

*Language Policies in African States – Updated, January 2012\**

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\* Coding is refined and descriptions updated in Appendix A of Ericka A. Albaugh, *State-Building and Multilingual Education in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). General trends remain the same.

TABLE A.1: CODING OF LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION

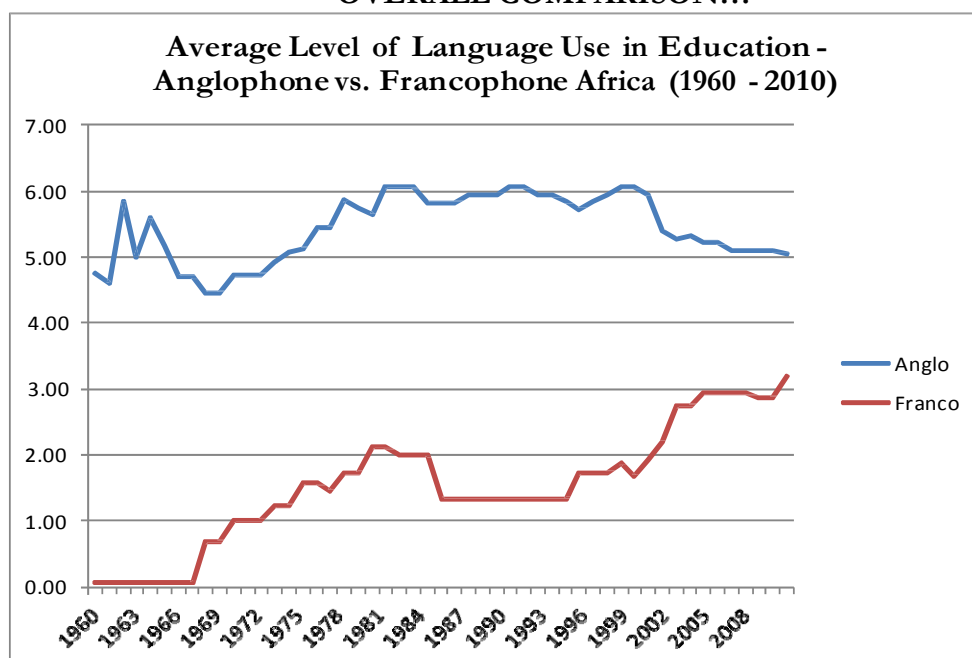
Country	Indep or 1960	1990	2004	2010
Algeria	0	2	2	2
Angola	0	0	0	4
Benin	0	0	3	3
Botswana	5	7	5	5
Burkina Faso	0	0	6	6
Burundi	7	7	7	7
Cameroon	0	0	4	4
Cape Verde	0	0	0	0
Central African Republic	0	0	0	0
Chad	0	1	4	4
Comoros	0	0	0	0
Congo, Dem. Rep.	4	8	8	8
Congo, Rep.	0	0	0	0
Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	4	4
Djibouti	0	0	0	4
Equatorial Guinea	0	0	0	0
Eritrea	10	N/A	10	10
Ethiopia	9	9	10	8
Gabon	0	0	0	0
Gambia	0	0	0	0
Ghana	0	8	4	4
Guinea	0	0	0	4
Guinea-Bissau	0	3	0	0
Kenya	0	8	6	6
Lesotho	7	7	7	7
Liberia	0	0	0	0
Madagascar	0	7	7	7
Malawi	8	7	6	5
Mali	0	4	6	6
Mauritania	1	4	1	1
Mauritius	0	0	0	0
Mozambique	0	0	4	6
Namibia	8	8	6	6
Niger	0	4	6	6
Nigeria	8	8	8	8
Rwanda	7	7	7	7
Sao Tome e Principe	0	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	4	4
Seychelles	0	7	7	7
Sierra Leone	4	6	4	4
Somalia	1	7	5	5
South Africa	10	8	6	6
Sudan	1	2	4	4
Swaziland	0	7	5	5
Tanzania	5	9	9	9
Togo	0	0	0	0
Uganda	8	8	6	6
Zambia	0	0	4	4
Zimbabwe	4	6	6	4

For the coding in the table above, I distinguish between one or several languages used in education, and the extent the policy has penetrated the education system: “Experimental,” “Expanded,” or “Generalized.” The scale tries to capture the spectrum of movement from “most foreign” medium to “most local.” The numerical assignments describe the following situations:

- 0 European Language Only
- 1 European and Foreign African Language (e.g. Classical Arabic)
- 2 Foreign African Language Only
- 3 One Local Language – Experimentation
- 4 Several Local Languages – Experimentation
- 5 One Local Language – Expansion
- 6 Several Local Languages – Expansion
- 7 One Local Language – Generalized
- 8 Several Local Languages – Generalized
- 9 One Local Language – Exclusive
- 10 Several Local Languages - Exclusive

“Experimentation” refers to government-authorized pilot programs, typically undertaken in 20 to 100 schools. The category of “Expansion” is in comparison to the stage that came before. If a country was only experimenting with a language or languages in a few schools and increased these numbers significantly at a certain point in time, this would be marked as Expansion. On the other hand, if a country had a school-wide policy of using one or more local languages in education and reduced their use to only a portion of the schools, this situation would also be coded as Expansion, since that category is lower on the scale than Generalized. These measurements refer to the use of languages in primary school, usually a 6 or 7 year cycle, depending on the country. Most countries that use local languages as media of instruction do so in the first two or three years of primary school and then transition to a European language. The category “Exclusive” refers to those situations where one or more local languages are used as the medium of education throughout the entire primary cycle, with the foreign language taught only as a subject.

### OVERALL COMPARISON...



## *Algeria*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkArabicDlct
0	2	2	2	67%*	80-85%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization from 1830. At the time, “literacy in Arabic was estimated at 40 to 50%” (Benrabah 2007a, 40). From 1830 to 1885, the education system was primarily for children of European colonists. In 1885, the French colonizers founded a separate school system for indigenous Algerians. French language used exclusively in all schools. The colonial authorities preferred Kabylia (Berber) population over Arab for schooling (Benrabah 2007a, 40) and encouraged the development of the Kabylia language (as well as Spoken Arabic). There was already a literate Kabylia culture and media prior to independence. In 1938, the colonial government decreed Standard Arabic a foreign language (Benrabah 2007a, 64). Most Algerian parents were suspicious of secular education for their children. In 1954, only 386,585 children attended school, though this doubled in the years leading up to independence, as France invested substantial money into education [to train new Francophone administrative cadres]. In 1960, there were 840,000 pupils in school (Benrabah 2007a, 45).

*Independence* (1962) French was the medium of instruction in primary schools. Though the state wanted to transition to Arabic medium, there were so few teachers trained to teach Classical Arabic that only 7 hours of instruction were required each week (Leclerc). In 1963, there were 3,452 Arabophone teachers and 16,456 Francophone teachers for the primary level (Benrabah 2007a, 87). In 1965, President Houari Boumedienne began a major Arabization program (1965-78). From 1965 onward, there was a gradual process of Arabization, with Arabic replacing French as the medium for certain subjects. By 1977, the [total] number of Francophone teachers was 19,769, while the total number of Arabophones grew to 47,096 (Benrabah 2007a, 89).

*Interim* In 1976, the Foundation School System made French a foreign language. “Classical Arabic is the only official language of the nation...French is regarded as a foreign language and is taught starting from the fourth year of the primary level” (Mostari, 29). Another Arabization push began in 1989 and culminated in Law no. 91-05 of 16 January 1991, which required the use of Arabic in all official domains, including education. Article 4 imposed “Arabic as the unique language for all educational and administrative institutions” (Benrabah 2007a, 71). This law was intended to exclude the use of French, but it also threatened Berber groups, who had demonstrated in 1989 and did so again in 1991 (Leclerc).

*Current* General school boycott in 1994. Berbers were pushing hard to include their language in public life. As a result, the government began discussions with Berber leaders regarding the introduction of Tamazight in the schools, and in 1995, it set up a High Commission for Amazighité (Berber identity) (Leclerc). In 2002, the Constitution was amended to make Tamazight a national language along with Classical Arabic (but not an “official” one, as is the latter). In 2003, the government allowed Berber officially to be taught in schools. Also around 2002, authorities began warming to introduction of French again, recognizing “ethnic and linguistic plurality as a resource for nation-building” (Benrabah 2007a, 30). President Bouteflika had lamented the poor standards of Algerian education in 1999, and the implementation of an exclusively Arabic monolingual education system from the 1970s was considered to be the origin of the ‘failure’ (Benrabah 2007a, 83). In 2004, French became the first mandatory foreign language from Grade Two, and 1500 new French teachers were recruited (Benrabah 2007a, 84). Still, it seems that French and Tamazight are only subjects.

*Language(s) Used:* **Classical Arabic [Tamazight, French as subjects]**

\*Benrabah (2007b, 194), citing Rossillon (1995), who estimated 49% of Algerians were French speakers in 1993 and projected 67% for 2003. Figure repeated by Leclerc (2010). Benrabah confirms this with recent polls that show 66% of Algerians speak French.

\*\*Benrabah (2007a, 48)

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# Angola

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkPortug*	%SpkUmbundu
0	0	0	4	>35%*	50%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Portuguese colonization. The MPLA in 1962 declared that “every national or ethnic minority would have the right to use its own language, develop its own script, preserve and develop its cultural heritage” (Roy-Campbell, 176)

*Independence* (1975) Portuguese only. Missionaries usually taught primary grades; secondary level was taught exclusively by Portuguese expatriates. “At all levels of the system, the language of instruction was Portuguese” (Gorham and Duberg, 271). Six Bantu languages, however, were given the status of national languages and are used in adult literacy programs, radio and television: Kikongo, Kimbundu, Chokwe, Umbundu, Mbunda-Ngangela, and Kwanyama (Baker and Jones, 355).

*Interim* Since 1975, many plans have been proposed to develop national languages for use in education. In 1977, the government created the National Language Institute to assist with the implementation of language policy (Roy-Campbell, 176). The civil war made teaching in any language unproductive, and many schools were destroyed.

*Current* Education Law of 2001 (Art 9) continues to prescribe Portuguese as the sole language of education in schools, though adults can receive education in national languages (Leclerc). From 2005, the government began taking notice of six languages on an experimental basis (through the Institute of Angolan National Languages) with the goal of their possible future use in school: Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Tchokwe, Ngangwela and Kuanhama (Leclerc). In 2008, Pearson Publishers, the Angolan Government and Monteno Institute for Language and Literacy (South African NGO) undertook an initiative to introduce books in seven Angolan languages. The trial began in 120 classrooms and will be evaluated in 2011. About 10,000 books were introduced in eight out of 18 provinces for grades 1-2 in 2008. The program will eventually go nationwide and up to grade 6 (Pearson).

*Language(s) Used:* **Portuguese, Cokwe, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Ngangela, Olunyaneka, Oshikwanyama, Umbundu**

\*Adegbija (1994: 11) says 35% speak Portuguese as a second language; Leclerc (2009) cites a study from 1995 that showed nearly 99% of the population of Luanda could express themselves in Portuguese, though the rate is much lower in the countryside, but “for the majority of Angolans, Portuguese has become the only vehicular language used.”

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 11) says 30% speak Umbundu as a first language and 20% as a second language = 50%

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## *Benin*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkFonEwe
0	0	3	3	8.8%*	60%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French medium only. In 1965, 45 percent of Dahomey's pupils were attending Catholic schools (McIntyre, 478).

*Interim* All Beninese languages have the status of national languages. Linguists and other researchers chose six languages to promote in the alphabetization of *adults* (Aja, Batonum/Bariba, Dendi, Fon, Ditamari, Yoruba) (Leclerc). During the Marxist revolution between 1975 and 1989, the Revolutionary Military Government decided to produce its own textbooks and national language materials, but implementation was problematic. Pre-schools used national languages during that time, but national languages have never been taught in primary schools (Leclerc).

*Current* The Cultural Charter of Benin (Law no. 91-006 of 25 Feb 1991) highlighted the promotion of national languages: "The Beninese State, to ensure the equal promotion of all national languages, should put in place the reforms necessary to introduce these languages progressively and systematically in teaching." (Leclerc) But they are still not used in public schools. SIL Benin Director Todd Nelson reported in 2004 that there was "official support for mother tongue primary education in Benin, but efforts to develop materials are moving *very* slowly." In 2003, one school started a pilot program in (Ditamari) with materials using materials published by the (Beninese) Ditammari National Linguistic Commission" (Nelson). New SIL director Jennifer Rowe reported that "mother tongue education is still very much on people's minds" and that the highest level of official support was demonstrated in 2007, when a Ministry for Literacy and National Language Promotion was created. "Many meetings took place and a plan was drawn up for introducing Beninese languages into the education system. Unfortunately, the effort was badly managed, with everyone clamoring to have his language included in the pilot project, and things did not get off the ground. The Ministry ceased to exist in September 2008, with literacy coming under another ministry and language promotion being given a niche under literacy" (Rowe). To overcome public resistance, one highly placed Beninese man created a bilingual school in his village to try to serve as a demonstration school in order to attract and convince the politicians (Rowe). [ELAN] *Retained score of '3' because of ELAN & continuing experim*

*Languages Used:*

**French, [Ditamari]**

\* OIF (2007:16)

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 8) says 60% of the population speaks Fon-Ewe as a first language.

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## Botswana

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSetswana
5	7	5	5	35%*	96%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. The first primary schools were established by the London Missionary Society. Other missions participated in education from 1840 onward (Lockhart, 504). Missions introduced literacy in the local languages in the early years and in English from the mid-primary years (Nkosana, 288). Setswana had a complete Bible in the 1850s. During the colonial period, education was relatively neglected by the colonial administration; it was provided by only four mission schools (Nyati-Ramahobo, 38).

*Independence* (1966) From independence, there was some use of Setswana in the first three years, but lack of materials and the fact it was not subject to testing at the end of primary school meant that it was not taught well (Molosiwa *et al*). The normal practice was to teach in Setswana for the first two or three years and then switch to English for the remainder of primary school (Basimolodi, 144). Nyati-Ramahobo says that though there was no clear policy, there was a “general understanding that English... would constitute the medium of instruction.” But due to the “relatively low qualifications of teachers, and their inability to communicate in English, the use of Setswana was tolerated in lower grades” (43). Other languages were banned from use in school.

*Interim* The First National Commission on Education (NCE) in 1977 recommended more and better materials, and the official policy was to teach in Setswana to grade 4 and then English thereafter (Lockhart, 506).

*Current* The Report of the second National Commission on Education (1993) considered the language question and decided “in favour of the introduction of the use of English as the medium of instruction from Standard 1 by 2000.” This was later amended to: “English should be used as a medium of instruction from standard 2 by year 2002” (Basimolodi, 145). Setswana should be taught as a compulsory subject through primary school. This reduced the use of Setswana from four to two years of primary. The recommendations were silent on the use of languages other than Setswana. Nyati-Ramahobo (2007, 46) reports that none of the recommendations have been implemented, and the 1977 policy is still in place. “More resources continue to be directed towards the use of English in all social domains including education” (Nyati-Ramahobo, 45). While government has shown some willingness to address “thorny issues relating to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country,” there are “no serious efforts to instill language and cultural studies into the curriculum” and “there is also the belief that the cultures of minority groups can be preserved without the use of their languages” (Nyati-Ramahobo, 67). A movement exists among minority language groups (particularly the Kalanda and the Khoisan peoples) to promote their languages, and the Botswana Language Council recently recommended that certain minority languages should be learned in primary schools. “But this recommendation was not considered seriously by the government” (Leclerc).

#### *Language(s) Used:* **Setswana, English**

\*Nkosana (2008: 288); Graddol (1997: 11) reports 38%.

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 355) say **93%** overall; Leclerc (2009) says 71.1%, but this is only mother tongue speakers; Adegbija (1994: 11) says 90% first language speakers + 9% second-language speakers = **99%**. Average of 93% and 99% is 96%.

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## *Burkina Faso*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench*	%SpkMooré
0	0	6	6	7.5%*	>50%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French only.

*Interim* The introduction of mother tongues in school was a major plank of the revolution (1979), but the initiatives stalled with the regime changes that followed.

*Current* Two types of bilingual schools have been introduced since the early 1990s. First, Ecoles Bilingues, supported by Swiss NGO (Oeuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvriere – OSEO; currently Solidar Suisse) and academics at the University of Ouagadougou Department of Linguistics, began using mother tongues in bilingual schools from 1994, beginning with two classes in Mooré. In 2005, OSEO supported 88 schools, 212 classes and 8527 students in 7 languages. These five-year schools target older children (older than 9) who have not enrolled in regular primary schools (Ouédraogo 2002: 14). Second, the 'Ecoles Satellites' are supported by the Ministry of Basic Education and UNICEF. When the government saw the results of the Ecoles Bilingues, it decided to appropriate the strategy. Satellite schools are placed in areas that had no access to schooling; they are managed by communities, but teacher salaries are paid by the government (Alidou & Brock-Utne, 119). The 1996 Education Orientation law (Law no. 013/96/ADP) says that French and national languages are the languages of instruction (Leclerc). Unlike in other countries, the population was motivated and willing, because of the positive association between local languages and the revolution of 1979. SIL Burkina Faso Director in 2004 reported that because of its work among these groups, SIL was asked initially to help with development of material in two of the languages used in bilingual primary schools (Aguila). [ELAN]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Mossi/Mooré, Dioula, Fulfulde, Gulmanchema, Dagara, Lyélé, Nuni, Bissa, Kassem**

\* Baker & Jones (1998: 356) report 10% competence in French; OIF (2007:17) reports 5% [Leclerc (2009) has a much higher estimate of 20% - not included in average]; Avg = 7.5%

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 356); Adegbija (1994: 6) says 50%

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## *Burundi*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkKirundi
7	7	7	7	6%*	99%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German and Belgian colonization. The first schools were set up in 1909 by the Germans. Belgians established schools that taught in French and Kirundi.

*Independence* (1962) Kirundi and French [and Flemish]

*Interim* From 1973, the government introduced a program of “Kirundization and Ruralization.” Instruction was to be given in Kirundi throughout primary. From the third year onward, French was taught as a subject. (Ntawurishira, 596). In 1989, French was introduced as a subject from the first year (Leclerc).

*Current* From the early 90s, the school system has deteriorated, with many schools damaged or destroyed from the violence. In practice, Kirundi only serves as the language of instruction for the first four years, and French assumes that role in the final two years of primary (Halaoui, 18-19). Leclerc says Kirundi is used in the first three years. French is the medium of instruction in secondary. English is also being added to the curriculum as a subject in some urban schools (Leclerc).  
[ELAN]

*Language(s) Used:* **Kirundi, French**

\*Leclerc (2009) says 3-10%; OIF (2007:17) says 5% Francophone

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 356)

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## Cameroon

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkPidgin
0	0	4	4	18%	46%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German, French, British colonization.

*Independence* (1960) English and French only.

*Interim* A mother tongue education experiment (PROPELCA), a joint project of linguists at the University of Yaounde and the SIL mission organization, began in private schools in 1980, but the government was not involved.

*Current* The 1995 *Etats Généraux* marked beginning of government support for mother tongue education. Public schools were approved for participation in the PROPELCA experiment. The Education Orientation Law (Law n° 98/004) of 14 April 1998 declares that one of the objectives of education is the promotion of national languages (article 5.4) and promises to adapt to economic and socio-cultural realities, including the teaching of national languages (article 11.1). A 2003 Ministry of Education planning document calls for use of local languages as media of instruction in public schools. The first goal under the objective of “improvement of the quality of education for the acquisition of competences in reading, writing and math...” in the formal sector is “use of local languages as co-vectors of teaching and of acquiring knowledge” (Ministry of Education, 24). The number of schools in the experimental program has not grown since the early 2000s, as a result of a reduction in outside funding (Mba). [ELAN]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, English, Bafut, Oku, Lamnso, Kom, Mofu Gudur, Mofu North, Mafa, Yemba, Fe’Fe’e, Makaa, Gidar, Fulfulde, Dii**

\* OIF (2007:17) Francophone

\*\* Graddol (1997:11) reports 46% of Cameroonians speak English. Undoubtedly, he is referring to Cameroonian Pidgin English, which others have claimed is the most widely spoken language in Cameroon. Biloa and Echu (2007: 202, citing Todd and Jumban 1992:4) confirm this rough percentage. Adebija (1994: 11) reports the largest indigenous language is Bamileke, with 27% of the population. But this is actually a people group speaking several distinct but related languages: Yemba, Ghomala, Fe’Fe, Medumba, Kwa, Mengaka, Ngiemboon, Ngomba, Ngombale, Nda’Nda, and Ngwe.

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## Cape Verde

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkPortug	%SpkCapverd
0	0	0	0		98%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Portuguese colonization. Use of Portuguese in the classroom (Coonan, 31).

*Independence* (1975) Portuguese only.

*Interim* Portuguese. The dialectical differences in Capverdian Creole constitute the principal barrier to its officialization. Many people are afraid that the dialect of the largest island, Santiago, would dominate the others (Leclerc).

*Current* Portuguese remains the language of instruction, but teachers can use Capverdian Creole for illustrations if there is a problem with comprehension (Leclerc). When Manuel Viega, a linguist, was named Minister of Culture in 2005, new impetus was given to introducing Creole as a co-official language with Portuguese, which would permit its introduction into education. But as of 2006, no change in the status of Creole had occurred (Coonan, 130).

*Language(s) Used:* **Portuguese**

\*\*Leclerc (2011)

### SOURCES

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## *Central African Republic*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkSango
0	0	0	0	8%*	>90%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French instruction. In 1962, all private schools were brought under government control.

*Interim* Since 1974, the state has attempted to introduce Sango (a Creole derived from Ngbandi – SIL) as a language of instruction in primary schools. A program was launched in 1975 – “collective promotion schools” – but it turned out to be a failure and was abandoned after two years (Leclerc). French remained the language of instruction (McIntyre, 658). The 1981 Etats Généraux on education was the basis for a 1984 law (Ordinance no. 84/031 of 14 May 1984) that said in article 36: “Teaching is dispensed in French, the official language, and Sango, the national language” (Leclerc).

*Current* But this ordinance has not been put into effect, and French remains the language of instruction (Leclerc). Many teachers *use* Sango to explain things to students, but this is not according to official instructions. Sango is used widely by NGOs in non-formal education. As for languages other than Sango, policies have not addressed them (Leclerc). SIL director reported in 2005 that the government is not interested in mother tongue education (Niklaus). Baker & Jones (1998) write that “since 1992, there has been an official policy of state bilingualism, encouraging the increasing use of Sango... in a variety of public spheres, including education” (357), but current SIL director says that because of a loss of funding for language NGOs, there has been no real activity in multilingual education (Robbins). Language specialist for local language organization, ACATBA, confirms that while many NGOs use Sango for adult literacy, it is not used in primary schools (Moehema).

*Language(s) Used:* **French**

\*Leclerc (2009) – 16% speak some French; 8% are fluent (1993); OIF (2007:17) says 22.5% are either Francophone or partial Francophone [no separation in figures]

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 357) say more than 90% speak Sango; Adegbiya (1994: 8) says Sango is spoken as a mother tongue by 24% of the population, but does not give a figure for second-language speakers.

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# Chad

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkChadArabic
0	1	4	4	14%*	55%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization. French has been the language of instruction since 1900.

*Independence* (1960) French remained the language of instruction, but Classical Arabic was given special status as a subject.

*Interim* Since 1978, the government has required “obligatory bilingualism” in French and Classical Arabic (Leclerc). GTZ and the Catholic Church have experimented with using three languages as medium in a few schools.

*Current* Starting in 2004, the government began a pilot project with five languages (the three used by GTZ/Catholic Church and two additional ones). GTZ is the operator. “One of the newly added languages [Maba] is one where SIL is working. Our team has produced a new primer suitable for children and a teacher’s guide and the school is starting. Some of our teams and the people in the language groups we are working in see a big need for MT education and it looks like one or two or even more will start in an informal way next year. One team has tried out the existing primer (which was meant for adults) with some groups of children and are finding that it works” (Prinz). Radio broadcasts are in French, Arabic and 8 African languages (Baker & Jones, 357). The pilot project was supposed to expand to a full-scale program in 2008, but the World Bank (which was supporting most education sector reform) had ceased its funding the year before, and GTZ closed down its operations in Chad in 2008. There is still government support for the use of national languages, as evidenced by the still-existing Department for the Promotion of National Languages in the Ministry of Education (Maass), and the World Bank renewed its funding for Chad’s Education Sector in 2010, which included a mother tongue component in curricular reform (World Bank, 50).

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Classical Arabic, Chadian Arabic, Maba, Mundang, Sara, Masana**

\*Leclerc (2010) reports that 8.3% of Chadians are educated in French; Adegbija (1994: 6) says 13% speak French as a second language. OIF (2007:17) says 20% are Francophones. Average of the three estimates = 14%

\*\* Adegbija (1994: 6) reports 13% speak Chadian Arabic as a first language + 40% as a second language = 53%; Baker & Jones (1998: 357) concur that more than 50% speak Chadian Arabic; Leclerc (2010) puts the number at 60%. Average is 55%.

## SOURCES

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## Comoros

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkComorien
0	0	0	0	47%*	96.8%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1975) French only.

*Interim* French only.

*Current* In pre-school and kindergarten teaching is in Comorien and French. Primary school is taught in French; Secondary taught in French, with Arabic and sometimes English taught as second language (Leclerc). Baker & Jones (1998: 357) corroborate that teaching is in French.

*Language(s) Used:* **French**

\*OIF (2007:17) – this is a combination of Francophones and “Partial Francophones”; actual number of speakers is likely much lower

\*\*Leclerc (2009)

### SOURCES

Baker, Colin and Sylvia Prys Jones. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters, 1998.

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde*. 27 May 2009.

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OIF, *Etat de la Francophonie dans le Monde 2006-2007*. Paris: Nathan, 2007.

## *Congo (Kinshasa), Democratic Republic of the*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkLingala
4	8	8	8	10%*	69%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Belgian colonization. Missionary and colonial schools used indigenous languages [Kikongo, Kiswahili, Kitetela, Lingala, Lomongo, Tshiluba, Zande (Bokamba, 219)] as media of instruction alongside French and Flemish/Dutch in primary. French in secondary. In 1958, French was made the exclusive medium in all government school, but the many colonial-supported church or mission schools continued the use of the vernaculars in the first three years. (Bokamba, 223).

*Independence* (1960) French became the only language of instruction by presidential decree in 1962 (Leclerc). Lingala, Swahili, Chiluba, and Kikongo were given the status of national languages and were to be taught as subjects in their regions of dominance (Bokamba, 220). Implementation of the policy was sporadic, however, and the regional languages continued to be used as the medium for most subjects up to the fifth grade (Bokamba, 223).

*Interim* From 1972 (as part of the program of *authenticité*), the government re-introduced four vehicular languages in primary school (Lingala, Swahili, Chiluba, Kikongo). They were to be the media of instruction through the entire primary cycle, with French introduced as a foreign language in the third year.

*Current* Currently, the four national languages are taught in the two first years of primary, and French is gradually introduced from the third year (Leclerc). These languages are taught as subjects through the end of secondary. All secondary teaching is in French. Obviously, the war has disrupted normal school functions, and most schools lack supplies and are in disrepair. For Northwest DRC The Central Africa Group director of SIL reports: “Materials have been produced and are being used in Ngbaka; plans are in process to do the same in Ngbandi” (Niklaus). [ELAN]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Lingala, Swahili, Chiluba, Kikongo [Ngbaka, Ngbandi]**

\*Leclerc (2009); OIF (2007:17)

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 7) says 28% speak Lingala as a first language and 41% as a second language = 69%; Swahili has a larger number of mother tongue speakers (36%) but fewer second language speakers (13%)

### SOURCES

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## Congo (Brazzaville), Republic of

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkMunukutuba
0	0	0	0	30%*	50%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French only.

*Interim* In 1977, a “People’s School” reform project began with the backing of UNESCO, which emphasized the need to revalue national languages (Senga-Nsikazolo and Makonda, 979). The language department began working on Lingala and Munukutuba (Kituba). In 1980, the Education Reorientation Law decreed that Lingala and Munukutuba were to be taught in schools. In fact they were never used as media of instruction, but taught as subjects in certain schools. French remains the language of instruction. The reform was a failure; it only lasted six months (Renard and Peraya, 10).

*Current* French medium. In the mid-90s, trends in language use showed that Lingala and Munukutuba (national languages), and French (official language) were increasing in use at the expense of the many mother tongues (Woods, 34). The civil war actually increased the use of French, as various factions preferred to express themselves in a ‘neutral’ language so as not to reveal their ethnic origin. After the war, Lingala gained popularity, without doubt because of the victory of Sassou-Nguesso, a Lingala speaker (Leclerc). In the mid-2000s, the SIL director stated that “The government is not interested in mother tongue education” (Niklaus). Current SIL director reports that the government is not opposed to the use of mother tongues, it has simply not expressed much interest. “However, we are finding more and more interest as each year we organize a celebration for the day of the mother tongue together with the ministry of culture” (Robbins).

*Language(s) Used:* **French**

\*OIF (2007): 17

\*\*Leclerc (2010); Adegbija (1994: 11) says Kongo is the most widely spoken language, being the first language for 52% of the population, but Lewis (2009) says it is the mother tongue of only 1 million out of 3.6 million = 28%.

### SOURCES

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## *Côte d'Ivoire*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkDioula
0	0	4	4	54%*	55%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French only.

*Interim* Since 1966, with the creation of the Institute of Applied Linguistics (ILA) there has been discussion of the use of national languages in education. A reform law (Law no. 77-584) of 18 Aug 1977 declared that “the introduction of national languages in official education should be considered a factor of national unity and of reclaiming our Ivorien cultural heritage” (Art. 67) and that the ILA “is charged with preparing for the introduction of national languages into teaching...” (Art. 68) (Leclerc; Djité 2000, 30). But the introduction of these languages in schools depended on their codification, so French remained the language of instruction in the interim. Baulé, Bété, and Dyula received some special attention. But the government in general and the main donor (French government and ACCI) was “more concerned about teaching methodologies and materials development in Standard French” (Djité 2000, 30). The pendulum swung back to French.

*Current* Law no. 95-696 of 7 Sept 1995, Article 3, prescribes education in national languages, but rather vaguely “The teaching of national languages, artistic teaching, technological and manual training, and physical education contribute to the formation of citizens.” Except for two experimental projects in 11 schools, French remained the language of instruction (Leclerc). In 1996, an NGO (Savanne Développement) revived the idea of schooling in mother tongues and created an experimental school in Kolia, which opened for the 1996-97 school year. From pre- school until the end of their first year of primary, these students receive education in Sénoufo or Malinke, whichever is their mother tongue, followed by studies in French. In 2001, the government evaluated the Savanne Développement experiment and decided to extend it to 10 other languages: Abidji, Agni, Attié, Baoulé, Bété, Guéré, Dan/Yacouba, Koulango, Mahou and Korhogo Sénoufo (N’Guessan, 196). The principle operator is the NGO, rather than the government Institute (ILA). [Djité and Kpli (2007, 188) claim that Cote d’Ivoire is “one of the most reluctant countries in Africa to contemplate a language policy based on local languages.”-wrote] Popular Abidjan French continues to spread (Knutsen, 168).

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Senoufo, Malinke, Abidji, Agni, Attié, Baoulé, Bété, Guéré, Dan/Yacouba, Koulango, Mahou, and Korhogo Sénoufo**

\*Leclerc (2010) reports 66% speak French; Baker & Jones (1998, 361) say more than 60% have some competence in French; Adegbiya (1994: 11) reports that 35% speak French as a second language. Average = 54%.

\*\*Djité (2000, 24) reports 43% as of 1993; Adegbiya (1994: 11) reports 16% first-language speakers + 50% second-language speakers = 66%. Average of two estimates = 55%.

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## *Djibouti*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkSomali
0	0	4	4	20%*	61%*

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization. Primary education in public schools was given in French.

*Independence* (1977) French medium.

*Interim* French medium. Somali was given Latin script in 1972; Afar in 1976 (Leclerc). French and (Classical) Arabic are co-official languages.

*Current* Law no. 96/AN of 10 July 2000, Article 5: “1) Education and training are given in official languages and national languages; 2) A decree by the Council of Ministers fixes the forms of teaching in French, in Arabic, in Afar and in Somali” (Leclerc). The Minister of Education has an office for the development of Arabic and national languages, which is charged with promoting the introduction of national languages in education and favoring the use of Arabic in administration. The government favors teaching in Afar and Somali in pre-school, but French from the beginning of primary. (Leclerc). Arabic is introduced in the third and fourth year, and is taught concurrently with French in secondary. The Ministry of Education reports that teaching in French and Arabic will be concomitant in all scholarly establishments, and that national languages will be progressively introduced (Ministère, *Schema Directeur*, 31). There is a direction for national languages attached to the Prime Minister’s Office, and the Ministry of Education is developing a strategy for the introduction of national languages in schools (Absieh). In 2002 and 2003, two symposia were organized concerning the utilization of Somali and Afar, respectively. [*Appears from news articles that Djibouti is currently using local languages; confirm*]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, [Arabic, Afar, Somali]**

\*OIF (2007:17) – this combines Francophones and “Partial Francophones”; actual speakers likely much lower

\*\*Leclerc (2009); Baker & Jones (1998: 357) put the number at 45%

### SOURCES

Baker, Colin and Sylvia Prys Jones. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters, 1998.

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## *Equatorial Guinea*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkSpanish	%SpkFang
0	0	0	0	<20%*	80%*

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Spanish colonization.

*Independence* (1968) Leaders never raised the question of using languages. Spanish continued to be used for administration and schooling.

*Interim* France propped up Nguema's replacement, Obiang, and even succeeded in getting Equatorial Guinea into the Franc Zone in 1985, though Spain remained the main donor (Leclerc). Equatorial Guinea asked to become a member of the Francophonie in 1989, and French was elevated to a "working language." In 1998, French became the country's "second official language" (Leclerc).

*Current* Spanish is the only medium in primary through secondary school (Leclerc). French is the second compulsory language for secondary school students. French is gaining ground because of influence of neighboring countries (Baker & Jones, 358).

*Language(s) Used:* **Spanish**

\*Leclerc (2011)

\*\*Leclerc (2011)

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## Eritrea

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkTigrina
10	N/A	10	10		78%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Occupied by Italy (1890-1941), then by the British (1941-1951). Annexed by Ethiopia in 1962. English-language schools early. Tigrina was also written and used publicly from early on.

During the 30 years of conflict with Ethiopia, Eritrean languages were banned in public places. However, most Eritreans refused to speak Amharic and continued to teach their languages to their children. There was, however, significant population movement during the war, and people came into contact with Eritreans speaking different languages, with the result that there are few remaining monolingual regions in Eritrea (Leclerc).

*Independence* (1993) Multilingual

*Interim* Multilingual

*Current* Each Eritrean language (Tigrina, Tigré, Afar, Saho, Kunama, Bedawi, Bilen, Nara, Hijazi Arabic) is encouraged to be used and developed at the local level, and children receive their primary education in their mother tongue. The government sees it necessary to give mother tongue education to all groups, no matter what their size. In addition, each student is expected to learn one of the state languages (Tigrina or Arabic). In secondary school, teaching is given in Tigrina or English (Leclerc). Though English is increasingly visible on the streets of the capital, literacy in English is reported fairly low among the general public (Asfaha, 200, referring to Walter & Davis 2005). The government has blamed this on its weak English curriculum, and the Ministry is currently revising the elementary curriculum so that “English lessons will be offered from the very start of elementary schooling (starting in grade 1 instead of grade 2)” (Asfaha, 220).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Arabic, Tigrina, Tigré, Afar, Saho, Kunama, Bedawi, Bilen, Nara, Hijazi Arabic**

\*\*Leclerc (2010) – 53% speak Tigrina as a mother tongue + 25% as a second language = 78% speak Tigrina as first or second language

### SOURCES

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# *Ethiopia*

## CODING

1960	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkAmharic
9	9	10	8	2%*	60%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* No colonization (brief Italian occupation 1935-41). Schooling introduced in 1908 in English (Heugh *et al.*, 43). A few missionaries used mother tongues before European languages, and Italian occupiers attempted to introduce an ethnically based language policy for seven languages [Amharic, Arabic, Harari, Kafficho, Oromifa, Somali, Tigrinya], but this was not put into full effect except in Eritrea (Heugh *et al.*, 44).

*Independence* Haile Selassie tried to unify the country by decreeing the use of Amharic only. From 1958, Amharic functioned as the medium of instruction for grades 1-6 of primary (Mekonnen in Brock-Utne and Skattum, 31). Less than 10% of the population was literate before the revolution (McNab, 70).

*Interim* After 1974, Haile Mariam Mengistu (with the influence of the Soviet Union) initiated a policy of nationalities and multilingualism, aiming to remove Amharic from its privileged position. Education materials began to be prepared in at least four minority languages (Wagaw, 1728). Official policy acknowledged equality of all country's languages and recognized 15 regional languages. Mass literacy campaigns occurred in rural areas in these languages. But there were either no written traditions in most of the languages or transcriptions only in Latin or Arabic script. Since the government wanted all to be in the Ethiopian syllabary, this was a major task (McNab, 73). The campaign targeted *adult* literacy. And Leclerc reports that until 1991, Amharic remained the language of instruction in primary schools. Heugh *et al.*, (49) corroborate.

*Current* Meles Zenawi introduced ethnic regionalism in order to solve the cultural and linguistic hegemony of Amharic. Since the introduction of a new Constitution in 1994, the education system has changed radically, permitting federal states to choose the language in which students will receive their primary education (Leclerc). Current policy calls for 8 years of MT-based schooling. The language of primary education will be language of the region. The most linguistically homogeneous regions have been able to implement the policy best. English is taught as a subject throughout primary and used as medium of instruction beginning in grade 9. (Benson, 327). Amharic is to be taught as the lingua franca for communication across Ethiopia. In urban areas, Amharic is increasing (Baker & Jones, 359). Mekonnen (2005) reports that mother tongues are really only used exclusively in all regions from Grades 1-6. In Grades 7-8, mother tongues are only continued exclusively in Tigray, Amhara and Oromiya, while English is used in the other seven regions (cited in Alidou & Brock-Utne, 92). Heugh *et al.*, (pp. 56-78) describe similar policies and varying practice in each region. Several costly pro-English efforts are being undertaken, such as "the placement of plasma televisions in all secondary classrooms, to which programmes are broadcast in South African English, which is difficult for most students to comprehend, with inadequate time frames allocated for notetaking or interaction" (Benson, 327). "In sum, Ethiopia's sound mother tongue policy, even as it is being more widely implemented, is coming under increasing strain as the demand for English grows" (Benson, 328).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Amharic, Afar, Gurage, Hadiyya, Kambatta, Kefa-Mocha, Kunama, Oromo, Saho, Sidamo, Silti, Somali, Tigre, Tigrina, Welaita**

\* Leclerc (2009)

\*\*Leclerc (2009) reports 60% can express themselves in Amharic; Baker & Jones (1998) estimate 28% as a first language and 40% as a second language =68%; Adegbija (1994: 7) says 31% as a first language + 40%

as a second language = **71%**; [Benson (2010: 326) has a much lower estimate: 27% speak Amharic as MT and 8% as second language = **35%**]

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# Gabon

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkFang
0	0	0	0	80%*	50%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) “After independence, Gabon did not encourage the use of local languages in education, but it did not forbid them either” (Leclerc) They were therefore not taught systematically, but they were always used for informal communication. The government did use local languages in radio transmissions early on, but discontinued it due to “tribal factionism” in favor of total French programming (Richmond, 18).

*Interim* At the end of the 1970s, the government sponsored a linguistic atlas and supported descriptive projects of languages, toward the aim of introducing them into primary school. But there were difficulties with standardization. At the beginning of the 80s, there was renewed discussion of introducing them into education. But French continued to be the sole medium in all schools (Leclerc).

*Current* A private organization, the Raponda Walker Foundation, created teaching manuals in local languages and has used them in several primary schools (Leclerc). Since 1997, the Minister of Education has been convinced that “teaching in our languages is the only way to consolidate the relationship between the cultural identity and the national identity” (Leclerc). An interministerial commission was put in place in February 1997 to take steps toward teaching national languages. The Department of National Languages was created at the National Pedagogical Institute in 1999 (Ndinga-Koumba-Binza, 107). Since 2000, the Minister of Education has mandated a training section for mother tongue instruction in teacher training schools. It has also initiated a weekly radio program to “sensitize” the public about the value of Gabonese languages: “Our Languages, Our Culture.” The Ministry of Education itself is the ‘fer de lance’ on which Gabonese citizens are placing their hope for the introduction of national languages (Leclerc). So far, however, teaching in Gabonese languages has remained experimental (Leclerc). [Government Minister (Interview Dec 2011) claimed new policy promoting languages as of 2010; implementation needs confirmation]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, [Civili, Fang, Ghetsogho, Ikota, Lembaama, Omyene, Yinzebi, Yipunu]**

\*OIF (2007:17)

\*\* Adegbija (1994: 11) says Fang is spoken by 30% as a first language and 20% as a second language = 50%.

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# Gambia

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkMandinka
0	0	0	0	3%*	40%*

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Prior to independence, there were 90 primary schools in the capital city of Banjul and in Kombo, and 37 in the rural areas (Sonko-Godwin, p. 1987)

*Independence* (1965) English medium.

*Interim* By 1980, less than 18 percent of the population could read or write English, though it was the medium of education in schools (Sonko-Godwin, 1988). Arabic is taught in both Koranic and public schools. Radio Gambia broadcasts news and cultural programs regularly in main local languages (Baker & Jones, 360)

*Current* 1988 Policy (for 1990): National languages will be the medium of instruction for grades 1 and 2 and taught as a subject from Grade 3 (Ministry of Education, 17, para 4.20). It does not appear, however, that this has been implemented. The Constitution was suspended in 1994; reinstated Constitution declares (Art 32) that people have the right to preserve their culture but states no specific language policy (Leclerc). English is the only language used in school (Baker & Jones, 360). In all sectors of education, English is the medium of instruction, except in Koranic schools, where it is Arabic (Leclerc).

*Language(s) Used:* **English**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 360) [Adegbija (1994: 6) says 41% speak it as a first language and 19% as a second language = 60%]

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# Ghana

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkAkan
0	8	4	4	10%*	50%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. By 1881, there were 139 missions in the region with a school attendance of 5000 (Clermont, 2042). The 1882 “Ordinance for the Promotion and Assistance of Education in the Gold Coast Colony” required the teaching of and in English. The 1925 Guggisberg Ordinance reversed this decree and called for the use of native languages as the medium of instruction in the first three years, after which they were replaced by English and taught as subjects (Andoh-Kumi, 28).

*Independence* (1957) The Nkrumah government made English the language of instruction from the first year of primary (Andoh-Kumi, 28). It also, however, decided to encourage the development of all important national languages. In 1962, it chose nine languages that would be taught next to English and French in schools: Akuapem Twi, Asante Twi, Dagbani, Dangbe, Ewe, Fanti, Ga, Kasem, Nzima.

*Interim* The 1967 Education Review Committee (Kwapong) under the new military government reported that the English-only policy was not being followed, and in many localities, the local language was being used throughout the entire primary cycle. It recommended a return to the local language policy in Primary 1-3, with instruction in English starting from Primary 4. Exceptions could be made in urban areas and private schools, where English could be taught from the beginning (Anyidoho and Dakubu, 148-9. Busia’s Progress Party (1969-72) maintained the local language policy, specifying that it should be continued for three additional years beyond the first three, if possible. (Andoh-Kumi, 29; Anyidoho and Dakubu, 149). Under General Acheampong, the School for Ghanaian Languages opened, and under Flt.Lt. Jerry Rawlings, education policy changed to make local languages tested at the end of junior and secondary school levels. But there was neither the time nor the funds to reform curriculum significantly, and schools still rely on British textbooks (Clermont, 2044). The 1992 Constitution did not contain any mention of language – official or national. In 1994, the local language was made an optional subject in secondary (Anyidoho and Dakubu). Until 2001, the policy was: The Ghanaian language prevalent in the local area is to be used as medium of instruction in the first three years, with English as a subject. From the fourth year, English replaces the Ghanaian language as the medium (Andoh-Kumi, 30).

*Current* In 2002, the Minister of Education changed the policy to English only. This sparked vigorous debate, and a subsequent White Paper on Education made some allowances for the use of children’s first languages in kindergarten and lower primary, though only where teachers and materials were available and the classroom language was uniform (Anyidoho and Dakubu, 150).

*Language(s) Used:* **English [previously: Akan (Asante, Akuapem and Fante dialects), Ewe, Ga, Dangme, Nzema, Gonja, Dagbani, Dagara, Waale, Kasem]**

\* Lewis (2009) listed 1,000,000 L2 speakers of English from a 1977 census, which was about 10% of the population at that time. Undoubtedly, the figure has grown significantly since then. Graddol (1997:11) only reports 7%.

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 360) report more than 50% of the population speaks Akan; Adegbija (1994: 9) says only 40% speak Akan; Lewis (2009) reports 8.3 million first-language speakers plus 1 million second language speakers out of a population of 22.5 million = 41%; Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008: 152) say more than 50%.

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# Guinea

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkManinke
0	0	0	4	21%*	48%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1958). Already in 1958, the government had decided to “adapt the structures of education to new national realities.” The reform aimed to educate all children in the country from the 1964-65 school year. But it was not until 1968 that Sékou Touré applied his policy of linguistic Africanization to schools (Leclerc).

*Interim* Between 1968 and 1984, the official policy was mother tongue education. After Touré’s regime, French became the medium of education at all levels (except nursery schools). National languages (Peul, Malinké, Soussou, Kissi, Kpelle, Toma), if they were taught at school, were subjects. And Koranic schools continued to teach Arabic.

*Current* There have been new efforts to strengthen mother tongue education for primary and adult education. The Academy of Languages was renamed the Institute for Applied Linguistic Research. Government supports revitalization of national languages in education (Leclerc). Most recently there has been discussion of adapting a model from Mali in which 3 years of mother tongue is followed by transition to French (Yerende). The Minister for “Alphabétisation et de la Promotion des Langues Nationales”, El Hadj Bamba Camara, announced in Sept 2011 that there would be a reintroduction of national languages in primary schools beginning with Rentrée 2012 (several news articles in Sept 2011; *verify*).

*Language(s) Used:* **French [Maninke, Susu, Futa Jalon (Peul), Kissi, Basari, Loma, Koniagi, Kpelle]**

\*OIF (2007:17)

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 9) reports 30% speak it as a first language and 18% as a second = 48%; Baker & Jones (1998, 361) say the most widely spoken language is Peul, with 40% (Adegbija says Peul has 28% first-language speakers and 5% second-language speakers = 33%)

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## Guinea-Bissau

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkPortug	%SpkCrioulo
0	3	0	0	8.5%*	50-60%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Portuguese colonization.

*Independence* (1974) Portuguese medium. Liberation leader Amilcar Cabral did not push the subject of national languages.

*Interim* In 1987, The Ministry of Education, with the assistance of Dutch Cooperation (SNV) and a Portuguese NGO (CIDAC), created experimental bilingual schools using Kiriol as the medium of instruction for the first two grades. In grade three, students transitioned abruptly to Portuguese. By 1993, there were 30 experimental classes (Hovens, 253). The experiment ran from 1985 to 1994, according to Benson (2010, 326), during which time “a Kiriol-Portuguese transitional bilingual model was successfully piloted by the research branch of the Ministry of Education in three remote parts of the country.” But there was no subsequent reform of the Portuguese-only policy. The pilot program stopped when the funding ended (Benson 2004, 58).

*Current* Portuguese only. In 2009, Benson returned to Guinea-Bissau as part of a UNICEF-sponsored team to investigate the potential for mother-tongue education to be implemented. The team “found that there is sufficient interest among educators, as well as human and linguistic resources, to begin strategic planning for multilingual education” (Benson 2010, 326).

*Language(s) Used:* **Portuguese**

\*Benson (2010: 324); Leclerc (2009) reports 10%

\*\*Benson (2010: 325); Leclerc (2009) reports 80%

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## Kenya

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkKiswahili
0	8	6	6	16%*	60%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Few Kenyan students had the opportunity to learn English during the colonial period; for those who did not go to secondary school, English usually was not taught even as a subject (Gorman, 1974). Missionary conference of 1909 agreed to use mother tongue in first three primary classes, Kiswahili in two middle primary classes, and English thereafter (Nabea, 123). The Beecher Report (1949) recommended the use of 20 mother tongues in primary schools. Teaching of English expanded just before independence (Bunyi, 81; Nabea, 125). English became language of formal education; speaking of national languages punished in school (Ngugi 1986, 11).

*Independence* (1963) The Education Commission Report (1964) stated: “The great majority of witnesses wished to see the universal use of the English language as the medium of instruction from Primary 1... We see no case for assigning to [vernaculars] a role for which they are ill-adapted, namely the role of educational medium in the critical early years of schooling.” Kiswahili is a compulsory subject in primary school. “Straight for English” from the first year of school was the New Primary Approach (Sifuna, 164).

*Interim* The Gachathi Report (1976) reinstated the use of “catchment languages” in standards 1-3 (Mbaabu, 147), though most of the recommendations were not followed (Nieuwenhuis, 58). The MacKay Report (1981) made Kiswahili a compulsory and examinable subject in primary and secondary schools, and the Kenya Institute of Education was to prepare educational materials in 22 languages. But because only a fraction of Kenya’s languages are being used, “the primary school pupils end up using languages which are neither their mother tongues, nor the language of their immediate ‘catchment areas’” (Mbaabu, 149).

*Current* The 1976 policy is still on the books. “The indigenous language of each region of Kenya is used as the instructional medium only in the first three years of primary school and only in linguistically homogeneous areas. In areas where there is considerable ethnic diversity, Kiswahili and English are used as instructional media in these first few years” (Bunyi 2001: 82). The Embassy reports that the practice is English medium from Primary 1, with Kiswahili taught as a subject, though local languages can be used in rural areas (Embassy interview). Leclerc (2009) and Nabea (2009:127) also report a rise in use of English. Bunyi (2007: 24) says that many teachers “rush into using English as the language of instruction right from Standard 1.” Githiora (2008: 244) states that “over the years, the pressure to master English for economic advancement and Swahili for its academic value has undermined the vernaculars enough to make their teaching or use in the classroom virtually non-existent in very many cases.” These reports conflict in their details, but all agree that local languages are losing ground to English.

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Kiswahili, Gikuyu, Luo, Luyia, Kamba, Kalenjin**

\*Baker & Jones (1998: 361); Bunyi (2007: 22) gives a figure of 15%; Nabea (2009) says “barely a quarter of the Kenyan population can adequately use English” (122); Graddol (1997:11) reports 9%.

\*\*Leclerc (2010) reports 12 million speakers of Kiswahili as a second language (38.9% of pop) plus .5% who speak it as a mother tongue = 39.4%; Baker & Jones (1998: 361) report nearly 70% speak it as a second language. Pawlikova-Vilhanova (1996:162) reports 60-70%. Adegbija (1994: 8) says 5% speak it as a mother tongue + 60% as a second language = 65%; Bunyi (2007: 22) says 75%. Average of these estimates is 63%.

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## *Lesotho*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSesotho
7	7	7	7	27%	98%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. The Evangelical Missionary Society arrived in 1833. By 1930, there were more than 800 primary schools (Maimbolwa-Sinyangwe, 2999).

*Independence* (1966) Sesotho first, then English.

*Interim* Primary education is conducted in Sesotho for the first four years and mainly in English thereafter (Maimbolwa-Sinyangwe, 2999).

*Current* Sesotho is language of instruction from primary 1-3; English is language of instruction in primary 4-7. "In reality, schools teach predominantly in Sesotho or switch between the two languages" (Moloi, 617). English is the sole medium in secondary school, and Sesotho is a subject (Leclerc). Sesotho is increasingly used in areas such as religion, politics and broadcasting (Baker & Jones, 361).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Sesotho**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Leclerc (2010) says **96.7%**; Adegbija (1994: 10) says 95% first-language speakers + 4% second-language speakers = **99%**. Average of two estimates is 98%.

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## Liberia

### CODING

Independence/1960	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkKrio
0	0	0	0	20%*	90%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

#### *Pre-Independence*

*Independence* (1847) The Lutheran Bible Society came to Liberia in 1969 and started the Liberia Language Institute, which is now involved in developing literacy programs in Gola, Grebo, Kissi, Kpelle, Kra, Kru, Vai, and Vandi (Richmond, 45).

*Interim* The Government sponsored a National Language Program in the early 1980s, which intended to use local languages for adult education and to introduce the local languages before English in the primary schools (Richmond, 43) [but] “at this writing [1983] English is the only language of instruction in the public schools” (43), though in rural areas, English is taught as a foreign language, using the native language of the region for classroom explanation and instructions (43)

*Current* With the civil war that began in 1990, there was not much done about education or languages. In terms of language, the “State is doing nothing from a legal point of view, nor from a practical perspective. It is content to follow colonial policy in leaving English as the official language, even though no one speaks it. The Liberian State has no apparent education policy regarding language. It does not forbid anything, but it does nothing” (Leclerc). A program is underway to make use of all indigenous languages as media of instruction in early primary education (Baker & Jones, 362). [See Malone & Malone 2004 ; appears Lutheran Bible Translators may have provided Liberian language materials for use in schools – Alvarez]

*Language(s) Used:* **English**

\* Baker & Jones (1998: 362); Graddol (1997:11) reports that 91% of Liberians speak English as a second language; this clearly refers to Krio

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 10) says 40% speak Krio as a first language and 50% as a second language = 90%; he reports Kpelle as the most widely spoken indigenous language with 20% first language speakers and 40% second language speakers = 60%

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## *Madagascar*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkMalagasay
0	7	7	7	15%*	98%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British and French colonization. Madagascar was colonized first by Britain, during which time Protestant missionaries taught in Malagasy (Johnson, 685). When Madagascar was subsequently turned over to France, public schools were taught in French, though Malagasy remained in private schools. The first Malagasy text was published in 1835, and the publication of a Malagasy Bible “rapidly imposed the model of a written language and a noble style” (Leclerc).

*Independence* (1960) The Malagasy Republic decided on official bilingualism of French and Malagasy. French remained the language of instruction, though Malagasy was progressively introduced as an optional subject in secondary schools (Johnson, 686).

*Interim* In 1975, the radical socialist regime undertook “malgasization” of the country, which included using only Malagasy in schools. Malagasy became the sole official language; relative isolation from French influence. The situation became explosive, and the government had to retract and allow French along with Malagasy in 1985.

*Current* The Third Republic (after 1991) reintroduced French as language of instruction from the 10<sup>th</sup> class [year two of primary] (Wolhuter, 32). Leclerc reports that primary school and the first cycle of secondary school are taught in Malagasy, and French is introduced as a second language from the second year of primary. In the second cycle of secondary, it becomes the medium of instruction. French is tolerated as a medium in primary if foreign teachers do not know Malagasy sufficiently. President Ravalomanana between 2002 and 2008 emphasized English to attract more commercial partners (Leclerc). In 2008, Madagascar decided that Malagasy would serve as the medium of instruction for grades 1-5, with French taught as a subject in the same years and gradually introduced as a medium in grades 6 and 7. English is introduced as a subject in the fourth year of primary (Brock-Utne and Skattum, citing Rabenoro, 27). After the military intervention in 2009, a new constitution came into effect in 2010, which included only Malagasy and French as official languages, excluding English.

*Language(s) Used:* **Malagasay, French**

\*Leclerc (2011) says 25% speak French; OIF (2007:17) says 5% are Francophones and 20% are partial Francophones. Average is 15%

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998, 362)

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# Malawi

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkChichewa
8	7	6	5	5%*	65%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Several vernaculars were used in primary schools.

*Independence* (1964) Several vernaculars were used initially in primary education. In 1968, the government made Chichewa (President Banda's own language) the national language and the only one to be used as medium in primary schools.

*Interim* Missionaries continued to have responsibility for many schools. Chichewa remains the only language with official status, and it is used for instruction in Standards 1-4 (with English as a subject). Standard 5 is a transitional year, in which instruction is given in both Chichewa and English, and after Standard 5, all instruction is in English (Malewezi, 3162).

*Current* With the introduction of multiparty rule and a new constitution in 1994, there was an intentional break from policies of the one-party dictatorship. In 1996, the Ministry of Education directed that Standards 1-4 should be taught through the vernaculars, with English the medium from Standard 5 (Kayambazinthu, a412; b122). The Centre for Language Studies replaced the Council of Chichewa. But since few teachers have been trained in other vernaculars, Chichewa and English remain the preferred medium of instruction in many schools (Pota, 145; Kayambazinthu, 412). According to Leclerc, the vernacular directive is still "optional," and English remains the primary language of instruction in schools. Myra Harrison (in 2001) agrees: "A proposal for mother tongue instruction for grades 1-4 is under Cabinet consideration; however, it appears that the policy on language in education has not yet changed from that of the dictatorial era: Chichewa remains the medium of instruction in Grades 1 to 4, in government schools, even in areas where it is not spoken" (Samuel & Harrison). In the proposed restructured transitional bilingual education program, younger primary school children were to be taught in their indigenous language with English as a subject. This policy has yet [by 2006] to be implemented (Matiki, 239-40); it is not popular, as many people view it as divisive (Matiki, 248). Most recently Matiki (2011) reports that the initial momentum for the mother tongue policy was primarily due to the support of external funding agency GTZ. Since this agency is no longer supporting the program, it has stalled. "Chichewa continues to be the only local language used as medium of instruction in primary school." Leclerc reports that though officially English is to begin in Grade 5, in practice it often begins in Grade 3, or even Grade 2 for math (Leclerc).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Chichewa**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Matiki (2006: 241) says 50.2% of population are native speakers of Chichewa, while 76.6% understand [from 1966 census]; Baker & Jones (1998: 362) say 75.2% speak it as first or second language; Leclerc (2011) reports at least 50% speak it as a first or second language; Adegbija (1994: 7) says 50% speak it as a first language + 10% as a second language = 60%. Avg = 65%

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## *Mali*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkBamanankan
0	4	6	6	7%*	80%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization. French used in schools and all official domains. A few missions used Malian languages, and Koranic schools used Arabic (Canvin, 167).

*Independence* (1960) French medium, though discussion of mother tongue medium since 1962. Decree#85 PGIRM of 26 May 1967 standardized alphabets for 4 languages: Bambara (Bamanankan), Fulfulde, Songhay, Tamasheq.

*Interim* In 1978, the first four bilingual schools opened, using Bamanan as the language of instruction. In 1982, the program was expanded to include Fulfulde, Songhay and Tamasheq (Canvin, 169). By the beginning of the 1990s, there were only 104 schools involved. Many of them had regressed in the use of the mother tongue (Tréfault, 235). They were phased out and replaced by a new experiment initiated by the Belgian research institute, CIAVER, in 1987: “pédagogie convergente” with one language, Bamanankan. The experiment began with two schools in Segou, and grew to 12 schools by 1992 (Wambach, 109). The pedagogy uses Malian languages as media of instruction during the first six years of education, with French phased in as an additional medium from year 3 (Canvin, 170).

*Current* Decree 93-107/P-RM of 16 April 1993 called on the Education Ministry to use national languages in education, and from the 1994-95 school year, the use of national languages and French was supposed to be generalized to six languages: Bamanankan, Tamasheq, Songhay, Soninke, Fulfulde, and Dogon. The “generalization” has reached more than 300 schools (Leclerc). In 1996, Law no. 96-049 of 23 August recognized 13 languages as national languages (Fomba, 5). According to Fomba, the languages added (in addition to the original Bamanankan) each year to the bilingual program were: (1994-95) – Fulfulde and Songhay; (1995-96) – Soninke, Tamasheq and Dogon, (1998-99) – Senoufo and Bobo, (2000-01) – Mamara and Bozo, (2001-02) – Khassonke (Fomba and Weva, 10). By 2005-2006, bilingual education had reached 31.6% of schools in the country (Skattum, 117). National languages also are used extensively through the *madrassa* (Islamic schools), where Classical Arabic is the official language of instruction, but most teachers translate the texts into local languages before having students recite them in Arabic (Brock-Utne and Skattum, 28, citing Tamari). [ELAN]

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Bamanankan, Fulfulde, Songhay, Tamasheq, Soninke, Dogon [Senoufo, Bobo, Mamara, Bozo, Khassonke, Xaasongaxango]**

\*Baker & Jones (1998: 363) report 5%; Skattum (2008: 98) says 5%-10%; OIF (2007:17) says 8.2%. Average = 7%

\*\*Canvin (2007: 158); confirmed by Skattum (2008: 99) [Adegbija (1994: 6) provides a much lower figure: 31% speak it as a mother tongue + 20% second-language speakers = 51%]

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## Mauritania

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkHassArab
1	4	1	1	5.4%*	80%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization. French medium until 1959. A majority of public schools were located in the South, serving mostly black Africans. The education reform of 1959 allowed the use of French and Arabic as media of instruction in all schools. This was Classical Arabic, rather than Hassanya Arabic [Hassanya Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of Mauritians] (Leclerc).

*Independence* (1960) French and Classical Arabic medium. In 1964-65, only about 14 percent of school-age children were enrolled in school. An estimated 5% literacy rate at independence only grew to 10% one decade later (Handloff).

*Interim* Reforms of 1967, 1973, and 1978 reinforced the promotion of Arabic. They continually increased the number of hours of teaching of Arabic, and promoted the use of Arabic in more domains, particularly administrative. In October 1979, a law was put into place to try to assure cultural independence from France, calling for Arabic as a language of unity for all Mauritians, officialization of all national languages, transcription of Pulaar, Soninke and Wolof in Latin script, creation of an Institute of National Languages, and teaching in national languages (Diallo). The idea of replacing French completely with Arabic drew vigorous protest from French speaking black Mauritians and was abandoned (Handloff). Education could be in two streams, either Arabic or bilingual. In 1982-83 the first experimental schools in Pulaar, Soninke and Wolof began in 5 regions, with national languages used as the medium for all subjects for the entire primary cycle and Arabic as a subject [*anti-French*]. This experiment ended in 1988, replaced by a new method, which restricted MT teaching to only the first two years and French or Arabic introduced in third year (Diallo). This was a third possible stream.

*Current* The Constitution of 1991 eliminated the official status of French. Article 6 declares that the national languages are (Hassanya) Arabic, Pulaar, Soninke, Wolof and the official language is Classical Arabic (Leclerc). A World Bank project appraisal document in 2001 reported that “while French is widely used in society and essential for highly qualified jobs, it is taught effectively only to the 5.5% of students in primary education who enroll in the bilingual stream. The rest of the students enroll either in the Arabic stream (94%) or in the local language stream (.5%), which impart poor French skills” (World Bank, 3). The government in 1999 approved an education sector reform that combines the existing three education streams “into one unified stream where Arabic and French are the main languages of instruction” (World Bank, 4). Arabic is the language of instruction for all subjects in grade one; French is introduced for a few hours a week in grade two. In grade three, French is used to teach math, and in grade five, French is introduced to teach science. Arabic is used for all other subjects (World Bank, 136). Diallo reports that this ended the mother tongue experiment. “While official documents make no mention of the use of local languages in literacy programs...in practice, local languages such as Wolof, Pulaar, Soninke and Hassaniya are used in literacy programmes, particularly in the South of the country” (Bougroum, 16-17). Leclerc confirms a few dozen classes.

*Language(s) Used:* **Arabic, French [Pulaar, Soninke, Wolof, Hassaniya]**

\*OIF (2007:16)

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 363) and Leclerc (2010) both say 80%; Adegbiya (1994: 10) states 87%

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## Mauritius

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkCreole
0	0	0	0	12.5%*	70%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization 1715-1810 – limited development of Catholic mission schools; British colonization 1810-1966 – some Protestant mission schools, but “the Catholic ethos remained dominant’ (Johnson, 688). The Education Ordinance of 1957 authorized the *use of any appropriate language of instruction in Standards 1-3*. In Standards 4-6, the medium of instruction was to be English (Sonck 2005: 40).

*Independence* (1966) There is no official language policy in the 1966 constitution (Hookoomsing, 117), and the country kept the 1957 ordinance. “Since English becomes the language of instruction as from the fourth year, however, sheer pragmatism dictates that it be introduced as early as possible” (Hookoomsing, 118). Rajah-Carrim (2007: 54) reports that English was the official medium of instruction from the first year of primary school.

*Interim* English is the language of government and education. The use of English from the start of primary was blamed for high failure rates in primary school. Many teachers use French instead of English in the classroom (Rajah-Carrim, 54). “A large part of the population has some knowledge of French... French is also the main language of the media” (Sonck 2005: 38).

*Current* In 1998, the Minister of Education declared that young school children should be taught in their mother tongue, but little changed because of people’s reluctance (Sonck 2005: 41). The Education Ordinance of 1957 is still in place [In standard 1-3, any language may be used as the language of instruction, as approved by the Minister. Standards 4-6 are in English] (Sonck 2005: 40). All children learn through a mixture of English and French at school (Sonck 2005: 42), but all school books are in English (Sonck 2005: 41). Rajah-Carrim (2007: 51) reports that English and French are used in the classroom, while Creole tends to be excluded. Pro-Kreol group LPT and individual linguists have pressured the government to change this. The government in 2004 declared Creole would be officially introduced in the coming years (*ibid*). Mauritius is looking to become a ‘regional knowledge hub,’ developing tertiary educational linkages with Australia, India and the UK (Johnson, 690) – obviously all in English.

*Language(s) Used:* **English, French, Creole**

\*Baker & Jones (1998: 363) say less than 10% speak French; OIF (2007:17) say 15%. Avg = 12.5%.

Leclerc (2010) says less than 1% speak English, while Graddol (1997:11) claims the figure is 15%.

\*\*Rajah-Carrim (2007: 51)

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MOROCCO: recognizes Tamazight as a national language and has established 350 Tamazight-speaking primary schools across the country (Lauermaun 2009, 44 – citing US State Department 2007)

# Mozambique

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkPortug	<i>Nolinguafranca</i>
0	0	4	6	33%*	

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Prior to independence, indigenous Mozambicans were only offered education in the first three years. If they wanted further study, students had to go to Tanzania (Stege, 3438). “Metropolitan Portuguese” was the language of instruction.

*Independence* (1975) “Mozambican Portuguese” became the language of instruction. FRELIMO used a re-invented Portuguese, presented as “better” than the metropolitan version, as a national linguistic symbol (Stroud, 350). “But never did Mozambican elites think for an instant to use African languages at school” (Leclerc).

*Interim* During the civil war (1980-1992), opposition RENAMO advocated the use of indigenous languages, instead of Portuguese. Portuguese was re-constituted as an urban language, identified explicitly with the party in power, FRELIMO. RENAMO enforced the use of national languages in the zones it controlled (Stroud, 360).

*Current* Post-civil war, African “languages are still associated with authenticity and traditional values, and also increasingly with a more elaborated concept of participatory democracy.” But more powerful, elite groups are formulating a new understanding of cultural authenticity based around Portuguese (Stroud, 370). Bilingual experiments known as PEBIMO ran from 1993 to 1997 with World Bank and UN sponsorship. They used two languages (Changana and Nyanja) to transition to Portuguese over the primary grades 1-5. “Following the experiment, 16 Mozambican languages were developed in preparation for their use in bilingual schooling, which was slated to begin on a small scale, voluntary basis in 2000, but then postponed each year. Finally, a few months into the 2003 school year, ten of these languages have been introduced in individual classrooms spread throughout the provinces as part of the piloting of the new primary curriculum, which includes bilingual schooling as one alternative” (Benson 2004, 51-52). The large-scale curriculum reform occurred in 2002. Benson says transitional bilingual primary schooling now offered in 17 languages in 75 schools (out of 8,000) (Benson 2010, 328).

*Language(s) Used:* **Portuguese, Nyanja, Changana [15 others]**

\*Benson (2010, 238) reports that 6% speak Portuguese as a mother tongue, while 27% speak it as a second or additional language; Leclerc (2011) reports that 17% of urban populations speak Portuguese, while almost no rural inhabitants do; Baker & Jones (1998: 364) say that almost a quarter of Mozambicans are bilingual in Portuguese and an African language.

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# Namibia

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkNdonga
8	8	6	6	18%*	>50%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German, British, South African colonization. Most children educated in their mother tongue for the first 3-4 years. After that, the few who had the opportunity to continue schooling switched to Afrikaans medium (Roy-Campbell, 173).

*Independence* (1990) The 10 Namibian languages were made media of instruction for functional literacy and lower primary school, and eight of them were taught as subjects up to Grade 10 (Brock-Utne 2001, 244). The Ongwediva Education Conference of 1992 confirmed that “Education should promote language and cultural identity of the children through the use of the home language as medium of instruction, at least at the Lower Primary, and the teaching of the home languages throughout general education” (Brock-Utne 2001, 307).

*Interim* A 1993 pamphlet by the Ministry of Education and Culture, *The Language Policy for Schools*, interpreted the policy as follows: “Grades 1-3 will be taught either through the Home Language, a local language, or English,” which opened up the possibility of using English only from Grade 1. “There are also those in the Ministry of Education who believe that the policy is actually promoting ‘English only’ and not the Namibian tongues” (Brock-Utne 2001, 309). The independence language policy has made it more difficult for commercial publishers to publish in African languages than it was under apartheid (Brock-Utne 1997, 257).

*Current* Research conducted in 1995 in three regions showed that Afrikaans was the medium of instruction in most schools, even though most students were Khoekhoe-speakers, and English is rapidly taking over from other remaining Khoekhoe schools as a medium of instruction (Brock-Utne 1997, 246). Another survey in 2000 showed that English was being used almost exclusively in the Windhoek region, which was likely indicative of other schools (Swarts, 41-43). Many teachers are using the “loophole” that allows English as a medium (Swarts, 46). The status of the African languages has notably diminished since independence (Leclerc). Baker & Jones (364) say English is the only medium of instruction, with other indigenous languages only being studied as subjects.

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Afrikaans, Ndonga, Herero, Nama, Fiw?, Tswana [13 total]**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 364) (Oshivambo)

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## Niger

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkHausa
0	4	6	6	9%*	73%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French only.

*Interim* Though French is the sole official language, Hausa and Zarma are allowed in parliamentary debates (Leclerc). “Systematic bilingual experimentation began in 1973 with five different mother tongues used in the first three grades and transition to French in grade 4 (Alidou *et al* 2006: 52 ).

*Current* By 1998, there were 42 experimental schools, assisted by GTZ and USAID, using the five main languages (Hovens, 253). The 1998 Law of Orientation states that the languages of instruction are French and national languages (Leclerc). Niger recently decided to promote all of its eight national languages as media of instruction during the first years of school (Brock-Utne 2001, 128). The Swiss government and GTZ (which promised to participate over a 9-yr period) are helping in the implementation of the policy. Alidou & Brock-Utne (2006: 52) criticize the policy for remaining in its “‘experimental’ ghetto.” In Niger’s primary schools, teaching is given in some of the national languages during the first three years, along with classical Arabic, which is taught in several schools experimentally. French remains the language of instruction from the fourth year of primary and throughout secondary (Leclerc).

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Arabic, Hausa, Zarma, Tamasheq, Gourmanchéma, Fulfulde, Manga Kanuri**

\*OIF (2007:17) – this combines both Francophones and “Partial Francophones”; percent of “real” speakers is likely much lower

\*\* Baker & Jones (1998: 364) say 49.6% of population speaks Hausa, but likely L1 speakers; Adegbija (1994: 6) reports 46% speak it as a first language + 24% as a second language = 70%; *Ethnologue* reports 55% speak it as a first language + 25% as second language = 60%; avg = 75%

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# Nigeria

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkHausa
8	8	8	8	20%*	50%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Initially English language education, but after 1926 encouraged vernacular in the first primary years, particularly Igbo, followed by Hausa, Yoruba and Efik (Adegbija, 217).

*Independence* (1960) Vernacular medium in first years. But it was not a very firm policy. At the Meeting of Experts on the Use of the Mother Tongue for Literacy (held in Ibadan 1964), Nigeria did not have a stated policy (Armstrong, 232).

*Interim* The 1977 Education Policy: “Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English (Section 3:15 (4), cited in Akinnaso, 261). In practice, English and math virtually monopolize the attention of teachers because they are the two major subjects on the First School Leaving Certificate Examinations (Ogundimu, 3535). All students are supposed to learn one of the major Nigerian languages (Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba) as a subject up to the secondary school level. In 1979 Constitution, these three languages were given official status as languages of discussion in the National Assembly, along with English. The policy of using the mother tongue for the first three years “actually happened only sporadically, and more so in Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo areas” (Simpson and Oyètádé, 188).

*Current* The government recognizes 27 minority local languages in education. This means that primary education begins in one of these languages, followed by one of the three major languages (Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba). English is obligatory from primary school, as is Arabic in Koranic schools (Leclerc). It is typically the language of the immediate community, and not necessarily the mother tongue, that is taught. And in urban areas, local languages are often used for both lower and upper primary, while in urban areas, English is often the sole medium (Akinnaso, 263). A survey conducted in 2000 revealed that in one particular minority area, 64 % of primary school teachers used English in their teaching, and the remaining 36% used a combination of English and Nigerian languages, usually Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo, rather than the immediate local language (cited in Simpson and Oyètádé, 188). In 1998, the National Policy on Education, Section 1, 10, declared French a second official language that would be compulsory in schools (Igboanusi, 235) [a political move by Abacha, who had been ostracized by Anglophone West]. The French government in 2002 approved €1.3 million for overhaul of French language instruction [as subject] in Nigeria (Igboanusi, 243). Some fear that expansion of French will endanger the local languages (Igboanusi, 244). Adegbija reports difficulty implementing the mother tongue policy in urban areas (2007, 210) and a general shift away from the indigenous languages to English among both youth and adults (248). “Hausa, English, and Nigerian Pidgin are coming to dominate communication in informal domains where mother tongues are expected to be used, posing a serious threat to the continued transmission of many minority languages” (Simpson & Oyètádé, 191).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Hausa, Yoruba, Ibo [27 others]**

\* Baker & Jones (1998: 365) say 20-30%; Adegbija (2007, 204) reports it is spoken by less than 20%.

\*\*Adegbija (1994:11) says that Hausa is spoken by 30% as a first language and 20% as a second; Graddol (1997:11) claims 38% of Nigerians speak English as a second language; likely this is referring to Nigerian Pidgin English

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# Rwanda

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkKinyarwanda
7	7	7	7	12%*	98%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German and Belgian colonization.

*Independence* (1962). French and Kinyarwanda medium.

*Interim* Law no. 14/1985 of 19 June 1985 states that the first cycle of primary is dedicated to learning math, reading and writing, all in Kinyarwanda (Article 42; cited in Leclerc).

*Current* Because of France's questionable role in the Rwandan genocide of 1994, and because of the influx of refugees returning from Anglophone countries, the government decided to include English as an official language along with French and Kinyarwanda. The 1996 and 2003 Constitutions include all three as official languages (Leclerc). Children are supposed to begin school in all three languages, and from the 4<sup>th</sup> year onward, English and French are to be the languages of instruction (Calvet, 157). In 2008, the President announced that the country will transition to English (rather than French) throughout the education system beginning in 2011 (Leclerc). But this was largely a political statement, and given the shortage of English teachers, this is not likely to happen anytime soon.

*Language(s) Used:* **Kinyarwanda, French, English**

\*Leclerc (2010) says 15-20%; OIF (2007:17) says 7%. Average = 12%

\*\*Leclerc (2010); Adegbija (1994: 8) reports 90% speak it as a first language + 8% as a second

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## *Sao Tome and Principe*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkPortug	%SpkCreole
0	0	0	0		89%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Portuguese colonization.

*Independence* (1975) Portuguese medium.

*Interim* Portuguese medium.

*Current* Portuguese medium. There is no place for teaching of local languages, whether Creole or Fang (Creole is not standardized, and Fang is considered a foreign language) (Leclerc).

*Language(s) Used:* **Portuguese**

\*\*Leclerc (2010) Santoméen Creole – 85%, Principense Creole – 4%

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## Senegal

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkWolof
0	0	4	4	14%*	87%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* French colonization.

*Independence* (1960) French medium.

*Interim* A 1971 presidential decree (no. 71566 of 21 May 1971) elevated six languages to the rank of “national languages”: Wolof, Peul, Serer, Diola, Malinke, Soninke. An experiment in teaching of national languages (primarily Wolof, with one token Serer class) began in 1979. By 1981, classes had all ended. The 1981-1984 National Commission for Education Reform concurred that mother tongues should be used in the first years of primary (*Etats Généraux* Annexe IIE), but no action was taken at that time.

*Current* Law no. 91-22 of 16 Feb 1991 defining the goals of education mentions national languages rather vaguely. Article 6, 1: “National education is Senegalese and African: developing the teaching of national languages, privileged instruments for giving learners a living contact with their culture and rooting them in their history, it will form a Senegalese conscious of his heritage and his identity” (Leclerc). An office for National Languages was created in the Ministry of Education in 1999. The introduction of national languages in basic education is one of the objectives of the Decennial Plan of Education and Training (PDEF), and in 2002, experiments began in 155 schools using 6 languages. In 2004, there were 300 schools, using 6 languages. No special status for Arabic. Spread of Wolof has increased since 2000. President Wade, used the language in public addresses, along with French; he also liberalized the media, providing much more opportunity for the use of Wolof rather than French. But there is an implicit understanding that Wolof should not be promoted officially above other languages (McLaughlin 2008, 86-87).

*Language(s) Used:* **French, Wolof, Peul, Serer, Diola, Malinke, Soninke**

\*Leclerc (2010) says 15-20%; OIF (2007:17) says 10%. Average = 14%

\*\*McLaughlin (2008, 85) says close to 90% speak Wolof; Adegbiya (1994: 9) says 42% speak it as a first language + 40% as a second language = 82%; Leclerc (2010) reports 90%. Average = 87%.

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## *Seychelles*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSeselwa
0	7	7	7	14%*	95%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Alternately occupied by French and British until 1810, after which Britain gained definitive possession, though Seychelles was ruled as a dependency of the Island of Mauritius, and French and Creole were allowed to be used in school and administration. From 1844 onward, teaching could be in either French or English. Until 1944 teachers usually used French or Creole in schools. The British did not really try to impose their language or culture. In 1944, however, English became the sole language of teaching, and French was taught only as a subject.

*Independence* (1976) English medium.

*Interim* In 1981, Creole, which was henceforth named Seselwa, became the first national language, English the second, and French the third (Leclerc). This gave official status to the teaching of Seselwa in schools alongside English and French.

*Current* Seselwa is medium of instruction in the first years of primary school, with English and French as subjects. Shift from Seselwa to English as medium in last years of primary school (Rajah-Carrim, 55). English becomes language of instruction in fourth year of primary and French is introduced as a subject (Sonck, 47).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Seselwa**

\*Graddol (1997:11) [OIF (2007:17) reports 5% are Francophones]

\*\*Leclerc (2010)

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## Sierra Leone

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkKrio
4	6	4	4	15%*	95%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Mende and Temne were privileged; these languages, along with Krio, were developed as languages for transitional literacy and translations of the Bible (Francis & Kamanda, 233).

*Independence* (1961) Sierra Leone did not have a stated language policy in 1964 (Armstrong, 232). The official position from 1961-78 was to continue to use English as far as possible. It was the sole medium of instruction in upper primary. Local languages Mende, Themne and Krio were promoted in the media and unofficially used as media of instruction during early primary years (Francis & Kamanda, 236-7).

*Interim* In 1979, a pilot project began, using Mende, Temne and Limba in 36 schools (Fyle, 52). [Krio excluded because seen as potentially deforming English; Limba had acquired national status b/c of Siaka Stevens]. In the 1980s, the four major languages were officially infused into the primary school system as instructional media on an experimental basis following the recommendations of the 1981 UNESCO report (Sengova, 522). Krio added in 1984. TISLL...has been involved for several years in translating the Bible, and “their primary preoccupation is with evangelizing the people through the culturally relevant medium – their own mother tongue” (Sengova, 527). As of the early 90s, the pilot program had not received much support and had not gone beyond the pilot stage because of lack of financing (Fyle, 52).

*Current* Because of its civil war from 1991-2002, the country’s language policy has been primarily “non-intervention.” (Leclerc) The 1996 Basic Education Program for Primary and Secondary Education stipulated that community languages were to be used for teaching classes 1-3 in primary school (Banya, 488). These languages were to continue as subjects through secondary. The 2004 Education Act is not clear on whether these languages are subjects or media in primary school: (Part II, Paragraph 2 (2) e: the system shall be designed to “introduce into the curriculum new subjects such as indigenous languages and Sierra Leone Studies which shall give and enhance a proper and positive understanding of Sierra Leone” (Government of Sierra Leone). Nishimuko implies languages are subjects (285). Leclerc says that most instruction is in English, and though languages *can* be taught, few teachers are able to do so and there are really no available manuals (Leclerc). Much education is currently provided by NGOs; currently about 75% of schools are owned and managed by Faith-Based Organizations in Sierra Leone, often receiving support from international NGOs (Nishimuko, 284).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Mende, Temne, Krio, Limba**

\*Leclerc (2009)

\*\*Leclerc (2009); Oyètádé and Luke (2008: 122) concur. Adegbija (1994: 9) reports Temne as the most widely spoken mother tongue, with 25% speaking it as a first language and 45% speaking it as a second = 70%.

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# Somalia

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSomali
1	7	5	5		97% <sup>**</sup>

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Italian and British colonization. In 1957, there were 137 primary schools in Italian Somaliland, with an enrollment of 12,557, and in 1960, British Somaliland had 38 primary schools with 2,020 students (Maimbolwa-Sinyange, 4710). Elementary schools in the North used Arabic as the initial medium, introducing English in the second year; in the South, Arabic was used for the first two years, with Italian used for instruction after the second year (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 97).

*Independence* (1960) After independence, it was decided that English should eventually replace Italian as the medium of instruction in the third year (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 97). In 1965, the Ministry decided that Arabic was an appropriate medium for all four early elementary years, and English would be used at intermediate and secondary level (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 97). Islamic schooling was popular at pre-primary and early primary levels, enrolling more students than formal schools. Also, with the help of Soviet educators, the government introduced a new curriculum emphasizing Somali culture. The Somali language could not be used, however, because linguists and politicians could not agree on a unified script [Arabic, Latin or indigenous] (Warsame, 345-47).

*Interim* The military regime that seized power in 1969 succeeded in establishing an official (Latin) script (Warsame, 347), and introduced the Somali language into the school system in 1972 (Maimbolwa-Sinyange, 4711). In 1977, Somali was introduced into the secondary system. “By 1977, 135 textbooks in the Somali language had been produced and were being used through the first year of secondary school classes, with the intention of gradually phasing out English as the medium of instruction” (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 100).

*Current* No central authority has been handling education since the early 90s. Some provision by international forces or NGOs, but after 1995, any surviving schools were community schools. The best performing areas are in the North – Puntland and Somaliland. In Somaliland, which proclaimed independence, the government has reinforced English to the detriment of Somali (Leclerc). The medium of instruction at the primary level may be Arabic, Somali, or English (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 107). Arabic-medium schools have found greater favor among parents and students (Cassanelli and Abdikadir, 108).

*Language(s) Used:* **Arabic, Somali, English**

<sup>\*\*</sup>Adegbija (1994: 6) says 95% speak it as first language + 2% as second language = 97%; Baker & Johnson (1998: 366) say “more or less the entire population speaks Somali”

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## South Africa

### CODING

1960	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	RegLingFranc
10	8	6	6	18.5%*	**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* Dutch and British colonization. “State education provided to ‘white’ and some ‘coloured’ children was based on mother-tongue education (English or Dutch/Afrikaans) for primary school and usually a switch to English for Dutch/Afrikaans-speakers in secondary school during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Missionaries offered limited education for African pupils and generally used mother tongue for four to six years followed by English medium” (Heugh, 198). Increased Anglicization to 1910; dominance of English in all spheres (Kamwangamalu, 202).

*Independence* (1910). English and/or Dutch-Afrikaans medium. 1948 apartheid government strengthened the status of Afrikaans and introduced the logic of segregation in mother tongue education, expanded across each ethnolinguistic group. Between 1953 and 1979, South Africa practiced “Bantu Education,” during which time “the mother tongue was phased in and maintained for 8 years as the primary language of learning.” Strict implementation of Afrikaans for half of the subjects in secondary school led to the Soweto student uprising in 1976. The students wanted the option of learning English instead, and the government modified its language policy (Brock-Utne 2001, 127).

*Interim* In 1979, the Education and Training Act was passed, which reduced the mother tongue to four years of primary school, and then students could choose between Afrikaans or English medium (Heugh, 199). Most schools opted for English, and the “reduction in the use of the mother tongue has coincided with decreasing pass rates” (Brock-Utne 2001, 127; Heugh 2008, 359-60).

*Current* The 1997 Constitution recognized 11 official languages, and Article 29 (2) gives everyone the right to basic education in the official language or languages of his choice where “reasonably practicable.” Vic Web (1999) [paraphrased in Brock-Utne 2001, 127] says that despite the constitutional goals of multilingual education, the country seems to be regressing to its pre-apartheid practice of English-only. Schools are allowed to choose their medium. Government documents show that: 11% chose Afrikaans (mother tongue of 11.3% of school population); 51% chose English (MT of 5.7% of school population); 37% chose a Bantu language (MT of 83% of school population) [Webb 1999, Citing South African Department of Education Statistics from 1997, 58]. The revised National Curriculum Statement (2002) reduces use of the MT to the end of grade 3, rather than 4 (Heugh, 208).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Afrikaans, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu**

\* Heugh (2007:192) says up to 12% use English as home language or main language of communication. Graddol (1997:11) claims that 25% of South Africans speak English as a second language. Average = 18.5%

\*\*Heugh (2007:192) says there is no single obvious lingua franca; Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans & English are used the most.

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# Sudan

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSudArabic
1	2	4	4		60%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. In the South, the British left education to the Christian missions. English was the official language, but six local languages were used in the South (Bari, Dinka, Nuer, Shiluk, Luo, Azande (Siddiek, 77). Arabic was excluded. In the North, Arabic was the medium in primary school, with English as a subject.

*Independence* (1956) Arabic and English medium. After 1965, Arabic progressively replaced English, even in higher education. The military regime of Abboud (1958-64) imposed Arabization and Islamization on the South. (Leclerc)

*Interim* Between 1972 and 1983, there was some devolution of power to the South. In Southern schools, the policy was one of bilingualism in local languages and English. In the North, it was mother tongue and Arabic, though in urban areas, it was monolingual Arabic. But after this brief respite, local languages were again subsumed under forced Arabization (Leclerc)

*Current* The 1998 Constitution (Article 3) makes Arabic the official language of the State, but permits the development of local and international languages. “When schools function, children in the two first years receive instruction in their local mother tongue. After this, Arabic or English become the language of instruction” (Leclerc). But many schools in the south have not functioned, and local languages regressed. During the war (1983-2005) “schools became dependent on teachers trained in East Africa, and using East African syllabuses, and though Arabic was typically taught as a subject, the vernacular languages tended to disappear from the syllabus (James, 72). “In practice, formal education has scarcely existed in the South for decades, but informal teaching has continued in broken-down premises and under trees, often supported by the churches, and in the medium of local vernaculars, southern Arabic, and elementary English. In the North, Arabic is the language which has long been used for internal affairs, religious studies, and primary education, while English is introduced as a subject in secondary schools and higher education” (James, 76-77). When the North/South War ended in 2005, the South received some autonomy, and the new Constitution of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) promised to respect, develop, and promote national languages (Article 2.8.5), allowing any language as a medium of instruction in schools at lower levels (cited in James, 65).

The new constitution (2011) for Southern Sudan adopted English as the language of instruction at all levels of education.

*Language(s) Used:* **Arabic, English, [Bari, Dinka, Nuer, Shiluk, Luo, Azande]**

\*\*Adegbija (1994: 9) reports 50% speak Arabic as a first language and 10% as a second = 60%; Leclerc (2011) says 50-70%

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## *Swaziland*

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSwati
0	7	5	5	4%*	90%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

- Pre-Independence* British colonization. Zulu was used as medium early on, since missionaries were Zulu-speaking. In the lead-up to independence, English was the primary medium of instruction.
- Independence* (1968) English medium. SiSwati did not have a written form. In 1978, siSwati was introduced as a medium during first four years with English as a subject and then English medium thereafter (MacMillan, 303).
- Interim* Same. Private schools use English medium.
- Current* Official policy is siSwati medium during first four years with English as a subject and then English medium thereafter. But this is not well-implemented. A Norwegian student doing field research in 1997 in Swaziland “was struck by the fact that she found English to be the dominant language in every school setting” (Brock-Utne, 126). The Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Education (M. V. Vilakati, in interview with Brock-Utne) admitted that “he was aware of the fact that a good number of schools, especially in the towns and cities, now started with English as the language of instruction in the first grade. On the question of why the Government did not attempt to enforce their language policy, he answered that they did not want to enforce anything and were more in favour of letting parents decide. Many parents decided that their children should start using English as the language of instruction as early as possible because they thought that would boost their learning of this very important language” (Brock-Utne, 125).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, siSwati**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Baker & Jones (1998: 367); Adegbija (1994: 11) also reports 90% - all first-language speakers; Leclerc (2010) says 88.5%

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## Tanzania

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkSwahili
5	9	9	9	7%*	93%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German and British colonization. There were English schools, Asian schools and African schools. In African schools, Kiswahili was the medium in grades 1-5, English was a subject from grade 3, and English was the medium from grade 6 (Roy-Campbell 2001a)

*Independence* (1964) No more Asian schools. In African schools, Kiswahili was medium of instruction in Standards 1-5; English as medium in Standards 7 and 8. In English schools, English was the medium throughout, and Kiswahili was a subject from Standard 3 (Roy-Campbell 2001b, 69).

*Interim* A 1967 Education Circular stated that beginning in 1968, Swahili would be the medium of education through all of primary school (not just grades 1-5). This was to take full effect by 1972-74. English would be taught as a subject in all grades. (Roy Campbell 2001b, 73). The expectation was that Kiswahili would continue to expand in function to become the medium in secondary schools too. But in 1982, the government rejected a proposal by the Presidential Commission on Education to change the medium of instruction at the secondary and tertiary levels to Kiswahili (Roy-Campbell 2001b, 98-99).

*Current* In 1987, an English language teaching support project was introduced as a component of British development aid: “One condition for this project, laid down by the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) of the British government...was that the Ministry of Education should ensure that English remains the medium of instruction for secondary schools, a condition which the Tanzanian government accepted” (Roy-Campbell 2001b, 103). Private primary schools, using English-language medium, are a recent phenomenon in Tanzania (Yahya-Othman, 73). English proficiency is deteriorating, and the government is reluctant to allow the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction past the primary level (Roy-Campbell 2001a, 275). Demand for English as language of instruction at all levels increasing (Mohamed, 106 [citing Brock-Utne 2005]). Leclerc notes that curiously, the school law of Tanzania (2007) does not contain any mention of language.

*Language(s) Used:* **Swahili**

\*Leclerc (2010) reports 4.5%; Graddol (1997:11) says 10% of Tanzanians speak English as a second language. Average = 7%.

\*\*Leclerc (2010) reports 95%; Adegbija (1994: 7) says .6% speak Swahili as a first language + 90% as a second language = 90.6%. Average = 93%

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# Togo

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkFrench	%SpkEwe
0	0	0	0	31.5%*	55%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* German and French colonization. In 1913, under German administration, there were only 4 public schools with 341 students, compared to 348 mission schools with more than 14,000 students. These mission schools – Catholic and Protestant – privileged indigenous languages. But with French trusteeship after 1919, French became the official language and sole language of instruction (Leclerc).

*Independence* (1960) French medium. President Olympio made French and Ewe national languages.

*Interim* President Eyadema (Kabiye-speaker) launched a program of “return to authenticity.” In 1975, the government launched a program to rehabilitate Togolese languages, and in 1978, Ewe and Kabiye appeared in schools as subjects (Leclerc), while some smaller languages – Tem, Ben and Ncem – received some support for development (Sonko-Godwin, 5277).

*Current* Ewe and Kabiye are used in nursery schools along with French. In primary school, teaching is in French, with Ewe and Kabiye as subjects. The SIL director in 2004 reported that there was no government support for mother tongue education in Togo (Nelson). In 2011, the situation remains the same: “other than a small number of individuals that are interested, there is no support for use of local languages to be used as the means of teaching in formal education” (Dozeman). Ewe is dominating Kabiye as a lingua franca (Essizewa, 30)

*Language(s) Used:* **French**

\* Baker and Jones (1998: 368) report 30%; OIF (2007:17) report 33%. Average = 31.5%

\*\*Baker and Jones (1998: 368) report 60%; Essizewa (2007) reports 60% understood Ewe or Mina (31); Adegbija (1994: 8) says 44% speak Ewe as a first language and 6% as a second = 50%. Avg = 55%.

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# Uganda

## CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkLuganda
8	8	6	6	7.5%*	38%**

## LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Successive pre-colonial governors advocated the teaching of Kiswahili, but missionaries resisted (because they were using other indigenous languages and because Kiswahili was associated with Islam), and the governors' efforts were thwarted (Kasozi, 25). Luganda was favored because the colonial government used Buganda agents as administrators. Inconsistent treatment of Swahili. A 1948 report of the US Department of Education noted that 6 languages were used for teaching at that time: Luganda, Luo, Lunyoro, Ateso, Lugbara, Kiswahili (Kasozi, 25). But in 1952, Swahili was no longer a recognized vernacular in Uganda schools (Pawlikova-Vilhanova, 168).

*Independence* (1962) Local languages were used in the first years, followed by English. Luganda continued to be favored in eastern Uganda. Kiswahili was dropped because of opposition from missionaries and from Luganda speakers. Kiswahili continued to spread among security forces and in commerce, and became a lingua franca for the poorly educated [though people at all socioeconomic levels use it – Bernsten, 101] (Tembe and Norton, 53). No coherent policy.

*Interim* In 1973, Idi Amin decreed that Kiswahili was to be the national language and the medium of instruction, but he allocated few resources to achieving the education goal. Local languages continued to be used, particularly Luganda.

*Current* A Government White Paper on Education in 1992 stated that in rural schools the medium of education should be the “relevant local language” [not necessarily mother tongue] from grades 1-4 and English from grade 5, whereas in urban primary schools, English is the medium from grade 1 (Tembe and Norton, 35). In all primary schools, English and Kiswahili were to be compulsory subjects, with Kiswahili gradually emphasized. All primary schools were to teach a local Ugandan language, but not necessarily examine it (McGregor, 7). This White Paper was aimed more at strengthening Kiswahili than at promoting local languages, since they were already being used in lower primary grades. A survey by Annette Nyquist in 1998 reported: “Observations in primary schools showed that most of the teaching was done in English. The learning materials for the teachers and the students were all in English, including teacher guides for mother tongue teaching. The teachers I spoke to said that they were told that English should be the medium of instruction from P.1” (quoted by Brock-Utne 2001, 127).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Luganda, Kiswahili, Luo, Lunyoro, Ateso, Lugbara**

\*Leclerc (2010) says 6%; Graddol (1997:11) says 9%. Average = 7.5%

\*\* Adegbija (1994: 7) says Luganda is spoken by 18% as a first language and 20% as a second language = 38%, while Swahili is spoken by 35% as a second language; Leclerc (2010) says Swahili is spoken by 90% of the population; Baker & Jones report Swahili is only spoken by 20% of Ugandans, and that Luganda is spoken by 2/3 of the population. [Ethnologue reports 1,000,000 L2 speakers of Luganda in 1999]

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## Zambia

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkBemba
0	0	4	4	20.5%*	58%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization. Local languages used as medium of instruction to 4<sup>th</sup> grade. Four local languages selected in 1928: Cibemba, Cinyanja, Citonga, Silozi (Manchisi, 2). English thereafter.

*Independence* (1964) In 1966, the Ministry of Education ruled that English would be the medium of instruction from Grade 1 onward (Manchisi, 4)

*Interim* Between 1975 and 1977, Ministry of Education had proposed a return to the earlier practice of using local languages in first four years, but the proposal was rejected. 1977 “Reform” maintained use of English from Grade 1 to University (Manchisi, 4).

*Current* In 1993 and 1995, studies by Eddie Williams and the South African Consortium for Education Quality (SACMEQ) showed that Zambian students’ reading levels were abysmal: two years below expected in English and three years below expected in Zambian languages. One of the contributing factors was determined to be the use of English as the initial language of literacy. From 1996 came a new education policy: “Educating our Future/Breakthrough to Literacy,” where students are given the opportunity to learn basic reading and writing in a local language (Sampa, 53). Samuel reports that in 1996 the government “implemented a pilot reading programme in one [Cibemba] of its seven main Zambian languages, which was shown to be effective, and has now opted for programmes in all seven languages by 2003” (5-6). The seven Zambian languages selected were lingua francas in each area, not necessarily children’s mother tongues (Sampa(b), 20). According to Manchisi, (citing Ministry of Education 1996), the policies have not been implemented and “the Ministry of Education has maintained English as the official medium of instruction in the early years of primary education: ‘As language of instruction, English will continue to be used as the official medium of instruction, but teachers are encouraged where necessary and relevant to use the familiar language for explanations, questions and answers’” (Manchisi, 6). Local languages are now used for initial literacy in the first grade, but the medium of instruction remains English, even in grade 1 (Heugh 2008, 362). English remains the language of instruction, though primary instruction *can* be given in one of the six recognized languages (Leclerc). [See Verspoor, below]

*Language(s) Used:* **English [possible: Cinyanja, Chitonga, Cibemba, Kiikaonde, Lunda, Luvale, Silozi]**

\*Baker & Jones (1998: 369) say more than 30%; Graddol (1997:11) says 11%. Average = 20.5%

\*\*Adebija (1994: 10) says 31% speak Bemba as a first language and 25% as a second language = **56%** (Nyanja is not far behind with 11% as a first language and 42% as a second = 53%); Baker & Jones (1998: 369) report **60%** Bemba speakers. Average of two estimates = 58%

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## Zimbabwe

### CODING

Independence	1990	2004	2010	%SpkEnglish	%SpkShona
4	6	6	4	28%*	75%**

### LANGUAGE POLICY

*Pre-Independence* British colonization, then white minority rule. The government was primarily concerned with education for white pupils. “More than half the African schools, which were mission schools, provided only three years of primary education” (Roy-Campbell, 160). These schools used Shona and Ndebele for the first three years, with English thereafter (Roy-Campbell, 162). In European schools, Shona and Ndebele (later Zulu) were subjects. A Rhodesia Literature Bureau was established in 1953 by UNESCO to develop literature in indigenous languages and promote mother tongue education in general (Nkomo, 353). Statutes Laws of 1966 and 1973 say that ‘English should be used for instruction in all schools’ and ‘instruction in an indigenous language could be authorised to expedite the acquisition of English’ for six months (1966 document) or 12 months (1973 document) (Nkomo, 352). Tension between missionary practice and govt policy.

*Independence* (1980) “Although since 1980 there have been efforts to minimize the use of English in teaching and examinations, the English medium continues to be used alongside Shona” (Roy-Campbell, 163)

*Interim* “English is the official language and the prescribed teaching medium. Use of a non-English vernacular is permitted only during the early primary stage. At least one of the two main African languages must be taught in all government schools” (Atkinson, 5643).

*Current* The 1987 Education Act required that children must be taught in Shona or Ndebele (or an approved minority language) during the first three years of education. In 1990, Shona and Ndebele became examinable subjects for Grade 7, though not a prerequisite for passage to A-levels, as English is (Nkomo, 356). In mid-90s, resentment grew among smaller language groups of the exclusive recognition/ domination of Shona and Ndebele; Ndebele also feared domination by Shona (Nkoma, 357). The 2002 Amendment to 1987 Education Act allowed for teaching of 6 minority languages in primary schools (Nyika, 461). The 2006 Amendment to 1987 Education Act mandates that Ndebele and Shona have to be taught nationwide on a compulsory basis, though it lacks proper implementation (Nkomo, 358). *English may be used as medium from the very beginning and often is.* “Because of the vagueness of the language in education policy... language in education practices in independent Zimbabwe are not significantly different from the colonial era” (Nkomo, 356). The Embassy reports that English is the medium, local languages are subjects. Most teachers, pushed by parents, prefer to use English from the beginning of school to assure the competence of their students in English (Leclerc). Mother tongue competence generally diminishes through the course of primary, as English takes its place (Leclerc).

*Language(s) Used:* **English, Shona, Ndebele, [Kalanga, Shangani, Sotho, Venda, Nambya, Tonga]**

\*Graddol (1997:11)

\*\*Nyika (2008:459); Adegbija (1994: 11) says these are all first-language speakers.

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