

**State-Building and Multilingual Education
in Africa**

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Appendix A

Intensity of Local Language Use in Education

In order to compare countries' use of languages in education, I wanted to capture both the depth of their language inclusion and the breadth of their use across the school system. I therefore created a composite measure called "Intensity of Local Language Use in Education," or ILLED. This measure refines my previous coding (Albaugh 2005, 2009). I first assign a number from 0 to 5 to show the proportion of local languages that are used in each country. I then determine the extent of their use across the primary curriculum, enumerated with a 1, 1.2, 1.5, 1.8, or 2. Table A.1 lists the possible variations.

For extent of local language use, "Experimental" refers to government-authorized pilot programs, typically undertaken in 50 to 100 schools. "Moderate" and "Extensive" categories show expansions or retractions in the number of schools or years of local language use. The measurements refer to the use of languages in primary school, usually a six or seven year cycle, depending on the country. Most countries that use local languages as media of instruction do so

TABLE A.1 *Calculation of Intensity of Local Language Use in Education (ILLED)*

<i>Proportion of Country's Languages Used (Population Covered by the Language)</i>		<i>Extent of Local Language Use in the Primary School System</i>	
0	None (European language only)	1	Experimental
1	Classical Arabic	1.2	Moderate
2	Single minority language (<50%)	1.5	Extensive
3	Few languages or one major language (50–70%)	1.8	Generalized
4	Several languages or one dominant language (70–85%)	2	Exclusive
5	Most languages or one overwhelmingly dominant language (>85%)		

in the first two or three years of primary school and then transition to a European language. Some began with four or five years of local use but have reduced them to one or two; they would be coded as going from "Generalized" to "Extensive" or "Moderate." 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.

When the language proportion figure and the extent of use figure are multiplied together, they yield a composite score between 0 and 10, with 0 indicating exclusive use of a European language and 10 indicating exclusive use of African languages in the curriculum. Table A.2 shows how each country was scored at independence, in 1990, and in 2010. The text that follows provides supporting information for this coding by country. To avoid biasing my findings, I was cautious both in assigning increased local language use to Francophone states and in reducing scores in Anglophone states over time. It could be argued, for example, that my 2010 scores for Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, and Mauritania are too low, while those for Nigeria, Sudan, and Zambia are too high. If altered, these would point even more strongly to my hypothesis about the divergence between Francophone and Anglophone states. In the country entries that follow, I derived the language percentages in the "Languages Used" section from *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), adjusting for population growth, depending on when census numbers were recorded. All of the sources for the language policy information are listed in the African Language Use Bibliography, which is at the end of this appendix.

TABLE A.2 ILLED Scoring of Countries at Independence, in 1990, and in 2010

Country	Independence/1960	1990	2010
Algeria	0	1.8	1.8
Angola	0	0	4
Benin	0	0	3
Botswana	6	7.2	6
Burkina Faso	0	0	4.8
Burundi	9	9	9
Cameroon	0	0	3
Cape Verde	0	0	0
Central African Republic	0	0	0
Chad	0	1.8	3
Comoros	0	0	0
Congo, Dem. Rep.	5.4	5.4	5.4
Congo, Rep.	0	0	0
Cote d'Ivoire	0	0	3
Djibouti	0	0	5
Equatorial Guinea	0	0	0
Eritrea	10	N/A	10
Ethiopia	4	4	9
Gabon	0	0	3
Gambia	0	0	0
Ghana	0	7.2	3.6
Guinea	0	0	5
Guinea-Bissau	0	3	0
Kenya	0	7.2	6
Lesotho	9	9	9
Liberia	0	0	0
Madagascar	0	9	9
Malawi	7.2	5.4	4.8
Mali	0	3	6
Mauritania	1.5	3	1.8
Mauritius	0	0	0
Mozambique	0	0	5
Namibia	9	9	6
Niger	0	4	5
Nigeria	9	9	9
Rwanda	9	9	9
Sao Tome and Principe	0	0	0
Senegal	0	0	5
Seychelles	0	9	9
Sierra Leone	3.6	4.8	4.8
Somalia	1.8	9	6
South Africa	10	7.5	6
Sudan	1.5	2	4
Swaziland	0	9	7.5
Tanzania	4.5	6	6
Togo	0	0	0
Uganda	5.4	6	6
Zambia	5.4	0	4
Zimbabwe	4.5	5.4	4.8

Algeria

ILLED 1962	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Algerian Arabic
0	1.8	1.8	67*	82.5**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French control from 1830. Until 1885, the education system was primarily for children of European settlers. In 1885, the French administrators founded a separate school system for indigenous Algerians. The French language was used exclusively in all schools. In 1938, the colonial government decreed Classical Arabic a foreign language (Benrabah 2007a, 64). The colonial authorities preferred the Kabyle (Berber) population over Arab for schooling (Benrabah 2007a, 40) and encouraged the development of the Kabyle language (as well as Algerian Spoken Arabic). There was already a literate Kabyle culture and media prior to independence.

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 was required each week (Leclerc 2010). From 1965 onward, there was a gradual process of Arabization, with Arabic replacing French as the medium for certain subjects.

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 2004, 29). Another Arabization push began in 1989 and culminated in Law no. 91-05 of January 16, 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 2010).

Current

General school boycott in 1994. Berbers were pushing to include their language in public life. In 1995 the government set up a High Commission for Amazighité (Berber) identity (Leclerc 2010). In 2003, the government allowed Berber officially to be taught in schools. Also around that time, authorities began warming to introduction of French again, recognizing "ethnic and linguistic plurality as a resource for nation-building" (Benrabah 2007a, 30). Still, French and Tamazight are taught only as subjects.

Language(s) used: Classical Arabic (Tamazight, French as subjects)

* Benrabah (2007b, 194); Leclerc (2010).

** Benrabah (2007a, 48); 80–85%.

Intensity of Local Language Use

Angola

ILLED 1975	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak Portuguese	Percentage Speak Umbundu
0	0	4	48*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

Portuguese colonization. Teaching in Portuguese.

Independence

(1975) "At all levels of the system, the language of instruction was Portuguese" (Gorham and Duberg 1985, 271). 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 2001b, 176).

Interim

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 2011). From 2005, the government began taking notice of six languages on an experimental basis with the goal of their possible future use in school: Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Tchokwe, Ngangwela, and Kuanhama (Leclerc 2011). 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 was to be evaluated in 2011, eventually to go nationwide up to grade 6 (Pearson 2008).

Language(s) used:

Portuguese, Umbundu (36%), Kimbundu (24%), Kikongo (6%), Cokwe (5%), Oshikwanyama (4%), Olunyaneka (3%), Ngangwela (2%) ≈ 80%

* Adegbija (1994, 11): more than 35%; Medeiros (2006): 60%. Avg. = 48%.

** Adegbija (1994, 11) 30% L1 + 20% L2 = 50%.

Benin

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1960	1990	2010	French	Fon-Ewe
0	0	3	8.8*	60**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial French colonization.

Independence

(1960) French medium only.

Interim

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. Preschools used national languages during that time, but national languages have never been taught in primary schools (Leclerc 2010).

Current

The Cultural Charter of Benin (Law no. 91-006 of February 25, 1991) highlighted the promotion of national languages. But efforts to develop materials moved very slowly. In 2003, one school started a pilot program in Diammari (Nelson 2004). A Ministry for Literacy and National Language Promotion was created in 2007. Meetings took place, but the project had difficulty getting off the ground. In 2010, Benin was included as one of eight countries for Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used: French, Diammari (2%), (others)

* OIF (2007, 16).

** Adegbija (1994, 8).

Botswana

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1960	1990	2010	English	Setswana
6	7.2	6	38*	96**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Missions introduced literacy in the local languages in the early years and in English from the midprimary years (Nklosana 2008, 288). Education was relatively neglected by the colonial administration; it was provided by only four mission schools (Nyati-Ramahobo 2004, 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. 1991). But because of the "relatively low qualifications of teachers, and their inability to communicate in English, the use of Setswana was tolerated in lower grades" (Molosiwa et al. 1991, 43).

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 1985, 506).

Current

The National Commission on Education (1993) 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 2000, 145). "More resources continue to be directed towards the use of English in all social domains including education" (Nyati-Ramahobo 2004, 45).

Language(s) used: English, Setswana (78%)

* Nklosana (2008, 288): 35%; Graddol (1997, 11): 38%; Crystal (2003, 62): 40%. Avg. = 38%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 355): 93%; Adegbija (1994, 11): 90% L1 + 9% L2 = 99%. Avg. = 96%.

Burkina Faso

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1960	1990	2010	French	Moore
0	0	4.8	7.5*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 Ouvrière - OSEO) and academics at the University of Ouagadougou, began using Moore in two schools from 1994. In 2003, OSEO supported 88 schools, 212 classes, and 8,527 students in seven languages. These five-year schools target older children (older than nine) who have not enrolled in regular primary schools (Ouedraogo 2002: 14). Second, the Ecoles Satellites are supported by

the Ministry of Basic Education and UNICEF. 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 and Brock-Utne 2006, 119). In 2010, Burkina Faso was included as one of eight countries for Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used: French, Mossi/Mooré (49%), Dioula (10%), Fulfulde (6%), Dagara (5%), Gulmanchema (5%), Bissa (3%), Kassem (1%), Lyélé (1%), Nuni (1%) \approx 82%

* Baker and Jones (1998, 356): 10%; OIF (2007, 17): 5%. Avg. = 7.5%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 356): 50%; Adegbija (1994, 6): 50%.

Burundi				
ILIED 1962	ILIED 1990	ILIED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Kirundi
9	9	9	6*	99**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial 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.

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 1985, 596). In 1989, French was introduced as a subject from the first year (Leclerc 2009).

Current From the early 1990s, the school system has deteriorated, with many schools damaged or destroyed by 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 (Haloui 2003, 18–19). In 2010, Burundi was included as one of eight countries for Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used: French, Kirundi (99%)

* Leclerc (2009): 3–10%; OIF (2007, 17): 5%. Avg. = 6%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 356).

Intensity of Local Language Use

Cameroon

ILIED 1960	ILIED 1990	ILIED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Pidgin English
0	0	3	18*	46**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial German, French, British colonization.

Independence (1960) English and French only.

Interim In 1980, a mother tongue education experiment (PROPELCA) began as a joint project of linguists at the University of Yaounde and the SIL mission organization in a few private schools.

Current

The 1995 Érats 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 no. 98/004) of April 14, 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 sociocultural 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 (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 2010). In 2010, Cameroon was included as one of eight countries for Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used:

French, English, Fulfulde (9%), Ewondo (8%), Bulu (7%), Yemba (3%), Kom (2%), Mafa (2%), Fe'Fe'e (2%), Lamso (2%), Meta' (1%), Makaa (1%), Bafu (1%), Gidar (1%), Dii (1%) Mofu Gudur (.6%), Mofu North (.4%), Oku (.4%) \approx 40%

* OIF (2007, 17).

** Graddol (1997, 11) and Biloa and Echu (2008, 202): 46%; Crystal (2003, 52): 47%.

Cape Verde

ILEED 1975	ILEED 1990	ILEED 2010	Percentage Speak Portuguese	Percentage Speak Capeverdean
0	0	0	*	98**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

Portuguese colonization. Use of Portuguese in the classroom (Coonan 2007, 31).

Independence

(1975) Portuguese only.

Interim

Portuguese medium. The dialectical differences in Capeverdean 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 Capeverdean Creole for illustrations if there is a problem with comprehension (Leclerc 2011). When Manuel Vieira, a linguist, was named minister of culture in 2005, new impetus was given to introducing Creole as a coofficial language with Portuguese, which would permit its introduction into education. But as of 2006, no change in the status of Creole had occurred (Coonan 2007, 130).

Language(s) used: Portuguese

* No reliable estimate available.

** Leclerc 2011.

Central African Republic

ILEED 1960	ILEED 1990	ILEED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Sango
0	0	0	13*	90**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French colonization.

Independence

(1960) French institution. In 1962, all private schools were put under government control.

Interim

Since 1974, the state has attempted to introduce Sango (a Creole derived from N'gbandi) 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

Intensity of Local Language Use

two years (Leclerc 2009). French remained the language of instruction (McIntyre 1985, 658). The 1981 *États Généraux* on education was the basis for a 1984 law (Ordinance no. 84/031 of May 14, 1984), which stated in article 36: “Teaching is dispensed in French, the official language, and Sango, the national language” (Leclerc 2009).

Current

But this ordinance has not been put into effect, and French remains the language of instruction (Leclerc 2009). Many teachers use Sango to explain things to students, but this is not according to official instructions. Sango is used widely by NGOs in nonformal education. As for languages other than Sango, policies have not addressed them (Leclerc 2009). Baker and 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 the current SIL director says that because of a loss of funding for language NGOs, there has been no real activity in multilingual education (Robbins 2011). A language specialist for local language organization, ACATBA, confirms that while many NGOs use Sango for adult literacy, it is not used in primary schools (Mochtema 2011).

Language(s) used: French

* Leclerc (2009): 8%; OIF (2003, 16) 17.6%. Avg. = 13%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 357): more than 90%.

Chad

ILEED 1960	ILEED 1990	ILEED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Chadian Arabic
0	1.8	3	14*	55**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 2010). 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 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 2011), and in 2010 the World Bank renewed its funding for Chad's Education Sector, which included a mother tongue component in curricular reform (World Bank 2003, 50).

Language(s) used: French, Classical Arabic, Chadian Arabic (12%), Maba (4%), Sara (4%), Mundang (3%), Masana (2%) \approx 25%

* Leclerc (2010): 8.3%; Adegbija (1994, 6): 13%. OIF (2007, 17): 20%. Avg. = 14%.

** Adegbija (1994, 6): 13% L1 + 40% L2 = 53%; Baker and Jones (1998, 357): more than 50%; Leclerc (2010): 60%. Avg. = 55%.

Comoros

ILLED 1975	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Comorien
0	0	0	7*	97**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial French colonization.

Independence (1975) French only.

Interim French only.

Current In preschool and kindergarten teaching is in Comorian and French. Primary school is taught in French; secondary taught in French, with Arabic and sometimes English taught as second language (Leclerc 2009). Baker and Jones (1998: 357) report that teaching is in French.

Language(s) used: French

* OIF (2003, 16).

** Leclerc (2009).

Intensity of Local Language Use

Congo, Democratic Republic of the

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Lingala
5-4	5-4	5-4	10*	69**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

Belgian colonization. Missionary and colonial schools used indigenous languages as media of instruction alongside French and Flemish/Dutch in primary. In 1958, French was made the exclusive medium in all government schools, but the many colonial-supported church or mission schools continued with the use of the vernaculars in the first three years (Bokamba 2007, 223).

Independence

(1960) French became the only language of instruction by presidential decree in 1962 (Leclerc 2009). 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 2007, 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 2007, 223).

Interim

From 1972 (as part of the program of *authenticité*), the government reintroduced the four vehicular languages in primary school as 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 2009). All secondary teaching is in French. Obviously, the war has disrupted normal school functions, and most schools lack supplies and are in disrepair. In 2010, the DRC was included as one of eight countries for Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used:

French, Swahili (20% L2), Luba-Kasai (17%), Kikongo (5% + 12% Kituba, a Kikongo-derived creole), Lingala (4%) \approx 40%

* Leclerc (2009); OIF (2007, 17).

** Adegbija (1994, 7): 28% L1 + 41% L2 = 69%.

Congo, Republic of the

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Kituba
0	0	0	30*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial 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 1985, 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 remained the language of instruction (Renard and Peraya 1985, 10).

Current

French medium. In the mid-1990s, trends in language use showed that Lingala and Kituba (national languages) and French (official language) were increasing in use at the expense of the many mother tongues (Woods 1994, 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 2010). SIL director reports more interest in mother tongues each year (Robbins 2011).

Language(s) used: French

* OIF (2007, 17).

** Leclerc (2010).

Intensity of Local Language Use

Cote d'Ivoire

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Dioula
0	0	3	29*	55**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial French colonization.

Independence (1960) French only.

Interim

Since 1966, with the creation of the Institute of Applied Linguistics (ILIA) there has been discussion of the use of national languages in education. A reform law (Law no. 77-584) of August 18, 1977 declared that "the introduction of national languages in official education should be considered a factor of national unity and of reclaiming our Ivorian cultural heritage" (Art. 67) and that the ILIA "is charged with preparing for the introduction of national languages into teaching" (Art. 68) (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.

Current

Law no. 95-696 of September 7, 1995, Article 3, prescribed education in national languages, but rather vaguely. 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. Preschool and first-year primary students learned through their mother tongue of Senufo or Malinke, followed by studies in French. In 2001, the government evaluated the Savanne Développement experiment and decided to extend it to ten other languages: Abidji, Agni, Attié, Baoulé, Bété, Guéré, Dan/Yacouba, Koulango, Mahou and Korhogo Senufo (N'Guessan 2001, 196). Coding is cautious, given the disruption of the war.

Language(s) used:

French, Baoulé (24%), Senufo (11%), Dan/Yacouba (9%), Agni (7%), Bété (6%), Guéré (4%), Attié (4%), Koulango (2%), Mahou (2%), Abidji (6%), Malinke ≈ 70%

* OIF (2003, 16): 22%; Adegbija (1994, 11): 35% L2. Avg. = 29%.

** Djité (2000, 24): 43% as of 1993; Adegbija (1994, 11): 16% L1 + 50% L2 = 66%. Avg. = 55%.

Djibouti

ILLED 1977	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Somali
0	0	5	8*	53**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French colonization. Primary education in public schools in French medium.

Independence

(1977) French medium.

Interim

French medium. French and (Classical) Arabic are coofficial languages.

Current

Law no. 96/AN of July 10, 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 2009). The Ministry of Education reports that reaching in French and Arabic will be concomitant in all scholarly establishments, and that national languages will be progressively introduced (République du Sénégal, *Schéma 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 (Absich 2005).

Language(s) used: French, Classical Arabic, Somali (67%), Afar (23%) ≈ 90%

* OIF (2003, 16).

** Leclerc (2009): 61%; Baker and Jones (1998, 357): 45%. Avg. = 53%.

Equatorial Guinea

ILLED 1968	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak Spanish	Percentage Speak Fang
0	0	0	49*	80*

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

Spanish colonization.

Independence

(1968) Spanish continued to be used for administration and schooling.

Interim

Equatorial Guinea asked to become a member of la Francophonie in 1989, and French was elevated to a "working language." In 1998, French became the country's "second official language" (Leclerc 2011).

Intensity of Local Language Use

Current

Spanish is the only medium in primary through secondary school (Leclerc 2011). French is the second compulsory language for secondary school students.

Language(s) used: Spanish

* Leclerc (2011): 20%; Lipski (1985, 3): 90% urban and 65% rural ≈ 77%. Avg. = 49%.

** Leclerc (2011).

Eritrea

ILLED 1993	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Tigrina
10	N/A	10	2*	78**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 thirty 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 2010).

Independence

(1993) Multilingual

Interim

Multilingual

Current

Each Eritrean language (Tigrina, Tigré, Afar, Saho, Kunama, Bedawi, Bilen, Nara, Hijaizi Arabic) is encouraged to be used and developed at the local level, and children receive their primary education in their mother tongue. Secondary is in Tigrina or English. In addition, each student is expected to learn one of the state languages, Tigrina or Arabic (Leclerc 2010). Literacy in English is reported fairly low among the general public (Asfaha 2009, 220). 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 2009, 220).

Language(s) used:

English, Classical Arabic, Tigrina (55%), Tigré (23%), Afar (6%), Saho (4%), Kunama (4%), Bedawi (3%), Bilen (2%), Nara (2%), Hijaizi Arabic (5%) ≈ 100%

* Estimate from Asfaha (2013). A survey by Walter and Davis (2005, xxvi) among fifth grade school attendees found 15% had adequate competency in English.

** Leclerc (2010): 53% L1 + 25% L2 = 78%.

Ethiopia

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Amharic
4	4	9	2*	59**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

No colonization (brief Italian occupation 1935–1941). Schooling introduced in 1908 in English (Heugh et al. 2007, 43). A few missionaries used mother tongues before European languages.

Independence

Haile Selassie tried to unify the country by decreasing the use of Amharic only. From 1958, Amharic functioned as the medium of instruction for grades 1–6 of primary (Mekonnen 2009).

Interim

After 1974, Haile Mariam Mengistu (with the influence of the Soviet Union) initiated a policy of nationalities aiming to remove Amharic from its privileged position. Education materials began to be prepared in at least four minority languages (Wagaw 1985, 1728). 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 1990, 73). Until 1991, Amharic remained the language of instruction in primary schools (Heugh et al. 2007, 49).

Current

Meles Zenawi introduced ethnic regionalism in order to reduce the cultural and linguistic hegemony of Amharic. The constitution of 1994 permits federal states to choose the language in which students will receive their primary education (Leclerc 2009). Current policy calls for eight years of mother tongue–based schooling. English is taught as a subject throughout primary and used as medium of instruction beginning in grade 9 (Benson 2010, 327). Amharic is to be taught as the lingua franca for communication across Ethiopia. Mekonnen (2005) reports that mother tongues are really only used exclusively in all regions in 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 and Brock-Utne 2006, 92).

Language(s) used:

English, Amharic (33%), Oromo (30%), Tigrina (6%), Somali (5%), Sidamo (4%), Gurage (4%), Hadiyya (2%), Afar (2%), Welaita (2%), Kambatta (1%), Kafa (1%), Silti (1%), Saho (1.04%), Kunama ≈ 91%

* Leclerc (2009).

** Leclerc (2009): 60%; Baker and Jones (1998): 28% L1 + 40% L2 = 68%; Adegbija (1994, 7): 31% L1 + 40% L2 = 71%; Benson (2010, 326): 27% L1 + 8% L2 = 35%. Avg. ≈ 59%.

Intensity of Local Language Use

Gabon

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Fang
0	0	3	80*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 2009).

Interim

The government sponsored a linguistic atlas and descriptive projects of languages. At the beginning of the 1980s, there was renewed discussion of introducing languages into education. But French continued to be the sole medium in all schools (Leclerc 2009).

Current

The Raponda Walker Foundation created teaching manuals in local languages and has used them in several primary schools (Leclerc 2009). 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 2009). The Department of National Languages was created in 1999 (Ndinga-Koumba-Binza 2007, 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." Language teaching remains experimental, and coding errors on the side of caution, since it is unclear how many of the languages are being used.

Language(s) used:

French, Fang (46%), Punu (11%), Njebi (9%), Myene (4%), Ikota (3%), Tsogo (2%), Mbama (1%), Vili (.3%) ≈ 76%

* OIF (2007, 17).

** Adegbija (1994, 11): 30% L1 + 20% L2 = 50%.

Gambia

ILLED 1965	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Mandinka
0	0	0	3*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial British colonization.

Independence (1965) English medium.

Interim

Arabic is taught in both Koranic and public schools. Radio Gambia broadcasts news and cultural programs regularly in the main local languages (Baker and Jones 1998, 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 was implemented. The constitution was suspended in 1994; the reinstated constitution declares (Art. 32) that people have the right to preserve their culture but states no specific language policy (Leclerc 2010). English is the only language used in school (Baker and Jones 1998, 360). In all sectors of education, English is the medium of instruction (Leclerc 2010).

Language(s) used: English

* Graddol (1997, 11); Crystal (2003, 61).

** Baker & Jones (1998, 360): 40%; Adegbiya (1994, 6): 41% L1 + 19% L2 = 60%. Avg. = 50%.

Ghana

ILLED 1957	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Akan
0	7.2	3.6	15*	>50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. The 1887 "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 2002, 28).

Independence

(1957) The Nkrumah government made English the language of instruction from the first year of primary (Andoh-Kumi 2002, 28). In 1962, it chose nine languages that would be taught next to English.

Intensity of Local Language Use

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 (Anyidoho and Knopp-Dakubu 2008, 148-149). Busia's Progress Party (1969-1972) maintained the local language policy, specifying that it should be continued for three additional years beyond the first three, if possible (Andoh-Kumi 2002, 29). Until 2001, the policy was that the Ghanaian language prevalent in the local area was to be used as medium of instruction in the first three years, with English as a subject. From the fourth year, English replaced the Ghanaian language as the medium (Andoh-Kumi 2002, 30).

Current

In 2002, the minister of education changed the policy to English only. 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 Knopp-Dakubu 2008, 150).

Language(s) used:

English, Limited: Akan (Asante, Akuapem and Fante dialects = 42%), Ewe (11%), Dagbani (4%), Dangme (4%), Dagbani (4%), Ga (3%), Nzema (1%), Gonja (1%), Waale (.7%), Kasem (.6%) ≈ 72%

* Graddol (1997, 11) and Crystal (2003, 62): 7%; Government Census (2000): 32%. Avg. = 15%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 360): more than 50%; Adegbiya (1994, 9): 40%; Anyidoho and Dakubu (2008, 152): more than 50%. Avg. > 50%.

Guinea

ILLED 1958	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Malinke
0	0	5	5*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French colonization.

Independence

(1958). The government had decided to "adapt the structures of education to new national realities." Ten years after independence, Sékou Touré applied his policy of linguistic Africanization to schools (Leclerc 2009).

Interim

Between 1968 and 1984, the official policy was mother tongue education. After Touré's regime fell, French became the medium of education at all levels. National languages (Peul, Malinké, Soussou, Kissi, Kpelle, Toma), if they were taught at school, were subjects.

Current

New efforts to strengthen mother tongue education for primary and adult education. The Academy of Languages was renamed the Institute for Applied Linguistic Research. There is a Minister for Literacy and Promotion of National Language. Government supports revitalization of national languages in education (Leclerc 2009). There has been discussion of adapting a model from Mali in which three years of mother tongue is followed by transition to French (Yerende 2005).

Language(s) used: French, Fula Jalon/Pular (38%), Malinke (36%), Susu (10%), Kpelle (5%), Kissi (4%), Loma (2%), Basari (.2%), Wamey (.1%) \approx 95%

* OIF (2003, 16).
** Adegbija (1994, 9): 30% L1 + 18% L2 = 48%.

Guinea-Bissau

ILLED 1974	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak Portuguese	Percentage Speak Kiriol
0	3	0	9*	75**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial Portuguese colonization.

Independence (1974) Portuguese medium.

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. By 1993, there were thirty experimental classes (Hovens 2002, 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.

Language(s) used: Portuguese

* Benson (2010, 324): 8.5%; Leclerc (2009): 10%. Avg. = 9%.
** Benson (2010, 325): 50–60%; Leclerc (2009): 80%. Avg. = 75%.

Kenya

ILLED 1963	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Swahili
0	7.2	6	15*	68**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Missionary conference of 1909 agreed to use mother tongue in first three primary classes, Swahili in two middle primary classes, and English thereafter (Nabea 2009, 123). Teaching of English expanded just before independence (Bunyi 2001, 81; Nabea 2009, 125).

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." Swahili is a compulsory subject in primary school. "Straight for English" from the first year of school was the New Primary Approach (Sifuna 1990, 164).

Interim

The Gachathi Report (1976) reinstated the use of "catchment languages" in standards 1–3 (Mbaabu 1996, 147), though most of the recommendations were not followed (Nieuwenhuis 1996, 58). Because only a fraction of Kenya's languages were 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 1996, 149).

Current

"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, Swahili and English are used as instructional media in these first few years" (Bunyi 2001, 82). 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."

Language(s) used:

English, Gikuyu (23%), Luo (14%), Kamba (13%), Luvya (8%), Kalenjin (7%), Swahili (1%) \approx 65%

* Bunyi (2007, 22): 15%; Nabea (2009, 122): "barely a quarter"; Graddol (1997, 11): 9%; Crystal (2003, 63): 8.8%. Avg. = 15%.

** Baker & Jones (1998, 361) nearly 70%; Pawlikova-Villanova (1996, 162): 60–70%. Adegbija (1994, 8): 5% L1 + 60% L2 = 65%; Bunyi (2007, 22): 75%. Avg. = 68%.

Lesotho

ILLED 1966	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Sesotho
9	9	9	25*	98**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial British colonization.

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 1985, 2999).

Current

Sesotho is language of instruction in 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 2008, 617). English is the sole medium in secondary school, and Sesotho is a subject (Leclerc 2010). Sesotho is increasingly used in areas such as religion, politics, and broadcasting (Baker and Jones 1998, 361).

Language(s) used: English, Sesotho (84%)

* Graddol (1997, 11): 27%; Crystal (2003, 63): 23%. Avg. = 25%.

** Leclerc (2010): 97%; Adegbija (1994, 10): 95% L1 + 4% L2 = 99%. Avg. = 98%.

Liberia

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Krio
0	0	0	20*	90**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial None.

Independence

(1847) The Lutheran Bible Society arrived in Liberia in 1969 and started the Liberia Language Institute, which is involved in literacy programs in Gola, Grebo, Kissi, Kpelle, Kra, Kru, Vai, and Vandi (Richmond 1983, 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 1983, 43) [but "at this writing [1983] English is the only language of instruction in the public schools" (43).

Current

With the civil war that began in 1990, there was not much done about education or languages. "The Liberian State has no apparent

Intensity of Local Language Use

education policy regarding language. It does not forbid anything, but it does nothing" (Leclerc 2010). A program is under way to make use of all indigenous languages as media of instruction in early primary education (Baker and Jones 1998, 362).

Language(s) used: English

* Baker and Jones (198, 362).

** Adegbija (1994, 10): 40% L1 + 50% L2 = 90%.

Madagascar

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Malagasy
0	9	9	15*	98**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British and French colonization. Madagascar was colonized first by Britain, during which time Protestant missionaries taught in Malagasy (Johnson 2006, 685). When Madagascar was subsequently turned over to France, public schools were taught in French, though Malagasy remained in private schools.

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 2006, 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; there was relative isolation from French influence. The situation became explosive by 1985 and the government had to retract and allow French along with Malagasy.

Current

The Third Republic (after 1991) reintroduced French as language of instruction from the tenth class (year two of primary) (Wolhuter 2003, 32). 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 (Brock-Utne and Skartrum, citing Robenoro 2009, 27).

Language(s) used: French, Malagasy (98%)

* Leclerc (2011) 25%; Olf (2007, 17) 5%. Avg=15%.

** Baker & Jones (1998, 362).

Malawi

ILLED 1964	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Chichewa
7.2	5.4	4.8	5*	70**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization.

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

Chichewa remained the only language with official status, and it was used for instruction in standards 1–4 (with English as a subject). Standard 5 was a transitional year, in which instruction was given in both Chichewa and English, and after standard 5, all instruction was in English (Malewezi 1985, 3162).

Current

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 1998, 412). But since few teachers have been trained in other vernaculars, Chichewa and English remain the preferred medium of instruction in many schools (Pota 2001, 145; Kayambazinthu 1998, 412). Myra Harrison (in 2001) agrees: "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 and Harrison 2001). Matiki (2011) reports that the initial momentum for the mother tongue policy was primarily due to the support of the 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 2011).

Language(s) used: English, Chichewa/Nyanja (67%)

* Graddol (1997, 11); Crystal (2003, 63).

** Matiki (2006, 241): 76.6%; Baker and Jones (1998, 362): 75%; Adegbija (1994, 7): 50% L1 + 10% L2 = 60%. Avg = 70%.

Mali

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Bamanankan
0	3	6	7*	80**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French colonization. French used in schools and all official domains. A few missions used Malian languages, and Koranic schools used Arabic (Canvin 2007, 167).

Independence

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

Interim

In 1978, the first four bilingual schools opened, using Bamanankan as the language of instruction. In 1982, the program was expanded to include Fulfulde, Songhay, and Tamasheq (Canvin 2007, 169). By the 1990s, there were only 104 schools involved. Many of them had regressed in the use of the mother tongue (Tréaut 2001, 235). They were phased out and replaced by a new experiment initiated by the Belgian research institute, CLAVER, in 1987: "pédagogie convergente" with one language, Bamanankan.

Current

Decree 93-107/RM called for use of national languages in education, and from the 1994-95 school year it was supposed to be generalized to six languages. The "generalization" has reached more than 300 schools (Leclerc 2010). In 1996, Law no. 96-049 of August 23 recognized thirteen languages as national languages (Fomba and Wera 2003, 5). The languages added each year to the program were (1994-95) – Fulfulde and Songhay; (1995-96) – Soninke, Tamasheq, and Dogon; (1998-99) – Sénoufo and Bobo; (2000-01) – Mamara and Bozo; (2001-02) – Khassonke (Fomba and Wera 2003, 10). By 2005-2006, bilingual education had reached 31.6% of schools in the country (Skartum 2008, 117). Mali is one of the participants in Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used:

French, Bamanankan (31%), Soninke (9%), Fulfulde (8%), Sénoufo Mamara (7%), Dogon (5%), Tamasheq (3%), Bozo (3%), Sénoufo (3%), Songhay (2%), Khassonke (1.5%), Bobo (1.2%) ≈ 73%

* Baker and Jones (1998, 363): 5%; Skartum (2008, 98): 5-10%; OIF (2007, 17): 8.2%. Avg. = 7%.

** Canvin (2007, 158); Skartum (2008, 99).

Mauritania

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Hassaniya Arabic
1.8	3	1.8	5.4*	85**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

French colonization. French medium until 1959. 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 Hassaniya Arabic (Leclerc 2010).

Independence

(1960) French and Classical Arabic medium.

Interim

Reforms of 1967, 1973, and 1978 reinforced the promotion of Arabic. 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 Mauritaniens; officialization of all national languages; transcription of Pulaar, Soninke, and Wolof into Latin script; creation of an Institute of National Languages; and teaching in national languages (Diallo 2000). The idea of replacing French completely with Arabic drew vigorous protest from French-speaking Mauritaniens and was abandoned (Handloff 1988). Education could therefore be either in Arabic or bilingual French/Arabic. In 1982–83 the first experimental schools in Pulaar, Soninke, and Wolof began in five regions, with national languages used as the medium for all subjects for the entire primary cycle and Arabic as a subject. This experiment ended in 1988, replaced by a new method, which restricted mother tongue teaching to only the first two years with French or Arabic introduced in third year (Diallo 2000).

Current

The constitution of 1991 eliminated the official status of French. A World Bank 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 2001, 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 2001, 4). Diallo reports that this ended the mother tongue experiment, though Bougroum disagrees: “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” (2007, 16–17). Leclerc confirms that a few dozen local language classes

Intensity of Local Language Use

continue, but coding cautiously reflects only Arabic and French medium.

Language(s) used: French, Classical Arabic [possibly Hassaniya Arabic (92%), Pulaar (6%), Soninke (1%), Wolof (4%)]

* OIF (2007, 16).

** Baker and Jones (1998, 363) and Leclerc (2010): 80%; Adegbija (1994, 10): 87%; (Lewis 2009): 92%; Avg. = 85%.

Mauritius

ILLED 1966	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Creole
0	0	0	15*	70**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 2006, 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) 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 2000, 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 2007, 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 schoolchildren should be taught in their mother tongue, but little changed because of people’s reluctance (Sonck 2005, 41). 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).

Language(s) used: English

* Graddol (1997, 11); Crystal (2003, 63) [French: Baker and Jones (1998, 363): less than 10%; OIF (2007, 17): 15%. Avg. = 12.5%].

** Rajah-Carrim (2007, 51).

Mozambique

ILLED 1975	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak Portuguese	Percentage Speak Makhuwa
0	0	5	42*	30**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 1985, 3438). "Metropolitan Portuguese" was the language of instruction.

Independence

(1975) "Mozambican Portuguese" became the language of instruction. FRELIMO used a reinvented Portuguese, presented as "better" than the metropolitan version, as a national linguistic symbol (Stroud 1999, 350). "But never did Mozambican elites think for an instant to use African languages at school" (Leclerc 2011).

Interim

During the civil war (1980–1992), opposition RENAMO advocated the use of indigenous languages, instead of Portuguese. Portuguese was reconstituted 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 1999, 360).

Current

African "languages are still associated with authenticity and traditional values." 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. "Following the experiment, 16 Mozambican languages were developed in preparation for their use in bilingual schooling.... A few months into the 2003 school year, ten of these languages have been introduced in individual classrooms spread throughout the provinces" (Benson 2004, 51–52). The transitional bilingual primary schooling is now offered in seventeen languages in 75 schools (out of 8,000) (Benson 2010, 328).

Language(s) used:

Portuguese, Makhuwa (16%+), Changana/Tsonga (9%), Ndawu (8%), Lomwe (8%), Sena (7%), Tshiwa (6%), Chuwabu (5%), Ronga (4%), Chopi (4%), Nyanja (3%), Yao (3%), Nyungwe (2%), Makonde (2%), Tonga (2%), Tewe (1.5%), Mwani (1.5%), ≈ 90%

* Benson (2010, 238): 6% L1 + 27% L2 = 33%; Government Census (2007): 50%; Avg. = 42%.
 ** All Makhuwa varieties in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) ≈ 30%. May be higher.

Intensity of Local Language Use

Namibia

ILLED 1990	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Ndonga
9	9	6	17.5*	>50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

German, British, South African colonization. Most children educated in their mother tongue for the first three to four years. After that, the few who had the opportunity to continue schooling switched to Afrikaans medium (Roy-Campbell 2001, 173).

Independence

(1990) The ten 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).

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," opening 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).

Current

Research conducted in 1993 in three regions showed that Afrikaners 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 2001, 41–43). Many teachers are using the "loophole" that allows English as a medium (Swarts 2001, 46). The status of the African languages has notably diminished since independence (Leclerc 2010).

Language(s) used:

English, Ndonga/Oshivambo (43%), Nama (11%), Herero (11%), Afrikaans (5%), Tswana (1%), Few (1.5%), others [13 total] ≈ 95%

* Graddol (1997, 11): 18%; Crystal (2003, 63): 17%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 364).

Niger

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Hausa
0	4	5	4.5*	75**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial French colonization.

Independence (1960) French only.

Interim

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 forty-two experimental schools, assisted by GTZ and USAID, using the five main languages (Hovens 2002, 253). The 1998 Law of Orientation states that the languages of instruction are French and national languages (Leclerc 2010). 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). Alidou and Brock-Utne (2006, 52) criticize the policy for remaining in its “experimental” ghetto. French remains the language of instruction from the fourth year of primary and throughout secondary (Leclerc 2010). Niger is included in Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used:

French, Classical Arabic, Hausa (52%), Zarma (22%), Fulfulde (10%), Tamasheq (9%), Manga Kanuri (4%), Gourmanchéma (4%) ≈ 98%

* OIF (2007, 17) [counts both Francophones and partial Francophones; I took the midpoint]: 4.5%.
** Adegbiya (1994, 6): 46% L1 + 24% L2 = 70%; Lewis (2009): 55% L1 + 25% L2 = 80%. Avg. = 75%.

Nigeria

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Hausa
9	9	9	20*	50**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Initially English language education, but after 1926 encouraged vernacular in the first primary years, particularly Igbo, followed by Hausa, Yoruba, and Efik (Adegbiya 1994, 217).

Independence

(1960) Vernacular medium in first years.

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 Akinaso 1993, 261). All students are supposed to learn one of the major Nigerian languages (Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba) as a subject up to the secondary school level. 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 Oyèdàde 2008, 188).

Current

The government recognizes twenty-seven minority local languages in education. It is typically the language of the immediate community, and not necessarily the mother tongue, that is taught. And in rural areas, local languages are often used for both lower and upper primary, while in urban areas, English is often the sole medium (Akinaso 1993, 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 Oyèdàde 2008, 188). Adegbiya 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 and Oyèdàde 2008, 191). Cautious coding; the 2010 ILLED should probably be lower.

Language(s) used:

English, Hausa (18%), Yoruba (17%), Igbo (14%), [27 others] ≈ 85%

* Baker and Jones (1998, 365): 20–30%; Adegbiya (2007, 204): less than 20%. Avg. = 20% [Crystal (2003, 52, 64): 47% including Pidgin English].

** Adegbiya (1994, 11): 30% L1 + 20% L2 = 50%.

Rwanda

ILLED 1962	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Kinyarwanda
9	9	9	12*	98**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial German and Belgian colonization.

Independence (1962). French and Kinyarwanda medium.

Interim

Law no. 14/1985 of June 19, 1985, states that the first cycle of primary is dedicated to learning math, reading, and writing, all in Kinyarwanda (Article 42; cited in Leclerc 2010).

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 2010). Children are supposed to begin school in all three languages, and from the fourth year onward, English and French are to be the languages of instruction (Calvet 2001, 157).

Language(s) used: French, English, Kinyarwanda (98%)

* Leclerc (2010): 15–20%; OIF (2007, 17): 7%. Avg. = 12%.

** Leclerc (2010); Adegbija (1994, 8): 90% L1 + 8% L2 = 98%.

Sao Tome and Principe

ILLED 1975	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak Portuguese	Percentage Speak Creole
0	0	0	*	89**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial Portuguese colonization. Portuguese medium.

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 2011).

Language(s) used: Portuguese

* No estimate available.

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

Intensity of Local Language Use

Senegal

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Wolof
0	0	5	14*	87**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial French colonization.

Independence (1960) French medium.

Interim

A 1971 presidential decree (no. 7556 of May 21, 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.

Current

Law no. 91–22 of February 16, 1991, defining the goals of education mentions national languages 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 2010). An office for national languages was created in the Ministry of Education in 1999. In 2002, experiments began in 15 schools using six languages. In 2004, there were 300 schools, using six languages. Senegal is included in Project ELAN (see page 91).

Language(s) used: French, Wolof (38%), Pulaar (27%), Serer (10%), Malinke (4%), Diola (4%), Soninke (2%) ≈ 86%

* Leclerc (2010) 15–20%; OIF (2007, 17) 10%. Avg. = 14%.

** McLaughlin (2008, 85): close to 90%; Adegbija (1994, 9): 42% L1 + 40% L1 = 82%; Leclerc (2010): 90%. Avg. = 87%.

Seychelles

ILLED 1976	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Seselwa
0	9	9	27.5*	95**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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. 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 2010). 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 2007, 55). English becomes language of instruction in fourth year of primary and French is introduced as a subject (Sonck 2005, 47).

Language(s) used: English, Seselwa (95%)

* Graddol (1997, 11): 14%; Crystal (2003, 64): 41%. Avg=27.5% [French: OIF (2007, 17): 5%].
** Leclerc (2010).

Sierra Leone

ILEED	ILEED	ILEED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1961	1990	2010	English	Krio
3.6	4.8	4.8	15*	95**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Mende and Temne were privileged; these languages, along with Krio, were developed as languages for transitional literacy (Francis and Kamanda 2001, 233).

Independence

(1961) Sierra Leone did not have a stated language policy in 1964 (Armstrong 1968, 232). The official position between 1961 and 1978 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 unofficially used as media of instruction during early primary years (Francis and Kamanda 2001, 236–237).

Interim

In 1979, a pilot project began, using Mende, Temne, and Limba in thirty-six schools (Fyle 1994, 52). In the 1980s, the four major languages were officially infused into the primary school system as instructional media on an experimental basis (Sengova 1987, 522). Krio was added in 1984. As of the early 1990s, the pilot program had not received much support and the program had not progressed beyond the pilot stage because of lack of financing (Fyle 1994, 52).

Current

Because of its civil war from 1991 to 2002, the country's language policy has been primarily "nonintervention" (Leclerc 2009). 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 1997, 488). 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 (2009, 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 2009).

Language(s) used: English, Mende (28%), Temne (23%), Krio (12%), Limba (8.5%) ≈ 70%

* Leclerc (2009).

** Leclerc (2009); Oyedé and Luke (2008, 122).

Somalia

ILEED	ILEED	ILEED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1960	1990	2010	English	Somali
1.8	9	6	*	97**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

Italian and British colonization. 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 2007, 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 2007, 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 levels (Cassanelli and Abdikadir 2007, 97).

Interim

The military regime that seized power in 1969 succeeded in establishing an official (Latin) script for Somali (Warame 2001, 347) and introduced the language into the school system in 1972 (Maimboiwa-Sinyange 1985, 4711). 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 2007, 100).

Current

No central authority has been handling education since the early 1990s. In Somaliland, which proclaimed independence, the government has reinforced English to the detriment of Somali (Leclerc 2010). In the rest of the country, the medium of instruction at the primary level may be Arabic, Somali, or English. Arabic-medium schools have found greater favor among parents and students (Cassanelli and Abdikadir 2007, 107–108).

Language(s) used: Arabic, Somali, English

* No estimate available.

** Adegbia (1994, 6): 95% L1 + 2% L2 = 97%.

South Africa

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1960	1990	2010	English	Zulu
10	7.5	6	35.5*	56**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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 19th century. Missionaries offered limited education for African pupils and generally used mother tongue for four to six years followed by English medium" (Heugh 2007, 198). Increased Anglicization to 1910; dominance of English in all spheres. (Kamwangamalu 2004, 202).

Independence

(1910) English and/or Dutch-Afrikaans medium. 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 (Brock-Utne 2001, 127).

Interim

In 1979, the Education and Training Act was passed, reducing the mother tongue to four years of primary school, then allowing students to choose between Afrikaans or English medium (Heugh, 2007, 199). Most schools opted for English (Brock-Utne 2001, 127; Heugh 2008, 359–360).

Current

The 1997 constitution recognized eleven 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. Schools are allowed to choose their medium. Government documents

Intensity of Local Language Use

show that: 11% chose Afrikaans (mother tongue of 11.3% of school population); 51% chose English (mother tongue of 5.7% of school population); 37% chose a Bantu language (mother tongue of 83% of school population) (Webb 1999, 58, citing South African Department of Education Statistics from 1997). The revised National Curriculum Statement (2002) reduces use of the mother tongue to the end of grade 3, rather than grade 4 (Heugh 2007, 208).

Language(s) used:

English (9%), Zulu (23%), Xhosa (18%), Afrikaans (11%), Southern Sotho (10%), Sepedi [Northern Sotho] (9.5%), Tswana (8%), Tsonga (4.5%), Swati (3%), Venda (2%), Ndebele (2%) ≈ 100%

* Heugh (2007, 192): up to 12% L1. Graddol (1997, 11): 25% L2; Crystal (2003, 64): L1 + L2 = 34%. Avg. = 35.5%.

** Heugh (2007, 192): no obvious lingua franca. Lewis (2009): 23% L1 + 33% L2 = 56%.

Sudan (Prior to division)

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1956	1990	2010	English	Sudanese Arabic
1.5	2	4	*	60**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. In the South, the British left education to the Christian missions. English was the official language, but six local languages were used (Bari, Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Luo, and Azande) (Siddick 2010, 77). In the North, Arabic was the medium in primary school, with English as a subject.

Independence

(1956) After 1965, Arabic progressively replaced English, even in higher education (Leclerc 2011).

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 2011)

Current

The 1998 constitution (Article 3) makes Classical 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 2011). 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 2008, 72). 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 2008, 65). Coding of 4 for 2010 reflects this policy. However, after 2011, when South Sudan became independent, it chose to use English as the sole medium of instruction, while the north continues to use Arabic and English only.

Language(s) used: Classical Arabic, English [Dinka (8%), Nuer (4%), Bari (2%), Zande (2%), Shilluk (1%), Luo (.5%) ≈ 18%]

* No estimate available.

** Adegbija (1994, 9) 50% L₁ + 10% L₂ = 60%; Leclerc (2011): 50–70%.

Swaziland

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1968	1990	2010	English	Swati
0	9	7.5	4*	90**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

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. Swati did not have a written form.

Interim

In 1978, Swati was introduced as a medium during first four years with English as a subject and then English medium thereafter (MacMillan 1989, 303).

Current

Official policy is Swati 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 2001, 126). The permanent secretary at the Ministry of Education (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" (Brock-Utne 2001, 125).

Language(s) used: English, Swati (89%)

* Graddol (1997, 11).

** Baker and Jones (1998, 367); Adegbija (1994, 11).

Intensity of Local Language Use

Tanzania

ILLED	ILLED	ILLED	Percentage Speak	Percentage Speak
1964	1990	2010	English	Swahili
4.5	6	6	8*	93**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

German and British colonization. There were English schools, Asian schools, and African schools. In African schools, Swahili 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) End of Asian schools. In African schools, Swahili was medium of instruction in standards 1–5; English medium in standards 7 and 8 (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 1972–1974. English would be taught as a subject in all grades (Roy Campbell 2001b, 73).

Current

Private primary schools, using English-language medium, are a recent phenomenon in Tanzania (Yahya-Othman 2000, 73). English proficiency is deteriorating, and the government is reluctant to allow the use of Swahili as the medium of instruction past the primary level (Roy-Campbell 2001a, 275). Demand for English as language of instruction at all levels is increasing (Mohamed, 106 [citing Brock-Utne 2005]). Leclerc notes that the school law of Tanzania (2007) does not contain any mention of language.

Language(s) used: Swahili (1%)

* Leclerc (2010): 4.5%; Graddol (1997, 11): 10%; Crystal (2003, 64): 11%. Avg. = 8%.

** Leclerc (2010): 95%; Adegbija (1994, 7): 6% L₁ + 90% L₂ = 90.6%. Avg. = 93%.

Togo

ILLED 1960	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak French	Percentage Speak Ewe
0	0	0	31.5*	55**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

German and French colonization. Mission schools under German administration privileged indigenous languages. But with French trusteeship after 1919, French became the official language and sole language of instruction (Leclerc 2010).

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 1978, Ewe and Kabiye appeared in schools as subjects (Leclerc 2010), while some smaller languages – Tem, Ben, and Ncém – received some support for development (Sonko-Godwin 1985, 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.

Language(s) used: French

* Baker and Jones (1998, 368) 30%; OIF (2007, 17) 33%. Avg. = 31.5%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 368): 60%; Essizewa (2007, 31): 60%; Adegbija (1994, 8): 44% L1 + 6% L2 = 50%. Avg. = 55%.

Uganda

ILLED 1962	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Luganda
5.4	6	6	8*	40**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Successive colonial governors advocated the teaching of Swahili, but missionaries resisted (because they were using other indigenous languages and because Swahili was associated with Islam), and the governors' efforts were thwarted (Kasazi 2000, 25). Luganda was favored because the colonial government used Buganda agents as administrators.

Independence

(1962) Local languages were used in the first years, followed by English. Luganda continued to be favored in eastern Uganda. Swahili was dropped because of opposition from missionaries and from

Intensity of Local Language Use

Luganda speakers. Swahili continued to spread among security forces and in commerce (Tembe and Norton 2008, 53).

Interim

In 1973, Idi Amin decreed that Swahili was to be the national language and the medium of instruction, but he allocated few resources to achieving the education goal. Other 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) in grades 1–4 and English from grade 5, whereas in urban primary schools, English is the medium from grade 1 (Tembe and Norton 2008, 35). In all primary schools, English and Swahili were to be compulsory subjects, with Swahili gradually emphasized. A survey by Annette Nyquist in 1998 reported: "Observations in primary schools showed that most of the teaching was done in English... 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 (17%), Luo (Acholi-Lango) (11%), Nyoro (3%), Teso (7%), Lugbara (3%), Swahili (<1% L1 + L2) ≈ 42%

* Leclerc (2010) 6%; Graddol (1997, 11) 9%; Crystal (2003, 65): 10% Avg. = 7.5%.

** Baker and Jones (1998, 368): 30% L1 + 30% L2 = 60%; Adegbija (1994, 7): 18% L1 + 20% L2 = 38%; Lewis (2009): 17% L1 + 5% L2 = 22%. Avg. = 40%.

Zambia

ILLED 1964	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Bemba
5.4	0	4	20*	58**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization. Local languages used as medium of instruction to fourth grade. Four local languages selected in 1928: Chibemba, Cinyanja, Cironga, Silozi (Manchisi 2004, 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 2004, 4).

Interim

1977 "Reform" maintained use of English from grade 1 to university (Manchisi 2004, 4).

Current

In 1996 came a new education policy: "Educating our Future/ Breakthrough to Literacy," where students were given the opportunity to learn basic reading and writing in a local language (Sampa 2001, 53). The initial project, involving 25 schools in 1998,

expanded to all 4,271 schools in Zambia by 2002–2003 (Sampana 2003, 27). 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 2004, 6). Local languages are now used for initial literacy in the first grade, but the medium of instruction remains English, even in grade 1 (Henge 2008, 362). English is the language of instruction, though primary instruction *can* be given in one of the six recognized languages (Leclerc 2010).

Language(s) used: English, Bemba (31%), Tonga (9%), Nyanja (7%), Lozi (5%), Lunda (4%), Kaonde (2%), Luvala (1.4%) \approx 60%

* Baker and Jones (1998, 369): more than 30%; Graddol (1997, 11): 11%; Crystal (2003, 65): 19.5% Avg. = 20%.

** Adegbija (1994, 10) 31% L1 + 25% L2 = 56%; Baker and Jones (1998, 369): 60%. Avg. = 58% [but Posner (2005, 121 fn34): 40%].

Zimbabwe

ILLED 1980	ILLED 1990	ILLED 2010	Percentage Speak English	Percentage Speak Shona
4.5	5.4	4.8	39*	75**

LANGUAGE POLICY

Colonial

British colonization, then white minority rule. “More than half the African schools, which were mission schools, provided only three years of primary education” (Roy-Campbell 2001, 160). These schools used Shona and Ndebele for the first three years, with English thereafter (Roy-Campbell 2001, 162). 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 twelve months (1973 document) (Nkomo 2008, 352).

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 2001, 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 1985, 5643). The 1987 Education Act required that children must be taught in Shona or

Intensity of Local Language Use

Ndebele (or an approved minority language) during the first three years of education.

Current

In the mid-1990s, among smaller language groups, resentment of the exclusive recognition of Shona and Ndebele grew, while Ndebele also feared domination by Shona (Nkomo 2008, 357). The 2002 Amendment to 1987 Education Act allowed for teaching of six minority languages in primary schools (Nyika 2008, 461). But English may be used as medium from the very beginning and often is (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 2009).

Language(s) used: English, Shona (66%), Ndebele (10%), Ndu (5%), Kalanga (4%), Nyanja (4%), Tonga (.8%), Lozi (.7%), Tswana (.4%) \approx 91%

* Graddol (1997, 11): 28%; Crystal (2003, 65): 49%. Avg. = 39%.

** Nyika (2008, 459); Adegbija (1994, 11).

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