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South Africa's suspended revolution in isiZulu translation - a critical reflection

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Table of Contents

SECTION A

1) Introduction 2

2) Aim 5

3) Rationale 5

4) Literature Review 8

- Text Type 9
- Source and Target Text Analysis 10
- Formal Equivalence vs. Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence vs. Literal Equivalence Theories 11
- Skopos 15
- The Translation Brief 16
- Translation Strategies 17
- Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) 18
- Domestication and Foreignisation Theory 22

5) Theoretical Framework 24

SECTION B

Methodology 27

Analysis of the Texts 28

SECTION C

Research Findings 40

1) Findings from the Critical Analysis 40
2) Summary of the Findings 70

SECTION D

Conclusion 72

Recommendations 73

Bibliography 75

Appendix: Four Chapters Selected for the Research - isiZulu i

SECTION A:

INTRODUCTION, AIM, RATIONALE, LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1) Introduction

My research is a critical reflection on my own translation of Adam Habib's abridged version of a book titled *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu. The title of the English book was translated as *Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa: Amathemba Namathuba.* The study reflects on the translation process and the translation product from my perspective as a student of translation and as a scholar.

This translation is among the first of non-fiction and non-biography books to be translated from English into isiZulu in South Africa. Historically, most translations from English into isiZulu have been of literary works. Other than the Bible, I am aware of a translation of the book called: *Exploring the History of the Ukhahlamba Mountains* by John Wright and Aron Mazel, which was done by Phiwani Sylvia Zulu. Both the English and the isiZulu versions were published and launched by Wits Press in 2012. Otherwise, there are very few translations of non-fiction works from English into isiZulu.

When he commissioned this work, the author of the book, Professor Adam Habib, approached the Wits Language School to request that his book be translated from English into three languages namely, isiZulu, Sesotho and Afrikaans. He believed that "the publication in these languages is a strategy to promote wider access to important political debates". He indicated that, had there been sufficient monetary resources, the book would have been translated into all eleven official South African languages so that an even wider spectrum of communities is accessed.

After the above process, the Wits Language School then appointed a translator for each of these three languages and arranged for all three translators to meet the author in order to obtain a proper brief. The brief provided by the author was that the translations should be very close to the source text in terms of the terminology used in order to ensure that the argument remained "*shrewd"*, yet "*persuasive"*. It

was also the author's requirement that the language be as simple as possible so that the message would be well understood by all South Africans speaking the languages into which the text was translated. Regarding the title, the brief was that it should be as catchy as possible.

For quality assurance, the author relied on the Wits Language School and the Wits University lecturers in the African Languages Department in the School of Literature, Language & Media.

None of the translators was involved in the typesetting, and the cover design. Their role was simply to translate and, once the typesetting was complete and the covers designed, to proofread. This is discussed further under *Findings*.

South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects is an analysis of political and economic evolution in post-apartheid South Africa. The author exposes institutional constraints and the "balance of forces at play in South Africa's political arena."

> Grappling with contemporary dilemmas, including the crisis of service delivery and accountability, shifts in economic policy, the role of civil society and the viability of a social pact, Habib explores the factors that influence political and policy outcomes: the business sector, foreign investors, unions, civil society organisations, as well as global powers and institutions. He sheds light on how individuals and institutions can, with imagination, act against the grain of a given historical moment and transform the options available to society as a whole… It offers a critical analysis of all the national development plans and major policy platforms of the post-apartheid era, including the shifts that have occurred under the Zuma administration." (Habib, 2013: Cover Page)

In the book, Habib offers his perspective on the status quo of South Africa as a country in terms of inequality, poverty, factionalism, corruption and greed. He advocates for change. He makes a case for detailed forms of political leadership, active community and for the possibility of social pacts.

According to Wits University Press, "the book caters for two main audiences: scholarly readers (academics, students, researchers, policy analysts, journalists) and

non-specialist readers with an interest in South African politics." (http://witspress.co.za/news/the-translation-revolution). However, this only applies to the source text. It is no doubt that the target audience will be different from the source audience as it is expected that the scholarly readers would read the source text version, which is the English. Therefore, the target audience may be ordinary people who do not necessarily have a higher level of education but people who are literate in isiZulu and are interested in politics. This means that the source audience and the target audience are different.

Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* is an informative and persuasive book that informs the people of South Africa about the political landscape of their country while it suggests how they can actively take part in shaping it into being a better place for all, in socio-economic terms, by holding the political elite accountable. The book consists of seven chapters in total which are as follows in English and in isiZulu respectively.

English:

Chapter 1: Introduction
Chapter 2: Governance, political accountability and service delivery
Chapter 3: Economy and development
Chapter 4: Can a social pact work?
Chapter 5: State–civil society relations
Chapter 6: South Africa and the world
Chapter 7: What is to be done?

IsiZulu:

Isahluko 1: Isingeniso
Isahluko 2: Ukubusa, izibophezelo zabaphethe izwe kanye nokuhlinzekwa kwezidingo
Isahluko 3: Umnotho nentuthuko
Isahluko 4: Singasebenza isivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe?
Isahluko 5: Ubudlelwano bombuso nezinhlangano zomphakathi
Isahluko 6: INingizimu Afrika nomhlaba wonke jikelele
Isahluko 7: Yini engenziwa?

In these chapters, Habib suggests solutions to the problems facing our democracy. He analyses political and economic transition in the post-apartheid era by exposing institutional constraints, balance of power(s), and a crisis of service delivery and accountability. He believes that if factors affecting the status quo of our country (namely political parties, the business sector, foreign investors, trade unions and civil society organisations, as listed above) were to be transformed, South Africa would be a better country.

2) Aim

The aim of my research is to undertake a critical reflection on my own translation of Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu both in terms of the process followed and of the translation product. The questions that are to be answered in the study are as follows:

Translation Process

- What translation process was followed?
- What methods and strategies were followed and why?
- What were the problems?
- What strategies were applied to resolve those problems?

Translation Product

- Does the translation meet the requirement of the translation brief?
- Is the terminology appropriate to the genre and objectives of the text?
- Does the isiZulu version achieve the intended purpose of the original text?
- Does it have the same effect as per the objectives of the author?
- How could the translation have been improved?

3) Rationale

The translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into three languages, isiZulu, Sesotho and Afrikaans was the author's strategy to promote wider access to important political debates. His approach is unusual as most books of this nature in South Africa are only published in English, and if there is any translation, it is usually into Afrikaans. The author had wished to translate the

book into all eleven official languages of South Africa, but this was not possible owing to budgetary constraints.

With reference to the process of translation, one cannot expect the translation of a book which analyses political and economic evolution in the post-apartheid era to be an easy process, particularly since most of the English terminology used in the English text is not readily available in isiZulu. In embarking on the translation, the translator had to consider factors such as the fact that the target audience is that of speakers of isiZulu at a national level, and not only locally or regionally. This alone posed a challenge as the isiZulu spoken in KwaZulu-Natal is different from isiZulu spoken in SOWETO, for instance. The strategy that the translator used in dealing with this was to use more generic language for words that would be different in different regions but have the same meaning or s/he just simplified the language.

The example that stands out is that of numbers and dates. There are very strict standardised orthographic rules in isiZulu when it comes to writing numbers and dates. It is important that when one writes and reads numbers or dates, they are written and read in isiZulu. On the other hand, it has always been difficult even for speakers of isiZulu to say numbers and dates in their language – most especially years – and reading them in a way that makes sense has always been a challenge. So, to avoid that, the translator used a simpler way of writing and reading them, breaking the standardised orthographic rules, in order to accommodate all speakers of isiZulu regardless of their geographic areas and dialects. This causes the reader to say the numbers in English, something which everyone is used to.

An example of this is found in Chapter 7:

> *"Iningi lalabo abaqokelwa kwiKhomishana kaSlabbert, eyayiqokelwe ukuba iphenye lolu daba* ***ngo-2002,*** *lancoma ukuba uhlelo lokhetho lushintshwe lube uhlelo oluxube amalungu ameleleke ngokwengxenye yesilinganiso, lapho amaphesenti* ***angu-75*** *amalungu esishayamthetho ezokhethwa yizifunda* ***ezingu-69*** *zamalungu axubile, bese kuthi la maphesenti* ***angu-25*** *asele wona athathwe ohlwini lwenhlangano ukuze kuqinisekiswe ukulingana yonke indawo njengoba kusho isijubo soMthethosisekelo."*

When the reader says the above numbers (bolded and underlined), s/he would say them in English while reading all text in isiZulu, e.g.:

i) *"...iphenye lolu daba* **ngo-two thousand and two***, lancoma...."*

ii) *"...lapho amaphesenti* ***angu-*seventy five** *amalungu..."*

iii) *"...azokhethwa yizifunda* **ezingu-sixty nine** *zamalungu..."*

iv) *"...ukuthi la maphesenti* ***angu-*twenty five** *asele wona..."*

In the correct isiZulu, in terms of its orthographic rules, it would be written in the way it is written below, which is different from the above in terms of agreement concords:

> *"Iningi lalabo abaqokelwa kwiKhomishana kaSlabbert, eyayiqokelwe ukuba iphenye lolu daba* ***ngowe-2002,*** *lancoma ukuba uhlelo lokhetho lushintshwe lube uhlelo oluxube amalungu ameleleke ngokwengxenye yesilinganiso, lapho amaphesenti* ***angama-75*** *amalungu esishayamthetho ezokhethwa yizifunda* ***ezingama-69*** *zamalungu axubile, bese kuthi la maphesenti* ***angama-25*** *asele wona athathwe ohlwini lwenhlangano ukuze kuqinisekiswe ukulingana yonke indawo njengoba kusho isijubo soMthethosisekelo."*

It would then be read as:

i) *"...iphenye lolu daba* ***ngowezinkulungwane ezimbili nambili****, lancoma...."*

ii) *"...lapho amaphesenti* ***angamashumi ayisikhombisa nahlanu*** *amalungu..."*

iii) *"...azokhethwa yizifunda* ***ezingamashumi ayisithupha nesishiyagalolunye****- zamalungu..."*

iv) *"...ukuthi la maphesenti* ***angamashumi amabili nanhlanu*** *asele wona..."*

The fact that the audiences of the two texts are so different – as explained above – meant that one had to oversimplify the language in order to make sure that they understand the complex terminology like 'ultra-leftist', since there is no equivalence in isiZulu. It is a concept we do not even have in isiZulu and therefore it was difficult, almost impossible to translate. The translator ended up finding the simplest way to explain the concept way. The translation of 'ultra-leftist' is discussed in Section C under *Problems and Strategies*.

Other complexities included the fact that one had to really understand the context to be able to translate this non-fiction material, so there was a great deal of reliance on political programmes and political practitioners to enlighten the translator about some political concepts. Reading of isiZulu newspapers as well as listening to isiZulu radio stations and watching television programmes also assisted a great deal.

In trying to strike a balance, translators have always to make sure that there is no interference with the author's language. In translating *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, all three translators had to ensure that the "*astuteness*" and "*shrewdness*" of the argument were not compromised. This can be achieved by maintaining the language and the terminology used in the source text, while at the same time striving to ensure that the translation sounds original.

By "*astuteness"* and "*shrewdness"* the author meant that the language should be sharp and penetrating and should not be toned down when translated into the three languages. It was necessary for translators to find and/or develop terminology that would maintain a similar tone, so that it would have the same effect on the target readers as a stand-alone target text as it would in the source text.

As a discussion of the specifics relating to the translation of a political and scholarly work into isiZulu, the study is intended to highlight some of the difficulties experienced and strategies used. This is in order to assist students and translators of books, particularly books that are political and economic in nature.

In addition to the above, lessons learnt will also be shared through reflections on the translation of the book as well as on how theory helped in the practice.

4) Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to provide an evaluative report of studies found in the literature related to my area of study, that is translation of texts and

their different functions. The review describes, evaluates and summarises relevant literature. It provides a theoretical basis and context for my research.

The literature review is divided into eight sections, namely: Text Type; Source and Target Text Analysis; Formal Equivalence vs. Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence vs. Literal Translation Theories; Skopos; The Translation Brief; Translation Strategies; Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as well as Domestication and Foreignisation Theory.

Text Type

Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* is an informative, expressive and operative type of text. It informs and induces behavioural responses from the target audience.

Reiss (1989:113-114) establishes a text-type based approach to translation and classifies texts differently, according to whether they are informative, expressive, operative or audio-medial. The different text types call for a particular kind of translation method. The text types are defined below as follows:

Informative Text: The language function of this type of text is informative and it represents objects and facts. Its language dimension is logical. Its focus is on content and the target text should transmit referential content. The translation method used is 'plain prose'.

Expressive Text: The language function of this type of text is expressive. It expresses the sender's attitude. Its language dimension is aesthetic. It focuses on form and the target text should transmit aesthetic form. The translation method adopts the perspective of the source text author.

Operative Text: The language function of the operative text is appellative and represents an appeal to the text receiver. Its language dimension is dialogic. Its text focus is appellative and its target text should elicit a desired response from the target audience. The translation method used is adaptive.

> The form of language of this type of text (*operative*) is dialogic and the focus is appellative. The aim of the appellative function is to appeal to or persuade the reader or receiver of the text to act in a certain way. (Munday, 2001:73)

According to how these types are defined, I found the English version of the book to be informative, expressive and operative when I read it for the first time. I say this because it informs and also induces behavioural responses from the readers. One can also make out the author's attitude in the text, which shows that he is despondent because the people of South Africa are less involved in politics.

> The target text of an operative text should produce the desired response in the target text receiver. The translation should employ the adaptive method, creating an equivalent effect among target text readers. (Munday, 2001:75)

The desired response in Habib's book is for South Africans to understand what is going on around them politically and to take part in the running of the country by choosing the government they prefer as well as holding it accountable when it is in office. This is evident from an analysis of the way the original English version is written and of the language used, and it was also shared with translators by the author during the briefing session. A reading of the book suggests that the desired audience response to the English will be achieved. The brief given to the translators of the book into isiZulu, Sesotho and Afrikaans required them to achieve the same in the translated version. This meant that the translators had to devise strategies to adhere to the same tone and select words with the same affect. This was investigated and it is reported on under research findings.

Source and Target Text Analysis

As indicated earlier, the process followed in the translation of the book started with a text analysis of the source text. Nord's (1991) method of text analysis was used. It incorporates Newmark's (1988) text analysis, including an analysis of function, audience, setting, attitude and style. The same process will be followed in assessing the translation product.

> The source text provides the offer of information. Analysis of

> the source text guides the translation process in that it provides the basis for decisions about: (a) the feasibility of the translation assignment, (b) which source text units are relevant to a functional translation, and (c) which translation strategy will lead to a target text meeting the requirements of the translation brief. (Nord, 1991:5)

In comparing the two versions, I investigate whether the extratextual and intratextual elements match in both versions and whether all the chapters are a true reflection of the chapters in the source text; whether it achieves the same purpose as the source version; whether the tone and the attitude of the text is similar; whether the overall style is maintain and whether the title of the target text captures the essence of the title of the source text.

Formal Equivalence vs. Dynamic Equivalence and Functional Equivalence vs. Literal Translation Theories

In a book of this kind, even though some of the concepts used in the original text might be a bit challenging to recognize when they are translated into other languages, particularly African languages, comprehension of the target text is facilitated when translation strategies ensure the use of accessible language, the tone of the source text is maintained and meaning is prioritised.

According to Jakobson (1959:139) "what is central in translation is the problem of equivalence in meaning", which means we should not pay more attention to structure and terminology, but focus on conveying the message. We may restructure sentences and use different terms, as long as the meaning is retained and the intended message reaches the target audience.

> For messages to be equivalent in the source text and target text, the code-units will be different since they belong to two different sign systems (languages) which partition reality differently. (Jakobson, 1959: 114)

Munday (2001:41) says: "Old terms such as 'literal', 'free' and 'faithful' translation are discarded by Nida in favour of 'two basic orientations' or 'types of equivalence' namely formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence."

> Formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. One is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. Formal equivalence is oriented towards the source text structure, which exerts strong influence in determining accuracy and correctness. (Munday, 2001:41)

> Dynamic equivalence is based on the principle of equivalent effect, where the relationship between the receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message. The message has to be tailored to the receptor's linguistic needs and cultural expectation and aims to complete naturalness of expression. (Munday, 2001:42)

Jakobson's theory focuses on conveying the message rather than focusing more on structure and precise accuracy in equivalent terminology, and it strives to achieve naturalness in the target text. Nida's theory also focuses on the transmission of the message.

It is important for translators not to focus on words only but to focus on meaning, while ensuring the tone of the source text is maintained. However, if focusing on words causes the target text to sound unnatural, as is likely to be the case, translators are advised to view the text holistically, change the wording where necessary while ensuring the retention of meaning.

Levỳ (1967) says that "any contracting or omitting of difficult expressions in translating is immoral. The translator has the responsibility of finding a solution to the most daunting of problems. The functional view must be adopted with regard not only to meaning but also style and form." He also says that "the aim should always be to ensure that every noteworthy expression is never overlooked in the translation and that an appropriate word choice is made to express it in the target text."

A functional equivalence approach to a translation should allow the target language readers to respond in a similar way as the source language readers. In contrast, adopting a literal translation approach would focus on the verbal comparison between the source language and target language. In functional equivalence, "the relationship of the target language receptors to the target

language text should be roughly equivalent to the relationship between the original receptors and the original text." (Nida, 1993: 112)

Functional equivalence falls under the interlingual translation type, which is also called translation proper as distinguished by Roman Jacobson, 1959. It is an "interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language. This means that the translation is between two languages.

Translation involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages, and, as can be seen in the translation of idioms and metaphors, the process may involve discarding the basic linguistic elements of the source language text so as to achieve Popovič's goal of 'expressive identity' between the source language and target language texts. However, once the language moves away from close linguistic equivalence, the problems of determining the exact nature of the level equivalence aimed begin to emerge.

Bassnett-McGuire, (1991:29) says: "Equivalence in translation, then, should not be approached as a search for sameness, since sameness cannot even exist between two target language versions of same text, let alone between two source languages and the target language version."

Nord (1997:27) says: "The prime principle determining any translation process is the purpose (*Skopos*) of the overall translational action." *Skopos* usually refers to the purpose of the target text (Nord, 1997: 28). Vermeer (1989a:20) says: "The *Skopos* rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation in which it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function" (Nord, 1997: 29). We will expand further on *Skopos* below.

Function refers to what a text means or is intended to mean from the receiver's point of view (Nord, 1997: 28).

All of the above explains that functional equivalence is concerned with the needs and expectations of the target audience.

> When translating to achieve functional equivalence, the translator, therefore, operates with criteria that transcend the purely linguistic and a process of decoding and recoding takes place (Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:16).

The process of decoding and recoding in translation, mentioned above, follows Eugene Nida's model, which is as follows:

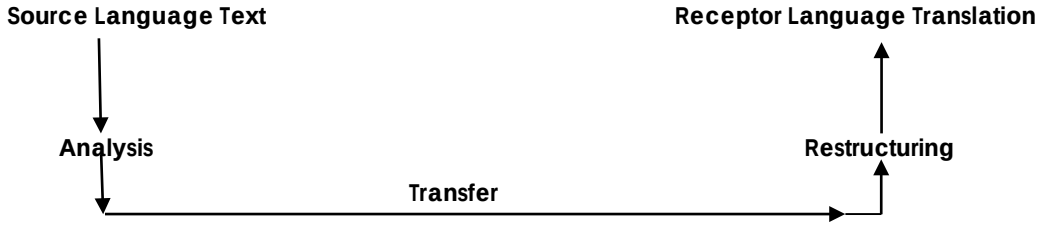


Diagram 1: Eugene Nida's Model of the Translation Process ((Bassnett-McGuire, 1991:16)

To achieve complete naturalness of expression, Nida (1964:167) says that adaptations of grammar, of lexicon and of cultural references are essential. In his view, the source text language should not interfere with the target text language, and this is done by minimizing the foreignness of the source text setting.

Nord (2001:39) says that "within the framework of functionalism, translators should be aware of the relationship between the target text and its audience which is supposed to be similar to the one that exists between the original text and its readers. On the other hand, translators should consider the relationship between the two corresponding texts, i.e. the target text and the source text."

There are also other two types of translation approaches, namely semantic translation and communicative translation. I am going to focus on communicative translation as it is one concerned with the subject of functional equivalence.

Communicative translation attempts to produce on its readers an effect as close as possible to that obtained on the readers of the original (Munday, 2001:44). Since it was clear in the brief that the purpose of the text was to encourage the public (the readers) to get involved in the running of the country, it was the translator's responsibility to ensure that the target text has the same effect as the source text to the audience, by maintaining the tone and the meaning of the source text in the

translation. This was done as when one reads the target text, one gets inspired to take part in holding the leaders of the country accountable.

Munday (2001:45-46) clarifies that "if there is a conflict between the two forms of translation, i.e. if semantic translation would result in an 'abnormal' target text or would not secure equivalent effect in the target language, then communicative translation should win out."

Pragmatic equivalence or communicative equivalence is oriented towards the receiver of the text or message, and is also equivalent to Nida's dynamic equivalence (Munday, 2001: 47).In pragmatic equivalence, text is translated for a particular readership, overriding the requirements of other equivalences (Munday, 2001: 48).

Then there is translational action, which is a model proposed by Holz-Mänttäri (1984). He says it "views translation as purpose-driven, outcome-oriented human interactions and focuses on the process of translation as message transmitter compounds involving intercultural transfer. It focuses very much on producing a target text that is functionally communicative for the receiver."

> The process of translational action involves a number of roles and players, namely "the initiator, the commissioner, the source text producer, the target text producer, the target text user and the target text receiver. All these players each have their own specific primary and secondary goals." (Munday 2001:77)

Skopos

Vermeer 1989a defines *skopos* as "the purpose of translation and of the action of translating." It is further defined by Munday as follows:

> Skopos theory also deals with a translational action which has a purpose and a result. It focuses above on all the purpose of the translation, which determines the translation methods and strategies that are to be employed in order to produce a functionally adequate result. Therefore, in skopos theory, knowing why a source text is to be translated and what function of the target text will be, are crucial for the translator. (Munday, 2001:79)

When a translation brief, which is designed to orient translators to a source text and provide them with project specifications and established quality criteria to assess the resulting translation, is provided, it makes it easier to select the best methods of translation in order to achieve a translational action that will maintain the purpose of the text and the result intended.

The Translation Brief

Nord (2001:59) says: "Every translation task should be accompanied by a brief that defines the conditions under which the target should carry out its particular function."

> The translation brief should contain (explicit or implicit) information about:
>
> - the (intended) text function(s);
> - the target-text addressee(s);
> - the (prospective) time and place of text reception;
> - the medium over which the text will be transmitted; and
> - the motive for the production or reception of the text. (Nord, 2001: 59)

As mentioned above, when there is a clear translation brief which clarifies what the intention of the author or the publisher is, as well as who the target audience is it is highly likely that the translation process will be a successful one.

The translation brief, also referred to as translation instructions (Nord, 1991), is a set of instructions prepared by a requester that accompanies a translation assignment, which enables the requester to convey information about the source text, the purpose and context in which the text is used, the intended uses of the translation and what it aims to accomplish. In other ways, it enables the requester and translator to be on the same page.

According to Nord (2001:60) the translation brief should contain a) the (intended) text function(s), b) the target-text addressee(s), c) the (prospective) time and

place of text reception, d) the medium over which the text will be transmitted, and e) the motive for the production or reception of the text.

Translation Strategies

According to Newmark's (1988) definition of the different translation strategies appropriate for different text-types, Habib's *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* falls under the category of communicative documents, hence communicative translation was used in the translation of this book.

> Communicative translation attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original in such a way that both content and language are readily acceptable and comprehensible to the readership. (Newmark, 1988:47)

When translators translate, they often encounter various challenges of non-equivalence. Some are at word level and others are above word level. In this research, I will identify and go through the problems that could have been encountered by the translator, and then I will list strategies that could have been used to deal with various problems. Baker (1992: 23-43) provides strategies used by professional translators for dealing with various types of non-equivalence, and they are as follows:

- Translation by a more general word (superordinate);
- Translation by a more neutral/ less expressive word;
- Translation by cultural substitution, which involves replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target-language item;
- Translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation;
- Translation by paraphrase using a related word;
- Translation by paraphrase using unrelated words;
- Translation by omission – it should be noted that not in all contexts can omission of words be an option to, but only words that do not carry meaning can be omitted;
- Translation by illustration.

The strategies that were mostly used by the translator were translation by a more general word (superordinate); translation by a more neutral/ less expressive word;

translation by paraphrase using a related word and translation by paraphrase using unrelated words. Even though there were some loan words like '*isikandali'* (scandal) used in the translation, they are very few. It appeared that the translator preferred not to use loan words. It is the translator who decides what s/he thinks will work or will not work for the target audience as quoted from O'Sullivan, 2003 below that:

> As a creator of the translation, the translator acts, in the second half of the process ... as a counterpart to the real author of the source text; s/he is the one who creates the target text in such a way that it can be understood by readers in the target culture with language, conventions, codes and references differing from those in the source culture. However, the translator does not produce completely new message, as Giuliana Schiavi who identified the translator's presence in narratological terms writes, s/he 'intercepts the communication and transmits it – re-processed – to the reader who will receive the message" By interpreting the original text, by following certain norms, and by adopting specific strategies and methods, the translator, according to Schiavi "builds up a new relationship between what we must call a 'translated text' and a new group of readers." (O'Sullivan, 2003: 201)

The above shows that different contexts call for different translation solutions. Further discussion on translation strategies will be under research findings.

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

Analysing the translated text will help me identify decisions taken in the process of translating.

Toury (1995) proposes a methodology for descriptive translation studies (DTS). He proposes "a three-phase methodology for systematic DTS, incorporating a description of the product and the wider role of the socio-cultural system."

The proposed methodologies guide as follows:

- "Situate the text within the target culture system, looking at its significance or acceptability;

- Compare the source text and the target text for shifts, identifying relationships between 'coupled pairs' of source text and target text segments, and attempting the generalisations about the underlying concept of translation;
- Draw implications for decision-making in future translating."

Toury (1995) considers translation as an activity governed by norms. He says "these norms determine the type and extent of equivalence manifested in actual translations."

According to Toury, (1995: 56), "translation is a kind of activity which inevitably involves at least two languages and two cultural traditions, i.e., at least two sets of norm-systems on each level. Thus, the 'value' behind it may be described as consisting of two major elements:

(1) being a text in a certain language, and hence occupying a position, or filling in a slot, in the appropriate culture, or in a certain section thereof;
(2) constituting a representation in that language/culture of another, pre-existing text in some other language, belonging to some other culture and occupying a definite position within it."

He continues to explain the following regarding the initial norm:

> Thus, a translator may subject him-/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realized, or to the norms active in the target culture, or in that section of it which would host the end product. If the first stance is adopted, the translation will tend to subscribe to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture. This tendency, which has often been characterized as the pursuit of adequate translation may well entail certain incompatibilities with target norms and practices, especially those lying beyond the mere linguistic ones. If, on the other hand, the second stance is adopted, norm systems of the target culture are triggered and set into motion. Shifts from the source text would be an almost inevitable price. Thus, whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability." (Toury, 1995:56)

I would say with the translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, there was a combination of the two extremes described above, i.e. the translator subjected herself towards both the source text and the target text, however, s/he was more inclined towards the norms active in the target culture to ensure acceptability of the text to its readers.

Toury (1995) also focuses on the analysis of the translated text. He does this to identify decision-making processes by translator(s). Munday expands on what Toury says by stating that:

> His hypothesis is that the norms that have prevailed in the translation of a particular text can be reconstructed from examination of texts and explicit statements made about norms by translators, publishers, reviewers and other participants in the translation act. (Munday, 2001: 113)

He continues to say by going through all this "Toury hopes that the cumulative identification of norms in descriptive studies will enable the formulation of 'laws' of translation and thence 'universals' of translations" (Munday, 2001:115).

The two laws that Toury proposes are the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference.

> **The law of growing standardisation** states that 'in translation, textual relations obtained in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of (more) habitual options offered by a target repertoire. This refers to the disruption of the source text patterns in translation and the selection of linguistic options that are more common in the target language. Thus, for example, there will be a tendency towards a general standardisation and loss of variation in style in the target text, or at least an accommodation to target culture models. This is especially the case if, as commonly occurs, translation assumes a weak and peripheral position in the target system. (Munday, 2001: 115-116)

> **The law of interference** sees interference from source text to target text as 'kind of default'. Interference refers to source text linguistic features (mainly lexical and syntactical patterning) being copied in the target text, either

> 'negatively' (because they create non-normal target text patterns) or 'positively' (the existence of features in the source text that will not be non-normal in the target text makes them more likely to be used by the translator). Toury considers tolerance of interference to depend on socio-cultural factors and the prestige of the different literary systems: there is greater tolerance when translating from a prestigious language or culture, especially if the target language or culture is 'minor'. (Munday, 2001:116)

Even though there are a number of standardised terms in the isiZulu language, as discussed and officialised by UMZUKAZWE, a National isiZulu Language Body under the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB), it became clear that the said standardised terminology is not readily accessible to all translators after consultation with various concerned parties in the field of terminography.

There are also other norms that are proposed by Andrew Chesterman (1989), namely product or expectancy norms; and professional norms.

> **Expectancy norms** are established by the expectations of readers of a translation (of a given type) concerning what a translation (of this type) should be like. Factors governing these norms include the predominant translation tradition in that target culture, the discourse conventions of the similar target language genre, and economic and ideological considerations. Expectancy norms allow evaluative judgements about translations since readers have a notion of what is an 'appropriate' or 'acceptable' translation of the specific text variety and will approve of a translator who conforms to these expectations. Expectancy norms are sometimes 'validated by norm authority of some kind, e.g. a teacher, literary critic and publisher's reader can confirm the prevalent norm by encouraging translations that conform with that norm. This may be, for instance, that a translation should meet target language criteria or readability and fluency. Alternatively, a literary critic may criticize a translation that offends the norm, and this criticism may damage the reception of that book amongst ordinary readers. There may sometimes be a clash between the norm 'authorities' and society in general. (Munday, 2001: 118-119)

In the case of the book under review, expectancy norms were validated by the publishers, radio announcers, translation institutions, isiZulu lectures and a few speakers of isiZulu. They were asked to go through the translated version and

provide evaluative judgements. As speakers of the language, when they read parts of the book, they would know what is appropriate or acceptable and would make comments. They all approved the translated text, and it is my view that they did so because the translator conformed to their expectations. That was achieved because the translator had the target audience in mind when s/he translated the book.

Professional norms regulate the translation process itself. They are subordinate to and determined by expectancy norms. The three kinds of professional norms proposed by Chesterman (1989) are:

- **The accountability norm**, which is an ethical norm, dealing with professional standards of integrity and thoroughness. The translator will accept responsibility for the work produced for the commissioner and reader.
- **The communication norm**, which is a social norm. The translator, the communication 'expert' works to ensure maximum communication between the parties.
- **The relation norm**, which is a linguistic norm, dealing with the relation between source text and target text.

The translator took into account all the three professional norms by adhering to the brief; by using the acceptable target language terminology while maintaining accuracy in the tone and message of the source text as well as keeping the relationship between the two languages matching, e.g. by substituting an idiom with an idiom, etc.

Domestication and Foreignisation Theory

Domestication and foreignisation are the terms coined by Venuti (1995) to explain the common stands towards translation. He insists that all translators' choices from choosing source text to linguistic decisions they make during translations are politically and culturally motivated.

The difference between domestication and foreignisation is that domestication involves "minimising the source-text's foreign elements for the target audience, while foreignisation involves "retaining the foreignness of the original-language text." (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997; 59)

In the case of the translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution*: *Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu, there was not much to do with culture as the reality of politics and the economy is shared between the two cultures in almost the same way, however, the perceptions of that reality are vastly different. The speakers of the target language are perceived as poorer than the speakers of the source language. In terms of language in the translation, the text was domesticated.

The two terms and/or approaches are discussed more frequently in relation to literary translation than in "cross-over non-fiction" translations, however, that does not mean they are not applicable in the case of other types of translations.

In Venuti's (1995) view, foreign elements should be highlighted by the translator to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, whereas Nida's notion of 'dynamic equivalence' is more in line with domestication as the strategy that seeks to achieve complete naturalness of the expression where the message is "tailored to the receptor's linguistic needs and cultural expectations."

Translation is also understood to be part of a transfer mechanism. It is "the process by which textual models of one system are transferred to another." (Shavit, 2006:25)

In this transfer process, translators are aware that the translation product will take its place within an existing target system and be read by a target audience with a language, a culture, traditions, beliefs and systems it respects and upholds. With this uppermost in their minds, translators will tailor their translations to their target audiences. Sometimes this will lead to the production of a domesticated translation.

Venuti (1998) captures the above well when he states that "a translation always communicates an interpretation, a foreign text that is partial and altered, supplemented with features peculiar to the translating language, no longer

inscrutably foreign but made comprehensible in a distinctively domestic style. Translations, in other words, inevitably perform a work of domestication." (Venuti, 1998; 5)

Lefevere (1992:8) also states that "all translators are constrained by the difficulty of transferring cultural elements in a form accessible to their new audience, and are themselves to some extent locked into culture-specific textual and conceptual grids which affect the way in which they approach their task." (Lefevere, 1998: 8)

Even though the language and the culture of the source text and the target text are different in the translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*, the political scene where the narrative takes place is the same, however, elements of culture that were in the source text were domesticated in the target text. Focus in the target text was also put on simplifying the language so that content would be understood even by very cultural people.

5) Theoretical Framework

My study is divided into two aspects, which are: The translation process and what informs it, and the assessment of the translation product and what informs it.

The process

My theoretical framework adopts a functional approach to translation, where an adaptation to the new context can be made, which the target text reader will understand without losing or distorting the meaning of the source text. The brief was to provide a translation, so the translation approach was a functional one.

In dynamic equivalence, "the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message." (Nida 1964: 159)

In the case of functional equivalence, the source language and target language message aims to have the same effect on the target text audience as the source text has on the source text audience.

This research looks at how the notion of functional approach was achieved by the translator by reading and comparing the two versions to see if they have the same effect to their respective target audiences.

The product

We will now look at the product in comparison with the source text by looking at Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) as an approach to translation studies. The DTS approach is descriptive, empirical, interdisciplinary, target-oriented and focused on the role of translation in cultural history. (Rosa 2010)

> Whether one chooses to focus one's efforts on translated texts and/or their constituents, on intertextual relationships, on models and norms of translational behaviours or on strategies resorted to in and for the solution of particular problems, what constitutes the subject matter of a proper discipline of Translation Studies is (observable or reconstructable) facts of real life rather than merely speculative entities resulting from preconceived hypotheses and theoretical models. (Toury 1995: 1)

We also look at and analyse the following types of descriptive studies by Toury (1995):

- **Product-oriented DTS**, which examines existing translations - as in the case of this research - which focuses on source-text and target-text pair. The aim of this type is to describe the shifts between the source-text and the target-text and to reconstruct the possible motivations for these shifts taking into account the greater contextual framework within which the translation took place.
- **Process-oriented DTS**, which is concerned with attempting to describe the actual process of translation; and
- **Function-oriented DTS**, which attempts to describe and account for the function that particular translated texts perform within the socio-cultural setting into which they are accepted.

Despite this not being the usual type of text to be translated it will fit easily into the target system, and when it is read, due to the simplified language, it will be easy to

understand and, as a function-oriented translation, it will serve the same purpose as the source text to the target audience.

Holmes (2000: 176) states that the two main objectives of translation studies are:

- To describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience; and
- To establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted.

As these two versions are compared, it is easy to identify and describe these singularities of translating and translations, and from the translating experience, it is easy to remember the difficulties encountered and the strategies used to tackle problems as one reads through the book.

In analyzing the translation of the book into isiZulu, we also look at Toury's three stage model for DTS analysis, which is as follows:

1. Situating the text within the target culture system, looking at its significance or acceptability.
2. Comparing source text and target text for shifts, identifying relationships between coupled pairs of source text and target text segments
3. Attempting generalizations, reconstructing the process of translation for this source text and target text pair.

In short, my theoretical framework is based on the functional approach in terms of process. The translation focused more on meaning rather than word for word translation, while at the same time paying attention to those noteworthy words and phrases and transferring them to the target text in order to maintain the tone and the purpose of the source text. In terms of the product, it also focuses on descriptive translation studies, which are methods that were used in analysing the translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu.

SECTION B: METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

1) METHODOLOGY

The Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) approach was used in conducting this research. It encompassed product-oriented DTS, process-oriented DTS and function-oriented DTS as described above.

In analysing the product, the original English version (source text) was compared and contrasted with the translated isiZulu version (target text) to see whether it was a true reflection of the English version. This means that whatever was in the English version was interpreted accurately in the isiZulu version and in a manner that is understandable to the target reader.

Both the source text and the target text were looked at to see how the text was translated and if there were any shifts. An investigation on how Mona Baker's (1992) strategies were used to address problems encountered was conducted.

From my personal critical analysis, I draw conclusions on how the translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* responded to the author's translation brief. Findings are discussed in Section C under Research Findings.

The translation process followed is discussed below. The research findings are based on the translator's first-hand experience in translating the book as well as the researcher's experience in comparing the two versions, the source and the target text. Though the source text is the main point of referral, the research is target-oriented because it looked at how the target audience would receive the text and whether it would be acceptable to the readers of the target language.

Below are the sections that were selected for the purposes of this research. These chapters were selected randomly from the beginning, the middle and the end so that the introduction of the book, the fundamental arguments as well as the conclusion were all covered in the analysis of the translation process and product

in Section C. For reference purpose, these chapters are available in full in isiZulu in the appendix.

- **One section from Chapter 1: Introduction**
  - The state of the nation

- **One section from Chapter 2: Governance, political accountability and service delivery**
  - The construction of the post-apartheid state

- **One section from Chapter 4: Can a social pact work?**
  - Understanding the emergence of social pacts

- **One section from Chapter 7: What is to be done?**
  - Reconstructing political accountability to citizens

After discussing Research Findings, a summary of the findings is given and briefly put as important points under Summary of Findings after which a conclusion and recommendations are presented.

2) ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

Before embarking on the translation, the translator went through the source text, i.e. *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*. The aim was to understand what it was about as well as to identify words and expressions that were challenging. The translator instantly researched and consulted about them, so that by the time the process of translation started, it would be much easier to deal with problematic terms and phrases. This critical step of translation is mentioned by Nord in 1991, stating that it is the only way of ensuring that the source is correctly interpreted.

> Most writers on translation theory now agree that before embarking upon any translation, the translator should analyse the text comprehensively, since this appears to be the only way of ensuring that the source text has been wholly and correctly understood. (Nord, 1991: 1)

The second step was to meet with the author of the book, Professor Adam Habib. The aim of the meeting was to get a brief regarding his intention and the function of the book, i.e. what it is that he wanted to achieve by commissioning it for translation. In that meeting, all translators of the book, from English into respective languages namely isiZulu, Sesotho and Afrikaans, were present. They had a discussion with the author after reading the book and before embarking on the translation. It was important for the translators to have gone through the book before meeting the author because it gave them a chance to ask questions on phrases or contexts that were difficult to understand individually by the translators. Responses enlightened other translators who were sometimes not aware that they too needed clarity on some contexts. So, meetings of this nature, between authors, editors or publishers and translators are advisable if they are possible. This must be done over and above written translation briefs.

In that meeting, the author gave the translators a clear brief. He told the translators that the book is written for all South Africans in different parts of the country, therefore it had to be translated in a manner that would be understood by all respective language speakers, regardless of which part of the country they are from and their dialects in their respective communities. This basically meant that the language had to be simplified. The verbal brief also spelled out that the "*shrewdness"* of the argument should be kept as it is in the original text while "*persuading"* readers to take part in the running of the country by choosing the government they want through elections and holding it accountable in many different ways that he suggests in the book.

So, functional equivalence was important for the author and the translators had to take that into consideration when translating. Functional equivalence can be defined as an art of making an adjustment on the translation of a certain source text so that the recipients of the target text read and understand the text as if it was originally written for them. It achieves the function that was intended for the target text. Sometimes the functions of the source text and the target text may be the same but they may also differ.

The translator of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu was advantaged to have had that opportunity to meet the author and as alluded to above, this should be encouraged where it is possible.

One other important aspect of the translation process, which has already been alluded to above, was the reading of the source text a few times before translating it. This is mandatory, particularly in the absence of a proper translation brief. Without a translation brief and without first analysing the source text before going ahead with the translation – and just going ahead with the process – the translator is bound to or will be tempted to translate the text literally (word for word). These two things are very important, i.e. the translation brief and going through the source text several times before embarking on the translation action. Nord explains why going through the source text is important before going ahead with the translation.

> The priority of the target text does not mean the source text is completely irrelevant, as is sometime assumed. The source text provides the offer of information that forms the starting point for the information formulated in the target text. Analysis of the source text guides the translation process in that it provides the basis for the feasibility of the translation assignment; which source text units are relevant to a functional translation; and which translation strategy will lead to a target text meeting the requirements of the translation brief. (Nord, 1997:62)

After reading the book and meeting the author for a verbal (clarity seeking) brief, the translator went through the book again. The aim of going through the book the second time was to do a source text analysis. The translator used Christiane Nord's text analysis model. Christiane Nord's Text *Analysis in Translation* (1991) presents a more detailed functional model incorporating elements of text analysis, which examine text organisation at or above sentence level. She makes a distinction between two basic types of translation product, which are documentary translation and instrumental translation. For the purpose of this research, we are going to focus on instrumental translation.

> Instrumental translation serves as an independent message transmitting instrument in a new communicative action in

> the target culture, and is intended to fulfil its communicative purpose, without the recipient being conscious of reading or hearing a text which, in a different form, was used before in a different communicative situation. In other words, the target text receivers read the target text as though it were a source text written in their own language. The function may be the same for both the source text and the target text. (Munday, 2001: 82)

In the case *of South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* and *Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa: Amathemba Namathuba*, its translated version, both the source text and the target text have the same function. Nord's model of text analysis is applicable to all text types and translation situations and it is divided into extratextual and intratextual elements.

Below are the findings on what the extratextual elements of the two versions are after both the source text and the target text were read and analysed.

	Source Text	Target Text (Product)
The Sender:	The author and the publishers of the book, i.e. Wits University Press.	Wits Language School.
Intention:	To persuade South African citizens to actively take part in the governance of their country.	To persuade South African citizens to actively take part in the governance of their country.
Recipient:	The citizens of South Africa who are interested in politics and can read **English**, scholarly readers, i.e. academics, students, researchers, policy analysts, journalists, etc.	The citizens of South Africa who are interested in politics and can read **isiZulu** – more general kind of readership.
Medium:	Printed book	Printed book
Place:	Nationally in South Africa	Nationally in South Africa
Time:	Post-apartheid South Africa	Post-apartheid South Africa
Motive:	To influence the people of South Africa to be involved in the country's politics.	To influence the people of South Africa to be involved in the country's politics.

Function:	To encourage accountability of the leaders of South Africa by encouraging the citizens to hold them accountable and to suggest strategies to do so. To encourage the institutions of the country to work together in order to take the country forward.	To encourage accountability of the leaders of South Africa by encouraging the citizens to hold them accountable and to suggest strategies to do so. To encourage the institutions of the country to work together in order to take the country forward.

It will be noticed that the intention, the motive and the function of both the source text and the target text are the same. This motivates why the translator opted for functional equivalence from the beginning in her process of translating the book. The translator was already briefed that the intention, the motive and the function are the same for all versions of the book. It was not going to be easy to decide on the approach should the translator had not gone through the book first and conducted a source text analysis.

Intratextual elements are more about the content and the following were the findings:

	Source Text	**Target Text**
Function:	To encourage accountability of the leaders of South Africa by encouraging the citizens to hold them accountable and to suggest strategies to do so. To encourage the institutions of the country to work together in order to take the country forward.	To encourage accountability of the leaders of South Africa by encouraging the citizens to hold them accountable and to suggest strategies to do so. To encourage the institutions of the country to work together in order to take the country forward.
Subject matter:	Subject matters are verbalised in headings and	Subject matters are also verbalised in headings and

	subheadings and they are clearly outlined in the table of contents at the beginning of the book.	subheadings as they are a translation of the source text. They are clearly outlined in the table of contents at the beginning of the book. The subheadings are available in full in the appendix in isiZulu.
Content:	The content is comprehensible and it is presented in a coherent manner.	The content is comprehensible and it matches the source text in its coherency. However, adequate reviews to make fair conclusions were not available during the time of research.
Presupposition:	Everything that is in the **source text** will be understood by both the source culture and the target culture, unless there are language limitations. This is because this book is just a general book about politics and the economy. It is not too culture-specific. It speaks to all South Africans in one voice.	Everything that is in the **target text** will be understood by both the source culture and the target culture, unless there are language limitations. This is because this book is just a general book about politics and the economy. It is not too culture-specific. It speaks to all South Africans in one voice.
Text composition:	The text in the book is divided into chapters, from ***Chapter 1*** to ***Chapter 7***, with different subheadings under each chapter heading.	The text in the book is divided into chapters, from ***Chapter 1*** to ***Chapter 7*** as it is a translation of the source and the structure was kept as such. It also has different subheadings under each

		chapter heading. These can be seen in the appendix.
Non-verbal elements:	There are no non-verbal elements in the book. Everything important is expressed.	There are no non-verbal elements in the book. Everything important is expressed.
Lexic:	It is a formal text and standard South African English is used. It has been translated into three other official South African languages namely isiZulu, Sesotho and Afrikaans.	It is a formal text and standard isiZulu is used.
Sentence structure:	The sentences are medium to long. There are seldom short sentences.	The sentences are very long. When translating from English into isiZulu in most cases, even shorter English sentences become longer when transferred into isiZulu. In the translation of this book, they were even longer because sentences in the English version were also long. The publishers advised the translators to shorten some phrases without compromising the meaning. The example of this is the translation of 'social pact' which is introduced as '*isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe*' and is kept

		as such in the body of the text, however in the titles, subtitles and in the table of contents, it is shortened to '*isivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe*'.
Suprasegmental:	The tone is sharp and piercing. It is loud and uncompromising.	The tone is the same here as the translators were briefed and requested to maintain it. An example of this is found in terms like 'mantra', translated '*umthemelezo'* in Chapter 4. The translator could have used any other less expressive term to refer to social pacts as what has become a '*talk shop'*. Another example is in Chapter 7 in translating the term 'usurp' into '*ukugabadela'*. The translator could have used a less expressive term like '*ukungena'* meaning 'to get into'.
Effect:	The book invokes feelings of responsibility to readers who are citizens of South Africa. It makes readers want to be involved in the governing of their country by holding the leaders accountable. If	The book invokes feelings of responsibility to readers who are citizens of South Africa. It makes readers want to be involved in the governing of their country by holding the leaders accountable. If read

	read by the right people, it has a potential to make South Africa better than it currently is.	by the right people, it has a potential to make South Africa better than it currently is. This was achieved by sticking to Habib's persuasive language when he "proposes an alternative political agenda for South Africa, and outlines what needs to be done to bring the country closer to the social democratic vision captured in South Africa's Constitution." This is presented in Chapter 2 when Habib states that citizens can use democratic systems to encourage existing political elites to become responsive to their desires or replace political elites with more supportive leaders. One will have to read the whole book to see this, however, a reader in the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, who is based the Hansard and Languages Department, confirms that the language in the target text is persuasive enough to invoke interest and it inspires one to want to participate in the activities of holding the leaders of the country

		accountable, as proposed by the author.

In the above text analysis, most elements are the same for the source text and the target text. The reason for this is that, even though the translator followed a functional equivalence approach, which means that the translation does not have to be source-oriented, she worked closer to the Source Text in terms of its purpose and functionality as well as the intention of the author. Even though not much attention was paid to the form, it took the same shape with the source text as paragraphs were broken where the breaks were in the original text, the glossary and acronym lists were also formatted the same way as in the source text. However, in the isiZulu version, paragraphs do seem longer. This is because of the words with many syllables in isiZulu, which makes words longer and sentences therefore seem longer.

As indicated under 'Sentence Structure' above, that in the isiZulu version, sentences were very long that we had to cut other phrases, specifically on high frequency words or phrases. Below is an example of sentences and phrases excerpted from the two versions, the source text and the target text, which is the original English text and its translation. These are the first two sentences in Chapter 1. They were selected randomly to display that the English text is shorter while isiZulu is longer but they are both saying the same thing.

English:

South Africa is in the midst of a high-stakes leadership drama that has been underway for some years. The stage is the South African state, including its national departments and ministries, provincial governments and local municipalities.

IsiZulu:

INingizimu Afrika iphakathi shi kokusamdlalo weshashalazi omayelana nezehlakalo ezithinta ubuholi nosekuqhubeke iminyaka eminingi. Inkundla yalo mdlalo weshashalazi ngumbuso waseNingizimu Afrika kanye neminyango yawo kazwelonke namahhovisi ongqonggoshe, ohulumeni bezifundazwe kanye nomasipala.

Back translation:

South Africa is in the midst of what is similar to a stage play about leadership events that have been going on for some time. On stage is the South African government and its national departments and ministries, provincial governments and municipalities.

As briefly explained on the table above, in Chapter 4, social pact is translated as '*isivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe* which is a paraphrased translation backtranslated as 'an agreement between the rulers and the ruled'. This full translation is found in the body of the text. It will be noted that 'social pact' consists of only two words while its translation consists of four long words. The publishers said it was too long and requested that it be shortened in a manner that will not lose meaning for use in the table of contents and on subheadings to avoid a clumsy appearance in the book after layout. It was then shortened to '*isivumelwano sabaphethe nabaphethwe*', which is backtranslated as 'an agreement of the rulers and the ruled'. The shorter translation does not have 'between'.

After the text analysis is done, it is easy to determine which features can be prioritized in the translation. Nord (1991) establishes a functional hierarchy when undertaking a translation. It is outlined as follows:

(i) **The intended function of the translation should be decided (documentary or instrumental):** At this stage the translator already knew the intended function of the book through the verbal brief by the author as well as through performing the text analysis. The brief was that the language must remain as sharp as possible to achieve the purpose of influencing the readers into taking part in South African politics and holding the leaders accountable. It was also to be simplified so that it would be accessible and understood in context by all speakers of isiZulu regardless of their level of education, status or dialect.

(ii) Those functional elements that will need to be adapted to the target text addressees' situation have to be determined (after analysis of the translation brief): The setting is in South Africa, which is generally known for its diverse cultures. However, when it comes to politics, there are many similarities than differences and anyone who is interested in the politics would have to act the same way in terms of what is suggested, i.e. strategies on holding the political elite accountable. However, to achieve this in the isiZulu language, domestication came to the fore as the translator used isiZulu idioms to translate English idioms that were in the source text. The only foreign element that was brought into the target text was numbers and dates in order to keep things as simple as possible since sticking to the isiZulu rules would cause difficulties for other readers who are not familiar with isiZulu numbers.

(iii) **The translation type decides the translation style (source culture or target culture oriented):** As alluded to above, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* is target culture oriented and the translation took a functional approach.

(iv) T**he problems of the text can then be tackled at a lower linguistic level:** There was a significant number of text problems that needed to be tackled. The most significant one being the fact that most political terminology used was not standardised in isiZulu. The problem started showing from the beginning of the book with the title when the translator realized that the equivalent isiZulu term for 'revolution' did not exist even though it is a term that is used very often in South African politics. Various (Baker, 1992) strategies were used to deal with these problems.

SECTION C: RESEARCH FINDINGS

1) FINDINGS FROM THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Book Covers

Each book cover of the various versions is different from the other in terms of colour. The English, which is the original abridged version of the bigger one, has a yellow cover, the isiZulu version has a red cover, the Sesotho version has a green cover and the Afrikaans version has a blue cover. The colours were picked randomly, they do not signify anything.

Translation of the Title

On encountering the challenge with the term 'revolution' when the translator translated the title, a research was conducted to find out whether there were any language bodies who had coined the term and the finding was that there were none. The translator and the experts that were consulted – members of UMZUKAWE, the isiZulu Language Board and isiZulu language practitioners from various sectors including the Hansard and Languages Units of the Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal legislatures; Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB); National Language Services of the National Department of Arts and Culture; lecturers and students of the Wits University and the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South African Translators Institute (SATI), radio and television presenters as well as isiZulu newspaper editors – brainstormed and shared possible terms that could be a perfect equivalent for 'revolution'. The term that came up more often was '*umzabalazo'* which means 'struggle' and many felt it was suitable. However, some felt that the term revolution deserved its own exclusive equivalent and '*inguqukombuso'* was coined. The literal meaning of '*inguqukombuso'* is 'the changing of governance' broken down as follows:

Inguquko = change of things; the turning of things
Umbuso = governance; kingdom

After a long debate about using '*umzabalazo'*, which most isiZulu language speakers are familiar with and '*inguqukombuso'* which would be totally new to

readers, the translator decided to pre-test the two terms with a larger community of isiZulu speakers from all levels, a process after which eight titles were carefully put together and were sent to Wits Press, Wits Language School and the author (the initiators, the commissioners and the source text producer) to conduct their own pre-testing and to select one that would be preferred by many.

This was done because it was difficult to come up with one perfect title at the first attempt. The eight topics that were sent to the initiators, commissioners and source text producer for pre-testing were as below. It would be up to the experts from their side to decide which term between '*umzabalazo* and *inguqukombuso* would be suitable as the experts from the translators side finally agreed and concluded that they would both work either way. Regarding the full title, it would be the author's decision which one was catchy enough, as per the brief regarding the title. Back-translations of all the titles were given to the initiators, the commissioners and the source text producer. I will provide back-translations under each suggested title. They are marked 'BT:' for back-translation.

1) *Ukubambeka Kwenguqukombuso eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Being Stuck of Revolution in South Africa; Hopes and Prospects
2) *Inguqukombuso Eyashiywa Ilenga eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Revolution That Was Left Hanging in South Africa: Hopes and Prospects
3) *Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa: Amathemba Namathuba* ('*Eyabondwa Yashiywa'* is an idiomatic isiZulu expression which refers to '*inguqukombuso'* as if it was inside a pot and it was being stirred, but not until it was well cooked, as the person who was stirring left it there unfinished).
   BT: The Revolution of South Africa That Was Stirred and then Left Unattended: Hopes and Prospects
4) *Inguqukombuso Emi Endleleni eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Revolution That Stopped On Its Way in South Africa: Hopes and Prospects

5) *Ukubambeka Komzabalazo eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Being Stuck of the Struggle in South Africa; Hopes and Prospects
6) *Umzabalazo Owashiywa Ulenga eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Struggle That Was Left Hanging in South Africa: Hopes and Prospects
7) *Umzabalazo WeNingizimu Afrika Owabondwa Washiywa: Amathemba Namathuba* (‘*Owabondwa Washiywa’* is an idiomatic isiZulu expression which refers to ‘*umzabalazo’* as if it was inside a pot and it was being stirred, but not until it was well cooked, and the person who was stirring left it there unfinished).
   BT: The Revolution of South Africa That Was Stirred and then Left Unattended: Hopes and Prospects
8) *Umzabalazo Omi Endleleni eNingizimu Afrika: Amathemba Namathuba*
   BT: The Revolution That Stopped On Its Way in South Africa: Hopes and Prospects

The third title was mostly preferred as it was the closest to the English version according to the various professionals selected for pre-testing and catchy enough for the author as it uses an idiomatic isiZulu expression as explained above. All this led to the current title of the isiZulu translation of the book.

The Translation Process

As alluded to above, the translator’s first point of action after receiving the briefs (firstly in writing and then verbally), was to do text analysis which is what guides the translation process. Text analysis sets the tone for the translator because after it is done, the translator is able to decide whether the text is translatable according to the brief or not. It is also easy for the translator at that stage to decide which translation strategy to use in order to be in line with the translation brief.

After text analysis the translator decided to follow a functional translation process which “starts on the pragmatic level by deciding on the intended function of the translation – documentary vs. Instrumental”.

> A distinction is then made between those functional elements of the source text that will have to be reproduced ‘as such’ and ones

> that must be adapted to the addressee's background knowledge, expectations and communicative needs or to such factors as medium-restrictions and deixis requirements. The translation type then determines whether the translated text should conform to source culture or target culture conventions with regard to translation style." Nord (1997:68)

In the process of translating *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu, the function of the translation is instrumental. The target text receivers are supposed to read the target text as though it were a source text written in their own language. The function is the same for both the English and the isiZulu version. The translation type is communicative translation, which "renders the exact contextual meaning of the original text" (Newmark, 1988:47). The translator focused on the contextual meaning and language of the source text in order to be able to convey the same message that is conveyed by the source text to the target audience. What was important here was to find out from the beginning what the function of the book was. Hence source text analysis and a clear brief are two key things.

Regarding the laws proposed by Toury above, translation of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* was more towards the law of growing standardisation rather than the law of interference. The source text patterns were disrupted in translation and linguistic options that were more common in the target language were selected.

Problems and Strategies

The main problem that was encountered by the translator was the problem of non-equivalence at word level. Dealing with equivalence above word level was not a problem since with functional equivalence, what is vital is for the translator to understand the context, the language, the intention, the motive and the purpose – then it would be easy to produce an accurate target text with the same effect as the source text.

Below are the examples of strategies that were used to deal with problems at word level. The translator was guided by Baker's (1992: 23-43) strategies. Some were used

more often than the others while others were not used at all. Those that were not used are excluded from the list below.

- Translation by a more general word (superordinate);
- Translation by a more neutral/ less expressive word;
- Translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation;
- Translation by paraphrase using a related word;
- Translation by paraphrase using unrelated words;
- Translation by omission

The translator also relied very much on acquaintances who are involved in politics to understand some of the political concepts and terminology and isiZulu experts to assist with the translation of those concepts.

Below are excerpt sections from the source text containing words or phrases that were challenging to translate into isiZulu. They are taken from the chapters selected for the purposes of this research – chapters one, two, four and seven. Lengthy extract are provided to ensure that the words or phrases are understood in context. This will also assist readers of this thesis to get an idea of what the book is about and to understand the genre. The translated version of these sections are available in isiZulu in the appendix of the full chapters attached with this research document. The problem word(s) or phrases from each section will be bolded and underlined for ease of identification.

Excerpt from Chapter 1:

Introduction

South Africa is in the midst of a high-stakes leadership drama that has been underway for some years. The stage is the South African state, including its national departments and ministries, provincial governments and local municipalities. It is a drama that has pitted comrade against comrade, and the ensuing battle has led to friends becoming enemies, and erstwhile enemies becoming friends. The ultimate prize is the presidency and the political power and spoils of patronage that go with it.

The drama's multiple acts have so far each been marked by a symbolic high point. The opening act was the firing of then deputy-president, Jacob Zuma, by then president Thabo Mbeki in 2005. This was followed by the fight back by Zuma and his allies, which culminated in December 2007, when Zuma was elected president of the African National Congress (ANC) at the party's

national electoral conference in Polokwane. Nine months later, in September 2008, Mbeki was unceremoniously ejected from his position as president of South Africa, and after a short caretaker presidency by then deputy-president Kgalema Motlanthe, Zuma ascended to the presidential throne in April 2009. Significant sections of the senior hierarchy in the political establishment and state bureaucracy were soon replaced with Zuma allies.

Battle lines were redrawn and a new act in the drama began. This time Zuma, as presidential incumbent, was the focus of the attempted ejection. His nemeses were his one-time allies, Julius Malema, Fikile Mbalula, Mathews Phosa, Tokyo Sexwale, and even Motlanthe. Malema was effectively fired as president of the Youth League through the mechanism of the ANC's disciplinary committee. In December 2012, Motlanthe, who was deputy-president of both the ruling party and the country at the time, stood against Zuma for the presidency of the ANC at the party's national conference in Mangaung. He lost, and having withdrawn from the candidature for the party's deputy-presidency in favour of Sexwale and Phosa, Motlanthe was effectively cast into the political wilderness. His role in the ANC has been confined to heading up political education within the party. Cyril Ramaphosa, billionaire, the second-richest black businessman in the country, and architect of South Africa's much admired Constitution, was elected at Mangaung as the party's new deputy-president. However, despite the party's overwhelmingly large endorsement of Zuma at the Mangaung conference – he received 75 per cent of the vote for the position as president – the party's members left the conference as divided as when they had arrived.

Even though he won so many votes, Zuma cannot afford to be too confident about his situation. The reason for this is that his opposition, although small, is mainly located in the Gauteng province – the economic heartland of the country. As fourth largest contributor to Africa's GDP, this economic hub has to be central to any economic revitalisation and transformation agenda. Its inclusion in the alliance of the 'forces for change' must be of concern to him. Moreover, his internal opposition involve people of means. Sexwale and Phosa have enormous financial resources at their disposal. Paul Mashatile, chair of the ANC in Gauteng, and Fikile Mbalula (once an ardent Zuma supporter) have enormous organisational abilities. All have liberation pedigrees within the ANC. But perhaps the biggest indication of a divided organisation is the slate system, whereby delegates vote not on the merits of the individual candidates, but rather according to which faction's slate they appear on. The ANC, its Youth League, its allies in the Tripartite Alliance – the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) – as well as various key state departments, including intelligence and safety and security, and provincial governments, all remain arenas in which the leadership battle will continue to rage.

Throughout this period, the drama has been broadcast live. The South African media has insisted on providing the nation with front row seats to the unfolding spectacle. In the process, the ANC, the political home of Nobel laureates Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela, has been seen for what it is increasingly becoming: a grubby instrument of enrichment that speaks the language of empowerment and democracy, while its leadership and cadres plunder the nation's resources and undermine both the judiciary and media – the former because it may be used to hold people to account, and the latter for having the ***temerity*** *to broadcast the drama.*

Elsewhere I have described this political drama as a public contest 'between different sets of heroes and villains, personified in the individual personalities of Mbeki and Zuma'. The

distinguishing feature of this contest is that its heroes and villains change depending on who is telling the story. The result is that reports of the story are deeply politicised and divisive, and all contending parties imagine political advance and success to be the point at which their particular hero ascends to the highest political office in the land. In other words, leaders and other actors are treated as unfettered agents whose behaviour is the result of their own abilities or follies. South Africa's potential future is therefore imagined through the ***prism*** *of the character of its leaders. Seen in this way, the country's future looks fairly bleak.*

In this book I aim to provide an antidote to these imaginings. I explain how South Africa has developed since the advent of democracy by locating its actors in context. I try to analyse the institutional constraints within which they operate, how these have conditioned their choices, and what the consequences of those choices have been. I also explore the failures of political, economic, civic and other leaders, and consider what other policy options and behavioural choices may have been available to them, as well as why these alternatives were forsaken. My aim is also to reveal why certain possibilities may have existed in one moment, but not another. Societies evolve and the potential for political and socio-economic advances change too. I analyse the relationship between actors and context, how the latter can both limit and mould the former, but also how individuals and institutions can, with imagination, act against the grain of their historical moment, thereby transforming the range of possibilities open to them and, in the process, transforming society itself.

The leadership and succession dramas have played themselves out against the backdrop of South Africa's changing social landscape. An understanding of this landscape is necessary to grasp how the country has come to be where it is, and what needs to be done to take it to where it wants to be. It is therefore prudent to begin with a brief review of the state of the nation at this moment.

The state of the nation

Mbeki gave his two greatest speeches prior to and at the end of his presidential tenure. The first, known as his 'I am an African' speech, was delivered to the Constituent Assembly in 1996 in his capacity as deputy-president of the Republic. It was a speech that defined the South African nation as a product of its multiple roots – black and white, chief and layperson, citizen and migrant, Afrikaner and English, worker and peasant, rich and poor. It was also a speech that celebrated the Afrikaner rebellion against English imperialism (the Anglo-Boer war) as much as it did tribal resistance to settler encroachment, and the more recent resistance to apartheid. The speech imagined a ***cosmopolitan****, non-racial and prosperous democracy, confident of its place in the world. It spoke to the aspirations of South Africans from all walks of life, and galvanised the country's newly ascendant black professionals.*

The second great speech was Mbeki's address to the nation after he had resigned his presidency in 2008 under pressure from the ANC. It was a noble and dignified exit for a president who had lost the confidence of his party. Mbeki stressed his loyalty to the ANC and his commitment to remaining within the organisation. He spoke of the ruling party's commitment to a prosperous non-racial nation, and underscored his administration's great success in having achieved economic growth rates for the longest period in South Africa's history. Yet, he also acknowledged that the dividends of this economic growth had not been equally shared, and that too many still lived in poverty and squalor. Finally, Mbeki reiterated his respect for the Constitution and the rule of law, and categorically denied having influenced the decisions of

the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) in its case against Zuma or anyone else who had appeared before the courts. He concluded his speech by reminding South Africans that the true measure of a people is how they respond to adversity, and he wished the incoming administration well in their governance of South Africa's affairs.

How did this situation come to be? Mbeki was correct to note in his resignation speech that South Africa in 2008 was a fundamentally different place from what it had been in 1994. Its public institutions had largely been ***deracialised****, and the post-apartheid government had passed multiple laws that addressed the inequities of the country's past. The country's Constitution codified the socio-economic and political rights of all citizens, and its Bill of Rights provided citizens with enormous leverage to better their circumstances. The state had also done much to improve living conditions for the majority. The government's review of its performance on the tenth anniversary of democracy indicated that 1 985 545 housing subsidies had been approved to a value of R24.22 billion, new water connections benefitted 9 million people, 70 per cent of households had electricity connections by 2001, 1.8 million hectares of land had been redistributed since 1994, and 1 600 633 new jobs had been created. The review maintained that if these social provisions were taken into account, poverty rates could be considered to have declined significantly in South African society.*

Unfortunately this is only one side of the story. As I will show, there is a darker side to South Africa's economic successes. The post-apartheid regime, particularly after 1996, coupled a conservative macro-economic programme – the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) – with a narrow black-empowerment agenda. The result was the reinforcement of the social structures left behind by apartheid, albeit with some deracialisation among its upper echelons. Thus, while water, electricity, and communications infrastructure was being expanded, the introduction of a new cost-recovery model meant that millions of people were denied access to water and power because of their inability to pay for these services. In addition, GEAR left millions unemployed. The middle classes expanded dramatically, with the rise of black professionals and the appointment of black civil servants. A small politically connected black business elite also emerged, largely from politically brokered and state-financed transfers of corporate ownership. The net effect is that levels of inequality have risen consistently throughout the post-apartheid era. In my view, this particular feature of the transition contributed to Mbeki's downfall at Polokwane.

Of course, there were other contributing factors. Mbeki's support base was always among the ***intelligentsia****, and the urban middle and upper middle classes, mainly within the black community and to some extent among the white population. This grouping, especially its black component, constituted a significant proportion of the activist and leadership base of the ANC, and for years they constituted Mbeki's primary support base. Even when they disagreed with one or other of Mbeki's policies, he remained their philosopher president who could hold his own with politicians in London and New York. He represented African modernity: proud of his roots, but cosmopolitan, a national politician and a global statesman, pursuing a liberal economic agenda, with a progressive political rhetoric – an African version of the global middle-class dream.*

Yet in the later years of his presidency, this group largely abandoned Mbeki, believing that he had betrayed their hopes and vision. For them, South Africa was meant to be a caring, modern, cosmopolitan social democracy. Of course this vision was a shallow one, and the only people

who could afford to harbour it were the middle and upper-middle classes. For the vast majority, there was nothing caring about South Africa's democracy. Nevertheless, this dream did galvanise the imagination of the relatively privileged classes that were the backbone of Mbeki's support base.

Three developments shattered their vision. First, in the later years of his presidency, there was a growing perception that Mbeki was incapable of empathising with ordinary citizens. For example, the reputation of the president and his minister of health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, fell to pieces as a result of their AIDS denialism. When subsequent ***scandals*** *broke about the quality of care and the death of new-born babies at Mount Frere Hospital in the Eastern Cape, the Mbeki administration's response was to cover things up. Those who broke the story, and leaders who attempted to address the problem, were reprimanded and harassed. Thus, when then deputy minister of health, Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, paid an unscheduled visit to the hospital, and confirmed that conditions were dire, she was first reprimanded and then fired. Instead of empathising with the victims of the service delivery failure, and the mothers who lost their children, Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang continued to deny that there was anything wrong with the public health system.*

Similarly, when confronted with a question about crime in an interview on national television in January 2007, Mbeki remarked that the problem was being seriously overplayed. He argued that one could walk freely in Auckland Park, where the interview was being filmed, without fear of being mugged and attacked. Not only did this betray ignorance about levels of crime in Johannesburg, and in much of the rest of the country, it also downplayed the seriousness of the problem of violent crime. Instead of sympathising with victims of murder, rape and robbery, Mbeki refused to engage with the fears of his citizens, accusing them instead of being agents of ***racial bigotry****. His denial and lack of empathy suggested a leader seriously out of touch with his country's citizens.*

Second, there was a growing perception that state institutions were being manipulated for personal and political gain. Zuma levelled this charge against Mbeki, with COSATU and the SACP supporting Zuma, arguing that the NPA and other state institutions were being deployed against Mbeki's political opponents. Despite initial scepticism, Mbeki's behaviour, and that of those around him, increasingly suggested that the charge might not be unfounded. The processes involved in appointments to the board of the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), for instance, violated democratic protocols when MPs were instructed to appoint a set of individuals decided on by the ANC's leadership. Similarly, Mbeki's suspension of Vusi Pikoli as head of the NPA in 2008 ***created political waves****, and was seen as indirectly protecting then police commissioner Jackie Selebi from prosecution. (Selebi has subsequently been imprisoned for corruption.) Both cases were seen as examples of Mbeki manipulating decision-making within state institutions to serve his own political ends.*

Third, and this is clearly linked to the preceding points, there was a widespread perception that Mbeki's defence of those close to him, while dealing severely with opponents, broke democratic norms. Again, dramatic evidence of this emerged in the last few years of Mbeki's reign. Mbeki dismissed Zuma but refused to fire Selebi, even though the allegations against both men were equally serious. Similarly, Mbeki went out of his way to defend an incompetent health minister who brought the ANC and the nation into disrepute, but fired a popular deputy-minister who supported the interests of the poor and marginalised, including people living with HIV and

AIDS. These incidents gave credence to the view held by many in COSATU, the SACP, and even in the ANC, that Mbeki was inconsistent in his application of the rules, and was using his position to undermine everyday democratic practice.

Feeling betrayed, Mbeki's middle and upper class supporters turned against him. Indeed, the popular image of Mbeki at the end of 2007 was one of a vindictive politician who had turned against those closest to him, and caused his own misfortunes. As he lost the support of these groups, Mbeki was left vulnerable to the growing list of political enemies he had accumulated in his rise to power.

What took place at the ANC's national electoral conference in Polokwane has become the ***stuff of legend****. The conference was preceded by a divisive election campaign led by Zuma, in which he criss-crossed the country, lobbying various ANC branches to support him. Eventually, the Mbeki and Zuma camps went to Polokwane having each secured about 40 per cent of delegates' votes. The remaining 20 per cent were in search of an alternative candidate. It was this independent group that turned the tide in favour of Zuma. Confronted with a choice between Mbeki and Zuma, they went for the latter in the hope of bringing about change. The elections were a rout. Not only did Zuma win 60 per cent of the votes, he got his entire slate of candidates elected by a similar margin.*

It is important to note that the political alliance that brought Zuma to power at Polokwane was never ideologically coherent. Zuma simply galvanised a wide range of disaffected ANC members and leaders. These included social democrats marginalised by Mbeki (including COSATU and the SACP), traditionalists alarmed by Mbeki's modernist and internationalist desires, disaffected black business leaders looking for their chance at the ***feeding trough****, and rogue intelligence officials. It is therefore not surprising that the Zuma administration represents an odd mix of contested economic radicalism and social conservatism.*

As discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, the South African government's shift to the left in terms of economic policy has been heavily contested. On the one hand, the Zuma administration has formally launched some new economic policies, such as the ***New Growth Path****, and revitalised some older ones, such as the* ***Industrial Policy Action Plan****, which have the* ***reindustrialisation*** *of South Africa as their agenda. Both programmes focus on growing industrial and economic sectors in ways that can absorb semi-skilled and unskilled labour, broaden black economic empowerment, and reduce economic inequality. At the same time, rumblings about the impracticality of the New Growth Path and the need for financial conservatism are growing louder within the ruling party and in various state departments, including the finance ministry. Intra-party rebellions led by members of the ANC's national executive committee, supported by black business moguls, have criticised the extent to which COSATU and the SACP influence the Zuma administration's economic direction.*

****** Chapter1 excerpt cut here ******

Excerpt from Chapter 2:

Governance, political accountability and service delivery

Little united South Africans at the dawn of their democratic transition, but if there was anything – other than the desire to avert a civil war – it was a yearning for political accountability and service delivery*. South Africans may have meant different things by these terms, but there was nevertheless a general wish for a political elite and a state that would be responsive to the needs of its citizens. Yet, by 2013, public opinion across the political spectrum agreed that there was both a lack of accountability and a general shortfall in service delivery. How did this come to pass?*

Much of the debate about these issues has focused on institutional design and the quality of the country's human resources. Thus, since 1994, state officials have regularly redesigned state institutions and the relations between them, with a view to enhancing their effectiveness. Poorly trained officials have been blamed for the inefficiencies, and training and development programmes have been introduced. Critics of government have condemned the ruling party's policies of cadre deployment and affirmative action for leading to the appointment of inappropriately skilled personnel and bloated administrative systems.

But while institutional design is important, it alone cannot account for the malaise affecting South Africa's governance and political landscape. After all, societies with similar institutional and governance frameworks have fundamentally different service delivery and accountability outcomes. It is therefore necessary to look beyond institutional design to understand the variety of governance and political outcomes in different societies. Comparisons can be useful, but they cannot replace an understanding of a particular social context and an investigation of how this affects the performance of institutions, individuals and state officials.

An assessment of the South African government's institutional sluggishness must look beyond the debate about institutional design to highlight the dilemmas generated by our social context (including the policy and behavioural choices of our political elites and other actors), and consider how these have contributed to the situation the country finds itself in. First, however, it is useful to briefly outline the institutional architecture and governance structures that have been developed by the political elites, and in particular the ANC, for the South African state.

The construction of the post-apartheid state

Contemporary South Africa's institutional architecture and governance arrangements developed in three distinct phases, which are discussed in more detail below. The first phase occurred in the negotiations process, which produced the Interim Constitution of 1993. The second phase took place through the discussions of the ***constituent assembly****, which produced the Constitution of 1996. The third phase comprised the institutional and administrative restructurings introduced by Mbeki at the start of his presidential tenure in 1999. Although Zuma has introduced some further reforms – establishing new ministries and expanding ministerial appointments from 28 to 34 – these have been mainly administrative, and have affected the form of the state rather than substantively changing its inner workings. Thus South Africa under Zuma, despite all the pretensions of his administration, is very much a product of the Mbeki era.*

Phase one: the negotiations process

*The negotiations began with the unbanning of the ANC on 2 February 1990 and the release of Mandela on 11 February 1990. Three meetings between the former ruling party, the NP, and the ANC over the course of that year produced agreements that enabled the release of political prisoners, the **granting of immunity** for political offenses, the **lifting of the state of emergency**, and the suspension of armed struggle by the ANC. Although formal negotiations began on 20 December 1991, tangible progress eluded the negotiators until 1993.*

*Two very different constitutional visions competed for supremacy in the negotiations process. The first, advanced by the NP, was influenced by **consociational theories**, in particular, those of Dutch theorist Arend Lijphart. Consociational theories recommend power-sharing between racial, ethnic or religious groups in segmented and diverse societies. Lijphart's general **thesis** is that because of the ethnic or class divisions in such societies, political contests manifest themselves in group terms. Political parties represent the interests of particular groups, and voter preferences are determined by group loyalties. The largest group within plural societies is then guaranteed dominance in electoral contests, its party permanently occupies political office, and tends to **monopolise** state resources, with civil strife a likely result.*

To avoid this, Lijphart recommends that minority groups be guaranteed a share of resources and a say in the political destiny of their societies. In the mid-1980s, he applied his vision to South Africa, describing the country as a plural society with multiple ethnic divisions. He argued that universal suffrage and competitive elections in a post-apartheid South Africa would facilitate the reassertion of ethnic identities and be catastrophic for the country. Majoritarian democracy would promote civil strife and undermine the stability of post-apartheid South Africa.

*Lijphart's vision became the NP's constitutional platform. The party proposed a three-tier government with legislative and executive authority at all levels. It insisted on the establishment of a constitutional state governed by a charter of rights that would guarantee the independence of the judiciary, **ombudsman**, auditor-general, public service commission, and the Reserve Bank. It also demanded security of permanent employment for civil-service employees. For the NP, power-sharing was to be reflected in a bicameral parliament, the first elected by universal votes based on proportional representation, and the second to be composed of equal numbers of seats for all regions. In addition, the party proposed a multi-party cabinet operating on the principle of consensus; a three-person presidency with an annual rotation of the chairpersonship. Regional government was envisaged as having legislative and executive powers, operating on similar consensual principles. The party also proposed a local government dispensation that qualified the franchise so that property owners, lessees, and ratepayers had two votes and ordinary residents had only one.*

The ANC's proposals, on the other hand, were consistent with traditions of democracy as practiced in much of the West. On the basis of these traditions, which were consistent with the ANC's earlier national democratic vision, the organisation rejected power-sharing in favour of majority rule. The ANC recognised the rights of minorities, but maintained that these could be protected through a bill of rights and a system of proportional representation. The political participation and representation of individual citizens, the organisation insisted, should not be determined through ethnic, racial or any other 'group-related' categories. Democracy, according to the ANC, essentially meant that the decisions of the majority should prevail. They

argued that minority parties should accept this and try, through vigorous opposition, to attract new voters.

Like the NP, the ANC advocated a three-tier system of government, but with a unitary rather than a federal flavour. While there was to be a bicameral legislature, the universally elected National Assembly was to have primary power in enacting legislation. Executive authority was to reside in a single president who served as head of state. The ANC's proposals insisted on 'a strong and effective central government', with responsibility for foreign relations, defence and internal security, as well as economic, fiscal and tax policy. They also demanded 'the creation of a national policy framework and the furnishing of resources for eradicating racism and racial practices, and for the tackling of the vast problems of education, health, housing, nutrition, employment, and social welfare'.

The ANC's proposals regarding provincial and local government were also located within a majoritarian and unitary framework. The provinces were not conceived of as fully autonomous, but rather as areas that exercised 'concurrent authority with the central government'. While the ANC hoped to harmonise the powers of the provinces with those of the central government, it insisted that, in cases of conflict, national legislation should prevail. Similarly, local government's powers were to function within the framework of national and regional legislation. For the ANC, the purpose was to bring 'government closer to the people' without granting local authorities powers that would enable them to reproduce apartheid policies.

*The two sets of proposals indicated the political chasm that existed between the ANC and NP. While the former wanted to establish a majoritarian democracy, the latter insisted on a **consociational** or power-sharing one. Both visions were consistent with the desires of their advocates to protect and advance the interests of their respective constituencies. For the ANC, majoritarian democracy would enable it to use the levers of government to advance the interests of the black community. For the NP, consociational democracy would provide it with constitutional mechanisms to protect the white community. The ANC hoped to use a majoritarian system of government to advance policies that would undermine apartheid's inequities. The NP hoped to use a consociational system of government to contain those same policies, thereby retaining the material and political advantages conferred by apartheid's inequities.*

Not surprisingly, a political deadlock prevailed for much of 1992. It was broken in the aftermath of two events. The first was the Bisho massacre, which took place on 7 September 1992 in what was then the bantustan of Ciskei. This ended the campaign of rolling mass action that the ANC launched when it withdrew from the negotiations process after the Boipatong massacre of June 1992. The Bisho massacre, and the mass campaign that preceded it, provided emphatic evidence of the breadth of popular support for the ANC (four million workers participated in a stayaway called by the organisation and its union partner, COSATU). However, it also dramatically illustrated the fact that, despite the military pretensions of some ANC members, the apartheid government's military capacity was far greater.

Just two weeks after the Bisho massacre, these realisations were underscored in the Record of Understanding signed on 26 September 1992, whereby all parties committed themselves to an elected constitution-making body, fixed time frames, and adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms. Moreover, the NP's pledge to release the approximately 400 remaining political prisoners, and to rein in the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) by banning the display of cultural

weapons at its marches, also helped the ANC to appease the more militant sectors of its constituency.

But the concessions made by the NP were by no means one-sided. Compromises were also required of the Congress Alliance, and were outlined in a new political position adopted by the ANC in November 1992. This was the second significant shift that broke the deadlock in the negotiations process. A stalwart of both the ANC and the SACP, Joe Slovo, introduced the policy debate in August 1992 in his contribution to the African Communist entitled ***'Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?'*** *Although Slovo insisted that the article represented his views alone, it was common knowledge that most of the ANC negotiators at CODESA shared his perspective. Slovo advocated a series of concessions to facilitate a breakthrough in the negotiations. These involved: (i) a '****sunset clause'*** *that would provide for compulsory power sharing for five years; (ii) bilateral agreements with the NP on regional powers; (iii) a general amnesty; and (iv) a commitment to respect existing employment contracts and retirement compensations in any future restructuring of the civil service.*

Slovo maintained that these concessions were politically acceptable since they would not prevent the state from advancing to a full non-racial democracy in future. He further justified the need for them by outlining his perception of the balance of forces at that time, which he saw as a stalemate between the ANC as the major negotiating adversary and the apartheid state as an undefeated enemy. Given the realities of the ANC's political legitimacy, and the apartheid regime's control over the organs of security and administration, Slovo proposed that the ANC reconcile itself to the fact that 'the immediate outcome of the negotiating process will inevitably be less than perfect when measured against our long-term liberation objectives'.

Slovo's 'sunset clause' paper prompted an intense debate within the Congress Alliance. Members of the ANC's negotiations commission supported his analysis and proposals, while other prominent CC activists and leaders, including Pallo Jordan, Blade Nzimande and Harry Gwala came out strongly against the proposed concessions. They objected principally to abandoning the ANC's aim to decisively defeat the apartheid government and destroy the apartheid state. In November 1992, this debate shifted off the pages of the African Communist and into the ANC executive. After three days of intense discussion, the national executive committee swung in favour of Slovo and the members of the negotiations commission, and they adopted the commission's document as organisational policy. The pace of negotiations accelerated from this point. Even the tragic ***assassination*** *of Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP, and the most popular ANC leader after Mandela, did not derail the process. In fact, it had the opposite effect – increasing the pressure on the ANC to complete the negotiations process. Hitches in the multi-party talks were quickly resolved through discussions between the ANC and NP. Agreements achieved through bilateral discussions were pushed through at the multi-party talks using the principle of 'sufficient consensus'. By the end of 1993, the Transitional Executive Council was established in accordance with the Transitional Executive Council Act of 1993. Although the council's brief extended only to matters affecting the elections, in reality it served as a parallel government. Its powers were very broadly defined, and this enabled it to intervene on any matter that it saw as potentially interfering with the holding of a free and fair election.*

The details of the constitutional settlement are encapsulated in the Interim Constitution, which was adopted by the South African parliament in November 1993, and in two subsequent amendments gazetted on 3 March and 26 April 1994. The two amendments were the result of

initiatives by both FW de Klerk (as leader of the NP) and Mandela (as head of the ANC) to draw the IFP, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, into the elections.

The Interim Constitution established the parameters of South Africa's institutional and governance architecture. Moreover, it contained a mix of proposals put forward by both the NP and ANC. While many of the NP's proposals (such as a collective presidency, a minority veto, and a federal state) were rejected, the Interim Constitution did enshrine the party's desire for power-sharing by establishing a multi-party government of national unity at both national and regional levels, appointing De Klerk as an executive deputy president, and requiring the majority party to rule in a spirit of consensus. Moreover, in accordance with the NP's original proposals, the post-apartheid state was obliged to respect the tenure of civil servants, as well as guarantee the independence of the judiciary, the ombudsman, the auditor-general, the public service commission and the Reserve Bank. Similarly, although the Interim Constitution enshrined many of the ANC's specific recommendations, the majoritarian impulse of its original proposals was moderated through the establishment of the government of national unity, the enhanced representation of minority racial groups at local level (where a mixed electoral system resulted in both constituency and proportional representation), and the allocation of greater powers to regional and local authorities than are usual under a unitary government.

****** Chapter 2 excerpt cut here ******

Excerpt from Chapter 4:

Can a social pact work?

Social pacts *– agreements defined by a common vision between the state and certain interest groups within society – have become a* ***mantra*** *of South Africa's political transition. It is not difficult to see why. After all, a social pact promises the possibility of peace between warring social partners, an outcome where all sides stand to gain at least part of what they desire. For an incumbent political elite, who needed to manage popular and stakeholder expectations and grow the economy, a social pact was a particularly attractive solution. But the* ***romanticised*** *expectations and* ***euphoria*** *surrounding the establishment of the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) in 1996 were soon dashed by the cold reality of everyday economics and politics. Within a year or two, business, labour and the state were bickering over the GEAR strategy, and almost all other government policies. A climate of political mistrust spread throughout the country during President Mbeki's terms in office, interrupted by brief attempts by the ANC and COSATU to broker a kind of truce – usually around election periods.*

Yet although hopes for a social pact were dashed, the idea retained its hold on the imaginations of many academics and leaders in business, labour and the state. Every now and then, the idea resurfaces, often when relations between the state and citizens grow strained. But is a social pact feasible in South Africa? And why did earlier attempts at forging such a pact fail?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to understand the political, economic and social conditions that enable social pacts to emerge and succeed. However, before addressing the fundamental question of whether an equitable social pact that promotes sustainable inclusive development is viable for South Africa, a brief review of the idea of a social pact in South Africa, its institutionalisation through NEDLAC, and the successes and failures thereof will be useful.

Social unionism and South Africa's first social pact

*South Africa's democratic transition has been characterised by two distinct transitional processes: **political democratisation** and economic liberalisation. The goal of the first is representative government. The aim of the second is the integration of South Africa into the global economy. From the early 1990s, COSATU's leadership was refreshingly aware of the dilemmas spawned by this **Janus-faced** transition, and during the first few years of the negotiations period, they groped their way towards a new strategic vision.*

*To aid this process, COSATU established the September Commission to inform organisational renewal and determine a strategic orientation for the federation, including its role in political alliances. The Commission premised its reflections on three possible scenarios for South Africa's future. Scenario one, labelled **'the Desert'**, was defined as involving no economic growth, the ANC's abandonment of its Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), high levels of political instability, and increasing industrial strife. Scenario two, called the **'Skorokoro'** (local slang for a clapped-out old vehicle), would be distinguished by economic growth and modest delivery. In this option, racial divisions were imagined as likely to continue, but the black middle class would be empowered. The third scenario, known as **'Pap, vleis and gravy'** (local slang for meat with all the trimmings), was defined as massive growth and development, with significant job creation, and the delivery of services by the state as outlined in the RDP. In this scenario, unions were imagined as engaging in joint decision making with business.*

The September Commission viewed a combination of scenarios two and three as most the likely outcomes for South Africa, and argued for a programme that would increase the trade union movement's influence on the political and socio-economic outcomes of the transition. This was envisaged as occurring through COSATU's participation in the ANC and the Tripartite Alliance, in state institutions (including parliament, national, provincial and local administrations), in forums such as NEDLAC, in industry through bargaining councils and popular mobilisation, and finally in civil society through alliances with civic organisations. It was hoped to increase the influence of the working class so that labour could move to 'co-owning the transformation project'.

*The term adopted to describe this strategic orientation was '**social unionism'**. The term was borrowed from the writings of a number of sociologists loosely associated with the union federation, who since the late 1980s had toyed with terms such as 'strategic' and 'social' or 'social movement' unionism to describe the new path that COSATU was beginning to tread.*

The September Commission described the organisation's unionism as 'social in the sense that it is concerned with broad social and political issues, as well as the immediate concerns of its members. It aims to be a social force for transformation. Its goal is democracy and socialism.'

*Social unionism in South Africa can be defined by three elements. First, it involves a corporatist strategy, whereby the labour movement participates in forums or social pacts with the state and the business community. Second, it involves an assumption that integration into the global economy is inevitable, a realisation that **maximalist** outcomes are not possible, and that a strategic compromise between capital and labour is necessary. Such a compromise would involve a 'bargained liberalisation': in the words of labour sociologists Webster and Adler, 'liberalisation, because the changes involve opening up to the global economy; bargained, because agreements are subject to the institutionally structured interplay of societal interests'. Third, social unionism requires that COSATU align itself politically with the ANC. This is legitimised through the banner of national democratic revolution, implying that the immediate outcome is*

a democracy defined essentially by the combination of a representative political system with a ***Keynesian-type economic strategy.***

Social unionism's highpoint was, without doubt, the period between 1994 and 1996, with the labour movement recording significant successes in these years. NEDLAC was established in February 1995, and the Labour Relations Act, which greatly enhanced organised workers' bargaining positions, was agreed to by the social partners, subsequently passed in the national parliament, and promulgated by the president in December 1995. A raft of other legislation, including the Skills Development Act, which benefited workers in a variety of ways, also originated in this period. And the final draft of the South African Constitution, promulgated in 1996, addressed many of the concerns raised by labour and enshrined socio-economic rights, even if these were restricted by the limitation clause.

For a short while, it seemed South Africa might ***defy the odds****, and that social unionism would succeed. But this was a short-lived hope.*

The symbolic turning point was the adoption of the GEAR programme, which occurred just before the September Commission published its three scenarios. GEAR violated all three of the central tenets of social unionism. First, it bypassed corporatist structures and was imposed by Cabinet without any discussion with the social partners. Even President Mandela acknowledged this in his speech at COSATU's sixth national congress, saying 'It was unfortunate that here in GEAR we did not have sufficient consultation with other members of the alliance. In fact even the ANC learnt of GEAR when it was almost complete ... We ignored those who put us in power'. Second, GEAR's economic strategy violated the ethos of compromise that forms the ***hallmark*** *of social unionism. And third, its passage indicated that the Tripartite Alliance was ineffective as a mechanism for ensuring COSATU's influence on the ANC. Rather, the passage of GEAR suggested that COSATU's influence was waning.*

If any doubts remained about this, they were quashed by the publication of Mbeki's 'State and Social Transformation' document. This spoke to the limits that the ANC was experiencing in its efforts to pursue a radical transformation agenda in the face of government debt, capital mobility and the global environment. It also called for a stronger partnership with the private sector as a means to enable development. This call for a strategic alliance between the state and capital was a milestone. It signalled a significant departure from the ANC's traditional approach to alliances, which, until this point, had tended to prioritise labour and other marginalised sectors within the population.

The effects of this strategic shift and the adoption of GEAR were catastrophic for workers. Between 1985 and 2002, the share of workers' wages as a percentage of GDP declined significantly from 57.1 per cent in 1985 to 51.4 per cent in 2002. In the same period, profit share increased from 42.9 per cent to 51.4 per cent. So despite the democratic transition, workers were getting a smaller share of national income. Yet, as the development researcher Dick Forslund has argued, it is only when real wages outpace labour productivity, and when the wage-share of national income increases, that inequality significantly can be addressed. Clearly, workers have benefitted far less than the corporate sector from the growth of the South African economy in the post-apartheid era.

The political consequences of this have been dramatic. As noted in Chapter Three, COSATU's relationship with the ANC deteriorated after 1996, and the trade union federation has since embarked on a series of high-profile stay-aways against one or other aspect of government policy. Person days lost over this period increased from 650 000 in 1997 to 1.25 million in 2001.

*These public protests outraged the ANC leadership, which challenged COSATU to leave the alliance. The political atmosphere within the ruling party became increasingly stifling, especially for **left-leaning activists** within the ANC who were pressured to toe the leadership's line. This culminated in 2002 with the public humiliation of SACP leader, Jeremy Cronin, by Dumisane Makhaye, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, and Smuts Ngonyama, then the ANC's official spokesperson, for suggesting that the ruling party displayed some tendencies towards '**Zanufication'** – adopting authoritarian tendencies similar to those of Mugabe's ZANU-PF in Zimbabwe.*

The heady optimism among advocates of social unionism also dissipated as the implications of GEAR became evident. Their assessments on the prospects for unions and workers became more sober and realistic as the Mandela presidency came to its end.

But how is it that such politically astute labour leaders and experienced sociologists were so seriously misled in the early days of the transition? Why did the social pact that they advocated unravel so completely, and how did the social constituencies that COSATU represents lose so much ground in the democratic era? The answer to these questions lies in the motivations that drive the formation of social pacts.

*Labour leaders cottoned on to the notion of a social pact in the early 1990s as a mechanism to legitimise their alliance with the ANC, the soon-to-be leaders in the state. Sociologists were driven by a similar desire to legitimise the decisions of the labour movement. As a result, little serious investigation was done into the conditions that generate such pacts and facilitate their success. Where comparative examples were examined, this was done in fairly superficial way – describing positive outcomes experienced elsewhere and implying that these could emerge in South Africa, without an investigation of the specific conditions that facilitated these outcomes. Those studies that warned of the dangers of social pacts in the context of the economic and political climate of the 1990s were brushed aside as '**ultra-leftist'** and 'academic' although these too could have been more contextually grounded. As things turned out, the social pacts unravelled, the unions' political influence was weakened, and poverty and inequality increased. If this outcome is to be reversed, and attempts are to be made to launch a new social pact, it is imperative to understand the conditions under which social pacts emerge and succeed.*

****** Chapter 4 excerpt cut here ******

Excerpt from Chapter 7:

What is to be done?

I have borrowed the title of Lenin's famous essay to ask what can be done to work towards the construction of a better society. This chapter outlines an alternative progressive political agenda that recognises and flows from an understanding of the balance of power, without compromising the goals of democratisation, empowerment and inclusive development. This involves two distinct tasks:

- *conditioning political elites to become more accountable and responsive to the concerns of citizens;*

- *(ii) fulfilling the overall objectives of the Constitution when the provisions of different clauses come into conflict with each other.*

The lack of accountability among the political elites towards citizens (or their greater responsiveness to stakeholders who hold more leverage than ordinary voters) has been identified as a problem in several chapters of this book. In Chapter Two, I tried to explain not only the aloofness of the state, but also the resulting service-delivery problems that continue to plague all tiers of government. In Chapter Three, I argued that the conservative macro-economic policy of the Mandela and Mbeki eras resulted from the leverage of domestic and foreign businesses. In Chapter Four, I showed that the balance of power in favour of the business community led to the failure of the social pact of the 1990s. And in Chapter Five, I explained that the evolution of civil society in the post-apartheid era can be seen as a response to the state's adoption of policies that reflect an unequal balance of power.

*The preceding chapters also identified policies and political choices that have compromised the substantive fulfilment of the Constitution because of **trade-offs** made when different constitutional priorities came into conflict with one another. Three such trade-offs were identified and discussed. The first involved the implementation of equity policy and related legislation that reflect the trade-offs made by the ruling party in managing the tension between the goals of historical redress and national unity. The second trade-off is implicit in the economic policies of the post-apartheid era, which reflect the tension between the constitutional objectives of economic growth and prosperity versus inclusive development. Finally, the political choices made in the implementation of South Africa's foreign policy have tended to prioritise systemic reform and historical redress over the rights of citizens.*

In attempting to identify the contours of an alternative progressive political agenda in this final chapter, I set out to accomplish two tasks. The first is to ask how we should engage with an unfavourable and unequal balance of power, with a view to making the political elite more accountable to ordinary citizens, and therefore making progressive outcomes more feasible. The second is to investigate what policies and political choices might enable the simultaneous pursuit of competing constitutional goals, rather than requiring trade-offs that favour one over another.

Concerning the inevitable balancing act between reform and transformation that these two goals will involve, most progressive thinkers in South Africa would agree that reform must be part of a broader continuum culminating in social transformation. However, progressive activists have long been divided on which actions, policies and strategies constitute such transformational reforms. Within the Tripartite Alliance, and sometimes even outside it, excessive focus has been placed on the role of agency, and an excessive amount of time is therefore spent on ensuring that the 'right people' get into positions of influence in both the ruling party and state institutions. As a result, too little attention has been paid to the structural configurations of power and the general checks and balances required for conditioning elite behaviour and decisions. An alternative progressive political agenda must prioritise engagement with the contemporary balance of forces. This will enhance the responsiveness of political elites to the collective concerns of citizens, and reinvigorate the dynamic of accountability within South African society.

Reconstructing political accountability to citizens

Political accountability is not simply a product of good leaders and appropriate institutional designs. These are important elements, but they facilitate accountability between elites and citizens only when citizens have sufficient influence over the elites to produce what I referred to in Chapter Two as 'substantive uncertainty'. Such uncertainty is usually the product of civic mobilisation and mass action on the one hand, and competition between elites on the other. Both political processes have the ***net effect*** *of dispersing power within society, and this is what enhances citizens' influence over national political elites. It also has the potential to enhance the influence of national political leaders over their international counterparts.*

Since electoral reform would go a long way towards enhancing citizens' leverage over political elites, a number of civic actors and political parties have called for an overhaul of the electoral system. The majority of those appointed to the Slabbert Commission, which was appointed to investigate the issue in 2002, recommended that the electoral system be changed to a mixed-member ***proportional system****, with 75 per cent of legislative representatives elected from 69 multi-member constituencies, and the remaining 25 per cent from the party list to ensure overall proportionality as per the mandate of the Constitution. This recommendation reflected a popular view that while the nationalist and proportional-representation system is fair and representative, it does not hold individual parliamentarians accountable to voters. The express purpose of the Slabbert Commission's proposal was to enhance the influence citizens had on their representatives. Implementing its recommendations would have had the potential to contribute to a political system that generates substantive uncertainty for the political elites. Unfortunately, the view of the majority of commission members was contested in a minority report, which favoured the status quo. The recommendations of the minority report were ultimately accepted by the ANC government.*

A related but distinct development that has the potential to greatly enhance the accountability of the political elite is the establishment of a more competitive political system. This requires the emergence of a viable opposition party which is important for the following:

- *providing a site where critics can merge and organise;*
- *facilitating a peaceful transfer of political office;*
- *protecting the democratic order from being delegitimated when citizens are unhappy;*
- *enabling a variety of public-interest functions, including the monitoring of government performance and corruption.*

As important for South Africa is the fact that a viable opposition party would enable citizens' votes to counterbalance the influence of other stakeholders, including domestic and foreign investors. A viable opposition party in South Africa could enable a significant reconfiguration of power relations, encouraging political elites to become more responsive to the socio-economic interests of their citizens, including the poor and marginalised.

At present, South Africa has all of the institutional characteristics of a robust democratic political order, yet its political system is entirely uncompetitive. The ANC overwhelmingly dominates electoral support. More importantly, the largest opposition parties are unable to seriously compete with the ruling party because their support base tends to be confined to South Africa's minority groups. It can be argued that a viable political system does not yet exist in South Africa,

and there is no prospect of one emerging from the collection of parties represented in the national parliament.

The only alternative, I believe, is for an opposition party to emerge from within the Tripartite Alliance. In 2001, Rupert Taylor and I argued that, as the natural political home of organised workers, the lower middle classes and the unemployed, COSATU and the SACP represented the best hope for a viable parliamentary opposition party. We also held that both organisations retain significant popular support as a result of their liberation credentials, and noted that COSATU was the only institutional actor outside of the business sector with the organisational and financial muscle to underwrite the development of a viable parliamentary opposition.

But we also acknowledged that there were significant obstacles to such a split in the Tripartite Alliance – the most significant being that it was opposed by both the leadership and membership of COSATU and the SACP. The leaders feared that leaving the alliance would give the elite classes, both black and white, free rein to determine ANC policy. Jeremy Cronin, deputy general secretary of the SACP and since appointed deputy minister of public works, said as much in a 2004 interview. He contended that remaining in the Alliance prevented ***neo-liberal*** *tendencies from dominating the ANC, and made progressive victories more likely, especially as the global economy became increasingly beset by crises. The weakness in this perspective is that it assumes that policy influence occurs only via participation in internal forums. Yet policy can as easily be influenced by extra-institutional action and/or the deployment of other forms of leverage by actors within society. After all, capital has been able to significantly influence ANC policy since 1996 ostensibly without a substantive presence inside the party. Moreover, as COSATU and the SACP have both conceded, their alliance with the ruling party did little to prevent the slide into* ***neo-liberalism*** *during the first decade of South Africa's transition.*

Another factor preventing a split in the Tripartite Alliance is the overwhelming support for the alliance among workers and shop stewards. The overwhelming majority of COSATU members support the continuation of the alliance. However, this does not address the issue of whether a break would strategically advance the agenda of the working and unemployed poor. After all, majorities have been known to support inappropriate or even incorrect strategic perspectives.

Nevertheless, while the rationale for a break in the Tripartite Alliance may be entirely logical, it has not happened yet, and developments at the ANC's Polokwane conference in December 2007 made this an even more remote possibility. COSATU was an integral element of the anti-Mbeki Alliance, and Zuma's win in the organisation's national electoral conference was as much a victory for COSATU and the SACP as it was for Zuma himself. Both COSATU and the SACP were duly rewarded with significant Cabinet portfolios, including those of economic development, trade and industry and higher education. While COSATU members may still be unhappy about some of the policies, and about the corruption scandals plaguing the Zuma administration, the union federation has far more influence than it has had before. For the foreseeable future, then, it is unlikely that COSATU will seriously contemplate leaving the alliance or charting an independent path.

In this context, it is vital that COSATU maintain a critical distance and retain sufficient independent leverage to enable it to pressurise its alliance partners into taking its interests seriously. COSATU's general secretary, Vavi, is clearly aware of this, and is openly leading COSATU with a view to enhancing its influence by establishing additional alliances with civil society. The ANC is not particularly happy about this, and has taken measures to contain what it perceives as Vavi's exuberance in this regard. The ANC's secretary-general, Gwede Mantashe,

has been particularly critical of Vavi's outspokenness and public criticisms of the ANC, notably in his report to the ruling party's Mangaung conference in late 2012. The ANC has also officially complained about Vavi to COSATU. The Federation itself has divided over the matter, with COSATU President Sdumo Dlamini and a number of unions like NUM and NEHAWU leading a charge to have Vavi expelled. But it is worth noting that an independent and critical COSATU, willing to take on the state, is a necessary political condition for fostering a level of accountability within the ruling political elite. Although this is unlikely to compensate for a viable opposition party, it at least has the potential to keep ruling-party politicians on their toes.

In the longer term, however, the contradictions of governance under a restrictive fiscal regime are likely to overwhelm the Tripartite Alliance and force the partners to part ways. An alternative progressive political agenda must be aware of this, and remain willing to consider the difficult choices that may be required for a reconfiguration of power. This includes enabling the emergence of a viable opposition party and ensuring, at least in the interim, that the union movement retains a critical independence within the Tripartite Alliance.

Finally, the development of substantive uncertainty, and the related enhancement of political accountability, necessitates the emergence of an independent, robust plural civil society. Much progress has been made in this regard, and perhaps this is where hope for South Africa is most often located, even though challenges loom large. As noted, civil society has not only been fundamentally transformed in the post-1994 era, but sections of civil society have also had a dramatic impact on the state, contributing to substantive uncertainty and making elites, at least partially, more responsive to the concerns of poor and marginalised citizens.

This has occurred for two significant reasons. First, political democratisation and economic liberalisation have led to the transformation of an ostensibly homogenous, progressive anti-apartheid civil society into one composed of at least three distinct blocs – NGOs, survivalist agencies and social movements – all with very distinct relationships with the state. The diverse roles, functions and relationships of these different sections of civil society have the potential to institute checks and balances that are capable of forcing the South African state to become responsive to its citizens, or at least to be made aware of its lack of responsiveness.

*Second, as commentators like Richard Ballard have noted, the social movements that have emerged in the post-apartheid era 'contribute to the restoration of political plurality in the political system', facilitate 'the accountability of state elites to our citizenry', and have 'contributed to the emergence of a political climate that prompted government's recent shift to a more state interventionist and expansive economic policy with a more **welfarist orientation'**. These developments, together with the community-based protests that Peter Alexander has termed a 'rebellion of the poor', have begun to initiate a process of 'enabling popular agency'. The emergence of popular agency is necessary for the dispersal of power, and this, in turn, forces political elites to become accountable to citizens, raising the possibility of a more social-democratic development trajectory. An alternative progressive political agenda encourages the vibrancy and plurality of contemporary civil society.*

These three strategies then – the pursuit of electoral reform, facilitating both the emergence of a viable parliamentary opposition and the independence of the union movement, and encouraging the emergence of an independent and plural civil society – constitute the core elements of an alternative progressive political agenda. Individually and collectively, they have the potential to disperse the concentration of political power. This in turn, would enhance the leverage that citizens have on political elites, making them less certain of their political futures

and thus more responsive to the interests of the electorate. The net effect could be the emergence of a social democracy that combines the procedural aspects of democracy with inclusive development outcomes that involve all citizens.

This outcome, however, also requires a programme of policies capable of managing the tensions and reconciling the competing interests of the various societal stakeholders – tensions captured in the Constitution at the dawn of South Africa's democratic transition.

****** Chapter 7 excerpt cut here ******

Even though some of the words underlined above are easy to understand when they are in English, it should be understood that the translator had to ensure that they were also well understood by the target text readers in isiZulu hence literal or word for word translation would not work here. This was a very challenging exercise for the translator as she had to put a great thought on how to translate political and economic terminology in a manner and language that would be easily understood by readers of all levels of education and from various parts of South African communities that speak isiZulu. Readers of the target text would have to know without struggling what it is that is being referred to. For an example one cannot expect everyone reading the book to understand what 'left-leaning activists' means, and one cannot literally translate that because it will not make sense saying '*izishoshovu ezincike ngakwesokunxele'*. The best way to translate it would to paraphrase it by explaining what it is, and that is 'the group that is sympathetic to the poor.'

The other tricky thing about translating the book is that some terms were catchy and some were idiomatic expressions and the translator had to maintain that in order for the target text language to be as interesting as the original text. Below are the problem terms and phrases that were extracted from the four chapters. Strategies that were used to tackle these problems are also discussed in the below table. All the excerpted words below are words that do not have equivalents in isiZulu hence Baker's (1992) strategies came into play.

Source (English)	Target (isiZulu)	Back-translation	Strategy	Chapter
1. temerity	ngokukhululeka nangesibindi	with confidence and bravery	Translation by paraphrasing. Used two unrelated words which when combined together, they explain what 'temerity'.	1
2. prism	Zibonakalisa	shows itself	Translation by omission. The term '*lizibonakalisa'*, which was used to translate 'imagined through' also covers 'prism' which in a sense means 'it reflects' on the leaders of South Africa. There was no need to repeat 'prism' in the translation as the notion of it was already explained by the preceding words in the translation.	1
3. cosmopolitan	elikhululekile ukuqonda ngezinye izizwe namasiko azo	which is free to learn about and understand other countries' cultures	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'cosmopolitan' is in the translation.	1
4. deracialised,	zabe zingasenakho ukucwasana ngokobuhlanga	they were no longer racially discriminating against each other	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'deracialisation' is in the translation.	1
5. intelligentsia,	yiqoqo lezifundiswa	a group of educated individuals	Translation by a less expressive word.	1
6. scandals	Izikandali	Scandals	Translation using a loan word	1
7. racial bigotry	ukuba ngabantu abahluleka ukubekezelela ukuhlukana ngokobuhlanga	people who fail to tolerate racial diversity	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'racial bigotry' is in the translation.	1
8. created political waves	kwasusa omkhulu umsindo	It caused a lot of noise	Translation by a less expressive phrase.	1
9. stuff of legend	sekwaba indaba endala	It is now an old story	Translation by a less expressive phrase. This is one of the phrases that the three interpreters (into various languages) of the book interpreted differently and it was therefore necessary for them to go back to the author to clarify the English before they could translate.	1
10. their chance at the feeding trough	ithuba labo lokufunza izisu abo	their chance of feeding their own stomachs	Translation by a less expressive phrase.	1

11. New Growth Path	UMgudu Omusha Wokukhulisa Umnotho (iNew Growth Path)	A new path created to boost the economy	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'New Growth Path' does and also put the English phrase in brackets to assist readers who do not understand the concept but are familiar with the English phrase.	1
12. Industrial Policy Action Plan	Amasu Ezwe Azolandelwa Ukuthuthukisa Imboni Yezokukhiqiza (i-Industrial Policy Action Plan)	Plans of the country that will be followed to improve the manufacturing industry	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'Industrial Policy Action Plan' does and also put the English phrase in brackets to assist readers who do not understand the concept, but are familiar with the English term.	1
13. reindustrialisation	Ukuvuselelwa kwezimboni	Revival of industries	Translation by paraphrasing using a related word.	1
14. Little united South Africans...	Kuncane okwakuhlanganisa aBantu BaseNingizimu Afrika	It was something very small that united South Africans	Translation by paraphrase using related words. It took the translator a lot of time to understand what the source text was saying here. For a while the beginning of this sentence did not make sense. It sounded like the author was saying "South Africans were little united", or "they were little tiny creatures". This was discussed by the three commissioned translators to make sense out of it. It never reached a stage where they felt they needed to consult the author as the translators finally figured it out amongst themselves.	2
15. constituent assembly,	umkhandlu wamalungu akhethiwe	a council of elected members	Translation by a more expressive phrase.	2
16. granting of immunity	kuvinjelwe ukuba abenze amacala ezombusazwe baboshwe	stop the arresting of	Translation by paraphrase using unrelated words. There is nothing that said anything about arresting in the source text but the context provided the notion, hence the idea of arresting was included in the translation.	2
17. lifting of the state of emergency	kuhoxiswe isimemezelo sikahulumeni esasimisa konke ukuze kulungiselelwe isimo esiphuthumayo	Withdrawal of the announcement by government that people should stop everything in order to prepare for the state of emergency	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'lifting the state of emergency' is.	2
18. consociational theories,	Imihlahlandlela yezinzululwazi emayelana nokubambisana kwezinhlangano	theories about cooperative association between diverse groups	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'consociational' means.	2

	ezahlukene			
19. thesis	Umbhalo	the writing	Translation by a more general word (superordinate) 'Umbhalo' can be anything that is written, e.g. essay, book, letter, dissertation, Bible, et.	2
20. monopolise	Ukuthatha wonke amandla	Taking over all the power	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'monopolising' is.	2
21. ombudsman,	u-ombudisimani	Ombudsman	Translation using a loan word. This is a unique word that a target text reader will remember easily even if they did not know what an 'ombudsman' is before they read the book. When they get to it, they can ask their peers what it means or they can research about it without getting stuck on it for long.	2
22. 'Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?'	'Ukuxoxisana: Yikuphi Esingahlangabezana Kukho Ukuze Kube Khona Ukuvumelana?' ('Negotiations: What Room for Compromise?')	'Negotiations: what can we meet each other half way with so that we can have an agreement?'	Translation by paraphrasing. With this, the translator had to find this paper and read it in order to understand what it was about as the topic was vague. So, in the translation, she paraphrased using by using an explanation.	2
23. 'sunset clause'	Umushwana obekelwe isikhathi	a clause that has a time frame	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what a 'sunset clause is' is.	2
24. Assassination	Ukubulawa	being killed	Translation by a more general word (superordinate) In isiZulu, the terms 'kill', 'murder', 'assassinate' are not separated, so instead of coining a new word or using a loan word the translator decided to use the common superordinate.	2
25. Social pacts	Izivumelwano phakathi kwabaphethe nabaphethwe	agreements between the rulers and the ruled	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'social pacts' are.	4
26. romanticised	Sanganekwane	like a fairy-tale	Translation by paraphrasing using unrelated words.	4
27. euphoria	Ukwenama	being too excited	Translation by paraphrasing using related words.	4
28. Social Unionism	Izinyunyana ezilwela amalungelo abantu nawemisebenzi, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi	Unions that are fighting for people's rights, work rights, justice and democracy	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'Social Unionism' is.	4
29. political democratisation	Ukuvuleleka kwezombusazwe zingenwe yibo bonke	Allowing all people to take part in politics	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'political democratisation' is	4

	abantu			
30. Janus-faced	Ukuba nobumbulu	Being a hypocrite	Translation by a less expressive phrase which explains what 'Janus-faced' is.	4
31. Social Unionism	Izinyunyana ezilwela amalungelo abantu nawemisebenzi, ubulungiswa nentando yeningi	Unions that are fighting for people's rights, work rights, justice and democracy	Translation by paraphrasing.	4
32. maximalist	Abanemibono emikhulu abangehleli ngezansi	Those that have big ideas and are not prepared to compromise	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'maximalist' is.	4
33. Keynesian-type economic strategy.	Uhlobo lwesu lwezomnotho oluyinkolelo yesimanje kwezokufukula umnotho	A type of modern belief economic strategy that boost the economy	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'Keynesian-type economic strategy' is.	4
34. defy the odds,	Izophikelela iphumelele kukubi kunjalo	It will persist no matter how bad things are	Translation by a less expressive word	4
35. hallmark	Uphawu lokuqinisekisa	A mark to certify standard.	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what a 'hallmark' is.	4
36. left-leaning activists	Uhlangothi labazwelana nabampofu	People on the side that is sympathetic to the poor	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what a 'left-leaning activists' are.	4
37. 'Zanufication'	ukulingisa okwenziwa nguMugabe weZANU-PF eZimbabwe okungukulawula ngokuba kulalelwe okushiwo wuyena kuphela.	It is to imitate what Mugabe of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe does, which is to use dictatorship in his governing style.	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'Zanufiation' is.	4
38. 'ultra-leftist'	yilabo abazwelana nabampofu kodwa abenza lokho ngokweqile futhi bangafuni ukuhlanganyela nabanye abazwelana nabampofu	people on the side that is sympathetic to the poor but who exaggerate it and do not even want to collaborate with the other groups that are also sympathetic to the poor.	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'ultra-leftist is.	4
39. trade-offs	Ukuyeka okunye ukuze kwenziwe okunye	to forgo something so that you do the other one	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'trade-offs' are.	4
40. proportional system,	Amalungu ameleleke ngokwengxenye	Members represented based on their total	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what a 'proportional system' is.	7

	yesilinganiso	number.		
41. neo-liberal/ neo-liberalism	inqubo yezomnotho egqugquzela inkululeko nokuzimela kwabantu kwezohwebo	An economic policy which encourages extensive economic liberalisation of people in trading.	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what 'neo-liberalism' is.	7
42. welfarist orientation	emayelana nokusiza abantu	Oriented towards assisting people	Translation by paraphrasing. Explained what a 'welfarist orientation' is.	7

It is clear from the table above that the strategy that was mostly used by the translator is paraphrasing. This is mainly because translating a book like this is not as easy as translating a biography or novels which mostly use everyday language. Politics and economics are technical subjects to tackle in translation and needless to say, they require more time for research.

Other Strategies

Some of the terms or phrases above were put in brackets in English after they were translated in order to assist readers who do not understand the concept but are familiar with the English term or phrase, having seen it in the books or newspapers or heard about on radio. If that were not done, it would force readers to consult the source text in order to understand what was being referred to and that is not what authors, translators and even readers want.

When the translator was uncertain about some terms or phrases or even the context, she was able to send her questions to the author, the initiators and the commissioners. They had indicated during the briefing session that questions during the process of translating are welcome.

All the three translators of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into their respective languages also consulted each other during the process of translation and discussed problems encountered and how they would be resolved.

Editing was done by an editor that was commissioned by the Wits Language School after which the text went back to the translator for proofreading before it was sent for typesetting. After typesetting the final proofreading was done by the

translator of the book. The only major change that was made and affected a number of words was more to do with the recently revised rules in terms of grammar. The revision of the rules was done by the isiZulu Language Board – UMZUKAZWE – which is a division of PanSALB, and the editor followed those rules to edit the translations. They involved elimination of **'kwi-'**as a prefix for a locative and to replace it with **'-eni'** which is a suffix. An example of this are words like:

Original translation	Translation	Edited to:
Kwingqungquthela	At the conference	Engqungqutheleni
Kwinhlangano ebusayo.	Within the ruling party	Enhlanganweni ebusayo
Kwisahluko sesithathu	In Chapter three	Esahlukweni sesithathu

Other than the above changes with regard to locatives, as well as the changes that were done on the title of the book as discussed above, the only other editing work done was the correction of typographical errors.

The Translation Product

The translation of South *Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* into isiZulu does meet the requirements of the translation brief. Other than the terms that were challenging to the translator, the language of the book in general is rich and equally appealing. It is translated in a manner that will be understandable to all isiZulu speakers, regardless of where about in the Country they are from. They can be Zulus from SOWETO or Zulus from deep rural kwaNongoma in KwaZulu-Natal, they will all understand the language because more general terminology was used than dialects.

This was done without interfering with the economic and political language. The terminology remained appropriate to the genre and the objectives of the text. The isiZulu version achieves the intended purpose of the original text because when one is done reading the book, s/he gets that inspiration to want to be part of holding the leaders of the country accountable. One gets inspired to be part of making South Africa a better country. The target text has the same effect as per the objectives of the author.

Even the smaller details are taken care of, the sentences are coherent and comprehensible. The structure matches that of the source text from the beginning to the end and information in each line, paragraph or heading of the target text matches what is said in the source text. The terminology used is appropriate and all sections are complete.

How could the translation have been improved?

There were no book reviews from readers during the time of the analysis other than the only comments from a critical reader who works in the field of language in the KwaZulu-Natal Legislature, who only commented on the effectiveness of the book to its audience, that it serves the purpose of encouraging the audience to take part in politics, especially in holding the leaders of the country accountable, as mentioned above. However, from my own perspective, the translation could have been slightly improved. It is true that translators are always pressurised when it comes to deadlines. It is the nature of their work. During the process of critical analysis, I did pick up a few phrases that the translator could have translated differently if s/he had all the time, which was not the case. The work was commissioned to the translator in August 2013 and the deadline was December 2013, a period of 4 months. The translator met the author only once in person, for a brief. The rest of the correspondence was done electronically.

An example of what could have been done differently is found, for instance, in the translation of the term 'culminated'. It is not accurately translated in the first chapter. It is translated as '*okwabonakala' ('*which was seen'*)* whilst the best term that could have been used would have been '*okwabohla' (*which calmed down*).* These words ('culminated' and '*okwabonakala'*) are found on *Page 1* of both the English and the isiZulu version. The translator could have also beefed up the language by substituting all English idiomatic expressions with matching isiZulu idiomatic expressions instead of using simpler explanatory language.

After reading the book again, under no pressure but in a relaxed disposition, the language used in translation of phrases could have been even richer than it is now. Not that it is wrong currently, but there are more expressive words that could have been used. There are some idiomatic expressions in the source text that could have

been translated using matching idiomatic expressions in isiZulu rather than using the current simplified language. For instance, the translator could have translated the phrase 'created political waves' by a more expressive phrase in isiZulu, which is '*ukususa udweshu'* (an idiomatic expression meaning 'causing a serious conflict' – literally meaning 'causing tearing of the ground'), rather than translating it the way it is currently translated now, '*ukususa omkhulu umsindo'* (causing a big noise), which is simpler, better than all other options but not the best. These two phrases ('created political waves' and 'kwasusa omkhulu umsindo') are found on *Page 11* of both the English and the isiZulu version.

2) SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The discussions above cover the appearance of book covers, the translation of the title, the translation process and the translation product. The book covers are coloured differently, however that does not signify anything. The book title was selected after multiple pre-tests that were conducted independently by the translator, the commissioner, the initiator and the author as discussed in detail above. The final title of the book that was selected is: *Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa: Amathemba Namathuba.*

The translation process began after the translator was commissioned the work and a written brief was given. The process included reading the book, meeting the author for a verbal brief and clarity, text analysis, taking a decision on the approach which in this case was a functional approach. Consultation of a number of experts in isiZulu as a language and in politics was done for advice during the translation process. The author himself was also consulted if there were questions of clarity regarding the source text during the translation process. Some questions were sent to the commissioners (Wits Language School) and the initiators (Wits Press) and the three translators of the book – as it was translated into two other languages namely Sesotho and Afrikaans – consulted each other to discuss problems and solutions to them.

The translated version was then edited and typeset by other practitioners, a process after which the translation was sent back to the translator for proofreading.

The final product was a clear and logical target text which is in line with the translation brief and achieves the same function as the source text.

SECTION D: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

The translation of the book, *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* complied with the brief, however there is room for improvement, even though changes that could be made to improve the translation are inconsequential as it explained in the examples provided above, regarding what can be changed to improve the translation. After having gone through both versions a number of time, I conclude that the target text is in line with the translation brief because the isiZulu version can be read by any speaker of isiZulu without difficulty and without having to consult the English version. Peers went through the translated version to confirm quality and comprehensibility of the text in isiZulu. Readers of the target text will get the same message as the one that was received by the source text readers. It also performs the same function that is performed by the source text towards source readers.

Therefore, *Inguqukombuso YeNingizimu Afrika Eyabondwa Yashiywa: Amathemba Namathuba* is a true reflection of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects*. It is quite clear from the way it reads that the work was done by an experienced translator. The speakers of IsiZulu have a reliable document because it can be read independently of the source text.

The positive outcome of this translation assignment proves that proper translation can be achieved with receipt of a proper translation brief, which includes knowing who the target audience is. The second important thing after receiving a proper translation brief is to perform text analysis so that an appropriate translation approach is selected. The third important things to have are proper translation tools. As a result of the proper translation tools, e.g. the translation software (Wordfast) even the form of the source text was properly maintained in the target text, there are no jumbled sentences, paragraphs, titles or pages. Even the glossaries, table of contents, and a list of acronyms are properly aligned. The target text in the whole book is easy to understand and it shows that proper editing was done.

As alluded to above regarding the translation process, the text was domesticated in the target text to make the isiZulu version of the book acceptable to the readers. The functional approach was followed so meaning was not compromised. Mona Baker's (1992) strategies were used to deal with equivalence problems.

Regarding the translation product, the translation meets the requirement of the translation brief. The terminology is appropriate to the genre and objectives of the text. When the target text is read, there is no need for the reader to keep consulting the English version to check what was actually said in the source text. It is easy to comprehend the target text when read on its own the translation reads naturally to the speakers of isiZulu as if it was originally written in isiZulu. Consensus was reached after the target text went through a number of experts in the language. It is not obvious that it is a translation. There are also no unexplainable shifts between the source text and the target text. The isiZulu version achieves the intended purpose of the original and it has the same effect as per the objectives of the author. The message intended for the readers in the target text did not differ from that of the source text.

Recommendations

What was learned from the translation process was that one needs to do a lot of research about the subject before embarking on the actual translation. One needs to understand the concepts before they can even be translated to avoid literal translation. Before getting to the stage of research, the translator needs to have read the book at least two times to be able to draw out the important aspects of the text and to identify terms and phrases that are important to be maintained in the target text. It is also important for translators to consult various experts both in the field they are translating and in the language they are translating into. It was also realised, through the translation experience that having direct access to the author is advantageous as the translators can keep checking with the author regarding what is not clear in the source or to clarify some of the points made in the source text for an even better understanding for translators.

Regarding the process of analysing the product, I learned that there are many strategies that a translator can use to tackle problems, it is just his/her responsibility

to decide on the best strategy and going through the translation again, in comparison with the source text an best achieve that. It would be useful for translators to get engaged with this kind of critiquing own work. This can be included in translation courses and will be useful in training.

It is my other recommendation that the isiZulu version of *South Africa's Suspended Revolution: Hopes and Prospects* be used by language practice students to critique it and to also test themselves on how they could have improved the translation. It would be interesting to critique translation of this genre as it is not common as opposed to critiquing literary works which is what most students have been doing.

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