms of the responsibility of local governments, and assess whether the expressed needs of the population under investigation are synchronised with the national ideals of developing a liberal democracy and promoting linguistic equity and equality. Should discrepancies exist, the local government will have to address asymmetrical power-relations by actively investing in the revalorisation of indigenous languages.

Based upon insights gained from Webb's (2002:113) SWOT analysis that lists the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of a language policy proposal for the Department of Labour, directed at the use of African languages for official purposes - the Tshwane Metropolitan Council would be well advised to conduct a similar SWOT analysis to identify factors that are likely to affect the successful implementation of a local language policy.

The constitutional stipulations, however, provide little guidance towards the implementation of a local language policy, since it merely stipulates that municipalities must take into consideration "the language usage and preferences of their residents" (Source: official Government website). Webb (2001:2) points out that the development of the proposed South African Languages Bill has led to rather dramatic changes in this regard, namely:

- that municipalities are now compelled to develop a language policy;
- that provincial governments are instructed to support local governments regarding the development of language policies; and
- that municipalities are obliged to undertake language surveys and audits.

The national ideals of 'parity of esteem' and the 'equal and equitable' treatment of languages as expressed in the country's mission and vision statements, however, are seemingly contradicted - since the same constitutional stipulations state that provincial governments and municipalities have to take into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole.

regional circumstances, and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole.

As a result of these 'escape clauses', the Tshwane Metropolitan Council on local level, in adherence to the constitutional language stipulations, could decide to select only one local language to be used for the purpose of governing. Webb (2002:125-126) points out that the former City Council of Pretoria, now called the Tshwane Metropolitan Council, immediately responded to the South African Languages Bill by organising a language summit in September 2000, and is currently considering the language policy development issue and deciding how it wants to handle it. This can be interpreted as a positive sign of the Council's commitment towards the development of a responsible and effective language policy for the Tshwane area.

An obvious point of departure would be to investigate the sociolinguistics of local government administration in order to facilitate the development of a language policy for the Tshwane Metropolitan Council. Internal decisions made in this regard should ideally reach implemental status in all departments under the Council's jurisdiction, extending to all external functions of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council.

5.4.1 An internal approach towards implementing a local language policy

Since the available literature makes no concrete or practical reference to a government in the process of implementing a local language policy, it was decided to use a paper Webb (2001:2) delivered on invitation to the former Pretoria City Council, entitled Municipal Language Audits, to guide the discussion. His extensive association and consultation with the Tshwane Metropolitan Council with regard to language planning additionally place him in an optimal position to comment on the issue at hand. In the paper he recommends a list of the types of information necessary to conduct a full-scale language audit. He firstly suggests that a sociolinguistic profile of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council's area of jurisdiction be undertaken. As was pointed out, this research project serves as an example of the kind of information that would be relevant to such an audit. He furthermore suggests that a sociolinguistic profile of local government administration would be necessary.

According to Webb (2001:6-7) an internal audit on local government administration would have to reflect sociolinguistic information regarding

language distribution, language proficiency, and working language. **Language distribution** in practical terms would reflect information about the distribution of the home language groups amongst currently employed civil servants. **Language proficiency** of civil servants in the dominant indigenous languages of the Tshwane Metropolitan Council also needs to be established. **Working language** would reflect to what extent local indigenous languages are used for functions relating to internal governance, administration, and communication.

In the process of developing a local language policy, the Council should consider the language knowledge of the residents. The 1996 census (Source: Statistics SA) shows that the three main first-languages present in the Tshwane area are Afrikaans (39.21%), Northern Sotho (24.3%), and English (12.6%). Should the Council thus decide to be guided by first-language statistics, it follows that proficiency in the selected languages should be required for municipal employment advancement. The employees' proficiency in Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, and English - along with the other dominant languages found in the area, namely Tswana and Zulu (if based upon the results of this research project) - on top, middle and lower management levels would have to be established by means of an internal language audit. It is suggested that proficiency in at least two of the three dominant languages should be compulsory in terms of employment advancement within the local municipality structures, and knowledge of Tswana and Zulu - being the other well-represented home language groups of the area - should be regarded as an advantage.

In terms of working languages, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council would have to investigate to what extent local indigenous languages are used with regard to internal governance, administration and communication. Webb (2001:7) points out that language planning for internal communication should include that the agendas and minutes of Council meetings and committee meetings at least be available in English and Northern Sotho, and that inter- and intra-departmental communication takes place in both those languages. He argues that the implication of those measures will necessitate a language bureau that offers translation services, an interpretation service as well as editorial services.

Should knowledge of at least two of the three main first-languages be compulsory for internal career advancement, the Council will also have to provide employees who are not proficient in those languages with the opportunity to acquire them by investing in a language learning centre.

5.4.2 An external approach towards implementing a local language policy

The Tshwane Metropolitan Council, however, is also compelled by the constitutional stipulations to take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents. Regarding the latter, the results of this investigative pilot project confirmed the widely held belief that English is highly regarded amongst non-mother-tongue African speakers of English as observed in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville. It, for example, was pointed out that the majority of the respondents prefer English, along with other languages, to be the medium of instruction. They furthermore perceive their overall proficiency in English to be very high; and they attach a very high status to English in terms of its functions within domains ranging from the social, to commercial, and even in the domain of governance.

It was shown that although the linguistic community under investigation favours English by a large majority, the main African languages of the area, however, are also regarded as being relatively important - especially among the older, less educated respondents. This, for example, emerged from the fact that the majority of the respondents preferred that important people addressing their community should be proficient in English (39%). 52%, however, motivated their choice by expressing the desire that the message being conveyed should be transparent to the community as a whole, and that fact supports the argument favouring the use of local indigenous languages even further. This research project, however, only involved 300 respondents, and it therefore is necessary that more extensive language audits be undertaken in order to arrive at a representative linguistic profile of the area under the Council's jurisdiction.

The Tshwane Metropolitan Council, on grounds of the three major first-languages of the area, could adhere to the South African Languages Bill by conducting external communication and administration in Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, and English. Such a decision, involving only one of the major indigenous languages to be found in the Tshwane area, would negate the two most important language political challenges of the country. These challenges (cf. section 5.3.5) are the negative status of the indigenous languages and the lack of understanding of the fundamental role of language in personal and public life. It was said that any responsible language policy proposal should address these two issues very vigorously, and that the policy should demonstrate to citizens that the indigenous languages are wholly suitable for use in any high-function

It was furthermore argued that languages should be considered as resources. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council is compelled to promote the use of the indigenous languages of the area, although it might be 'in conflict' with the wishes of the population who attach a very high status to English. Language audits will furthermore - as opposed to the 'perceived' proficiency in local languages - have to reflect 'actual' proficiency in those languages. By investing in the use of indigenous languages, a local government would thereby create a demand for speakers of those languages, which should motivate non-speakers of those languages to acquire them, which would in turn enhance the linguistic market value of the languages in question. The Tshwane Metropolitan Council would by increasing the commodity value of local indigenous languages actively contribute to the process of elevating the status of these languages - and thereby address the existing asymmetrical power-relations in terms of attitude towards those languages. The expressed needs of the respondents should thus be judged against the background of the needs of responsible governance. The needs of responsible governance should be reflected in a local government's language policy. Those needs include promoting effective communication; contributing towards social upliftment and economic advancement; and acknowledging and supporting the notion of social and cultural diversity.

In the light of the strong arguments supporting multilingualism, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council would be well advised to consider the advantages of promoting the status of indigenous languages by at least implementing a multilingual language policy in terms of external governance, administration, and communication. If the results of the research project were to be used as a guideline, it would imply that all external communication would have to be conducted in Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, English, Tswana, and Zulu. The information Webb (2001:7) suggested to be gathered in order to conduct a sociolinguistic audit on local governance, reveals implicit guidelines as to which external communication functions are involved. As with the internal language policy, the language bureau will thus have to assist in ensuring that all information relevant to the community, such as:

- municipal laws, regulations and bylaws;
- reports;
- newsletters;
- accounts;
- public notices;
- advertised vacancies; and
- media releases

respectively be available, or be printed in those languages.

In addition to promoting the use of local indigenous languages in terms of external communication, the nature of which could be described as informative to the general public, the Tshwane Metropolitan Council should, in their quest for realising the national ideals of a liberal democracy and the equal and equitable treatment of languages, go even further in actively addressing the existing asymmetrical power-relations between English and the dominant indigenous languages of the area.

Examples of active steps that could be taken in this regard, include:

- providing Basic Adult Education and Training (ABET) programmes in local indigenous languages - developed in co-operation with the Department of Education and the Department of Labour;
- promoting a culture of reading indigenous languages by encouraging and funding local libraries and schools to acquire the relevant literature;
- encouraging the publishing of community newspapers in Northern Sotho, Tswana, and Zulu by supporting the industry by means of funding;
- encouraging linguistic and cultural awareness by supporting community development projects employing local languages; and
- funding of a regulated performing arts industry staging music concerts or theatre productions with local language content.

5.5 Concluding remarks

In order to realise the strategic goals listed in the proposed Languages Bill, namely to facilitate individual empowerment and national development, and to facilitate economic development via the promotion of multilingualism, it is imperative that the Tshwane Municipal Council implements and enforces language policies that reflect these goals. Since

municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents and at least use two official languages - the logical conclusion is that a plan of language policy implementation should be supported and institutionalised by means of legislation and other measures. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, section 2.3, the ultimate purpose of the whole debate surrounding language planning and policy implementation in a multilingual African state is not merely to arrive at a theoretical linguistic solution, but rather to meet the socio-economic developmental needs of its people.

In the final analysis, decision-makers in the process of planning and implementing language policy, would be well advised to consider the importance of languages in national development. Bambose (1991:7) summarises this notion as follows:

National development is often defined narrowly in socio-economic terms. But even within such a restricted definition, the role of language is important. [...] A wider and more satisfactory conception of national development is that it is concerned with total human development.

It was argued that South Africa formally committed itself to multilingualism by entrenching it in the Constitution and in the proposed Languages Bill. It was furthermore argued that languages have a market value and are thus to be regarded as economic resources. If the national ideals are to be met in terms of democratically developing the nation, all citizens must have equal access to all the rights and privileges of the country. It is in this regard that the Tshwane Metropolitan Council, and all other municipal structures - by implementing reality-based language policies that meet the developmental needs of its citizens by promoting and investing in multilingualism - will ascertain equal access to knowledge and skills.