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Marketing a Foreign Language: the case of French in South Africa

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ABSTRACT

It is not unusual for a student to study French from secondary school to university level and still not be able to communicate effectively with a native speaker. In addition, for many years, apart from translation diplomas, the traditional Bachelor of Arts degree in French prepared students for little more than teaching the language. In South African universities, the introduction of courses in *Business French* is relatively recent. An individual might be motivated to learn a foreign language because of its aesthetic value or practical use. However, in South Africa, the decision to allocate state funds and school-learning hours towards the promotion and teaching of a foreign language has deeper implications, particularly when there are eleven official languages competing for recognition.

In India in early 1900,¹ Michael West had attempted to establish *why* Indian people should learn English ("in order to read") and *how* they should learn English ("through reading"). Abbot (1981: 12) called this random teaching of a foreign language "TENOR (teaching English for no obvious reason)". Similarly, the question as to *why* South Africans should be taught French or any other foreign language needs to be answered. If not, we risk falling into the same trap as "TENOR" except in this case we will be teaching French for no apparent reason. While the purpose of this research is not to discredit those students who desire to learn French for personal reasons, the main argument presented in this thesis is based on whether South Africans should learn French in order to trade more effectively with Francophone countries.

Combining qualitative and quantitative research, preliminary conclusions indicate that an in-depth cost and benefits analysis might prove the link French language acquisition with economic expansion. However, within the limitations of this research, there is insufficient justification for the allocation of state funding for foreign language acquisition over and above the need for other mainstream school disciplines. A more viable solution would be to train and to employ South Africa's new language resource, that of the Francophone refugees currently living in the country, assuming that they are willing to remain in this country.

¹ West, R. (1994) (in Scott & Mülhaus) (Eds) (1994: 77) *Languages for Specific Purposes*. CILT

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INTRODUCTION

In terms of size and infrastructure, South Africa boasts one of the leading economies on the African continent. Following the dismantling of the apartheid regime, South Africa's economic borders have widened tremendously resulting in an expansion of global trade. Huntington (1996: 136) (in Maurais et al., 2003: 14) highlights South Africa's strong position on the African continent in terms of her "industrial strength", "economic development", "military capacity", "natural resources" and strong "leadership".

Apart from trade with European and other Western French-speaking countries, South Africa's economic expansion has included all of the African countries that formally conducted little or no trade with South Africa. Among those countries within the African continent and the Indian Ocean, no less than 40% use French as an official language. It is therefore evident that, along with English, French plays a vital role in terms of trade and tourism within the African continent. At present, the economic market in West and North Africa is dominated by France for reasons of language and post-colonial trade agreements.

From an historical point of view, the French language is not foreign to South African shores. With the arrival in South Africa of the French Huguenots in the 17th century, the French language briefly enjoyed official status. However, language policies of both the Dutch and the British led to the inevitable demise of the French language in South Africa. In 1999, the President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, identified the French language as a "heritage" language. Mr. Mbeki went further to state that one could not be a true African without being able to speak French.² While the President might have intended to convey a sense of solidarity with the African countries that use French as an official language, it is inaccurate to refer to Africa as French or English-speaking. This is because Africa has its own languages, South Africa officially recognising no less than eleven languages.

² University of Pretoria: www.slcc.unp.ac.za/links/french_intro.htm (available 03/08/2005)

Sales and Marketing representatives within any part of the commercial sector value the importance of knowing and understanding as much as possible about a prospective client or market niche. Thus, speaking a client's language and understanding his/her cultural background would be a strong asset in the aim of selling a product. However, how do South African traders view the possibility of moving away from using English as the predominant language of trade? Why do large companies still find it more appropriate and convenient to use translators and interpreters for international trade rather than offering their employees the opportunity to learn French or any other language of their trading partners? Is this complacency justified or will it prove more costly in the long run? Is South Africa different from its global economic competitors and not in need of French, German, Spanish, Japanese or Mandarin as a language of trade, or does the attitude of the South African government and commercial leaders need to change to accommodate the potential use of one or all of these languages in trade? Three routes might be taken in an attempt to identify possible answers to these questions:

- (i) Extensive and conclusive research might be carried out with the aim of establishing the precise level of trade that exists between South Africa and French-speaking countries, as well as other foreign-language countries.
- (ii) A *cost and benefits analysis* (CBA) of the possible value added to trade through the acquisition of French, followed by a *needs analysis* into export companies might be implemented.
- (iii) Should any foreign language prove to be a viable economic tool, then effective marketing of this language might be directed towards schools, universities, the South African government and those members of the trade and tourism sectors of the South African economy.

In 1990, Professor Norman Strike, then lecturer in French at the University of South Africa published an article entitled *Foreign Languages at University: irrelevant luxury or vital necessity*.³ In his article, Professor Strike examined current

³ Strike, W. N. (1990) *The inaugural lecture of Professor W. N. Strike of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of South Africa*. (UNISA) Pretoria.

attitudes towards French and other foreign languages in Universities, with particular reference to a decline in funding of foreign language learning in South African schools and universities. Strike concluded that the key to understanding other cultures which leads to positive integration lay in communication through the acquisition of languages or, at the very least, to exposure to foreign language, culture and literature. In 1992, the South African Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly, published *An Investigation into the Position of French and German in the Republic of South Africa*. The objectives of the research was in the first instance to establish whether leading active members within Trade and Industry appreciated the potential and actual role of French and German in terms of Foreign Trade and secondly, to understand why there appeared to be a decline in the number of students learning French and German in South African schools. General conclusions reached through the study identified ignorance and funding as two of the leading reasons why French and German were not actively promoted as subject choices in schools. Teaching methodologies were also criticised as being pedantic and lacking performance-based objectives. Despite these and other preliminary research conducted by the Language Task Group (LANGTAG) from 1996-1997, there has been limited further research into the importance of French or any other global language in the conduct of international trade. Currently, no specific measuring tool is available to accurately establish the extent of South Africa's trade and tourism industries' involvement with foreign-language clients. Certain Western countries, England and Canada for example, have invested vast sums of money in the study of the language issue pertaining to the practical use of foreign languages in commerce. These studies have all indicated the importance of speaking more than one official language for the purpose of international trade and tourism. Ironically, the United Kingdom has recently made languages optional in their school curriculum, thereby directly causing a drop in the number of pupils willing to learn French or German at GCSE⁴ level.

Before researching the viability of a foreign language as an economic tool, it is

⁴ General Certificate of Secondary Education

necessary to understand the role that any language might play in the social, cultural and economic development of a nation. This, in turn, requires an explanation of language as a linguistic concept, language as a form of cultural identity within a social group, and language as a means of global communication beyond an immediate social group. A clear understanding of the field of *sociolinguistics*, *sociology of language*, *ecolinguistics* and *ecology of language* must be established in the early stages of the research brief. Any attempt to quantify the full extent of a language's function is beyond the scope of a single researcher. However, convincing preliminary conclusions will be provided as stimulation for further and extensive research.

METHODOLOGY

As with all other approaches to research, once a particular area of research has been identified, the researcher begins by reading extensive and relevant literature. Interest in this particular field of research lay in two main areas:

- (i) Keeping South Africa's particular challenges in mind, establish why anyone should invest time and money in learning a foreign language and finding relevant teaching methodologies and learning areas which would produce a practical and communicative outcome to language learning.
- (ii) Investigating the link between language acquisition and socio-economic development.

While no book has been written specifically about the relationship between the use of Foreign Languages and South Africa's socio-economic development, a vast resource of related material exists. The literature consulted covered three sections:

- (i) Socio-linguistic and socio-historic literature focusing on language attitudes which influenced past and present language policies.
- (ii) Socio-economic literature focusing on the link between language and economy.
- (iii) Purely economic literature and data which focussed on the field of commerce and marketing.

As the research falls into three clearly defined areas, it seemed logical to review the broad literature consulted within the text itself. Consequently, authors and their material are discussed at appropriate moments within each chapter, as each relevant topic is explored. However, at this point it is worth mentioning three sociolinguists who have contributed vastly towards research into South Africa's past and present language challenges: Neville Alexander (1999), Katherine Heugh (1995) and Kwesi Prah (1995, 1997, 1998). Their insight into the sensitive issues pertaining to language, ethnicity and racism in South Africa's language policies proved instructive in terms of respecting the ethics, advocacy and empowerment frameworks which characterise the relationship between the researcher and his or

her subject of research.⁵ As will be noted in the Bibliography section, a broad spectrum of literature was read. While this obviously provided much relevant information, the challenge lay in providing a critical review of the literature consulted that reflected original thoughts and analyses. The temptation to simply quote directly from sources without providing an in-depth analysis of the text was often difficult to resist. This challenge had to be addressed as part of the research methodology.

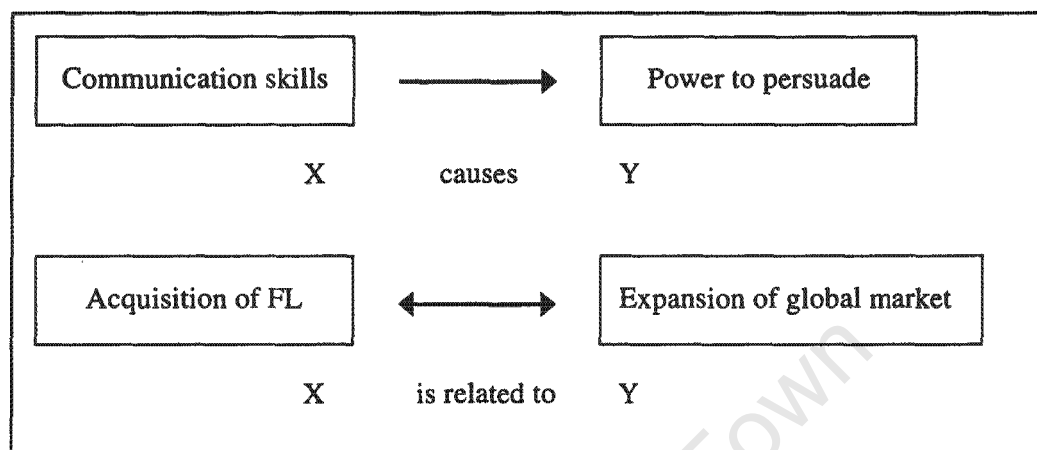
The nature of this research is essentially heuristic in the sense that, although the research is evoked by a hypothesis, it is not driven by the hypothesis itself. As the research covers a broad scope that encompasses both linguistic and economic areas of study, pre-established data are essential to this research. Consequently, the research is more descriptive than hypotheses-generating. In keeping with heuristic research, while an attempt is made to avoid preconceptions, in relation to the observations made within the research into the marketing of a foreign language, French in particular, a hypothesis is formulated based on the following two concepts:

- Concept 1: the acquisition of Foreign Language skills *is related to*
- Concept 2: the expansion of economic/trade scope.

In this case, if global economic growth is assumed to be dependent upon the acquisition of Foreign Language skills, then *concept 1* is independent of *concept 2*. This argument is based on an earlier assumption which suggests that good communication skills increase the ability to persuade. All of the above concepts can be tabled as follows:

⁵ Cameron D. et al., (in Coupland, N. & Jaworski, A. (1997: 145-162) *Sociolinguistics. A Reader and Coursebook*. Palgrave.

Table M.16: Dependence and relationships between concepts



In the former example, it is clear that the ability to communicate effectively increases the ability to convince or to persuade a targeted client to buy a product. This means that *concept 1* (x) will cause *concept 2* (y) to succeed. In the latter example, while it is not ideal, a seller is able increase his/her scope of trade with Foreign Language clients through the use of an interpreter or translator. This means that *concept 2* (y) is not entirely dependent on *concept 1* (x) and the two concepts are therefore related. In both hypotheses, there is a positive (+) interaction between the two concepts.

In the same way that a hypothesis can only be proven through the process of a research objective, concepts remain abstract and only become concrete once they are measurable, empirical and therefore operational. How, therefore, might the relationship between French Language Acquisition (FLA) and Global Economic Expansion (GEE) be measured? In order to establish a reliable measuring tool, the following points would need to be considered:

- Trade and tourism statistics (quantitative research): based on geolinguistic boundaries, how much trade and tourism occurs between South Africa and French-speaking countries?

⁶ Table called M.1 (Methodology.1) to avoid confusion with table numbering from Chapter 1 onwards.

- Attitudes (qualitative research): what are the socio-political attitudes towards the presence and acquisition of French in South Africa which officially recognises no less than eleven languages?
- Trade agreements (qualitative and quantitative research): what trade agreements exist that might prevent South Africa's expansion of trade into Francophone countries, Africa in particular?

Within the above points, three variables are identified:

- (i) Cost, time and attitude will influence the willingness to invest in learning a foreign language.
- (ii) The ability to learn a foreign language to a level of competent communication will depend on the individual.
- (iii) France's control of the African franc which ensures that France holds preferential trade agreements with its former colonial boundaries, thus making it extremely difficult for South Africa to penetrate that market.

In the search for validity, the original concepts must be qualified as infallible or fallible. It is an infallible fact that the ability to speak a foreign language can only increase the possibility of persuading a foreign-language client to buy. However, it would be fallible to suggest that Foreign Language Acquisition should be promoted over and above the more urgent needs of South Africa's previously disadvantaged communities. Therefore, this research aims to establish whether or not an increase in the acquisition and use of foreign language skills, and in this case French, will allow South Africa to trade more effectively with an extensive section of the African continent (Indian Ocean included) as well as France, Belgium, Switzerland and Canada.

Many quantitative researchers might regard research of a principally qualitative nature with some suspicion. Certainly in the case of this particular thesis, the hypothesis or heuristically driven research allowed little room for empirical testing. As no measuring tool currently exists to statistically measure the direct link between language acquisition and increase in trade, the assumption that learning

French will broaden South Africa's scope of trade with Francophone countries can not be verified beyond doubt. Therefore, the research can best be termed descriptive and explorative. While not unique in this aspect, language issues, policies and their effects, in South Africa are emotive and based on life experiences. This fact strongly influenced the direction of the research to focus on research of a qualitative rather than a quantitative nature. Geographical and practical limitations equally necessitated a qualitative approach while not detracting from the need to provide numerical data to support the research findings as demonstrated in the third and final part of the thesis. In this sense, the qualitative and quantitative methodologies have complemented each other.

In closer detail, research into *The marketing of a foreign language: the case of French in South Africa* has been divided into three parts. Part I of the research is of a qualitative linguistic nature. The overall function of language as well as relevant linguistic terminology is explained and discussed in relation to the South African socio-political situation. Furthermore, language policies and language attitudes from a current and historical perspective are discussed with particular reference to South Africa's struggle against colonial and apartheid domination. The views and theories of various scholars of African sociolinguistics are discussed and evaluated in an attempt to clarify the complex and often controversial sociolinguistic and cultural challenges currently facing South Africans. Apart from Alexander (1999), Heugh (1995) and Prah (1995, 1997, 1998), other important researchers to the controversial topic of Africa's language policies included Adegbiya (1952), Bamgbose (2000), Bell (2002), Crush (1995), Extra & Maartens (1998), Haarman (1986), Herriman & Burnaby ((1996), Kaschula & Anthonissen (1995), Kwarteng (1999), Makoni (2000, 2003), Mesthrie (1999), Motala & Pampallis (2001), Pennycook (1998), Owino (2002), Rubagumya (1994), Sayed & Jansen (2001), Satyo (1988), Trewby & Fitchat (2000), and Tollefson (1991).

The importance and relevance of the first section of the research dealing with sociolinguistic and sociohistoric topics, lies in the fact that any approach to the promotion of a foreign language must be based on a clear understanding of the

conflicting social and political influences on language choice in South Africa. Understanding of the field of sociolinguistics was acquired through the consultation of authors including Ager (1990), Bouma (1993), Brown (1987), Coulmas (1997), Copland & Jaworsky (1997), Dann (1996), Joseph & Taylor (1990), Mesthrie & Deumeurt (2000), Offord (1996), Seliger & Shohamy (1990) and Wardhaugh (1992).

Part II of the research essentially examines the relationship between language and economy. Both qualitative and quantitative studies conducted in large western countries are discussed in order to identify the extent to which a language might influence economic development. These foreign studies were chosen in the absence of similar extensive studies in South Africa. In the same vein, the question of multilingualism verses monolingualism as a hindrance to, or necessity of economic development, is argued. A review of interviews carried out with business men and women as well as leaders of large commercial institutions such as banks, is reflected in the British and Canadian context. Of particular relevance to this section are Breton (1988), the Council of Europe (1986-1987), Giovanazzi (1997), Hantrais (1988) and Wilding (1980). In terms of the link between language and economy, taking into consideration the ecology of language, authors consulted include Barron, Bruce & Nunan (2002), Bourdieu (1982), Coulmas (1992), Delamotte (1957), Fill & Mulhausler (2001), Haugen (1972), Liston & Reeves (1985), Maurais & Morris (2003), Mbaku (1999), Mowlana (1998), Mufuwene (2001), Stevens (1991), Strauss et al., (1996) and Webber (1997).

As with Part II, the final stage of the research (Part III) takes a combined qualitative and quantitative form of market research. The target market for the possible use of the French language is identified. In order to show an economically influenced outcome to this research, the methodology used adheres in many ways to the discipline of economics. Trade statistics are noted and evaluated according to the amount of economic exchange that currently exists between South Africa and francophone countries, with due thought given to the potential increase in trade with these countries should language, cultural and trade barriers be overcome.

Open-ended questionnaires were telephonically presented to representatives of the hotel and tourism industry. In view of time and budget constraints, no more than fourteen people were interviewed for this section. The limited surveys carried out were inspired by research entitled *An Investigation into the Position of French and German in the Republic of South Africa* (1992) funded by the Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly. In brief, the investigation sought to establish the possible connection between the acquisition of French and German and economic trade with countries of which these languages are official. A similar method of approach was adopted in the current research. In addition, as an extension of the abovementioned investigation carried out in 1992, questionnaires were sent to lecturers of leading South African universities in order to establish the number and attitudes of university students learning French. Effort was made to highlight their reasons for choosing French over other subjects. With the help of the Department of Education, it was possible to establish the number of State and Independent schools offering French and German as a school subject. All of the data collected in the course of this research are reproduced in either table or graphic form. While obvious differences in scope of sampling exist between the extensive investigation of 1992 and the current survey, quantitative comparisons were still possible as reflected in the final part of the thesis. In terms of marketing as part of the economic aspect of the research, the authors consulted include Kotler (2003), Mohr (2000), Needham & Dransfield (1995) and Strydom (1999).

Through all of the three stages of research, emphasis is placed on pedagogical aspects of language learning. While the potential advantages of learning a foreign language might become evident, the method through which language teaching and learning is approached will influence the success or failure of Foreign Language Acquisition. The language needs and learning style of individual learners must be considered. Language audits would be useful in understanding individual learning trends and aptitudes.

Finally, throughout the research, sensitivity to South Africa's previously

disadvantaged community remains in evidence. The promotion of a non-indigenous language at the expense of indigenous languages requires a renewed approach if the errors of past language policies is to be avoided. The promotion of French or any foreign language in South Africa will require financial commitment from both the government and the private sector, funds that might be considered better spent on projects which appear more relevant and urgent to previously-disadvantaged South Africans.

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PART I

CHAPTER 1

1 SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

The word *sociolinguistics* is derived from two components: society and language. Being a product and part of society, language and society are inextricably linked and can never be determined or defined separately. Therefore, sociolinguistics investigates and describes the close relationship between language and society. This investigation includes the way in which a language might be used within a social structure as well as the study of linguistic differences or language shift or change.

A distinction is identified between the field of *Sociolinguistics* and that of *Sociology of Language*. Sociology of Language studies the effects of language use on society while focusing on differences between societies that developed while using different languages as well as those that developed under different social systems. Marcellisi and Gardin (1987: 16) state that sociology of language is research which, based on linguistic facts, leads to the discovery of non-linguistic facts relevant to the study of human sciences. Sociology of language focuses on the characteristics of language varieties and of their functions, as well as the characteristics of their speakers. The science therefore goes beyond the linguistic boundaries and includes those social aspects such as economics and politics, not automatically linked to language. Despite the slight division, sociolinguistics and sociology of language are similar in the fact that they each require the systematic study of *both* language and society. It is the field of sociology of language that is of particular pertinence to this research. This is mainly because non-linguistic facts such as economic development and the concept of marketing are drawn into the research.

Related to both sociolinguistics and sociology of language is yet another division, that of *micro sociolinguistics* and that of *macro sociolinguistics*. Micro sociolinguistics refers to sociolinguistics in the strictest sense and macro

sociolinguistics refers to sociology of language. In basic terms, micro sociolinguistics focuses on the relationship between language and society in order to understand the structure and function of language. Macro sociolinguistics focuses on the structure and functions of society in terms of language choice and use. Aspects of macro sociolinguistics would include multilingualism, language policies and the relationship between language and social or political power. Like sociology of language, it is the aspect of macro sociolinguistics that is of much pertinence to this research. The challenges facing Africa in terms of multilingualism and the role of official languages (in many cases ex-colonial languages) in economic development are characteristic of the macro sociolinguistic nature of this research.

Being an empirical science, research in sociolinguistics must be based on an adequate database drawn from a number of reliable sources. The study of sociolinguistics, by virtue of its encompassing nature, enters naturally into other spheres of study such as History, Geography and Economics. In order to formulate an empirical theory about the possible promotion of any foreign language in contemporary South Africa, a retrospective study of historical and political issues which have had a decisive impact on South Africa's languages, as well as the development of language attitudes and policies, is essential. However, in keeping with the nature of macro sociolinguistics, focus should be placed on studies of the languages spoken in South Africa as they reflect the society's attitude towards these languages and their use thereof.

1.1 LANGUAGE, ETHNICITY AND RACISM⁷

1.1.1 The Linguistic impact of Colonialism in Africa

As Africa is still experiencing the after-effects of colonisation, on this continent there are few subjects that evoke such discomfort or such strong sentiments as a discussion of the sensitive topic of *colonisation*. Possibly the most divisive and destructive intervention in Africa was the slave trade which, in essence, began as far back as the 600s. By the 19th Century, with approximately 23 million indigenous Africans being uprooted and displaced, African society was facing devastating and destabilising consequences. However, the slave trade slowed down drastically in the early 19th Century. Scientific interest in Africa led to ethnographic studies of the continent and Christian missionary stations were established extensively in those areas where the Arabs and the religion of Islam had not already dominated. The period referred to as the “scramble for Africa”, leading to “High Imperialism”, placed most of Africa under European control.

In the very long period of the colonisation of Africa, language, society and education were more often used as tools of manipulation rather than as tools of collective development. While the degree of colonial intervention varied according to different colonial powers, many indigenous Africans were not educated for the purpose of their emancipation, but rather in order to play a more adequate - yet still inferior - role in the running of their country. White settlers thus found religious and scientific reasons to convince themselves and others of the legitimacy of what can only be termed as a system of holistic domination of the African majority by the foreign minority.

In close relation to the linguistic and economic impact of colonialism are the cultural and psychological impacts of colonialism. Among many other writers, Atlas (1977), Nandy (1983) and Ngugi (1986) (in Pennycook 1998: 38) all consider the most detrimental effects of colonialism to be the cultural and psychological

⁷ Title borrowed from Fishman, J.A. (1989: 9 - 22) *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. (Clevedon; Multilingual Matters)

domination of the indigenous inhabitant of any colonised country. While it is undeniable that contact with early Europeans had wide-reaching social and cultural consequences, as a product of society and its inherent culture, language proved to be the most powerful tool through which colonialism was able to achieve its objectives.

Based on the diverse cultural, tribal and other ethno-linguistic categories in Africa, what was the language situation in Africa like before the period of colonisation? Bamgbose (2000: 32) states that most native Africans generally spoke several languages. It was equally natural for Africans to adjust with ease to those languages of their neighbours within the continent. Bamgbose further suggests that it was the importation of colonial languages that caused what some consider the 'language problem' in Africa. This argument is further supported by Pathe Diagne (in Prah et al., 1998: 18) who notes that Africans have always been familiar with more than one language, using different languages in their daily lives. Part of the reason for this is that many African languages were erroneously classified and subdivided by missionaries and other colonial residents in Africa. Makoni (2003: 132 - 149) argues this point as he highlights the difficulty in classifying and in standardising African languages, some of which are extremely similar. Multilingualism, therefore, is a natural aspect of Africa's socio-linguistic makeup and as such, plays an important role in this research.

European 'civilisation' of Africa through the assimilation of language and culture was paramount to countries such as Portugal and France (Adegbiya 1994: 21). The results of this enforcement of a foreign version of civilisation are the extensive and prohibitive language policies that were introduced to the African continent and indeed that still dominate today despite statements to the contrary made by various African politicians. In each case, relevant African languages were considered unworthy and inadequate for official communication. Although this attitude was to prove detrimental even up to present times, it is clear why the colonisers saw fit to use language as one of their tool of conversion. Relationship structures are powerfully influenced through language and communication. Holding a higher level of command of a particular language places one speaker at a tangible

advantage over another. Newsum (1990: 17) sates that a higher social status is measured through education and the mastery of “metalanguages.” Even more radically, Newsum (1990: 12) describes the historical belief that in the eyes of the European settler, the African acquired human status when he/she proved an ability to master a European language:

“In this light, humanity is predicted not on language, but rather on European languages.”

It is difficult to accept that humanity might be determined through competence in one particular language. This concept suggests an extreme level of passiveness or human impotence that blurs the division between the human and the animal. Is it not our advanced ability to communicate in words and to formulate ideas in a given language that separates us from the animal kingdom? La Ponce (1987: 167) (in Satyo 1988: 9) identifies four rights entrenched in human existence:

- (i) The right to speak.
- (ii) The right to understand and to be understood.
- (iii) The right to education.
- (iv) The right to ethnic identity.

However, La Ponce concedes that the right to speak one’s language is dependent on “social constraints.” He identifies the fact that sometimes the minority might have the right to speak their language but do not have the right to be understood. This is particularly true in the South African context where, by virtue of the official status accorded to their languages, many Black South Africans have the right to speak their language. This right to speak, however, is not mirrored by a right to be understood simply because many non-Black South Africans do not understand, let alone speak, Black languages. In their linguistic context, according to Heugh (in Mesthrie 1995: 2) two terms are relevant to this discussion:

- (i) *Segregation*: at least one language of high status is used to exclude speakers of low-status languages.
- (ii) *Assimilation*: the subordination of marginalised languages under a dominant language.

In the epilogue entitled *Towards Critical Language Awareness in Africa*, Rubagumya (1993: 155) notes that “present educational language policies and practices in Africa” reinforce the continued dominance of foreign (colonial) languages. Rubagumya insists that if African linguists are to have any influence on current language policies and practices, they need to establish a clear understanding of the relationship between language and power. In highlighting the fact that English and French are fairly dominant languages, Rubagumya suggests that the long term benefits of either of these colonial languages are highly questionable simply because they help to “maintain the existing unequal power of relations between the rich and poor countries of the world.” However, Rubagumya does not totally dismiss the respective roles that English and French play in Africa. Instead, he suggests that the impact of language choice and policies on all African people, and not only those who are socially, politically and economically empowered should be considered. In addition, Rubagumya suggests that we should reconsider the way in which we evaluate the worth of a language according to international or indigenous needs. The value of this point cannot be overemphasised. It is remarkably easy to fall into the ‘trap’ of arriving at the ‘logical’ conclusion supporting the usefulness or the need for English or French as vehicular languages for the economic and social development of Africa. However, each and every African should ask him/herself if the only true form of socio-economic development is through the same path as that of the West. For a very long time, academics, politicians and members of the general public have argued that the needs of the Black African majority have been ignored. Indeed, many of Africa's economic and political problems can be attributed to this very fact. As many Black Africans do not have access to those official languages that are in fact global languages, they are often omitted from decisions that affect their economic development. However, as is sometimes erroneously perceived, this section of the African community is in no way less civilised, less sophisticated or less developed than their more Western-orientated compatriots.

A contrasting point of view regarding the use of ex-colonial languages is offered by Mufwene (2001: 172-173). Mufwene feels that in the African industrialised ecologies, ex-colonial languages have not displaced African languages in their traditional functions. Referring to "indigenized European Languages" Mufwene suggests that:

"the position of European lingua francas in Africa has been additive, not replacive. They fulfil new communicative functions and are not in competition with the more indigenous African languages."

Mufwene goes further to suggest that these European languages are now "in competition with each other", quoting the example of how in Rwanda, "the role of French is being encroached and threatened by English" (2001: 173). Mufwene also mentions that in some places such as Tanzania, the English language is challenged or met on an equal footing by Swahili which has been developed and adapted "to meet the communicative functions formerly reserved for the former coloniser's language." Mufwene sees the masses of African language speakers as strong agents in the perceived threat to African languages. Mufwene subscribes to the linguistic theory referred to as *functionalism* by recognising the functional value of a colonial language to the economic develop of African countries. Although he acknowledges the fact that any language has a level of value which differs according to its speaker, or non-speaker for that matter, Mufwene appreciates that this value is not shared or enjoyed by all members of the African society.

Because of the diverse cultural, racial, and economic divisions within any society, it is difficult to decide upon a clear sense of values in terms of linguistic or economic development. What one part of society might consider valuable in terms of self-development, another part of society will find contradictory. This issue is particularly pertinent to Africa because a comparison between the material needs and expectations of a rural family and those of an urban family will undoubtedly reveal a wide division. Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 10) state that based on Western ideals of "materialism", African education systems tend to partner the economic goals of "productivity", focusing on "producing the skills and expertise

to expand production and increase (its) efficiency.” Therefore, the acquisition and use of colonial languages, beginning with education, is seen as a sign of progress in social and economic development. This is mainly because access to higher-paid and skilled employment is dependent on the ability to speak English, and in some areas of South Africa, Afrikaans.

At present, much effort is being made to market the fact that Africa is going through a stimulating new phase. The leading exponent of this movement, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, current President of South Africa, coined the term “African Renaissance” to describe the sense of rebirth that he feels Africa is experiencing. African countries aim to unite under the banner of 'NEPAD' (New Partnership for African Development) as well as the revised 'African Union'. While optimism is an essential aspect, there is much scepticism about the role that actual “grass-level” Africans will be allowed or able to play in the re-shaping of the African continent. Criticism of Africa’s political leaders is rife in terms of what is perceived to be a lack of commitment to the ‘indigenisation’ of social and economic development.⁸ In Alexander (1999: 3), the West-African writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o states that democracy in Africa is directed from the State downwards. The average “peasant and worker” are “denied participation in discourses about their own economic, political and cultural survival.” Ngugi wa Thiong'o strongly advocates the accessibility of “information” to all Africans in order for effective democracy to exist.

Once again, the question of language surfaces in relation to the choice of language through which the empowered communicate with the disempowered. Like many African writers, Mr. wa Thiong'o agrees that “economic growth and development” of the majority of indigenous Africans are based on the acquisition of foreign language communication skills, something which is denied to most. This argument is reinforced by Pierre Alexandre (in Alexander 1999: 2) who states that power is indeed in the hands of the ruling minority. Alexandre identifies a sociological

⁸ Alexander, N. (theme Ed) (1999: 3) *Social dynamics, Vol. 25: An African Renaissance without African Languages?* UCT

aspect particular to contemporary Africa, that of a class structure which appears to be developing along linguistic factors. Alexandre identifies one group - the majority of the population - that is ostracised by the other group – the politicians – simply because the latter has access to an international language of communication. In terms of national and global economic access, this linguistic division has considerable implications. The acquisition of French, German, Japanese or English, for example, is often considered a form of “capital accumulation” and a source of envy. This “capital” is essentially the ability to communicate and hence a key tool for the purpose of the “production and distribution” of economically viable goods.

These statements reinforce the concept that social dynamics ensure that language should not occur in isolation from its human element and that the study of languages requires an understanding of human relationship structures. Haugen (1972) (in Haarman 1986: 3) refers to a “network of social relations which control the variability of languages and the modal speakers' behaviour”. Haarman (1986: 4) suggests that as these variables are linked to the “speakers of a given language”, then the following relationship structure should serve as a general framework for the study of the language ecology:

INDIVIDUAL → GROUP → SOCIETY → STATE

In Calvet (1987: 182) the language question (or problem as it is sometimes considered) has its origins in the establishment of the State. The following table explains this concept:

Table 1.1 Emergence of the language question (Calvet 1987: 182):

Emergence of the language question	Before the birth of the State	After the birth of the State
Practical problems	How to speak to the nation, disperse propaganda, fight for independence	Manage politics, education, general upkeep, reduction in minority groups, establish State authority
Symbolic problems	How to affirm national status, overcome and fight the remains of colonialism	Reinforce national unity, demarcate borders

As demonstrated in the table above, a divisive factor is recognised in reference to the practical value and the symbolic value of a language. Africa is obliged to use ex-colonial languages for practical purposes and yet at the same time Africa feels - or perhaps should feel - compelled to maintain and to promote indigenous languages for symbolic reasons at the very least. The world has always been plurilingual and this has created permanent tension between vehicle and national languages where, as in Africa, the language used to access the international community (the vehicle language) is far removed from the national languages. Calvet (1987: 281-282) suggests that it is this tension, leading to what he refers to as "the war of languages" that is one of the driving forces of history. Like any type of war, the linguistic war is controlled by the State. However, language conflict equals social conflict and it is up to the sociolinguist or the linguist to assist in the discovery of a democratic solution to this language question or problem.

The above section highlights the pivotal role that politics plays in the development of language attitudes and policies. In Africa, the question of empowerment through language, that is, equating the right to speak an indigenous language with the right to be heard and to be understood is of vital importance and is a theme that features strongly throughout this research brief.

1.1.2 The interpreter in the Colonisation of Africa

In an article based on a paper examining the role of intellectuals and European languages in African development at the University of Witwatersrand, Ngugi wa Thiong'o links the intellectual, the politician and the interpreter, all of whom he sees as one. The politician uses his power and his intellect to interpret the needs of the society. Referring to one of five Africans whom John Lok, an Englishman, in 1554 took to England with him to learn English, Mr. wa Thiong'o mentions the manner in which the first African interpreter became an agent through whom the slave trade was able to begin. He later emphasises how the person who speaks colonial languages, and in some cases the politician in particular, plays the role of the same interpreter in the 19th century. By using his language skills to assist the colonisers to assess and to take control of African countries, this interpreter assumes a higher status in African society. The third type of interpreter is identified as "the intellectual interpreter who operated within the cultures, histories and languages of Africa." During the periods of the slave trade and colonialism, the first two types of interpreters dominated the third. In addition, Mr. wa Thiong'o makes it clear that he sees current African politicians as interpreters whom:

*"Instead of empowering the languages of those who had given them power, they came to believe that their power lay solely in their capacity to interpret, to talk to the West, and among themselves, about the fate of the nation."*⁹

1.1.3 Black Linguistics

At a linguistic conference in Asmara (Eritrea) in 2000 entitled *Against All Odds*, a challenge was presented to Black linguists to expand and to rededicate research into the inherent potential of indigenous African languages.¹⁰ Makoni et al., (2003: 1) describe Black Linguistics as:

⁹ wa Thiong'o, N. 18 July 1997. *Africa and its interpreters*. Mail & Guardian.
www.mweblibrary.com (available 03/08/2005)

¹⁰ Makoni, S. et al., (2003) *Black Linguistics*. Routledge.

“(A) postcolonial scholarship that seeks to celebrate and create room for insurgent knowledge about Black languages. Black Linguistics is committed to studies of Black languages by Black speakers and to analyses of the sociopolitical consequences of varying conceptualizations of and research on Black languages.”

Exponents of Black Linguistics stipulate the need for contributors to be Black and to be speakers of a Black language, be it a standard language or a Creole language. The roots of Black Linguistics are attributed to scholars such as Devonish, *Language and Liberation* (1986) and Williams, *Ebonics: The True Language of Black Folks* (1975) (in Makoni et al., 2003: 4). One of the challenges facing Black Linguistics has been the legacy of colonial and apartheid language policies which created negative mind-sets and attitudes towards Black languages. In South Africa, there appears to be less drive for the development of Black Linguistics as seen in Francophone countries. This has been the subject of many frustrated sociolinguists, as will be discussed further in this research.

Chapter 1 included explanations of the fields of sociolinguistics and sociology of language in reference to Africa’s particular experience of language, ethnicity and colonialism. The complex language situation in Africa has been highlighted from a macro sociolinguistic approach with particular reference to multilingualism and the role of ex-colonial languages as official languages in most African countries. In Chapter 2, this thread is continued by examining past and current language policies and attitudes, and in terms of ecolinguistics, the evolving and thus socio-historical status of languages such as French, Dutch and Afrikaans in the South African context.

CHAPTER 2

2 LANGUAGE POLICIES AND ATTITUDES

2.1 ECOLINGUISTICS AND THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Haugen (1972: 325) defines ecolinguistics as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment.” The study of ecolinguistics is a broad field of study encompassing theoretical, methodological and empirical studies of language (Fill & Mühlhäusler 2001: 51). The ecology of language refers to the ensemble of every aspect of a language: its speakers, its function, its development, its demise and finally, how it affects and is affected by its environment. By studying the ecology of any language, the dynamic impact of that particular language upon both its speakers and auditors becomes clear. Haarman (1986: 2-3), describes the ecology of language as “the study of environmental influences on the linguistic behaviour of speech communities in interactive situations.” As in the biological sense, when referring to the evolution of a language, there is no implication of progress of any kind as from a less satisfactory state to a more satisfactory state (Mufwene 2001: 11). As a community's communicative needs adapt, so will the community's language evolve. This is similar to the way in which biological elements might adapt or adjust in order to suit a new environment. Linguistic change or evolution might occur within a language community even when no trans-linguistic contact is made. Mufwene (2001: 13) refers to the evolution of language as “no more than the long-term changes undergone by a language (variety) over a period of time.” These changes include “a succession of restructuring processes which produce more and more deviations from an earlier stage.” Change in a language might be *internally motivated* (motivated from within the linguistic community) or *externally motivated* (from external contact outside of the linguistic community) (Mufwene 2001: 15). Like any other species, languages are said to be ‘living’, ‘dead’, or ‘in a state of decay’. Language, as with any other species, is subject to variation and change as well as to extinction should its

speakers diminish or cease to exist. While total extinction might not occur, a language could easily become a 'minority' or 'low status' language if it is dominated by a larger group of people who speak a different language. Mufwene (2001: 167) considers "external ecological conditions" to be the exploitative and settlement linguistic styles of colonisers that had a bearing upon the social dynamics of African languages.

The interdisciplinary nature of the ecology of language that covers such a broad spectrum of language and social interests makes it perfectly sensible for the discipline to incorporate linguists, scientists, geographers and historians. Any discussion of language should therefore include both the physical and social aspects of the language. By physical aspects, we refer to the geographical characteristics and the economic basis of the speakers of the language in question. Social aspects refer to those forces of society that mould the life and thought processes of each individual or group of people. A concrete correlation exists between the levels of complexity regarding language and culture. Should a culture change drastically for whatever reason or in whichever direction, then a clear and similar movement occurs in the language as it adopts a new linguistic form and content in order to appropriately fulfil its new social, cultural, technical and economic requirements.

According to Fill and Mülhäusler (2001: 51), when studying the ecology of any particular language, the following questions should be considered and looked at in their appropriate category of related discipline:

- What is the particular language's classification in comparison to other languages (historical and descriptive linguistics)?
- Who are its users (linguistic demography)?
- What are its domains of use (sociolinguistics)?
- What concurrent languages are employed by its users (dialinguistics)?
- What is the nature of its written traditions (philology)?
- To what degree has its written form been standardised, unified or codified (prescriptive linguistics)?
- What are the attitudes of its users towards the language (ethnolinguistics)?

- What is the summary of its status (typology of ecological classification)?

The languages of French, Dutch and Afrikaans will now be discussed under some of the above categories. In contrast to English, these three languages played a vital role in the ecology of language in South Africa.

2.2 HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

History, of which ecology plays a vital part, is a reflection of human development. In order to effectively move forward into the future, it is necessary to fully understand and to appreciate the past. An historical study of the French language and its speakers in South Africa begins with the arrival of the French Huguenots in the 17th Century.

2.2.1 Language and religion

Many languages owe certain aspects of their origin and preservation to religion. A major portion of the following historical study of the religious factors that influenced the formation of the Calvinist Huguenots will be based on the book *French speakers at the Cape: the European Background* by M. Boucher¹¹. Before the end of the fifteenth century, church reform took shape in France. The precursors of both the Calvinists and Catholic reformers were strong players in the battle for political and religious supremacy in France. Economic deterioration, oppression by the Council of Trent as well as abuses by the Catholic Church led to the strengthening of the Calvinist movement. By 1559 the first Calvinist national synod was established in Paris and a strong declaration of Protestant faith was made, thereby making the Calvinists a powerful religious and political rival to the Catholic Church. The term Huguenot, was originally believed to derive from the

¹¹ Boucher, M. (1981) *French Speakers at the Cape: The European background*. UNISA.

German word *Eidgenossen* (confederates). However, it has since been established that the term *Huguenot* or *Huguenote* existed in Old French and that the Protestants referred to the Catholics as papists and the latter referred to the Protestants as Huguenots. The final assumption is that the word Hugon was used as a nickname to describe Protestants who assembled at night at the gates of King Hugo.¹² By 1562, the battle for supremacy between the Catholics and Huguenots began in earnest. Consequently, France experienced a series of brutal civil wars that went beyond religious boundaries. In essence, the Huguenots were regarded as a direct threat to national unity in terms of religion and economic interest. Various forms of persecution led to the ever-increasing escape of Protestants from France after 1685, many of them settling in the Low Countries. Most the escapees were young, skilled agriculturists as the unskilled and 'lower class' Huguenots did not appear to have the energy or initiative to emigrate. However, while they may have escaped persecution in France, the refugees faced economic hardship as jobs were scarce and financial relief was meagre. In addition, integration into new communities and cultures did not go as well as they had hoped and many conflicts arose.

2.2.2 Huguenots in the Western Cape

There was a large number of Huguenot refugees in Holland by the end of the seventeenth century, an estimated number being 75 000 (Nathan 1939: 29). As Holland was a small and now overpopulated country, it was decided that some of its inhabitants should find a new home in those overseas settlements under Dutch control, the Cape being one of those.

One of the main attractions of the Cape was the settlement of the Dutch East India Company of 1652. Beginning primarily as a factory, the Cape of Good Hope was a sound port of call that attracted fleets and vessels of trade. The Company, as with its English contemporary, was a closed trade enterprise and therefore did not encourage free trade or immigrants who might threaten the trade monopoly.

¹² Nathan, M. (1939: 4) *The Huguenots in South Africa*. Pretoria

Anyone who lived on the Cape or entered its ports was either under the employ of the Company, which came with many restrictions, or was trading directly with the Company. These restrictions were, however, eased by the Chamber of Seventeen - the Directors of the Dutch East India Company - when they realised that it would be advantageous to agricultural development to encourage free settlers to flourish. A socio-economic change was thus both desired and necessary. It was decided to make the Cape an attractive destination for overseas dwellers. The Huguenots were naturally an ideal source of human resource as they had been displaced and had many developmental skills to offer. On October 3, 1685, the Chamber of Seventeen passed a resolution of which the following section is pertinent:

"Among the said colonists shall be included French Refugees of the reformed religion, especially those who are cultivators of the vine and understand the making of vinegar and the distillation of brandy..."
(Nathan 1939: 33).

Another invitation was issued two years later in which again, special mention was made of the French Huguenots. The Huguenots were encouraged to bring along their own clergymen, presumably to help ensure the survival of their language and to allow them to worship in their mother tongue. There were, of course, several restrictions and expectations imposed by the Company, all of which were noted in a formidable document in the form of an oath of allegiance that immigrants were expected to take. The Huguenots therefore moved from Holland where they had taken refuge, to the Cape. No French refugees were allowed to arrive directly from France.

As Commander of the Company's settlement in the Cape, Simon van der Stel was instrumental in the arrival and existence of the Huguenots in the Cape. At first, it was necessary for the Huguenots to cultivate cereals in order to feed themselves and to become accustomed to the land. The Dutch, while knowing how to cultivate vines, were not skilled in processing the grapes and turning them into quality wine. This is where the Huguenots were skilled. After some years, the wines that were exported from the Cape were considered to be of an excellent quality. At this point, we should mention that the Huguenots did not all remain at the Cape. Many joined

the "trekkers" or travellers and moved towards the Karoo.

However, problems were due to begin. As a natural reaction to previous persecution experienced in France, the Huguenots increasingly desired to group themselves into a French community. As a result, they either sold or exchanged their land in order to reside together in the Paarl region, later forming what became known as "le coin français", the French Corner, or Fransch Hoek. This was what the Company had envisaged and perhaps it was then that the relationship between the Huguenots and the Company began to sour. Added to this, wars in Europe between the Dutch and the French caused further distrust and friction between the two peoples. Ultimately, religion was to play yet another role in dividing two groups of people. Bearing in mind that it was religious conflict that brought about the flight and plight of the Huguenots in the first place, the Huguenots in the Cape decided that they would much prefer to have their own French Consistory as they no longer wished to worship under the Dutch equivalent. This, of course, was not well received by the Dutch who saw it as a clear case of ingratitude.

The Huguenots turned to the Dutch East India Company for arbitration and the latter came up with a compromise. There would be Church services in French in Stellenbosch and the Drakenstein on alternate Sundays. However, all French children had to learn Dutch. Sadly, relations continued to deteriorate, particularly as Willem Adriaan van der Stel, Simon's son and successor, did not like the French refugees in the first place. As tensions reached boiling point, Willem (Lugan 1988: 101) likened the French Huguenots to the wandering tribe of Israel who lamented the "luxury" they had left behind in Egypt.

Partially because Huguenot widows always remarried, many children were born into the Huguenot families. One family of note was the du Toit family, the father of which was attributed no less than eighty-three descendants! According to Allier (1967: 14), by standing up to Governor Willem van der Stel, the Huguenots played a decisive role in the birth of South African national pride (Lugan 1988: 102).

Ironically, all that the Huguenots wished to do was to conserve their French identity. Their mutual suffering encouraged a strong sense of compatriotism. Furthermore, unlike other nations, as the Huguenots had been forced to leave France, they had no country of origin to which to turn and were therefore determined to stake some sense of ownership of the colony. At the same time, the Dutch felt betrayed by the very same people to whom they had ostensibly extended a hand of friendship and support.

Having fled France because their religious freedom was threatened, the French at the Cape resented being told that they could not worship in their own language. Interestingly, in Canada, religion (Catholicism in this case) helped to preserve the French language - *la langue, gardienne de la foi*¹³ (Fill & Mulhausler 2001: 71). Conversely, in South Africa, religion helped to promote the loss of the French language as, despite their large numbers, the Huguenots were eventually forced to give up their mother tongue in favour of the Dutch language.

By 1726, at least 75% of the Huguenots were bilingual. However, in 1824, at the occasion of the funeral of Mrs. Jacob Nardé, the last service in the French language was pronounced. The French language in the Cape colony therefore died along with the first generation of Huguenots. However, a new sense of white African pride was nurtured in the new generation of Huguenots.

Following the demise of the French language at the Cape, there was a clear language shift. The *ecology of language shift* is defined as "the study of interrelated behaviour of one group under the influence of another, resulting in a switch in the language of one of the groups" (Fill & Mulhausler 2001: 68). In the case of the Huguenots, there were many reasons for, and leading to the shift in, language from French to Dutch or Afrikaans. Firstly, as the French were in minority, intermarriages became inevitable. As Dutch was the official language for trade and commerce, it made much sense to use that language a lot more than

¹³ "*Language, keeper of the faith*" (own translation).

French. We should not forget that Huguenot children were expected to learn Dutch at school and therefore had a fair level of competence in the language. Secondly, there was much corruption in spelling of French names and the language in general as births and deaths were sometimes recorded by semi-illiterate parish clerks. French names began increasingly to resemble Dutch names, for example, Nicholas assumed the varieties of Niccolaas, Nichlas, and Niklaas.

One might wonder why, in the face of official discouragement of their mother tongue, or in the face of strong religious belief that is often the pillar of language pride, did the Huguenots allow their language to slowly disappear? After all, was it not their tenacity and immovable religious identity that originally drove them out of France and made them challenge Governor van der Stel? It is clear that this demise was never the wish of the original French refugees, but more so the natural evolution of their children. The physical ecological aspect of the demise of the French language in South Africa was due to the fact that the Huguenots were living on what was essentially Dutch territory with little access to French apart from among themselves. The social ecological aspect of the demise of the French language in South Africa was based on the fact that as the French Huguenots were outnumbered, their children had little or no option other than to intermingle, learn the Dutch language, and therefore intermarry. By the year 1780, the French language had, to all extent and purposes, disappeared from the Cape less than a century since its introduction. A French traveller named Le Vaillant travelled to the Cape that year and claims to have found only one man capable of speaking French (Nathan 1939: 120).

While the French language might have disappeared with the Huguenots in South Africa, this was not the case elsewhere. There was a clear movement of the global development and expansion of French.

2.3 DUTCH AND AFRIKAANS

The arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the Dutch language in the Cape did not initially have a direct influence on the languages of the two indigenous peoples: the Khoikhoi and the San. Over the years, there was a mutual learning of the basic aspects of each other's language thereby allowing some level of communication to take place for the purpose of trade. According to Maartens (1998) (in Makoni et al., 2003: 118) the arrival of slaves from Angola, Madagascar, Bengal, Guinea and later South-East Asia encouraged the extended use of the Portuguese and the Malay-Portuguese languages. In order to counteract this tendency the Dutch East India Company decided that the Dutch language should be the only language used. Maartens (1998: 28) (in Makoni et al., 2003: 118) states that this decision represented the first language policy of South Africa.

The impact of this policy resulted in the enforced adoption of Dutch by the Khoikhoi, the San, and the enslaved people as the sole means of official communication. Ironically, however, a 'diluted' version of Dutch, now known as Afrikaans, was soon to develop as the non-native Dutch speakers struggled to learn the Dutch language in its purest form. Although the British occupied the Cape in 1775, it was not until 1806 when the British decided that the English language should become the leading official language of Parliament with Dutch and Afrikaans being relegated to languages of the Church and Family. However, by 1882, Dutch was elevated to achieve equal recognition alongside English as the language of Parliament. In 1902 Dutch lost its official status only for this to be reinstated in 1910 with the signing of the Act of Union. This Act did not recognise the existence or relevance of any of the indigenous African languages. Through sheer determination and obstinacy, the Afrikaans language replaced the Dutch language in 1925 alongside English in Act 137 of the new Constitution (Phaswana, in Makoni et al., 2003: 119).

The Afrikaans language was to later become a symbol of ethnic and racial division. Phillip Van Niekerk in his article that appeared in the Weekly Mail &

Guardian (Johannesburg) some years ago entitled: *Wie se taal? Wie se kultuur?*¹⁴ states that "Afrikaans, the language of the white tribe of Apartheid, is a black tongue."¹⁵

To the Afrikaner, the Afrikaans language was one of the most important pillars of their identity. According to Du Preez (1987: 3) (in Satyo 1988: 5):

"In his struggle for identity as a language group the Afrikaner developed a certain myth around his language so that it should be treated with reverence by all the "goeie" members of the "volk".

The interesting dynamic surrounding Dutch and Afrikaans is embodied in the fact that at first, following the threat of the Portuguese and Malay-Portuguese languages, the Dutch language was officially forced upon the oppressed and therefore suffered dilution into a language known as Afrikaans. In turn, this diluted language was adopted by a group of White people who used their adoptive language as one of their symbols of superiority. It was the obstinacy with which the Afrikaans apartheid government stuck to its enforcement of Afrikaans as the language of all South Africans that places South Africa apart from its neighbours. As stated by Satyo (1988: 5):

"While the missionary was battling with the establishment of African languages as dynamic media for evangelization, the Afrikaner was fighting a fierce battle for a stake in the country for his own language".

This quest for language superiority had two delayed but far-reaching results. Firstly, it incited the 1976 Soweto uprising carried out by Black children who were opposed to being taught in the Afrikaans language. Secondly, it ensured the placement of English as the international language to be adopted by the majority of South Africans before and after the anti-apartheid struggle. Du Plessis (in Satyo 1988: 6) cites three reasons for the politicisation of South Africa's position as a bilingual (English and Afrikaans) or a multilingual (inclusive of the many

¹⁴ "Whose language? Whose culture?" (own translation)

¹⁵ Prah, K.K. (1997) *Beyond the Colour Line. Pan-Africanist Disputations*. Vivlia.

indigenous languages) country:

- (i) The inauguration of the Afrikaans Language Monument in 1975.
- (ii) The outbreak of the Soweto riots in 1976.
- (iii) The publication of the work of Steyn in 1980.

However, while the Afrikaans language is linked to the enslaved or oppressed people, as stated by Prah (1998: 34-35), it is equally true that the Afrikaner himself, through the support of the National Party (NP) which took control from 1948 onwards, developed the Afrikaans language to a level of scientific and technological development equal to that of any international language. While the Afrikaner noted the need for basic “native education” to take place in the mother tongue, Hlatshwayo (2000: 54-56) (in Makoni et al., 2003: 119) quotes Article 15 of the 1948 education document:

“We believe that...the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the native...[who] must be led to an...independent acceptance of the Christian and National principles in our teaching...The mother tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching but...the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages, and...the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his own cultural progress.”

Thus began the implementation of what became known as the Bantu Education Act of 1963 which, according to Phaswana (in Makoni et al., 2003: 119) determined to achieve three goals:

- (i) To promote Afrikaans and to reduce the influence of English in Black schools.
- (ii) To impose in Black schools the use of Afrikaans and English as equal media of instruction.
- (iii) To extend mother tongue education for Blacks from fourth grade to eighth grade (Kamwangamalu 1997: 6).

While it may appear that there is a contradiction between the first and second points, the logical conclusion is that according to the NP, the English language was

never accorded the same status as Afrikaans. Malherbe (1977: 72) (in Satyo 1988: 3) quotes former Prime Minister J.G. Strydom as saying that it is every proud Afrikaner's dream that South Africa should speak in one language, that is the language of Afrikaans.¹⁶

Recognising this controversial fact, Black South Africans not only vociferously resisted the domination of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, but equally resisted the extension of any Black language as a medium of instruction beyond the fourth grade. Almost all of the Black schools opted for English as the language of education after four years of initial mother tongue education, rejecting the option of continuing the education in African languages (Phaswana, in Makoni et al., 2003: 120). This political linguistic battle continued for many years thereafter, culminating in the Soweto rebellion of 1976 which forced the Afrikaans government to withdraw its unpopular language policy. Evident in the choice of the Black South Africans to learn in English is the extent of many years of cultural and psychological indoctrination that led the native African to ultimately regard education in his/her own languages as an attempt by government to "promote ethnicity", "prevent Black unity", and render Black education "inferior" (Phaswana, in Makoni et al., 2003: 120).

2.4 MULTILINGUALISM AND CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

An important aspect in the discussion of languages in South Africa is the current language policy or language planning of the government. Willinsky (1984: 72) (in Satyo 1988: 6) describes language as "a political struggle: an ideological practice entailing negotiation, resistance and complicity..." In general, African authorities on languages agree that multilingualism is a 'resource' and not a 'problem'. Heugh (1995: 1) suggests that language policies reflect the covert relationship between political ideology and the politics of economy. Three direct problem areas have

¹⁶ Satyo, S.C. (1988: 3) *The Apartheid Context of African Language Studies*. UCT

been identified:

- (i) If the goals of the state differ from the country's language policy.
- (ii) If the language policy appears to be in conflict with "hidden political and economic infrastructure."
- (iii) If the language policy is determined from a top-down approach, then not only is one dynamic likely to undermine the other, but the needs of the majority will also be ignored to their detriment.

However, why does there appear to be little progress being made in increasing the use of indigenous languages? Among many other language researchers, Heugh and Alexander see the feeble promotion of (South) African languages, despite the declaration of eleven official languages, as a direct result of political apathy and in some cases as deliberate neglect in order to maintain economic and political power. Interesting to note are the similar observations made by Dr. Akosua Anyidoho (in Prah 1998: 26 - 27). Dealing with the question of the promotion of national languages in education, Anyidoho suggests examining the "attitude of our people." Anyidoho blames "parliamentarians" and "teachers" for failure in the implementation of a progressive policy. Referring to the Ghanaian position at the same occasion, when asked: "Do you think that the power elite is conscious of what it is doing or is it unconscious?", Yankah (in Prah 1998: 40) replies that it is the "minds" of the politicians that are yet to be "decolonised." Yankah identifies a need for a "sudden shift in the power base, from the top to the real bottom" in order to strike a more equitable balance in power. In her article on "*disabling and enabling the majority*" in terms of the language question, South African sociolinguist Heugh (1995: 3) sees current language planning as a 'mechanism' or means by which the government can determine "who has access to

In 2002, Deputy Minister of Education of South Africa, Malunga, stated that language equals power and that taking away indigenous languages is a possible reluctance to see languages as a resource which is as important as any other natural resource found in the country.

Angus Margerison, 2005

nation's democratic rights.¹⁷ In reference to the broadcasting media, Mangena quotes the Pan African Language Board as stating that 70% of broadcasting is carried out in English. In addition, further findings demonstrated that 78% of the surveyed population as incapable of fully understanding political broadcasts in the English language. Consequently, a large proportion of indigenous people are unable to actively participate in any democratic process. Mangena notes the rarity of magazines and other publications in indigenous languages. Further research produced a second article that supported the questioning of government's treatment of South Africa's language situation. On the 16th of September 2002 at the National House of Traditional Leaders, the Chairman for the House Mpiyezintombi Mzimela lashed out at the government in the strongest terms by accusing the government of causing the extinction of the institution. Mzimela believes that the government is failing to recognise the powers and functions of traditional leaders. African languages and heritage faced extinction because Africans in South Africa were beginning to have confidence in foreign languages and forgetting about who they are by not using "African indigenous languages in government and in workplace."¹⁸

Do many young Black children in Africa feel frustrated at the fact that they do not have access to excellent English teachers? Do Black children ever wonder what it would be like to be born English-speaking, or to have the 'advantage' that some Black children have had in learning English from the urban employers of their parents? Is a huge percentage of the South African nation penalised for speaking the 'wrong' language, or is this less of a problem than assumed? As a child is born into a particular social, and therefore language group, he/she can hardly be held responsible for his/her early language choice (Bamgbose 2000: 39). Furthermore, particularly in rural areas of Africa where the child's mother tongue is not challenged by non-indigenous languages, the child communicates fluently in his/her mother-tongue in the purest fashion. In urban areas, however, there is a breakdown of language structure as many children adopt a mixture of the different languages which they learn from friends of different ethnic backgrounds. The further

¹⁷ Mangena (22 September 2002) *Indigenous languages must come first*. Sunday Times.

¹⁸ Mzimela, M. (2002) Mail & Guardian. www.mweblibrary.com (available: 03/08/2005)

complication lies in the fact that most of these children speak neither the foreign or indigenous language fluently and this can only have a huge impact on literacy levels in Africa. This example of inter-language is prevalent in most areas of South Africa where communities have integrated linguistically, if not socially and culturally.

In this context, it is clear that one of South Africa's linguistic goals should be to develop indigenous African languages to the extent where they can be used creatively in science and technology, thereby renewing their profile in society on a national scale. Understanding South Africa's language situation from a socio-historic angle is therefore essential in any approach to language policy. In the past, the impact of linguistic (or other) policies did not reflect any sense of true democratic practice. In the spirit of the new South Africa, integration on a national, continental and international scale should be paramount. One of the key targets of NEPAD¹⁹ is to promote African unity and integration with a more equal partnership with the West. At present, the three main languages used by delegates for NEPAD are English, French and Arabic. Despite huge strides made in the development and standardisation of Swahili, no common African language exists that might be used instead. Consequently, the use of interpreters and translators becomes unavoidable.

In reference to languages in South Africa, the Constitutional provisions made in Act No. 108 of 1996 state:

- All official languages must enjoy "parity of esteem" and be treated equitably.
- The status and use of indigenous languages must be enhanced.
- Government must take legislative and other measure to regulate and monitor the use of official languages."²⁰

In other areas of the document quoted above, the South African government states

¹⁹ New Partnership for Africa's Development

²⁰ Department of Arts and Culture official website: http://www.dacst.gov.za/arts_culture/language/langplan/plan_policy.htm (available 03/08/2005)

that its “corporate goal” is to support the “linguistic diversity” of South Africa “as a resource in empowering all South Africans to participate in their country’s social, political and economic life.” Government appears to recognise the essential link between language and economic growth as they repeatedly refer to multilingualism as a means of promoting economic development.

Based on the argument that the South African Government is not entrenching and affirming its policy of multilingualism, a study was carried out focusing on Members of Parliament and Parliamentary “deliberations and proceedings.”²¹ The methodology used in the research comprised qualitative, in-depth and unstructured interviews with Members of Parliament were carried out. As primary sources, extensive selections of parliamentary documents were consulted. All of the interviews took place in Cape Town from February to March of 1999, using the snowballing sampling technique.²² In essence, Parliamentarians were asked in an open-ended question “to account for their language practices *vis-à-vis* what the South African Constitutional language policy requires”. In brief, it was suggested by one New National Party (NNP) MP that “80 to 90 percent of the speeches delivered by MPs in Parliament are in English, about 10 percent are in Afrikaans, and the remaining in other languages (African languages).” Among the parliamentary representatives of whom the ANC, NNP, IFP and FF were consulted, the predominant view was that the policy of eleven official languages to be used in parliament was simply not practical. The lack of development of African languages as well as attitudes towards these languages, were cited among their comments. In addition, the cost of providing resources such as interpreters and library facilities, were mentioned.

Phaswana (in Makoni et al., 2003: 129) perceives the dominance of English as having a negative impact on the promotion and development of multilingualism and multiculturalism as enshrined in the Constitution. The continued power of the Afrikaans language is also perceived as a continuation of “Boer privilege”.

²¹ Phaswana (in Makoni et al., 2003: 122-130) *Black Linguistics*. Routledge

²² Interviewees recommended colleagues to be interviewed.

Numerous African nationalists suggest that the rate at which the South African government is moving towards the implementation and promotion of indigenous language use is unacceptable (Makoni et al., 2003: 129-130). This perceived reluctance is regarded as a “betrayal” of the spirit and very core of African renaissance. It is considered to be nothing less than an affront to “freedom and democracy” (Phaswana, in Makoni et al., 2003: 130).

Chapter 2 includes an historical description of language attitudes and policies in South Africa from the perspective of ecolinguistics and the ecology of language. The demise of French and Dutch in South Africa was highlighted, leading to the establishment of Afrikaans and English as the leading official languages of South Africa. Chapter 3 examines the topic of global linguistics and the challenges that Africa is facing in terms of globalisation, and highlights the spread of the French language on a global scale.

CHAPTER 3

3 GLOBAL LINGUISTICS

3.1 LINGUISTIC CHALLENGES FACING EUROPE AND AFRICA

There are some similarities between the challenges of multilingualism of South Africa and that of Western Europe. South Africa's historical and cultural status was strongly influenced by Europe, mainly through the importation of the English and Dutch languages. In Europe, it is suggested that recent moves towards a better understanding within the European Union have resulted in the marginalisation of certain "regional language varieties and dialects."²³ This dominance refers mainly to the English language, which is similar to what is happening in the South African context. However, Europe is also facing a similar importation of 'foreign' languages as faced by Africa. Based on new migratory trends as well as the presence of refugee asylum seekers, many so-called "non-Western" languages such as Arabic or Turkish, are now widely spoken in Europe. This creates a similar challenge in terms of multilingualism as faced by South Africa. The concepts of 'nationality' and 'citizenship' are central to the subject of language policies and language rights (Extra & Maartens 1998: 10). This is mainly because an important aspect of movement between states or continents is the question of the acquisition of a new language. An example of this concept might be found in the situation faced by asylum seekers from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi and Rwanda living in South Africa. South Africa, the DRC, Burundi and Rwanda do not share any mutual indigenous languages. South Africa's main official language of international communication is English whereas that of the other three countries is French.

In terms of education, another similarity between the multilingual challenges facing Europe and South Africa lies in the conflict between the language used at home and that of instruction at school. Extra cites the major difference as being the

²³ Extra, G. & Maartens, J. (Eds) (1998) *Multilingualism in a multicultural context*. Tilburg University Press.

fact that whereas the South African government appears to be encouraging the development of a multicultural nation, Europe appears to be aiming towards an integration of the 'newcomers into the existing society'. Conversely, whereas Western Europe recognises the need to facilitate mother-tongue assistance of immigrants wherever possible in schools, according to Extra & Maartens, "mother tongue instruction is often regarded with suspicion by previously dominated majority groups in South Africa as being inferior – a legacy of the 'apartheid' years."

Language barriers prevent the majority of South Africans from either crossing the cultural divide or from participating effectively in our national or global economics. While many South Africans might be free to choose whether or not to integrate culturally on an international scale, are non-English speakers conversely hindered by current language challenges? Could it be argued that perhaps it is for this very reason that we should be empowering the majority, by teaching all South Africans at least one international language? At the Learning Conference of July 2003 which took place at the Institute of Education, University of London²⁴, Dr. Akosua Anyidoho and Nana Akua Anyidoho presented reasons why the Ghanaian Minister of Education decreed that "henceforth the only medium of instruction at all levels of education shall be English." One of these reasons was "to enable pupils to participate in and benefit from the global economy using a global language." Dr. Anyidoho responded by dismissing what he termed as "recycled arguments."

For mainly economic reasons, many Africans are looking beyond Africa's borders. Work and study opportunities abroad provide exciting and lucrative propositions. Anyone with a sound command of the English language and qualifications in the medical or educational field of work might easily find employment in the UK and abroad. Many of these people are Black professionals who, in their home countries, work in the medical field in their mother tongue African language and yet are easily attracted by higher salaries offered by the

²⁴ University of London learning conference (2003):
<http://2003.learningconference.com> (available 03/08/2005)

United Kingdom. Equally, South Africa has hosted a vast number of doctors from Cuba who have little command of the English language and absolutely no prior knowledge of any black African languages to replace the departing South African professionals. The life-risking implication of this linguistic scenario is quite clear. In January 2001, RUDASA (the Rural Doctors Association of Southern Africa)²⁵ accept that while the Cuban doctors have assisted in replacing staff, their lack of general medical skills as opposed to specialist skills, as well as the “cultural and language differences”, have caused problems. Regarding the recruitment of Cuban Doctors, RUDASA made the strong recommendation that English be “a prerequisite for entrance” into South Africa. Another observation is made by Chris Gaither who states that the press has not been kind to the Cuban doctors. He also mentions the fact that “21 malpractice claims were filed against six Cuban doctors in the Northern Cape.”²⁶ It must be stated, however, that there is no suggestion that the patients died as a result of the doctor’s lack of proficiency in the English language.

While the dominant role that English plays in South Africa might not be satisfactory to all concerned, its importance as an international form of communication is evident. A reciprocal extension of language opportunities offered to all South Africans is recommended in order to empower Africans to make their own choices and to participate effectively in the development of this country.

3.2 LA FRANCOPHONIE

The word *Francophonie* was first used in 1880 by the geographer Onésime Reclus. The term was used to denote all people who, all over the globe, expressed themselves in French. Where France did not succeed in “Bismarckian” Europe, her colonial expansion into Africa peaked. In 1883, the Alliance Française was born in

²⁵ RUDASA (2001) http://www.rudasa.org.za/download/crises_staffing.doc (available 03/08/2005)

²⁶ Gaither, C. (2001) <http://journalism.berkeley.edu/projects/safrica/adapting/cuban.html> (available 03/08/2005)

Paris, comprising a group of intellectuals who wished to witness the global expansion and usage of the French language. Although being used as far back as 1880, the term *Francophonie* was used sparingly until at least 1960. There are three ways in which *Francophonie* assumed further importance after 1960. Firstly, unlike the German or Spanish languages, the French language was dispersed globally and not only in any particularly concentrated area. The improvement in telecommunications and other aspect of modern technology allowed the French language to be further spread around the world. Between the years 1960-1970, a network of French communication was in place. Secondly, the decolonisation of Africa resulted in many African countries, upon achieving independence from France, choosing to retain the French language as their official language and the language of education. While previously denied much of an education, young Africans currently have access to higher education in French after independence. Thirdly, the resurgence of the Québécois who were determined to guarantee that French, the language of the overwhelming majority, be present in all aspects of life, ensured the expansion of *Francophonie*. As a result of these three phenomena, many movements, groups and societies were formed to celebrate and to maintain the spread and use of the French language.

In February 1986, President François Mitterrand introduced a political dimension to the aspect of *Francophonie* by organising the first Conference of Heads of State whose countries use the French language as an official language. The conference opened in Versailles and continued in Paris. There were many people who doubted the logistics and practicality of such a conference, assuming that many leaders simply would not attend. However, Mitterrand was determined and said that “the best way of knowing (whether they will come or not) is to invite them.”²⁷ To the pessimists' surprise, the conference was well attended by Heads of State representing at least 41 countries. Consequently, programmes of cooperation were put in place and political and economic agreements were signed. Because the

²⁷ Farandjis, S. (1999: 20) *Etat de la francophonie dans le monde*. Paris : La Documentation Française.

Francophone summit spoke in a unified voice and language, it was repeated at regular intervals. However, even before the launch of the first Francophone summit, in 1984 an institute known as the "*Haut Conseil de la Francophonie*"²⁸ was created. Its responsibility was widespread. The *Haut Conseil* was to supervise all aspects of Francophone life including cultural, economic, scientific and technological. Of particular importance about this committee was the fact that for the first time, a French association existed that did not only include people of French (i.e. from France) origin. The symbolic message in this was very clear: this was a partnership, not a dictatorship. In 1986, by the initiative of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, the first ministerial post of *Francophonie* was created within the French government. This initiative clearly demonstrated, to the rest of the world, the importance that France was attaching to the concept of broadening the use and appreciation of the French language in a global sense. What was equally important as demonstrated at the Francophone summit in Mauritius is that France, and other French-speaking countries, desired a cultural and not solely an economic exchange. Consequently, the International Francophone community participates in numerous activities of cooperation. For example, a television chain 'TV5' emits world-wide programmes, all of which assist in ensuring that French speakers might have access to diverse television programming. The 49 member states of the Francophone community therefore proudly demonstrate the result of many years of hard work toward a common goal.

Farandjis has coined a new term: "nootique", which he states comes from the Greek word "noos" that encompasses thought, knowledge and information, all of which results in production. Farandjis believes that we are living in the "nootique" era in which culture and economy are closely related. Scientific as well as cultural developments lead to economic development. The reputation and symbolic value of a product or service (and hence the inherent cultural value) will ensure its success or failure. Farandjis believes that it is unacceptable that France's cultural services are so often disassociated from her economic assistance. Equally interesting, is the

²⁸ Supreme Committee of Francophonie (own translation)

fact that Farandjis believes that there is an urgent need for the French language to be translated into more languages than it is at present. He believes that all languages could benefit from the current explosion of terminology by enriching their own languages. However, there is a dire need for people of all professions to work towards the creation of a network through which new terminology can be exchanged and developed for the cultural, scientific and economic benefit of the all people of the world. Jacques Chirac, addressing Francophone countries at Cotonou, highlighted the necessity of the French Language to hold stronger representation in “the communications network.” Chirac warned that unless French made more inroads into all aspect of education, work and leisure, its future as one of the most powerful global languages, would be threatened.

Part I of this research indicates that the language question in Africa has its own set of particularities. Because of the multilingual and culturally diverse character that exists on the continent, Africa faces many dynamic linguistic, social and economic challenges. The important role that South Africa plays on the African continent due to her economic and multicultural resources has been noted with particular reference to the movement of African Renaissance. Although not the most multilingual of all the African states, South Africa has taken steps to recognise no less than eleven official languages and might, therefore, lead research into language development for purposes of the social, political and economic empowerment of its nation. However, as language researchers such as Heugh, Alexander and Prah have indicated, South Africa is perhaps lacking in resolving language issues. Alexander, who served on the Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG) as well as the Pan South African Language Board, laments the fact that little is being done to promote multilingualism from a practical point of view. Swahili or Kiswahili is an African language that has been developed and used extensively all over Africa. When Tanganyika became Tanzania in 1961, Kiswahili became its national language with English being relegated to second position.²⁹ Should South Africa begin to standardise three of its official indigenous languages: isiZulu, isiXhosa and

²⁹ Breton, R. J-L. (in Maurais et al., 2003: 210) *Languages in a globalising world*. CUP.

Setswana in order to create a powerful national language of internal trade and socio-economic development?

Part II examines the link between language, economy and development, examining both regional and global points of view. The role of communication skills on a national and international level is highlighted, leading to a discussion of the topic of language and employability.

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PART II

CHAPTER 4

4 LANGUAGE, ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

The link between language and economy is highlighted by many researchers. In *The economics of language*, Strauss (1996: 2) states that:

“The importance of economics in language hinges on the formation and development of languages as affected by human interaction of society with its economic environment”.³⁰

The basic connection between language and economy lies in the ability to manufacture products, to offer services and to perceive the wants and needs of prospective clients, none of which can be achieved through poor communication (language) skills. While Grinn (1994: 31-33) suggests that the analogy of “language as a currency is too reductionist to allow explanatory or practical benefits”, Coulmas (1992: 22) states that “the essence of both language and currency is to act as a means of exchange...language must be regarded as valuable as an ideal but also in material terms.”

In response to the suggestion that careful consideration should be given to the economic viability of a language, Prah (1998: 55) states that local languages need to become sustainable in order to compete with “colonially borrowed languages.”

While Prah believes that careful use of local languages will ensure an increase in their economic viability, the relationship between foreign language acquisition and economic development in South Africa is still a matter of importance. Equally important is the effect of globalisation on South Africa’s socio-economic and

³⁰ *Language Planning Report* 1996. No. 5.2

sociolinguistic development. While it cannot be claimed that South Africa is entirely unique in this issue, what is evident is the fact that by simple virtue of its history of apartheid, "what is distinctive about South Africa (...) is the process through which 'development' emerged and the particular inflection given to it by apartheid policies" (Crush 1995: xi). Throughout the many years of exile that the African National Congress (ANC) experienced, Western Governments and Developmental agencies were at opposite ends regarding the ANC's "radical" vision of post-apartheid South Africa. Crush (1995: xi) notes that until the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990:

"(...) Chief Mangosuthu (Gatsha) Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party was usually far more welcome than the ANC in Western capitals. He, at least, spoke 'the right language'."

Following the release of Mr. Mandela, although the general prognosis was cautious to the say the least, western development agencies and their advisers flocked to South Africa, determined to play a vital role in the post-apartheid regime. Despite the uncertainty of South Africa's status as a 'developed' or 'developing' country, consultants were readily available to assist and indeed to influence the prospective leaders. Crush (1995: xi) identifies the prominent role that the World Bank played in influencing "agricultural policy and post-apartheid land reform in the country."

The World Bank was not alone in this venture. Other agencies such as the International Development Research Centre of Canada were offering various types of sponsorship. Ironically, the Southern African Development Bank, which had formerly sponsored the apartheid regime's policy of creating 'Bantustan' states, reinvented itself to take over as the leading agency of rural development, receiving global acceptance despite the fact that there was little change in either policy or personnel. Development in South Africa took on a form of discourse that was to engage many players. The result of this was the announcement of the first five-year plan entitled *The Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP). According to Crush (1995: xiii), a common belief is that "development always emanates from

the West (or the North), and is an expression either of Western progress and enlightenment or projected economic power and domination." However, Crush sees this conception, particularly when referred to the South African (ANC) situation, as "both simplistic and misleading" and mentions a new and growing form of scholarship which concludes that development, when conceptualised as a *discourse* or as "an interwoven set of languages and practices", can be related to "a modernist regime of knowledge and disciplinary power." Crush identifies a clear relationship between this approach and the language of development itself, thereby requiring further analysis of the text and discourse of development "without abandoning the power-laden local and international context out of which they arise and to which they speak" (Crush 1995: xiii).

Retrospectively, the apartheid regime regarded its separatist approach to development as similar to the way in which the First World approached the Third World. In essence, the apartheid regime considered itself internally as representative of the First World with the *Bantustans* representing the Third World. In all of this, we must clearly understand that the underlying factors supporting the separatist approach to development were possibly more sociocultural than economic. In fact, two 'political props' were maintained by the apartheid government in order to ensure its economic, social and political strength: 'influx control' and 'migrant labour' (Crush 1995: 178). In the same section Crush (RSA 1974: 41) states that:

"Political and socio-cultural conditions and objectives can never be disregarded."

All that this "economic dualism" achieved was to further entrench the racial divide between white and non-white South Africans. This point is very important because any suggestion of the promotion of the French language or of the development of a foreign economic policy must be considered and analysed against South Africa's complex race-relationship structure. If the acquisition of the French language might enable one segment of the South African society to have access to the global market, should the choice to learn this language then be made equally

available to all South Africans? Evidently, development discourse in South Africa tends to invite political bias, mainly because of the complex socio-economic history based on racial divide. Referring to developmental discourse in the 1980s, Crush (1995: 190) notes the level of “neutrality” that enabled “a wider audience to partake of the discourse.”

In his views on *Language, Culture and Development*, Prah (1995: 17-20) closely relates *development* with *culture*, which in turn, he identifies as being inseparable from *language*. Prah supports Man Mohan Singh in suggesting that there is a tendency to measure Africa's development solely in economic, i.e., monetary, terms. The cultural wealth, and therefore social development, is often ignored. However, economic development in the global sense is very closely linked to language and therefore equally linked to cultural development. The problem that Africa faces is that the speed at which science and technology is developing in the 'First World' is not mirrored by the same speed at which this new information is made accessible in indigenous languages. Prah acknowledges the fact that “technological and scientific inputs” rarely take “indigenous practices and usages, languages included” into consideration. Indigenous people of Africa are therefore expected to simply “keep up with the times” in whatever way they can, or be left behind. The result of this is that “such borrowed science and technological culture therefore stands outside the technological base of indigenous culture, a foreign element, and becomes often manifested as consumptive items which cannot be maintained or sustained or creatively understood.” Prah believes that scientific and technological development and intervention in Africa should only be as a means of empowering “the masses; a process which gives the masses a voice in society and a window on to the wider world.” Furthermore, “this can only take place realistically in their own languages.”

However, how might a sense of creative ownership of science and technology be engendered within the African person if he/she cannot fully understand the concepts being taught? In situations where a common language is not used, a situation of 'impenetrability' arises in which language acts as the barrier to comprehension and

according to Prah (1995: 49) "...ultimately, language is knowledge. It is in terms of language that knowledge is defined." The following questions are therefore important:

- Do we wait for African languages to be developed to the level at which they can accommodate the changing scientific and technological knowledge?
- Do we improve the standard of 'second language' acquisition in order to equip non-English or non-French speakers to cope with this new knowledge?
- Which of the above will take longer and which one is morally correct?

A genuine need exists for the development of language skills across the board in South Africa. Evidence of this fact lies in numerous documents, although insufficient research, supporting this theory. It will be interesting to note how much of the South African education budget will be spent on the development of the language industry. In addition, how much of this expenditure will be affected by the South African government's assessment of the hierarchical value of languages as discussed earlier? Within the current budget, what is pleasing to note is the fact that the South African government allocates 69.8% of the consolidated expenditure for 2003/04 to Education, with an estimated growth of 7.2% in the period 2003/04 to 2006/07.³¹

The following questions relate closely to Africa's future global development:

- Will Africa in general ever break free from the stigma of living under the 'guardianship' of Europe?
- What is Africa's position within the new relationship structure between Europe and Africa?
- Is Africa finally becoming a global partner or will she continue to be exploited and marginalised?

³¹ South African National Treasury website:
<http://www.treasury.gov.za> (available 03/08/2005)

In order to answer these questions, three aspects relevant to Africa's development should be discussed:

- Globalisation *per se*.
- Africa's position in the new global economy.
- Globalisation's links to language, culture and economic development.

4.1 GLOBALISATION

Most sociologists and social theorists describe globalisation as a *real* phenomenon. However, the origins of the concept of globalisation seem uncertain. Although globalisation is a current phenomenon "which differentiates the present from the more distant past" (Block & Cameron 2002: 3), some argue that it can be traced as far back as the fifteenth century when exploration and colonisation became a common European objective. Is globalisation a positive or negative phenomenon? Whether current or past, there are many signs pointing to the negative aspects of globalisation. Gray (1998) (in Block & Cameron 2002: 3) sees globalisation as:

"...fundamentally destructive, leading to the dismantling of the welfare state characteristic of the world's most advanced industrial countries in the second half of the twentieth century."

Conversely, Beck (1992, 2000) and Giddens (1990, 2000) (in Block & Cameron 2002: 3) suggest:

"(...)globalization does bring with it some negative consequences such as increasing economic inequality and the growing possibility of environmental disaster; at the same time, where there is risk there is opportunity. Individuals are not the dupes of overpowering social structures and events, but active, reflective agents in the ongoing construction of social reality."

Tonkin (in Maurais et al., 2003: 319) sees globalisation as encompassing two

spheres: “interconnectedness” and “expansion.”

As stated earlier, globalisation is an ongoing process and by virtue of the fact that it implies growth, globalisation is unlikely to ever reach completion. Globalisation forms a crucial link to the system of free-market capitalism (Block & Cameron 2002: 32). This system encompasses the following:

- Huge flows of money moving between foreign exchange markets in different countries.
- Companies which pursue a global strategy realising an annual turnover greater than that of whole national economies.
- A wide range of products from many different countries being readily available world-wise.
- Local factories and offices opening and closing seemingly at will.
- Individual States being unable to determine their own national economic policies as a result of global economic pressures.

In reference to the last point, Abercrombie (in Block & Cameron 2002: 32) notes that due to the “flows and scrapes criss-crossing national borders, it is increasingly hard for the state to exercise effective authority within its traditional territory (...).” He goes on to identify the State as “the hopeful host to transnational business, seeking to attract inward investment by offering a secure and stable environment, limited state regulation and an abundance of skilled low-wage labour.”

A sub-consequence of the major changes brought about by globalisation is the growth of ‘transnational communities’, a term referred to in two of the above quotations. Transnational communities refer to temporary migrant workers who might work and live in two different countries. This might include the businessman who travels frequently abroad, or the migrant worker who has gone to seek better employment in a neighbouring country but who returns as frequently as possible to his home country in order to see his family. While South Africa's economy is strong enough to discourage many of its inhabitants from working in neighbouring African countries, the same cannot be said for inhabitants of South Africa's neighbouring countries who strongly desire to work in South Africa. In the case of migration,

Angus Margerison, 2005

each individual holds the right to have adequate access to the tools by which he might successfully integrate himself into his new society in both cultural and economic areas of development.

Cohen (1997: 164-5) (in Block & Cameron 2002: 36) identifies “new classes of people” who are “articulate, politically sensitive” and who “migrate or re-migrate” according to the global strengths.

Possibly the most relevant form of migration to South Africa in terms of the French language is the arrival of numerous asylum seekers and refugees from former Belgian colonies Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC. While there might be some level of xenophobia displayed against the non-South Africans, many of the asylum seekers and refugees are skilled workers and represent a possible strong language resource in terms of foreign trade and tourism. However, according to a research project carried out by the Centre for Popular Memory³² in which at least one hundred refugees from the East of the Congo were interviewed, most respondents indicated that South Africa was a country of transit for them as they intended to head abroad, Canada being one of the leading target countries.

4.1.1 Africa’s position in the new global economy

The above title is based on a book written by Charles O. Kwarteng, a leading analyst of African economics. South Africa, like any other developing economy is keen to attract foreign trade and investment. At the same time, South Africans themselves are drawn to stronger economies for obvious reasons. However, how were Africans viewed by their European counterparts and how has this perception changed?

Economists, politicians and political analysts have argued that the West controls the African economy. There is a clear concept of Africa taking on the role of the

³² Based at the University of Cape Town

victim and it is indeed this very sentiment that further emphasises the need for Africa to begin to re-empower the continent. As stated earlier, one of the most powerful tools of empowerment is language, i.e. the ability to communicate effectively. Kwarteng (1999: 1) highlights the pivotal moment in the relationship between Africa and Europe. Kwarteng emphasises the need for Africa to fight for a strong position in the “global economy” and to ensure that Africa the continent’s relationship with Europe, and adjusts accordingly. This relationship structure has to move forward from being that of “parent” to “child” in order for Africa to independently evaluate developmental proposals made by the West, and to be in a position to refuse any proposals that are not in keeping with Africa’s economic needs or cultural identity. Failure to assume this mature relationship might contribute to Africa’s developmental problems.

Europe’s economic and military and economic strength is unquestionable. Like all “united nations”, however, the true strength of Europe’s unity will always be subject to changes in political alliances. A question frequently asked is why Europe continues to grow from strength to strength, whereas Africa appears to be ‘slipping backwards’? Who influences the success or failure of Africa? Is it Africa herself or is it Europe? Many historical and economic analysts claim to have proven that the West holds much responsibility for Africa’s current economic situation. The level of responsibility that Europe (and other large economic powers) carries as regards the benefits of African resources is identified by many. However, despite the clear evidence of centuries of exploitation, there appears to be a strong refusal on behalf of Africa to take any responsibility for the slow process of change that is required for economic success. To paraphrase Bell (1986: 13-15), debate and discussion on post-colonial Africa have often focused on “the leadership structure, the strategies pursued and the problems of policy implementation...the selection of incorrect choices or the wrong strategic thrust.” Bell makes mention of the despondency of “independent Africa betrayed by the new leadership intent on increasing their privileges.” The increasing level of poverty in some African states is sometimes caused by this indigenous political greed which represents “the very conditions from which African leaders sought to break away on independence, namely,

external control, economic dependence and internal inequalities, (and has) persisted and perpetuated underdevelopment.”

Kwarteng (1999: 264) suggests a need for "intensive collaboration and increased solidarity among African nations" in order to emulate the strength of the EU. The response to this desire for unity among African States, thereby supporting the programme of African Renaissance, has been somewhat controversial. While most African countries have welcomed its birth, some believe that it is modelled too closely on the European Unity and Western economic values whereas others believe that NEPAD is the answer to Africa's quest for economic and social development. Two aspects of prospective outcomes of NEPAD which are particularly important are firstly, the "enhanced international competitiveness and increased exports", and secondly, the "increased African integration". These outcomes are important because they both involve external communication requiring foreign language skills from either party. One of Africa's fears regarding the European Union is the fact that the "EU's global influence is second only to that of the US" (Kwarteng 1999: 3). It is clear that Africa no longer wishes to continue being marginalised in the global economy but what steps will she need to take in order to achieve her desired position in the global economy? Once integrated into the global economy, will South Africa's socio-economic challenges become less daunting? *The Trade and Development Report 2002* (TDR 2002) deals with the relationship between world economy and the "export dynamism and industrialisation in developing countries." According to this report, integration into world trade might be essential but in itself, it does not guarantee a country's economic and social development. In addition, the Report questions the standard belief that "export growth and foreign direct investment (FDI) automatically generate commensurate income gains." If this were true, then "why is it that developing countries are trading more, but earning relatively less?" The Report suggests that developing countries are "competing among themselves to export similar labour-intensive manufacturing products to the same markets." It further suggests that countries should "move into higher-value exports by upgrading technology and improving productivity." Kwarteng (1999: 261) reinforces this line

of argument by stating that a higher level of competitiveness “as exporters” and as hosts “for investment” will ensure that African countries will benefit more from the “emergence of the EU.”

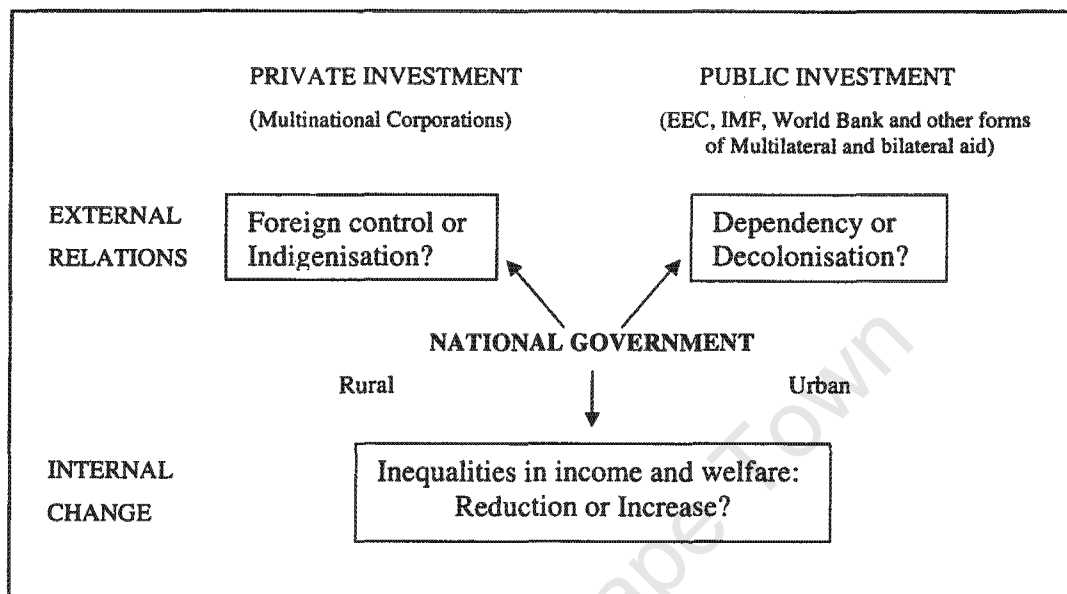
It is therefore correctly believed that regional integration will hopefully lead to a “collective bargaining strategy” (Kwarteng 1999: 265) with the international economic community. To conclude this brief discussion of Africa’s economic relationship with Europe, four steps towards the implementation of “indigenisation” that African governments might take to more effectively control their economies are mentioned:

- A change from foreign to local ownership either in the form of nationalisation or domestic private ownership or a combination of the two.
- Indigenisation of control, namely the localisation of directorships and local control over the management of enterprises.
- Indigenisation or Africanisation of manpower.
- Indigenisation of technology, namely the adjustment and importation of technology that is relevant to local needs and domestic resources (Adedeji 1981) (in Bell 1986: 94).

Bell (1986: 102) suggests that a fundamental question that needs to be explored within the relationship structure between Europe and Africa is: does this relationship reflect “a greater ability on the part of the former to control internal economic change...which suggests a relationship based on neo-colonialism and continued dependency?”

The following table represents the external relations that influence internal change within Africa.³³

³³ Bell, M. (1985: 92) *Contemporary Africa*. Longman Scientific and Technical.

Table 4.1 External relationships, internal change³⁴

Although it was never Bell's intention to look at this issue within her brief, an important component that is missing from the above table is *language*. Evidence shows that throughout Africa's relationship with external or colonial forces, language has had a strong influence on social, cultural and economic internal change. However, there are no simple answers to any discussion pertaining to the process of decolonisation or dependency. In addition, there are many specific individual factors and characteristics that need to be considered in any such discussion. Pertinent to this research is the question of the link between language, economy and globalisation. As stated before, language – as possibly the most effective tool of communication and of persuasion – is one of the most important key factors in the question of economic development on a global scale.

³⁴ Adaptation of original table

4.2 LANGUAGE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

All human interaction is based on communication in some form or other. Furthermore, it is a fact that throughout human existence, language has been used in trade and migration beyond the borders of man's individual native country. An important aspect of migration and integration is *language*. Cohen (1997: 168-9) and Bauman (1998: 2) (in Block 2002: 35) identify the "distinct advantages to Diaspora membership in an age of global flows."

This, as in the case of refugees from Rwanda or the Democratic Republic of the Congo, imports a French language component as many of the refugees, although able to speak their own indigenous languages, are highly educated and speak fluent French. Another linguistic consequence which might be used as an example is identified in a discussion of black experience in the UK which, according to Hall (1990: 235-6) "resonates with the cultural dynamics of world cities more generally."

Globalisation, language, and economic development are directly linked. Globalisation is a reality that requires governmental response in terms of improved trade, technology and skills. In the same manner that Europe continually increases its economic capacity to trade on a global scale, it is South Africa's, and indeed all of Africa's desire to trade on an equal basis with their European counterparts. However, this cannot be achieved unless Africa obtains the same tools as those in the hands of Europe, of which language - and therefore the power of persuasion - is the most powerful. In McCallum (1990: 54) the then German Minister of Economics stated quite clearly:

"If you wish to BUY from us, there is no need to speak German, but if you wish to SELL..." (LANGTAG 1996: 100).

The implication is obvious: in order to sell one's product, one should speak the language of the prospective buyer. This makes economic sense because the act of

marketing or selling requires the art of persuasion mentioned above. It is easier to effectively or positively persuade someone to adopt a line of thinking if you speak the same language. In order to convince policy-makers to put more time, effort and finance into the promotion of foreign languages, the commercial sector needs to become better acquainted with the most desired trade partners, identify their strengths and weaknesses, and above all, *learn to speak their language*. This in turn will help to strengthen and to secure trade strategy on a global scale.

In 1979, in collaboration with the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Barclays Bank carried out research into the export practices of the three main exporting countries of Europe, i.e. France, Germany and the United Kingdom. The results of this research study were published in a document entitled *The Barclays Bank Report on Export Development in France, Germany and the United Kingdom*. The survey studied the “attitudes, procedure and export performances” of the three countries.

Within various official speeches, papers and documents based on South Africa’s plans of venturing beyond its borders in whichever capacity there is little reference to the obvious relationship that exists between language, economy and globalisation. This point refers mainly to the role that foreign language acquisition might play in the global development of South Africa’s economy. While reference is made to certain language programmes offered to Ambassadors, right through the various views, comments and statements made regarding NEPAD, for example, there is no reference made to the language question. Does the South African government assume that the ex-colonial languages, supported by interpreters and translators, will suffice? However, information regarding NEPAD can be accessed in English, French and Portuguese. Paragraph 14 of an *exposé* of NEPAD suggests that:

“It is recommended that African scholars engage on a daily basis with the struggle of the African people to build a new social base for sustainable development. It is further proposed that a review of the curriculum of our schooling systems at all levels be undertaken with a view to inculcating new values in our people in order to achieve the

goals of Africa's development as envisioned in the NEPAD initiative."

It is clear that by invoking the participation of African scholars, the question of education plays a strong role in Africa's desire to achieve global recognition. Referring to South Africa, Sayed and Jansen (2001: 166)³⁵ suggest that in the preamble to "every major policy document to science and education after 1994", "bold statements" are made about:

- South Africa's role in the global economy.
- The importance of economic and educational competitiveness within a globalised community.
- The growth of new technologies and innovation.
- Demands for new kinds of workers that should be prepared for these globalised realities in the 21st century.
- The proliferation of new modes of knowledge production based on international partnerships and norms, to which South African knowledge industries should aspire (Kraak & Hall 1999).

However, as the South African politicians make the final decisions with or without any input on behalf of the abovementioned 'African scholars', how do they view South Africa's educational needs? Evidence in current South African education policies indicates a strong drive to promote Maths and Science in education, over and above the Arts. In the period 2000/01, 60% of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology budget was spent on Science and Technology.³⁶ Another example of this drive might be observed in the Mark Shuttleworth advertising drive "H2b2" ("it's hip to be square"). Mr. Shuttleworth's promotional programme encourages young South Africans to study Maths and Science. While Mr. Shuttleworth's objectives and level of personal financial contribution to the programme are highly commendable, unless the language question in Africa is dealt with as a matter of urgency, there will be only a select

³⁵ Sayed, Y. & Jansen, J. (Eds) (2001) *Implementing Education Policies. The South African Experience*. UCT

³⁶ STATS South Africa (2001)

few who will be able to understand and reproduce their newly acquired mathematical and scientific knowledge. It has already been determined that through no fault of their own, the majority of South Africans (mainly Black) are unable to reach their full educational, economic and social potential simply because of a lack of language competence in the English language, i.e., a global language even if this concept is not easily agreed upon. Their lack of "official" language skills is therefore a direct cause of their limited access to the economy. One of the reasons why many Black students do not possess a high level of competence in the English Language is due to their lack of access to equal secondary and higher education. Despite the fact that according to Mabizela (1999) (in Sayed & Jansen 2001: 167) "an estimated 300 000 students left the public system of higher education" (for that of private higher education), many previously disadvantaged students could not and still can not afford to do the same. One of the consequences of South Africa's entrance into the globalised community is private secondary and higher education. Because these institutes of education have to be economically viable and internationally recognised, competition is rife to align themselves with fellow international organisations. As there are strict and competitive regulations regarding the accreditation of these institutions, it has not been enough to simply create more private higher education institutions. As long as South Africa's constitution grants every person a right to education - even if this right does not include automatic access to private Higher Education - it must be argued that whether one refers to English, French or isiXhosa, the government is obliged to give South African students their constitutional right of access to the languages of their choice. Regardless of his/her colour, if every student is not given the *choice* to learn an international language to the same level as his/her counterpart in a private institution, how will the previously disadvantaged proportion of the South African nation equally empowered? Until language attitudes and policies change, English will continue to dominate South African economic development on a national and international scale. While an indigenous language can be used extensively to reach the local market, should each South African be given the choice of learning a foreign language as part of their economic international as well as national development? This might suggest that government will have to reconsider its

financial support of institutions of education, particularly in terms of cuts in Humanities Departments, of which language forms an essential part.

At this point one might ask if the drive to globally empower Black South Africans through the acquisition of English or French, does not apply to those Afrikaans members of our society whom, through a lack of global vision on behalf of their parents, have not had adequate access to these languages? We might argue that nationally, the Afrikaans language still holds much economic power, but globally, despite its relation to Germanic languages the Afrikaans language is not regarded in a favourable or practical light. This is yet another example of the complexities regarding research into social, cultural or economic development in South Africa who is seeped in a history of conflict. To reinforce the current views about the link between language and development, let us refer to Sammy Chumbow (in Prah 1998: 21) who strongly emphasises the “importance, relevance, and logical relationship between language and national development.” Chumbow states:

“...language is crucially relevant to national development because language is the means by which skilled and educated professionals are trained so that they can participate in national development.”

Chumbow further explains that, due to our vast populations, Africa's problem lies not in a lack of manpower. Instead, our problems lie in the lack of a type of manpower capable of “transforming our society” (in Prah 1998: 22). While the above quotations refer to national languages, it is clear that the same must apply to international languages. Chumbow rightly goes on to say that this transfer of knowledge has been unsuccessful through the use of ex-colonial languages alone. However, what needs to be understood is that on an international scale, the 'destination' for our transfer of scientific knowledge or commercial goods will require 'foreign' language skills.

Florian Coulmas is a leading researcher in the field of language and economy.

Pertinent to this discussion is his book entitled *Language and Economy*³⁷. The analogy of money and language is not new. As far back as the 17th century, the value of what someone had to say was likened unto the value of money (Coulmas 1992: 2). David Hume (1964: 263) suggests that this analogy be connected to the fact that language and money appeared to be developing at the same pace. The exchange of both language and money is a transaction based on trust and without constraint. Furthermore, the value of the tangible and intangible goods that their exchange represents is extremely high. Indeed, a lack of mutual trust in the exchange of language or money will not allow either transaction to reach its fullest potential. The value of words does not lie in phonetics or the sounds that they make, but rather in the content of the verbal exchange. In the same way, it is the function and not the physical appearance of money that creates the value of money. Although language is an abstract system of values which becomes tangible only in the concrete event (Coulmas 1992: 17), whereas money remains a material object, it is the similar nature in which they facilitate exchange that allows them to be metaphorically linked. It is also in the sinister way in which each can be used to manipulate that this point should be considered. The value of words and money are dependent upon who needs either the most. Politicians seem to live up to this view in terms of the endless rhetoric they spew forth that is not accompanied by any positive financial outcome for the person on the ground. Their words are therefore often rendered 'worthless', justifiably or not.

One cannot, however, deny the effect that words can have upon the value of money. For example, a declaration of war or the failure to verbally condemn a despot has an immediate effect on the value of a currency. Because it is sometimes translated into monetary value, the value of language therefore goes beyond the ideal. In the same way, money is seen to be used as a reaction to sentiment and not only to a material object. Money and language have a social dynamic and it is in their value to society that we see the most obvious similarity.

³⁷ Coulmas, F. (1992) *Language and Economy*. Blackwell.

Although the concept of *language as an economic resource* might be separated from that of *language as a human resource* or *human capital*, as language is the central force or common denominator controlling any economic or human interaction, such a separation no longer appears necessary. Consequently, it is possible that the point of departure would be the human who acquires a language that is then used for economic, social and cultural exchange or growth. The only area in which differentiation between the two might take place is in a discussion regarding the workforce or group of employees who then become the human resources of a particular institution. Before exploring this concept further, a rudimentary definition of the word *resource* might be helpful. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1991: 1025) defines a resource as "a means available to achieve an end, fulfil a function/a country's collective wealth/available assets." It is therefore clear that a resource is a positive and tangible item upon which can be drawn upon in order to increase prospects of development.

When considering language as a combined resource, much debate is generated regarding the wealth of multilingual, bilingual, and monolingual societies. In reference to monolingual societies, it is worth mentioning that there are few truly monolingual societies and this term mostly applies to official languages. It is difficult - if not impossible - to gauge a country's wealth through the number of languages its inhabitants speak. This is because it is only in the way in which language is used and in its comprehensibility to a large number of speakers that the language will reach its full potential. While each and every language has an inherent aesthetic value that is not dependent on its number of speakers, in multilingual countries, economic success is accredited to the dominance of one or two languages. As in the case of South Africa, this theory applies despite the fact that the dominant language might not represent the majority. However, in terms of global development, the choice of the dominant language for economic growth lies in looking without, and not only within the borders of one's country. Some argue that multilingual states are less economically successful than their mono or bilingual counterparts. However, the success or failure of either has deeper origins, such as sociohistoric forces, infrastructure and technological skill. Rwanda, for

example, has two languages, but in 1988 produced a per capita income of \$320 (Coulmas 1992: 25). This example challenges the theory that monolingualism or bilingualism will guarantee economic success. The emergence and treatment of European languages over centuries ran concurrently with the emergence and development of a capitalist economic order. The invention of the printing press with movable type became one of the most effective means of disseminating information, albeit originally in Latin, Greek and Hebrew (Coulmas 1992: 30). Furthermore, the standardisation of languages, although more financially advantageous to the bourgeoisie than the peasant, grew in close association with the establishment of a rational state (Coulmas 1992: 31). As part of the Reformation, the successful establishment of common languages in Europe, coupled with the new forms of monetary exchange, lends credence to the belief that if language is to be considered an asset, then it is more accurately a 'common language' that becomes a true asset. This argument is based on the assumption that a common language widens the range of communication (Coulmas 1992: 33).

According to Gellner (1983: 33), in order to ensure industrial success, a standardised and orderly method of approach as well as a "mobile, homogenous and more highly educated population" is required. This in turn suggests the need for a "single standard language by means of which all members of society who are drawn into the economic process can be reached." The latter sentence applies rather aptly to the South African scenario where, because of language barriers and the lack of a common, standardised language other than English or Afrikaans, not all members of society are reached and are therefore unable to participate in the economic development of the country. Having a common language through which to communicate with the majority can only bring about economic growth by simple virtue of extending the scope of the market.

The national and international markets bring together people from various socio-economic spheres. The common goal in both situations is to understand what each party is buying or selling. For effective trade to take place there is a need for a common frame of reference, a common purpose and therefore, a common language.

In some instances, it matters not whether one uses a translator or interpreter in order to arrive at this common language. On a large scale, it is impossible to trade fairly and effectively without mutual comprehension. The establishment of a common language, while clearly opening more interaction and participation within the economy, has never been an easy task in Africa where the development of African languages has been impeded by the importation of European languages. As this research programme deals with South Africa, this point is always going to be pertinent. There appears to be little evidence supporting the theory that there is a direct link between economic development and the homogenising of languages. It can therefore be accepted that multilingualism does not necessarily contribute directly to underdevelopment in any particular country. In fact, the terms of measurement of development and underdevelopment are based on Western models and are thus not always relevant to the African situation. Being associated with the accumulation of wealth or capital, the aim for modernisation and economic development has been labelled along with the subversion of "traditional social orders, the erosion of the values of tribal loyalties, and the destruction of non-western cultures" (Coulmas 1992: 48). However, the common line of thinking is that African countries cannot develop in any way other than the western way, and as development brings about vast changes in the socio-political and cultural spheres, it has to have an effect on the choice of a national language. As stated earlier, in the absence of a national language that has evolved to the level at which it can absorb and give expression to global knowledge, a 'foreign' language is used as a replacement. It needs to be understood that developing countries simply do not have the resources to develop each indigenous language to the same capacity and that in terms of modernisation, if South Africa wishes to keep up with the West, would a westernised language not be useful as an *international* economic tool? Linguistic 'westernisation', therefore, might be defined in terms of communicative needs on a global scale. Coulmas (1992: 54) suggests that language as an asset (and its use thereof) "increases inasmuch as it takes on structural, functional, and attitudinal features of a common language." In South Africa's case, it is unfortunate that the common language is not singular to a common group of people. English might have become the neutral language of social, cultural and economic

interchange between many South Africans but it is not the *common language* of South Africa's Black or Afrikaans people.

What then, is the exact relationship between language, economy and globalisation? Strauss et al., (1996: 16) identify the key words of the new economy as being *knowledge, information, communication*, and therefore: *language*. Any work or trade in international organisations requires foreign language skills. Engagement on a global scheme requires that countries widen their language menus by creating diversity and expertise in other major languages. Monolingual countries, no matter how powerful their economy, will find themselves isolated in one way or another as an investment in foreign languages can only increase one's international allies and multiply one's economic partners. These points have certainly been part of the South African foreign policy since 1994. As to how they are properly achieved or adequately implemented is yet to be seen.

In researching the Canadian approach to language and the economy, several pertinent documents and papers referring to the use of a foreign language for global economic development were discovered. A series of papers entitled *Economic Approaches to Language and Bilingualism* were written by Canadian researchers. A major part of the following section is based on these presentations. As the Canadians are concerned with bilinguals (English and French) whereas South Africa is a multilingual country, the term 'second language' has been altered to read 'foreign language', as well as to realign the argument along the lines of 'multilingualism' as opposed to 'bilingualism'.³⁸

The nature and cost of transactions between a country's domestic economy and the global economy is influenced through language. The considerable economic significance of language skills as a means of international competitiveness is grossly undermined. As the highest productivity growth sectors in a country's economy are often identified as those involving international commercial exchange,

³⁸ Own alteration.

it stands to reason that the acquisition of foreign language skills can only enable a nation to increase its bargaining power. Language can also be regarded as an *operating cost* or as *input*. Language skills become a communication input towards the production of a service when used in the process of exchange. Language is therefore incorporated in every form of international exchange and is an integral part of the structure of various goods and services. This concept suggests that goods always carry a language facet, for example, in their labels alone. Without taking measures to provide understanding of the product and its use, goods cannot be exported in one country's language to another country in which that particular language is not spoken. Ensuring the accurate translation of the language is essential, particularly when referring to the operation of potentially dangerous machinery or chemicals. However, the language component of products and services and therefore the level of language proficiency demanded *might* - although not necessarily *should* - vary according to the type of product or service being offered or transacted. For example, in terms of life-threatening consequences, would a can of peas exported to France require a less demanding level of language accuracy in terms of instructions for its consumption than a medical product might require? Whatever the response, it must not be forgotten that the quality of translation should be excellent no matter what the product or service might be as global competitiveness requires that your particular product be the best in every respect. In order for the goods to be bought and then received in a non-problematic manner, someone needs to communicate orally or in writing with the target market. Yet again, this will entail foreign language skills when the targeted market does not speak the same language as the country from which the product originates. As larger economies tend to hold the upper hand in terms of global development, it is economically understandable - if not culturally sensitive - that small or medium economies should wish to invest in the language of the larger economies. The United States of America is constantly criticised for its lack of commitment to learning foreign languages. As possibly the largest global economy, the United States sees very little need to compromise on many issues, language just being one of them.

It is clear that many companies would find it a lot easier and a lot quicker to hire the services of a qualified translator rather than invest the time and money required to train their own employees to such a high level of linguistic competence. However, companies need also bear in mind the fact that the sole use of translators is limiting. Does the employee who is marketing and selling the product or service to the foreign buyer not believe more passionately in, and know a lot more about, the product or service than the translator or interpreter? What then is a more plausible solution? In the Barclays Bank report of 1979 (Wilding 1980: 8), as part of a drive to resolve the issue of the use of impersonal interpreters, it is stated that "companies frequently find themselves obliged to choose between a linguist and a man with technical knowledge." The ideal situation would be "technicians with foreign language skills." What has to be recalled is the fact that the globalisation of the economy equals an increased level of connectivity between individuals and organisations. This leads to an increased demand for communication and therefore an increase in demand for compatibility between senders and receivers of products and services. Compatibility also implies empathy and mutual understanding, something which is not easily achieved through an interpreter. In addition, it is important that before any language programme is suggested to a particular company, a needs analysis is carried out.

The concept of needs analysis has evolved since the 1970s. West (1994) (in Scott & Mülhaus 1994: 78-79) identifies five different categories of needs analysis:

- (i) Target-situation analysis.
- (ii) Deficiency analysis.
- (iii) Strategy analysis.
- (iv) Means analysis.
- (v) Language audits.

Of the five categories mentioned above, possibly the most important consideration to be examined is that of language audits. According to West (1994) (in Scott & Mülhaus 1994: 79), as parts of a needs analysis a language audit should cover:

- (i) The target languages to be learnt and possibly the skills priorities within those

languages.

- (ii) The current deficiencies in terms of, for example, the proficiency levels of those leaving schools and entering LSP programmes.
- (iii) An evaluation of current teaching methods and alternative methodologies available elsewhere.
- (iv) An assessment of the opportunities provided by an effective LSP policy and the resource implications of implementing such a policy.

4.2.1 Communication and Negotiation of Meaning

Judith Kuriansky, a psychologist and therapist, speaking on the BBC World Service, August 1999 emphasised the need to be able to communicate effectively in the global community. In reference to a “uniform way of talking”, Kuriansky does not suggest that countries abandon their native languages and adopt a standardised ‘international’ language. Instead, Kuriansky refers to the establishment of *norms* in our methods of communicating. One of the norms to which she refers is the fact that “speaking directly is better than speaking indirectly.”

According to Kramsch and Thorne (in Block 2002: 83) “communicative competence (was) first defined by Savignon (1972) and Breen and Crandlin (1980) as the ability to “share and negotiate meanings and conventions.” Savignon (1983: 107) defines negotiation as “a process whereby a participant in a speech event uses various sources of information - prior experience, the context, another participant - to achieve understanding”. Pica (1995: 200) refers to “those interactions in which learners and their interlocutors adjust their speech phonologically, lexically, and morphosyntactically to resolve difficulties in mutual understanding that impede the course of their communication.” Holden (1987) (in Coulmas 1992: 125) suggests that the concept of communicative competence applies to the ability to communicate effectively with the people within one’s immediate environment, as well as to be able to anticipate communicating in a foreign environment in which the language of commercial exchange is not the same as one’s mother-tongue. Holden states that language is the main, but not the only factor of communicative

competence. Despite the fact that not everyone, adults in particular, find it easy to learn a language, language is still a tool that might be easily acquired through the investment of money in the training of linguists. Put simply, adequate language skills or tools are necessary in order to communicate. Once the language skills are in place, effective communication becomes possible and consequently, there is an increase in the socio-economic range of interaction. As both political and social aspects are covered, research into the promotion of the French language in South Africa deals essentially with the possible economic advantages of acquiring foreign language skills.

Any form of research, including that of economy, needs to constantly return to the human aspect. Language is inextricably linked to the human race. As something that is acquired and possibly developed to increase its practical value, language is therefore a part of human capital. Human capital might be understood as being skills, physical and mental health and knowledge, all of which are contributing factors to the success or failure of man's life. As in any other type of capital, human capital requires maintenance, upgrading and investment. Learning one or more languages is unarguably an investment in human capital. Even more compelling is the fact that unlike any material product which can be bought or sold, a language skill is a permanent asset as it is "rented out" and therefore retained by the person who has invested time and money in acquiring and developing a particular language skill.

In this sense, it is important for a nation to examine the projected yield on a language. This yield will be determined by the reasons for which a person has learnt a language. If it is for purely cultural or literal reasons, the yield will be of little economic value to society except in the sense of fostering intercultural tolerance and interaction. While value must be placed on the cultural yield of languages, for the purpose of this research brief, focus must be placed on the economic yield and benefits of acquiring foreign language skills.

As noted earlier, as far back as the early arrival of the European on African soil,

African people were fully aware that language skills are a useful resource. By no means does this suggest that language was not a resource prior to the arrival of the European. Instead, this puts forward the idea that if language might be used as a means of empowering oneself over and above one's peers, then language might be seen as a resource. Ridler & Pons-Ridler (1986)³⁹ suggest that language is a commodity that can be bought or sold. In view of the fact that language is the key form of communication between mankind, it is beyond doubt that language was, and still is, regarded as a resource. In the same manner of other resources, language is subject to changing attitudes and behaviour. It is this that determines the level at which a language might be considered a valuable or invaluable resource. Languages which do not receive adequate political and economic treatment, will be considered 'low-status' languages and therefore rank as less resourceful. However, as mentioned earlier in an example regarding the Afrikaans language, a language as a cultural resource is determined by a deep-seated passion for a culture as well as the unity of a people. According to Dr. Paul Agbedor (in Prah 1998: 35), while one traditionally measures economic development through the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Gross National Product (GNP), economic development involves human resource development. To quote:

"And human resource development, which implies acquisition of knowledge and learning, raises the question, how do we get this knowledge? It is through language."

Who then is responsible for paying for language acquisition, for language planning and promotion? The following questions might be asked:

- What resources other than human need to be invested?
- What forms will the yield on these investments take?
- How far will the individual go to achieve positive results?
- What is the intellectual or communicative ability of the individual?
- What motivational influences are present?

³⁹ Ridler, N.B. & Pons-Ridler, S. (1986) *An Economic Analysis of Canadian Language Policies: A Model and Its Implementation*. Language Problems and Language Planning. 10 (1): 42-58.

In South Africa, there have been a few pioneering studies of the language question. Of particular interest is the work carried out by the Centre for Research in the Politics of Language, based in Pretoria. One objective of this research was “to demonstrate the hypothesis that it is essential for the economic development of southern Africa that the African languages be used as languages of the market and of other high-status functions”⁴⁰. According to Trewby and Fitchat (2000: 13), the researchers at the Centre for Research into the Politics of Language believe that in view of the overwhelming cost of attempting to enable the majority of South Africans to learn a ‘foreign’ language such as English - or French for that matter - “it will be extremely cost-effective to capacitate the indigenous languages for use in the economy”. This brings back the question of who will have to pay for the implementation of these new language policies. Webb (2000) (in Trewby and Fitchat 2000: 13-14) concludes that as business leaders are unlikely “to embark on ventures with no guaranteed end-product”, it will be up to political leaders to “find creative ways and means of utilising multilingualism and multiculturalism as developmental resources.”

It is clear that language acquisition allows the individual access to better job opportunities and that there is indeed a language industry that simply needs to be developed and used. However, while the cost of investing in a foreign language normally falls upon the individual and not upon his employer, very few individuals are fully aware of the yield of learning a foreign language. According to Breton, the marginal resource cost of investing in a foreign language falls into two periods. In the first period, because of the purchase of learning materials, the payment of a teacher or language institution and the time invested, the costs of learning a foreign language are high and there is little return on the investment as the projected language skills are still in the making. In the second period, covering the mastering or improvement of the acquired language, there is less cost and some return. A third period in which one has mastered the language fully and is able to use it to

⁴⁰ Trewby, R. & Fitchat, S. (Eds) (2000) *Language and Development in Southern Africa*. Macmillan.

communicate effectively as the target period might be added at this point. Breton (1988: 6) arrives at the following conclusions:

- If resources are allocated as public subsidies to the promotion of foreign languages, the cost per unit of value will be smaller if the resources are invested in younger people.
- Subsidies should take into consideration the ability and skills of learners.
- Subsidies allocated to investments in foreign languages should be conditional on a "sustained" use of the foreign language otherwise these subsidies would be wasted.⁴¹

The aesthetic value of a language exists regardless of the number of people who claim to speak it. However, how is the economic value of a language determined? There are many ways in which this value might be determined. As in commodities, the value of a language is measured in terms of its value as an object as well as its exchange value. Coulmas (1992: 57) uses water as an example of this. Water as an object in use has much value, but water as an object in exchange does not hold the same value as precious stones. In order to avoid the exploitation and overemphasis of any particular language, the productivity and usefulness of a particular language in a given market needs to be established. Coulmas (1992: 66-67) uses the Japanese language as an example. Whereas Japanese has fully evolved into a truly functional language in terms of modern communication, a Japanese businessman sees the value and necessity of learning English for business purposes in America. The American (and indeed the South African), conversely, will make little or no effort to learn Japanese for the same purposes. Coulmas suggests that this situation portrays two opposing dimensions. Firstly, it "is a reflection of the arrogance of power", and secondly, "it testifies to the fact that opportunities for realising the functional potential of English on the Japanese market are far better than those of realising the functional potential of Japanese on the American market." The market

⁴¹ Breton, A. (Ed) (1988) *Economic Approaches to Language Bilingualism*. Department of Economics, University of Toronto. Department of Public Works and Government Services Canada.

value of a language cannot be determined in isolation as it is only in the exchange of language and therefore the level and extent of communication in a particular language that we can determine its value.

The value of a language therefore surpasses its cultural or aesthetic value to include its value as a means of exchanging communication. It cannot be denied that the ability to communicate is probably the most valuable human asset. The ability to communicate effectively in any language allows us, as an individual or a group, to explore and to be explored. The expansive value of a particular language depends on the number of people who speak the language in question. If more people speak the same language, then more people are able to interact and communicate effectively. This, however, should not impact on the cultural value of a language.

In South Africa, a situation exists in which English is not spoken by the majority of the nation, yet enjoys more economic value than isiXhosa, for example. This is clearly because of the export value that English holds, and has nothing to do with the cultural value of isiXhosa. In South Africa, therefore, the dominance of the English language is influenced by its global value, rather than by the size of its speech community. At this point, the concept of language proficiency should be considered. When it is suggested that the acquisition of 'colonial' language skills equips a person for upward mobility, to which level of acquisition does this apply, and how is language proficiency measured? Hymes (1984: 196) suggests that language proficiency be demonstrated by a sound knowledge of the structure of a language, and an ability to demonstrate this knowledge. It is based on this sound knowledge that the speaker of the 'foreign' language is able to understand and reproduce a series of phrases thereby achieving and experiencing the creative nature of the language. Language proficiency might, however, also be measured by the communicative needs of an individual or company. For certain language tasks, a limited level of language proficiency might suffice whereas for other linguistic functions, a much higher level of proficiency might be essential. It is clear that the aspiring linguist needs a little more than a spattering of the targeted foreign language in order to conduct successful trade with prospective clients. In Volume II

(Levels) of *Objectives for foreign language learning* (Strasbourg 1987: 8), six individual aspects of competence are noted as targets for Foreign Language Learning (FLL):

- (i) Linguistic competence.
- (ii) Sociolinguistic competence.
- (iii) Discourse competence.
- (iv) Strategic competence.
- (v) Sociocultural competence.
- (vi) Social competence.

Another aspect of a language's value is its productive value. It has already been established that not every language is able to fulfil scientific and technological needs on a global scale. It therefore stands to reason that those languages with the capacity to service global communicative needs will have a higher productive value than their rival languages. At this point, emphasis is placed on the global or international value of a 'foreign' language. There is no intention to underestimate the national value of South African languages such as isiXhosa and isiZulu. Much tension has been generated in previous language planning discussion simply because not all contributors view South African language issues from a global point of view. Much has been researched (and little implemented) into the role and value of indigenous languages in South Africa but there has equally been very little research into the role and value of external languages such as French, German, Japanese and Portuguese. There appears to be a shroud of mystery surrounding this vital question. There is very little evidence of how South Africans cope on the global market in terms of the language question. As far back as 1990, following extensive research, language specialists identified a need for improved communicative capacity among South Africans, with particular reference to French and German. The researchers identified three main reasons why South Africans were not learning foreign languages. One of these reasons included *arrogance*. It was suggested that South Africans considered the English language as sufficient for

import as well as export.⁴² Has this attitude changed in any way today? The productive value of French, for example, as well as the impact that its acquisition might have upon South Africans with an interest in global trade or tourism, is something that needs to be studied further. Implementation of this concept could easily be seen as a means of empowerment of the nation and not of disempowerment. Because our linguistic resources in South Africa are so unequally distributed, we need to look at the two types of languages: those acquired naturally 'by accident of birth' and those acquired commercially.

Bourdieu (1982) introduced the notion that language skills should be recognised as a form of linguistic capital. In South Africa one cannot question the deep and expressive sense of the cultural value of our Black languages. However, when the functional potential of a foreign language on the global market is taken into consideration, it must be asked why so many people in South Africa are denied access to these languages? Are we not denying access to this wealth of 'linguistic capital' to many South Africans? A brief survey of overseas employment offers indicates that English and foreign language skills contribute in some ways to the intellectual draining of a country as inhabitants tend to leave in order to seek financial or other gain outside the borders. Although discussed in the previous chapter, further confirmation of the following point is necessary. According to Tollefson (1991: 106-107) there are two sets of factors that encourage migration: the 'push' and the 'pull'. The former is related to the current situation in one's country that might 'push' one to seek a safer and/or better life elsewhere. The latter refers to the economic and living conditions that exist in a certain country and that are deemed better than those conditions prevalent in one's own country. In South Africa, before and after independence, many South Africans felt 'pushed' to leave for perceived financial and security reasons. Today, however, South Africans are more 'pulled' towards countries such as England and Australia because of the economic attractions of those countries, mainly the strength of the British pound and the Australian dollar. Why, therefore, should certain people be equipped with

⁴² Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly (1990: 65)

functional English and foreign language skills whereas those who do not have the financial or social means of accessing the same language skills are forced to remain at home? It is clear that "remaining at home" in itself is not a bad prospect for the country but the essential point to recall is that of choice and of linguistic empowerment to exercise the choice.

4.3 THE LANGUAGE INDUSTRY

The term language industry refers to "publishing, language learning, translation, interpretation, text-production, media-language transfer (i.e. dubbing and subtitling) and information systems" (LANGTAG 1996: 108). The Language Plan Task Group (LANGTAG), as far back as 1996, recognised the fact that although South Africa already had a language industry, it was yet to reach its full potential despite the "strong opportunities for expansion." The LANGTAG acknowledges the need for the development of the language industry, not only for domestic and international needs, but also for those needs of the subcontinent and the continent. Based on preceding discussions, it is clear that language skills are becoming more and more of an essence, and much less a luxury. Future generations might not be able to reach their full economic potential if they choose to remain monolingual. 'Potential' refers not only to their economic development, but includes their ability to respect the identity and culture of people of different language groups as well as to tolerate diversity. To quote from the Nuffield Languages Inquiry final report:

"Learning a language can lead to a less insular outlook, increased acceptance of the legitimacy of difference and an obligation to uphold and understand that difference."

4.3.1 Language and employability

New technologies such as electronic communication and cell (mobile) phones have increased our ability to communicate on a much broader national and

Angus Margerison, 2005

international scale. It is therefore an individual's prerogative to integrate him or herself into this new development or to be left behind. An individual's economic security and material welfare can be vastly increased should he or she choose to meet the challenges of the global economic movement. While not everyone might possess business acumen or a head for figures in order to succeed in commerce, each human is equipped with the inherent ability to learn a language. By learning a language, the individual acquires further knowledge, increases his/her linguistic capacity, improves his/her economic potential, and furthermore becomes a stronger contributor to and participant in society. According to Chorney (in Breton 1998: 1), research into bilingualism has proven that the individual's cognitive flexibility, creativity and divergent thought, and capacity for communication all improve. In addition, the individual's sense of appreciation for other languages and own identification with his/her original linguistic group will strengthen. In this section, two specific countries, Canada and the United Kingdom, where research into language and employability has been extensive, will be considered.

Canada is a bilingual country in which as many as 4.5 million people out of a population of 30 million speak both French and English, with the remaining population speaking either of the two languages. Canada therefore has a fair understanding of the need for a critical yet subtle treatment of different ways in solving language problems. Canada boasts a "dynamic cultural milieu that is receptive to economic innovation and experimentation" (Breton 1998: 2). As mentioned earlier in reference to the unsatisfactory language situation in South Africa, economic growth is more likely to be stimulated and successful in a society that does not restrict part of the population because of linguistic difference. The positive benefits of the official Canadian language policies are economic, cultural and socio-political. Chorney recognises critical links between a healthy democracy, a policy of language duality (or, in South Africa's case multiplicity) through the recognition of the rights of linguistic minorities, and a positive resulting impact on the overall economy. He states:

"...investment by the federal government in our official languages policy is investment not only in the stability of our political future as a

Angus Margerison, 2005

country, but investment in our economic potential as well" (Breton 1998: 3).

Many countries increasingly depend on international trade for economic growth and Canada is no exception. Certainly, Canada's bilingualism in English and French is important in terms of Africa's *Anglophone* and *Francophone* divisions. There is therefore an increasing need for development in language industries and hence linguists. In terms of human capital, each worker should have a specific skill or group of skills that render him more employable. One skill that places a candidate for a position involving cross-cultural communication is language. Chorney (in Breton 1998: 5) undertook preliminary studies into the increased employability of candidates with language skills (in this case bilingualism in French and English). Chorney chose large firms from five industries that included construction, automobile manufacturing, banking, pharmaceuticals, and retail merchandising and manufacturing. The human resources departments of each firm were asked to assist in this research which was conducted telephonically. The results demonstrated that bilingualism was considered a clear asset by employers and therefore helped secure a position. However, the results did not indicate that people with language skills were paid a higher salary although some firms offered financial assistance to those workers wishing to improve their language skills.

Chorney and his colleagues later undertook a formal test of their hypotheses by creating a stratified sample of the leading 250 companies in Canada. Three categories of performance were considered in choosing these companies:

- (i) The size of their export sales.
- (ii) The degree of high technology utilisation.
- (iii) Their status as dynamic companies experiencing high growth according to business journals and company guides.

In the analysis, emphasis was placed on knowledge workers and the increasing role they appeared to play in the economy and structure of leading-edge firms. Industries could therefore be ranked according to the proportion of their knowledge workers/symbolic analysts or by their budget devoted to research and development.

According to their proportions of high-tech non-labour inputs as found in their final goods and services, companies were distinguished as high, medium or low technology companies. By its very personal and sensitive nature, this categorisation was of course open to criticism. Based on this study and a similar study in 1996 by Victoria Communications entitled *The Use of Canada's official languages in the Private Sector* (Breton 1998: 8), it was decided that the current state of globalisation highlights the importance of bilingualism and language training in terms of "consumer satisfaction" and "market development." The study identified the fact that "consumer demand" for bilingual personnel emphasised the need for further investment in language training in order to meet this demand.

To close this discussion about the Canadian position regarding language and employability, let us consider some of the comments made by companies that took part in Chorney's survey (Breton 1998: 8-11):

- As companies are forced to adapt to changing working circumstances, they need people who are open to change. You need proactive change agents and people with different cultural experience and education are more likely to fulfil that role.
- Ability to master a second language shows skills in other areas: social, perseverance. It's a good sign.
- Having French is always a plus and could swing a hiring decision in an applicant's favour - even in jobs where a second language is not needed.
- Another language gives employees flexibility for job mobility around the globe.
- Knowledge of a second language, other things being equal, would tip the scales in the candidate's favour (This came from the company with the largest number of employees in the survey).

Let us now look at similar research and conclusions in the United Kingdom. The following observations are based on research into "recent evidence illustrating the link between languages and employability." The observations are drawn from various sources in the United Kingdom, all of which came with accompanying cross-references and websites. A summary of each reply to the following questions

asked is provided.

- (i) What evidence is there that languages are used in a range of occupations in the UK?
- (ii) What evidence is there that this is a trend that is likely to continue or expand?
- (iii) What evidence is there of a growing need for language skills?
- (iv) What evidence is there that employers have difficulty recruiting people with language skills?
- (v) What evidence is there that high-level language skills are needed?
- (vi) What evidence is there that language skills at various levels are needed, not simply fluency?
- (vii) What evidence exists as proof that high-level language skills are (not) valued/rewarded?
- (viii) What opportunities exist for graduates beyond teaching and translating?
- (ix) Do employers value the skills that are inherent in a language degree, e.g. mobility, intercultural understanding?

Suggested conclusions (2002: 10-11):

- (i) There is a clear consensus among educationalists, trainers, employers, workers and students that languages are important, even if the area is under some pressure at secondary level and under serious pressure with the continued cutback and closure of university language departments.
- (ii) There is even a danger that language training could become marginalised, so that people only consider using languages in which they have had a head start, or hold their skills at a level suitable for social use and travel. As a result, companies may then fall back on the part-time freelance specialist (translator/interpreter) or rely on the English language skills of their trading partner.
- (iii) The range of languages that are of commercial value is increasing; the number of jobs requiring language skills is growing and more needs to be done in areas such as tourism or export, where languages would improve

communications with clients and provide a better service.

(iv) There is a prospect of providing language learning opportunities from an earlier age and cope for introducing ways of providing a smoother system of continuous learning that will place languages firmly within the context of lifelong education.

(v) Clear language policies need to be adopted by companies to ensure that these opportunities are taken forward properly.

(vi) Languages are of clear commercial benefit. They enhance other skills in the field of communication; they are of huge cultural importance; they create opportunities for the individuals who speak them.

(vii) The realities of globalisation make the speaking of languages more important than ever.

As stated earlier, the irony of the British study is that in 2004, the British government decided that it was no longer essential for school pupils to learn either German or French at GCSE level. At least one of these subjects was compulsory in secondary schools. Particularly in state schools, many pupils with learning difficulties or little respect for foreign languages decided that it was much wiser to choose subjects such as Physical Education and Food Technology. This is mainly because these subjects prove to be easier to pass with a higher grade than foreign languages. Education analysts acknowledge the negative implications of this choice because, as discussed above, many studies have proven that foreign languages play an important role in global trade and tourism. Similarly to the United Kingdom, South Africa does not make the learning of a foreign language compulsory. However, unlike their British counterparts, few South African state school pupils have the actual choice of learning foreign languages. This lack of choice is not in any way simplistic. Budget constraints and other urgent educational needs strongly influence the South African situation regarding the option of learning foreign languages in state schools. This problem will be discussed further in the final section of this thesis.

4.3.2 Translation and Interpretation

The field of translation and interpretation is probably one of the strongest means of earning money from one's knowledge of a foreign language. Certainly in South Africa, it appears that this is the main manner in which most trade is conducted with foreign countries. The field of translation and interpretation falls directly under language and employability.

In 1997 at the Conference Centre of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Dr. Florence Herbulot, then President of the International Federation of Translators (*Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs*, FIT), spoke about the career of translation and interpretation. Dr. Herbulot highlighted some of the errors in translation that she had encountered during her travels abroad. There are often errors made in mistranslating or translating word for word from the original language. This technique, however, is not used by professional translators, but rather by people who have some knowledge of the target language and therefore step in as translators "on the spot." According to Dr. Herbulot, while translation as a spontaneous activity might go back to the origins of humankind, its status as a fully fledged profession is fairly recent, dating roughly from the aftermath of the Nuremberg trials of the Second World War. Dr. Herbulot identifies two types of translation. The first is the amateur or pedagogical translation which is used in learning a foreign language. Artificial phrases and texts are composed and then translated into the targeted language or translated back into the mother tongue. This form of "linguistic work on languages", by the nature of the prose translated, has practical little use in one's daily life yet is "designed to bring the fluency and proficiency that one must have to use a foreign language properly." The second type of translation to which Herbulot refers is the professional type. This "takes several types of aptitudes and abilities" in order to be successful. Herbulot (1997: 13) identifies four "pillars" of translation:

- (i) Mastery of target language.
- (ii) Mastery of source language.
- (iii) Knowledge of subject matter.
- (iv) Methodology.

In addition to the above four requirements of translators, another important addition is the concept of ethics. Translators and interpreters are bound by ethics to respect confidentiality, accuracy and to convey the spirit and not simply the letter of the message. There are three tools of the trade of translation to be noted: source language, target language, and subject matter. The most important of the three is the target language. For many years it was considered more practical and safer in terms of security for translators work from their mother tongue into the foreign language. This was mainly because of confidentiality, diplomacy and trust. However, this allowed many incorrect translations to seep in, some with dramatic results. As part of the mastery of a language, target or source, it is important to maintain current knowledge of changes and trends in modern day speech. As discussed in the first chapter, languages evolve and the translator must be aware of any language evolution. The translator must also know his subject. Before embarking on a translation, it is important to understand what the service or product is about. This is essential in order to avoid literal and insensitive translations. Equally important is methodology. As Deputy Director of one of the leading translation schools in Paris, Herbulot stresses that while some aspiring translators “have it easier than others because they have some gift of intuition, good logic, powers of analysis”, through sound methodological training, good translation can be created.

As reasons why the employment of professional translators is important as opposed to simply giving an assumption or getting the gist of a document, Herbulot mentions the following points about professional translators:

- They have the necessary language proficiency.
- They are trained in their work.
- They take the amount of time they need to get the job done.
- They know the language of the target country, but also its culture.
- And what they don't know, they know how and where to find. That is their job. Yours is to allow them to carry it out, and to help when necessary.

In South Africa, a translation institute exists. It is called The South African Translators' Institute (SATI) and was established in 1956 “as a forum to represent the interests of translators and interpreters” (1997: 33). SATI is affiliated to the International Federation of Translators and therefore holds international recognition. SATI is committed to:

- Promote excellence in translation and related fields, as well as clarity of thought and expression.
- Ensure high standards of professionalism among its members through accreditation and the adoption of a code of ethics.
- Provide support for its members both in their occupational lives and as members of a multi-cultural and dynamic society.

SATI offers training courses leading to certification and accreditation in translation, editing and interpretation. Inexperienced aspiring workers in any of the above fields can work under a more experienced and qualified SATI member before seeking accreditation.

This section of research has described the link between language, economy and global development. Sensitivity to Africa's national needs in conjunction with her international needs has been emphasized. Part III will consider the French language as an economic tool that might be marketed to the industries of trade and tourism.

PART III

CHAPTER 5

5 MARKETING THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AS AN ECONOMIC TOOL

When used in reference to a language, the term *economic tool* suggests that the competent acquisition of a particular language might lead to an improvement in the economic situation of the state or individual. Language acquisition implies an expansion and broadening of the ability to communicate, and consequently the expansion of any prospective market. As an international form of communication, the French language undoubtedly holds a prime position in the global market and as a form of linguistic currency or a commodity with economic value. The French language might therefore be treated as an economic tool or as a language product that in a sense might be packaged, marketed and sold. However, what exactly is the economic value of the French language and how is this value to be measured? The first step to measuring a product's value is to establish the product's position in the economic concept of supply and demand.

5.1 SUPPLY AND DEMAND

In the economic sense, *demand* indicates an intention to buy as well as the means to purchase a product or service. *Demand* is also evaluated according to the number of people who wish to and are able to purchase the product or service. *Demand*, however, should not be confused with *needs* or *wants* or *claims*. The length of period and frequency that the product or service will be needed also measures *demand*. Two types of demand are identified: individual demand and market demand. In the context of language acquisition, we might assume that the *individual demand* refers to learning a language for individual satisfaction, such as reading foreign literature or travelling. Conversely, we might say that language acquisition for a *market demand* refers to learning a foreign language for the

purpose of economic development and international trade. A *demand schedule* is a table which lists the quantities demanded at different prices when all other influences on planned purchases are held constant. When researching or analysing demand, points from the demand schedule are plotted from the y and x axes to create what is known as the *demand curve*. A negative relationship between price and quantity is called the *law of demand*. The *price* of a product or service obviously plays a vital role in the movement of the demand curve. An increase in the price of a product will lead to a rightward shift of the demand curve of the product or service. Similarly, a decrease in the price of a product or service will bring about a leftward shift in the demand curve as the demand decreases. Generally, when income increases, a shift to the right in the demand curve will occur. Conversely, when income decreases, a shift to the left in the demand curve will occur.

Movement along the demand curve occurs when the price of a product or service changes. This further affects the quantity of the product or service. This leads us to the concept of the *supply* of the product or service. *Supply* refers to the quantities of a product or service that producers plan to sell at each possible price during a certain period (Mohr 2000: 185). Both supply and demand refer to planned quantities. They are both flow concepts which are measured over a certain period. When there is a larger demand for a product or service than can be supplied, we call this a *market shortage*. However, when the supply outweighs the demand, we call this a *market surplus*. Supply and demand are therefore elastic as they are affected by variables such as government intervention, income or the general state of a country's economy.

The issue of *supply and demand* and *cost and benefit* is important to this thesis due to the fact that as stated earlier, in order to study the French language in South Africa, one generally has to attend a private institution. As will be indicated later in this chapter, most government schools do not offer French as a school subject as their budgets tend to focus on Maths and Science rather than Languages. In addition, the new FET (Further Education and Training) programme of the

government will have a huge impact on the budget of learning institutions and therefore the choice of subjects that they offer. Evidence based on budget examples indicate that when expenses are to be cut in schools and universities, departments of Arts and Culture are the first to experience budget restraints. Bearing in mind South Africa's growing participation in global trade, one can assume that the demand for language skills is going to increase. However, the supply of language skills can only decrease if learning institutions are not able to offer sufficient language courses. Therefore, while the benefits of learning a foreign language might be abundant, the cost of learning a foreign language has to increase if more private institutions offer language courses on an unsubsidised level. As a means of access to the ever-growing global economic stage, among other languages, French becomes a powerful economic tool or language product that is worthy of dynamic marketing.

5.2 MARKETING

In its most general sense the term *Marketing* refers to the identification of a need or want, and the process of effectively and dynamically presenting a product that will satisfy a particular need or want. This need might be associated with an individual or with a group of people. Central to marketing are the consumer's requirements. In this sense, marketing as a means of satisfying a customer's needs or wants is not limited to a physical object. Strydom (1999: 3) states that the modern economy does not limit the market offering to a physical object but rather extends to those services required to make the physical object available. Thus, marketing clearly refers to a concept or service that is tangible. Market research is an activity that is essential to any business intending to embark on a particular project. Should a company not already employ skilled marketing personnel, this activity will then be outsourced.

5.2.1 Market Strategy

Any form of empirical research requires strategy or planning. Certain companies might prove less successful simply because insufficient time, effort and funding have been spent on market research. The marketing strategy can be broken into three steps:

- Forming a hypothesis.
- Setting clear objectives in the aim of proving the hypothesis.
- Segmenting the market.

5.3 PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT

In order to develop the French language as a product that will assist in economic expansion, an awareness of its economic potential must be established by looking at the market as it already exists and finding ways in which to improve the language product's performance and attraction within this market. In addition, new outlets in other markets should be identified in which to promote the language product. The principal aim in product development should thus be to increase the economic viability of the product.

5.3.1 Positioning the Language Product

The role of South Africa's indigenous and official languages has already been clarified in earlier discussions. However, the French language finds itself in competition with other strong global languages. It is therefore important to understand where the language product sits in comparison with other languages. Maurais & Morris (2003: 17) provide the following table of the hierarchy of languages according to Graddol (1997):

Table 5.1 Hierarchy of languages



Interestingly, Maurais & Morris (2003: 16-17) note that according to the 'engco' model⁴³ French is no longer the second international language, having been surpassed by German which was accorded the status of regional language of Europe. As observed in the table above, French is returned to its status above German. Conversely, the 'engco' survey indicates that by 2050 French will have declined considerably. However, as Graddol (1997) and Maurais (2003) suggest, "statistics on language knowledge, or, indeed, on languages in general, are famously inaccurate and imprecise."

5.4 THE MARKET

For the purpose of this research, the targeted market for the French language product is primarily identified as Government Departments and Private Businesses, institutions of Education, and the individual student. Of particular interest is the level of cross-language communication that takes place in export and tourism. In terms of the individual student, the general aim is to assess the number of students

⁴³ Developed in 1995 by the English Company (UK) Ltd.

learning French, their attitudes towards and methods of acquisition of the French language, based on the assumption that the French language is an economically and culturally viable language to learn.

All sectors of the market discussed above are directly influenced by their corresponding departments within the South African Ministry:

- (i) Arts and Culture.
- (ii) Communications.
- (iii) Education.
- (iv) Tourism.
- (v) Trade and Industry.

In view of this relevance, these departments will be discussed in turn, focusing on policies and statements that are relevant to the use of foreign languages.

5.4.1 Arts and Culture

Through different sub-sections, the French Embassy promotes Arts and Culture⁴⁴ to a large extent in South Africa. The Alliance Française and the Embassy of France work in close collaboration with South African counterparts to promote, to develop and to share various aspects of Arts and Culture. A campaign entitled “J’adore South Africa” has been launched in order to enhance bi-lateral links between the two countries. As states the campaign’s president, the development of a positive relationship required some effort. Based on a study of how France was perceived in South Africa, commissioned by the French Chamber of Commerce, many misconceptions about modern day France were noticed. A vital player in the Department of Arts and Culture is *l’Institut Français en Afrique du Sud* (IFAS).⁴⁵ Created on the 12th of May 1995 in the Market Theatre precinct in Johannesburg, IFAS shares physical space and cultural vision with both the cultural service of the

⁴⁴ Department of Arts and Culture (2002) www.dac.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

⁴⁵ *The French Institute of South Africa.*

Johannesburg municipality and the National Art Council. IFAS is based in Johannesburg but acts throughout South Africa. In summary, IFAS' vocation is:

- Promote and provide various resources on France and the French-speaking world through an extensive collection of mainly contemporary art and human sciences, books, audio and video cassettes, compact and video discs, and internet access which allows access to diverse French databases.
- Cooperate with the French Agency for Artistic Action (AFFA) through the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To facilitate exchanges between French and foreign artists covering fields such as contemporary dance, sculpting, orchestra conducting, cinema and photography. Ensuring a high visibility of French artists in South Africa through their participation in national events such as the Arts Alive festival in Johannesburg and the Grahamstown festival.
- Organise symposiums and academic meetings in the field of human sciences. Encourage research and assist in the publication of research work, in partnership with ORSTOM (French Institute of Scientific Research for Development and Cooperation).

In summary, the main function of IFAS is "to encourage artistic and academic exchanges between France and South Africa" and "to succeed in creating solid networks which will make it even more indispensable."⁴⁶ Access to IFAS and its related organisations will facilitate more effective exposure to French language and culture. In reciprocal terms, cultural and educational exchange between the two countries is highly desirable and should be expanded to include other Francophone countries.

⁴⁶ French Embassy website:
www.ambafrance-za.org/ServicesUK/SCACUK/IFASUK (available 03/08/2005)

5.4.2 Communications

In this department⁴⁷, there has been much development in two spheres, namely *The Telephone Interpreting Service for South Africa*, and the *Human Language Technologies* programme. The Telephone Interpreting Service was devised to enable South Africans to have access to emergency services in any one of the eleven official languages. In view of the fact that there might be foreign visitors who also require emergency services or general tourism advice, the addition of French as one of the languages offered by this telephone service, would not be inappropriate. There is therefore a potential market for a language bureau to respond to such situations. As regards the *Human Language Technologies* programme, while computer-generated interpretations are far from reliable, the addition of the French language onto this programme will once again assist in the growing demand for translation/interpretation into foreign languages.

It might be expected that the Department of Communications would cover much of what is stated above. However, this was not the case according to the relevant government website. Of particular interest were the following two points. Firstly, this department represents the South African government "internationally in telecommunications, postal and broadcasting matters." This, of course, must entail the use of foreign languages whether through the employment of translators and interpreters or French-speakers working within the department. Secondly, under the section entitled "policies", two research and strategic planning tasks to be undertaken by the Department of communications were identified:

- (i) Analyse the long-term business, technological and social trends in the broad communications industry as well as to understand "convergence issues and implications and related sectors."
- (ii) Develop a communications industry strategic plan and develop policies to support multipurpose community service centres.

⁴⁷ Department of Communications website : www.doc.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

These two policies fit in with an understanding of the need for foreign (French) language services to be introduced and exploited in the development of language and communications industries.

5.4.2.1 Digital campuses in France

Over the years 2000, 2001 and 2002, the French Ministry of Education and Research launched a programme of projects entitled French digital campuses (*Campus numériques français*).⁴⁸ The main objective of this programme was to offer a long distance opportunity to study French at the highest international level. The programme became known as the FOAD (*Formation ouverte et à distance*)⁴⁹ and targeted both students and teachers. A digital campus is defined as an education centre which focuses on the learner by offering innovative courses using advanced technology. Because it is internet based, the learners can be geographically placed anywhere in the world and are able to learn at their own pace and according to their particular style of learning. French universities were invited to participate in this programme by opening up their courses to international students on line. All major subjects are offered through this long distance programme.

The relevance of this programme to South Africans is that many South African businessmen who do not have the time to attend evening courses in the French language would be able to learn French via the internet.

5.4.3 Education

On this section of the official government website⁵⁰, two documents pertaining to foreign languages were extracted. The first was based on recommendations made

⁴⁸ French Ministry of Education (2004) <http://www.educnet.education.fr/inter/offrefor.htm> (available 03/08/2005)

⁴⁹ Open and distance learning (own translation)

⁵⁰ South African Department of Education website : <http://education.pwv.gov.za/> (available 03/08/2005)

by the Council on Higher Education (C.H.E.) in July 2000. Both recommendations are quoted directly:

- (i) The role of indigenous South African languages vis-à-vis other dominant and foreign languages must be spelt out as an outcome of institutional consultation.
- (ii) Centres for the acquisition and study of South Africa's main languages of regional and international interaction and trade should be identified so that the necessary resources for promoting the most effective ways of harnessing these languages for promoting interaction and trade can be concentrated in the appropriate Higher Education institutions.

Based on the above points, there appears to be some conflict between the role of foreign languages and that of indigenous languages in education. Following this, three policy statements made by the Ministry of Education in November 2002 in the *Language Policy Framework* were presented:

- (i) The role of language and access to language skills is critical to ensure the right of individuals to realise their full potential to participate in and to contribute to the social, cultural, intellectual, economic and political life of South African society (2002: 4).
- (ii) The study of foreign languages is also under threat, with declining enrolments in most language programmes (2002: 8).
- (iii) In relation to the study of foreign languages and literature: the Ministry will use a similar approach proposed for the study of South African languages and literature to encourage the study of foreign languages, in particular those languages that are important for the promotion of the country's cultural, trade and diplomatic relations. Attention will also be paid to languages commonly used by communities within South Africa, such as German, Greek, Portuguese, French and Hindi (2002: 14).

An increase in financial and structural investment in the Education system is manifested by an increase in an informed and effective human resource that in turn can only spell economic success. The South African Minister of Education summarises the government's commitment to human resources development in the following statement:

"(...) we gave priority to developing human resources. Education, training and skills development are key foundations of social and economic progress, and preconditions for addressing inequality and division in society. Over the past decade:

- *School education numbers have grown by 1,5 million to some 12 million, with broadly equal enrolment of girls and boys, and marked reductions in out-of age enrolment.*
- *56 000 school classrooms have been constructed.*
- *A skills development strategy has been launched, 25 sector education and training authorities (SETAs) established, 478 learnership programmes registered, 70 000 learners enrolled and an estimated 29 per cent of workers underwent training in 2002/03.*
- *Renewal of further education has begun with the consolidation of technical colleges into 50 new institutions.*
- *Restructuring of higher education is under way, with a view to creating 21 consolidated institutions out of the former 36 universities and technikons.*

*Over the decade ahead, investment in the quality of education and promotion of work related training opportunities will remain amongst the foremost priorities of Government."*⁵¹

5.4.3.1 French in South African schools

A list of schools in South Africa that offer French lessons was obtained by email from the Department of Education. Table A.1 in the Appendix gives an indication of the schools by province and states whether the school is Independent (I), Public (P), Secondary (S), Combined (C), Pre-primary (Pp) or Unknown (U). The table also indicates the type of course offered, such as Ordinary Level (O'L) and Advanced Level (A'L) as offered in certain Independent Schools. The purpose of this data is to compare the number of students who have access to the French

⁵¹ South African government website: http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000705/P783-2004_SA_Budget.pdf (available 03/08/2005)

language in South African schools.

In summarised form the total number of students in either sector (Independent or Public) is:

Table 5.2: Summary of students learning French in South African schools

Sector	Total
Independent	1931
Public	2500
Total	4431

This total refers to 2004. In 1999, Independent and Public School students who learned French added up in total to 15,005. In 2001, the same total was 8,479 showing a 43% decrease. The fact that the 2004 total is 4,431 indicates a huge drop in the number of students learning French in schools to below 30% of the 1999 level.

Further information on the number of French and German students in 1992⁵² was also obtained and is shown in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3: German and French Language students in 1992

Level of study	French	German
Standard 6	511	1074
Standard 8	312	686
Standard 10	296	658
Totals	1119	2418

Comparing the number of French students in 1992 with the current declining student numbers shows that there has been a sharp increase in the interim period.

⁵² Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly, (1992: 20, 34, 44) *An Investigation into the Position of French and German in the Republic of South Africa*. Communications Service, NED.

The number of French students in 2004 was almost four times higher than the 1992 total.

Considering the number of German students, more current information was obtained from the Annual Survey for Schools 2002 and is shown in Table 5.4 below.

Table 5.4: Levels of German Language studying in South African schools in 2002

Subject	Grade	Learners
German Second Language	Grade 10	2
German First Language	Grade 10	85
German First Language	Grade 11	49
German First Language	Grade 12	44
German Mother Tongue Higher Grade	Grade 10	42
German Mother Tongue Higher Grade	Grade 11	5
German Mother Tongue Higher Grade	Grade 12	8
German Third Language	Grade 10	801
German Third Language	Grade 11	836
German Third Language	Grade 12	822

The survey found that there were 2,694 students taking German in Grades 10-12. Over 90% of these were taking German as a third language. A comparison of the figure of 2,694 German students with that of 8,479 students who took French in 2001, shows that there were more than three times the number of students opting for French. This is in sharp contrast with the situation that existed in 1992 (as shown in Table 5.3) when there were more than twice as many German students than French students. This clearly indicates that French is a significantly more popular language choice for school children. However, the total number of students opting for French still indicates a significant fall in numbers. The following questions are therefore relevant:

- Why is this fall in numbers so remarkable?
- Who is marketing the French language in schools?
- Are French teachers taking responsibility for persuading their school pupils to learn French and should this be their responsibility?

It seems likely that as the South African international economic market opened up in the middle to late 1990's there was a surge in demand for foreign language skills which precipitated a rapid rise in the number of students taking French. The increase in French student numbers from 1,119 in 1992 to 15,005 in 1999 clearly supports this theory. The peak in 1999 was followed by a decline to the 2004 level of 4,431 students. This decline may be explained by the fact that as the initial demand for French was met by recently qualified students, the actual demand was realised and the supply is presently being normalised. Further fluctuations may be anticipated until equilibrium is attained between the supply and demand for French.

In 1999, a new survey was conducted through fourteen schools in the Western Cape of South Africa.⁵³ The main objective of the survey was to identify the views and attitudes of both French language teachers and their pupils. A separate questionnaire, each of a qualitative nature, was submitted to each party. The questionnaire designed for the students sought to establish the following points:

- Did French teachers in a particular school engage in a promotional exercise of some sort in order to attract students to their subject?
- If the above did take place, what was the response of the students and consequently, how effective was the promotional exercise?
- For what reasons did pupils choose French as a subject?
- What did the French students expect to gain from studying French?
- At which level of importance did the French pupils place reasons for learning French in terms of personal, social or commercial value?
- Would the pupils continue learning French after leaving school?

The pupils' responses indicated a low level of promotion or specific targeting on behalf of French teachers in a bid to attract pupils to their particular subject. This claim was refuted by most of the teachers in their corresponding questionnaire. Most of the students indicated that they chose French for personal and not for commercial reasons. The teachers supported this claim but also pointed out that

⁵³ Margerison, A. (1999) *Le Français en Afrique du Sud. Etude portée sur la province du Cap Occidental*. MA Thesis. UCT.

they faced challenges in terms of language policies and in terms of financing of resources for Foreign Language Teaching. Less than half of the pupils indicated that they would continue learning French once they had left school and many suggested that this was because of the difficulty of the language or because of the way in which it was presented or represented in school. The teachers once again rejected this criticism based on the challenges they faced as Foreign Language teachers in a hierarchy of subjects, some of which were considered to be of a more viable or more important nature. In view of the 30% decrease in the number of students learning French, further research is needed to establish what might be done to improve the status and the marketing of French within South African schools. However, as recommended in the 1992 survey, what needs to be considered is the fact that syllabi and language teaching/learning methodologies should “contain a clear and unequivocal statement specifying the relevance of foreign language for South Africa.”⁵⁴

5.4.3.2 *French in South African Universities*

Radical changes have been implemented within South African universities in order to reflect the nature of the country's social, cultural and economic needs. Much pressure is put upon the Government to respond to the task of rectifying previous limitations placed on a large sector of the population. Financial policies of Government have therefore played a vital role on the budget implications of many universities resulting in these institutions either merging in order to meet the needs of the broader population, or reducing the size of different departments. Some might view these changes as essential for survival whereas others might view them as a threat to tertiary education standards on an internal level. One of the first areas of education to be targeted in budget cuts is normally that of Arts, Culture and Humanities, of which foreign languages forms a part. In 1990, then Professor of

⁵⁴ Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly, (1992:71) *An Investigation into the Position of French and German in the Republic of South Africa*. Communications Service, NED.

French at the University of South Africa, Professor Norman Strike, wrote an article entitled *Foreign Languages at University: Irrelevant Luxury or Vital Necessity*." Strike expressed concern that Universities were fast losing students of language and culture to departments that offered commerce and science-based subjects. While conceding, however, that it is a mess, he concluded that the language is a vital role in satisfying the language needs of other university students. The question of why university pupils choose French over other subjects is important if we are to discover effective ways in which to market the French language. A survey was carried out in the French Department of the University of Cape Town in August 2003. The aim of the survey was to establish the reasons why the French students chose to learn French and within this, establish their general opinion about the link between language and economy. The nature of the questions is evident from the two tables indicated below, separated into male and female responses:

Table 5.5: Male responses, UCT.

Age	Year of Study				How Long Studying French	Why French				Why South Africans Should Learn French			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th		Personal Enjoyment	Cult/Lit	Career	Other	Travel	Exchange	Trade	Other
23			1		36				1		1		
24	1				6	1	1	1		1	1		
19		1			21	1	1	1		1	1	1	
20		1			8	1	1						1
18	1				8	1				1			
20		1			240	1					1		
21		1			228				1	1	1	1	
		1			72	1	1			1			
19	1				12	1	1	1			1	1	
21		1			18	1	1	1		1	1	1	
21	1				78	1	1	1			1	1	
19	1				8			1				1	
22			1		12				1	1			
21			1		8	1	1			1			
20		1			12	1				1	1	1	
20					8	1	1				1	1	
21	1				12	1		1					1
21		1			8	1				1	1	1	

Table 5.6: Female responses, UCT.

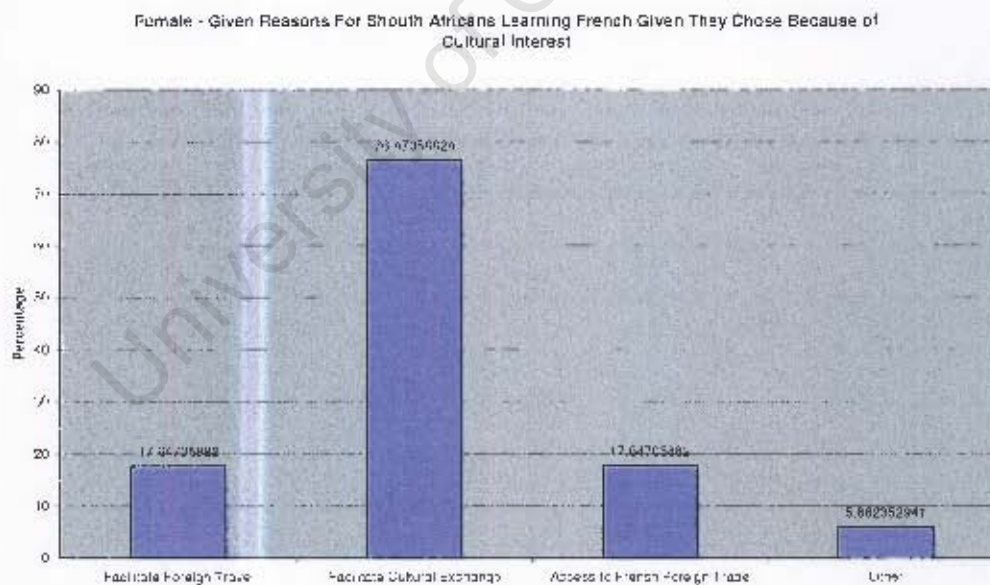
Age	Year of Study				How Long Studying French	Why French				Why South Africans Should Learn French			
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th		Personal Enjoyment	Cult/Lit	Career	Other	Travel	Exchange	Trade	Other
19	1				8		1						
18	1				5	1	1						
18	1				6	1	1	1			1		
20		1			36	1					1		
21			1		6				1		1		
22			1		72	1					1		
20	1				84	1						1	
18	1				30	1	1				1	1	
19	1				36	1		1				1	
19	1				60	1		1		1	1		
20		1			60	1					1		
20		1			18	1			1			1	
19	1				54			1				1	
18	1				66	1	1				1		
21		1			72	1				1	1		
18	1				60	1	1			1	1		
20	1				72	1		1		1			
29		1			180	1				1	1		
21	1				24	1				1			
21		1			180	1	1				1		
19		1			19			1				1	
20		1			24	1	1	1			1		
19		1			66	1					1		
19		1			72	1	1		1		1		
19		1			60	1	1	1		1		1	
20		1			84	1		1			1	1	
21			1		18				1	1	1	1	
18	1				6			1			1		
21		1			8	1	1	1			1		
19		1			7				1			1	
21			1		108	1					1		
19	1				7	1				1			
19	1				7	1					1		
20		1			6			1		1			
21		1			11	1				1			
22			1		60	1		1			1	1	
24	1				18	1				1			
23				1	276	1	1	1					1
52			1		84				1			1	
19		1			72	1	1	1			1		
19		1			84	1	1	1		1			
22		1			40	1	1					1	
22			1		120	1				1			
21			1		108		1				1		
22			1		216		1				1		
942	16	19	9	1	2710	34	17	16	6	14	27	13	1

From the above tables, graphs were formed in order to clarify certain aspects of the responses. Two examples, both based on female students' responses, are now given. In the first example, the main question was "Why did you choose to study French?" Four optional answers were given:

- (i) Personal enjoyment.
- (ii) Cultural/literature interest.
- (iii) Commercial/career reasons.
- (iv) Other.

The graph below clearly indicates that personal enjoyment was top of the list, followed by cultural/literature interest, and only then, commercial/career reasons.

Graph 5.1: Female responses, UCT

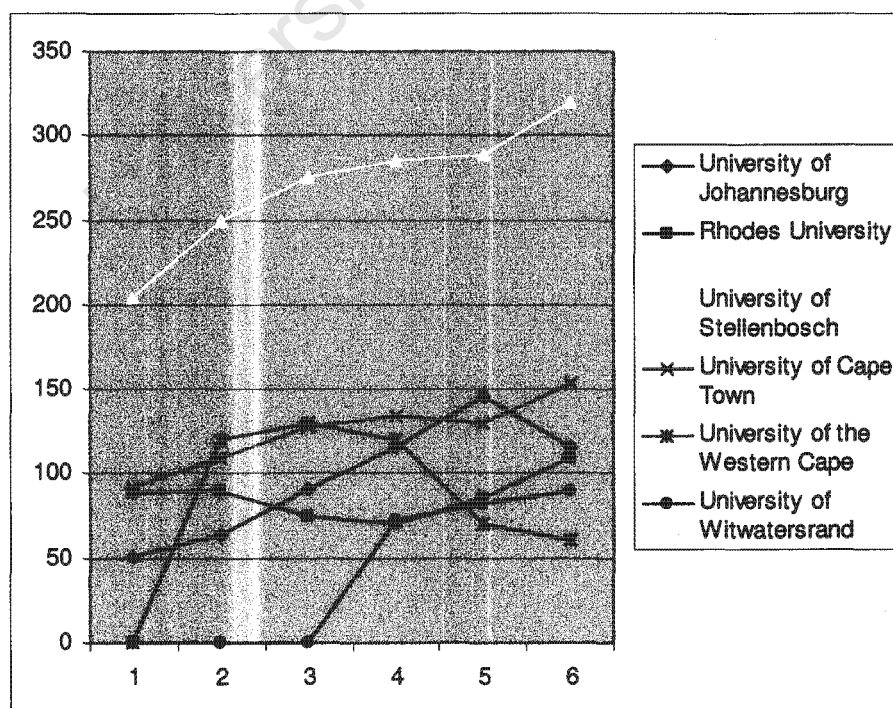


The second graph indicates the female students' responses as to why they think South Africans in general should learn French. Three of the previous four optional answers were given with one change being "to facilitate foreign travel". Yet again,

Table 5.7: French student numbers of selected South African universities

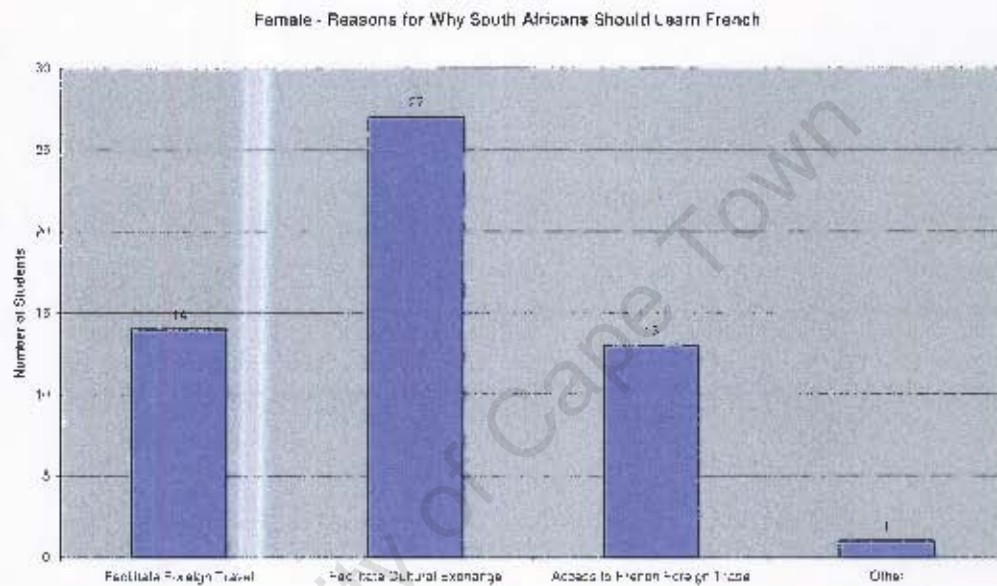
University	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Mean
University of Johannesburg	51	64	91	116	146	116	97.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.25	0.42	0.27	0.26	-0.21	
Rhodes University	89	90	75	70	85	109	86.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.01	-0.17	-0.07	0.21	0.28	
University of Stellenbosch	204	249	275	285	288	320	270.167
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.22	0.1	0.04	0.01	0.11	
University of Cape Town	92	109	128	134	130	153	124.333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.18	0.17	0.05	-0.03	0.18	
University of the Western Cape	n/a	120	130	120	70	60	100
Year on Year growth (percentage)		n/a	0.08	-0.08	-0.42	-0.14	
University of Witwatersrand	n/a	n/a	n/a	72	82	90	81.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		n/a	n/a	n/a	0.14	0.1	
University of South Africa (UNISA)	1987	2493	2228	2096	2047	2228	2179.83
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.25	-0.11	-0.06	-0.02	0.09	

Graph 5.3: French student numbers of selected South African universities



although “access to foreign trade” was not far behind “to facilitate foreign travel”, “personal enjoyment” once more topped the reasons for the existence of French in universities and other learning institutions.

Graph 5.2: Female responses, UCT

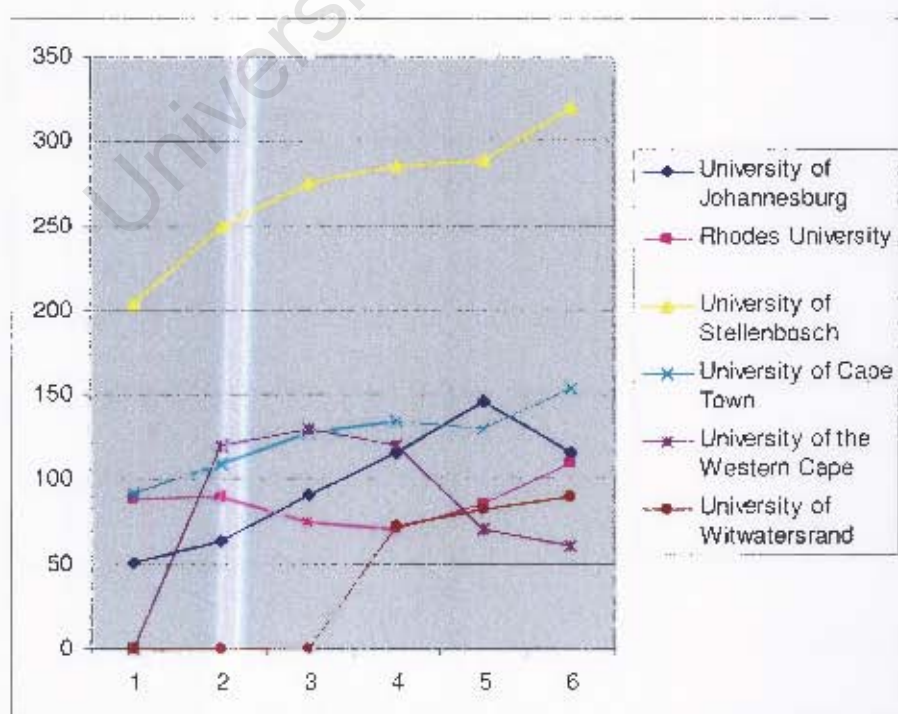


In 1990, Professor Strike was not alone in identifying a drop in the number of students studying French at South African universities. Electronic mail was sent to the Admissions Departments of several South African universities, requesting the total number of students from undergraduate to postgraduate who are learning French in the Humanities departments. The following table is formed based on responses from those Universities contacted:

Table 5.7: French student numbers of selected South African universities

University	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Mean
University of Johannesburg	51	64	91	116	146	116	97.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.25	0.42	0.27	0.26	-0.21	
Rhodes University	89	90	75	70	85	109	86.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.01	-0.17	-0.07	0.21	0.28	
University of Stellenbosch	204	249	275	285	288	320	270.167
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.22	0.1	0.04	0.01	0.11	
University of Cape Town	92	109	128	134	130	153	124.333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.18	0.17	0.05	-0.03	0.18	
University of the Western Cape	n/a	120	130	120	70	60	100
Year on Year growth (percentage)		n/a	0.08	-0.08	-0.42	-0.14	
University of Witwatersrand	n/a	n/a	n/a	72	82	90	81.3333
Year on Year growth (percentage)		n/a	n/a	n/a	0.14	0.1	
University of South Africa (UNISA)	1987	2493	2228	2096	2047	2228	2179.83
Year on Year growth (percentage)		0.25	-0.11	-0.06	-0.02	0.09	

Graph 5.3: French student numbers of selected South African universities



Of the above tables and graphs, the first observation is the general increase in student numbers over this period. The Universities of Cape Town, Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch all show a general increase each year. The University of Johannesburg follows a similar trend from 1999 to 2003 but there is a decrease in the 2004 registrations to the level achieved in 2002. Both Rhodes University and UNISA show a dip in student numbers in 2001 and 2002. Before and after this interval student numbers seem to be increase. At Rhodes, student numbers for 2004 were higher than any others over the time period under investigation.

By looking at the average student numbers at each institute over this six-year time frame further observations may be made. For those universities with consistent increase (i.e., UCT, Stellenbosch and Wits) it is interesting to note that the number of registrants is above the average for the latter two thirds of the time period. (i.e., the number of registrations in 2001 is more than the average over the whole time). This indicates a decreasing growth rate.

As UNISA contributes more than 60% of overall student numbers, it is useful in the first instance to consider the overall picture without its influence and in the second instance to examine the changes to the student numbers at UNISA in detail. It is clear that all the other universities sum up to show a general increase in numbers. The growing trend is slowing, however, and actually shows almost nil growth from 2002 to 2003.

The variation in student numbers at UNISA is very interesting. Its impact on the overall student numbers for South African universities means that this variation should be given careful consideration. There are three distinct features that need to be discussed. Firstly, the dramatic 25% increase in numbers from 1999 to 2000. This is an impressive feat compared to the average increase of a few percent or even a decrease in student numbers. Sadly, this surge is followed by a slow decline from 2001 to 2003. The rate of decline during this period is decreasing and the decline becomes an incline in 2004. What is interesting to note is that during this time of decrease, the total student numbers never drop below the 1999 level; at their lowest,

they are still 3% higher. Perhaps if the effects of the spike of 2000 could be ignored the overall pattern would be a gentle year on year increase of between 2 and 4 percent.

Unfortunately, the low granularity of the registration figures available limit detailed analysis. Further investigation could be performed into the number of students progressing through the entire French curriculum and the number of students who do not continue their studies past their first year at university. This may shed more light on the sudden spikes of increase (as observed at UNISA) and decrease (as seen at UWC).

Table 5.8: German student numbers of selected South African universities

	2001	2002	2003	2004	Mean
University of Cape Town	113	105	107	94	104.75
Year on year growth (percentage)		-7.08	1.90	-12.15	
University of Witwatersrand	N/A	31	31	28	30
Year on year growth (percentage)			0	-9.68	
Rhodes University	41	47	58	56	50.5
Year on year growth (percentage)		14.63	23.40	-3.45	

Table 5.8 above shows the number of German students at three South African Universities between 2001 and 2004. Comparing these figures with those in Table 5.7 it can be seen that the relative popularity of French and German at university level is somewhat different from that at high school level (as discussed above in Section 5.4.3.1). While the available data are admittedly not extensive,⁵⁵ we might conclude that French is still a more popular language choice at university but the relative difference to that of French and German at schools, is less.

Considering the data from 2002 to 2004, there is a general increase in French student numbers and a general decrease in German student numbers at the three universities included in Table 5.8. For these three universities, in 2002 there were

⁵⁵ University enrolment data are not available to members of the public and therefore all data received have been provided at the discretion of Language Departmental Staff.

183 German students and 276 French students. In 2004, this discrepancy had improved to 178 German students compared to 352 French students. The small decrease in the number of German students is met by an almost 30% increase in French students.

Whether French is taught in schools or universities, an important consideration is that of teaching French for specific reasons. Gultig (in Coleman et al., 2003: 174)⁵⁶ notes three important progressions in South African education:

- i) Desired learning outcomes are generic to all education programmes.
- ii) School programmes are designed down from critical cross-field and specific outcomes rather than being prescribed as lists of content.
- iii) Moving from subjects to learning areas.

The above points are related to the fact that in language teaching methodologies such as those used in preparing students for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in the United Kingdom, focus is placed on communicative outcomes. Functional French or French for specific purposes would highlight the need for learners to have particular objectives in mind. In terms of trade and tourism communication requirements, Business and Tourism French courses focus on specific language skills and vocabulary relevant to the area of learning. The same concept of communicative syllabi should be generated to make all aspects of French learning more attractive and relevant to school and university students, focusing on outcomes based education.

⁵⁶ Gultig, J. *Outcomes-Based Education and its Implications for Teachers* (in Coleman et al., 2003: 171-184) *Managing the Curriculum in South African Schools*. Commonwealth Secretariat.

5.4.3.3 *Educational cooperation between France and South Africa*

As with the Arts and Culture, there are many ways in which France assists South Africa in the development of education. Possibly the most well known education and cultural establishment is the Alliance Française. With centres all over South Africa, the Alliance Française assists many South Africans in expanding their knowledge and cultural spheres. As with all other French-driven Institutions in South Africa, of particular importance is France's determination to reach out to previously disadvantaged communities. The Alliances Françaises of both Mitchell's Plain (Western Cape) and of Soweto (Gauteng) are prime examples of this fact. In addition to the Alliance Française, the French government has realised the need for an Educational Office whose main objectives are to develop the "institutional and relational" bonds between France and South Africa in the following terms:

- Linguistic cooperation.
- Educational cooperation.
- Cooperation in sport.

In terms of linguistic cooperation, many bursaries are offered on an annual basis to deserving pupils, students and teachers. Teachers might apply for a bursary that will enable them to study for one month in France, or to receive specialist tuition in South Africa from French lecturers. Approximately forty South African high school pupils receive bursaries to study French in France on a two-week intensive course. In addition, approximately fifteen university students are able to travel to La Reunion for a two-month linguistic training course. Finally, long-term scholarships are offered to ten university students in their 3rd or 4th year. These scholarships are not restricted to students of the French language as this programme was offered to technikon students in 1999. Apart from bursaries to study in France, the Educational Office also makes bursaries available to previously disadvantaged communities to study French by correspondence through the University of South Africa (UNISA).

In terms of Educational cooperation, the main aim was to assist South Africa in

meeting her training needs. The programme evolved in three stages between 1995 and 1999:

- Identification of partners on national and provincial level
- Organization of visits of French experts to South Africa, and of South Africans to France, to identify elements of the French education system which could be adapted for South Africa
- Creation of partnerships with the national Department of Education (inviting officials to France; organising seminars involving education officials from all the provinces...), as well as with the departments of education of Gauteng, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal since 1996.⁵⁷

In 1998, 17 million francs was granted by France towards the development of educational structures in South Africa. According to the Embassy's official website (dated 17/2/02), 14 million francs went towards the Educational System for Teachers of Mathematics, Services and Technology programme. 800 000 francs went towards bursaries for students from disadvantaged communities. 600 000 francs went to an NGO called *Isibani Solunti* for French-language teaching and 900 000 francs were used for training officials within the Department of Education.

In terms of cooperation in sports, the French embassy continues to work closely with the Department of Sport and Recreation. Assistance has been given in structuring and establishing sporting institutions in South Africa, with particular reference to disadvantaged urban areas.

Based on the above presentation, it is abundantly clear that through its carefully chosen agencies, the French government has contributed and continues to contribute extensively towards the development of South Africa's field of education. Two essential objectives arise from this discussion:

⁵⁷ French Embassy official website: www.ambafrance-za.org (available 03/08/2005)

- (i) To improve the future prospects of previously disadvantaged South Africans, while respecting their African cultural identity through the equal assistance within the Department of Arts and Culture.
- (ii) To motivate and to improve the French language skills of South African school pupils, university and technikon students, and French Teachers.

5.4.4 Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Surprisingly, within this department's website⁵⁸, little information is available about the role of foreign languages in the tourism industry. According to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism's Welcome campaign, the department's aim is:

*"...to raise awareness amongst our people of the role that tourism plays in the economy and for us to become more attuned with the needs of this harshly competitive global industry that runs on service. For us to become global players, we must deliver the service and the experience that a tourist nation demands."*⁵⁹

One might assume that the concept of "service" would include meeting the language needs of our foreign visitors. The following tables give a clear indication of the number of tourists who visited South Africa from French-speaking countries in the periods June 1999 to February 2004. However, it should be borne in mind that firstly, Switzerland, Canada and Belgium are mostly bilingual countries in which the French language features prominently, and secondly, that as tourism to South Africa is not a priority among the inhabitants of Francophone Africa, only Mauritius (Indian Ocean) was included in these statistics.

⁵⁸ South African Environmental Affairs and Tourism website: www.environment.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

⁵⁹ Vali Moosa, Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 27th January 2000.

Table 5.9: Tourism Statistics: total visitors from certain Francophone countries

Country	Jun-99	Jun-00	Jun-01	Jun-02	Feb-03	Feb-04
Belgium	1118	1469	1650	1662	3407	3424
France	3486	4026	4771	4997	11057	10532
Switzerland	1090	1138	1300	1298	3539	3922
Canada	1645	1755	1716	2211	3211	3387
Mauritius	818	842	917	1083	1276	1291

Apart from a minor decline in visitors from France between 2003 and 2004, the above statistics indicate a significant increase in the number of French-speakers visiting South Africa. This indicates the clear potential for the further development of language industries with particular reference to the French language. In Cape Town, at least two tour operators who specialise in French-speaker tours would benefit from fluent French-speakers to accompany Francophone tourists.⁶⁰ If these French-speakers were able to train as tour guides, this would benefit both the tour operators and the individuals immensely. Furthermore, if a substantial proportion of South African tour operators were to develop a global reputation of being able to communicate with and therefore cater for French-speaking tourists, the impact upon South Africa as a tourist destination could only be extremely positive. On the 25th of February 2002 the South African Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister, Mr. Mohammed Valli Moosa, and the Minister of Equipment, Transport and Housing of the French Republic, Mr. Jean-Claude Gayssot, signed an administrative agreement to encourage investment and to develop cooperation in tourism between South Africa and France. Special attention was to be given to “the development and expansion of tourism relations” between the two countries. As part of the agreement, “the training of South African tour guides in the French language” was envisaged. The two representatives stated that “the two governments will actively encourage the establishment of relations between their tourism

⁶⁰ ZA French Travel Company and Go Tourism Promotions.

industries in order to contribute to the increase of the tourism traffic between the two countries.”⁶¹

A telephone survey was conducted through a selection of Tour Operators and Hotel Managers in the Western Cape. The businesses surveyed were chosen simply by availability of contact details as found in the Western Cape Yellow Pages. The purpose of the questionnaire was to ascertain the use and impact of the French language in the tourism industry, as well as to obtain some idea of the attitude of hospitality workers towards the French language. The following two tables demonstrate the responses to this questionnaire. The former is a detailed description of the questions and responses and the latter is a summary of the survey.

⁶¹ South African Environmental Affairs and Tourism website:
<http://www.environment.gov.za> (available 03/08/2005)

Table 5.10: Tourism industry questionnaire responses

Business Type	No. of employees	Language skills part of recruitment	Employees with Knowledge of French and level	Main language used in business	How Many French tourists?	How are French tourists catered for?	Would your business be positively affected by increase in French language skills
Tour Operator	9	No	none	English & German	hardly any	use freelance guide	would prefer German, not French
Tour Operator	5	No	none	English	hardly any	use someone from company downstairs	would prefer German, not French
Tour Operator	7	No	none	German	hardly any	n/a	would prefer German, not French
Tour Operator	24	English & French	90%	French	100 per month	n/a	definitely. Need more French speakers
Tour Operator	80	No	2 Directors are fluent	non-specific	some	freelance Congolese and Directors	not really: there are many Congolese available
Hotel	78	No	1: concierge: passable	English	some, not many	freelance Congolese	definitely
Apartments	10	No	Director: fluent	English	many	agencies if Director is not available	yes. French or any other 3rd language
Hotel	140	for Concierge position	Concierge and owners: fluent	English	many: hotel is French owned	n/a	Definitely
Hotel	100	for Guest Liaison personnel	All Guest Liaisons	English	some: N. Africa and Europe	n/a	Definitely
Hotel	18	No	none	English	hardly any	communicate in English only	would prefer German, not French
Hotel	140	No	none	English, Afrikaans & German	many	tour guides	not really: there are many Congolese available
Hotel	155 (seasonal)	not really	9: average	English	many, varies	Congolese porters	not really: there are many Congolese available
Hotel	20	No	a few: very basic	English	some	tour guides	would prefer German, not French
Hotel	50	for Concierge position	1: concierge: passable	English	many	n/a	definitely

Table 5.11 : Summary of tourism questionnaire responses

Nature of question and response	Total out of 14
French is part of recruitment requirements	4
Employees with some or fluent knowledge of French	9
French is main language of business	1
Encounters with French tourists	14
Businesses that use French-language guides/interpreters	9
Businesses motivating need for more French students	6
Businesses who believe that Congolese refugees fulfil French language needs in South Africa	3
Businesses who would prefer the promotion of German instead of French	4

Based on the above tables, it is evident that while all of the businesses surveyed have some dealings with French tourists, at least 57 % of the employers/employees believe that there is no urgent need for students to learn French. This is because of firstly the presence of French-speaking Congolese who could easily act as tourist assistants and secondly because they feel that German is a more important language based on the number of German-speaking tourists visiting South Africa. While the use of immigrant Rwandan and Congolese French-speakers is possibly an excellent solution to South Africa's French-language needs, it should be noted that this solution can only be temporary and that if these linguists are refugees/asylum seekers, it is often illegal for them to be employed, depending on their immigrant status. Job-creation is another aspect to be considered in the tourism industry. Should students be encouraged to develop their language skills as part of training for employment in the tourism industry? As South Africa's tourism industry continues to grow, there is little doubt that being able to communicate in any foreign language should be considered an asset to any prospective employer.

An investigation undertaken by the Department of Education and Culture in 1992⁶² found respondents to have a significantly different perception of the need for French and German language skills. Of a sample of 518 companies, 33.6% used translation services in their business dealings. 16% of the sample used translation services for French and 15% for German. In addition, 5% of the sample provided in-house language training for French and 6% for German. Noticeably, 60% of the sample considered it ideal to have employees with a practical knowledge of French and/or German. Considering that this broad sample included a wide range of businesses it is likely that their results are more indicative of the real demand for language skills in the broader South African economy. The conclusion of their investigation is that there is no doubt that the development of the South African economy will be hampered if there are insufficient people able to communicate in French and/or German.

5.4.5 Home Affairs

The South African Immigration Act of 2002 did not receive much support from labour, business, NGOs and many other departments. In reviewing the act, one of the key changes was to include the introduction of a new set of procedures that would facilitate the import of skilled foreign labour. On the 19th of August 2004, an important announcement was made regarding South Africa's new immigration law:

"The South African parliament on Thursday unanimously approved an immigration bill giving greater protection to foreign workers as part of government efforts to attract investment. One amendment states that foreign employees may not be paid lower wages and benefits compared to locals. (...) Tourism and academic exchanges within the Southern African Development Community were among the proposals adopted by Parliament...(...) we are part of the global business village (...) With South Africa losing large numbers of highly skilled personnel (...) the

⁶² Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly, (1992: 11,12,13,19) *An Investigation into the Position of French and German in the Republic of South Africa*. Communications Service, NED.

country could not afford to make it difficult for conglomerates to bring in skilled professionals.”⁶³

One of the implications of this new law is the possibility that many of the Congolese and Rwandan skilled and educated people who left their countries in order to escape the effects of war, will be able to seek proper employment in fields such as Tourism, and therefore be able to use their linguistic skills officially rather than clandestinely. However, a bigger obstacle faces Africans who cannot speak a South African language. According to a report by Focus Group with foreign students (1999), a man from Congo was attacked and although he cried out for help, no-one came to his assistance. It was later suggested by onlookers that had he cried out in Zulu, they would have helped. According to Bouillon, “for French-speaking Africans language is a ‘handicap’, as they feel hostility in the way people react when they realise their inability to speak any African South African languages...Southern Africa too.”⁶⁴ Morris (1988: 1117) suggests that “foreign black Africans, especially those originating from countries north of South Africa’s neighbours, are being portrayed as a major threat to the success of the post-apartheid project.” What is not taken into consideration is the fact that French-speaking Africans can, and in some instances already fulfil an important role in South Africa’s export and tourism industry when dealing with Francophone countries. The new immigration laws should allow businesses to employ and to train black French-speaking Africans – thereby fulfilling requirements of Black Empowerment – in expanding their trade with French-speaking countries. Whether or not this possible source of linguistic skill will be developed and utilised remains to be seen.

⁶³ South African government communications: www.inca.co.za (available 03/08/2005)

⁶⁴ Bouillon, A. (1996) *‘New’ African immigration to South Africa*. Unpublished paper presented at the Conference of the South African Sociological Association, Durban, 7--11 July (in Harris, B. 2002) *Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa?* UCT. <http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paphar1.htm> (available 16/11/2005)

5.4.6 Trade and Industry

As in most of the government departments, there is little mention of the role of language in any form of exchange with foreign countries. From the Department of Trade and Industry website⁶⁵, the following statistics referring to South Africa's exports to certain French-speaking countries were extracted. It should be assumed that any goods exported to French countries would need to be packaged and explained in French for the use of the target market. However, it is possible that those larger countries such as France for example, undertake this task themselves. The table below shows the export figures from South Africa to Francophone Africa:

Table 5.12: Exports from South Africa to Francophone Africa

Country	Export				Proportion 2004	Annual Growth
	Expected 2004	2003	2002	2001	% Total	2004-2003
Morocco	494,068	461,361	1,057,312	812,340	0.17%	7.09%
Algeria	191,269	389,660	560,419	537,693	0.07%	-50.91%
Tunisia	15,299	34,524	34,039	37,668	0.01%	-55.69%
Central African Republic	2,006	2,369	5,466	4,567	0.00%	-15.31%
Chad	21,061	25,900	7,951	18,229	0.01%	-18.68%
Djibouti	38,675	30,048	62,597	59,183	0.01%	28.71%
Congo	279,906	281,139	346,727	256,300	0.10%	-0.44%
DRC	1,334,144	1,257,431	1,631,139	940,274	0.46%	6.10%
Burundi	36,342	31,317	40,243	22,949	0.01%	16.05%
Rwanda	79,548	87,164	82,328	82,002	0.03%	-8.74%
Gabon	139,324	119,925	212,672	127,796	0.05%	16.18%
Guinea	280,044	333,686	116,925	43,405	0.10%	-16.08%
Madagascar	551,021	751,236	434,533	443,763	0.19%	-26.65%
Reunion	192,898	273,676	416,537	257,894	0.07%	-29.52%
Comoro Island	78,592	123,005	133,680	76,069	0.03%	-36.11%
Mauritius	1,753,650	2,068,591	2,685,141	2,064,247	0.61%	-15.22%
Seychelles	230,266	285,851	377,184	220,379	0.08%	-19.45%
Côte d'Ivoire	327,235	358,705	467,538	299,896	0.11%	-8.77%
Cameroon	192,832	504,493	369,470	232,892	0.07%	-61.78%
Senegal	202,075	223,979	230,311	162,853	0.07%	-9.78%
Mali	174,932	177,620	199,378	164,961	0.06%	-1.51%
Benin	76,802	94,620	131,162	74,030	0.03%	-18.83%
Togo	63,091	153,582	48,500	75,092	0.02%	-58.92%

⁶⁵ Department of Trade and Industry (2004) www.dti.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

Country	Export	Proportion 2004	Annual Growth	2001	% Total	2004-2003
	Expected 2004	2003	2002			
Burkina Faso	50,598	34,891	21,851	26,665	0.02%	45.02%
Niger	36,713	64,998	56,273	23,821	0.01%	-43.52%
Guinea-Bissau	3,209	1,337	2,047	1,455	0.00%	140.00%

In 2004, South African exports to French speaking African countries totalled approximately R6.9 billion. This is less than 2% of South Africa's total exports.

Let us now compare those figures with other countries. The reasons for this comparison are:

- To see if South Africa's exports to English-speaking countries are larger because we find it easier to communicate in that language.
- To see if South Africa's exports to the Netherlands and Germany are higher than to their French-speaking European counterparts due to the fact that Afrikaans is of Germanic/Dutch origin and this might therefore mean that German and Dutch are easier languages in which to conduct trade.
- To see if South Africa's export to countries with non-globally-spoken languages is on a par. This might indicate if language plays any role at all in our export figures.

Table 5.13: Exports from South Africa to non-Francophone countries

Country	Exports				Proportion 2004	Annual Growth
	Expected 2004	2003	2002	2001	% Total	2004-2003
Australia	6,956,669	5,723,886	5,150,115	3,792,474	2.42%	21.54%
Germany	19,902,491	18,071,769	22,172,003	19,431,086	6.92%	10.13%
Hong Kong	3,377,818	3,241,751	3,467,563	2,721,972	1.17%	4.20%
Kenya	2,873,160	2,214,106	2,318,347	1,806,923	1.00%	29.77%
Netherlands	11,836,444	11,405,869	12,620,911	9,661,411	4.12%	3.78%
Nigeria	3,017,954	2,548,612	2,727,822	1,648,290	1.05%	18.42%
Spain	6,979,720	6,156,553	6,424,855	4,646,763	2.43%	13.37%
UK	27,886,087	24,170,332	27,568,126	24,016,788	9.70%	15.37%
USA	28,998,371	28,841,353	35,940,276	30,595,217	10.08%	0.54%
Zambia	4,569,840	4,048,960	5,541,140	4,922,301	1.59%	12.86%
Zimbabwe	5,945,617	6,551,409	7,309,455	5,411,762	2.07%	-9.25%

The above statistics indicate that those countries that use English, Dutch, Flemish and German as their national languages engage in a higher level of importation from SA than those countries that use French or other foreign languages. Bearing in mind the fact that the size of a country's population or GDP - and therefore its buying power - might affect the amount it imports, let us revise our table to include population and GDP figures according to statistics provided by the World Bank.⁶⁶

Table 5.14: Share of South Africa turnover according to GDP and population

Country	Population (millions)	GDP	Share of SA turnover
USA	281,600,000	9,900,000,000,000	12.08
Germany	82,200,000	1,900,000,000,000	11.08
UK	59,700,000	1,400,000,000,000	9.09
Netherlands	15,900,000	364,900,000,000	2.93
Belgium	10,300,000	231,000,000,000	2.67
Australia	19,200,000	394,000,000,000	2.1
France	58,900,000	1,300,000,000,000	1.93
Switzerland	7,200,000	240,300,000,000	1.64

At first glance, it appears that the size of each country's population has no bearing on South Africa's level of export to that country. One need only compare the population of the Netherlands to that of France and then compare their respective share of South Africa's total turnover, to see that the Netherlands is ahead of France despite having the smaller population by 57 310 000. A preliminary conclusion might be that the export figures indicate that a country's GDP alone does not determine how much a country imports from South Africa, but rather it is the

⁶⁶ Department of Trade and Industry. (2004) *World Economic Indicators* www.dti.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

language that determines this factor. In view of the fact that Germany and the USA are of completely different cultures, the obvious conclusion is that culture has little to do with these results. Are South Africans speaking a lot more German in trade than they are French? Or is it simply because of the presence of large car manufacturing plants for the German BMW and Mercedes Benz in South Africa that trade with Germany continues to expand?

The following tables indicate South Africa's major Francophone and non-Francophone import partners:

Table 5.15: Major import partners of selected non-Francophone countries

Country	Imports (2003)	Major import partners
Australia	\$82.91 billion	US 16%, Japan 12.5%, China 11%, Germany 6.1%, UK 4.2%
Germany	\$585 billion	France 9.2%, Netherlands 8.4%, US 7.3%, Italy 6.3%, UK 6%, Belgium 4.9%, China 4.7%
Hong Kong	\$230.3 billion	China 43.5%, Japan 11.9%, Taiwan 6.9%, US 5.5%, Singapore 5%, South Korea 4.8%
Kenya	\$3.705 billion	UAE 13.2%, Saudi Arabia 9.6%, South Africa 8.6%, UK 7.4%, China 6.3%, US 5.1%,
Netherlands	\$217.7 billion	Germany 18.2%, Belgium 10%, US 8%, UK 7.3%, China 6.2%, France 5%
Nigeria	\$14.54 billion	US 15.6%, UK 9.6%, Germany 7.3%, China 7.2%, Italy 4.3%
Russia	\$74.8 billion	Germany 14%, Belarus 8.6%, Ukraine 7.7%, China 5.8%, US 5.2%, Kazakhstan 4.7%,
Spain	\$197.1 billion	France 16.8%, Germany 16.6%, Italy 8.8%, UK 6.5%, Netherlands 4.9%
UK	\$363.6 billion	Germany 13.5%, US 10.2%, France 8.1%, Netherlands 6.3%, Belgium 4.9%, Italy 4.7%
USA	\$1.26 trillion	Canada 17.4%, China 12.5%, Mexico 10.7%, Japan 9.3%, Germany 5.3%
Zambia	\$1.128 billion	South Africa 48.3%, Zimbabwe 12.8%, UK 5.9%, UAE 4.3%

Table 5.16: Major import partners of selected Francophone countries⁶⁷

Country	Imports (2003)	Major import partners
Morocco	\$12.75 billion	France 20.6%, Spain 12.4%, Italy 7.1%, Germany 5.2%, Saudi Arabia 5%, Russia 4.9%,
Algeria	\$12.42 billion	France 30.9%, Italy 9.6%, Spain 6.1%, Germany 5.5%, China 4.6%, Turkey 4.1%
Tunisia	\$10.3 billion	France 26.1%, Italy 19.8%, Germany 8.9%, Spain 5.2%
Madagascar	\$920 million	China 14.2%, France 13.2%, South Africa 6.4%, Iran 6.2%
Reunion	\$2.5 billion	France 64%, Bahrain 3%, Germany 3%, Italy 3%
Comoro Island	\$88 million	France 31.6%, Japan 13.7%, South Africa 10.3%, Kenya 5.1%, UAE 5.1%, Thailand 4.3%
Mauritius	\$2.136 billion	UK 31%, France 21.3%, US 17.6%, Madagascar 6.3%
Seychelles	\$383.7 million	Saudi Arabia 15.7%, South Africa 10.9%, Spain 10.4%, France 9.7%, Italy 9.2%,
Central African Republic	\$136 million	France 27%, Cameroon 9.2%, US 5.3%
Chad	\$760 million	France 28.6%, US 20.7%, Cameroon 14.6%, Netherlands 4.7%
Djibouti	\$665 million	Saudi Arabia 19.7%, Ethiopia 10.9%, China 9.2%, France 6.5%, UK 5.1%, US 4.9%
Congo	\$666.9 million	France 22.2%, US 6.8%, Italy 6.2%, China 5.1%, Belgium 4.6%, India 4.4%
DRC	\$933 million	South Africa 17%, Belgium 14.9%, France 12.6%, Germany 6.8%, Kenya 5.4%
Burundi	\$128 million	Kenya 14.6%, Tanzania 11.5%, Uganda 5.7%, France 5.1%, Zambia 5.1%, China 4.5%
Rwanda	\$245.8 million	Kenya 23.3%, Germany 7.5%, Belgium 6.4%, Uganda 6.4%, France 5%
Gabon	\$1.079 billion	France 49.9%, US 5.3%, UK 4.6%
Guinea	\$646 million	France 16.8%, China 9.3%, Belgium 7.1%, Italy 6.6%, Netherlands 5.4%, UK 5.4%
Côte d'Ivoire	\$2.781 billion	France 32.7%, Nigeria 14.4%, UK 7%
Cameroon	\$1.959 billion	France 21.9%, Nigeria 9.5%, Japan 6.8%, US 5.7%, China 4.9%, Germany 4.3%
Senegal	\$1.753 billion	France 24.9%, Nigeria 12.2%, Thailand 6.7%, Spain 4.3%
Mali	\$927 million	France 15.4%, Senegal 7.7%, Côte d'Ivoire 7.1%
Benin	\$726 million	China 29.5%, France 14.9%, UK 4.7%, Côte d'Ivoire 4.7%, Thailand 4.6%
Togo	\$501.3 million	France 21.1%, Netherlands 12.1%, Côte d'Ivoire 5.9%, Germany 4.6%, Italy 4.4%
Burkina Faso	\$633.6 million	France 31.2%, Côte d'Ivoire 14.6%, Togo 9%, Belgium 5%
Niger	\$400 million	France 16.4%, Côte d'Ivoire 13.8%, China 10.5%, Nigeria 7.7%, US 5.5%, Japan 4.9%
Guinea-Bissau	\$104 million	Senegal 18.1%, India 14.6%, Portugal 14.6%, China 9.7%, Italy 9%, Spain 4.9%
Switzerland	\$102.2 billion	Germany 32.3%, France 10.8%, Italy 10.7%, US 5.5%, Netherlands 5%, Austria 4.2%
Belgium	\$173 billion	Germany 17.7%, Netherlands 16.5%, France 13.2%, UK 7.5%, US 5.9%, Ireland 5.7%
France	\$339.9 billion	Germany 19.1%, Belgium 9.4%, Italy 9%, Spain 7.4%, Netherlands 7%, UK 7%, US 5.4%
Luxembourg	\$11.61 billion	Belgium 29%, Germany 22.9%, France 11.4%, China 10.9%, Netherlands 4.8%
Canada	\$240.4 billion	US 60.6%, China 5.6%, Japan 4.1%

⁶⁷ CIA World Fact Book. <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/>, accessed 22nd January 2005

Germany, Netherlands, Spain and the UK import goods predominantly from other European countries. Language barriers are overcome in this instance because many Europeans learn the languages of their neighbouring countries while still at school.

China's massive influence on the global economy has been largely a result of Chinese people learning to speak English. This has opened up many lucrative opportunities for their economy and increased the employability of people with foreign language skills.

South Africa's top 10 export partners are: United States, United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, Spain and Australia. From this list, it is clear that the bulk of South Africa's exports go to developed, first world nations. These 10 countries accounted for 53% of South Africa's exports in 2004. If one were to consider that South Africa's exports primarily comprise gold, diamonds, platinum, other metals and minerals, machinery and equipment, then this listing might be further explained as follows. In the Third World there is not a very high demand for luxury items like gold and diamonds. However, South Africa's construction and engineering skills are some of the best on the continent. By increasing communications with the mining, farming and military industries in the rest of Africa, South Africa would be able to increase its sales of these products to countries that have large mining and agricultural sectors and which demonstrate concerns about state security. The imports needed by these countries are predominantly technological, while their exports are predominantly raw materials.

The fact that African countries are unable to negotiate equal trading rights with their European counterparts means that intra-African trade appears to be the most viable route for African countries to take once they are free from restrictive trade agreements with the West. However, how much do preferential trade agreements with the European Economic Community (EEC), such as decided in the Lomé Agreement, actually undermine Africa's intra-trading future? What is the principle

reason preventing South Africa from expanding its trade with Francophone Africa? Could the reasons lie in geographical proximity, preferential trade agreements, actual goods, time or language? These challenges are either frictional or historical but the two reasons for the low level of trade between South Africa and Francophone Africa that seem to stand out most prominently are preferential trade agreements with former colonial powers, and of course, language.

Sanou Mbaye (2004), formerly Economist with The African Development Bank states that:

"France's unchallenged political, economic, and military domination of its former sub-Saharan African colonies is tooted in a currency, the CFA franc. Created in 1948 to help France control the destiny of its colonies, fourteen countries - Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Bissau Guinea, and Chad - maintained the franc zone even after they gained independence decades ago. (...) In exchange for France guaranteeing the CFA franc's convertibility (valued at 50c to the French franc)⁶⁸, these countries agreed to deposit 65% of their foreign exchange reserves in a special account within the French Treasury and granted to France a veto over the franc zone's monetary policy whenever this special account was overdrawn."⁶⁹

However, Marc Adlam, of The Centre of International Private Enterprise (CIPE) states:

"At first glance, the franc zone may appear to be a vestige of French colonialism, a long-outdated means by which France still exerts a degree of economic control over its former subjects. This, however, is not the case. In fact, the volume of the zone's international trade with France has actually decreased over the last 20 years, from almost 50 percent to about 20 percent of the Zone's total trade. In addition, membership in the zone is completely voluntary on the part of member countries."⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Own addition

⁶⁹ France Watcher website: www.francewatcher.org (accessed 06/02/05)

⁷⁰ Adlam, M. <http://www.cipe.org/index.htm> (accessed 06/02/05)

The CFA zone monetary agreement must have implications in terms of preferential trade agreements, over and above those already enshrined in the Lomé Agreements which link trade between the EU and ACP with economic aid and debt relief. Furthermore, Francophone Africa's ties to France in terms of the French language will have obvious implications regarding the ease with which trade might be facilitated. How long will it take before Francophone Africa, or for that matter Africa in general, is able to break free from this irredentist relationship? Currently under development is a revised model of a trade agreement called the "new enhanced regional agreement" (NEW ERA) which includes the following concepts:

*"First, introduction of reciprocity should be tied to assistance for the ACP to achieve development thresholds that will enable them eventually to compete with EU firms under conditions of free trade. ACP countries are facing various capacity constraints; human development, debt burden, deficiency in economic infrastructure, weak private sector, commodity dependence, etc that reduce their ability to compete with the EU. To address some of these constraints the EU should commit itself to providing support and this can be done by tying the opening of ACP markets for EU products to provision of support towards resolving these constraints. With such an approach, phasing in of reciprocity would be related to achievement of development thresholds in ACP countries and the aid from the EU towards achieving those thresholds is the price payable by EU for accessing ACP markets."*⁷¹

As a member of the ACP-EU joint parliament, it is hoped that South Africa will benefit from the NEW ERA agreements in order to participate more strongly in intra-African trade, with Francophone Africa in particular. Two examples of South Africa's expansion of trade with Francophone African countries include the DRC and the Rwanda. South Africa has signed recent trade agreements with the DRC

⁷¹ Tekere, M. (2003) *New Enhanced Regional Agreements: A Strategic Response to Post-Lomé IV. Trade ACP-EU Arrangements*.
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/globaliz/econ/2003/04newera.htm> (accessed 07/02/05)

with the aim of boosting “mutual trade” and attracting “foreign investment”:

“It is hoped that bilateral trade will increase in a way that enhances intra-regional trade that in turn promotes the idea of an “African Renaissance”...We have agreed to direct our combined energy towards the goal of advancing the African agenda.”⁷²

Regarding Rwanda, South Africa is currently negotiating trade agreements related to the Joint Commission of Cooperation. Included in these agreements is a Memorandum of Understanding “which will deal with training in network security and programming languages”, “training, capacity building and transformation” of the Rwandan Defence Force, and cooperation on “immigration, refugees and nationality concerns.”⁷³

Of particular interest is the fact that neither the DRC nor Rwanda (former colonies of Belgium) is a member of the CFA zone. This might easily have had some bearing on the fact that South African companies such as Eskom, Spoornet, Transnet, SAA, MTN, Vodacom and Shoprite Holdings have been able to penetrate these markets. Two other important factors regarding the DRC and Rwanda must be cited: Firstly, as far back as the Hanoi Francophone summit, the now-deceased President of the DRC Laurent Kabila expressed his dissatisfaction with the Francophone organisation and by November 1998, the DRC Constitution declared that English and French had become official languages. In 1996, Rwanda granted the same official status to English in conjunction with French and Kinyarwanda.⁷⁴

Emmanuel Wongibe, editor of the English Service of *Radio Deutsche Welle International* writes that South Africa’s position in Africa is very strong. South African products are replacing many of those traditionally from France. In addition,

⁷² Mufamadi, S. (2004) Sapa: DRC and South Africa sign trade deal.
<http://www.tralac.org/scripts/content.php?id=2501> (accessed 15/01/05)

⁷³ BuaNews, Pretoria (2004) South Africa to sign agreements with Rwanda.
<http://www.tralac.org/scripts/content.php?id=2785> (accessed 15/01/05)

⁷⁴ Maurais, J. & Morris, M.A. (2003: 14-15) *Languages in a Globalising World*. Cambridge.

South Africa's presence in Cameroon in terms of travel, electricity and communications is prominent.⁷⁵

South Africa is clearly making inroads into Francophone Africa. However, the language challenge continues to exist. Although South African exports to Morocco rose to more than 43% in 2002 and that Algeria is increasingly proving to be an attractive option for trade, South Africans find the language and culture barriers challenging when conducting trade with Francophone Africa.⁷⁶

5.5 FRENCH ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA

France is extensively involved in the economic development of South Africa. Of particular note is France's determination to improve the quality of life of previously disadvantaged communities. Several French agencies and numerous French companies are either based in South Africa or engage in trade with South Africa. An important French agency in South Africa is the French Development Agency (*Agence Française de Développement: AFD*). The AFD has been in South Africa since 1994 and recognises the huge potential that exists in South Africa. The AFD has two main targets:

- (i) To work closely with the South African government in responding to the actual needs of the country.
- (ii) To reach out to the significant number of people who were previously disadvantaged.

The AFD's two complimentary operational targets are:

- (i) Service delivery.
- (ii) Job creation and enterprise.

⁷⁵ Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung (DSE) *Development and Cooperation* <http://www.inwnet.org/E+Z/1997-2002/de301-8.htm> (accessed 15/01/05)

⁷⁶ http://www.southafrica.info/doing_business/investment/africainvest.htm (accessed 15/01/05)

Between 1994 and 2003, the AFD committed 257 million euros to South African development. AFD's 2004 to 2006 vision and strategy include:

- Removing those barriers contributing to poverty and make it possible for all South Africans to have access to economic development.
- Assisting in the delivery of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) working closely within the framework of NEPAD.

The AFD works according to five strategies, three vertical and two horizontal. The horizontal strategies appear first:

- Urban development and social infrastructures.
- Job creation and enterprise development.
- Strengthen regional and continental integration.
- Human development.
- Projects strengthening quality of environment.

One of the AFD's subsidiary companies is PROPARCO (*Société de Promotion et de Participation pour la Coopération Economique*). PROPARCO is French government owned and is a development and investment bank. Although the AFD is the main shareholder, PROPARCO is supported by other agencies such as the Development Bank of South Africa and the BMCE Bank in Morocco. As a market-oriented financial company, PROPARCO deals mainly with the private sector in South Africa as part of France's foreign aid. PROPARCO's main objective is "to contribute to economic and social progress through long-term financing in more than ninety developing and emerging market countries." By March 2003 PROPARCO held more than 114 million euros worth of total assets in South Africa, which is second only to Morocco. PROPARCO strives to combine developmental objectives with the achievement of profit. PROPARCO's post 2003 prospects included:

- The establishment of a broader framework of cooperation.
- The expansion of operations to new sectors.

- The pursuit the facilitation of foreign direct investments and lending in capital-intensive industries.

In summary, French exports to South Africa take the main form of capital goods and semi-finished products, car sales (Renault and Peugeot), and in aviation (Airbus). French imports mainly raw materials and semi-finished products from South Africa. France is the third-largest provider and sixth-largest client of South Africa in the European zone and is the main donor of financial support to South Africa. France is South Africa's seventh foreign partner in terms of direct investment and is one of South Africa's ten major trade, investments, technology and tourism partners.⁷⁷ Much of the economic activity that occurs between France and South Africa is overseen by the French Chamber of Commerce whose aims are to bring support, primarily to French companies in South Africa and then to South African companies who wish to develop or to strengthen links with France.

Trade and education statistics discussed in Part III of this research indicate both the current level of the French language in South Africa as well as the future scope of this language for the purpose of trade and industry.

⁷⁷ Department of Trade and Industry. (2004) *World Economic Indicators* www.dti.gov.za (available 03/08/2005)

CONCLUSION

Edmond Lisle (in Hantrais 1988)⁷⁸ describes an interview in which an American journalist asks a Japanese businessman who was extremely successful in France which international language he used in his business dealings. The reporter expected the businessman to say “English” or “American”. However, the businessman’s confident reply was none other than:

“The international language that I use is my customer’s language.”

Research of any nature carried out by a single scientist, economist or linguist faces obvious limitations. The possibility that South Africa’s economic prospects through trade with Francophone countries might increase has been explored in this research brief. However, a team of specialist researchers similar to those who formed part of the Language Planning Group of 1996 would be in a prime position to take the study further. Those linguists and economists in favour of promoting the French language in South Africa would need to provide a cost and benefits analysis that would prove beyond doubt that the benefits of funding French language promotion, teaching and learning would exceed the costs, a task that was not entirely feasible in this particular research brief. In addition, a contrasting study of other global languages such as German, Mandarin and Spanish needs to be considered before the promotion of a single language is undertaken.

Much emphasis has been placed on global economic development. However, not all of Africa’s economic development should be based on a Western measurement of economic success. While earlier arguments suggested that making international languages available to all members of the South African nation was a form of equal empowerment, certain sections of South Africa’s community might never desire or need to trade on a global scale. Indeed, the question of empowerment is vital to the

⁷⁸ Hantrais, L. (Ed) (1988) *Higher Education for International Careers*. AMLC/CILT.

holistic development of South Africa's economy. The South African government has taken steps to ensure that previously disadvantaged people are given more consideration in the work force. For example, equity policies and "Black Empowerment" quotas are included in most company policies in order to ensure that people of colour are able to access jobs which they might not have had before the liberation of South Africa. It is for this reason that the imbalance in education needs to be addressed. The fact that only those children attending independent schools or those schools sponsored by external sponsors are able to learn a foreign language (in most cases French or German), is contrary to the South African policy of empowerment and equal opportunities. However, how should the government stretch its resources to enable state schools to employ more teachers? It is common practice for governments around the globe to spend more on defence than on health and education. South Africa is no exception and as long as the largest proportion of the population is inhibited and unable to speak the language of the government, there will be limited opportunities for changes in such policies.

The question of cost is of extreme importance in Third World countries already facing other urgent challenges. For example, the cost or the benefits of learning a foreign language is directly dependent on a learner's ability to learn a particular language. One possible cost-cutting solution would be to invest in the training of refugees from Francophone countries. French-speaking refugees from countries such as Burundi, Rwanda and the Congo should be allowed to use their language and other skills in different areas of trade and tourism and perhaps even in being trained as salesman or language teachers. Their presence in South Africa represents a vast and potential language resource that could be beneficial in reaching out to Francophone Africa. Interviews carried out by members of the Centre for Popular Memory of the University of Cape Town (2005), provide evidence that as many refugees indicate that they intend leaving South Africa for better safe havens, perhaps involving them in constructive employment would encourage more of these Francophiles to remain in South Africa. On the other hand, if South Africans are to be trained as linguists, then two major sources of funding would be French-speaking countries and private businesses. Although the French government

currently offers bursaries and scholarships to many deserving students, more financial incentives should be provided to encourage university students to learn French or another appropriate foreign language. In addition, other countries such as Canada, Belgium and Switzerland might broaden their outreach programmes to include more support for French language studies. Currently, these countries appear to focus more on scientific training in terms of bursaries and scholarships to South African students wishing to study abroad. The benefits to these countries would be the expansion of their language and culture, as well as the expansion of potential trade with South Africa. Reciprocally, companies that engage in export to French speaking countries should make every effort to encourage key employees to learn French to the highest level possible for two main reasons. Firstly, as indirectly part owners of the company's assets, the employees would be more motivated to sell. Secondly, understanding the language and culture of intended clients would foster better trade relations.

The promotion of French or any other foreign language should also be the responsibility of language teachers. Teachers of the French language should actively promote and market their subject and course material in order to ensure that more pupils and students are attracted to the language which in turn will ensure the security of their employment. This suggestion is challenging particularly as neither South Africa nor the United Kingdom insists on the learning of foreign languages in secondary education. Language teachers therefore have to become more resourceful and pro-active in their attempts to promote their subjects and consequently, ensure their existence as language teachers. Current French language teachers might be persuaded to increase and broaden their language skills through further training both as teachers and as learners. In addition, the approach to language teaching should be strongly driven by specific communicative objectives. Despite excellent developments through the introduction of a more outcomes based approach to the teaching and learning of foreign languages, French teaching and learning in South Africa requires further revision. If South Africa were to focus on those members of the country who can either afford to learn French for cultural and personal reasons, or who need to learn French for the purpose of trade and/or tourism, then the

implementation of sound needs analyses in all learning institutions would increase the quality and the effect of foreign language acquisition. For the purpose of trade and tourism, five targeted skills in the French language can be identified:⁷⁹

PRESENTATION OF COMPANY & PRODUCT - designing a presentation in French - clarity of oral presentation - pronunciation and intonation BASIC TELEPHONE LANGUAGE - making & answering basic telephone calls - dictating & receiving numbers/names/addresses - arranging appointments on the telephone ADVANCED TELEPHONE LANGUAGE - taking and placing orders by telephone - making & handling enquiries on the telephone - dealing with problems & complaints on the telephone MEETINGS & DISCUSSIONS - presenting facts & opinions - making suggestions & proposals - turn-taking & interacting BUSINESS LISTENING SKILLS - extensive listening for general meaning - intensive listening for detail
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South Africa's language challenges will always appear complex mainly because of the diverse cultural and socio-economic background of the country. Historically, language policies in South Africa tended to have detrimental effects upon the nation and it is for this reason that the current government of South Africa is attempting to handle the language question with a higher level of sensitivity even if not all parties agree on the success of its practical implementation. An example of the government's sensitivity to this issue lies in the symbolic recognition of all eleven

⁷⁹ Table adaptation from West, R. (2000) (in Scott et al., 1994: 80)

of South Africa's indigenous and 'heritage' languages as official languages of communication. This indicates a strong awareness of the need to consider each cultural group's language as important to the socio-cultural development of South Africa. However, as noted by linguists such as Makoni et al., South Africa's attempt to recognise eleven languages is neither practical nor implemented in actual governance.

In order for South Africa's language policies to be fully understood, an initial and empirical exploration of the various aspects of linguistics, with particular reference to African linguistics, needed to be established. The first part of this thesis dealt with the concept of sociolinguistics and sociology of language, examining South Africa's current and past sociolinguistic situations. As the French language was once a semi-official language of South Africa, and has been referred to as a heritage language of South Africa, its relevance to South Africa's sociolinguistic and socio-economic situation is evident. A combination of language policies enforced by the Dutch and English and cross-cultural marriages ensured the demise of the French language in South Africa many years ago. Further politico-linguistic interventions contributed to the fact that languages would play a pivotal role in the political and social landscape of South Africa. The concept of language conflict is not unique to South Africa. However, few countries experienced the devastating consequences similar to that of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, almost directly caused by an oppressive language policy. By examining past and current sociolinguistic situations and language policies, it becomes evident that any new policies should not reflect the naivety and errors of the past. Instead, a more positive relationship between South languages and society should be fostered.

In Part II, focus was placed on the role of language in economic development and in particular, the role of foreign language acquisition in the current era of globalisation. We noted that it is not always appropriate to place the same standards of global expectations upon all members of African society simply because many of the benefits of globalisation will not be relevant to their everyday needs. Africa faces a huge challenge in striking a balance between the continent's global and

domestic needs and this point is very pertinent to this research with particular reference to the decision to promote a foreign language over an indigenous language. On a global scale, in order to fully benefit from trade opportunities, it is clear that if South Africa wishes to sell more of its products to French-speaking countries, then local access to the French language must be more adequately developed and provided. This applies to any other language which is widely spoken in targeted countries of trade. However, on a domestic scale, it is undeniable that there is an urgent need for the promotion, development and possibly the standardisation of indigenous and marginalised languages. At the same time, one should not discard the idea that it might be equally important for the previously disadvantaged members of the South African society to be taught English as well as French/German/Mandarin/Spanish as a means of empowerment in order to function economically beyond South Africa's geolinguistic borders. Although the concept has not been extensively explored in this thesis, the possibility of harnessing the French language resource currently available in terms of the French-speaking refugees should not be discarded. The challenges facing both the South African government and the asylum seekers and refugees might be facilitated by the establishment of a reciprocal relationship in which the foreign nationals contribute to the economic development of South Africa through the use of their linguistic skills.

The question of multilingualism verses mono or bilingualism is very important to any discussion which aims to link economic growth to language. Coulmas (1992: 33) suggests that a common global language will widen the range of communication. On its own, this statement appears blatantly obvious because an increase in the number of people who speak a language will result in an increase in the number of people who will be able to communicate with each other. However, when looked at from an ecolinguistic point of view, one need only compare South Africa's multilingual status with monolingual⁸⁰ countries in order to establish

⁸⁰ It must be understood, however, that by virtue of immigrants and other reasons, very few countries could be considered entirely "monolingual."

whether a single, common language is more effective for economic growth than several languages. Preliminary conclusions support the argument that multilingualism is indeed an economic asset rather than a hindrance simply because the scope of global or domestic economic targets is consequently widened through the acquisition of foreign or more local language skills, or in other words, by the ability to communicate more effectively across a broader scale.

The question of language and employability has been studied extensively in Canada and the United Kingdom. Both countries have concluded that language skills, including foreign language skills, are a strong benefit to whoever wishes to secure better job opportunities. Linguistic studies in Canada and the United Kingdom have also concluded that there is an extensive language industry that is waiting to be developed to its full potential. These conclusions clearly indicate the reciprocal relationship that exists between language and economy. This relationship is important in the sense that optimum commercial exchange requires effective communication. Being able to describe and to promote a product for sale requires the ability to convince prospective buyers of the need or desire to purchase the product. A weak level of communication will hinder the success of the trade experience. The sale therefore goes beyond the simple act of exchanging a material object for money. The ability to convince and to persuade takes the transaction to a much deeper level. However, the difficulties that employees will face in learning a foreign language will continuously arise and will need to be considered in the cost and benefits analysis.

A significant problem lies in the identification of global languages of international economic exchange and the establishment of a hierarchy of linguistic importance. At present, the English language is considered the leading language of international trade and commerce. However, it is increasingly challenged by other global languages such as French, Japanese, Mandarin, German and Spanish as demonstrated in the English Company UK (1995) and Graddol (1997) language hierarchies. In the South African context, in terms of actual and potential trade, it can be concluded that should any foreign language be promoted, then French and

German are strong contenders.

The final part of this research explored the French language as a product that might be marketed as an economic tool. A description of the field of marketing provided a clear structure regarding the process through which a product is eventually marketed. Various sectors of Government and Independent sectors of Trade, Tourism and Education were discussed in this context. Trade statistics indicated that South Africa is yet to fully benefit from trade with Francophone Africa mainly due to French control of the CFA zone. It was, however, clearly established that time would allow this region of the market to be further developed once preferential trade agreements were revised and once the language barrier was overcome. As with the English language spoken in Anglophone countries, in reference to Francophone Africa, statistics regarding the extent and quality of spoken French in Africa are often misleading. Robert Chaudenson (1989) (in Maurais & Morris 2003: 293) distinguishes “three principal species of Franco-fauna:

- French speakers who whether native speakers or not possess in French a linguistic competency that permits them to handle all communication situations in that language.
- Limited French speakers ('Francophonoides') who possess limited or partial competency in French but who can communicate quickly if incompletely in that language.
- Very limited French speakers ('Franco-aphones') who possess very limited or no competency in French but who being citizens of French-speaking countries are often classified in statistics as French speakers.”

As in South Africa, the diglossic situation in which a standard version of a language is different to the spoken version is relevant in Chaudenson's observations mentioned above. Inter-language will continuously challenge the purity of any language when societies of different cultures interact. In South Africa, inter-language is inevitable as various cultural and language varieties intermix and

influence the colloquial language of the new generation.

While Chaudenson (in Maurais & Morris 2003: 294) suggests that the future of the French language will be determined by “the masses of limited French speakers and very limited French speakers in the Third World”, in *The Francophonie: representations, realities and perspectives* (Chaudenson 1991: 196-197) in Maurais & Morris (2003: 295) he writes:

“The end of apartheid in South Africa has every possibility of having, on the African continent and in the Indian Ocean, geopolitical repercussions many of which cannot be measured...It is evident that the strategic impact of South Africa poses an immense danger for French in Africa.”

The above quotation stimulates a new geolinguistic challenge: will South Africa’s extensive use of English as its main language of trade and tourism influence “francophone” African countries to start doing the same? In other words, would these countries find it more effective to use as much English as possible and at the same time begin to break away from the strong economic, linguistic and cultural influence of their former French and Belgian colonisers? As relationships between African countries and their former colonial powers fluctuate according to governments in question, this is not an impossible scenario.

The reciprocal cultural and economic relationship between France and South Africa was examined. Within this relationship, it was noted that France and South Africa have indicated that increased trade between the two countries is both desirable and mutually beneficial. However, both countries are aware of the challenges that exist in communicating in two different languages. At present, most of these problems are overcome by specialist agencies such as the French Chamber of Commerce and the Bohle Eco-Conference and Language Services Company. As with other major countries, France and South Africa appreciate that learning each country’s language will facilitate trade to a larger capacity than the use of translators currently achieves. Major businesses around the world have realised that

in order to effectively target the foreign market, awareness of a country's language and culture is essential. For example, in all of their television commercials the *Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation* (HSBC) frequently emphasises the fact that misunderstanding sensitive cultural issues will jeopardise possible trade relations. An increase in access to the French language and culture, both in terms of France and other Francophone countries, would increasingly facilitate South Africa's ability to trade with French speaking countries as well as allow more South Africans to travel within those parts of the globe which use French as an official language. After all, despite the suggested threat posed to the French language by South Africa's increasing economic presence on the African continent, Chaudenson (1991: 196-197) (in Maurais & Morris 2003: 295-297), confirms that:

"There is thus in Africa a strong demand for French while supply is largely limited to the educational system that is supposed to spread this language to everyone...the future of French in the world will be determined in Africa (where) there are masses of potential French speakers and a social demand favouring that language."

In terms of marketing the French language in South Africa, several factors need to be summarised. In the first place, despite huge strides in the development of South African education, there is still much to be done in the way of increasing access to, and improving the quality of English, Maths and Science teaching in most state run schools. Maurais & Morris (2003: 32-33) ask how investment in a foreign language "let alone a second foreign language" can be justified when there are so many inadequacies reflected in mother-tongue teaching? This point has been central to many arguments presented by many researchers and is extremely vital. The concept of improving teaching standards and providing better resources to state schools can not be over-emphasised. This necessity will always cloud any decision to diversify school curricula by introducing what might be regarded as non-essential subjects, French being exactly one of those. Crucial to this discussion has always been the question of the empowerment of previously disadvantaged people. This empowerment embraces the economic, cultural, social and linguistic recognition of the largest portion of South African society.

It is clear that the South African government has more urgent areas in which to invest government funds. The implications of this understanding suggest that the French language will continue to be available to the following groups of students:

- (i) Those students who attend a state school that can afford a French teacher within its allocated state budget.
- (ii) Those students with the necessary funds to attend private schools.
- (iii) Those students who are privileged to attend a state school whose French teachers are subsidised by the Governing Body of the school or by the Alliance Française via the French Government.
- (iv) Those adult students who are able to attend tertiary or private institutions with or without bursaries and scholarships.

In the second place, even those students who might learn French throughout secondary school followed by three or more years at university will still require specialist and intense language training if they expect to achieve fluency at the level first-language communication, as required by most international businesses and processes requiring instantaneous interpretation. Referring to the limitations of foreign language teaching, Bongaerts and de Bot (1997: 123) note the following:

- Formal foreign language teaching is seriously handicapped by the limited number of contact periods available.
- Not enough exposure to various types of language use and communicative functions in everyday situations, make it not feasible to simulate the variety of daily social practices.
- Attaining a fluent command of the functional (mainly oral) aspects of the target language is rarely possible.⁸¹

The above points are very important if Foreign Language Acquisition is to be successful. Learning a language for specific purposes requires a particular learning approach. From a pedagogical perspective, achieving fluency in a language with a

⁸¹ All points paraphrased.

specific field in mind requires specialist vocabulary learning and a complete immersion in the target language and culture. The implications for cost, time and benefits in training to government, the private sector and the individual are extensive. South Africans involved trade and tourism, government included, will need to weigh the costs and benefits of training their own staff against the costs and benefits of hiring translators and interpreters. In addition, the same thought might be put into considering the development of the existent language industry as well as developing the technology used in computer-generated translations. Despite the obvious challenges which they faced, based on the success of South African companies trading in Francophone countries, at present language barriers appear to be adequately overcome by the use of translators and interpreters or through the employment of foreign employees. However, this situation can not expect to last as there is no doubt that in time, South Africa will increase its export to Francophone markets and will play a dominant role in the economic future of the African continent, of which a large portion is considered Francophone. It is therefore necessary that the language industry receive the urgent attention that it deserves.

In the third place, until such time as South Africa's issue of multilingualism is adequately addressed, South Africans will never assume a sense of ownership of any project that attempts to promote a foreign language. Many Black and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans feel that their indigenous languages are not receiving appropriate treatment at government, cultural and socio-economic levels and this dissatisfaction will influence negative attitudes towards a drive to engage more French teachers and learners in the traditional South African community. A sense of ownership is a reflection of a positive attitude, both of which are essential to learning a foreign language. Bongaerts and de Bot (1997: 124) suggest that:

"Language and language use are an integral part of personality and are deeply associated with a person's sovereign position as an individual among other individuals...the way in which someone is willing to function in the foreign language is decisively linked with their view of themselves and their behaviour as members of the language community."

This point has been, and still is, clearly demonstrated in the South African context. It is therefore essential that any future language policies in South Africa reflect the needs of the holistic community. Language, as the most direct form of communication, is a means of empowerment and thus a valuable resource. Foreign Language Acquisition, and in this case French, while not available to every member of the South African society, makes the global market accessible to whomsoever chooses to invest the time and money in learning the foreign language of his/her choice.

APPENDIX

The following pages of the Appendix contain an extensive table which needed to be landscaped for the purpose of clarity.

Table A.1 represents the number of students learning French in South African schools. The table is divided into provinces, education sector and phase.

WC = Western Cape

FS = Free State

KZ = KwaZulu Natal

GT = Gauteng

NW = Northwest

MP = Mpumulanga

I = Independent sector

P = Public sector

Table A.1: Number of students learning French in South African schools

Province	Name	Sector	Phase	Gr 10	O'L	3 rd Lang	Gr 11	A'L H3	O'L	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Gr 12	A'L H3	O'L	1 st Lang	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Grand Total
WC	Curro Privaatskool	I	C							1								1
WC	Durbanville HS	P	S								1							1
WC	Fairmont HS	P	S			1					2						2	5
WC	The Settlers HS	P	S									1						1
WC	Belhar Sek.	P	S	11			36					39						86
WC	Pinelands HS	P	S							3						6		9
WC	Deutsche Schule Kapstadt	I	C			10					12						12	34
WC	Herzlia HS	I	C			11					10						6	27
WC	St. George's Grammar School	I	C	1								1						2
WC	Cape Town HS	P	S			2					3						1	6
WC	Milnerton HS	P	S								1						1	2
WC	Queen's Park HS	P	S			3											1	4
WC	Camps Bay HS	P	S			1					3						1	5
WC	Simon's Town School	P	C				7											7
WC	Fish Hoek Senior HS	P	S			7					2						1	10
WC	Abbott's College	I	S														13	13
WC	Progress College	I	S														5	5
WC	Damelin College	I	S														4	4
WC	St. Joseph's College	I	C	12			10					2						24
WC	Herschell Sec.	I	C			33					18						28	79
WC	Diocesan College	I	C			23					18						10	51
WC	Springfield Convent of the Holy Rosary	I	C			13					16						22	51
WC	International School of Cape Town	I	C	16			21					3						40
WC	Reddam House	I	C			8					10						4	22
WC	Bergvliet HS	P	S														1	1
WC	Rustenburg Girls' HS	P	S	21			23					18						62
WC	S.A. College HS.	P	S			8					12						10	30
WC	Sans Souci Girls' HS	P	S								18							18
WC	Westerford HS	P	S	9			15					8						32
WC	Wynberg Boys' HS	P	S			6											1	7
WC	Wynberg Girls' HS	P	S			5											2	7
WC	Crestway Sec.	P	S													1		1
WC	Fairmont Sec.	P	S												1			1
WC	Athlone Sec.	P	S	23			26					25						74
WC	Hoer Jongenskool Paarl	P	S	2								1						3

Province	Name	Sector	Phase	Gr 10	O'L	3 rd Lang	Gr 11	A'L H3	O'L	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Gr 12	A'L H3	O'L	1 st Lang	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Grand Total
WC	La Rochelle Meisies HS	P	S			18					17						20	55
WC	Paarl Girls' High	P	C														3	3
WC	Bloemhof HS	P	S			5					3						3	11
WC	Paul Roos Gimnasium	P	S			3											1	4
WC	Rhenish Girls' HS	P	S			8					16						10	34
WC	Stellenbosch HS	P	S								4						1	5
WC	Hottentots-Holland HS	P	S			1												1
WC	Parel Vallei HS.	P	S								1							1
WC	Huguenote HS.	P	S								1							1
WC	York HS.	P	S			1												1
FS	Eunice S/S	P	S		6													6
FS	St. Michael's C/S	P	C		4				2					2				8
KZ	Centenary S	P	S	1														1
KZ	Darville Park Girls' H	P	S									1						1
KZ	Durban Girls' College	I	C	16			13					25						54
KZ	Durban Girls' H (Penzance Road)	P	S	23			32					23						78
KZ	Durban H (DHS)	P	S									1						1
KZ	Christian High School	I	S									1						1
KZ	Epworth	I	S	2			8					8						18
KZ	Hilton College	I	S	22			23					13						58
KZ	Inanda Seminary S	I	S	27			30					12						69
KZ	Jivannadi Christian	I	C									1						1
KZ	Kearsney College	I	S	3			2					2						7
KZ	Kingsway H	P	S				1					2						3
KZ	Kloof H	P	S	21			21					28						70
KZ	Michael House	I	S	8			6					12						26
KZ	Northlands Girls H	P	S				11					7						18
KZ	Orient Islamic	I	C				1											1
KZ	Overpoort S	P	S									1						1
KZ	Pietermaritzburg Girls' High	P	S				1											1
KZ	Pinetown Girls' H	P	S	31			20											51
KZ	St. Anne's Diocesan College	I	S	18			15					14						47
KZ	St. Catherine's H	I	C	4			8					7						19
KZ	St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls	I	C	22			15					10						47
KZ	The Wykeham Collegiate	I	C	16			12					9						37
KZ	Westville Girls' H	P	S									25						25
KZ	Maris Stella	I	C	7			7					9						23

Province	Name	Sector	Phase	Gr 10	O'L	3 rd Lang	Gr 11	A'L H3	O'L	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Gr 12	A'L H3	O'L	1 st Lang	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Grand Total
KZ	Maritzburg Muslim School for Girls	I	S									1						1
KZ	Grantleigh	P	C	1			1											2
NW	Mmabatho High School	P	S			2					5							7
GT	Forest High School	P	S														1	1
GT	Mondeor HS	P	S								15						29	44
GT	St. Martin's School	I	C			3					2						4	9
GT	Africa House College	I	C			2					1						1	4
GT	Athlone Girls' HS	P	S			2					2						3	7
GT	Damelin College	I	U			1					1						3	5
GT	Deutsche Schule JHB	I	C			19					22						9	50
GT	Domenican Convent School (Belgravia)	I	C			4					1							5
GT	Jules HS	P	S			8					9						2	19
GT	Greenside HS	P	S			11					13						9	33
GT	Jeppe High School for Girls	P	S			23					15						12	50
GT	King David School-Linksfield	I	U								3						6	9
GT	Parktown Girls' HS	P	S			11					8						17	36
GT	Sacred Heart College	I	C								12						5	17
GT	St. John's College	I	U			22					26						10	58
GT	Yeshiva College of South Africa	I	C			3					8						5	16
GT	Phoenix College of Johannesburg	I	C								3							3
GT	United Church Preparatory School	I	Pp			1					1						1	3
GT	Radley College	I	C			2												2
GT	Northcliff High School	P	S								1							1
GT	Thutolore Secondary	P	S								24							24
GT	Brescia House Ursuline Convent	I	C			9					24						24	57
GT	Bryanston High School	P	S			1					16						9	26
GT	King David HS (Victory Park)	I	S			10					1							11
GT	Kingsmead College	I	C			17					10						5	32
GT	Redhill School	I	C			14					20						12	46
GT	Sandown HS	P	S			14					7						5	26
GT	S. Teresa's Convent	I	C			19					6						10	35
GT	Sekolo Sa Borokgo	I	C														3	3
GT	St. Peter's College	I	U			3					4						2	9
GT	Crawford Schools - Lonehills	I	C			10					3						1	14
GT	Damelin-Eden Art Academy	I	C			2											1	3
GT	Assumption Convent	I	C			4					7						7	18
GT	Bishop Bavin School - St. George's	I	C			21					6						9	36

Province	Name	Sector	Phase	Gr 10	O'L	3 rd Lang	Gr 11	A'L H3	O'L	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Gr 12	A'L H3	O'L	1 st Lang	2 nd Lang	3 rd Lang	Grand Total
GT	Dawnview HS	P	S			17					7						7	31
GT	Holy Rosary Convent	I	C			8											1	9
GT	Saheti School	I	C			1											5	6
GT	St. Dominic's School	I	C			20					18						22	60
GT	Institute Status Acres Secondary School	I	S			49					44						7	100
GT	Hatfield Christian School	I	C														1	1
GT	Hoërskool Eldoraigne	P	S			4					1							5
GT	Hoërskool Garsfontein	P	S			11					11							22
GT	Hoërskool Menlopark	P	S			8					16						12	36
GT	Pro Arte Alphen Park	P	U			11					8						10	29
GT	Max Stibbe School	I	C					2					1					3
GT	St. Alban's College	I	U			18					19						8	45
GT	St. Mary's Diocesan School for Girls	I	C			20					22						16	58
GT	The Glen HS	P	S			23					19						13	55
GT	Queenswood Christian College	I	C								1							1
GT	Christian Brothers' College Mount Edmund	I	C			2					7						9	18
GT	Clapham HS	P	S			17					11						13	41
GT	Deutsche Schule Pretoria	I	C			19					14						7	40
GT	Afrikaanse Hoër Meisieskool	P	S			14					17						14	45
GT	Loreto Convent School	I	C			2					1							3
GT	Pretoria Boys' High School	P	S			23					19						27	69
GT	Pretoria High School for Girls	P	S			77					60						44	181
GT	Confidence College (Good Samaritan)	I	C			2					2						1	5
GT	Hoërskool Florida	P	S			24					19						19	62
GT	St. Ursula's School	I	U			2												2
GT	Duduza College	I	C														1	1
GT	West Ridge HS	P	S														1	1
GT	Assemblies of God (Ex Golden Reef College)	I	C			36					37						7	80
GT	Springs Boys' HS	P	S														1	1
GT	Founders Community School	I	C			66					75						97	238
MP	Alpheus D Nkosi Secondary School	P	S			363					353						172	888
MP	Lpwveld HS	P	S			1					1						2	4
MP	Valencia Combined School	P	C														2	2
MP	Cefups Academy	I	U			19					22						13	54

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