INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATION FOR SERVICE DELIVERY IN LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE CONTEXTS

By

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DECLARATION

I Monnapula Abel Molefe hereby declare that this thesis submitted by me for the Master of Arts degree in Language Practice at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty. Furthermore, I cede copyright of this thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.

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Acknowledgements

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather, Kehitlhile (Kgosietsile, Kgosiemang) Enos "Oupa Dodo" Molefe; my pillar of strength and great role model. I learned one of life's greatest lessons through you; that education is the key to success. You always believed in my ability and gave all you had to ensure my academic success. Unfortunately you were called to rest before you could witness the fruit of your labour.

List of abbreviations

CI **-** Community interpreting

CoE **-** Code of Ethics

CT **-** Community translation

KLM – Kopanong Local Municipality

LI – Liaison interpreting

LED **–** Local Economic Development

MIDP – Multilingual Information Development Programme

NAJIT **-** National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

SATI **-** South African Translators' Institute

SI **-** Simultaneous interpreting

SL – Source language

ST – Source text

Stats SA – Statistics South Africa

TL – Target language

TS – Translation studies

TT – Target text

WPTPSD – White Paper for Transforming Public Service Delivery

UN – United Nations

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter seeks to introduce the study by giving a brief background of the study itself, the problem statement, research question, research design and methodology as well as the value of the study. The chapter closes with an outline of the study's envisaged chapter divisions.

1.1 Background

Public service delivery constitutes a major problem in South Africa. One of government's most important duties is to build a public service sector that is able to meet the challenges of improved public service delivery to all South African citizens. This duty to build a public service able to cater for all South Africans may have led to the establishment of the eight Batho Pele principles (DPSA, 1997); used as the benchmark on which service delivery is measured in South Africa (also see Manqindi, 2005).

McLennan (2009:21) states that service delivery in South African contexts is not only about providing the public with services, but is also about raising their living standards, confirming their citizenship in the new South Africa and promoting a sense of redress. Public services are those services provided to the public on a certain governmental level (national, provincial or local/municipal). These services include legal, health and social services such as housing, education and welfare (Corsellis, 2008:4-5). The study thus focuses on how these services are provided to the members of the public with a particular interest in the manner in which the service providers and members of the public communicate during interaction.

The communication between public service provider and receiver is vital for ensuring equal access to public services (De Ridder, 1999:60). Communication is made possible by language and thus communication and language issues cannot be separated. It is further noted that language is the most easily identifiable trait of any community (Manqindi, 2005:24).

The interest of this study is centred on the residents of Philippolis. Philippolis is a small rural town located in the Free State province in South Africa. The town is multilingual in nature with most people speaking Sesotho and Afrikaans as the lingua francas of the town (Cuvelier,

Meeuwis, Vandekerckhove, & Yperzeele, 2010). The study thus focuses on the speakers in a multilingual setting, especially those who speak indigenous languages.

Indigenous languages are those languages recognised in section 6(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). It is further stated in the constitution that the indigenous language ought to be promoted by all state departments. Although this is on record, the opposite prevails in practice. Coetsee (2009) notes that indigenous languages are rarely used by different public service providers, which results in a skewed power relationship between service providers and the public due to the members of the public having to use a language other than their language of choice when communicating about services (Coetsee, 2009:22).

This study is thus focused on communication during consultation, with special emphasis on how the members of the local community and the public servants in Philippolis communicate and resolve their language related problems. Furthermore, the study seeks to describe how such language related problems may hinder public involvement and to some extent how language facilitation (through community interpreting and community translation) may assist in empowering the local community members to effectively communicate for services. On the other hand, this study also aims to describe the role that community interpreting and community translation may play in assisting service providers to involve the public in order to participate in the development of their area.

1.2 Problem statement

Skweyiya (DPSA, 1997) indicates that access to decent public services should be the rightful expectation of all South African citizens, especially the previously disadvantaged. Although Skweyiya (DPSA, 1997) does not state that access to decent public services, which is the right of all South African citizens, ought to be delivered in multiple languages, this is implied through noting that these services need to be accessible to the previously disadvantaged. Section 6(2) of the South African constitution deals with such people for it makes reference to their languages (see the discussion in Chapter 2 of this study). Skweyiya added that the guiding principle of public transformation and reform is 'service to the people'.

The services discussed in the next chapters are mostly accessible in the administrative languages of South Africa. Since late 2004, unrest at municipal level has been escalating constantly with poor public service delivery believed to be the main cause (Marais et al., 2008:52). Although poor service delivery in South Africa is linked to the unrest, the association is very seldom made to language, in this case multilingualism within local public service contexts. It is important, however, to note that the present study is not aimed at discussing public service delivery protests but rather towards understanding multilingual service delivery and the role that interpreting and translation play in the public sector. The manner in which the community and the public service providers communicate is of interest to this study.

1.3 Objective of the study

Communication is important in public service delivery. Language, discussed later in the study, is the most valuable vehicle of communication that human beings use in their communication surrounding these services. Mwaniki (2012) thus suggests that public service delivery should be provided in multiple languages. Although there are public servants within local public service contexts who are multilingual, not all are able to assist members of the community in their language of choice. The study thus seeks to describe how people at grassroots level communicate for public services. It further seeks to determine whether, and to what extent, community interpreting and community translation could solve some of these service delivery gaps. For this purpose, the study focuses on two theories, namely a combined theory of Community Interpreting (CI) and Community Translation (CT).

1.4 Research question

What is the role of community interpreting and community translation in public service delivery, in local contexts?

1.5 Research design and research methodology

The study followed a qualitative approach. Qualitative methods include participant observation and unstructured interviewing in order to get detailed knowledge of how the communities at grassroots level communicate for services in a multilingual area and how CI and CT may further

enhance the delivery of public services (De Walt & De Walt, 2011). This study therefore also made use of these two methods during the data collection process.

In order to strengthen the hypothesis of this study, the literature overview is supported by an empirical study, i.e. a study that is verifiable by observation and first-hand experience rather than theory or pure logic (De Walt & De Walt, 2011). According to De Walt and De Walt (2011), theory and logic both fall within the characteristics of a quantitative approach. An empirical study thus employs the methods of a qualitative approach which are more suitable in a research that seeks to describe how communities in a particular area deal with problems of multilingualism.

The study employed primarily ethnographic data collection methods and in some instance text analysis was also used as a method of data collection. Ethnography is defined by Reeves et al. (2008:512) as the study of social interactions, behaviours and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations and communities. Ethnographic methodology is made up of two research strategies, namely non-participant observation and participant observation. Non-participant observation is a strategy where the researcher observes the subjects of a study from a distance and avoids interaction with these social actors (Gobo, 2011).

On the other hand, participant observation is the direct opposite. When using participant observation as a research strategy, the researcher forms a relationship with the participants under investigation. The researcher thus takes part by interacting and getting involved in the participants' daily ceremonies and rituals. Furthermore, the researcher learns the languages of these social actors in order to comprehend their actions (Gobo, 2011). On the basis of this theoretic explanation, the ethnographic research to be carried out in Philippolis was conducted through observation (non-participant and participant observation) as well as through semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Text analysis was conducted by means of discourse analysis. These two methods also serve to triangulate the findings.

1.6 Value of the research

The research may be of value to both the fields (interpreting as well as translation studies). It may also be of value to local authorities and their community members. As already noted in the section above (section 2), this research is not aimed at whether or not CI and CT are rightful

methods of mediation, but rather at understanding what happens in the daily interactions between members of the public and public service providers at grassroots level. The findings of this study may assist the members of the local community by making information regarding their right to use their language of choice accessible and further improve the communication channels between the authorities (public service providers) and members of the Philippolis public.

The findings thus also contribute to the body of knowledge in translation and interpreting studies. The new data that was collected in this study does not only add a new perspective on issues regarding local public service delivery but also suggests potential perspectives on CI and CT. In so doing the collected data assists to broaden the sphere of translation studies.

1.7 Chapter outline

This research is divided into the following five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by providing a brief background of the study itself, the problem statement, research question, research design and methodology as well as the value of the study.

Chapter 2: Document review on public services in South Africa

A detailed discussion on access to public service delivery is provided in this chapter. The chapter further discusses the importance of multilingual service delivery with reference to the country's constitution, the Batho Pele principles, etc.

Chapter 3: Interpreting and translation in the community

The chapter discusses CI and CT as possible forms of language facilitation that may promote successful delivery of public services.

Chapter 4: Data analysis

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the ethnographic study that was conducted in Philippolis. The chapter also includes a discussion and analysis of the data collected and the findings of this analysis.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The chapter provides an abridged version of the study. It further discusses the main findings of the conducted ethnographic study and suggests potential future investigations that could arise from the research.

Chapter 2: Document review on public services in South Africa

Chapter 2 discusses the nature of public service delivery in South Africa and demonstrates the relationship between access to public services and language. The chapter emphasises the importance of multilingual service delivery in local public service contexts.

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I argue that multilingual service delivery constitutes a noticeable gap in South African service delivery, especially the provision of public services at local government level (Mwaniki, 2012). In so doing, the chapter aims to give a broad overview of service delivery, highlighting its historical background in South Africa and how it has become an issue of significance in the current era. The focus is based on the policies that deal with service delivery in local government and the relevance of multilingualism in local government. Local government is known as a sphere of government alongside the provincial and national spheres. Unlike the national and provincial spheres, local government is regarded as the sphere of government closest to the people. The researcher thus selected this sphere as the focal point of the investigation (Venter & Landsberg, 2006).

Furthermore, this level of government is responsible for providing the most basic services, e.g. water, electricity, waste removal, etc. (Venter & Landsberg, 2006). The Batho Pele white paper (White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery, 1997), constituted of eight Batho Pele principles regarded as the benchmark for the delivery of public service delivery (Manqindi, 2005; Mwaniki, 2012), also forms part of my discussion because it is an initiative introduced by government in order to transform and increase the responsiveness of public service delivery. The Batho Pele white paper further aimed to improve the manner in which government services are provided to the local citizens. The chapter also shifts attention towards the importance of communication in local government, and especially the tool (i.e. language) used by citizenry and service providers. In other words, the chapter looks at the language in which members of the public and the providers of basic public services communicate when determining which services are needed and how those currently provided can be improved. Lastly, the chapter discusses the issue of redress in language practice.

2.2 Brief historical background

Service delivery is currently one of the major concerns in the South African society (Marais et al., 2008). According to Marais et al. (2008), there has been an increase in the number of protest actions in South Africa which are believed to be caused by poor service delivery. In their study, Marais et al., (2008), refer to these conflicts as 'service delivery protests'. Service delivery protests are not part of the discussion of this chapter as the study's interest concerns service delivery as it is defined by scholars in the field of public management and administration. For the purpose of this chapter, the definition of service delivery provided in the White Paper for Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPSD, 1997) is adhered to.

According to the WPTPSD (1997:7), service delivery refers to the actual provision of services to the community and to those who pay rates and taxes. It is further noted in the WPTPSD that services must be carried out in line with the plans that are set forth for a particular community as well as the accompanying budget. For purposes of the present research, service delivery is narrowed down to the following services: health, legal, safety, housing, education and social services (Corsellis, 2008:4-5).

Burger (2005:483-500) notes that service delivery is important in South Africa because it can play a vital role in minimising or even eradicating poverty. South Africa's historical background (pre-democracy) may be regarded as the main cause for the differences and inequalities that were and are still experienced by the country's formally disadvantaged communities.

After the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the government started to pass laws that were designed to benefit the country's white population. These laws were implemented to ensure that the white people held onto the reins of power within the country. According to Sonneborn (2010:31), the Natives Land Act of 1913 (No. 27 of 1913), which handed white people control over most if not all farmland in South Africa, constituted one of many discriminatory laws of the Union of South Africa. The Natives Land Act of 1913 prohibited black South Africans from purchasing or leasing land outside areas that were referred to as reserves (Sonneborn, 2010:31).

Black people were only allowed to own small pieces of land of poor quality and thus were unable to operate small farms; their only source of income for raising their standard of living.

Government aided the white people in eliminating competition from the black farmers (Sonneborn, 2010). As a result, black farmers had no other choice but to desert their farms in order to seek other ways to generate an income. Working for white farmers was one of the options these black farmers had whilst mining and factories were on the rise in South Africa (Sonneborn, 2010:31). This act therefore also benefited the mining and industrial sectors because large groups of black farmers sought jobs in these industries. The government gave these former black farmers basic skills in order for them to take over from the skilled foreigners who were paid a lot of money. The Mines and Works Act which stated that skilled jobs were only for white people, prohibited black people from being remunerated accordingly (Sonneborn, 2010:32).

Mwaniki (2012) argues that the majority of South African citizens still do not share in the wealth of their country. The Natives Land Act (No. 27 of 1913), the Group Areas Act (No. 41 of 1950) and many others therefore played significant roles in ensuring that only a small minority enjoyed the country's wealth. In this instance wealth is meant to refer to land; a sensitive matter in South Africa. The above-mentioned acts are a few amongst many which came into existence prior to and during the apartheid era and were used by the government to oppress black people as well as other ethnic groups.

It is further known that during the apartheid regime, black people received very limited services from the government. These limited services were also of a poor quality when compared to those enjoyed by the white people (Sonneborn, 2010). Black citizens were deprived of democratic rights such as those of the right to vote. According to the 2011 World Bank Report (2011:ix), the former regime (apartheid) left the new South Africa with big challenges such as poverty, inequality and a great ambition to increase access to basic public services.

In their aim to change the former status quo as far as service delivery was concerned, the ANC-led government created policies that recognised formerly marginalised citizens. Kroukamp (1999) notes that the largest part of the majority party's 1994 election campaign was based on its promise to institute a programme designed to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, especially those who had been previously disadvantaged. After being declared victorious, the newly ANC-led government committed itself to empowering the poor and women. The government also promised to deliver affordable quality services, job creation and to do away

with all apartheid laws. These promises, according to Kroukamp (1999), played a pivotal role in the majority party's victory in the first democratic elections.

However, twenty years down the line, service delivery is still a problematic issue in South Africa. As stated above, the ever escalating number of protests in South Africa, believed to have erupted as a result of poor service delivery, point to the problematic nature of the country's service delivery. The lack of capacity at local municipalities as well as financial constraints (or the abuse thereof) also highlights service delivery as a problematic issue in South Africa (Marais et al., 2008).

It is recorded in the World Bank Report (2011:14-16), that the increase in the percentage of people living below the poverty line (which rose from 28 to 33 percent between 1995 and 2000), as well as the escalation of inequality, may also be viewed as contributors culminating in poor service delivery at the local level. This therefore means that the government has to deal with problems believed to be associated with service delivery, not only as a result of the former government's legacy, but based on the promises that were made prior to and after the 1994 democratic elections.

The World Bank Report (2011:14-16) further notes that government needed to put measures in place in order to address issues surrounding poor service delivery. Attaching constitutional rights to access to services (basic services) and thoroughly transforming economic policies and backing service delivery programmes with the potential to improve service delivery were regarded as the first step towards improving service delivery. Some of these rights are found in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and are discussed later in the chapter. It is a non-disputable fact that South Africa has more than two languages that have been accorded equal status as stated in section 6(1) of Act 108 of 1996. Multilingualism should therefore be practiced in all spheres of government nationwide. The next section deals with the issue of multilingualism in relation to service delivery.

2.3 Multilingualism in South Africa

Multilingualism is defined as the use of three or more languages and constitutes an essential issue in South Africa given the country's demographic profile. As already pointed out in the section above, the country's historical background is such that a great deal of injustices took

place, many of which were based on racial and linguistic grounds. These injustices were considered when the current constitution (Act 108 of 1996) was drafted. Language, which was one of the grounds of discrimination, was also seen as a vital aspect by those who drafted this important piece of legislation. As a result, a decision was made that official languages were to be recognised in this document (see section 6(1) of the constitution).

Embracing our linguistic diversity remains one of the main challenges that the country is faced with. It is therefore vital for South Africa, as a country with 11 official languages and few recognised but not yet official languages, to employ these languages as effectively as possible. According to Mwaniki (2012), there are four reasons why the issue of multilingualism, especial multilingual service delivery is very important, specifically for South Africa. For the purpose of this chapter, only three of these four reasons are discussed.

First of all, Mwaniki (2012:42) highlights the historical nature of the country as far as language is concerned. He notes that language was previously used repeatedly for social, political and economic profiling; and the results thereof were sometimes dreadful. Mwaniki further submits that this is how the discourse on multilingualism came about in South Africa. As examples of these dreadful results, Mwaniki points out the 1976 Soweto uprising as well as the effects of the Bantu Education System which are still experienced in the present day (Mwaniki, 2012:42).

The second reason highlighted by Mwaniki (2012:42) as far as the importance of language is concerned, is the growing link between language, the development process as well as the discourse of democratisation. This comes after hundreds of years where people (especially the coloured people) were excluded from participating in South African social and political matters during the colonial as well as the apartheid eras. Social and political exclusion in South Africa was determined through the use of language, especially English and Afrikaans.

In response to this unfavourable situation, measures had to be put in place by the current government to promote the previously disadvantaged languages as well as to incorporate the speakers thereof in social and political processes as well as the outcomes of these processes. The multilingual dispensation is not only aimed at redressing political and social injustices that are connected to language, but also at creating a culture whereby the public is consulted sufficiently and where they actively take part in the democratic processes (Mwaniki, 2012).

The third concern is centred on the question of inequality in the country. Stats SA (2008) reports that South Africa is counted among the most unequal countries in the world. The majority of South Africans still have no access to their country's wealth; wealth that is mostly in the hands of a few privileged members. Inequality does not only refer to the distribution of wealth. The constitution includes a section on equality which is a point of interest in this chapter. Equality is a right which is highly spoken of in the country and in this chapter, forms part of the principles that encourage the debate on service delivery discussed in the next section.

2.4 Principles informing the debate on service delivery

In this section, two principles that encourage the debate on service delivery, namely equality and democracy, are discussed in detail. Democracy as a system of governance that intends to involve all citizens of a country is discussed as a form of governance that has been practiced in South Africa since 1994 and encourages equality for all. Equality, which is enshrined in the South African constitution as one of the basic rights, aims at correcting the former government's discriminating policies with respect to service delivery.

2.4.1 Democracy

The notion of democracy or *dēmokratiā* is derived from the Greek term *dēmos* (the people) and *kratos* (rule or power). The notion arose from life in primeval Greece. The literal meaning thereof was 'the power of people who qualify as citizens' (Campbell, 2008). Campbell (2008) notes that during the times of ancient Greece, the notion of 'people' excluded slaves, women and people who were not able to pay for services. The term was also used to refer to ordinary people. This idea differed from the modern sense of the term 'people'. In this thesis, the term is used to refer to people in general or each and every member of society.

The old Greeks are habitually regarded as the initiators of democracy, especially when the term is used in relation to government. In ancient times, democracy was not allowed as a system that could be used in government. This system was tried out in Athens but was rejected. During those years, direct democracy was practiced occasionally. This meant that every citizen took part in decision-making through voting and accepting the result of the majority. Systems of oppression existed worldwide in those days. In the context of South Africa, one would note the existence of

the former segregation policy but most significantly, the apartheid system, which was one such oppressive system of governance (Saulse, 2010).

Apartheid and all other oppressive systems had one common feature: they all refused to grant the majority of the general public political rights as well as freedoms. This means that a minority group took decisions on behalf of the majority (Saulse, 2010).

The most important characteristics of the democratic system, are equality of political chances, (choosing and replacing a government through elections that are free and fair) and individual rights and freedoms, (the protection of human rights). In its current form, democracy is regarded as a product of the 19th as well as the 20th centuries (De Wet, 2010).

Fanyane (2005:19) submits that the constitution not only provides for the formulation of the will of the masses, but also that this particular will be accounted for by the government. Fanyane further submits that *openness*, *responsiveness* and *accountability* are terms that are closely linked with democracy. Government institutions, according to Fanyane (2005), must be accessible to the general public and government officials should be able to respond to the citizens' needs.

An interesting question arises from the above discussion on democracy: 'how do government officials respond to such needs?' Openness, responsiveness and accountability are important characteristics of a democratic state, as highlighted by Fanyane (2005). I maintain that the lack of multilingual service delivery also constitutes a gap in a democratic system. Democracy is intended to get ordinary people to participate in their daily life matters. Taking part implies that people should have equal opportunities as well as access to their constitutional rights, in this instance to use their languages of choice. Rillof (2007) submits that access to all is an advantage to everyone. It is therefore for everyone's good to get access to rights, duties and effective communication via their language of choice.

Due to the fact that the South African population speaks a variety of languages, it is unlikely that the gaps of a multilingual service will not be clear in the eyes of an interested observer. Equality, as has been stated above, is encouraged by the system of democracy. In the following section, equality is discussed in a broad sense as well as its relation to South Africa.

2.4.2 Equality

The Oxford South African Concise Dictionary (2010) defines equality as a state of being equal. Equal in turn means to be the same in quantity, size, degree, value or status (OSACD, 2010).

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996(9)), everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. The subsections of the equality clause are discussed below:

(2) Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.

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

(4) No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.

(5) Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.

2.4.2.1 Equality in South Africa

Inequality has been created in South Africa by the country's former systems of government, namely the segregation and apartheid eras. It was evident that citizens (mostly black people) of these eras did not receive the public services they were entitled to. This is why, at the dawn of a new era, equality was regarded as one of the most important aspects of democracy in South Africa.

Fanyane (2005:29) notes that, based on the diverse cultural nature of South African citizens and their social history, equality is a social ideal that is very contentious. Fanyane further notes that the issue of equality in South Africa is more of an idea that is bound by moral rules. In other words, Fanyane (2005) proposes that equality has more to do with morals shared by a particular

group of people. For instance, in South Africa there are numerous groups varying with respect to linguistic and cultural backgrounds and so forth, but when the constitution was written it gave attention to all these groups because they are residents of the country.

These morals thus propose that people who reside in similar residential areas should be treated equally, as fellow residents, and should not be discriminated against in any way. For instance, according to section 9(1) of Act 108 of 1996, the South African law is compelled to treat all South African citizens equally. The state as the main public service provider must therefore ensure that all public servants receive services equally.

2.4.2.2 Equality in public service delivery

The disregard of the section on equality in public services would lead to government's unsuccessfulness in its duty to provide public services to all South African citizens equally and in a just manner. The right to equality therefore makes it possible for everyone in South Africa to be treated with politeness and respect during service delivery (Fanyane, 2005:31).

Although the constitution clearly states how important equality is in South Africa, it is not disputable that South Africa is still a highly unequal country as far as service delivery is concerned (Kroukamp, 1999:227). Oliver (2013) is a local web page that advocates for communist ideologies. On this web page one can locate soft copies of literature dealing with South African matters varying from historical matters to those of the current day. Oliver supports Kroukamp (1999) by noting that South Africa is an 'extremely' unequal society. The protests that are linked to poor public service delivery serve as proof of these statements (see Marais et al., 2008).

These protests may be the result of failure to deliver on the promises that were made in the earlier stages of democracy (Kroukamp, 1999). It may also be argued that failure to effectively communicate with the public at large, in a language of the public's choice, played and still plays a prominent part in instigating such drastic measures from the public. This therefore indicates that there is a gap that needs to be filled by multilingual service delivery.

Decentralising some of the powers of the central government is one possible measure that may be followed by government in order to ensure that public service delivery is improved. Local

government is a sphere of government that is closer to the people at the ground. Therefore, when increased administrative rights are granted to this sphere, services may be easily accessible. This process is therefore known as decentralisation.

2.4.3 Decentralisation

Decentralisation may be defined in different ways. For the purpose of this study, the definition, in Siddle and Koelble (2012:18), is followed. According to Siddle and Koelble (2012), decentralisation refers to a process through which powers, functions, responsibilities as well as resources are transferred from central to local government. Siddle and Koelble further note that the definition is valuable because it takes into consideration the transfer of powers from one level of government to another. The degree of relationship between these levels as well as the balance of power among government levels are therefore regarded as the main focii of decentralisation. Falleti (2005:333) refers to this balance of power as intergovernmental balance.

According to Siddle and Koelble (2012:19), most literature sources place greater emphasis on the following three types of decentralisation: administrative, fiscal and political decentralisation. Administrative decentralisation is defined as a set of policies used in order to transfer administration and social service (education, health and social welfare) delivery to other levels of government, such as the provincial and local level. This therefore means that the right to manage decision-making and management roles is transferred from national government to its subdivisions (provincial and local government).

Fiscal decentralisation may be defined in different ways but the present study adheres to Falleti's definition. Falleti (2005) defines fiscal decentralisation as a set of policies created with the intention to increase revenue economic independence of the levels that are below the national government.

Political decentralisation refers to a set of constitutional adjustments and electoral improvements aimed at providing representation at levels lower than national government level. This means that political policies are thus created to ensure that authority is also granted to representatives at the provincial and local government levels (Siddle & Koelble, 2012:21).

Decentralisation may be divided into three levels. These levels are ***deconcentration*** *(which involves bureaucratic and hierarchical relationship)*, ***delegation*** (involves a relationship based on a contract) and ***devolution*** (relationship between a central and local government whereby the local government is treated as independent but is accountable to the central government) (Siddle & Koelble, 2012:23; Reddy, 1999:17). These levels are not discussed in the chapter but brief reference is made to them mainly to illustrate the complex nature of the term *decentralisation* and how broad it can be.

Decentralisation does not happen randomly. There are factors that lead to decentralisation and Reddy (1999:19) highlights the following as the most salient reasons for this phenomenon.

- There is a great demand for local public services and this demand varies from place to place. Reddy (1999) notes that decentralising the provision of local public services adjust to the multifaceted demands of the local communities. Language is viewed as one of the local factors that play a role in the delivery of services.

- Reddy also highlights efficiency as one of the reasons that lead to decentralisation. Reddy (1999:19) submits that locally financed and produced services cost less. Efficiency in service delivery may also depend on how these services are rendered and, most importantly, the language used during interactions between the community members and the providers of public services. Multilingual service delivery may thus, in view of this, be viewed as problematic.

- The third reason that Reddy notes is more politically oriented. Local government is viewed as an important training ground for democracy. This statement suggests that democracy should be implemented from the basic level and decentralisation should serve as a benchmark by which to check the effectiveness of local public service delivery.

As stated earlier in this section, (p. 15), Siddle and Koelble (2012) noted that decentralisation has more to do with the transfer of power from central government to the lower spheres. Decentralisation suggests that there should some form of cooperation between the spheres of government which are mainly tasked with bringing services to the people. Based on this, decentralisation therefore becomes relevant as a point of discussion in this chapter.

Government is granted the authority to exercise economic, political and administrative right to manage a country's affairs at all levels (Siddle & Koelble, 2012). Government needs to communicate with the people on the ground in a language that the concerned communities understand. This is where decentralisation (both political and fiscal) may be helpful if implemented correctly. If local government may receive more authoritative powers (political decentralisation) as well as sufficient budgets (fiscal decentralisation), it may improve service delivery at the local level (World Bank Report, 2011).

Although decentralisation holds some benefits, e.g. giving citizens a voice and bringing them closer to their political leaders, the multilingual service delivery gap has not yet been bridged. For instance, Cuvelier et al. (2010) notes that although public servants in Philippolis (Kopanong Local Municipality [KLM]) are fairly multilingual and do not struggle much when communicating verbally with the local public, written communication is still a problem in this area. Communicating one's interests and accessing human rights, as stipulated in Chapter 2 of the constitution, depends on language. In this instance communicating in an individual's language of preference is still problematic in South Africa because the majority of public servants still use the languages that were formally regarded as administrative languages. This is therefore an indication that language and communication are closely linked and play a major role in the public sector.

2.5 Policies concerning service delivery in South Africa

This section has to do with a few forms of legislation which handle service delivery related matters. It discusses the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), and provides a brief background on Batho Pele, the RDP, as well as the White Paper on Transformation of Public Service Delivery which rests on the eight Batho Pele principles guiding service delivery.

2.5.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996)

The birth of democracy saw measures being taken towards improving the lives of all South Africans, irrespective of language, race and so forth. In the preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), it is stated that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it'. Act 108 of 1996 is regarded as the supreme law of the country and grants equal rights and

freedoms to all South African citizens. These rights and freedoms are found in Chapter 2, which is best known as the Bill of Rights (Act 108 of 1996). It is stated in section 7(1) of Act 108 of 1996 that the Bill of Rights is the cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It further states that it protects the rights of all people in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The government therefore has to uphold these rights and freedoms which are intended to improve the lives of all South African citizens. This therefore means that the former regime's laws had to be repealed and that public services needed to be extended to those who were previously disadvantaged.

The Bill of Rights defines the following rights: access to adequate housing, health care services, sufficient food and water, social security, and education.

- *Section 26* of Act 108 of 1996

Housing -

(1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.

(2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.

(3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

- *Section 27* of Act 108 of 1996

Health care, food, water and social security -

(1) everyone has the right to have access to:

(a) health care services, including reproductive health care;

(b) sufficient food and water; and

(c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves and their dependants, appropriate social assistance.

(2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of each of these rights.

(3) No one may be refused emergency medical treatment.

The act dictates that the state must take reasonable measures, legislative and otherwise, within its available resources, to progress toward realisation of these rights (World Bank Report, 2011:15). Accessing these rights depends on communication which is realised through the use of language. Taking note of South Africa's diverse nature as far as language and culture is concerned, it is evident that more than one language needs to be used when communicating for services (also considering section 6(2) of Act 108 of 1996 which is discussed in the subsequent point). I therefore argue that these rights cannot be completely realised unless the services are delivered multilingually.

According to the constitution the government had to ensure that it increases accountability among political leaders, service providers and the citizenry. It further needed to see to it that stakeholder participation (citizens, business and labour) is correctly in place when legislative matters are to be decided upon. In so doing, sections 6 and 32 of the constitution, dealing with language and access to information respectively, are discussed below and form part of the focus of this chapter as far as the constitution is concerned. Section 6 constitutes the language clause and section 32 deals with access to information.

- *Section 6* of Act 108 of 1996

Languages -

(1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.

(2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.

(3) *(a)* The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.

(b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

(4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

(5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must:

(a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of:

(i) all official languages;

(ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and

(iii) Sign Language; and

(b) promote and ensure respect for:

(i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including

(ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes as well as German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu.

Sections 6(2) as well as 3(b) are of interest in this chapter. These two sections form part of my argument which is in favour of multilingual service delivery. Subsection 2 states that languages which were previously disadvantaged should be promoted. Promotion in this instance also suggests that these languages have to be used in formal matters such as accessing public services. Subsection 3(b) focuses on municipalities (in this case local municipalities).

The subsection notes that municipalities must consider the language preferences of their residents. This therefore suggests that the use of different languages ('the community's language(s) of preference') at municipal level is important. It further highlights that multilingual service delivery is recognised as important by the constitution. Based on the brief discussion on the language clause, I'm of the view that multilingual service delivery still constitutes a gap that needs to be closed as far as South African service delivery is concerned.

- *Section 32* of Act 108 of 1996

Access to information -

(1) Everyone has the right of access to:

(a) any information held by the state; and

(b) any information that is held by another person and that is required for the exercise or protection of any rights.

This section also suggests that the general public should have access to state-held information. Access in this instance does not only refer to the availability of the necessary information. It also means that the information should be available in multiple languages (see Molefe & Marais, 2013).

2.5.2 Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP)

The RDP is defined as an integrated, coherent socioeconomic policy framework. It is further noted that the RPD aimed to mobilise the general public as well as the country's resources towards finally doing away with the consequences of apartheid and to build a future on non-racial, non-sexist and democratic principles. The RDP was regarded as a foundation phase for a transformed South Africa (http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=232#1.1).

The RDP, as stated above, had six fundamental principles, namely:

- An integrated and sustainable programme

  The legacy of apartheid can be overcome through the use of policies that can be implemented at once and are well coordinated. The RDP combines strategies in order to

bind all our resources in a coherent and purposeful effort that is sustainable for future purposes. These strategies will be implemented at all governmental levels (national, provincial and local levels) by government, parastatals and organisations within civil society working within the framework of the RDP.

- A people-driven process

Our people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are our most important resource. The RDP is focused on our people's most immediate needs, and it relies, in turn, on their energies to drive the process of meeting these needs. Regardless of race or sex, or whether they are rural or urban, rich or poor, the people of South Africa must together shape their own future. Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about active involvement and growing empowerment. In taking this approach we are building on the many forums, peace structures and negotiations that our people are involved in throughout the land.

- Peace and security for all

Promoting peace and security must involve all people and must build on and expand the national peace initiative. Apartheid placed the security forces, police and judicial system at the service of its racist ideology. The security forces have been unable to stem the tide of violence that has engulfed our people. To begin the process of reconstruction and development we must now establish security forces that reflect the national and gender character of our country. Such forces must be non-partisan, professional, and uphold the constitution and respect human rights. The judicial system must reflect society's racial and gender composition, and provide fairness and equality for all before the law.

- Nation-building

Central to the crisis in our country are the massive divisions and inequalities left behind by apartheid. We must not perpetuate the separation of our society into a 'first world' and a 'third world' - another disguised way of preserving apartheid. We must not confine growth strategies to the former, while doing patchwork and piecemeal development in the latter, waiting for trickle-down development. Nation-building is the basis on which to

build a South Africa that can support the development of our Southern African region. Nation-building is also the basis on which to ensure that our country takes up an effective role within the world community. Only a programme that develops economic, political and social viability can ensure our national sovereignty.

- Linking reconstruction and development

The RDP is based on reconstruction and development being parts of an integrated process. This is in contrast to a commonly held view that growth and development, or growth and redistribution are processes that contradict each other. Growth - the measurable increase in the output of the modern industrial economy - is commonly seen as the priority that must precede development. Development is portrayed as a marginal effort of redistribution to areas of urban and rural poverty. In this view, development is a deduction from growth. The RDP breaks decisively with this approach. If growth is defined as an increase in output, then it is of course a basic goal. However, where that growth occurs, how sustainable it is, how it is distributed, the degree to which it contributes to building long-term productive capacity and human resource development, and what impact it has on the environment, are crucial questions in the consideration of reconstruction and development. The RDP integrates growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution into a unified programme. The key to this link is an infrastructural programme that is able to provide access to modern and effective services like electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people. This programme can meet both basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potential in urban and rural areas. In turn this may lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy. By modernising our infrastructure and human resource development, we also enhance export capacity. Success in linking reconstruction and development is essential if we are to achieve peace and security for all.

- Democratisation of South Africa

Minority control and privilege in every aspect of our society are the main obstruction to developing an integrated programme that unleashes all the resources of our country.

Thorough democratisation of our society is, in other words, absolutely integral to the entire RDP. The RDP requires fundamental changes in the way that policy is made and programmes are implemented. Above all, the people affected must participate in decision-making. Democratisation must begin to transform both the state and civil society. Democracy is not confined to periodic elections. It is, rather, an active process enabling everyone to contribute to reconstruction and development.

As already discussed above, the RDP which was regarded as the foundation phase for transformation in South Africa, comprised of six principles: an integrated and sustainable programme; a people-driven process; peace and security for all; nation-building; the linking of reconstruction and development; and the democratisation of South Africa.

As a result, the multilingual gap was not closed by the RDP. In 1995, the government came up with another document which was aimed at improving the delivery of public services. The piece of legislation was known as the White Paper for Transforming Service Delivery (WPTPSD) which was modified in 1997 and became known as the White Paper for Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPSD).

2.5.3 White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPSD)

The WPTSD (1995) was the pioneer document which contained eight fundamentals on which to base the transformation of service delivery (WPTPSD, 1997). Two years later (in 1997), the Department of Public Administration, then headed by Minister Zola Skweyiya, modified the document and it therefore became known as the White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPSD, 1997).

The modified white paper therefore focused on effectiveness as far as delivering public services to the general public is concerned. This effectiveness in delivering services which meet the basic needs of all South Africans is regarded as one of the primary benchmarks by which to judge the transformation of the South African public service (WPTPSD, 1997).

The WPTPSD (1997) notes that service to the people, is regarded as the guiding principle of the South African public service. It is further noted in this document that public services are not a privilege but rather a rightful expectation in a society that is civilised and democratic. Although

it may be seen that this document was based on creating a platform where services are people-centred, just like other documents with the same intention, it does not consider language, which is one of the most important tools of communities' communication (see Manqindi, 2005; De Ridder, 1999).

As stated above (p. 24), the WPTPSD is built upon eight principles. These principles are thus the yardstick by which the effectiveness of public services is judged. These principles are best known as the Batho Pele principles.

2.5.4 Batho Pele

The South African government realised that it first had to deal with past inequalities in order to improve public service delivery. It therefore aimed at doing away with the formerly practiced bureaucratic systems, attitudes as well as processes, in favour of new working methods that are better and quicker at responding to citizens' needs. In other words, these new methods were intended to be citizen oriented. As a result, service delivery is no longer the same as it used to be. Due to this change in service delivery, welfare, equality and good organisation forms part of the aims of service delivery (Kroukamp, 1999). This therefore highlights the significance of service delivery, more especially public service delivery, in South Africa.

As an answer to the public's cry concerning poor public service delivery, the government came up with the Batho Pele principles ('putting people first'). The main reason why these principles were established by government was that a change in service delivery could be effected so that it meets the requirements of the public (Constable, Mabena, & Manishi-Mjanja, 2007:2). The Batho Pele principles suggest practical ways in which the above-mentioned aims may be attained (Kroukamp, 1999:229).

Batho Pele is a Sotho notion meaning "putting people first". The eight Batho Pele principles are set out in the White Paper for Transforming Public Service Delivery (WPTPSD) of 1997 which is also known as the Batho Pele White Paper. These principles may be viewed as the benchmark by which the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of service delivery is judged. The eight principles are: consultation; service standards; access; courtesy; information; openness and transparency; redress; and value for money (WPTPSD, 1997).

A description of the Batho Pele is as follows:

1. *Consultation* – citizens should be told about the level and the quality of service they will get and where possible they should be given a choice regarding the offered services. This therefore means that government officials must communicate with the public on regular basis about the services that the public is provided with and also get the public's view on the services provided as well as the services they would want to be provided with.

2. *Setting service standards* - citizens should be told what level and quality of service they will receive so that they are aware of what to expect. In so doing the government may in some way prevent or minimise the possibilities of unrest outbreaks in the country.

3. *Increased access* – all citizens should have equal access to services which are entitled to them. The constitution also places emphasis on the importance of access to information in section 32. This therefore means that public servants should always ensure that all information is made available to the public. Access in this instance may refer to: accessibility in terms of the individual's language of preference as well as the form of register used on the text that provides information. This principle also links with section 9(3) of the constitution (equality).

4. *Courtesy* – citizens should be treated with courtesy and consideration. Service providers should empathise with the members of the general public, treating them with the consideration and respect that is expected of them. The public service has to commit itself to being honest, transparent and to regularly communicating with the members of the public (World Bank Report, 2011:x).

5. *Information* – citizens should be given full, accurate information regarding the public services that they are entitled to receive.

6. *Openness and transparency* – citizens should be told how the national and provincial departments are run, how much they cost and who is in charge.

7. *Redress* – if the promised standard of service is not delivered, an apology should be offered to the citizens, then a full explanation as well as a quick and effective remedy should follow. When complaints are made, citizens should receive a sympathetic, positive

response. Mwaniki (2012:177) observes this principle as the heart of the WPTPSD. The principle is in turn viewed in the WPTPSD as a constitutional principle which needs new ways in which complains are to be dealt with.

8. *Value for money* - public services should be provided economically and efficiently in order to give citizens the best possible value for money. Mwaniki (2012:178) notes that this principle is one of the primary principles as far as citizen charters are concerned.

These principles are found at most, if not all public service institutions in South Africa and within all spheres of government (national, provincial and municipal level). They are therefore accessible and visible for all community members to see but are inaccessible to those members of the community who are not literate in the English language.

As stated above, the main aim that led to the establishment of the Batho Pele principles was to improve the delivery of public services. Through effective implementation of these principles, the government would ensure that the citizens at grassroots level are easily reached. As a step towards enhancing its accessibility, the government recognised local government as its third level which was deliberately established to bring government to the local public as well as granting them a sense of involvement in the political processes that control their daily lives (Reddy, 1999:13). The constitution advocates for the equal promotion of all 11 official languages. In light of this statement, I am of the opinion that the eight Batho Pele principles leave the issue of multilingualism unaddressed.

The following section tries to delineate what service delivery is about in the democratic dispensation.

2.6 The practice of service delivery in local government

This section focuses on the government, especially local government and how it renders services to the people. This section also gives a brief background of what the term service delivery means. It further looks into the following six points: participation; accountability; the relationships of accountability in public services; the role of local government; public service delivery in local government; and public service delivery in a democratic South Africa.

2.6.1 Service delivery in South African local government

Fox and Meyer (1995:118) define service delivery as the act of providing citizens with public activities, benefits, or satisfactions. This basically means the government provides a service or product to the citizens as per the expectation of the citizens and according to the acts of parliament. Therefore service delivery can either be tangible (products) or intangible (services).

Naidoo (2009:17) says there are various ways of defining '*service*', ranging from a duty by an official, an act of lending an assisting hand to other people, authority over resources, to a system that renders some form of services that are viewed as necessities by the public at large. On the other hand, '*delivery*' may be defined as producing, handing over, taking goods to the intended receiver, or producing the results that are promised to the community of that which the community may expect (Naidoo, 2009:17).

According to Kickert (2002:90) service delivery has more to do with a service or product that is provided to a community by a certain body of government or government. It also has to do with implementing the promise that government made to the community at large as well as the expectations of the community. After the acquisition of political democracy in 1994, South Africa was going through a stage of transformation which was aimed at better service delivery. The Department of Public Administration was tasked with overseeing the entire process of transformation in public service delivery. Skweyiya (DPSA, 1997) submits that access to decent public services should not be a privilege enjoyed by a few but instead is the rightful expectation of all South African citizens, especially the previously disadvantaged. This extends to access in terms of the language of communication during service delivery processes. Preference has to be given to the languages spoken by the community members at large (section 6(3)(b) of Act 108 of 1996). Skweyiya adds that the guiding principle of public transformation and reform is 'service to the people'. Serving the people in their language(s) of preference is one of government's main priorities which have to be upheld at all times and at all government levels.

The Batho Pele principles (discussed earlier) became the benchmark by which service delivery was to be measured (Mwaniki, 2012). These principles were also intended in dealing with inequalities as far as the delivery of services is concerned. Service delivery in a democratic South Africa needs to be people-centred. This therefore means that the way in which public services are

delivered should focus on the community at large without any form of discrimination (section 9(3), Act 108 of 1996).

McLennan (2009:21) also submits that service delivery in South African contexts, especially public service delivery, has to do with more than just providing the public with services. According to McLennan (2009), service delivery also has to raise the public's living standards, confirm their citizenship in the new South Africa and promote a sense of redress.

Nevertheless, achieving this is a far-fetched notion if multilingual service delivery does not prevail within the public sector, especially at the local level. This is basically due to the different languages that are spoken at grassroots level. One of the great icons of the world, Mr Nelson Mandela, once said: "if you speak to a man in a language that he understands, it goes to his head but if you speak to him in his language, it goes to his heart". This is exactly what multilingual service delivery is all about.

Furthermore, Burger (2005) mentions that service delivery may have short- and long-term goals. As a short-term goal, service delivery may assist in relieving some of the heavy burdens of distribution which is also one of the primary issues of discussion in South Africa. On a long-term basis, subsidies in the health and education sectors may open a door for some people to escape from poverty.

Kroukamp (1999:329) therefore notes that welfare, equality and efficiency are some of the aims of service delivery. Kroukamp further says that the service delivery goals stated above may be attained if the Batho Pele principles are correctly implemented. Citizen participation forms the basis of the Batho Pele principles (Kroukamp, 1999:329).

2.6.1.1 Participation

Human et al. (2009:4; Turnhout et al. 2010) note that community participation (public participation) is a notion used persuasively by politicians, researchers and planners. Human et al. further note that the notion of community participation is not an easy one to define. McGee (cited in Human et al., 2009:4) defines public participation as a process that the community makes use of, to influence and play a role in development initiatives and in decisions which affect them.

Kgantsi (2008:8) defines public participation as a democratic process that involves people in thinking, decision-making, planning as well as in encouraging them to play an active role in the development and operation of service delivery. At municipal level, community participation is of utmost importance, especially in rural areas where the poorest of the poor reside. It is therefore expected of communities at this level of government to voice their wishes on governmental issues. Voicing the communities' wishes is not possible if communities are not served in the languages of their preference.

As has been repeatedly stated earlier in the chapter, the previous government centralised most of its resources as well as its power. This therefore meant that only a few elite could participate in decision-making processes. Nyalunga (2006) is of the opinion that public participation is a fairly new phenomenon in South Africa. Nyalunga further notes that previously, municipalities were racially based in order to limit the participation of African, coloured and Indian communities.

The new government therefore dedicated its efforts towards transforming public service from the centralised system that was followed by the previous governments and developing it into a more decentralised system. This means that national government is no longer the sole decision-maker; power is distributed to the provincial and local governments as well. Some form of autonomy is granted to local government, which may have a distinct legal status when compared to other spheres of government in order to create an environment that enables community consultation (Nyalunga, 2006).

According to Act 108 of 1996, South Africa is made up of three separate, mutually supporting and interconnected spheres of government, namely *national government, nine provincial governments and 284 municipalities*. These spheres of government were not merely created in order to transfer power and resources to the local sphere. The aim was also to create more opportunities for citizens at local level to participate in matters that affect their daily lives. Nyalunga (2006) reiterates that leaders were of the opinion that reaching out to the general public would strengthen their participation in political, economic as well as social activities aimed at further enhancing the process of decentralisation.

It has already been stated in this chapter that public participation is indeed not easy to define. Kroukamp (1999) points out a few reasons that bother critics of citizen participation:

- Citizen participation is not efficient enough to identify the public's preferences.

- Citizen participation also fails to combine the public's preferences into a public policy.

- Ordinary citizens do not have definite preferences regarding policy issues that may have an impact on their lives.

- It is difficult to get relevant people involved. In this regard, the question "who may be regarded as relevant people?" is also raised by the critics who argue that public participation is time consuming and also imposes financial constraints.

It is important and advisable to have the public participating in matters that have an impact in their life either directly or otherwise, but it is also worth noting that putting public participation in place is a challenging task (Kroukamp, 1999:331). A question of interest that may arise from the discussion on public participation may involve how the members of the public take part in the issues that affect their lives.

Nyalunga (2006) notes that there are different ways in which members of the public can play a role in government processes (especially at local level) in order to make their voices heard as far as decision-making is concerned. Nyalunga further lists the three ways of citizen participation categorised by Katemba.

- *Citizen action, by means of lobbying bodies like parliamentary committees, public demonstrations and protests.*

- *Citizen involvement, by means of public hearings, consultation with advisory committees and attitudinal surveys.*

- *Electoral participations, by means of casting votes and electing representatives.*

The above-mentioned types of participation are regarded as essential in South Africa and may therefore be used as the benchmark by which the level of democratic development may be measured. It may also serve as a yardstick by which the country's political growth may be measured. Political growth in this instance does not refer to growth in numbers but rather in the level of knowledge (Nyalunga, 2006). There is no doubt that when participation is practiced to its full potential, it leads to great positives for all stakeholders (Kroukamp, 1999).

It is therefore important to note that participation may sometimes benefit other parties more. Participation may lead to a situation where the interests of pressure groups are foregrounded through the dedication of public policy. Kroukamp (1999) also notes that there are factors that may lead people to feel obliged to participate. In other words, these factors are driving factors that force the public to participate rather than participating freely without any pressure from driving factors, e.g. various sources that own or have an impact on how the citizen makes use of his or her time. Secondly, constraints such as age and the illiteracy rate of the citizen may also play a role in forcing the citizen in concern to take part in certain matters. Thirdly, less exposure to the media could prohibit people from receiving information regarding potential problems and possible ways in which such problems may be solved.

In turn, the community may not be able to easily access the people they have elected as their representatives as is required by the democratic system. Denhardt and Denhardt (2000) submit that leadership ought to be accountable to their communities because the 'boat' (i.e. the country) belongs to them. The country belongs to those who reside in it and therefore the leadership needs to be accountable to its citizens. The issue of the importance of language in service delivery has been emphasised more than once in this chapter. I furthermore add that if the   multilingual service delivery gap continues to grow, citizens cannot not succeed in holding the leadership accountable.

2.6.1.2 Accountability

Cloete and Mokgoro (1995:6) note that the struggle for a free country stripped of racism and sexism leads to demands that government ought to be accountable to those they lead (the electorate). Cloete and Mokgoro regard this process as a step towards democratic accountability and further highlight decentralisation of government structures as one of the major characteristics of democratic accountability. This therefore means that government structures have to include the public. By including the public they fulfil what democracy is all about and in turn can be held responsible. Responsibility in this case may also include effective communication and redress, as emphasised by the WPTPSD.

Fanyane (2005:19) notes that accountability means that the government needs to explain its laws and duties to the public when there is a need to do so. Explaining the laws and duties of

government to the public depends on language. It has been stated more than once in this chapter that South Africa is linguistically diverse and therefore all citizens ought to be allowed to access services in their language of preference. It was further noted that public servants and the public do not always speak the same languages (see De Ridder, 1999). I therefore argue that although the new system of governance also aimed at enhancing accountability (World Bank Report, 2011), there is not much said about the role that language has to play in the process of trying to improve public service delivery.

2.6.1.3 The relationships of accountability in public services

There are more ways than one in which the public, government as well as service providers may hold each other accountable in order to improve public service delivery. In fact, three different accountability relationships have been identified in the World Development Reports', 2004 framework, (World Bank Report, 2011). These relationships are those among citizens as well as those among politicians/policymakers and service providers. The relationships are made up of two routes used by the parties concerned in order to communicate with one another for a particular purpose. The first route is formed by two 'legs', namely "citizens' voice" and "the compact" (the relationship between politicians/service providers and service providers). Citizen's voice and "the compact" are thus viewed as the long channel between the relationships of the parties concerned. Citizens' voice is that used by citizens to try to communicate directly with the politicians to influence them in some way or another. The government mostly prefers to make use of "the compact" as an initiative to improve accountability (World Bank Report, 2011:X).The second route of the accountability relationships has a short route. The latter thus makes up the third leg which is known as client power. Client power involves both the government and the community. Unlike "the compact", client power allows government to liaise directly with the members of the community who act as clients of public services (World Bank Report, 2011:X).

Client power enhances accountability because citizens communicate directly with service providers in order to ensure that they receive required services and that those services are provided as efficiently as possible. In this instance citizens are viewed as clients who require services from a particular service provider. In order for accountability to be regarded as strong, all these relationships ought to work properly. When these accountability relationships work as

they should, the poor may enjoy improved public services. In turn, this may strengthen democracy, internal state ability and accountability, as well as citizen participation (World Bank Report, 2003; Fiszbein, 2005). The World Bank Report (2011:X) also cautions that though this may ensure improved public service delivery, it is not an easy task to implement. Accountability suggests that there should be interaction between the government officials and the communities. This means that the parties involved need to communicate with one another in a language that the parties understand. In this case, the constitution gives preference to the language of the particular community's choice.

2.6.1.4 The role of local government

Apartheid has left a mark on South Africa's settlements and municipal institutions. In order for transformation to take place accordingly, there needs to be a clear understanding of the role that local government played in the formation and maintenance of local segregation and inequality; as well as the influence apartheid had on municipal institutions (White Paper on Local Government, 1998).

Racial segregation on local level already existed in South Africa prior to apartheid's inception (Sonneborn, 2010). It may be noted that apartheid only emphasised it further by introducing the Group Areas Act which was strict as far as residential segregation was concerned. This act ensured that people resided according to the stipulated groups (racial groups) and in so doing, black people were forcefully removed to reside with their own people. As a result, the government introduced a policy which allowed black people to manage their own areas (a policy of "own management for own areas"), which was aimed at minimising the extent to which white managed local municipalities would bear the onus of assisting the disadvantaged black areas. Black people were prohibited from residing in urban areas and had access to work only on the basis of their "passes" (WPLG, 1998).

According to the White Paper on Local Government (1998), the apartheid government tried to introduce self-governing structures for the black population on the local level on numerous occasions. These attempts were made in order to reward these racial groups because they had been deprived of certain rights and to strengthen the economic and political rights that came as a result of segregation. To mention but a few, these were the creation of the Bantustans and the

introduction of the Bantu Affairs Administration Act of 1971 which instituted administration boards which took responsibility for the removal of townships from white municipalities, etc.

Fink (2002:9) defines local government as a political instrument of the residents of a particular area which is aimed at attaining community based goals. Local government therefore leads to a communal use of funds and the exercise of authoritative duties at grassroots level. The government of South Africa is divided into three spheres, namely national, provincial and local government. The spheres are therefore entrusted with the authority to govern the country and ensure that revenue is generated in order to assist in administrative duties as well as the delivery of public services. Government employees have to work with people on the ground. This therefore means that both parties should be able to communicate with each other. As discussed later in the chapter (2.6.2, p. 50), communication is made possible by language (Molefe & Marais, 2013).

Molefe and Marais (2013:78) further emphasised the importance of language in communication as well as the unequal power relationship it causes between government officials and members of the public. This unequal power relationship was prominent during the apartheid regime where local government used to operate along the lines of race, culture and politics. According to Fink (2002:9), white local authorities, especially those in major commercial centres, were the only local government structures which had enough means and ability to deliver public services. This shows that public service delivery during the apartheid regime was a privilege enjoyed by a few, rather than by the majority. These minorities then ensured that they gave the formerly diminished people some form of independence just so they would not be responsible for providing them with basic public services (Venter & Lansburg, 2006).

2.6.1.5 Public service delivery in local government

Due to the historical background of South Africa, fraught with many injustices, the current government (democratic government) shifted its focus to one of the most critical issues confronting public service, i.e. service delivery. The reason for this shift by the government was actually an attempt to uphold a sustainable public service.

The South African public service's main goal is to render services to all South African citizens and it therefore has to ensure that these services are rendered to the public in a just manner. The

South African public service is obligated to rectify the unjust delivery of services especially for those communities who were previously deprived of receiving them. This objective is not attainable unless the South African public service is transformed from an unsustainable to a sustainable public service (Naidoo, 2009:1). All levels of government have to work together in order to attain the goal of providing equal services to the citizenry, which may eventually lead to a sustainable public service. For sustainable public service to work effectively, multilingual service delivery should not hinder the efficiency of communication at government levels. Act 108 of 1996 differentiates between the levels of government and their duties.

2.6.1.6 Public service delivery in a democratic South Africa

Public service delivery is not randomly prioritised in South Africa. There are very salient reasons that have led to it being granted so much attention. Mwaniki (2012:164-165) discusses the factors that have caused public service delivery to be such an essential issue in the present time:

i) *Customer awareness*. People are currently more aware of their rights and they can easily access information on public services and as a result they have more expectations of the level of services that the government provides. The general public have been exposed to private sector organisations. People are now aware of those organisations who are capable of rendering services of high quality and therefore do not accept government organisations' failure to live up to expectations as far as improving their own services.

ii) *Budgetary constraints*. Budgets allocated for dealing with public service delivery issues result from a number of factors, which include high provisions for pensions, education as well as the health sector. Another challenging factor for many governments is to support the public sector financially using money derived from tax collection. Supporting the public sector financially is a difficulty caused by the insufficiency of collected tax. Among other reasons the problem is experienced due to the constantly increasing fight to paying taxes, the mobility of individuals or businesses, which pay most of these taxes.

iii) *Greater accountability and transparency*. The roles of the media and social activists created a higher demand for liability and clarity. Mwaniki (2012) notes that liability is not an easy matter for the public sector because when something goes wrong in this sector, the media may put it on the front pages and even turn it into a political rather than a management related matter.

iv) *Drive for competitiveness*. Most countries prioritise the issue of investment which is aimed at the financial backing of economic growth. The managers of investment funds determine the destination of funding on the basis of public sector success.

All the above-mentioned factors are aimed at justifying the importance of public service delivery in local public contexts. In one of the points above, Mwaniki (2012) highlights the issue of comparison. This exposure to the manner in which the private sector renders its services encourages the public to demand better service standards from their elected government. Although many countries prioritise investment issues, there is still a gap as far as multilingual service delivery is concerned.

2.6.2 Communication in public service delivery

Communication is an essential practice of human life (Manqindi, 2005) and is therefore a key aspect in local government, especially the ability to communicate successfully.

Communicating successfully is very important for any ambitious manager or employee. Erasmus-Kritzinger (2002:26) explain that people use both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication to send a message from the sender to the receiver and vice versa. Verbal communication refers to the spoken words in face-to-face interactions, writing and listening, whereas non-verbal communication refers to other means such as sign language, facial expressions, gestures and objects. Erasmus-Kritzinger (2002:12) note that members of an organisation at all levels are involved in communication of some sort, be it formal or informal communication, taking place within or outside the organisation, with colleagues, customers, or the public, etc. on a daily basis. For the purpose of this study, organisations refer to government divisions and subdivisions. Communication is therefore vital for any organisation that is committed to achieving its goals.

Communication may be defined as a two-way process where one person sends a message through a channel and the person therefore provides feedback. Effective communication is a problem in the business sector. Proper and effective communication is also important in interaction between the government and its residents, especially when services need to be rendered. It may be argued that effective communication is even more problematic in the public sector than in the private sector. This hypothesis is based on the grounds set out in South African

legislation (especially Act 108 of 1996), which recognises the multilingual/multicultural nature of the South African population.

Due to the lack of effective communication within the business sector, productivity is hampered and interpersonal relationships among colleagues are also affected (Erasmus-Kritzinger, 2002:12). In the public sector, this lack of effective communication may, among other reasons, lead to poor service delivery. Erasmus-Kritzinger further notes that successful interpersonal communication is not an easy process; it is actually regarded as a process that is more complex than it looks.

Erasmus-Kritzinger (2002:30) suggests that each individual who is interested in being able to communicate successfully should presuppose that there are aspects that agitate, perplex and deform one's intended message. It is therefore important that one tries to overcome or work towards overcoming these aspects. According to Erasmus-Kritzinger (2002:30), aspects which intend to twist a message or hinder communication are referred to as communication barriers. These aspects may therefore be divided into the following categories: physical, physiological, perpetual, semantic and intercultural barriers (Erasmus-Kritzinger, 2002; also see Swanepoel & De Beer, 2011).

- o *Physical barriers*

  Erasmus-Kritzinger (2002:30) explain that any form of noise that mystifies a message or puts a stop to it may be referred to as a communication barrier. Erasmus-Kritzinger give examples of what physical barriers might be, e.g. traffic noise during an interview, a bad telephone line, etc.

  Some of the examples given, such as poor or outdated equipment used during communication (headphones, microphones, etc. used in a conference or meetings), poor lighting, and temperature that is too hot or cold may also be referred to as physical communication barriers (www.effectivecommunication.com).

- o *Physiological barriers*

  These are barriers that occur as a result of health-related and disability reasons. Poor eyesight or physical pain may interfere with an individual's concentration, which may

eventually lead to a message not being received by the receiver (www.effectivecommunication.com).

o *Perceptual barriers*

Different historical backgrounds, culture, gender, education, worldview, etc. may also lead to communication barriers (Erasmus-Kritzinger, 2002). These barriers are also referred to as barriers that are caused by attitudes (www.effectivecommunication.com).

o *Psychological barriers*

Anger, nervousness, depression, fear, anger, etc. are factors that may affect message transfer or receipt (Erasmus-Kritzinger., 2002).

o *Language*

Language may also constitute a communication barrier on its own. The reason for this is not only due to the different languages that are spoken in the country. It may be noted that people who speak the same language may also encounter problems of misunderstanding. This may be due to factors such as hailing from different regions of the same country, slang, professional jargon and other factors already stated under perceptual barriers (www.effectivecommnication.com).

Webb (2002) substantiates that language itself can be a barrier to communication and that it can be very influential in changing citizens' lives in a positive or negative way. Webb (2002:6) further notes that if the general public is not sufficiently familiar with the languages that are used in political debates, they are unable to take part in decisions that have a direct impact on their future. This therefore shows how valuable a language is in any society. The implication here is that community members in different constituencies should receive public services in their various languages (multilingual service delivery). For example, communities ought to be granted an opportunity to communicate their needs in a language of their choice and to receive response in the same language.

Communication and language issues cannot be separated because language is the most easily identifiable trait of any community (Manqindi, 2005:24). This therefore means that without

language, communication would be impossible. The following point highlights the impact that language has in the public sector.

2.6.3 Redress in language practice

Language played a pivotal role during the apartheid regime because it was one of the determinants of how services (especially public services) were rendered at the time. Manqindi (2005:2) notes that language is a vital tool in access to services because it is the main means by which human beings communicate.

As already stated above, in the era prior to 1994, the government in power ensured that only a certain group of people enjoyed better public service delivery. Other racial groups such as black people, coloured and Indians were oppressed. The ability of a community to speak and understand English and Afrikaans determined their access to public services as well as job opportunities. For instance, in the apartheid regime language played an imperative role in the process of seeking employment. One's ability to clearly communicate in the two official languages of the time, English and Afrikaans, constituted an advantage in securing an occupation in the public sector. Due to this, most people who were illiterate were not eager to visit public service institutions (Dlamini, 1999:101).

The above-mentioned example clearly emphasises the important role of language and how it was valued in the former government. It may be reemphasised that language plays a key role in human life, because it does not only gives us a sense of identity or belonging but is commonly used in communication. Therefore, in cases where members of the public do not speak the 'language of public life', there has to be an intervention (Manqindi, 2005:25).

Zimba (2011) is also of the opinion that language is a primary tool for communication and information circulation. In light of this statement, one may ask that if language is such an important tool, why do people on grassroots level still struggle to access public services?

Coetsee (2009:22) notes that indigenous languages are rarely used by different public service providers. Due to this state of affairs, Coetsee further argues that the power relationship between service providers and the public is skewed in the sense that members of the public have to use a

language other than their language of choice when communicating about services. This hampers service delivery.

Multilingual service delivery may be viewed as a democratic manner in which most if not all citizens of the country may be served as effectively as possible. Multilingualism may be defined as the ability that the general public, different institutions, groups and individuals have to regularly connect with three or more languages in their daily lives (Mwaniki, 2012:44).

Mwaniki (2004:83) suggests that multilingual service delivery is vital in the public sector. Multilingual service delivery implies that the South African public ought to be served in the language(s) that they prefer. Consideration is also given to what the constitution refers to as regional languages. For instance, there are languages that are chosen as languages of the majority and are therefore regarded as administrative languages. In the Free State province, Sesotho is regarded as a language spoken by the majority, whereas English and Afrikaans are administrative languages.

Mwaniki (2012:42-43) further notes that due to the lack of multilingual service delivery, most South African citizens have no access to the country's wealth which is still in the hands of a few people. This therefore means that there is still an imbalance in the distribution of the country's wealth and a gap caused by the lack of multilingual service delivery.

Mwaniki (2012) goes on to say that language may play a facilitative role in the enlargement of people's choices at the macro level of development as well as at the micro level of service delivery and service access, access to information as well as knowledge access, and the transfer and application of that knowledge. He also argues that a number of critical language specialists (interpreters and translators) is needed by managerial language specialists so that they can assist in the facilitation process, focusing their attention on the implementation of language legislation and policies in South Africa (Mwaniki, 2004:86).

2.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to argue that multilingual service delivery remains a problematic issue in South Africa. The historical background of the country as far as service delivery is concerned is outlined in order to make a comparison of how services (especially public services)

were delivered, e.g. the inequality that was created due to the racial, ethnic and linguistic discrimination that prevailed during the apartheid era and how it benefited a certain group of people over the other (Sonneborn, 2010).

After democracy was acquired in 1994, the new government inherited the problems that resulted from the former regime. The government therefore had to find a way of dealing with these problems (such as inequality, etc.). The constitution (Act 108 of 1996) was a step in the right direction because it was aimed at changing the lives of all South African citizens, taking the struggles of the previously disadvantaged people into consideration.

The chapter therefore highlighted some of the principles guiding service delivery and which are also found in the constitution. These principles, as already discussed above, are equality, democracy and decentralisation. Although these principles are viewed as a form of improvement, the research maintains that a gap remains as far as multilingual service delivery is concerned (Mwaniki, 2012).

There are many policies and other pieces of legislation that deal with the issue of service delivery, but for the purpose of this study only Act 108 of 1996, the Batho Pele principles, the WPTPSD as well as the RDP were used. The Batho Pele principles which serve as a benchmark for guiding the manner in which public services should be rendered, are not appropriately implemented (Kroukamp, 1999). These principles are aimed at bringing services closer to the people through their local governments. This therefore means that government officials ought to communicate with their communities on regular basis and give them feedback regarding the community's concerns (WPTPSD, 1997). This implies that communication between the general public and the government officials should be effective.

This chapter also argued that deficient communication may be viewed as one of the major problems that led to what Marais et al. (2008) referred to as 'service delivery protests'. It was furthermore argued that ineffective communication is caused by differences in language use. Government officials mostly communicate with their communities in English and Afrikaans, whereas the communities at grassroots level prefer the languages referred to in section 6(2) of the constitution. It is noted more than once in this chapter that South Africa is indeed a linguistically diverse country and that there are insufficient numbers of personnel to successfully

deliver services multilingually. This therefore creates challenges as far as effective service delivery is concerned.

The following chapter (Chapter 3) proposes possible solutions for the challenges discussed above. The chapter provides a detailed discussion of interpreting and translation, with a particular focus on community interpreting and translation as well as the language practitioners involved (interpreters and translators). It also indicates how these human activities can assist as far a closing the gap in public service delivery is concerned.

Chapter 3: Interpreting and translation in the community

The chapter provides a detailed discussion of multilingual service delivery. I argue that community interpreting (CI) and community translation (CT) may be used to enhance the delivery of public services in local public service settings. The chapter thus discusses the theoretical background of both CI and CT.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter argues the case of multilingual service delivery through interpreting and translation. Interpreting and translation are forms of mediation that are utilised to make communication possible between people who are from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. When there is a need for people to communicate for varying reasons, from trade related matters, right through to matters dealing with politics, education, access to public services, the judiciary, health, etc. Translation and interpreting may be utilised as tools of language facilitation to assist the involved parties to communicate with ease.

In this chapter, I argue that CI and CT as forms of mediation may play a pivotal role in filling a gap within South Africa's public service sector, particularly service delivery at the local level (Erasmus, 1999; Manyoni, 1999). Community interpreting (CI) may be defined as a form of interpreting which takes place in settings where issues of everyday life are communicated or daily life services are provided, e.g. basic services such as health care, security, municipal services, judicial services, etc. Community Translation (CT), on the other hand, may be referred to as a form of translation which takes place within a particular local community and is aimed at enhancing communication. One of the common factors as far as these two forms of mediation are concerned is the use of ad hoc measures in order to bridge the communication gap (see sections 3 and 4 below). Nevertheless, these forms of mediation are regarded as useful tools.

Mwaniki (2012) refers to interpreting and translation as vital tools for enhancing multilingual service delivery. In Chapter 2, I refer to section 6(2) of the South African constitution. This section actually supports multilingualism because, by promoting the previously disadvantaged languages, we embrace our diversity (see Manyoni, 1999). I also made reference to section 9 which stipulates that all South African citizens are equal in the eyes of the law and may not be

discriminated against on various grounds, of which language forms a part. Multilingual service delivery may therefore be viewed as a statutory obligation that emanates from the constitution itself. It implies that local communities are entitled to receive services in their language of choice (Act 108 of 1996).

It has been emphasised in Chapter 2 how important the community's choice of language is (see section 2.6.2 on p. 37). Community translation and interpreting may be used to further realise multilingualism and assist service providers in fulfilling their role of providing public services. Enhancing communication between different parties involved in a communicative situation is one of the most important roles that interpreting and translation (through agents such as interpreters and translators) need to fulfil in a society. These two forms of mediation are aimed at filling more than one gap (Coetsee, 2009).

Translation and interpreting as forms of mediation are not only intended to bridge linguistic divides but are also aimed at bridging service gaps between the service providers and members of the public. This chapter looks into the two disciplines' objectives and roles in closing the gap between the public and their service providers. There are different types of interpreting and translation but for the purpose of this study, the researcher therefore aims to focus on community interpreting (CI) and community translation (CT) as well as on the roles played by the practitioners involved. The researcher opted for CI and CT because the focus of the study is on the delivery of services at grassroots level. This is where day-to-day interactions between local community members and service providers take place and due to the imbalance in power, or rather what Coetsee (2009) refers to as the unequal power relationships, mediation is required through CI and CT. By highlighting the roles of community interpreters and translators (which, as discussed later in the chapter, are not bound to the traditional roles), the researcher aims to show how language facilitation may enable service receivers to voice their needs and realise their rights and obligations under the law and assist service providers to understand those needs as well as respond accordingly.

The chapter first gives a historical background of the two disciplines, namely community interpreting and translation. It is also important to note that the historical backgrounds of the two disciplines is separated for the benefit of the reader. The chapter further focuses on the types of

interpreting and translation that take place at community level, and then shift the focus to the practitioners involved in their respective practices as well as their roles in different settings.

3.2 Conceptualising community translation (CT) and community interpreting (CI)

In this section, the historical background of translation and interpreting is discussed in a broader sense. The focus in this section is therefore just to introduce the reader to the translation and interpreting fields by providing a brief background of the two fields respectively. This section also looks at what I would like to refer to as the roles of practice. The roles of practice covers both CT and CI.

3.2.1 A synopsis of community translation

Munday (2008) says that the term 'translation' has several meanings. It can refer to the general subject field, the product (the translated text) or the act whereby a translation is produced (translating). In this process the translator (the person who translates) changes an original text (the source text (ST)), that has been written in its original language (source language (SL)) into another written text (target text (TT)) written in a different spoken language (target language (TL)). Munday further notes that this process matches up to what Roman Jakobson refers to as translation proper in one of his three categories of translation, namely rewording, translation proper and transmutation (Munday, 2008:5).

Translation and interpreting have played an important role in the communication of people from different linguistic backgrounds. Munday (2008) notes that writings on the subject of translation go as far back as recorded history is concerned. Munday further mentions Cicero, Horace and St. Jerome as the earlier authors who wrote about the practice of translation and whose writings had an influence up until the 20th century. Although this practice was established long ago, translation studies only developed into a discipline in the second half of the 20th century (Munday, 2008:7).

According to Munday (2008), translation was regarded as an element of language learning in modern language courses. This he notes was before the second half of the 20th century. Munday (2008:7) further notes that the grammar-translation method became popular from the 1800s until

the 1960s. This method, according to Munday, was used in secondary schools and was believed to be a method that would assist learners to acquire a foreign language. Its focus was on the grammatical rules and structures of these foreign languages. Translation was linked to learning a new language and as a result acquired secondary status (Munday, 2008).

In the 1960s and 1970s, when the direct method or communicative approach to English teaching was introduced, many English speaking countries did not regard the grammar-translation method as a main method for learning a language. The focus of communicative approach was on the student's natural ability to learn a language. Due to this focus, translation was no longer used in language learning and was therefore restricted to higher-level and university language courses as well as professional translator training (Munday, 2008).

Literal translation was promoted at American universities in the 1960s. Translation workshops gave birth to a few approaches where translation became a research subject, namely the *practical criticism approach*, *comparative literature* and *contrastive analysis* (Munday, 2008; Munday, 2012). The practical criticism approach was aimed at introducing translation into the target culture and the translation process. It was also aimed at discussing the finer translation principles and understanding a text. In the comparative literature approach, sources of literature were studied and compared translationally and transculturally, which created the need to study translation literature. The contrastive analysis approach is the study of two different languages in order to try and spot the general as well as specific differences (Munday, 2008). For purposes of this chapter I do not dwell on these three noted approaches but provide a brief overview of the interpreting field.

3.2.2 Overview of interpreting

Traditionally translation theory has based its focus on written texts, but later on interest also developed in oral translation or what is currently known as interpreting. Pöchhacker (2004) regards interpreting as a translational activity and a special form of translation. Pöchhacker further notes that interpreting as a practice preceded translation for it came into being prior to the inception of the written form of language. The historical Eurocentric view of interpreting was that interpreting only focused on the translation of the spoken word (Hale, 2007).

In its earlier stages, interpreting research was strongly focused on professional settings such as conferences (conference interpreting) and the courts (court interpreting). As from the 1990s, interpreting research shifted more towards semi-professional, community as well as dialogue interpreting forms, which are less institutionalised than the former. This growing body of interpreting research could be argued to be one of the major shifts in interpreting studies on the micro-interactional context (Pöchhacker, 2004).

Pöchhacker (2004:11), guided by Otto Kade's (a translation scholar at the University of Leipzig and a self-taught interpreter) criteria, defines interpreting as "a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language". Pöchhacker (2004:10) notes that the term interpreter was derived from the Latin term *interpres* which refers to 'someone who makes sense of what others struggle to understand'. Pöchhacker further notes that in our current understanding of the term, it is also a suitable semantic foundation for what we refer to as 'to interpret'.

The background of the verb and how it has changed in meaning over time shows that it has a semantic relation with the term 'translation' and 'to translate'. Although the study of interpreting does not suggest translation in all its variations and subdivisions, Pöchhacker (2004) notes that the two practices cannot be distanced from one another. A discussion on the differences between the two disciplines are not be included in this chapter but rather how they can be resourceful within the public sector. Interpreting as a practice has modes in which interpreting takes place. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary (2009), a mode is the way in which something occurs or is done. In this context, mode of interpreting refers to a manner in which interpreting is done. The National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators (NAJIT) notes that modes of interpreting have evolved over time (www.najit.org.).

This chapter does not focus on modes per se, but takes note of the two major ones that are used in interpreting practice, namely the consecutive and simultaneous modes of interpreting. The two modes work in the following manner. In the consecutive mode, the interpreter waits for the speaker to finish presenting his or her chunk of information in the source language before interpreting that chunk into the target language. On the other hand, the simultaneous mode of interpreting is where interpreting is provided by the interpreter as the source language text is presented by the speaker (Pöchhacker, 2004). These modes used in different settings are

dependent on the setting itself. For a more professionalised kind of interpreting, such as conference interpreting, the simultaneous mode is used. For the less formalised forms, such as interpreting at doctors' consulting rooms, consecutive interpreting is used (Pöchhacker, 2004). At conferences, conference interpreters work only into their A language (interpret only in the mother tongue of first language) and are viewed as passive actors. On the other hand, community interpreters work in both the language of the speaker and that of the client. Community interpreters are active participants in the communicative situation. The next section deals with the chosen types of community interpreting.

Before shifting the focus of this chapter towards the discussion on CI, the reasons for language facilitation and its types, etc., I would first like to give an overview of the roles of the two practices. The reason for this discussion is basically to indicate that these two forms of mediation are indeed an essential part of our democratic society and ought to be treated with the respect they deserve.

3.2.3 The roles of community interpreting and translation

It has been reiterated time and again that language as a barrier has been problematic in South Africa for a long time but was internalised by the former apartheid regime. Ordinary citizens have been distanced from the public servants on many grounds, of which language(s) plays a prominent role. Manyoni (1999) emphasises that even in the new democratic dispensation, some of the initiatives that are meant to be productive in promoting our diversity as a country (including linguistic diversity), actually cause us greater problem.

According to Manyoni (1999), nationalism and nation-building presume commonality and national unity, jeopardising cultural, economic and social diversity. Manyoni further explains that efforts made by the government towards building a rainbow nation have inhibited many forms of diversity. He makes reference to cultural ethnicity as one such form of diversity that suffers due to this attempt toward unifying the country into one rainbow nation. Manyoni argues that the former government ('the apartheid government') placed great emphasis on such differences when they implemented racial segregation, which was based on a 'divide and rule policy'. The efforts aimed at nation-building are good, but dangerous. Efforts in this instance refer to the attempts of government to break away from racial, cultural and ethnic differences.

Manyoni further argues that in so doing, the implementation and promotion of indigenous languages becomes a difficult task. This is due to the fact that language is linked to cultural identity and ethnicity. Manyoni also notes that attempts at nation-building also create a space for monolingualism (especially Anglicisation). He therefore argues that the concept "rainbow nation" suggests unity in diversity. Diversity on the other hand presupposes the use of one's language of choice when communicating for public services where possible. If this is not a possibility, interpreting and translation services should be available to assist in facilitating communication (Act 108 of 1996; Act 12 of 2012).

Language has always been a controversial issue in South Africa and was used as a means for exclusion (Mwaniki, 2010). Manyoni made a similar observation. Prior to the democratic dispensation, the apartheid government excluded most of the country's citizenry from government decision-making as well as accessing public services (Manyoni, 1999). The flow of information was mainly monolingual or rather in the two languages that were then regarded as official languages. Public servants who were supposed to serve the public were actually viewed as technocrats and experts who were in charge of information flow. These experts made sure that the majority of members of the South African public were not included in public debates that focused on public service delivery issues (Manyoni, 1999:126).

The learned people of the time decided that information should be distributed in English and Afrikaans only. This created a language barrier for the majority of South African citizens who were speakers of the 9 indigenous African languages. This language barrier then ensured that the majority only received limited access to public services. Manyoni (1999) notes that the democratic government of the time did not do much to ensure that the issue regarding flow of information was rectified.

Translation and interpreting services at municipal level have certain roles that they may play in the public sector. According to Manyoni (1999), translation and interpreting promote multilingualism, provide equal access to public services, assist in encouraging respect for linguistic and cultural diversity, promote local economic development as well as facilitate effective communication. I have opted to discuss only two of the roles that interpreting and translation play within the public sector.

i) *The promotion of multilingualism*

Translation and interpreting services are put in place at municipal level in order to try and enable politicians and public service providers to communicate with the community's language of choice. Manyoni further notes that by virtue of communicating with communities in their language of choice, this does not mean that multilingualism will be automatically acquired. Instead it is a step in the right direction. According to Manyoni (1999) it is the beginning of a process which is guaranteed to take some time before it could be achieved. He makes further reference to Regan (1990) who notes that in spite of the nature of political change in South Africa, linguistic diversity remains a challenge for many South Africans well into the next 100 years. Thus, Manyoni urges that multilingualism must be taken seriously before the next century.

ii) *The facilitation of effective communication*

Manyoni (1999) elaborates that effective communication at local government level cannot be possible if information is only made available monolingually. His opinion is based on the grounds that administrative languages still take precedence in the country, especially English. Manyoni further submits that a lack of effective communication leads to division between community members and the municipalities. Community members therefore show great disappointment in how the municipalities serve them and refer to them as separate units. Their change of attitude towards municipalities suggests that they do not view municipalities as entities that are aimed at assisting them in improving their lives.

According to Manyoni (199:128) this lack of effective communication may even result in municipalities being disapproved of by members of the community. As already discussed, the lack of effective communication may also result in public protests. The provision of interpreters and translators, language practitioners skilled to facilitate language may assist in ensuring that there is mutual understanding among members of the linguistically diverse communities. This may also refer to the understanding between the municipalities and the communities they render services to (Manyoni, 1999:128).

Based on Manyoni's discussion on the role of language practitioners within the public sector, it is therefore appropriate to note that effective communication is indeed an essential element in the delivery of public service. Due to the essential nature of effective communication within the

public sector, translation and interpreting as forms of mediation therefore play a pivotal role in assisting both communities and public service providers (Manyoni, 1999).

It should be noted that there are indeed communication problems within the public sector and municipalities are also culprits who continue to aggravate the language barrier issue. Manyoni (1999) says that municipalities tend to maintain the former regime's system of alienation of the majority from accessing information and services. In instances where there is a need for language facilitation in public institutions, ad hoc interpreters are utilised instead of professional interpreters. Manyoni (1999:126) notes that professional interpreting is not regarded as a priority at these institutions. He further suggests that interpreting and translation services should be provided at local government level. By doing so, he argues, municipalities will be moving towards a period in which language barriers will no longer be viewed as a reason for inequalities in access to public services.

3.3 Community interpreting (CI)

Community interpreting (CI) takes the interpreter into the most private areas of human life. It takes place where most personal and important issues that individuals encounter on a daily basis are discussed. It may take place at a doctor's surgery, the police station, in a social worker's office or at a lawyer's practice etc. (Hale, 2007).

Mikkelson (2010) refers to CI as interpreting that enables people who are not fluent in the official language of the country concerned, to communicate with public service providers. Community interpreters, i.e. practitioners who are responsible for carrying out different duties (discussed in the next section), therefore facilitate communication between the client and service provider. Due to such facilitation the client gains equal and full access to education, government, health, social and legal services (Mikkelson, 2010). Mikkelson further submits that community interpreting is also referred to as liaison-, cultural-, three-cornered-, public service-, or dialogue interpreting. Although there are different names used to refer to this type of interpreting, it is not agreed whether these names are synonymous (Mikkelson, 2010).

Liaison interpreting was established under circumstances that are totally different from conference interpreting. Gentile, Ozolins and Vasilakakos (1996) mentioned that conference interpreters do not always see liaison interpreting as an area of interpreting, but rather as

multilingual welfare work. This form of interpreting, according to Gentile et al. (1996), grew as a result of a number of social and economic developments a few decades after World War II. The two main development areas that are believed to have led to the growth of liaison interpreting are international business contacts and immigration, as well as the indigenous people who do not speak the dominant language of their society (Gentile et al., 1996).

Corsellis (2008) submits that the interpreting field of study was previously focused on communication between groups that speak different languages on an international level. Corsellis further highlights the changes in the field. She says that interpreting is still about communication but notes that presently as well as in the future, the focus is on communication between people of different languages and cultures within the same country. Interpreting focuses on the events of people's everyday lives. For language facilitation to take place, there ought to be factors that call for mediation.

Before getting into the reasons that call for language facilitation, it is important to look at language facilitation itself. It was stated in Chapter 2 that South Africa is linguistically diverse and is a developing state where democracy is practiced. Democracy also suggests that there be equality in terms of language. Webb (2002:6) notes that if people are not familiar with the languages spoken in the political field (by politicians), they cannot take part in decisions that have a direct impact on their future. Translation and interpreting may therefore assist in empowering such community members by enabling them to voice their views freely.

Erasmus (2000), on the other hand, says that there are people who still view language facilitation as less important in the country, whereas others hold a perception that people must be in a position to communicate their own needs and fully participate in finding solutions to their own problems. Interpreting and translation as tools of language development may play a primary role in ensuring that people fully participate in their day-to-day livelihoods. This is actually what democracy is about: it is a people-driven system of governance.

Erasmus (2000) further argues that investing in language professions and regarding language workers as "critical links" in the discourse of democracy may be one way to meet the challenges experienced in a multilingual society. Erasmus also states that translators and interpreters provide an imperative "functional multilingualism in a society where linguistic and cultural

differences need to be conquered in order to *redress* the power inequality created by the colonial and apartheid eras" (Erasmus, 2000:196). I am therefore of the view that language facilitation may be the solution to closing the linguistic and cultural gap between parties in communication.

3.3.1 Reasons leading to the need for language facilitation

As already noted in this chapter, interpreting is an ancient human practice (Pöchhacker, 2004). It is quite interesting that the reasons leading to the need for language facilitation differ greatly between developed and developing countries.

Corsellis (2008) proposes that globalisation and modern modes of transport have resulted in people moving between countries for shorter or longer time frames. Corsellis further argues that among the factors that cause people to move between countries, are those people seeking employment, those who migrate for educational purposes, as well as those who travel for pleasure. Another factor that Corsellis (2008) identifies involves natural and man-made disasters. These factors, she argues, lead to the creation of multilingual, multicultural populations. In order to substantiate this argument, Corsellis (2008) notes that 30% of school children in London speak a different language from the official language. Baker and Eversley (2000) note that the languages in London may be approximately 300 and that the stated percentages of school children have one of these languages as their home language. This shows that there is a great number of people flocking into London. Rillof (2007) also singles migration out as one of the factors that lead to the need for mediation.

According to Rillof (2007), migration, like language and language diversity, has always been practiced. As the world becomes smaller, there is an increase in the number of different languages spoken in a country, region, etc. Rillof further notes that Antwerp has over 460 000 residents from 169 countries. Although there are so many inhabitants who have migratory background in the province and who speak 405 languages, Dutch is the only official language. Rillof also notes that 26% of the population in Antwerp has a migration background. Rillof further explains that 18.4% of these people with a migration background are from outside Europe (Rillof, 2007:3). In the 19th century, European cities saw an influx of people who were from other parts of the world. One of the main reasons for this migration was that these people were in search for greener pastures and new homes. As a result, they moved to bigger and better

countries in search of jobs, better schools for their children as well as better living conditions. Bearing in mind that these people come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, moving into these countries presented certain difficulties, especially for those who do not speak one of the official languages of the countries they migrated to. Communication thus becomes a challenge for both the minority groups and the service providers (Hale, 2007).

There is a need to effectively communicate between people of different origins and their potential employers. These people should also get access to essential services such as health, education, social services, the justice system, etc. and this can only be effectively communicated when the concerned parties can understand each other. It should also be comprehended that these people are not part of the majority in the concerned country but nevertheless require services (Rillof, 2007).

As noted earlier in this subsection, the reasons leading to the need for language facilitation in developing countries like South Africa sometimes differ from what transpires in first world countries. As stated above, in first world countries people who have migration backgrounds and are members of the linguistic and cultural minority groups are mostly the ones who need language facilitation (see Corsellis, 2008; Hale, 2007; Rillof, 2007). South Africa is a good example of what Corsellis (2008) refers to with regard to the focus of interpreting because, in South Africa, language facilitation is needed by people of different languages and cultures within the same national borders.

South Africa had only two official languages in the apartheid regime, namely English and Afrikaans. As a result, the majority of South African citizens who were speakers of previously marginalised languages were oppressed in almost all walks of life. They were deprived of social, political and economic rights which led to the establishment of unequal power relations along ethnic and language boundaries (Erasmus, 2000). The power relations in the health, welfare, education, security and local government fields are visible and clearly depict the unequal training and job opportunities of the past. According to Erasmus (2000:192), these unequal power relations are made visible through linguistic inequality.

One of the main reasons language facilitation is important in South Africa, is to redress the injustices of the past. It has already been stated in Chapter 2, as well as earlier in this chapter,

that prior to the current democratic regime, people in South Africa were not treated equally in most aspects of life and that this imbalance of power was driven through language. Language facilitation therefore seeks to empower all South Africans equally (Erasmus, 1999; Erasmus, 2000).

Language facilitation is actually proclaimed in not so many words by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). Section 6(2), dealt with in the previous chapter, says that previously disadvantaged languages should be promoted. The constitution does not specify how these languages should be promoted. Beukes (2006) notes that, except for section 35(3)(k), the constitution is silent about translation and interpreting as contextual resources. It is therefore relevant to follow Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:76) who argue that it is important to add interlingual communication which is realised through translation and interpreting in macro-level language planning goals. I would therefore like to focus the attention of this discussion towards community interpreting (CI) in South Africa.

3.3.2 Reasons for community interpreting in South Africa

Coetsee (2009) says liaison interpreting (community interpreting) has become a statutory obligation since the inception of the new constitution (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa). Coetsee further notes that the constitution makes provision for all South African citizens to enjoy basic human rights and for them to access the services that come with these rights. Though the citizens are all entitled to basic human rights, Coetsee states that they have limited access to information regarding these rights due to the fact that government documentation is not available to illiterate citizens and that government offices do not have the capacity to provide officials who can speak all official languages (Coetsee, 2009).

This therefore means that access to basic human rights often depends mostly on English language proficiency. Due to this dependency on English, there is an unequal power relationship between public service providers and members of the public (receivers of these services). This imbalanced relationship has already been alluded to in this chapter. Basically, the majority of community members are either illiterate or semi-literate, which therefore hinders from communicating successfully in English. As a result, they lose interest in the day-to-day issues of

their lives. Authorities (public servants) are highly educated and therefore come across as superior to the members of the community (Coetsee, 2009; De Ridder, 1999).

This unequal power relationship needs to be bridged in order for public services to be provided equally to all and without biases. Interpreting and translation may in this regard assist to mend the relationship between members of the public and the authorities. Coetsee (2009) notes that intermediary services rendered by liaison interpreters are thus important to ensure that members of the public are able to access public services (Coetsee, 2009).

These services should be rendered by people who are skilled in the field of interpreting and translation respectively. However, this has not been the case in developing countries (South Africa included). According to Lesch (2009), ad hoc measures have been taken to deal with language barriers and, to date, these measures have not brought any noticeable successes.

It is also important to note in this instance that there are financial constraints. I am also aware that ad hoc measures do not always lead to unfavourable outcomes, but it may be to the advantage of the service users as well as the providers if ad hoc practitioners could be trained for the job that they are doing. Thus, I am following Coetsee (2009) who suggests that interpreters and translators in the community should be trained not only linguistically and culturally, but should also acquire training in their fields of specialisation. Hence, in the following subsection I discuss who community interpreters are as well as explain their role in society.

3.3.3 Types of community interpreting in South Africa

This section deals with the different types of community interpreting in South Africa, with a particular focus on the types of CI needed in local public service contexts. It is also important to note that the types of interpreting discussed have been selected following the available public service institutions in Philippolis[1].

There are many types of interpreting that take place within the community, e.g. medical interpreting (which can be further divided into different areas of the medical field such as hospitals, doctors' consultation rooms, interpreting at psychiatric institutions, etc.), legal interpreting (discussed below), educational interpreting, sign language interpreting, interpreting

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[1] Philippolis is a small rural town in the southern part of the Free State Province in South Africa. See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of this town.

at public meetings, church interpreting, etc. For purposes of this chapter, however, the focus is only on a few interpreting types, with a particular interest in the types of interpreting that take place at the community level in Philippolis, namely medical interpreting and legal interpreting (court interpreting and interpreting in police settings). Although *over-the-counter* interpreting is placed under the types of community interpreting, it is not a type but rather a focal point.

i) *Medical interpreting*

Medical interpreting may be defined as a form of interpreting that takes place in medical settings. These settings vary from hospitals, psychiatric institutions, doctors' consulting rooms, etc. Interpreters who work in these settings are mostly unqualified interpreters. Coetsee (2009) confirms that this form of interpreting is often performed by either members of support staff or the patient's relative (ad hoc interpreting). The fact that ad hoc methods are used in the health sector leads to increased communication problems in health care.

Communication, which is mostly realised through language, is a vital issue in the health sector (Hale, 2007). Language makes it possible for the health practitioner to ask appropriate questions effectively. It further makes it possible for the practitioner to listen attentively and show empathy to the patient as he or she explains the problem. Thus the practitioner listens to the patient in order to find clues that are directly or indirectly linked to the questions posed (Hale, 2007). On the other hand, Pfaff & Couper (2009) acknowledge that language plays a role in the positive relationship that may be built between the practitioner and the patient. This relationship thus makes it possible for the health practitioner to diagnose the patient correctly. These reasons are among the many others that make language the most prominent element of communication (Coetsee, 2009; Pfaff & Couper, 2009).

This element of communication thus plays a major role in the delivery of health care in a multilingual society. Multilingual settings are prone to communication problems. Lesch (2009) submits that there is a real communication problem in public health care institutions because of multilingualism. The communication problem often takes place between the medical practitioners (professionals) who may either be Afrikaans or English speaking, and the patients (clients), who are mostly speakers of indigenous languages (Lesch, 2009). Although Lesch only focused on medical interpreting in the Western Cape, there are a lot of similarities throughout the

country (also see Erasmus, 2000; Cuvelier et al., 2010; Lombaard, 2013; Molefe & Marais, 2013).

Lesch (2009:5) explained that research conducted by the National Language Project (NLP), which no longer functions, revealed that there was a crisis in the health service in Cape Town and surrounding areas in the 1990s because Afrikaans or English speaking health providers and their patients (mostly isiXhosa speakers) could not understand one another. He is of the opinion that although there is some form of improvement, not much has been changed in recent years as far as this crisis is concerned. Lesch admits that his argument is based on statistics which might be limited.

There is a shortage of professional interpreters and indigenous language speaking practitioners in the health care services and, as a result, general assistants are often called upon to help out. At times, even the patient's family members or relatives are requested to interpret for him/her. Lesch (2009), states that the chief demand for interpreting services is in the health department because the need for health practitioners to understand their patients and vice versa is often a matter of life and death.

Coetsee (2009) thus suggests that more professional interpreters should be appointed in the medical field due to the complex nature of the medical setting. It has been noted that ad hoc measures are mostly utilised in health care settings (Coetsee, 2009). Coetsee further suggests that interpreters need to be trained in order to enhance communication. Trained interpreters may be of assistance as far as communication facilitation between health professionals and the community is concerned. This training does not only refer to the training in terms of the requirements of the interpreting field; it also refers to specialised training. Medical interpreters need to be trained according to their field of specialisation within the medical field. For instance, an interpreter who works at a psychiatric institution (where language is not only used for diagnosis but for therapy as well) also needs to be skilled in the field in order to be able to successfully facilitate communication between the patient and the doctor. This also goes for medical interpreters who work in hospitals, doctors' practices, etc. This would assist in reducing the number of incorrect diagnoses in the medical field that arise as a result of language barriers between the parties in communication.

The above scenarios illustrate how important multilingual service delivery is. Lesch (2009) also emphasises that multilingual service delivery should be encouraged. He further notes that it cannot only be achieved by allowing each person to communicate in their language of choice. Lesch therefore suggests that it is important to get communities involved. One question that would immediately come to mind is: 'how do we get the communities involved?' Lesch (2009) provides us with the answer to that question in that he believes the training of interpreters and translators would enhance the attainment of multilingual service delivery.

It is therefore also important to achieve multilingualism in other spheres such as the legal field, where language barriers may have disastrous consequences (Moeketsi, 1999). In this case disastrous consequences may imply long-term imprisonment or hefty fines.

ii) *Legal interpreting (South Africa)*

The law is an important part of the lives of all South African citizens because it encompasses regulations for birth, the living, as well as the deceased (Saulse, 2010). Language, as an important element of communication and a vital tool for human life, is therefore used to communicate the law. This correlates with Ralarala (2012), who argues that law is made possible by language. Hale (2007) on the other hand refers to legal interpreting as a special branch of community interpreting which is made up of different domains such as police interviews and interrogations, lawyer-client conferences, court hearings and trials, as well as tribunal hearings. Hale also notes that these fields render services to a common legal system, share legal concepts and discourses, but differ in terms of the relationship of the involved parties, the aim of interaction, the nature of the interaction (formal or informal), the roles of the parties involved, language and the implications for the interpreter (Hale, 2007:65). In this chapter the focus only be on interpreting at police stations and in courts of law.

    a. Interpreting in police settings

Hale (2007) refers to police interviews and interrogations as the beginning phase of the legal process. She further notes that this phase should not be taken lightly or deemed as less important. Ralarala (2013) also highlights the importance of this phase by noting that the documentation that is drafted during interaction between police officers and the complainants, witnesses and accused persons become important documentation in court. Documentation in this regard refers

to sworn statements made by both parties; the one laying a charge and the accused. Ralarala (2014) mentions that in South Africa, sworn statements from members of the public are often translated versions (in most cases from an African language into English and in some instances into Afrikaans). Hale (2007:65; Ralarala, 2014) further adds that these statements make up the base of the case and are therefore presented in court as vital evidence.

The manner in which these statements are written is also of importance in court because it may influence the assessment of the decision makers. Decision makers assess the truthfulness of a statement based on how it is written. There are statements that are excellently recorded and, according to Hale (2007), these events are explained chronologically and facts are presented consistently with the exclusion of any material that seems impossible or improbable.

Gibbons (1990) admits that some statements are deliberately manufactured by police officers but highlights that the majority of such statements come about as a result of police officers who do not have sufficient linguistic knowledge to record what he or she heard in a single hearing. This shows that the initial stage of the legal process is really important and ought to be treated as such. It also shows how crucial language is in the administration of justice. Thus, the presence of an interpreter during this phase of the legal process is of the utmost importance. Laster and Taylor (1994) argue that it may even be more significant to have an interpreter at a police interview than at court.

Hale (2007) further proposes that though this initial phase of the legal process is so important, utilising the services of a professional interpreter in police settings for the benefit of detainees who do not speak the language of the majority, has not been regarded as important internationally. As noted earlier, the South African language scenario differs a bit in this regard as the majority of the residents (almost 70% of South Africans) are speakers of the nine indigenous languages and roughly 30% of South Africans are speakers of English and Afrikaans (also see Ralarala, 2014). According to Ralarala (2014) the English proficiency level of African ('indigenous') language speakers is mostly low or non-existent.

He argues that this situation gives rise to inequality as far as the administration of justice is concerned because it simply means that those who cannot effectively make use of the administration languages cannot participate in legal matters that concern their lives. Although

Ralarala (2012) focuses on the language issue with a particular interest in the South African justice system, his observation also applies in this instance. He argues that as long as African languages are not used equally to English and Afrikaans in the administration of justice, inequality and discrimination will continue.

Hale (2007) says that professional interpreters are underutilised in well-known countries. She makes an example of a first world country like the US where ad hoc measures are also applied within in the police services. According to Hale (2007), police officers, other staff members, family members, etc. are used as interpreters. This interpretation is therefore mostly likely to be biased and inaccurate. This further corroborates Ralarala's findings that the lack of equality as far as language is concerned leads to an unjust judicial system (Ralarala, 2013).

In South Africa, members of the majority group (racial group) who are speakers of the nine previously disadvantaged African indigenous languages, mostly require the services of an interpreter (a legal interpreter) when compared with English and Afrikaans speakers. Moeketsi (1999) confirms this by noting that in an instance where an accused person speaks any other language except for the two languages already mentioned, the court appoints an interpreter to interpret the evidence.

Moeketsi further notes that an appointed interpreter is sworn in, either when appointed or at a case that he or she will be interpreting (Moeketsi, 1999). This therefore means that the interpreter has to follow the rules in the code of conduct.

b. Court interpreting

Mikkelson (2010) refers to court interpreting as a type of interpreting service that takes place in a court of law. Court interpreting, also known as legal interpreting (quasi-judicial interpreting) is a type of interpreting service that is provided in courts of law and in any forms of legal cases (Mikkelson, 2010). Saulse (2010:113) notes that court interpreting is an activity that takes place in a live judicial setting. Saulse further explains that court interpreting may also refer to other judicial settings where conflicts are resolved and highlights Alternative Dispute Resolution processes as an example where court interpreting may also take place.

This form of interpreting requires an interpreter to have exceptional language proficiency as well as knowledge of the law. Language as a communication tool plays a pivotal role in a court of law. Ralarala also takes cognisance of the relationship between language and law, for he argues that the two are "inherently related" (Ralarala, 2014:1). Saulse (2010) further adds that language and law cannot be viewed as separate therefore one may not be seen as superior to the other. Ralarala clarifies Saulse's statement in a simple and accessible manner. According to Ralarala (2014), the appropriate use of language is fundamental for it ensures that the law functions sufficiently.

This therefore takes us back to the importance of access to language in the court of law. Consequently, one also has to take note of the country's linguistic background and the language of record prior to the democratic dispensation. Ralarala (2014) agrees with the number of authors discussed below, that limited access to the language of record is somehow at the disadvantage of the person for whom the language is inaccessible. Firstly, Saulse notes that it is in the court of law where a layperson comes across the close relation between language and the law; hence language is regarded a vital element in the provision of legal justice (Saulse, 2010:111).

Cote (2005) puts forward that it is a frightening experience for lay people to be confronted with the criminal justice system because of its complex nature, and that most people do not have knowledge of how the courtroom works. The language situation in the country also constitutes a factor in the courtroom because, prior to the democratic era, the languages of the court were exclusively Afrikaans and English. Du Plessis (2001) says that post-1994, the Minister of Justice's declaration that English would be the sole language of record in court could assist as far as costs are concerned. This declaration was set for investigation and came up against strong opposition from the Afrikaans speakers and was dropped. Du Plessis further notes that at a Language Indaba [2] held in Durban on 29 March 2000, the issue of using English as the sole language of record was further criticised. One of the reasons for this criticism was that not much was said about the position of African languages, which meant that not much had been done to enhance these languages.

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[2] Indaba is a Zulu term that refers to business or 'matter'. 'Language indaba' is thus used mostly by the Pan South African Language Board to refer to a meeting between language practitioners, PANSALB officials and various stakeholders. These meetings discuss issues of language, be it policy matters, language awareness, etc. (*www.pansalb.org.za/Language_Indaba/index.html).*

A second criticism was that much effort had gone into the dragging down of Afrikaans as a language of record. On the basis of the reasons above, it was observed that this attempt to use English as the only language was not aligned with the constitution, thus implying that government was not fulfilling one of its most important functions, 'the institutionalisation of societal multilingualism' (Du Plessis, 2001:102). Such an attempt is not only in contempt of section 35(3)(k) of the constitution of South Africa but also goes against Article 14(3)(a) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This article provides that in the determination of any criminal charge, everyone shall be entitled "to be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him".

In South Africa, African language speakers are mostly disadvantaged. Saulse (2010) also confirms that most people who take part in court cases are speakers of indigenous African languages but cases are heard in Afrikaans or English. Statistically, speakers of the indigenous African languages make up more than 77% of the population in South Africa. Cote, on the other hand, further argues that the fact that most accused are speakers of indigenous African languages who do not understand the languages of the court, further aggravated the criminal justice system (Cote, 2005). This therefore means that the majority of the South African population has always been in need of court interpreting.

However, there has been a change since the beginning of the democratic era. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, has a section (6(2), dealt with in Chapter 2) which makes provision for the services aimed at language promotion. It is also worth noting that Chapter 2 dealt with section 6(2) which promulgates for the promotion of the previously disadvantaged languages. However, this section does not say how these languages should be promoted. Section 35(3)(k) of the constitution is the only section that clearly states one's right to a language of choice or that an interpreter needs to be appointed to assist in this regard. Section 35(3)(k) reads "every accused person has a right to a fair trial; which includes the right to be trialled in a language that the accused person understands or if it is not practicable, to have the proceedings interpreted in that language".

Thus, in South Africa, interpreting services are provided by the Department of Justice to the people who do not understand English and Afrikaans (Saulse, 2010). Court interpreting, like any other type of interpreting, is a purposeful activity, aimed at facilitating communication between

two or more parties. Its main aim is to ensure that the presiding officer (judge, magistrate, mediator, etc.) is able to judge the matter at hand between the conflicting parties (Saulse, 2010). This therefore also suggests that all parties in communication should be able to take part in the proceedings. Court interpreting has to grant the person standing trial or any other individual involved in the proceedings but doesn't speak the language of the court, the opportunity to take part as if the proceedings were held in his or her language of choice. It should further allow the facilitators of the proceedings to conduct the proceedings in the language of the court in such a way that no form of language barrier is suggested between the accused and the other parties involved (Saulse, 2010). This therefore highlights the importance of the role of the court interpreter; an individual who is tasked with facilitating communication in this setting (Moeketsi, 1999).

It has been noted that interpreters are an important part of the legal system. Colin and Morris (1996:15) propose that many people who work in legal settings have either limited understanding or no understanding of interpreting and its complexities. Due to this lack of knowledge, interpreters are sometimes not trusted, but are suspected and their skills are not respected. Colin and Morris (1996) also emphasise that ad hoc measures are sometimes used. They note that it should be taken into account that people employed to interpret are not always skilled, experienced and entirely competent (Colin & Morris, 1996:15).

It may be noted that the South African population, especially among the speakers of the indigenous African languages, is fairly multilingual and multicultural in nature. Due to this state of affairs, Saulse (2010:112) is of the view that speakers of these languages are best equipped to render court interpreting services. This therefore leads us to the next subsection of interest, which I would like to refer to as *over-the-counter* interpreting.

c. *Over-the-counter* interpreting

In this instance *over-the-counter* interpreting refers to interpreting services that service providers render to the receiver over the counter. *Over-the-counter* interpreting therefore means interpreting that takes place where a service or services are rendered over the counter (e.g. police interviews; see interpreting in police settings, Hale, 2007; Ralarala, 2014).

This form of interpreting may take place in most if not all settings where the community interacts with public service officials. As already noted in the chapter, interpreting is required when the parties in a communicative situation do not understand each other due to their language of choice (see Bowen, 2000; Coetsee, 2009; Erasmus, 1998). For instance, this kind of interpreting may be needed at the reception of the doctor's consulting rooms, at the clinic, municipal offices, post office, etc. These interpreting services are also mostly rendered by ad hoc interpreters (who may vary from officials who do this type of work additional to their day-to-day job, to friends, relatives and family members as already noted earlier in the chapter).

During the writing of this chapter, I could not locate any literature on interpreting that takes place at the front desk (over the counter) except police interviews. *Over-the-counter* interpreting is not a type of interpreting but instead constitutes a focal point. In this context, the focus is on the front desk level where most interaction between officials and community members takes place. I deal with this issue more intensely in the following chapter (Chapter 4). Community interpreters play a noticeable role within the community, thus the discussion of role becomes fundamental for this chapter and the study in general.

3.3.4 The role of community interpreters

Pöchhacker (2000) submits that it is not easy to define the role of an interpreter especially in relation to interpreters working in community settings. According to Pöchhacker, the question of role is a matter of concern. He further notes that the question of role is also controversial and may be problematic when community interpreting services are professionalised. One of the reasons pointed out by Pöchhacker is the issue regarding service providers who do not understand the role of the interpreter and in most instances expect interpreters to do more than just interpreting. The issue of role is not only problematic to service providers, but is also problematic to the interpreters themselves (Pöchhacker, 2000).

In countries that have managed to professionalise interpreting to some extent, such roles are found in the Code of Ethics (CoE) of the profession (Hale, 2007). Hale investigated a number international Codes of Ethics (CoEs) for language practice professionals in 16 countries, including Australia, Austria, Canada, and the United States. From these CoEs, Hale (2007) observed that only the USA's National Association of Judiciary Interpreters and Translators

(NAJIT) clearly state what the role of the interpreter is. According to NAJIT, the role of an interpreter is to remove the language barrier as much as possible in order for people's access to justice to be equal to that of English speakers residing in the same area and who do not have these same barriers.

In South Africa we have the South African Translators' Institute (SATI) which is a professional association for language practitioners in South Africa (http://translators.org.za/_sati_cms/index.php?frontend_action=display_text_content&content_id=1). Although such an association is in place, interpreters and translators are not obliged to be members. This means that ad hoc measures are still utilised to bridge service delivery gaps in day-to-day issues. On this basis, Coetsee (2009) notes that community interpreting has been regarded as a subdivision of interpreting, not well regulated. In the public service sector, ad hoc measures are mostly used. Coetsee (2009) further explains that people who are used as interpreters in public service settings (such as hospitals, police stations, etc.), are not professional interpreters. These people are mostly general workers, relatives of the patient, and other staff members who are mother-tongue speakers of the language spoken by the patient or client (Coetsee, 2009; Schlemmer & Mash, 2006).

Lesch (2009) on the other hand notes that there has been some transformation in the medical field. Focusing on the Western Cape, Lesch notes that the Western Cape Department of Health has introduced a language policy which encourages health institutions to appoint professional interpreters. I am of the view that ad hoc interpreters are not entirely a bad idea. Ad hoc interpreters, who practice on daily basis and show great interest in the field, need to be equipped with the required skills so that they may be able to assist in closing the linguistic and cultural gap at the most basic level of government (municipal level).

Community interpreters make communication possible between the service provider and the service user (Erasmus, 1999:49; Bowen, 2000). This is the main objective which interpreters working in their different discourses aim to achieve. Pöchhacker (2004) notes that previously an interpreter was not allowed to take upon the role of an advocate, intercultural mediator or communication facilitator instead this individual was seen as 'a non-person' in a neutral position between parties in communication. Due to this, interpreters working in professional settings were assumed to be 'mechanistic' (Pöchhacker, 2004). Pöchhacker further notes that the view of

interpreters as invisible translating machines seems to have come about as a result of the technology-based simultaneous conference interpreting (Pöchhacker, 2004:147).

Pöchhacker (2004) says that there has been a change of heart as far as this view is concerned. In his opinion (2004), this contrasting view that some authors held was inspired by the fact that interpreter-mediated communicative situations are linguistically and socio-culturally complex and therefore the standard of literalism or the conduit model which was mostly used in court interpreting did not allow court interpreters to deal with meaning. These authors argue instead that the role of the court interpreter should be redefined so that interpreters are viewed more as visible and accountable *communication facilitators*. This role became well known in the sign language field in the 1980s (Pöchhacker, 2004:148).

The role of the community interpreter may be guided by the type of interpreting discourse model in place. In this instance, I make reference to the discourse model for interpreting as well as a specific model for 'liaison' interpreting as discussed by Coetsee (2009). Coetsee notes that the interpreting discourse model is made up of two parties, mostly equals in terms of social status and linguistic ability, but the only problem they encounter is that each of them speaks a different language. The role of the interpreter in such a situation is mainly to help them understand one another's language. On the other hand, liaison/public ('community') interpreting discourse differs because the clients have less power, status and linguistic ability than the service providers and as a result of this unequal relationship the interpreter has to do more than just interpreting. Intercultural mediation and advocacy are the roles played by interpreters and translators in the public domain (Coetsee, 2009:23).

One of the requirements that a prospective interpreter needs to have is the knowledge not only of the languages that he/she uses as active languages, but also the cultures (Pöchhacker, 2004). As stated earlier in the chapter, community interpreters work with service providers and their clients whose power relations differ. Rural citizens and officials in the city offices do not only differ linguistically; there are also culture differences between these two parties in a communication act. Service providers are mostly the ones with more power than their clients. Coetsee (2009:22) notes that the power relation causes the interpreter to take sides. As a result the interpreter handles the conversation in a way that favours the client in order to ensure that the client gains

access to services and has his/her needs met. According to Coetsee (2009), this is the reason that community interpreters are referred to as intercultural mediators.

Community interpreters may also act as advocates. Coetsee (2009) explains that Sanders was the developer of the advocacy model. This client-oriented model was initially not linked to interpreting. It was based on the work of community workers who are bilingual and who interpreted for clients. These bilinguals were seen as representatives of the clients who had their interests at heart (Sanders, n.d. 10, cited in Erasmus, 1999). Erasmus (1999) further notes that in relation to interpreting, the advocacy models differ in their participation. In an extreme case an interpreter may act as a lay psychologist/social worker. On the basis of the above, Lesch (2014:136) refers to community interpreters as individuals who do not only make information available in another language ('target language'), in a parallel manner (in this case, a situation where parties in conversation enjoy equal status), but also need to make it available to disadvantaged communities in a format that is more assimilable.

This therefore sums the first part of this discussion. As indicated in the introduction, I am shifting the focus of this study to the other side of mediation known as translation. I also want to emphasise that the focus is on community translation, a recently developed field with limited theoretical work.

3.4 Community translation (CT)

Lesch (1999) argues that the needs of all community members are fundamental in community translation. Lesch says that community translation makes it possible for language disadvantaged communities to take their rightful place within the democratic era. He therefore refers to community translation as a type of translation where texts are translated for the benefit of language community members who cannot access public service languages (Lesch, 1999). Lesch further notes that community translation is "a means to an end". Community translation ought to empower the community with required information as well as other means aimed at skills development. It therefore seeks to balance the power relationship between the sender and the receiver by emphasising the requirements of the community. In order to achieve this, the community translator and not just the community interpreter needs to be on the side of the powerless, in this case, the reader (Lesch, 1999:93).

A question that may come to mind is "which community is being referred to?" Lesch (1999) thus provides us with an answer in this regard. The term 'community' within community translation, according to Lesch, does not refer to a particular geographic community. On the contrary, community translation is a type of translation approach which addresses the needs of language disadvantaged communities irrespective of where they are situated geographically (Lesch, 1999).

Community translation may be differentiated into three forms, namely parallel, non-parallel and community translation as an approach (Lesch, 1999:92). Parallel community translation has more to do with Source Language (SL) community texts. It deals with texts that are aimed at the language disadvantaged as a target group and is translated in a similar way for a similar target group. Non-parallel translation involves a ST that was written for an advanced SL target group and has to be translated for a language disadvantaged group. Lastly, a community translation approach suggests that even if both the ST and TT target groups are on the same level, the initiator may ask the translator to translate as if the two groups were not. This therefore means that the translator might have to adjust his translation to meet the needs of a lower target group (Lesch, 1999:92).

Translators and interpreters were, up until recent years, viewed as practitioners who were only needed for economic matters, international relations, court proceedings and government institutions. According to Krumm (1991:15), it was realised in the US that interpreters and translators may be successfully used within the community. It is therefore due to this realisation that community translation is sought as a form of mediation within the community. It focuses on the translation of texts that community members make use of on a daily basis. These may include application forms, informative documents, aesthetic texts, etc. (from different municipal offices, court documentation, documentation at the police services, local clinics, etc.).

Erasmus (1999) explains that this kind of translation has been practiced in South Africa. According to Erasmus (2000) the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) at the University of the Free State in South Africa conducted surveys that found that community translation is practiced unofficially in various service fields where written texts need to be adopted for the benefit of those who do not have sufficient education in a particular field. Community translation is needed in small towns for a few different reasons. Firstly, it is needed because of the low level of education emphasised in Chapter 2. Statistics from Statistics South

Africa show that there is still a high level of illiteracy among especially the black people in the country (Census, 2011). Thus, the need for community translators is fundamental at grassroots level.

Secondly, rural communities as well as the local economies cannot afford to hire professional translators due to their low budgets. Although these communities cannot afford the services of a professional translator, they have resorted to ad hoc measures in order to deal with their language barriers. In rural communities, members who are fairly multilingual are therefore entrusted with translation and interpreting duties. In their chapter, Molefe and Marais (2013) make reference to the MIDP (Multilingual Information Development Programme). The MIDP was a plan that was carried out by the ULFE in partnership with the Province of Antwerp (Belgium) and the Department of Sports, Arts and Culture in the Free State, South Africa (Lombaard, 2013). This programme was intended to focus on filling the linguistic gaps that community members at grassroots level encounter on daily basis. More details on this project are provided in the following chapter.

The MIDP was a project that aimed at empowering the community at grassroots level. This aim goes hand in hand with what community translation is all about. It is noted that community translation serves to empower minority language speakers by giving them access to information and making it possible for them to take part in society ([http://www.uws.edu. au/communitytranslation](http://www.uws.edu.au/communitytranslation)). As already noted above, there is not much literature on community translation. The chapter focuses on the published work based on the studies conducted on community translation in South Africa. For the purposes of this chapter the researcher focused on the works of Lesch, Marais and Ralarala.

In some ways Erasmus (2000) paved the way for Lesch's discussion. As indicated earlier in the chapter, she notes that community interpreting has been practiced in the country but further states that Lesch (1999) deals with this form of interpreting in detail and provides a base for this section of the chapter. As is noticeable, Lesch (1999) does indeed deal with the introductory phase of this field in the South African context. He further differentiates between three phases of community translation, explaining each phase and how it works.

Secondly, this chapter also followed the works of Prof. Kobus Marais, especially "Translation theory and development studies". The publication comprises many relevant chapters but Chapter 5 is of particular interest as it deals with some of the data collected in Philippolis (KLM). Much of the data is discussed in the following chapter but the manner in which members of local communities deal with language related problems is of particular relevance. This measure is more informal than formal and Marais (2014:168) refers to it as "communal translation". According to Marais, this method deviates from the formal notion of 'translator', as translation is done by members of the community rather than by an individual in the community.

Ralarala (2012; 2013; 2014) also deals with members of the community who act as 'translators'. Unlike Marais, Ralarala focuses mostly on police officers who are also members of the community but mostly act as translators when they are carrying out their respective formal duties (statement taking). Ralarala refers to these officials as 'transpreters'. Transpreters have a stronger voice than members of the public who provide their sworn statements. The discussion aims only to indicate that there is some form of translation that takes place at the level of the community but which is not theorised, as Marais (2014) correctly states.

On the basis of the above discussion on community translation, I would therefore like to discuss the turns in translation. The reason for such a discussion is to show how the field has developed through time and how the focus has changed within the different periods.

3.4.1 Translation studies and its turns

In section 3.2 titled 'Conceptualising CT and CI', the initial phase of translation studies is discussed and as a result cannot be repeated in this section. This section therefore focuses on the cultural turn and the sociological turn. These turns in translation studies show how the focus of translation has been redirected over the years. Most importantly, the turns in translation studies, especially the cultural and the sociological turns, makes it possible for us to study community related issues. The section therefore looks into the cultural turn which may be regarded as the most popular turn of translation studies and the fairly recent sociological turn.

i) *The cultural turn*

In the 1970s the cultural turn was referred to as the pragmatic turn and is said to have led to the rise of translation studies as an independent discipline. Snell-Hornby (2006:47) notes that the name 'cultural turn' only became popular in the 1980s and that a number of translation scholars like to claim it as their own. This shift came as a result of the change in perspective on translation studies as well as the theory that was established around the translation practice during the above stated era. This shift brought a new idea of how translation should be viewed. Cultural translation theorists deviated from viewing translation as a linguistic activity in isolation but rather saw it as a product of broader cultural context. Munday (2008) notes that Bassnett and Lefevere held a different view from the way in which translation was viewed theorists who viewed translation from a linguistic level. They went against the comparison between the translation and its original because it does not consider the text in its cultural environment.

Bassnett and Lefevere instead focused on how translation and culture interact. This means the impact that culture has on translation as well as the limitations thereof (Munday, 2008). Munday (2012), submits that Mary Snell-Hornby introduced the term 'cultural turn' in reference to the shift away from translation as a text to translation as culture and politics. According to Munday (2008), Bassnett and Lefevere use 'cultural turn' as a metaphor which binds together various case studies in their collection. Among these case studies are those on feminist writing and translation (the focus is on translation and gender), translation and colonisation, as well as translation as rewriting, etc.

The scholars who wrote on cultural issues did not put great emphasis on the social nature of translation. In addition to this, there was also no emphasis on the practitioners involved in the translation process especially translators. The sociological turn therefore aims to fill the gaps left by the cultural theorists. However, the first attempts were made by functionalists. Functional theorists such as Vermeer (father of the Skopos theory), Reiss (who is well known for her text type theory), Holz-Mänttäri and Nord tried to move away from strict linguistic translation. Instead the focus fell on the text itself rather than on equivalence.

In the 1960s and 1970s German translation established two schools under the influence of structural linguistics. These schools were the Leipzig School which was represented by Kade and

Neubert, as well as the Saarbrücken School which was represented by Wills (http://www.ccjk.com). These schools are believed to be the driving force behind the establishment of the functionalist theories.

a) Text-type theory

In her theory, Reiss deals with the systematisation of the assessment of the translation (Munday, 2008). Reiss's functional theory, known as text-type theory, borrowed Karl Bühler's three-way categorisation of language functions, namely informative text types (information, opinions, knowledge, communication of facts), expressive text types (creative composition) or operative text types (which persuade the reader to act in a certain manner) already discussed earlier in the chapter (Munday, 2008).

b) Translational action

Justa Holz-Mänttäri is another well known functional theorist, whose theory of 'translational action' goes one step further than the Skopos theory discussed in the following subsection. Holz-Mänttäri is a German professional translator, a translation scholar and teaches future professional translators (Nord, 1997). According to Nord (1997), this theory was first presented in 1981 and its more detailed version was published in 1984.

Translation action theory is made up of concepts from communication theory and action theory. It intends to provide a model and guidelines that are suitable to a wide array of the situations within professional translation. In this theory, translation is viewed as human interaction with a purpose and is also focused towards a particular result. The process of translation is therefore viewed as a composite of message transfer that entails intercultural transfer (Munday, 2008:78). Holz-Mänttäri (1984:109-111, cited in Munday, 2008:78) refers to interlingual translation as 'translatorial action from a source text' and a communicative process that involves an array of roles and actors. The actors are:

- The initiator: an individual or company that requires the translation.

- The commissioner: the person through whom the translator is contacted.

- ST producer: the person working in a company tasked with the writing of the ST. He or she may not always be involved when the TT is produced.

- TT producer: the translator(s) as well as the translation department or agency.

- TT user: an individual who makes use of the TT.

- TT receiver: the person who the TT was intended for (the TT receiver is thus a person or a group of people who read the final product in the target language).

c) Skopos Theory

Munday (2008:79) notes that the term *skopos* is a Greek equivalent for **aim** or **purpose**. Hans Vermeer, the father of *Skopos* theory, introduced the term in the 1970s and it was used as a technical term to refer to the aim of a translation as well as the action of translation. The aim or purpose of the translation is the focus of the translation which decides on the methods and strategies that are to be utilised in order to produce a text that is functionally sufficient (Munday, 2008).

Vermeer (1978; 1983b:49 in Nord, 1997:11) refers to translation as a type of transfer where the communicative signs which are verbal and non-verbal are transferred from language to language. Translation is therefore regarded as a form of human action. Human action is defined by Vermeer (1978; 1983b:49 in Nord, 1997:11) as a behaviour which is intentional and has a particular aim. This behaviour takes place in a certain situation which therefore makes it part of that situation while it also serves to modify the same situation (Vermeer, 1978; 1983b:49 in Nord, 1997:11).

Although Vermeer's Skopos theory came before Holz-Mänttäri's theory of translational action, it also deals with translational action which is focused on the ST that needs to be negotiated and performed. Thus, the ST has an intended aim and result (Munday, 2008).

d) Text analysis model

Christianne Nord's text analysis theory is regarded as a functional model with more details. This theory also includes text analysis elements that look at the manner in which a text is organised. This may be on the level of the sentence or beyond it. Nord distinguished between two types of products, namely documentary and instrumental translation. The former is where a TT has kept certain cultural aspects of the source culture. This means that one can easily pick up that the product is a translated version. On the other hand, the latter is a product that the target readers read as if they are reading an original in the target language (Munday, 2008).

Munday (2008) argues that Nord's text analysis model was actually created for students. The reason therefore was so that they would be able to analyse all kinds of STs and translation situations. In her functional method, Nord emphasises three important approaches, namely brief analysis (translation brief), the ST analysis, and the functional hierarchy of translation problems (whether a text is documentary or instrumental).

The brief discussion on functional theories marks the change towards more people oriented approaches to translation. In the following section, I elaborate on the social in translation studies.

ii) *The sociological turn*

In this subsection I discuss one of the recent turns of translation known as the sociological turn. This turn follows the cultural turn which is referred to as the most significant turn of translation studies because it is regarded as a turn that marked translation's position in the field of science (Snell-Hornby, 2006).

Translation is rooted within social contexts, both as a product and an act (Wolf, 2009). Firstly, translation is rooted within social contexts because it is carried out by individuals (translators) who belong to the social system. The translation practice takes place within social institutions and in turn these institutions determine the selection, the production as well as the distribution of translation. According to Wolf (2009), agencies (institutions) and agents (translators and other individuals) who are involved in the translation process are to be considered, especially those who are involved in the textual factors that take place in the translation process.

Wolf (2011:3) mentions that translation as a social practice has not been entirely ignored but was rather widely neglected in previous times. The role of translators and that of other people who are involved in the translation process as social agents was therefore also neglected. Wolf therefore argues that in present times, translation studies needs to focus on these agents and agencies for they are important in the translation process.

Wolf (2009; 2011) notes that the agencies and agents involved in the process should not be neglected as has previously been the case. Chan and Liu (2013) on the other hand argue that due to this sociological turn in translation studies, more research is focusing on the actors involved in the translation process and the wider context of translation regarding social activity. Chan and Liu (2013) observe that as a result of a social approach to translation, researchers had to shift their focus on the social contexts that shape translation endeavours and the actors since the 1980s. These actors may therefore be referred to as agents of translation.

i. Agency in translation

Agency is not an easy term to define in the sociological field. It is one of the complex terms that has been at the centre of debate between sociology scholars. Emirbayer and Mische (1998) note that agency has become a source of strain and confusion in the field of the social sciences. Emirbayer and Mische further note that although the concept has been defined differently by scholars of theoretical schools varying from action theory, normative theory to political-institutional analysis, it managed to maintain some sort of vagueness.

In their article, Emirbayer and Mische furthermore note that the agency has been associated with terms such as *self-hood*, *purposiveness*, *intentionality*, *choice, freedom, creativity*, etc. Despite its association with these terms, very little systemic analysis has been acquired (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:962). Theorists of practice such as Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens have focused their attention on the habitus and routine practices. The key area of emphasis in this chapter is not on a detailed description of agency and therefore it is not discussed in great detail.

Agency in translation therefore focuses on the role that translation agents play in changing the societies they live in through their translation. Molefe and Marais (2013) follow the definition given in the Dictionary of Translation. A translation agent is here defined as a person who is in a

position where he or she acts as mediator between the translator and the users of the translation (Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1999:7).

Wolf (2011) explains that there are different types of agents. Milton and Bandia (2009:1) give the following examples of agents: those who may be text producers and those who modify texts, such as editors, revisers, translators, etc. Agents dedicate their time, energy and even their lives to learning foreign literature, to a certain author or school's literature, to translating, writing papers, teaching and sharing the knowledge as well as the new culture he/she has acquired. These individuals do not follow the crowds but put their professional and personal lives on the line. They face the danger of getting stabbed, detained or even dying. Uchiyama's chapter, titled 'Translation as representation: Fukuzawa Yukichi's representation of the "Others" (Milton & Bandia, 2009:63-83), sketches a picture of what an agent of translation ought to do. Thus, the study places greater emphasis on translators as agents of translation.

Milton and Bandia (2009:2) note that there are two types of agents, namely agents who have brought change as far as translation styles are concerned and expanded the existing translation variety; and those who assisted or tried to bring change by introducing new ideas that needed to be translated as well as original translation styles for contemporary work introduced to their societies. These translation agents have cultural and political roles that they play within a society.

Van Rooyen (2013) notes that although the terms 'agency' and 'agent' have been used in translation studies to refer to the role that translators play in social contexts, their roles as active social agents are not always noticed or recognised by other social agents.

According to Milton and Bandia (2009), translators may also be referred to as patrons of literature because they assist those who make policies in changing the cultural and linguistic policies.

ii.   Patronage

Milton and Bandia (2009:3) submit that the term 'patronage' was invented by André Lefevere. Milton and Bandia further note that Lefevere's focus was on the role played by patrons in the production of cultural objects. Patronage may therefore be regarded as one of the vital terms in the cultural turn. The cultural turn shifted from the literary view of translation towards the

translators and the factors that influence them as agents. Patrons play a central role in modifying the literary system, the educational system, etc.

There are two forms of patronage, namely undifferentiated and differentiated patronage. Undifferentiated patronage refers to the form of patronage where a particular author has a close relation with the court, a certain ruler, or political leaders in a one-party state. Differentiated patronage on the other hand takes place when there are free market conditions. Thus, patronage may play a very important role in deciding which works are published but does not say much about unsatisfied individual agents who may be influential in the world of literature and attempt to introduce changes in the field (Milton & Bandia, 2009:3).

Agents such as leaders, artists, minority group representatives or institutions in multilingual settings who take on matters of national awareness by encouraging issues relating to the creation of national languages and creative writing aimed at the attainment of national unity, claiming a particular cultural identity and being acknowledged in the international literary field, may also be regarded as patrons (Milton & Bandia, 2009:3). For the benefit of this study, patrons refer to government officials who have the authority to make important decisions. These are people who could play a major role in supporting translation agents with the implementation of a proposed translation policy. Due to their influential positions, they are at liberty to either support or discourage the translation policy.

iii. Power

According to Milton and Bandia (2009), translation agents may find themselves on the wrong side of the law due to their beliefs. In most cases, the beliefs of these translators do not adhere to the systems followed in a particular country. As a result, these agents are sanctioned, be it a sanction that does not cause bodily harm (e.g. a fine) or severe sanctions (e.g. doing time in prison). It is thus evident that patronage is a characteristic of power. Due to their ideologies which move away from the norm, several translators were punished severely. Translators such as Ettore Capriolo (an Italian translator) were beaten; Norwegian publisher William Nygaard was shot. Translators in different parts of the world experienced bodily harm whereas others were killed for the work they did (Milton & Bandia, 2009:5).

iv. Translation Policy

A lot has been said in the democratic dispensation about the realisation of multilingualism and the objective of attaining unity in diversity in South Africa. With the country's historical situation in mind, where a racial minority dominated the social and economic sphere, more work had to be done by the democratic government. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, as the supreme law of the country, paved the way in the quest to undo past injustices. As already discussed in Chapter 2, section 6 of the constitution emphasises the promotion of languages which were previously disadvantaged. The constitution also contains a few other clauses that favour multilingualism (Mwaniki, 2012:43).

Mwaniki further states that national legislation (The Municipal Systems Act of 2000) and national policy (The National Language Policy Framework of 2003 and the Batho Pele White Paper) all contain sections that reveal that there is a need to implement a multilingual dispensation in South Africa (Mwaniki, 2012). It was also previously noted that multilingualism in South Africa is viewed more as an idea which has the purpose of uniting the South African population. It is also intended to encourage public participation but there are still gaps in how it can be realised (refer to Chapter 2). The constitution thus states that the national, provincial and local spheres of government are responsible for drafting their own language policies, taking the languages spoken by residents in their respective jurisdictions into consideration (Act 108 of 1996).

Meylaerts (2011:744) defines language policy as a set of legal rules that control how language should be used in education as well as in communication. This includes legal matters, in political institutions, in media and in administration. Meylaerts argues that '*there is no language policy without translation policy'*. Deciding on rules that languages use suggests that there is a right to translation within a democratic society. This therefore leads me to believe that there is a need to draft and implement a policy for translators and interpreters.

3.4.2 Translation in South Africa

Beukes (2006) notes that translation should be valued and used as a language development tool as well as a tool to assist in the creation of a space where indigenous languages are used to engage in daily matters.

According to Marais (2013) the different turns in translation studies suggest that translation is slowly focusing on issues of development. Marais further explains that there are three reasons leading to his argument. The first of these constitutes Maria Tymoczko's (2006; 2007) move to expand translation beyond the Western view. The second reason highlighted by Marais involves the shift seen in translation studies over the past 30 years where translation was no longer seen as a linguistic activity and translators as conduit pipes (Marais, 2013). Translation is instead viewed as a cultural, social or ideological activity and translators as agents of social change. The third and final reason that Marais (2013) makes note of is the move from an exclusive focus on literary and religious texts to understanding translation (product) as a communicative text. This, according to Marais (2013), opens the door for studying the developmental impact of translation.

Translation plays a very important role in society. As already stated, translation is a social activity embedded within a social context and it therefore has many social functions. One of the aspects of translation's social function is that it serves as a social mediator (Tyulenev, 2011). Tyulenev further notes that mediation is a two-element operation that produces a result. He substantiates this by providing an example of two people in conversation. A conversation is result oriented, e.g. A + B → C. In an instance where there is a disturbance in the conversation due to misunderstanding, mediation is required. Tyulenev (2011) explains that such an analysis was made by Hans-George who mainly focused on spoken interlingual communication. Translation was referred to by Hans-George as a special and more complex situation.

Translators are therefore individuals who are entrusted with the task of mediating between the parties who need to communicate. In the next section, I discuss community translation and the role of the translator.

3.4.3 The role of the community translator

As community interpreters are responsible for facilitating communication between service receivers and service providers in different settings (including public service settings), community translators transfer public information, in written form, from one language to another for the benefit of language minorities. This is mostly the situation in European countries because migrants, as noted earlier in the chapter, are the minorities who require language facilitation services.

In South Africa the situation is different. Based on the already discussed diverse nature of language and culture in the country, as well as the oppression endured by the speakers of indigenous languages, language facilitation is needed by indigenous languages for different reasons (Corsellis, 2008). Community translators may therefore have to take upon themselves the several roles discussed in this section. The researcher opted to focus on the role of the community translator as intercultural mediator. A brief historical background is given in this regard.

Katan (2004) notes that the term '*cultural mediator'* was first used by Stephen Bochner in his 1981 book titled *'The mediating person and cultural identity'*. Katan further notes that though this term was introduced by Bochner, the idea of a translator as a mediator or rather as a mediating entity was not new. According to Katan (2004), despite the fact that translator as mediator was used previously, its focus was on linguistic mediation. Cultural mediation has more to do than just translation and interpreting (Katan, 2004).

Taft (1981:53 in Katan, 2004:12) refers to a cultural mediator as an individual who makes communication, comprehension and action possible between individuals and groups who differ in language and culture. Taft further notes that the cultural mediator's role is fulfilled through interpreting expressions, intentions, perceptions and expectations of both involved parties by establishing and balancing communication between these parties.

Katan (2009:74) goes on to say that the term 'intercultural communication' was coined by E.T. Hall while he was working with the US departmental administrators and the American indigenous people. Here he realised that misunderstandings did not arise as a result of language but rather due to cultural differences (Katan, 2009). Intercultural mediation therefore refers to mediation that takes place across cultures. Translators, like interpreters, not only transfer words from one language to another, they also have to consider the cultural aspects, the context of the document, its purpose as well as the target readers.

All these aspects refer to what different functional theorists have discussed in their theories. Firstly, in fulfilling his/her role as an intercultural mediator, the community translator has to take note of Vermeer's Skopos theory discussed earlier in this chapter. He/she should know that the target text is created for a particular purpose, which links with Reiss's text-type theory.

In her theory, Reiss deals with the systematisation of the assessment of the translation (Munday, 2008). Reiss's functional theory, known as text-type theory, borrowed Karl Bühler's three-way categorisation of language functions, namely informative text types (information, opinions, knowledge, communication of facts), expressive text types (creative composition) or operative text types (which persuade the reader to act in a certain manner) (Munday, 2008).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the theoretical background of the practice of both interpreting and translation. As stated earlier, the rationale for this was to assist the reader in understanding how these two fields of study developed. It was also explained that the discussion of the two fields would be conducted separately, as can be seen above.

Interpreting was defined by Pöchhacker (2004) as "a form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language". The chapter also discussed the different modes of interpreting, namely the simultaneous (mostly at conferences) and consecutive modes of interpreting (court settings as well as public service settings). It further gave a brief discussion on the different types of interpreting with a focus on the types that are relevant at grassroots level, e.g. medical interpreting and court interpreting (Lesch, 2009; Moeketsi, 1999).

The core of the study was based on community interpreting, which Hale (2007:25) defines as a type of interpreting that takes place in the most private spheres of human life. Hale notes that this form of interpreting takes place at a doctor's surgery, police station, lawyer's rooms or social worker's office etc. This illustrates that interpreting is more than just a linguistic activity - it deals with people and their daily issues. Community interpreters therefore have to do more than just interpret.

The chapter illustrated just how important community interpreters are to members of the community. Their importance is portrayed through the roles they play in different settings. These roles, according to Coetsee (2009), are dynamic. Firstly, community interpreters act as intercultural mediators who ensure that there are no linguistic and cultural barriers that may hinder effective communication between two or more parties (Coetsee, 2009). Secondly, these practitioners may serve as their clients' advocates, especially those with less power, in order to

guarantee that the client receives the required service from the service provider. Finally, the main role of community interpreters is to facilitate communication in order for parties to communicate effectively, without linguistic and cultural hindrances (Coetsee, 2009).

In the second section of this chapter I dealt with community translation (CT). CT, as already discussed above (see section 4.1), is one of the forms of translation. It is a form of translation where texts are translated for the benefit of the general public, especially those who cannot access public service languages (Lesch, 1999). CT thus aims to empower the community with needed information and other skills related to community development. Although CT may be performed mostly by non-professionals, it is deemed vital in rural areas where the level of education is low and financial constraints hinder the appointment of professional translators.

Throughout this chapter it was argued that community interpreting and community translation may be the answer to the issue of poor service delivery at grassroots level. Erasmus (2000:199) notes that the effective and organised employment of trained interpreters at grassroots level may be one of the solutions to ensure that a culture of accessibility to public services is promoted.

Chapter 4: Data analysis

4.1 Introduction

As indicated in Chapter 1, the study is purely descriptive. Thus, instead of criticising the mechanism used to bridge service gaps at grassroots level, it aims to understand the situation at this level. In other words, the study does not seek to criticise the manner in which the members of the community and officials go about dealing with problems of multilingualism in the area. From the perspective of an outsider, multilingualism may be regarded as a language barrier but, according to the community members in Philippolis, "language is not really an issue here[3]". The community's claim is further discussed in the chapter (sections 4.3.2 and 4.4), and the findings of my study prove that, to some extent, the slogan does not really hold.

Prior to the discussion of my argument above, this chapter discusses how the data was collected at the public service institutions. Some of the data was collected at two meetings held in the area. The discussion of the data collection method is followed by a discussion of the data itself, which in turn is followed by a detailed analysis of the data. Lastly, the chapter contains the main findings of the ethnographic study and a concluding section.

4.2 Collection of data

The data discussed in the following sections of the chapter was collected through ethnographic research methods (interviews and observations) in Philippolis. The data encapsulates different views of the officials, members of the community as well as personal observations. I conducted two formal interviews with each official at four different public service settings (the police station, magistrate's office, post office and the local municipal offices). During these interviews, I depended on my notes but was allowed by some of the officials to utilise a voice recorder for backup purposes. A detailed discussion of the data collection follows. However, it is important to note at this stage that interviews were conducted at four institutions mainly because I struggled to get permission to conduct interviews with the officials at the local clinic, hence the focus on observations and conversations with some members of the public.

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[3] See Cuvelier et al. (2010).

At the police station and the other three institutions I conducted interviews in the following manner. At the initial stages of the study (July 2012), I visited the police station once every second week and mostly made observations. I sat at the charge office for an hour at a time, observing how the community members and police officers communicated. While sitting at this public service institution, I focused on the communication vehicle (the language or languages) via which the communication took place. This means that I focused on the language that was used during the interactions between the community members who came for a particular service, and the official, who is tasked with providing the required service at a particular institution. I wanted to find out whether problems arose as a result of multilingualism. I also observed the notice boards in the building, focusing on the documented language and the language of preference as far as the texts are concerned. These texts included the service charters as well. The charter that drew my attention was the outline of the Batho Pele principles which I noticed had not been translated into other local languages.

As far as observations are concerned, I followed the same procedure at the post office, the magistrate's office, the clinic and the municipality offices. I sat at the reception area observing members of the public as they came and communicated with the officials for services. This process, as indicated, also took an hour at a time. Apart from observations, I conducted interviews with officials and had informal conversations with members of the public.

I conducted two interviews with each official at the four public service institutions, as already noted above. These interviews took place between July 2012 and June 2013. During the scheduled interviews with officials at the public service institutions in Philippolis, I took notes and took a recording machine along for backup purposes. I prepared general questions and a few specific questions (see the attached addendum: list of questions). Interviews were hindered due to some unforeseeable changes at some of the institutions. In the section on the discussion of data below, I mostly drew on the notes that I took.

The changes mentioned above mostly concerned changes to the personnel at some of the institutions, namely the police station, municipal offices and the magistrate's office. Firstly, the official that I worked with at the SAPS moved to another town and therefore I had to find another official to interview. Secondly, I experienced a similar challenge at the local municipality. The official that I worked with between 2012 and 2013 had been moved to another

section and was no longer available to assist me with my study in 2014. Thirdly, the official that I initially arranged with at the magistrate's office got promoted and relocated to a new area. Due to these changes, I struggled to gather more data through interviews, hence the renewed focus on the observations I had made.

From July 2013 I started to do more writing and thus did not visit the public service institutions in Philippolis as often as I had done during the first half of the year. In October 2014 I managed to visit these institutions again for more observations and interviews. Due to the changes in personnel discussed above, I had to seek permission from the relevant officials once again. I started at the police station which was one of the institutions where I had the least struggles. I managed to meet the head of the station but he told me that the official[4] who would be able to assist me with my study was on leave. I decided to make more observations since the official was on leave. The head assured me that the official would undoubtedly assist me. All the officers I interacted with at the local station were welcoming and willing to assist me.

During my visit to the police station on 07 October 2014, I sat at the station for two hours to observe the manner in which the community and police offers communicated. The data collected during this observation session is discussed in the following sections. In an attempt to strengthen my observations and to move away from formal interviews, I opted to have informal conversations with members of the public rather than interviews because I wanted to get more data from them in this way as opposed to structured interviews. I am of the view that structured interviews somehow limit participation by community members. This may be an area for future study as far as ethnography and translation and/or ethnography and interpreting are concerned.

As indicated above, I had informal conversations with members of the community in Philippolis. Though the station was quiet most of the time, I managed to communicate with some members of the public. I had conversations with 10 Sesotho speakers (on different occasions), 8 isiXhosa speakers, and 5 Afrikaans speakers. Sesotho and Setswana are mutually intelligible languages, thus I spoke Setswana when with a member of the community who was a Sotho native and used Sesotho when communicating with those who speak isiXhosa. The reason I spoke Sesotho with isiXhosa speaking people is that Sesotho is the lingua franca between black people in the town

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[4] The official who replaced the one I used to work with at the station.

(see Cuvelier et al., 2010). I spoke Afrikaans with two Afrikaans speaking people because they preferred to speak Afrikaans. The other three participants did not mind so we had a conversation in English. These people did not want to be recorded so I basically made notes during the different conversations. I did not focus on an age group and gender because of the size of the town. After the visit to the police station, I visited the post office; another public service institution in Philippolis.

The post office data was collected in the same manner. I conducted two interviews with an official at this setting. The first interview was conducted in April 2013 and the second one in May 2013. In both these interviews, the official requested not to be audio-recorded and I thus made notes. The official seemed tense during both interviews, especially in the first encounter, but the presence of my community contact during these interviews made it easier for the official to respond to questions. Apart from these interviews, I spent another two hours at the post office on different occasions, observing the notices on the notice board as well as conversations between officials and members of the local public.

The post office is one of the quiet public service institutions in the area and so, during my visits, there were only a handful people who came to make use of the postal services. Most of these people just came to post letters. I managed to speak to 5 people during different visits in 2013 and from these conversations there was consensus among the local community members that they do not experience problems with multilingualism at the post office. These conversations were also not recorded and thus I depended on my notes. During my visit in October 2014, there was far less activity at the post office due to the national strike in progress at the time. Not much data could be found at the post office.

The clinic was one of the institutions that I intended to extract more data from because it is the busiest public service institution in Philippolis, but like the former setting, not much data could be found. Reasons that led to the limited data at these settings are discussed later in the chapter. The most important point worth noting is that I managed to speak to a senior official at the clinic who advised me to seek permission from the department officials at district level (Xhariep District). Nevertheless, I managed to observe the notices on the notice boards and had some conversations with members of the public. A detailed discussion of the observations follows in

section 4.3.2.3. Observations and interviews were also conducted at the local municipality offices.

In August 2012 I visited the local municipality offices for the first time. The intention of this visit was to seek permission to conduct interviews and observations at the municipality. I was granted permission by one of the senior officials at the local municipality office in town. This senior official agreed to be interviewed and I took notes. The official did not have a problem being recorded but withdrew a bit when I asked her whether she was fine with it. After having been assured that the recording made, is simply for backup purposes, another interview was held with the official in May 2013.

Due to the official's busy schedule, I could not meet with her for further appointments. I therefore met with another official and asked whether he would be able to help. We had informal conversations on a few occasions and from those conversations I also managed to get some data. In October 2014 when I went back to the municipal offices, I was told that a new senior official was heading the unit. During my visit in 2014 I was introduced to some of the KLM's senior officials and was advised to write a letter to the municipal manager to seek permission to continue with my data collection at the municipal offices.

The letter was written and e-mailed to the relevant official but I did not receive any response. Thus, I could not collect data in 2014 because I was awaiting permission from the authorities but never received it. I had to seek formal permission to conduct my observations and interviews at the clinic, the municipality and the court.

Initially there were no problems at the magistrate's court because in August 2012 I managed to get an appointment with two officials at the magistrate's office. Both official 1 and 2 were willing to assist me. Thus, I managed to conduct an interview with official 1. The interview was rather informal and was not recorded. Official 1 told me that if I needed a follow-up appointment, I should request one in advance because of the busy court schedule. In the first half of 2013 I visited the area on different occasions but could not get hold of the official because he was busy most of the time, so I opted to continue observing. The data collected through observations and conversations with different individuals at the court is discussed in section 4.3.2.4.

As indicated above, I visited Philippolis over a period of 2 years, between July 2012 and October 2014. At the initial stages of my data collection in the area, I still had to find my way around the place. I already knew a few people in the area because of the MIDP V project discussed in section 4.3.2.6 and I also knew some people from church which facilitated my work in the town. During this period I visited Philippolis once a fortnight with one of the MIDP V officials who headed the project. The visits were extended to three days every second week of the month.

In 2013 my visits to Philippolis were extended to five working days every second week because I was granted an opportunity to manage the MIDP V project for the first six months of the year (January to June 2013). More extensive data collection was conducted at the different settings between January and June 2013. The MIDP V students were also of assistance because they helped me especially with the clinic data, where I had not been granted permission to conduct formal interviews (more details follow later in the chapter). In 2014, after starting the writing process, I again visited Philippolis for five working days in order to make further observations at the institutions of interest.

This chapter thus gives an in-depth account of the data collected at the public service institutions in Philippolis, especially with regards to multilingual service delivery in the area. Before going into the detail surrounding the data collected, it is important to draw attention to the following question: "why was the study conducted in Philippolis?" The question asked here is answered later in the chapter, under the section describing the MIPD project (4.3.2.1) and paying particular attention to its fifth cycle. Prior to this discussion I wish to lay a foundation in the form of providing background information about Philippolis as a pioneer town in the southern part of South Africa's Free State province.

4.3 Discussion of the data

4.3.1 General background of Philippolis

It should be noted that the present chapter does not go into any detail on how the little town of Philippolis was established. Of interest to the chapter is the following, as summarised by the researcher: Philippolis, a historical town in the Free State province, started as a replacement mission station. History has it that the Toveberg mission station was closed in 1818 and Dr John Phillip, a superintendent in South Africa at the time and a representative of the London

Missionary Society, wanted a mission station in the area. Philippolis was therefore founded by the London Missionary Society in 1823 (http://www.kopanong.gov.za/ index.php/ component/content/article/66-uncategorised/53-philippolis). The town was named after Rev. Phillip and it is regarded as the oldest town in the Free State. It is noted elsewhere that Philippolis was actually for the benefit of the Khoi and San (Bushmen) people who resided in the area (http://www.routes.co.za/fs/philippolis/index.html).

Philippolis also holds the record of being the Griqua headquarters for about 38 years (from 1823 to 1863) with Adam Kok III as the last and most spoken about leader (also see Lombaard, 2013). According to the Annual Report (2012-2013) of the KLM, this historical town currently has a population of 4,408. According to the KLM's Draft Language Policy, five languages are recognised in the area including Philippolis (KLM, s.a.). These five languages are Sesotho, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Setswana and English, as listed according to their dominance in the Municipality Draft Language Policy (KLM, s.a.; FSPGLP, s.a.; Xhariep District Municipality, 2003). According to information drawn from www.southafrica.info, Sesotho speakers in the province make up 64.2% of the province's total population. Afrikaans speakers follow with 12.7% and the percentage of isiXhosa speakers in the province is 7.5% (www.southafrica.info/ about/geography/province.htm#.VLYkH01bMK).

Cuvelier et al. (2010) on the other hand provide statistical data with a particular focus on the KLM. Cuvelier et al. (2010) outlined that 40.10% of the 56 000 inhabitants in this local municipality have Sesotho as their home language. Sesotho is followed by Afrikaans speaking people who make up 32.42% and isiXhosa home language speakers whose numbers make up 22.69% of the total population in Kopanong. Setswana, with 3.38% home language speakers and 0.65% of English home language speakers are at the bottom of the table (Cuvelier et al., 2010). Thus, Sesotho and Afrikaans are regarded as the languages spoken by most people in the Kopanong jurisdiction, which includes Philippolis. Sesotho is regarded as a lingua franca between black people and Afrikaans is regarded as a lingua franca between black and white people.

According to House (2013:59), the term *lingua franca* is believed to be a derivation from the Arabic *lisan al farang (*literally, 'the Italian language'*).* House further notes that the original meaning of the term referred to an intermediary language that was utilised by Arabic speakers

when communicating with Western European travellers (House, 2013:59). There were many lingua francas prior to the era House makes reference to, but these were not referred to as lingua francas. The term *lingua franca* was later extended to refer to a language of commerce rather than a particular language as in its original form. Thus the term '*lingua franca*' is defined in the OED as a language that is adopted as a common language that speakers of different native languages speak (www.oxforddictionaries.co/ definition/english/linguafranca). The language is further used as a lingua franca between white and coloured people in the area (Cuvelier et al., 2010).

It would also be of interest to locate Philippolis according to its situation on the geographic map of South Africa. Section 103(1) of Act 108 of 1996 divides the Republic of South Africa is divided into 9 regions which are affectionately known as provinces. These 9 provinces are namely the Eastern Cape (EC), the Free State (FS), Gauteng (GP), KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Mpumalanga (MP), Northern Cape (NC), Limpopo (LP), North-West province (NW) and the Western Cape (WC) (Act 108 of 1996).
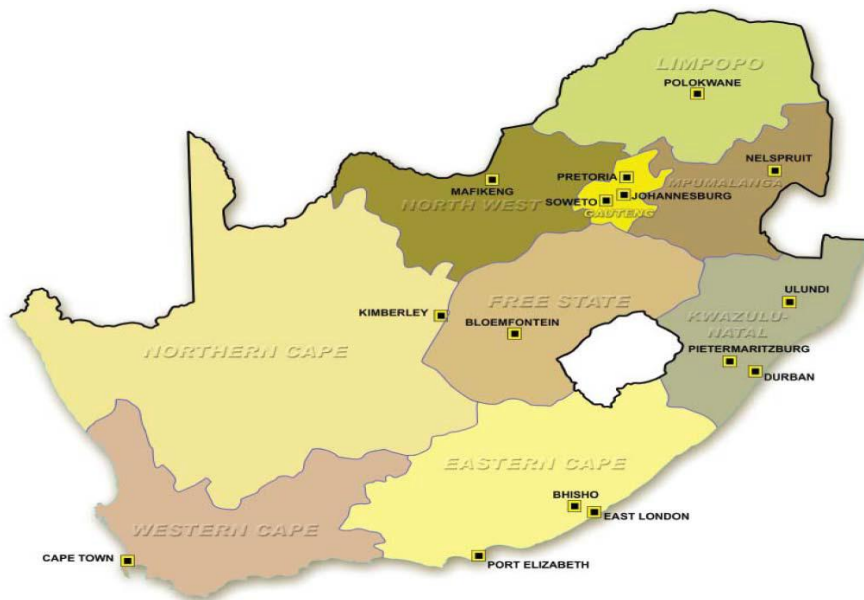
Figure 1: Map of the Republic of South Africa: Provinces and capital cities.
Source: Millennium Development Goals (2010).

Figure 2: Map of the Free State province

Source: www.places.co.za

The province of interest is the Free State, which is situated in the heart of South Africa (see Figure 1p. 109. The Free State province consists of 5 district municipalities, namely Fezile Dabi District Municipality, Thabo Mofutsanyana District Municipality, Lejweleputswa District Municipality, Motheo District Municipality and the ***Xhariep District Municipality***, the latter highlighted because the study was conducted within its borders.
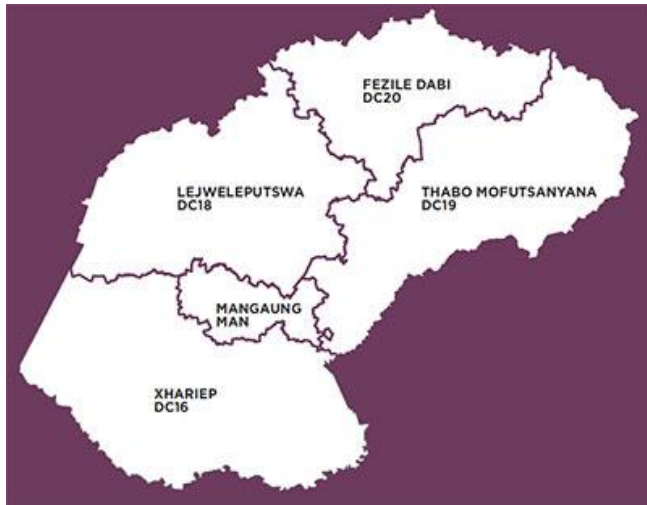
Figure 3: District municipalities in the Free State province

Source: www.places.co.za

Du Plessis (2010) explained that the name "Xhariep" is a Khoikhoi word that is equivalent to the word "river". The name Xhariep was given to the country's largest river which also serves as the dividing line between the Free State and Eastern Cape provinces (see Du Plessis, 2010).

For interest's sake, Du Plessis (2010:31) notes that the Xhariep District Municipality is made up of 17 towns. This fact concurs with data provided by Marais, who rightfully states that district municipalities are comprised of a number of small towns that form local municipalities (Marais, 2014). On the basis of the statistical fact indicated above, the Xhariep District Municipality is therefore divided into three local municipalities, namely Letsemeng Local Municipality, Mohokare Local Municipality and ***Kopanong Local Municipality*** (see Figure 4 below).

Figure 4: Xhariep District Municipality

Source: googlemaps.com

The term Kopanong is a Sotho term which means "meeting place or where people are invited". The name Kopanong characterises unity and is aimed at encouraging cooperation between the communities and the authorities (http://www.localgovernment.co.za/locals/_view/55/kopanong-local-munici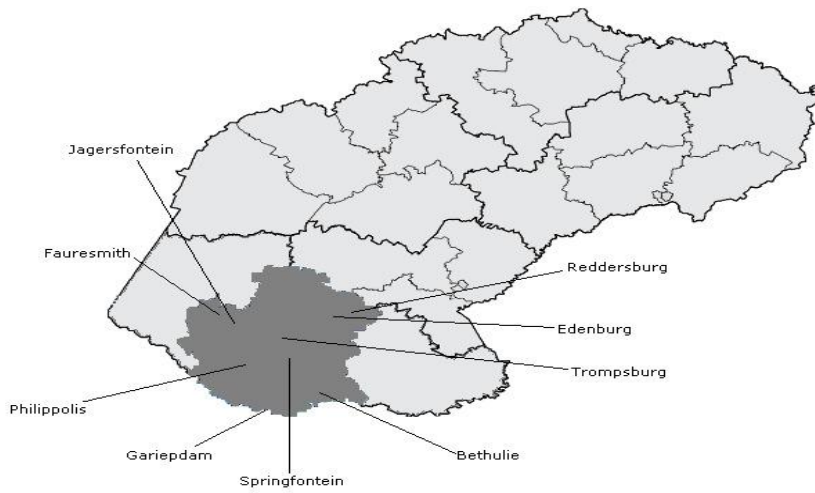pality). Kopanong Local Municipality, according to Molefe and Marais (2013) is the largest local municipality within the border of the district it forms part of. The municipality covers about 11.7% of the Free State, which equals 1523 407 hectares of land (Du Plessis, 2010; EPWP, 2013).

KLM has a population of about 49 171 which is dominated by Africans (LED, 2013). It is further recorded in the LED (2013) that the larger part of the population are women, who are about 25 087. Males constitute 24 083 of the municipality's total population. The lack of job opportunities in the area is regarded as the major driving force which leads to the migration of males to big towns and cities in search of employment (LED, 2013).

There are high levels of illiteracy within the KLM. The LED (2013) further reports that larger parts of the people who do not have schooling are mostly those who are over 20 years. It is further noted that the number of people who have acquired secondary and tertiary education is extremely low. This low number of people with secondary and tertiary education may be regarded as one of the reasons leading to the skills shortages in the jurisdiction of the municipality. On the other hand, the shortage of skills, especially amongst the people 20 years old and above, makes them unemployable, thus leading to the high rate of employment in the area (LED, 2013). The low level of education may further be regarded as a potential cause of the service gap in the area.

As was the case with the district municipality, the local municipality where Philippolis (town of interest) is located, is also highlighted. Local municipalities, as Marais correctly states, mostly consist of a number of small rural towns (Marais, 2014). KLM thus consists of nine small rural towns, namely Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Trompsburg, Edenburg, Reddersburg, Springfontein, Bethulie, ***Philippolis*** and Gariepdam (KLM, 2011).

Figure 5: Kopanong Local Municipality

Source: Molefe & Marais (2013:82).

Figure 6: Map of Philippolis

Source: googlemaps.com

Marais (2014) further notes that these very towns are also divided as far as political structures or rather leadership is concerned as each of these small towns has a Unit Manager who is most likely viewed as the top official (if I may use such an explanation) of the town and is a

representative of the local municipality (Marais, 2014). Thus, the following subsection discusses data collected at the institutions of public service in Philippolis.

4.3.2 Interviews at public institutions of interest

In the present section (section 4.3.2) I deal with the data collected from different public service institutions in Philippolis. These public service institutions are the police station, the post office, the clinic, the magistrate's office and the municipality. The discussion of the data generated by the interviews conducted at these public service institutions is preceded by a discussion of the MIDP V project which took place in Philippolis. The relevance of this discussion is that students trained in this project, (subsection 4.3.2.2), were used to deal with multilingualism issues in the setting concerned.

4.3.2.1 MIDP V

The Multilingual Information Development Programme (MIDP) started in 1999. This MIDP project was a joint venture between the Province of Antwerp in Belgium, the Department of Sport, Arts and Culture in the Free State province and the University of the Free State (UFS), more specifically the UFS's Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment (ULFE) (Lombaard, 2013). These stakeholders were the main participants in this project funded by the Belgian Province of Antwerp. Lombaard further notes that the project took place in three-year cycles. In other words, one cycle is constituted of three consecutive years. So far, all five cycles, namely MIDP I, MIDP II, MIDP III, MIDP IV and MIDP V of this immense project have been completed successfully. With the brief background of the MIDP noted here, I wish to shift the focus to the fifth cycle of the MIDP. The fifth cycle of the MIDP V, as discussed by Lombaard (2013), came as a result of the findings of MIDP IV, which provided the basis as far as research on the issue of multilingualism at grassroots level in the Xhariep district is concerned.

My intention was thus to narrow this MIDP IV finding down by focusing on one town within the jurisdiction of the Xhariep District Municipality. In so doing I worked on the base set by MIDP V which was intended to empower local communities in Philippolis. Philippolis as a point of reference was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, I chose the town as my area of focus because it falls within in the same district municipality as well as the same local municipality as my home town (Fauresmith). Secondly, I took part in the MIDP V project as a presenter during

the first workshop, which took place in December 2011. I was one of the personnel from the Department of Language Management and Language Practice (currently the Department of Linguistics and Language Practice). At this workshop I presented a module titled 'Introduction to translation'. In addition to my role as presenter, I was appointed project manager in January 2013, where I worked closely with the students and could see how their interpreting and translation skills developed.

The skills development programme was a great initiative by MIDP V and resulted in greater awareness in Philippolis about the importance of language and language facilitation at grassroots level. The implementation of the MIDP V, especially the training of ad hoc interpreters, concurs with Coetsee's 2009 observation that trained ad hoc interpreters may be able to do a better job than untrained ones, hence the relevance of the discussion on the MIDP V.

The MIDP V began in 2011 and ended in December 2013. This project was aimed at creating a model that could lend a hand in institutionalising multilingualism that exists at grassroots level (Lombaard, 2013). According to Lombaard, the first step for the project was to take note of the manner in which residents of the Xhariep district handle multilingualism among themselves. This study thus seeks to narrow its focus to Philippolis, particularly concerning the manner in which community members handle the issue of multilingualism in their town.

The issue of multilingualism in Philippolis is also viewed on the basis of the document review discussed in Chapter 2.

As noted above, the MIDP V included a short course titled "Introduction to community interpreting". This short course was one of the objectives of the MIDP V, which aimed at motivating the identified students, who, according to Schuster (2011), had not received a tertiary education. Most of these students also had no profession and neither had they attained any exposure to interpreting (except for one individual) and translation in the community (Schuster, 2011). This short course was intended to assist them to have some form of documentation accredited by an institution of higher learning.

The course thus took place concurrently with the fifth lap of the MIDP. In this course, local individuals were selected and taught the theoretical basics of interpreting and translation (Lombaard, 2013). Lombaard (2013) goes on to explain that the course was presented by the

staff at the UFS's Department of Linguistics and Language Practice. This department falls within the Faculty of Humanities at the UFS. The course not only entailed theoretical training, but students also underwent a lot of practical training throughout the duration of the course.

The practical sessions were facilitated by the coordinator and the staff members who were co-presenters of the course, as already stated above. The practical sessions involved mock scenarios varying from the doctor's consultation room, social worker's office, police setting, etc. Here they were taught to follow the Code of Ethics at all times while interpreting. In 2012 and again in the first quarter of 2013, the coordinators of the MIDP were granted permission to place the students at the police station for practical experience in real life situations, (see subsection 4.3.2.2 below).

This brief discussion of the MIDP V is also aimed at showing that the project intended to empower rural communities linguistically. The training of these ad hoc interpreters aimed to further develop their communal forms into more formalised ones. This development included both young people and elders in the community who are trusted within the community for their ability to speak multiple languages. In the following section I deal with the data collected at the public service institutions in Philippolis. My point of departure is the local police station.

4.3.2.2 Philippolis police station (South African Police Services)

The outline below describes the structure of the SAPS at station level. It is also important to note that my interest is not in the hierarchy of the leadership but rather in the different divisions which also entail the services provided to the community members. The present study focuses on the subdivision 'support services – operational at the CSC". CSC denotes the Community Service Centre and Court. I collected the ethnographic data that I analysed from the CSC (a subsection at the SAPS). I would also like to note that Figure 8 does not give any indication of superiority of the divisions and subdivisions, but rather shows which divisions are present at station level.

Figure 7: The structure of the SAPS at station level (station components)

Source: Motse, M 15 December 2014, personal communication

The structure shows the organisation of the components at station level. For the benefit of the reader, I have included an additional structure which shows the hierarchy of the management at this level of the SAPS. However, it is important to note that the station commander is at the helm of the station and is the most senior official at station level. Within the leadership structures one also finds the detective commander who heads the team of detectives and then the detective personnel. The station is further divided into components.

There are two main station components, namely support services and intelligence. The focus of the current chapter is on the support services component. A support services component is further divided into operational and non-operational support services. The former is dived into two subdivisions, namely the Crime Prevention Unit (CPU) which has a subdivision that deals with social crimes. The second subdivision of the operational services is the Community Service Centre and Court (CSC). The CSC thus constitutes the focal area where the data was collected.

During the initial stages of my research in July 2012, I visited the local police station, which is one of the institutions providing public services in the area. I worked with one of the local

officials at the police station, who was very helpful. The individual worked closely with members of the community on a daily basis (police officers interact with members of the community but have different focal areas). There are those who work in the charge office (CSC), those who work in the CPU, and those who work closely with members of the community, etc. as indicated in Figure 8 above. For the interest of this section, I only refer to those who work closely with members of the public. A particular reference is made to the individual who assisted me during my visit at the Philippolis police station and observations made at the CSC.

One of the officials I interviewed during my first visit (to which I referred in the previous paragraph) to the police station further confirmed the use of social capital when he noted that they seldom require an interpreter ('professional interpreter') to facilitate communication at the station. The official also stated that if there is such a need, officials would call upon one of the multilingual members of the community to provide interpreting services for the station when needed and mentioned that this person had been sworn in at court as well. The individual in concern had previously been used at the local magistrate's court to assist with language facilitation when their resident court interpreter was not able to work. I discovered from my conversation with the individual that he had been interpreting for many years in different settings, including public meetings, church interpreting, etc. The individual has also been part of the MIDP V project, serving as a coordinator of the project at the Philippolis office and a trainee ad hoc interpreter. As stated in the previous chapter, the project ended in 2013 (Lombaard, 2013) and the individual managed to complete the course.

The MIDP V project assisted in creating awareness as far as multilingualism is concerned. I noticed this during this first interview when I spoke to the police official, for he actually alluded to some of the language-related problems encountered at the police station. The official told me about a scenario which confirmed the language-related problems but also revealed that some awareness had been created in Philippolis. In this scenario, one community member, who is a white Afrikaans speaking farmer, seldom wants to be helped by police officials other than one particular official at the station. In most cases the individual would wait for this particular official if he was busy with office work or if the official had driven to sort out police business in the area. The main reason why the individual is preferred by the community member is that the official is also Afrikaans speaking.

During the first interview I had with official 1, I observed that service charters such as the Batho Pele principles had not been made available in other local languages. I asked the official how they handled documented language at the station. He agreed that this is still a problem but, as public servants, they try to explain the documented language to the members of the community. Sight translation, which is one of the modes of interpreting, is often used by police officials without their knowledge. Sight translation is referred to as a special type of simultaneous interpreting. In this case the interpreter interprets a written document from a source into a target language. Pöchhacker (2004:19) explains that when this mode is adopted in real time for immediate use by the audience, it may be referred to as sight interpreting. As I have observed, sight interpreting is therefore the most appropriate term to use in reference to the police settings because even sworn statements are sight interpreted.

In some instances more informal ways of explanation are adopted. For instance, an official would read the document then point out the parts that he or she thinks are important in the document concerned. The reading in this instance is not done out loud. The official does not read out loud (reads to himself or herself) and then explains to the community member. Summaries of written documents are provided by the officials in order to assist the community member concerned. This is a manner in which the officials and members of the public deal with such difficulties. It might be viewed as an unprofessional way of dealing with multilingualism but in this instance it works for the local community.

During my second visit to the local police station (in October 2014), I witnessed a similar scenario but with a different community member. This individual was also a white, Afrikaans speaking farmer. When he arrived at the police station, at the CSC section, he greeted the official working at the CSC in Afrikaans and requested to see a certain official. He was told that the person he was looking for was out of town for a meeting. The officer's response was rendered in English because his Afrikaans proficiency is not very good, i.e. he has passive knowledge of the Afrikaans language but cannot really speak it. The officer (officer 1) then asked this individual whether there is anything he could do to assist him. The farmer gave the official a form which needed to be completed and the official complied with his request. The farmer thanked officer 1 in English and left the police station.

Officer 1 then told us (my community contact[5] and I) that some white people, mostly farmers, follow this practice when they come to the station. They do not tell the officer on duty at the CSC what they want but rather ask to see a certain individual. Officer 1 explained that mostly the matter to be resolved is not so complicated that an officer at the CSC is unable to handle it. According to officer 1, it was more an issue of language preference because most of the people at the CSC are native speakers of Sesotho and isiXhosa. Most farmers prefer to speak to someone who can speak Afrikaans rather than English, as is the case with most police officers who are not fluent in Afrikaans. This issue of language preference leads me back to the conversations I had with the official who mostly helped me at the station and who also noted that certain members of the public prefer to be helped by particular police officers. He made reference to some elderly Afrikaans speaking white people who always look for a certain official when they need assistance. My observation is that although these people are constitutionally within their right, their request to be assisted by a specific individual has more to do with their cultural identity. I base my observation on a number of reasons. The first of these involves the fact that in South Africa, language and identity are often closely interwoven (Alexander, 2001). According to Alexander (2001), those South African people who consider themselves as Zulu, Tswana, Afrikaans, etc. are mostly native speakers of these languages. My second reason is based on Verstegaard's distinction of Afrikaners. Verstegaard (2001) differentiates between heterodoxy Afrikaners and orthodoxy Afrikaners. According to Verstegaard, the former refers to those Afrikaner people who welcome the new challenges (democratic South Africa) and "champion the opening of the social field". The latter are those who resist change and hold on to established values (Verstegaard, 2001). Except for this clinging to one's cultural identity, verbal communication is seldom a problem at the police station.

During this second interview, I again observed that written communication is still a major problem although our indigenous languages share equal status with the languages of public service delivery or administrative languages (English and Afrikaans). Most of the documentation is still accessible in English and sometimes in Afrikaans, but one hardly finds documents written in local indigenous languages. This documentation includes the sworn statements made by

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[5] The individual preferred to remain anonymous. This individual is a member of the community who guided me in the town. He introduced me to the local officials and accompanied me when I went for observations. I also managed to get some data from our informal conversations.

members of the public (see Ralarala, 2014). Members of the public are allowed to make their verbal statements in their language(s) of choice and the official who understands that language then transfers it into written English or Afrikaans. The transfer of an oral text (oral declaration) in the SL into the TL by the officer thus indicates the shift in roles. The officer shifts from his role as police officer and takes upon himself the role of a language practitioner. He or she listens to the verbal statement in one language, then makes sense thereof and puts it on paper in a different language (administrative language). This therefore indicates that the officers take up the role of language practitioners and thus are referred to as 'transpreters' (Ralarala, 2014).

During the second round of interviews I became aware that, since the beginning of 2012 (the second year of the MIDP V), ad hoc interpreters had been placed at the police station to render interpreting services where needed. These students took turns (time spent at the charge office) and worked in pairs. At the beginning the services of these students were not often employed because having interpreters present in police settings was unusual. However, once police officials and members of the community had become accustomed to their presence, they were often called upon for their services. Official 1 also noted that since the students assisted with the interpreting, there were less language-related problems. He further noted that members of the community make use of the interpreters and communication has improved since the interpreters were used. I did not experience this first hand and spoke to some of the ad hoc interpreters who noted that there had been times when their services had been used by community members. This individual also stated in an informal conversation that there had been times when they had struggled with the terminology used at the police station. Thus the co-interpreter has to ensure that he or she provides the working interpreter with the correct terminology. I would also like to add that these ad hoc interpreters compiled a terminology list for the terms that are used on a daily basis at the police station. This list was helpful at times, especially during the initial stages of their practical sessions. This is an option available to them when the need arises, as the students are local residents.

During my third visit to the police station, where I mainly observed without any interviews, I intended to meet with the Station Commander. I was told to wait for a few minutes by one of the constables working in the CSC. While waiting, I observed an interesting conversation between a police official and a female member of the community. The lady had not come to lodge a

complaint but was there on behalf of her son who was to appear in court in Bloemfontein. From the time the conversation commenced and until it ended, this conversation took place in two different languages. I extracted a few utterances from the conversation:

Lady X: ***"Molo bhuti[6]"*** (isiXhosa) [Good day sir.]

Official: *"Dumela mme."* (Sesotho) [Good day mam.]

Lady X: ***"Bhuti bendizokubuza ukuba ingaba i-van ayiyi eBloemfontein na?"***

["Sir[i], I would like to find out whether there is a van going to Bloemfontein?"]

Official: *"Ha ke tsebe hore na ho na le motho a tlo yang maar o kgutle ka Friday kapa ka Mantaha hoseng, batho ba shift eo ba tla ho hlalosetsa."*

["I do not know whether there is anyone who will be going to Bloemfontein but come back on Friday or Monday morning, the people working on that shift will explain to you."]

The conversation continued in the two different languages, namely isiXhosa and Sesotho. The official, as noted earlier, is a native Sesotho speaker (he spoke Sesotho), whereas Lady X comes from a Xhosa background (she spoke isiXhosa). During this conversation, as can be seen, there are a few English words that the interlocutors made use of, or what Matras (2009) refers to as insertional code switching. For instance, let us take the first isiXhosa sentence by Lady X. Lady X: "***Bhuti bendizobuza ukuba*** *i-van **ayiyi** eBloemfontein **na**?*" "Sir[ii], I would like to find out whether there is a van going to Bloemfontein?" She mostly uses isiXhosa in her utterance but includes a loaned word, 'i-*van'*, which is equivalent to a 'van' in the English language.

Other observations of interest which may also be viewed as an option available when it comes to multilingual communication at police settings involve receptive multilingualism and code switching. These two phenomena are common in South Africa (though not much is written on relative multilingualism) and I managed to observe a number of situations where one of these practices was used in the police settings. In my view, both these phenomena are making use of some form of translation practices, although these are not formal or professional translation

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[6] Bhuti means brother. In this case the individual was not using the lexical item in its literal sense but rather to show some respect to the official. This official is younger than the lady concerned and that is why she referred to him as Bhuti.

practices as translation is defined in the field of translation studies. More details on insertional code switching are shared in section 4.7.1. The following section deals with the data as collected at the local post office.

As already noted earlier in the chapter, the aim is not to criticise but to learn how communication problems are dealt with in multilingual settings. The problems referred to here are those that arose as a result of language differences. There are instances where language becomes a barrier between members of the public and police officials (such an instance is discussed further below in the section). It is also interesting to note that although there are problems due to language differences; language facilitators are not frequently used. Multilingual staff members are used to assist in bridging the linguistic gaps. My observation here is in accordance with that of Hale (2007) who also found that multilingual staff members are normally used as language facilitators in police settings although they are not appropriately trained, thus concurring with Tymoczko (2007) who notes that language mediation is often undertaken by people who are not language professionals.

Ortega-Herráez and Foulquié Rubio (2008) explain that in Spain, interpreting is a task performed by people who are there when an interpreter is needed. Their point agrees with the observation of Hale (2007) and Tymoczko (2007) regarding the interpreter's duty in police settings. A similar observation was made in the South African context by Ralarala (2014) and Marais (2014). Marais (2014) explained that the community makes use of informal measures to resolve language related issues. He makes reference to two notions, namely communal translation and social capital. Communal translation refers to the informal interpreting and translation performed by members of local South African communities such as that of Philippolis. Thus the community members help each other to understand. This community, like other rural communities in South Africa, as observed by Marais (2014), works on high social capital. Siisianen (2000), on the other hand, defines social capital as the general moral resources of a community. These moral resources may be divided into three components, namely trust, social norms and relationship networks. The data in the subsequent sections, show that community members help each other to understand, in other words, they rely on relationship networks and social norms such as 'Ubuntu' to solve their language problems.

4.3.2.3 Post Office

Like the police station, the local post office is also made up of multilingual staff members. This I found out during my interview with one of the officials at the post office. According to the official, the Philippolis post office is comprised of a native Xhosa speaker, native Sotho speakers as well as a native Afrikaans speaker. My interviewee was a native Afrikaans speaker; a resident of Philippolis. This official speaks two local languages, namely Afrikaans and English (referred to elsewhere in the chapter as 'languages of service delivery' or 'administrative languages'). According to him, he does not speak any other local language. Official 2, as he is referred to in this chapter, was somehow reluctant to talk to me because I addressed him in English.

Though official 2 agreed to do the interview with me, he showed some form of anxiety. This was confirmed when he refused to have the interview recorded. Before the meeting he uttered the following to the gentlemen who accompanied me: *"Ek wil nie met die man praat nie"* which means "I do not want to talk to this man". He did not know that I understand Afrikaans clearly. I also played along because I did not want to make him feel more uncomfortable. I thus observed that sometimes language is used for exclusion. In this case it was more deliberate as the individual did not want me to understand what he had said.

Nevertheless, the interview continued, and I asked the following: How many languages do you speak? To this the respondents replied: "English and Afrikaans (preferably Afrikaans)".

I asked the respondent about which languages were used in post office documentation. He told me that the documents are mostly written in English and Afrikaans. As was the case at the police station, the Batho Pele principles had not been translated into other local languages. This prompted me to ask post office officials how they handled cases where a member of the public was unable to read or write. The respondent noted that they (staff members) explain to the members of the community who do not have full comprehension of the languages of record (I refer to these languages as 'languages of public service'). He further noted that in cases where a member of the public cannot read and write, the staff member reads the document and it is explained by an appropriate official in the language that the member prefers. The official, with the member's consent, also assists in completing the forms on their behalf in the member's presence.

I asked whether they made use of the services of a community interpreter. He responded that the multilingual staff members are mostly used as interpreters. According to the respondent there was no real need for a professional interpreter in the area because there is always someone who is able to understand more than one local language.

A scenario: A Lesotho national once visited the post office and was speaking in Sesotho. This gentleman could not communicate in English or in Afrikaans. He wanted to transfer money home but since we could not understand each other, I had to call one of the staff members, a native Sotho speaker, to assist the gentleman. This is how we managed to remove the linguistic barrier and assist the gentleman accordingly. The statement "there is actually no need for an interpreter here; we help each other in this community" refers me back to the two notions of social capital and communal translation explicated by Marais (2014). From the example given here, it is evident that no problems had been experienced and therefore the barrier had been successfully overcome.

I came to realise that community members in the area assist each other when the need arises. I observed that it is not only staff members who assist to resolve linguistic related problems; the local community members also play a role in this regard. Cuvelier et al. (2010) rightfully observed that officials who are mostly multilingual often accommodate members of the public. Cuvelier et al. (2010:22) gives the example of a woman who addresses a public servant providing services to her in Sesotho and switches to Afrikaans during the conversation. Cuvelier et al. noted that the official therefore also switches into Afrikaans in order to accommodate the lady in concern. This observation concurs with that of Marais (2014) who proposes that officials who are mostly bilingual are the ones who he categorises as officials at the front office level. From my various interviews with officials in Philippolis, I found that most of the officials at the front desks are multilingual. This therefore makes it easy for them to accommodate members of the public.

On the other hand, I found that accommodating behaviour not only comes from the side of the officials: members of the community also tend to accommodate the officials. This could be explained by the fact that the town is fairly small and that members of the community and officials know one another. For instance, in a case where a community member comes to the post office and finds that there are no speakers of indigenous languages, he/she does not leave the

post office unassisted. The person switches to either Afrikaans or English to accommodate the official present. It is not a written norm but it seems as if this is common practice. Cuvelier et al. (2010) also made a similar observation of this accommodating behaviour by a service user. In this case, the service user addressed the civil servant in Sesotho and the civil servant (coloured and a native Afrikaans speaker) tries to respond in Sesotho but due to her limited knowledge of the language switches to Afrikaans. The service user thus switches to Afrikaans in an effort to be accommodating.

This also happened when I arrived for my interview with the post office official. The person who accompanied me spoke to one of the officials in isiXhosa, explaining why we were visiting the post office. After this brief discussion we were allowed inside the reserved, 'staff only' area and met with the official who was going to provide us with the information. The intimacy of said community was immediately evident as the gentlemen seemed to know each other well. One could deduce from their greeting that they often come into contact and have brief casual conversations. My community contact then immediately switched to Afrikaans upon addressing the official.

Just before we left one of the community members walked in and nobody at the counter was able to speak one of the local indigenous languages. Official 2 was the only person present at the time. The person who came to make use of the postal services seemed to know official 2 and immediately switched into Afrikaans and was helped accordingly. This, I observed, could be the explanation for the "language is not a problem here" hypothesis. This accommodating behaviour (see Cuvelier et al., 2010) could thus also be seen as some form of translation (including interpreting) practice. It is an informal manner in which the local community members bridge the communication barriers caused by linguistic differences. This accommodating behaviour involves that one of the parties in the conversation switches to the other party's language to facilitate communication. I therefore regard this as a form of translation practice because one of the parties switches into a second language (i.e. from A to B whereas language B is a language that he or she has not yet mastered). This process is informal in that the intention of the parties in focused on transferring a message and not so much on the rules of the second language. The next public service institution to be discussed is the local clinic, which was also visited on several occasions.

4.3.2.4 The clinic

In Chapter 3 I discussed medical interpreting and how vital it is in a multilingual setting. I also made reference to literature in order to indicate what has been recorded about the field internationally and locally (see Hale, 2007; Lesch, 2009). I further emphasised the importance of communication in the medical setting. Fong, Anat and Longnecker (2010) posited that effective communication is crucial in health provision. They provide the following reasons in support of their claim: creating a cooperative and caring relationship of trust between the doctor and patient; gathering information; and making an accurate diagnosis, etc. (Fong et al., 2010). Considering the reasons above it is therefore vital to take note of the situation in rural areas where communities speak a variety of languages.

Philippolis is one such town where approximately five working languages (Sesotho, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English and Setswana) are spoken. One can thus imagine how complex communication is between community members whose education level is low (especially the language proficiency in the administrative languages), and public service providers. In this chapter I used the collected data to indicate how medical services are provided at the Philippolis Clinic. As has been the case with the other public service institutions, the focus was on the communication channel between the officials at the clinic and the members of the community. Emphasis is placed on how they communicate verbally as well as the manner in which they handle documented language.

It has been stated numerous times that Philippolis is a rural town with approximately five working languages. It is also worth noting that there seem to be fewer problems in face-to-face verbal service delivery as compared to written communication. Cuvelier et al. (2010) explains that documents at hospitals (and clinics) in Kopanong are mostly written in English and sometimes in Afrikaans. Cuvelier et al. further highlight the illiteracy rate of the population as far as the English language is concerned. The illiteracy rate is mostly high among the elderly, i.e. those who most frequently make use of the clinic.

Cuvelier et al. (2010) also add that the illiteracy rate varies from total to functional. This therefore means that some elderly people have basic English reading and writing skills but struggle with formal English. This observation is relevant in Philippolis as it forms part of the

towns that make up the KLM. According to Lombaard (2013), some nursing staff members can only speak English or Afrikaans, which in my observation may also be the cause of the linguistic divide in the health care service.

While I was collecting the data I noticed that some information on the notice board, including the Batho Pele service charter, was not available in any other local languages. Interestingly enough, there were texts on the notice board that had been translated into other local languages. Texts that are formally typed, such as the service standards and notices sent on provincial and national levels, had only been written in English. I also observed that most of the locally created notices had been translated in three languages (Sesotho, isiXhosa and either English or Afrikaans). These notices include, among others, those that inform the community about the times of service, warning notices (danger – *gevaar* – **ingozi** - *kotsi*), and basic hygiene notices (e.g. wash your hands with soap - **hlamba izandla zakho ngesephu** (isiXhosa) *- hlapa matsoho a hao ka sesepa* (Sesotho), etc.). From my observation the texts that get to be translated are those that members of the public can easily understand. The translation of these warning signs as well as basic hygiene notices is thus some form of communal translation performed by clinic staff members to assist the community with basic information. The problem with this kind of translation by staff members is that information may be oversimplified in the target language. Problems of communal translation are not only experienced in written communication. Face-to-face interactions also pose communication problems and thus steps that are believed to be working in that particular instance are sought by the clinic staff. The use of ad hoc interpreters is one such measure (see Hale, 2007; Lesch, 2009; Coetsee, 2009). Due to the lack of formal language facilitation personnel, ad hoc measures are adopted to deal with this problem (see Lesch, 2009).

Ad hoc interpreters are used at the Philippolis clinic as well, to facilitate communication between the doctor and patients. The resident doctor, according to the interviewees, speaks English only and, as already noted, this becomes a problem for those who are totally or functionally illiterate. Some members of staff are used to rendering interpreting services to the parties involved. It is also worth noting that at the clinic reception desk one meets staff members who are able to speak more than two languages. These people are the ones who open files for those who need to see the doctor. This also brings us back to the slogan "language is not a problem here" as they also assist the elderly with the documentation. This further emphasises that people at the front desk level

are mostly multilingual but they are seldom called upon to assist with language facilitation. Instead, ad hoc interpreting is provided by those members of the nursing staff and general staff members, who are regarded as multilingual. A person who often performs this service is a general worker who has been working at the clinic for some time (also refer to Lombaard, 2013). This individual was also a member of the first batch selected to receive some basic interpreting and translation skills under the MIDP V, which started in 2011. To some extent, the individual's interpreting skills were improved as she continued to serve as an ad hoc interpreter, facilitating communication between the patient and doctor.

This is not the only manner in which language related barriers are overcome. As already noted above, the level of education in the area also plays a role. Not all community members are illiterate and some people are able to apply their passive knowledge of the administrative language. Code switching and sometimes even non-verbal cues are used to indicate a particular problem to the doctor. According to Hall (2007), non-verbal cues are behaviours that have the potential to provide information. Hall (2007) further explains that these cues are not purely linguistic in content and include, among others, facial expression, body and hand movements, self and other-touching, etc.

This therefore concurs with the literature in Chapter 3 which states that ad hoc measures are applied to solve problems at the health care facilities (see Hale, 2007; Coetsee, 2009; Lesch, 2009). This may not be an ideal situation as Hale (2007) correctly mentions that in a rural setting there are no professional language services that can be of assistance to local community members. The community therefore seeks its own measures to deal with language related problems that may hinder service delivery. In the following subsection, I deal with the data collected at the local magistrate's court.

4.3.2.5 The magistrate's office

In the initial stages of data collection I visited the local court on several occasions and spoke to a few individuals (both from the public and the official side). It is also important to note that due to some changes in leadership and stricter laws as far as access is concerned, data collection was a daunting task at this site. Nevertheless, for the benefit of this chapter, I discuss the data collected

during the study's initial stages. I visited the local court on a number of occasions and made a few relevant observations which are discussed in this subsection.

During these visits I managed to communicate with people at the entrance who form part of the official structure of the court in some way. These people were security officers who I refer to as 'reception officers' because they are responsible for the members of the public who come in and out of court. They are responsible for ensuring the safety of the court staff. Reception officers thus screen the people who come to court and ensure that people do not come to court with weapons. Furthermore, these officers give the community members direction based on the type of service the community member requires. During my visits to the court I observed that these people are mostly multilingual as they were able to assist members of the public in most if not all local languages.

In most cases it was found that the reception officers work in pairs. I had conversations with both Sesotho and isiXhosa speaking reception officers. I had several conversations with 2 of the reception officers I found most frequently at the court. Both these officers were isiXhosa speaking and native inhabitants of Philippolis. Officer 1 speaks isiXhosa, Sesotho, Afrikaans and English. Officer 2 speaks English, Sesotho, understands isiXhosa and Afrikaans. The officers told me that they had not experienced any problems related to multilingualism.

My observation while in conversation with these officers was that they frequently made use of insertional code switching, especially when speaking administrative languages. Officer 1 mentioned that most people in Philippolis comprehend the languages used in the town. During my visits to the local court I would spend an hour with these officers and just observe how they communicate with the local community members. The following extract is from one of the conversations I managed to observe between an official and a community member who came for consultation:

Lady Y: Molweni! Kunjani? (IsiXhosa) – Good morning! How are you?

Officer: Ndiyaphila, akh' onto. Unjani wena sisi? (IsiXhosa) - I am fine, no problem. How are you?

Lady Y: Ndiyaphila! (IsiXhosa). **Ne ke botsa Magistrata [7]o teng? (Sesotho)** – I am fine. Is the Magistrate present?

Officer: Ukhona sisi kodwa use *busy* [8] **e-ofisini**[9] yakhe (isiXhosa). O ka mo emela mane *reception* (Sesotho) - He is present but is still busy in his office. You can wait for him at reception.

Lady Y: *Dankie* bhuti – Thank you sir

Officer: *Alright* sisi – Alright Miss

I observed more than a few conversations where local community members code switched when addressing the officers and the officers would also switch to the language used by the community members. I also spoke to a few community members at the court and realised that code switching is a norm in the town. In my case, when I spoke to an isiXhosa speaking community member, he or she would switch to Sesotho even when I requested that he or she should speak the language that they are comfortable in. This to me confirms that community members in Philippolis do indeed accommodate one another in cases where one does not understand another's language.

I did not have a list of questions prepared for community members. Among other questions that were asked, community members were asked whether they would be able to follow the court proceedings in Afrikaans. Most of the people I spoke to replied that they would not be able to follow the proceedings in the absence of an interpreter. Their response thus concurs with my argument in Chapter 3, that interpreting and translation may further enhance communication and assist in the successful delivery of public services. At times I did more than just observing and I got involved in some conversations. In one of these conversations where I played a more active role, I had the privilege of witnessing a multilingual conversation. The conversation took place in three languages, namely isiXhosa, Sesotho and Afrikaans. There were five interlocutors: a Sesotho speaking reception officer, my community contact an isiXhosa speaking reception officer, an Afrikaans speaking interlocutor and myself (Setswana speaking). Much code switching took place between the parties involved in this general conversation. The isiXhosa

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[7] Magistrata is a loaned word in Sesotho which is equivalent to magistrate.
[8] Insertional code-switching
[9] The 'e' means at. Thus **e-ofisini** means at the office.

speaking reception officer was teasing the Afrikaans speaking interlocutor (in Afrikaans) regarding his whereabouts during work hours and he tried to defend himself. At certain stages the individual switched into isiXhosa when responding to the reception officer:

Reception officer: "***ndiva ukuthi** jy was nie by die werk nie*"

ndiva ukuthi – (isiXhosa)

I heard that – (English)

jy was nie by die werk nie – (Afrikaans)

You were not at work - (English)

Interlocutor: "*Jy lieg. **Ndiya qala ukuva mfundisi oxokayo nje ngawe.**"*

"You are lying. It is the first time I hear a pastor lying like you do."

Jy lieg. (Afrikaans) meaning you are lying.

Ndiya qala ukuva mfundisi oxokayo nje ngawe. (IsiXhosa) meaning it is the first time I hear a Reverend that lies like you do.

The second reception officer provided his comment on the matter in Sesotho. He said: "*Ke nnete. Re jwetsitswe ke mongahao ka boena*." In English this means "It is true. We were told by your employer himself." The above is merely an extract from the informal conversation, illustrating the multilingual nature of the interlocutors who took part in the conversation. I also find this observation to be in accord with the slogan "language is not a problem here" (Cuvelier et al., 2010).

The court has a resident interpreter who speaks most of the local languages. This therefore means that face-to-face communication is indeed seldom a problem at the court. One of the officials that I spoke to actually praised the interpreting service at the court saying that it is of assistance to him as an official and as an ordinary member of the public. According to him, court proceedings would not be able to run smoothly in the absence of the court interpreter. The essence of the official's statement corresponds to what Erasmus (2000) observed about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) proceedings. According to Erasmus, these proceedings would

not have been possible without interpreting and translation services. My understanding of the official's explanation is that the court also, cannot function properly without the services of an interpreter. Face-to-face communication is therefore even less a concern in this particular setting. I would therefore like to focus on written communication. The interest in this particular form of communication comes as a result of the findings of Cuvelier et al. (2010) that most communication problems are located in written communication.

It was noted in Chapter 3 that sworn statements form an integral part of court proceedings as they are regarded as primary evidence in court (see Ralarala, 2014). Hale also notes that at times these statements are not correctly drafted due to the officers' lack of ability in either one or both of the working languages (Hale, 2007). For the purpose of clarification, working languages as used in the chapter refer to the languages that the official makes use of while performing his statement-taking duties (see Cuvelier et al., 2010:24). As already noted, in South Africa, sworn statements are written in the administrative languages (English and Afrikaans) but the original version ('verbal version') often takes place in one of the nine official indigenous languages (Ralarala, 2014). The use of administrative languages in statement-taking may therefore be regarded as one of the causes of the problems experienced with these written declarations at the court (Cuvelier et al., 2010).

The official I interviewed at the magistrate's office also agreed that declarations cause many problems in the court sessions and are often contested by the people who made the original statements. The official noted that he has been involved in cases where a community member who speaks either isiXhosa or Sesotho argued that the sworn declaration was not written accordingly. Due to the confidentiality clause, the official did not give finer details about the cases but confirmed that there have indeed been such cases. My observation is that the 'translation' process that takes place when a declaration is written may be the root of the problem. For example, a statement is given verbally by a member of the public in Sesotho (SL). The 'transpreter', who listens to the verbal declaration, translates 'in his or her head' then writes the declaration in English (TL). After completing this process, the language roles then shift; the TL takes the place of the SL and vice versa. This statement, which is now written in English, is then read to the member of the public in Sesotho. The process or mode of interpreting that the transpreter makes use of is known as sight translation (as discussed above).

I observed the 'to and fro' processes of 'translation' as the chief cause of the problems in the drafting of declarations. In most cases people are not notified that their declarations are taken down in English. After sight translating to the individual, the officer asks whether the person is satisfied with what has been written. He or she is then asked to sign the formal written declaration. This mostly takes place where the member of the public does not understand the TL. When sight translating, the transpreter mostly captures the original oral version correctly, which may be the reason why such declarations are contested in court. The transpreter retells what the community member told him or her verbally in the community member's language of choice and not the language in which the declaration is taken down. Thus, the community member is not able to detect the mistakes in the written declaration, if any. According to a study conducted by Cuvelier et al. (2010), prosecutors and interpreters in the Xhariep district agreed that the intended meaning of the person making the declaration is often not clear enough to interpret due to the mistakes in the written version of the statement.

On the contrary, people who understand the administrative language are given the statement and read it themselves. The 'translation' process then takes place in the member of the public's mind, who becomes the reader of the translated version of his or her verbal declaration. In this regard, the transpreters are exempt from bearing the onus of the mistakes in the sworn declaration because the one making the statement read and understood what was written.

Declarations are not the only written documents found in a court of law. Many others, such as statutes, bills, notices and forms are written in 'languages of public service delivery' (administrative languages). The notices that I managed to see on the notice board while visiting the local court were also written in one of the administrative languages (mostly English). The difference between the court and other institutions of public service delivery is that there is an interpreter appointed on a permanent basis. This individual is therefore available to sight translate documents for the benefit of the member of the public who battles with the administrative language.

A few members of the community also noted that they are assisted by other staff members when they struggle to understand the documented language. These staff members explain the documents in the languages of the community member's choice. Staff members explain either through sight translation or giving a summarised version of the document in concern. Sight

translation is also referred to as *prima vista*, and is regarded as one of the basic modes of interpreting (Čeňková, 2010). According to Čeňková, prima vista is a process whereby language is transferred from a SL into a TL as well as from a written into a verbal form. Although the court setting is more formal than other settings where community interpreting takes place, there are instances where ad hoc measures are applied. Mostly these measures are applied when the resident interpreter is busy in court. The last public service institution I would like to discuss is the local municipality.

4.3.2.6 The local municipality

As already discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the local municipality is divided into smaller towns and each of these towns has a municipal office headed by a unit manager (Marais, 2014). A unit manager is regarded as the most senior official at unit level and is therefore the one who accounts for the unit. The unit under discussion is the one in Philippolis, which falls within the jurisdiction of the KLM. The data collected at this institution largely confirms what has already been found in the other contexts discussed above. The data was collected from interviews with an official, members of the public and from observations made at the municipal office. Findings from interviews with the relevant parties and from observations made are discussed below.

As stated above, I had a meeting with an official at the local municipal offices. The meeting was conducted in two languages from the Sesotho language family (i.e. Sesotho and Setswana). The official was Sesotho speaking and therefore opted to speak in Sesotho. On the other hand, I am Setswana speaking and therefore I spoke in Setswana. We experienced no difficulties in understanding as these two languages are regarded as mutually intelligible. Except for Sesotho, the official also speaks English. She also has passive knowledge of isiXhosa and Afrikaans.

During this meeting I detected that the official often repeated that language is not an issue in their town. She noted that they hardly ever encountered language related problems at the office. She further noted that they have multilingual staff members who are able to assist members of the community in their home languages. In other words, the official was in agreement with the popular slogan "language is not an issue here" (Cuvelier et al., 2010) and the sentiment shared by many of the community members that "we always help each other".

When asked about the language use of the staff, she replied that they used English in formal meetings and other local languages in informal conversations. She noted that there are less communication problems among staff members. According to the official, interpreting services are seldom required but they ensure that these services are provided upon request. I also asked who normally interprets for the members of the public and was not surprised to find out that this was the same individual who assisted at the police station and at court. As already noted, Philippolis is a small rural town where most people know each other and it is therefore easy to arrange for a local multilingual individual to work across contexts.

I also managed to have informal conversations with members of the community. Most of the community members I spoke to were either Sesotho or isiXhosa speaking. I realised that most of the isiXhosa speaking people that I spoke to would speak in isiXhosa but would, from time to time, switch to Sesotho during the conversation. Without having formally agreed to speak Sesotho, I also used Sesotho because I realised that some isiXhosa speaking people find it difficult to comprehend Setswana. From these conversations I found that they seldom see language as a problem. One gentleman said that when someone does not understand the language, he or she may request a public servant to assist. He noted that it is the elderly people who most frequently request such assistance, especially those who cannot read and write. According to this gentleman, some elderly people prefer to take their grandchildren along to assist with forms and other necessary documents. Using their grandchildren as interpreters is one of the informal measures used in the community to deal with problems that may arise as a result of language.

I also noticed that the documents are also written in the administrative languages (English and sometimes Afrikaans). Notices and adverts I managed to locate on the notice board were mostly written in English. The official who assisted me told me that they do explain the documents written in English. She noted that a staff member who speaks the community member's language of choice is mostly the one who explains to the individual concerned. I further asked how they deal with people who cannot read and write. She noted that the official would explain to the community member, asking him/her for the required details and writing these down on their behalf (completion of forms). This thus qualifies as another informal measure that members of the community apply in order to solve language related problems.

I asked whether translation services are provided at the local municipal office. The official replied that nobody had ever requested a document to be translated into another language but that it would be done if such a need arises. My observation here is that the communities are not aware that they are allowed to request documents to be translated into their local language of choice. This option is thus inaccessible to them because they are not made aware by the officials that they may make this request. This language of choice falls within the languages that are regarded as the municipality's official languages. Greater awareness needs to be created in this regard and, so far, the MIDP V has managed to create at least some awareness in Philippolis.

A brief discussion of the MIDP V project follows this discussion. It hopes to provide answers to the question of why Philippolis was opted for as the research site.

4.3.3 Meetings in Philippolis

I have always wanted to attend public meetings in Philippolis to observe how the issue of multilingualism is handled in such meetings but could not attend such meetings because during my visits in the area there was not much happening as far as public meetings are concerned. Thus, I was never granted the opportunity to attend these meetings until I got the chance to be present at not one but two public meetings. These meetings were scheduled for 7 October 2014 and were held at different times as well as at different places of residence in the area. M Furthermore, these meetings were also scheduled for different audiences and were intended to discuss basic service delivery in the area, i.e. the problems, improvements, etc. The first meeting took place between the leadership, the administrative officials and the stakeholders (stakeholders' meeting). The second meeting took place between the leadership, administrative officials and the general public (community meeting). These meetings are henceforth referred to as meeting 1 and meeting 2 respectively.

Both meetings 1 and 2 were of interest because I managed to get access to information regarding the status quo of service delivery in the area. The officials agreed that due to monetary constraints, services were not being rendered to standard but that there had been improvements compared to previous years. By agreeing that monetary constraints hinder service delivery, the official was acting according to one of the Batho Pele principles, namely redress (5.4) and taking accountability (6.1.2). In my view, the official shows redress because he admits that monetary

related constraints are hindering service delivery. By accepting the above he also takes responsibility because service delivery, especially public service delivery, is one of the key areas of local government.

The two meetings discussed below also illustrate a degree of redress from the local authorities. There were also two moments during these meetings (one in each) where a community member highlighted the importance of language and the authority's responsibility to ensure that language services (interpreting services) are provided in community meetings. Both meetings were initiated by the local authorities and were aimed at giving feedback to the community with regard to the community projects in Philippolis. Furthermore the meetings were aimed at giving ear to the grievances of the local communities as well as to suggestions on the projects put in place.

4.3.3.1 Stakeholder meeting

On 7 October 2014 I visited the local municipality offices to conduct an interview with one of my contacts. One of the officials of the MIDP in Philippolis (my community contact) accompanied me to see the municipal official. When we got there we were surprised to learn that a meeting was about to take place. The meeting was scheduled for the stakeholders and the municipal officials. Due to size of the venue and the fact that no equipment (microphones) was being used, I had to make a recording and take notes. The meeting was conducted in a formal manner though there was no formal agenda. The chairperson referred to the meeting as an 'imbizo'[10].

Various officials accompanied the chairperson to the meeting, i.e. those from political leadership structures (councillors or representatives) and senior administration officials (e.g. the Chief Financial Officer (CFO), Technical Director, Public Service Delivery Official, etc.). The chairperson requested the relevant administration officials to give short presentations of their portfolios. After these presentations, the chairperson granted the members in attendance the opportunity to ask questions or comment on the presentations in their language of preference.

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[10] The word imbizo means 'gathering'. It comes from both the isiXhosa and isiZulu languages. In the olden days a gathering of this nature was called by a king or a traditional leader. In modern times it is used to denote a gathering which enhances dialogue between the government and the public.

Language thus played a major role in this meeting, the most prominent of these being that the area is strongly multilingual. Philippolis is indeed a multilingual town where more than four languages are spoken, namely Sesotho, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, English, Setswana, etc. (see Cuvelier et al., 2010; Lombaard, 2013; Molefe & Marais, 2013). This multilingual nature of the Philippolis population was further emphasised during the meeting by the member of the executive who chaired the meeting. He noted that the Free State province had recently recognised six official languages (i.e. all of the above together with isiZulu). He further urged the members of the public to express themselves in the language of their choice.

The chairperson's sentiment thus follows that contained in speech of the MEC of Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation delivered on 8 July 2014. According to the MEC multilingualism needs to be prioritised in the province. She further explained that the Executive Council had approved a language policy that would cater for the languages spoken by the majority of the province's residents. These languages are the six already stated above. This act is yet to be promulgated by the legislature (http://www.fsl.gov.za/ documents/ Budget%20Votes/ Speech%20of% 20the%20Free%20 State%20 MEC%20 for%20 Sport.pdf). Of these six languages, English is notably the last on the list but tops the list in terms of formal usage. The chairperson also made a similar point while dealing with the issue of multilingualism.

The chairperson's thoughts on the issue of multilingualism directed me toward the following points of interest. The first of these involves whether the issue of multiple language use in meetings is feasible. My interest was sparked by an observation made prior to commencement of the meeting. I observed that there were no language facilitators (interpreters, either professional or ad hoc) present at the meeting. The second involves whether this might cause misunderstandings or lead to language exclusion. In the section, I discuss moments in both meetings where some of the members in attendance had been excluded, thus emphasising the importance of language in a multilingual area like Philippolis. Although there are six official languages recognised in the province, only four languages were used in the meeting. IsiXhosa and Sesotho were used by the members of the community residing in the suburb of Poding-Tse-Rolo. Afrikaans was used by members of the community residing in the suburb of

Bergmanshoogte[11] and the white population who mostly stay in town. An interesting point to note is that although isiXhosa and Afrikaans were dominant in the meeting, the meeting itself was not conducted in either of these languages. The English language, referred to as a language of public service (see Chapter 3), was used as the lingua franca for this particular meeting. Different officials told me that they used English as a lingua franca in their internal meetings. Since the attendants at meeting 1 were stakeholders, local authorities viewed them as officials in their own right as they represent members of the community. My view is that these officials tend to use English because they assume that all stakeholders are proficient in English.

During my observations I was curious to find out whether this assumption holds and whether it is an ideal way to practice multilingualism. Presentations by the different officials, who formed part of the delegation that accompanied the leadership, were delivered in English. A form of code switching was noticeable during moments of the presentations. Sesotho speaking officials switched to Sesotho from time to time during their presentation and isiXhosa speaking officials would do the same (switch to their native language). I also realised from their greetings which language(s) they represented. For instance, a few isiXhosa speaking officials would say "Molweni omama no-tata", meaning "good day ladies and gentlemen". Some Sesotho speaking officials also greeted others in their mother tongue before making their presentations.

Members of the community were permitted to use their preferred languages to pose a question or make a comment as requested by the chair. IsiXhosa speaking members would pose their questions in isiXhosa, and Afrikaans speaking members in Afrikaans, etc. I personally thought that this form of multilingualism would be ineffective. While addressing the members of his administration, the chairperson would switch into vernacular. In some cases, this took the form of a humorous statement and people would burst into laughter except those who did not understand the language. In such cases language constituted a form of exclusion ('unintentional language exclusion'), which is dealt with in the following section. In my discussion I contrast unintentional exclusion with its more maligned form, i.e. intentional exclusion (Marais, 2014).

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[11] Bergmanshoogte and Poding-Tse-Rolo are among many other residential areas in South Africa that were demarcated according to the Group Areas Act of 1950. Apartheid town planning laws segregated people on the basis of race, i.e. black people, coloured people and white people were all allocated their own residential areas (Deumert, 2009).

Relevant examples of the contrasting situations are used to clarify the two forms of language exclusion.

I would also like to note that no relevant literature was located on unintentional language exclusion. My argument is thus based on the data that I collected in the two meetings. The example shared above, i.e. the humorous comment made, constitutes a form of the language exclusion described here and is seen in how the chairperson switches languages when addressing administration officials. Though it was not meant deliberately, white people and members from *Bergmanshoogte* could not understand some of the jokes that were shared. Another incident involved a point in the meeting where the mayor responded (in isiXhosa) to a question that was posed in isiXhosa. After his response one of the Afrikaans speaking members requested the mayor to summarise his response in English as well. In my opinion the mayor did not deliberately respond in isiXhosa initially, but this serves to illustrate that language can be used to unintentionally exclude participants in a conversation. In this way language can serve as a barrier to communication.

4.3.3.2 Community meeting

The second meeting that I attended was held on the same day as the one discussed above. There were more participants in meeting 2 than in meeting 1. The participants in this meeting were the municipality officials and members of the community at large. It was interesting to notice that the same officials who were in attendance in the former meeting used less English when addressing the local community. Officials who were present at this meeting were mostly Sesotho and isiXhosa speaking, meaning that those who were Sesotho speaking officials would present and answer questions in Sesotho and those who were isiXhosa speaking, responded to questions in isiXhosa.

The different ways in which the officials responded at the two meetings constituted one of the contrasts I picked up on at the two meetings (stakeholder and community meetings). I therefore wondered whether some sort of hypothesis could be made in this regard. In meeting 1 only community representatives took part in the proceedings whereas members of the general public had been invited to meeting 2. As stated above, meeting 1 was conducted in English, whereas meeting 2 was conducted multilingually. This led me to the following question: 'Is it assumed

that all stakeholders are competent in English?' On the other hand, does this also mean that members of the community are the only ones struggling with the use of this administrative language? I attempt to answer this question during my discussion.

The meeting took place in the local community hall situated in Poding-Tse-Rolo (name of the township), where most residents are speakers of isiXhosa, Sesotho and, to some extent, Afrikaans. As already noted above, the meeting was not conducted in English but in 'local languages' (isiXhosa, Sesotho and Afrikaans). A few interesting observations worth noting were made. Firstly, the linguistic diversity of the community did not influence or lead to any form of language facilitation, leading me back to what Cuvelier et al. (2010; Lombaard, 2013; Molefe & Marais, 2013) found. There is consensus that members of the public and resident officials do not regard language as a problem ("language is not a problem here").

During meeting 2 it became clear that the above-mentioned statement may not necessarily hold. Members were indeed allowed to express themselves in their languages of preference but this worked to the disadvantage of other members of the community (especially those who are Afrikaans speaking). One gentleman in the meeting stood up and raised the issue of language. He requested for the services of an interpreter in such meetings because, as he explained, not all people from *Bergmanshoogte* understand Sesotho and isiXhosa. He made a particular reference to the elderly people from that area. Based on the community member's concern, one could claim that, to some extent, language is used for purposes of exclusion, though this is not always intentional.

An official who was the given the role of MC thanked the gentleman for bringing the issue to the attention of the leadership. He continued to say that 'they' (leadership and officials) were not aware of the need for interpreting services. The official also apologised to the members of the community for the inconvenience and promised that they (leadership) would ensure the availability of interpreters at future community meetings. To some extent the official's apology may be seen as an act of accountability and redress. This apology, I believe shows accountability because the official accepts the responsibility to provide the community members with interpreting services. On the other hand it also shows some form of redress because the official provides a remedy for the community member's grievance (see Chapter 2).

The lack of awareness on the part of the officials as far as the need for language facilitation in community meetings is concerned, demonstrates that there is a service delivery gap which needs to be filled. Language facilitation may be considered as a possible solution for bridging language barriers and to assist officials to minimise or refrain from assumptions. If this is considered within the local municipality, one may suggest the utilisation of students trained as ad hoc interpreters during the fifth lap of the MIDP.

My next point of interest involved finding out whether language facilitation services are available at service counters. The following section deals with the findings around what I refer to as *over-the-counter* interpreting.

4.4 Analysis of data

4.4.1 Over-the-counter interpreting

Over-the-counter interpreting refers to interpreting that takes place at front desk level in a service situation. This is not a particular type of interpreting on its own, such as conference interpreting, court interpreting, etc. but falls within the ambit of community interpreting discussed in Chapter 3. I refer to *over-the-counter interpreting* as a focal point rather than a proposed type of interpreting. I refer to it accordingly because I wanted to find out whether language facilitation is used at front desk level, in the rural community of Philippolis. The main reason for such a reference is that the front desk level is where most members of the community interact with officials as far as service delivery is concerned. Front desk officials constitute the link between the community members and their seniors (senior management and middle management), as observed by Marais (2014).

A common example is found in the police setting discussed above (see section 4.2.1). Police officials mostly interact with members of the public over the counter at the CSC. From my observations during data collection in Philippolis, these over-the-counter services are not only found at the police station but also at the local municipality offices, the clinic, the post office and the magistrate's court. I was therefore interested to find out whether any form of interpreting takes place 'over the counter'.

At the municipality offices, the magistrate's court and the post office, I did not see any form of interpreting taking place over the counter. Community members mostly spoke in their mother tongue when addressing the officials and officials were able to respond in the members' language of choice. In a case where an official could not understand the language spoken by a community member, some language accommodation would take place (see Cuvelier et al., 2010). The community member would switch to Afrikaans mostly when speaking to white and dominantly Afrikaans official (see Cuvelier et al., 2010). Here reference is made to the scenario discussed in section 4.4.2. It rarely happens that both the official and the member of the community are monolingual, meaning that in most cases one of them is able to accommodate the other.

As stated above, officials and some members of the public noted that they can understand each other. From the officials' perspective, the multilingual staff members located at the front desks (see Marais, 2014), are able to communicate with the public in the local language of the public member's choice. I also observed that there is mostly more than one official available at these counters and so, if the one official cannot understand the public member's language, he or she requests one of his or her colleagues with the necessary language skills to help the individual in concern.

This does not mean that the above-mentioned institutions of public service are free from language related difficulties. At the local court the presence of a resident court interpreter works to the advantage of all parties concerned. Thus, verbal communication is less of a problem in this setting as compared to other settings where no resident interpreters are made available by the departments concerned. This individual, as discussed above, is entrusted with the duty of making communication possible between the interlocutors. It was therefore of interest to me to find out how language barriers are overcome when the resident interpreter is busy in the courtroom. The parties in communication would agree to use either a lingua franca, which in most cases is English or Afrikaans. For instance, an official would ask the member of the public which administrative language he or she is more comfortable to use. After such a determination, the two parties would communicate in the language selected by the public member. The parties would also code switch within their conversation, using phrases from their receptive mother tongues.

At the municipal office, officials and members of the community rarely experience language related problems over the counter. One of the officials noted that if there is such a problem they call an interpreter in to assist them in this regard. It is also of interest to note that the interpreter is not necessarily a professional interpreter. The official told me that there is no real need to hire a resident interpreter because communication normally continues without problems. She also noted that the municipality does not have the capital to pay a resident interpreter. Nevertheless, interpreters are called in, if and when there is a need for such a service. In the cases described above, interpreters are individuals who interpret on ad hoc basis. These are mostly trusted members of the public who are multilingual and I worked closely with one such person in the MIDP project (see Marais, 2014 for a similar observation). In one of the interviews Marais conducted in Colesberg, official 4 noted that the municipality made use of the local priest who sometimes availed himself to interpret for them. This example shows that although informal interpreting services are employed, this still constitutes a measure by which service gaps are bridged at grassroots level.

I would like to believe that the post office also makes use of such services if and when there is a need. In some instances, the parties opt to code switch. This communicative practice mostly takes place where the official has some level of understanding of the community member's language. The official would then use some lexical items, phrases or sentences of the person's native language.

The police station provided some interesting data. At the local police station, *over-the-counter* interpreting is sometimes found. I conducted an interview with one of the interpreters who told me that he sometimes gets called to the police station to facilitate communication between police officers and members of the public (refer to the discussion of the police setting above, section 4.2.1). The example of the police official and Lady X is an excellent example of what *over-the-counter* interpreting is. This form of community interpreting was also encouraged by one of the projects (MIDP V) in Philippolis.

The MIDP V, discussed above, came up with an initiative which was community based. Students who were receiving training as ad hoc interpreters had to sit at the police station for two hours and offer interpreting services. The students facilitated *over-the-counter* communication between members of the public and police officers at the charge office. As stated earlier in section 4.2.1,

these services were appreciated by the members of the community and the officials. The police station was used as a pilot study for *over-the-counter* interpreting in Philippolis. The interest that officials at this setting showed put the police setting in the driving seat as far as accounting for language related barriers in the area is concerned. The police station's willingness to explore the language facilitation tools ('ad hoc interpreters') is an admission that language is sometimes a problem in the area. This also concurs with the findings of Marais (2014), i.e. that members of rural communities help each other to understand in cases where language is a barrier, thus conflicting with the statement: "language is not an issue here". In the subsequent section I deal with this matter in detail, using some extracts from the data discussed above.

4.4.2 "Language is not an issue here"

Cuvelier et al. (2010) found that face-to-face verbal communication is mostly problem-free. While collecting data at both public meetings discussed above, I observed that language does indeed constitute a problem. I also realised that officials and, to some extent, members of the community tend to assume that language is not a problem in face-to-face communication. My findings differ in some instances, especially with regard to the two scenarios discussed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

Meeting 1 was held between the municipal leadership, officials and stakeholders. In this meeting four languages were spoken, namely English, Afrikaans, Sesotho and isiXhosa. Of interest to me was the stakeholders themselves. These individuals resided in the different constituencies that make up Philippolis, namely Poding-Tse-Rolo, Bergmanshoogte and the town itself. These representatives were of different ages, genders, cultures, levels of education, etc. Strange enough, it looked as if these factors were not taken into consideration by the officials who made their presentations. In the first meeting I noted that the meeting was conducted in English; a language which not all of the representatives were not competent in. The form of register that the officials used was also not at the level of the people, considering that many people from the KLM, especially those over 20 years, are unschooled (see LED, 2013).

If the LED records that many people over the age of 20 did not receive schooling, how then is it possible for officials who have this information at their disposal to utilise a language that is not accessible to many within the municipality's jurisdiction? I observed that some of the

representatives did not comprehend the language that the meeting was conducted in, although the chairperson made it clear that everyone was allowed to communicate in the language that he or she is most comfortable in. My question would be: 'how do I comment or pose a question about something I did not comprehend?' In both meetings discussed above, the issue of language was raised. In meeting 1, one of the representatives requested the chairperson to repeat a certain point in English. In meeting 2, a member of the community requested that interpreters be present at community meetings. Bearing my observations in mind, I would suggest that officials take into consideration the traits listed above so that they are aware of the implications as they prepare for future meetings.

One can deduce from the example cited above that certain members of the meeting were excluded on the basis of language. The "unintentional" exclusion is exactly the opposite of what Marais (2014) found to be the case in Colesberg. One of the interviewees stated that in his resident municipality, members of the ruling party would make use of isiXhosa in a meeting when they wanted to exclude opposition parties from a particular discussion (Marais, 2014:163). According to the interviewee, a translated version would be provided to the opposition parties who felt that they only get a summarised version of the discussion. This version, in their view, conceals some of the points of discussion (Marais, 2014:163). On the contrary, my observation of exclusion on the grounds of language was that it is unintentional because the chairperson granted permission for people to use their language of choice. The chairperson further highlighted recent changes as far as the language policy of the province is concerned. The chairperson rightfully mentioned the six languages that are recognised as official languages in the province. Those languages are: Sesotho, Afrikaans, isiXhosa, Setswana, isiZulu and English.

I also observed a degree of unintentional exclusion in meeting 2 (see section 4.3.3 for a detailed discussion of both meetings). In section 4.3.3.2, a scenario from meeting 2 is discussed. In this scenario, the officials assumed that there is a mutual understanding between the parties who attended the meeting. The gentleman, who raised the point regarding the need for interpreting, actually confirmed that there was a form of unintentional exclusion in meeting 2.

Furthermore, I observed that there was a lot of code switching that took place between members of the community in their conversations. I also noted a few instances where community members

and officials also make use of code switching to bridge a language gap. The second observation is also a communicative practice which is referred to as receptive multilingualism.

4.4.3 Code switching

Language contact may be regarded as one of the primary factors driving the rise of code switching. Slabbert and Finlayson (2002) posit that as speakers of different languages come into contact with one another, these languages exert an influence on one another. They further argue that such language contact also includes contact between the languages spoken by black people in South Africa, or, in Slabbert and Finlayson's words, "the Bantu language family". Rose and Van Dulm (2006) take it further when they note that code switching is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa. According to Rose and Van Dulm (2006), the country, with its multilingual and multicultural nature, has many bilingual or even trilingual citizens. They also note that this may be one of the reasons that code switching is seen as common practice in South Africa. Thus this chapter deals intensively with such situations from a South African perspective. In order to create a foundation for this chapter, I would like to deal with the phenomenon of code switching by breaking it down for the benefit of the readers.

Code switching was traditionally viewed by grammar experts as language corruption. Later this phenomenon blossomed into a field of study in its own right (Matras, 2009). Code switching is regarded as a dynamic and growing phenomenon (Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002). Slabbert and Finlayson further note that this phenomenon of code switching changes and grows as the contact between speakers of different languages all over the world continues to increase (Slabbert & Finlayson, 2002). Code switching may be divided into two modes, i.e. insertional code switching and alternational code switching. Insertional code switching is where a word of phrase is inserted into an utterance or a sentence that is formed in a particular base or phrase language. On the other hand, in alternational code switching languages instead of words and phrases are changed between utterances or sentences (Matras, 2009). The aim of this distinction is basically to indicate that this phenomenon is complex in nature. Before describing code switching as a phenomenon, I wish to define a 'code' as it is defined by Swann (2009), i.e. as a term of any variety of language that usually stresses the linguistic rules underpinning every variety.

Code switching may therefore be defined as the use of two or more languages in the same conversation (Kramsch, 1998; Rose & Van Dulm, 2006; Matras, 2009). Language crossing (code switching) makes it possible for speakers to change footing within the same conversation. It is also an act that shows support or a distancing of oneself from the discourse communities whose languages are being used. Some examples are given below that show how people support or distance themselves from a language.

Kramsch, on the other hand, argues that code switching is actually a cultural act of identity (Kramsch, 1998:70). The manner in which the first meeting was conducted by the official concerned gives us a good example. As stated earlier, the official used different languages to show solidarity to the speakers of the local languages. The switch between these languages also depicts the official as a member of multiple cultures himself. Thus, by code switching an individual is saying that they identify themselves as a part of the culture of the speakers of the language in question.

Code switching is used for different purposes, as Kramsch (1998) observes. Firstly, it may be used as a survival mechanism. Survival in this instance refers to being able to survive culturally in a different setting. Code switching, Kramsch argues, may also be used in more complex instances by speakers who would like to show their multiple membership and play off against the others. In the form of two different examples I demonstrate how code switching was used as a form of survival and where it is used in complex situations.

In the example discussed in the police station, I would like to draw the reader's attention to one of the interlocutors. The official who was assisting Lady X is a Sesotho speaker who is not originally from Philippolis. He has been in the town for some time and has improved his isiXhosa communication skills, hence I regard his use of code switching as a survival mechanism. It sometimes happens that there are no isiXhosa speaking officials in the charge office which means that the official present has to assist members of the public. Due to this 'skills development', the official was able to assist lady X who is a native isiXhosa speaker. The next example deals with the use of complex code switching. The main focal point of this example is on the manner in which one interlocutor used code switching to show her membership of different cultures.

During the first meeting it was noticeable that code switching was mostly used by the participants to mark their multiple memberships. For instance, one of the community members who raised a concern about the manner in which tenders are granted in the municipality, switched between three languages. The same point was raised by another member of the community who is an Afrikaans native speaker. Their point revolved around the payment of contractors who did not complete the job they were hired for. The individual made her comment in isiXhosa, mixing it with Sesotho words and phrases. When she got to the money part, she switched into Afrikaans, which could be seen to suggest that she showed solidarity with the Afrikaans individual who experienced the same frustration.

Two main points can be observed here. Firstly, the lady used the two most frequently spoken indigenous languages to make her point. To some extent it may be argued that she used language to exclude other members in attendance. Secondly, she switched into Afrikaans to include the party with the same grievance. I believe that in the former instance the individual had no intention of excluding the other parties but ended up excluding them because of her limited ability as far as administrative languages are concerned. In the latter instance she used her limited language skills to form an argument in her passive language, to show solidarity with the Afrikaans speaking individual and to share the same grievance.

Code switching takes place in both intercultural communication and in multilingual communication (Rose & Van Dulm, 2006). In all the examples discussed in this chapter so far, I have dealt with code switching that takes place in intercultural communication. Intercultural communication may therefore be defined as communication that takes place across cultural boundaries. For example, interlocutors do not necessarily share the same cultural background. In the meetings discussed here, interlocutors are from different cultural backgrounds. The same goes for the official at the police station and the member of the public.

Although the library did not form part of the institutions that I focused on, I managed to collect some relevant data while I was making my daily notes. I observed a conversation between individuals from the same linguistic and cultural background. The two are both isiXhosa speaking residents of Philippolis. One of them is a library official and the other a member of the community. They were having a general conversation about the town's daily issues in isiXhosa.

In the following subsection, I discuss a practice which was of great interest to me, namely receptive multilingualism. Receptive multilingualism is regarded as a special form of communication because it deviates from the norm (Zeevaert & ten Thije, 2007).

4.4.4 Receptive multilingualism

During data collection I encountered a situation where two people were in a conversation but each of them used a different language. I discussed this example in the data collected at the police station (see section 4.2.1). I would now like to give some theoretical perspectives on this communicative practice. Receptive multilingualism as a phenomenon has been theorised in linguistics and has been labelled as many different things. One of the sources consulted refer to this practice as '*passive knowledge*', whereas another author documents it as '*linguistic divergence*' (see Cuvelier et al., 2010). The EU Commission (2012) makes reference to a similar communicative practice known as intercomprehension and the last source that I managed to locate takes it a bit further by actually placing greater emphasis on the 'receptive component', for this practice is referred to as to as lingua receptiva (see Rehbein, ten Thije, & Verschik, 2011).

Receptive multilingualism is defined by Rehbein et al. (2011) as a form of multilingual communication in which the participants use a language/and or a language variety that is different from that of their partner and they are still able to understand one another without the help of any additional lingua franca (Rehbein et al., 2011:248-249). This communicative practice deviates from the normal form of communication where participants make use of the same language. Zeevaert and ten Thije (2007) refer to this normal form as 'the verbal exchange between speakers of the same speech community'. Zeevaert and ten Thije (2007) also note that this communicative practice takes place under special circumstances. As already noted above, the data collection process led me to the discussion of this communicative practice. Please see the example discussed under police settings.

For interest's sake, Cuvelier et al. (2010:23-24) also provide a good example that clearly shows how receptive multilingualism plays out in practice. In this scenario, one party prefers to use his native language (which is English) even though he is addressed in Afrikaans by a civil servant. Each of the parties in this situation use different languages but are able to understand one another. Not much has been theorised on this communicative practice in South Africa although

some people have stated on social media that it is a common practice in South Africa. I refer to social media because I sought assistance from some sociolinguists in this regard. The work of Cuvelier et al. (2010) delivered the most relevant literature that I could find on this communicative practice.

Nevertheless, the focus of this section is not to dwell on linguistic theory but rather to indicate that this practice involves translation and may be an area that the field of translation studies can elaborate on. The form of translation I am referring to deviates from the definition theorised about in translation studies. I further reiterate what scholars such as Tymoczko (2006; 2007) and Marais (2011; 2013) believe should take place in translation studies. In brief, these scholars believe that the Western way of theorising about translation should be reworked in order to include other 'non-Western definitions' or those that are not accommodated within Western cultures. My argument is that there should be a research field that focuses on receptive multilingualism within translation studies. Such a focal area may broaden the horizon of translation studies and further improve the issues of development within translation studies. In the next two paragraphs, I discuss how receptive multilingualism may fit into translation studies.

Both receptive multilingualism and translation are social practices that are embedded in society. They support the coexistence of many languages (European Commission, 2012). Both receptive multilingualism and translation are aimed at multilingualism, especially the use of the mother tongue. However these practices facilitate communication in a different way. Chapter 3 discusses that a translator is entrusted with facilitative duties, but, in receptive multilingualism, no extraordinary effort is needed because the parties involved have passive knowledge of the other's language.

Receptive multilingualism is important in language learning, news gathering, the sharing of information, etc. (European Commission, 2012). On the other hand, translation serves the same purpose to some extent (see Chapter 3, the discussion on functional translation) and thus the use of this communication method may be beneficial to translation studies. In rural towns such as Philippolis, financial constraints have been regarded as one of the problems hindering multilingual service delivery. Receptive multilingualism may be used as a cost effective measure for the enhancement of multilingualism. It may also be applied in translation studies as measures aimed at benefiting local communities.

4.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to describe the ways in which communities at grassroots level deal with the problem of multilingualism in their area. As stated in the introduction, one of the points of interest was to find out whether there is truth in the commonly held slogan "language is not an issue here". Data was provided by various public service institutions. The data verifies concurrent findings of Cuvelier et al. (2010), Lombaard (2013) as well as Molefe and Marais (2013), i.e. that face-to-face communication is mostly problem-free. This therefore suggests that multilingualism is seldom an obstruction to public service delivery in Philippolis. However, it also does not rule out that there are instances where communication is a problem due to multilingualism. The situation at the clinic, where most of the patients are speakers of indigenous African languages and the doctor only speaks English, offers a good example of where multilingualism still poses problems.

The chapter also found that service charters such as the Batho Pele principles are not made available in other languages. Therefore, the local communities may not be able to hold the officials accountable because the very documents that have information regarding the manner in which they ought to receive public services are inaccessible to them. Translation policy, as suggested by Meylaerts (2011), may also assist in dealing with this problem.

Furthermore, this chapter found that although there are problems, there are also communal ways of dealing with them (Marais, 2014). Professional interpreters are seldom used in rural areas. Instead, trusted multilingual community members are given the duty of facilitating communication (the notion of social capital as used by Marais, 2014). As I noted earlier, these communal measures may be one of the reasons why the slogan above is so commonly used in town. The multilingual nature of the community in Philippolis also yielded findings that could be more relevant to sociolinguistics.

The two findings are based on two forms of communication, namely code switching and receptive multilingualism; both of which involve translation practices. The interesting thing about these two forms of communication is that translation takes place without need of a language facilitator. Code switching as a phenomenon is frequently practiced among the local residents of Philippolis. Relevant data has also been discussed in the sections above to support

this finding. One of the examples often used in this chapter, is that of the SAPS official and a member of the community. The example has been used to illustrate code switching.

The second communicative practice that I found to be more appealing was relative multilingualism. In this communicative practice, members opt to use their different languages but are still able to understand one another (Zeevaert & ten Thije, 2007; Rehbein et al., 2011; Cuvelier et al., 2010). It is referred to as a communicative practice employed under special circumstances. Receptive multilingualism does not involve any other language that is used as a lingua franca. Thus there is some form of translation that takes place in this communicative act, but there is no language mediator as the translation takes place in the heads of the two parties involved. For instance, the first party makes a statement whereas the other listens and translates what is being said to him or her in his or her own head. After listening, the individual then gets his or her chance to respond, but the individual's response is in a different language. The other party goes through the same process of translating and then continues to respond in his or her home language.

I am in support of the idea that translation studies needs to revisit the way translation has been theorised. Both Tymoczko (2006; 2007) and Marais (2011) propose that the Western way of theorising about translation needs to be reworded in order to include other 'non-Western definitions' or those that are not accommodated within Western cultures. I conclude by recommending that receptive multilingualism is one such translation practice that needs to be theorised within translation studies because sociolinguistics does not recognise it as a form of translation but rather as a communicative practice.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter discusses the findings from the data gathered in the ethnographic study conducted in Philippolis.

5.1 Introduction

Access to decent public service delivery should be regarded as the rightful expectation of every South African citizen, as observed by Skweyiya (DPSA, 1997). These services should be delivered to all citizens in all the country's official languages (Mwaniki, 2012). As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, there are advantages to multilingual service delivery, such as that it encourages public participation. Multilingual service delivery also suggests that service charters such as the Batho Pele principles which make it possible for the public to weigh the services that they receive against those that they ought to receive, need to be translated. On the other hand, community interpreting and community translation may also enhance service delivery because these forms of mediation empower communities linguistically. This study also found that there is a downside to multilingualism or multilingual service delivery.

Thus, there seems to be general consensus that multilingualism poses a problem for service delivery. However, this study has investigated different views on the matter of multilingual service delivery. Firstly, I deal with the two relevant academic views. The first of these two views is accordance with the statement that multilingualism poses a problem for service delivery. The second academic view agrees that there are problems, but suggests that social capital may deal with some of the problems. I then shift my attention to how the community views multilingual service delivery issue.

Chapter 2 discussed why multilingual service delivery is important. According to Mwaniki (2012), the manner in which language played a significant role in the country's history (especially during apartheid), the close relationships between language, development and democratisation, and the country's unequal nature are the reasons that make multilingual service delivery such an important issue in South Africa (see section 3 of Chapter 2). Mwaniki further suggests that language practitioners, namely interpreters and translators, should be employed to deal with language barriers. Coetsee (2009; Lesch, 2009; Hale, 2007) concurs with Mwaniki that

interpreters and translators are the ones who should be entrusted with language facilitation duties at different public service institutions.

Nevertheless, in the view of Coetsee, Lesch and Hale, interpreting duties should be performed by professional interpreters. The study thus found that professional translation and interpreting services are seldom used in Philippolis. Instead of professional forms of mediation, ad hoc measures are used to fill the service delivery gaps (Hale, 2007; Coetsee, 2009). Here ad hoc measures refer to the use of non-professional interpreters and translators in local public service delivery contexts. The study found that staff members, family members and trusted multilingual individuals are used as interpreters in the various settings in Philippolis.

Marais (2014) came up with a conceptualisation for this community related measure. Marais refers to communal translation as a form of translation or interpreting that is performed by local community members for their own benefit. Community members in Philippolis help each other understand where such a need arises. Marais also made reference to social capital as one of the forms that leads to the community members' decision to make use of their own measures when language facilitation is required. I also found that communal translation is not the only measure used by the local community in Philippolis to bridge their linguistic divisions.

This is not the only measure that the local community makes use of to deal with language related problems. I have also discussed examples of where language differences have hindered the delivery of public services. However, there are also coping mechanisms that the local community and public service providers resort to when they cannot communicate effectively.

From the findings discussed, I would like to focus my attention on claimed multilingualism, i.e. why does the community claim that multilingualism is not a problem? Claimed multilingualism as it is used here stems from the common slogan that is often used in Philippolis, "language is not an issue here" (see the discussion in Chapter 4). Briefly, officials in Philippolis claim that there is always someone available in the office and who is able to communicate with the members of the public in their language of choice. Some of the officials referred to as multilingual, however, still experience difficulties communicating with some members of the community. Black officials tend to experience problems when communicating in the languages of public service delivery, whereas coloured and white people struggle with the languages

recognised in section 6(2) of the constitution. Section 6(2) as discussed in Chapter 2 of the study encourages multilingualism.

The first trend that became clear from the data is the accommodating behaviour evident between community members and officials. This accommodating behaviour, as discussed in Chapter 4, takes place where a member of the community is assisted by an official who cannot speak the community member's language of choice. The community member therefore makes use of a language that the official also understands (*lingua franca*) in order to ensure that the service required is provided efficiently. This finding concurs with that of Cuvelier et al. (2010) although their study had a broader focus.

Secondly, the use of a lingua franca is not the only measure that the study managed to find. Code switching and receptive multilingualism are also measures that the community members and the officials in Philippolis make use of to fill the service delivery gaps. Code switching is frequently practiced between the local residents of Philippolis. Chapter 4 provides a number of examples to substantiate this finding of code switching. An example worth noting is the conversation between a SAPS officer and Lady X. The significance of this example is that it contains both insertional code switching (Matras, 2009) and receptive multilingualism (Zeevaert & ten Thije, 2007; Rehbein et al., 2011; Cuvelier et al., 2010). In receptive multilingualism, members opt to use their different languages, but are still able to understand one another (Zeevaert & ten Thije, 2007; Rehbein et al., 2011; Cuvelier et al., 2010). This communicative practice is referred to as a communicative practice used under special circumstances. No lingua franca is required when receptive multilingualism is employed, hence it is regarded a special communicative practice (see Chapter 4). I also argued that this practice is a special form of translation. The difference with this form of translation is that it takes place inside the communication participants' heads as there is no language mediator in the process. These measures may also be seen as those which Marais (2014) says depend on social capital.

The next argument that I put forward postulated that exclusion occurs as a result of multilingualism. Unintentional exclusion, described in Chapter 4, became evident when one member in the audience requested the chairperson to repeat what he had initially said in isiXhosa, in English. The individual thus managed to regain his understanding of the discussion because the chairperson had code switched. Another person at the community meeting also

brought the issue of language to the attention of the authorities, emphasising the need for an interpreter in public meetings in Philippolis. In Chapter 3 I argued that community interpreting and translation could enhance the delivery of public services. My observation at these meetings confirms just how vital these forms of language facilitation may be in the public sector (Mwaniki, 2012). Certain officials and members of the community, however, hold a different view.

Community members make use of practices such as code switching and receptive multilingualism without realising that they are actually bridging their linguistic divides. This might be the root of the widely accepted view that language is not a problem in the Philippolis area. In an interview with an official at the municipality offices as well as my interview with an official at the local post office, I was told that there was no need for interpreters at these offices because community members help one another understand. As noted in the previous chapter, I had informal conversations with members of the community and observed how they communicated for services at these institutions.

Though many people in the community do not view language as a problem in their area, a handful of residents were of the opinion that it was indeed problematic. These contrasting views in themselves present a problem. The observations discussed above clearly support my statement that there are language problems in the area, leading to the question of why community members are seemingly in denial about this fact. Answers to this question may involve the fact that community members might be lacking knowledge as to the nature of the problem. They may be so used to the problems that they do not realise that it poses certain difficulties. Another possible answer could be that the issue is more ideological. Last but not least, it must be remembered that Philippolis is a rural town. Thus, more research is needed into why the perception exists that language does not constitute a possible barrier to service delivery.

5.2 Limitations of the study

The study has a number of limitations that I would like to note briefly. The study is focused on a small, rural town in the Free State province. Due to the size of the town, only a limited amount of data could be accessed, as discussed in Chapter 4. When compared to bigger towns and cities, Philippolis has only a handful of public service institutions. It is also important to note that some public institutions in this area are busier than others. The police station is busy mostly during

weekends whereas the post office and the local municipal office are busy at the end of the month. This is the time when many people seek advice, pay for services and make enquiries at these two institutions. The local magistrate's court is busy on Wednesdays and Fridays and the clinic is the busiest public service institution in town. Patients arrive on a daily basis and this site would have yielded the richest data if permission had been granted to access it.

A number of procedural limitations arose during the study. These are limitations that arise as a result of the procedures followed at the different institutions (as discussed in Chapter 4). For instance, I requested formal permission to conduct interviews at the clinic but struggled to get a response from the authorities. This public service institution, as discussed by Lesch (2009), falls within the scope of the Department of Health, where ineffective communication or miscommunication may have fatal consequences. One of the people I managed to chat with at the clinic told me that problems were experienced especially when the elderly needed to consult the doctor. As discussed in Chapter 4, the doctor speaks only English, which is a problem for most of the elderly people in the community. Following my discussion with a community member on how communication takes place at the clinic, I believe that if I was granted access to conduct structured interviews with the officials and patients at the local clinic, I would have been able to share more data on the facilitation measures used in the health sector.

5.3 Future research

In light of the findings shared above, I am of the opinion that a few areas may be explored for future research endeavours. Firstly, as noted in Chapter 4, I support the idea that translation studies needs to revisit the way that translation has been theorised. My argument follows that of both Tymoczko (2006; 2007) and Marais (2011) who are both of the opinion that the Western way of theorising translation needs to be reworded in order to include other 'non-Western definitions' or those that are not accommodated within Western cultures. In my view, this re-conceptualisation may allow for concepts such as receptive multilingualism to be studied within translation studies.

I also believe that a greater number of studies should be directed towards the relationship between language policy and translation policy. This suggestion follows that of Meylaerts (2011) who posits that language policy cannot exist without translation policy. Such studies may ensure

that language facilitation is afforded its rightful place in society. It will also ensure that the practitioners follow the regulations of the practice. A study of this nature will also assist in terms of providing data on the current status quo regarding the professionalism of the practitioners (both professional and ad hoc practitioners). It will furthermore bring to light, the gaps that needs to be filled in this regard. The data collected in such a study will also suggest possible ways to fill these gaps.

More detailed studies focusing on the impact of community interpreting (CI) should be carried out in the public sector. Such studies may be narrowed to the delivery of public services with a particular focus on local public service contexts in a multilingual area may also be conducted. A similar study could focus exclusively on community translation (CT) with the aim of further enhancing the delivery of public services. A worthwhile study could also be one that focuses on the manner in which people on the ground perceive multilingualism. Thus, this perception study could add to our understanding of why the community does not consider multilingualism a problem. We need to supplement prescriptive and planning models with models of understanding. This can be achieved by means of a perception study.

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Maps

Figure 2: Map of the Free State province. Available at http://www.places.co.za. [Accessed on 19 September 2014].

Figure 3: District municipalities in the Free State province. Available at http://www.places.co.za. [Accessed on 19 September 2014].

Figure 4: Xhariep District Municipality. Available at: http://www.googlemaps.com. [Accessed on 19 September 2014].

*Figure 6: Map of Philippolis. Available at: http://*www.googlemaps.com*. [Accessed on 19 September 2014].*

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Additional figure: SAPS Organisational Structure
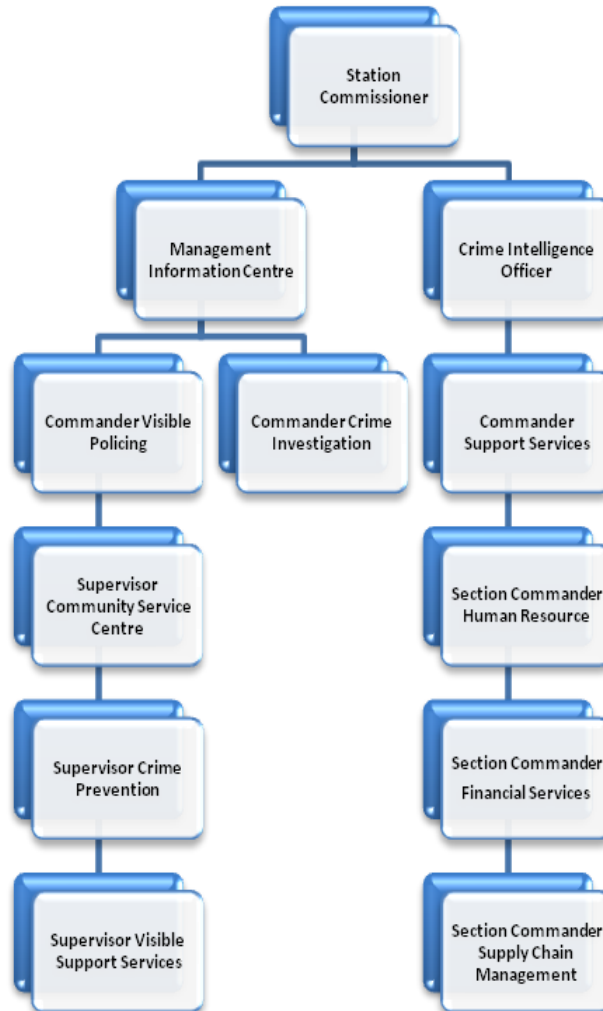
Figure 9: SAPS organisational structure

Source: Motse, M. 15 December 2014, personal communication

List of interview questions

Basic questions

What is your name?

Where are you from?

What is your profession?

What is your home language?

Do you speak any other local languages?

Face-to-face interaction

Which language do service users prefer mostly?

Can you speak the preferred language?

If not. How do you deal with the language issue?

Are there interpreters and translators at this institution?

In the absence of these professionals; who does these duties?

Do you make use of formal interpreting services or ad hoc measures?

Is there anyone specific in the community who interprets for you?

Written communication

These questions were prepared following observations at the different public service settings. As already discussed in Chapter 4, most written communication is still in English and sometimes in Afrikaans.

Do people understand the languages on your notice boards?

Why are most notice, adverts, etc. only written in English?

How do you deal with forms?

Do you just hand them out?

Do you ask the community member whether he or she needs assistance or do you just explain the form irrespectively?

Have you had complaints from the community regarding forms or any documented texts?

What happens when a community member who cannot read and requires assistance with services provided for at this institution?

Specific questions: I had a few specific questions for three public service institutions from the five visited institutions in Philippolis.

Police Station

Oral statements

In what language are oral declarations made?

Are these declarations recorded in the presence of an interpreter?

If not. Who translates the oral declarations?

Is the person or persons qualified language practitioners?

Are the translated oral statements accurate?

Clinic: Medical Practitioner

These questions could not be asked because the official(s) at the Dept. Health Free State Province (Xhariep District) did not respond to my request letters.

Do you understand language of choice?

If he or she does not understand your language, what step is taken?

Does the clinic make use of interpreters?

Are these interpreters qualified or does the clinic make use or ad hoc interpreters?

How do they deal with difficult medical terminology?

Court: Court official

The questions were motivated by literature read on legal interpreting with particular focus on sworn statements (see Hale, 2007). According to Hale, sworn statements do pose problems at courts due to linguistic errors.

Are there any problems with sworn statements at this court?

Can you refer to these problems as linguist errors?

Does the interpreter perform other language practice related duties such as translation, editing, etc.?

Refer to footnote 6.