*Language Policies in African Education**

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TABLE A.1: CODING OF LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION

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

The scale tries to capture the spectrum of movement from "most foreign" medium to "most local." In coding, I distinguished between one or several languages used in education, and the extent the policy has penetrated the education system: "Experimental," "Expanded," or "Generalized." 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.

Sources

Jacques Leclerc's website (http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/index.shtml) provided the initial information for most entries, which I supplemented with a variety of secondary sources specific to each country.

Algeria

Independence	1990	2004
0	1	3

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence French colonization. Prior to 1885, education system was primarily for children of European colonists. In this year, the French colonizers founded a separate school system for indigenous Algerians. The two systems were unified in 1949. At independence, only 600,000 children attended school (Chabou, 245).

Independence (1962) French was the medium in primary schools. Because there were so few teachers trained to teach Classical Arabic, only 7 hours of instruction was required each week. (Leclerc) In 1965, President Houari Boumedienne (who overthrew Ben Bella) began a major Arabization program (1965-78). From 1965 onward, there was a gradual process of Arabization, with Arabic replacing French as 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, 29). By 1982, the six years of primary school included: first two years exclusively in Arabic, second two years 2/3 Arabic and 1/3 French; final two years 16 hours Arabic, 14 hours French (Chabou, 246). 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. This was supposed to exclude the use of French, but it also threatened Berber groups, who had demonstrated in 1989 and did so again in 1991 (Leclerc). "If the Algeria of 1962 was totally Frenchified, that of 1996 has become largely Arabified, but an Arabic that no one speaks" (Leclerc).

Current General school boycott in 1994. Berbers were pushing hard to include their language in public life. As a result, in 1994, the government began discussions with Berber leaders regarding 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 alongside Classical Arabic. In 2003, the government allowed Berber officially to be used in schools.

SOURCES

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Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 30 Jan 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/algerie.htm. (11 March 2005).

Mostari, Hind Amel. "A Sociolinguistic Perspective on Arabisation and Language Use in Algeria" *Language Problems & Language Planning* 10, no. 1 (2004): 25-44.

Angola

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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.

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. In 1985, it was renamed the Institute of National [African] Languages (Roy-Campbell, 176). Civil war made teaching in any language unproductive.

Current Portuguese only.

SOURCES

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Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 9 Sept 2004. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/Angola.htm. (11 March 2005).

Roy-Campbell, Zaline Makini. *Empowerment Through Language: The African Experience – Tanzania and Beyond.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2001.

Benin

<small>CODING</small>

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

<small>LANGUAGE POLICY</small>

Pre-Independence French colonization.

Independence (1960). French 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 alphebetization of *adults* (Aja, Batonum/Bariba, Dendi, Fon, Ditamari, Yoruba) (Leclerc). During the Marxist revolution between 1975 and 1989, 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 reports that there is "official support for mother tongue primary education in Benin, but efforts to develop materials are moving *very* slowly. None of our materials is explicitly designed for primary schools and actually none of *our* materials is being used in primary school, but one of the programs we support (Tamberma) did have one class for non-schooled, primary-age children last year… using materials designed by a committee headed by Jérémy Bética and published by the (Beninese) Ditammari National Linguistic Commission" (Nelson).

<small>SOURCES</small>

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Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 1 Aug 2004. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/benin.htm. (10 Aug 2004).

McIntyre, S. S. "Benin: System of Education." In *The International Encyclopedia of Education,* ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, 477-479. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Nelson, Todd. "Re: For Todd Nelson; JBS sent me." 21 Oct 2004. Personal email. (13 March 2005).

Botswana

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). Education was relatively neglected by the colonial administration.

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).

Interim   The 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. The policy was silent on the use of languages other than Setswana.

SOURCES

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Lockhart, L. "Botswana: System of Education." In *The International Encyclopedia of Education,* ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, 504-508. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Molosiwa, A., N. Ratsoma, and J. Tsonope. "A Comprehension Report on the Use of Setswana at all levels of Botswana's Education System." *International Review of Education* 37 (1991):1.

Burkina Faso

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	6

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   A Swiss NGO (Oeuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvriere – OSEO) began using mother tongues in bilingual schools from 1994. Currently OSEO supports 88 schools, 212 classes and 8527 students in 7 languages. When the government saw the results, it decided to appropriate the strategy. Unlike in other countries, the population was motivated and willing, because of the positive association between local languages and the revolution of 1979. The 1996 Education Orientation law (Law no. 013/96/ADP) says that French and national languages are the languages of instruction (Leclerc). SIL Burkina Faso Director reports: "SIL works in two of the languages used [in bilingual primary schools], and SIL was asked initially to help with development of such material" (Aguila).

SOURCES

Oeuvre Suisse d'Entraide Ouvrière. *Des Enfants du Burkina Faso Apprennent à Lire, à Compter et à Ecrire en Deux Langues.* (n.d.) http://www.oseo.ch/fr/web/index.php?mod=ipp&cat=28&art_id= 13&open=79&lid=bur06&lang=fr. (12 March 2005).

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 16 Jan 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/burkina.htm. (11 March 2005).

Aguila, André. "Re: For Andre Aguila: JBS sent me." 9 Nov 2004. Personal email (13 March 2005).

Burundi

Independence	1990	2004
5	7	7

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence [German and] Belgian colonization. The first schools were set up in 1909 by the Germans.

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

Current 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). English is also being added to the curriculum.

SOURCES

Halaoui, Nazam. "L'utilisation des langues africaines: politiques, législations et réalités." [Working Document] Paper presented at the Biennial Conference of ADEA, Grand Baie, Mauritius, 3-6 December 2003.

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Ntawurishira, L. "Burundi: System of Education." In *The International Encyclopedia of Education,* ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, 596-600. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Cameroon

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	4

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. 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).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde*. 16 Jan 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/cameroun.htm. (11 March 2005).

Ministry of Education [Cameroon]. *Plan d'action national EPT Cameroun*. Yaounde, 2003. Available at: http://portal.unesco.org/education "Education Plans & Policies/Africa/Cameroon."

Tadadjeu, Maurice. *Le Defi de Babel au Cameroon*. Yaounde, Cameroon: Published in collaboration with SIL, Department of Linguistics at CREA, ISH, 1990.

Cape Verde

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   Portuguese colonization.

Independence   (1975) Portuguese only.

Interim   Portuguese

Current   Portuguese remains the language of instruction, but teachers can use Capverdian Creole for illustrations if there is a problem with comprehension.

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 17 Jan 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/Cap-Vert.htm. (11 March 2005)

Central African Republic

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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 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 remains 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 reports that the government is not interested in mother tongue education (Niklaus).

SOURCES

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McIntyre, S. S. "Central African Republic: System of Education." In *The International Encyclopedia of Education,* ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, 655-658. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Niklaus, Eric. "Re: For Eric Niklaus; JBS sent me." 24 Jan 2005. Personal email (13 Mar 2005).

Chad

Independence	1990	2004
0	1	4

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 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).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde*. 17 June 2003. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/tchad.htm. (9 Aug 2004).

Prinz, Angela. "Re: For Angela Prinz; JBS sent me." 10 Nov 2004. Personal email (13 Mar 2005).

Comoros

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   French colonization.

Independence   (1975) French only.

Interim   French only.

Current   In pre-school, teaching is in Comorien and French. In primary school, only French is taught (Leclerc).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 18 June 2003. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/comores.htm. (10 Aug 2004).

Congo (Kinshasa), Democratic Republic of the

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	8	8

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence Belgian colonization. Missionary and Colonial schools used indigenous languages as media of instruction alongside French.

Independence (1960) French became the only language of instruction.

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. Obviously, the war has disrupted normal school functions. 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).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 22 Feb 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/czaire.htm. (11 March 2005).

Niklaus, Eric. "Re: For Eric Niklaus; JBS sent me" 24 Jan 2005. Personal email (13 Mar 2005).

Congo (Brazzaville), Republic of

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 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. "The government is not interested in mother tongue education" (Niklaus).

SOURCES

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Senga-Nsikazolo, V. and A. Makonda. "Congo, Republic of: System of Education." In *The International Encyclopedia of Education,* ed. Torsten Husen and T. Neville Postlethwaite, 975-980. New York: Pergamon Press, 1985.

Côte d'Ivoire

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	6

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; N'Guessan says Articles 78 and 79). 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 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).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde.* 12 Jan 2005. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/cotiv.htm. (11 March 2005).

N'Guessan, Jérémie Kouadio. "École et langues nationales en Côte d'Ivoire: dispositions légales et recherches." In *Les langues dans l'espace francophone: de la coexistence au partenariat*, ed. Robert Chaudenson and Louis-Jean Calvet, 177-203. Paris: Institute de la Francophonie/ L'Harmattan, 2001.

Djibouti

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	4

LANGUAGE POLICY

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

Independence (1977) French.

Interim

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). Currently French is the language of education, but 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).

SOURCES

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Abbi Ibrahim Absieh, Minister of National Education. Telephone interview by author, 27 April 2005.

Equatorial Guinea

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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, Obiango, 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).

SOURCES

Leclerc, Jacques. *L'Aménagement Linguistique dans le Monde*. 14 July 2004. http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/guinee_equatoriale.htm. (10 Aug 2004).

Eritrea

Independence	1990	2004
10	N/A	10

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   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).

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Ethiopia

Coding

1960	1990	2004
9	9	10

Language Policy

Pre-Independence No colonization (except brief Italian occupation).

Independence Haile Selassie tried to unify the country by decreeing the use of Amharic only.

Interim After 1974, Haile Mariam Mengistu initiated a policy of multilingualism, and education materials began to be prepared in at least four minority languages (Wagaw, 1728). But until 1991, Amharic remained the language of instruction in primary schools (Leclerc).

Current Meles Zenawi introduced ethnic regionalism. 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).

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Gabon

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   Education continued to be the joint responsibility of government and missionaries. At the beginning of the 80s, the government decided to put in place a policy to promote and teach national languages. 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. Since 2000, the Minister of Education has mandated a training section for mother tongue instruction in teacher training schools. It has initiated a weekly radio program to "sensitize" the public about the value of Gabonese languages: "Our Languages, Our Culture." So far, however, teaching in Gabonese languages has only been experimental (Leclerc).

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Gambia

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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.

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.

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Ghana

Independence	1990	2004
0	8	0

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 Kwapong Committee 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. In 1970, under Busia, the local language was re-introduced for first three years. (Andoh-Kumi, 29). Under Acheampong, the School for Ghanaian Languages opened. But there has been 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. Some vehicular languages are taught in primary schools, but not local mother tongues.

Current   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). In 2001, the Minister of Education changed the policy to English only.

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Guinea

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	4

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.

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Guinea-Bissau

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	3

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. The experiment ended in 1997 (Hovens, 253).

Current In the early 90s, the government initiated an experiment involving indigenized, ruralized curriculum that used Kiriol, the lingua franca. But it stopped when the funding ended in 1994 [this is probably the same experiment as above, but is contradictory] (Benson 2004, 58). UNESCO reports that Guinea-Bissau is still experimenting with Creole (Bamgbose, 15)

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Kenya

Independence	1990	2004
0	6	4

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). The Beecher Report (1949) recommended the use of 20 mother tongues in primary schools.

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. So "Straight for English" 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, 82). The Embassy reports, that the policy is English medium from Primary 1, with Kiswahili taught as a subject (Embassy interview). Leclerc also reports a rise in use of English. These reports conflict in their details, but all agree that local languages are losing ground.

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Lesotho

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
7	7	7

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   In primary school, Sesotho is the medium of instruction until the fifth year, when English is introduced progressively. English is the sole medium in secondary school, and Sesotho is a subject (Leclerc).

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Liberia

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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 ongoing civil war, there is not much being 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).

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Madagascar

Independence	1990	2004
5	9	9

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   British and French colonization. Madagascar was colonized first by Britain, during which time Protestant missionaries taught in Malagasy. When it was subsequently turned over to France, public schools 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.

Interim   In 1972, the radical socialist regime undertook "malgasization" of the country, which included using only Malagasy in schools. Malagasy became the sole official language. The situation became explosive, and the government had to retract and allow French along with Malagasy. In 1985, the teaching of French began again.

Current   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 (Leclerc).

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Malawi

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
8	7	7

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 (Kayambazinthu, 412). 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 "facultative," and English remains the primary language of instruction in schools. Myra Harrison 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).

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Mali

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	3	6

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence French colonization.

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, Fulfulde, Songhay, Tamasheq.

Interim In 1978, the first four bilingual schools opened, using Bamanan as the language of instruction. 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). Belgian research institute, CIAVER, initiated new experiments in the "pédagogie convergente" beginning in 1987 with one language: Bamanan. The experiment began with two schools in Segou, and grew to 12 schools by 1992 (Wambach, 109)

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 language: Bambara, Tamasheq, Songhay, Soninke, Fulfulde, and Dogon. The "generalization" has reached about 300 schools, and continues to progress, even if it is not yet a majority (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 Bamanan) 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).

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Mauritania

Independence	1990	2004
1	1	1

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence 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 Hassanya Arabic [Hassanya Arabic is the mother tongue of the majority of Mauritanians] (Leclerc).

Independence (1960) French and Classical Arabic medium.

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.

Current The Constitution of 1991 eliminates the official status of French. Article 6 declares that the national languages are Arabic, Pulaar, Soninke, Wolof and the official language is Classical Arabic (Leclerc). In the north, modern Arabic and French are taught in primary school. In the south, it is modern Arabic and French as well, but a few dozen experimental classes organized by the National Language Institute of Nouakchott also teach Pulaar, Soninka and Wolof [as subjects, not medium]. Students have the choice of receiving primary education in Arabic or French, and the majority chooses French (Leclerc)

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Mauritius

Independence	1990	2004
5	5	5

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   French colonization 1715-1810; British colonization 1810-1966. Education Ordinance of 1957 authorized the use of any appropriate language of instruction (Leclerc).

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). French is also part of the primary curriculum.

Interim

Current   In 1995, the government decided that Oriental (e.g. Indian) languages should also count for "ranking and selection, in addition to certification, at the primary-school terminal examination" (Hookoomsing, 118). But people question the burden of three languages (MT, English, French) on children. In practice, though all languages are authorized in primary, it is taught only in Creole and French. As for Indian languages, they are "largely neglected by the interested parties themselves. They judge the knowledge of their ancestral language of little use in the Mauritian context; most of them even believe the knowledge of French is preferable to Indian languages, one, of course, English has been acquired" (Leclerc).

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Mozambique

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	6

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 (Xichanganga and Cinyanja) 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, 51-52)

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Namibia

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).

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Niger

Independence	1990	2004
0	4	6

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). A few experimental schools in local languages began as early as 1973.

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. 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).

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Nigeria

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
8	8	8

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   British colonization.

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)

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).

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Rwanda

Independence	1990	2004
7	7	7

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. Children are supposed to begin school in all three languages, and from the 4th year onward, English and French are to be the languages of instruction (Calvet, 157).

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Sao Tome and Principe

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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).

SOURCES

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Senegal

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	4

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.

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Seychelles

Independence	1990	2004
0	7	7

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 the only language used in nursery school, as well as during the first four years of primary school. From the fifth year, English begins to take the place of Seselwa, until it is the sole language of instruction in secondary (Leclerc).

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Sierra Leone

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	4	4

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence

Independence (1961) Sierra Leone did not have a stated language policy in 1964 (Armstrong, 232).

Interim In 1979, a pilot project began, using Mende, Temne and Limba in 36 schools (Fyle, 52) In the 1980s, the four major languages were infused into the primary school system as instructional media on an experimental basis following the recommendations of the 1981 UNESCO report (Sengova, 522). 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). Recently, the pilot program has not received much support and has not gone beyond the pilot stage because of lack of financing (Fyle, 52).

Current 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 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). Leclerc says that most instruction is in English, and if languages are taught at all, it is only Mende and Temne as subjects (Leclerc).

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Somalia

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).

Independence (1960) After independence, 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). The medium of instruction thus remained Italian in the South and English in the North.

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.

Current Since 1992, Somalia has been cut in two. In the North, which proclaimed independence, the government has reinforced English to the detriment of Somali (Leclerc).

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South Africa

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence Dutch and British colonization.

Independence (1910) Pre-apartheid: English only. 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." This was actually a better language policy for the majority of the population, but for the wrong reasons, and "the matriculation results of black students steadily improved, reaching their zenith in 1979." But the strict implementation of Afrikaans for half of the subjects in secondary school let to the Soweto student uprising in 1976. The students wanted to learn English instead. The government had to back down on 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. 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).

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 (11.3% of school population); 51% chose English (5.7% of population); 37% chose a Bantu language (83% of school population) [Webb 1999, Citing South African Department of Education Statistics from 1997, 58].

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Sudan

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
1	2	4

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. 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).

SOURCES

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Swaziland

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
7	7	5

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   British colonization.

Independence   (1968) SiSwati medium during first four years with English as a subject and then English medium thereafter.

Interim   Same. Private schools use English medium.

Current   Official policy: 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 are 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).

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Tanzania

Independence	1990	2004
5	9	9

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).

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Togo

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

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.

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 reports that there is no government support for mother tongue education in Togo (Nelson).

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Uganda

CODING

Independence	1990	2004
8	8	6

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). 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).

Independence (1962) Local languages were used in the first years, followed by English. Kiswahili was dropped because of opposition from missionaries and from Luganda speakers.

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.

Current A Government White Paper on Education in 1992 stated that in rural schools the medium of education should be the Ugandan language from grades 1-4 and English from grade 5, whereas in urban primary schools, English is the medium from grade 1. In all primary schools, English and Kiswahili were to be compulsory subjects, with Kiswahili gradually emphasized. All primary schools were to teach the 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).

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Zambia

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence   British colonization. Local languages used as medium of instruction to 4th grade.

Independence   (1964) In 1966, nine experimental English-medium schools began on the model of Kenya's New Primary Approach (Mwanakatwe, 215-18). This was the "Straight-to-English" policy, wherein math, reading, handwriting, creative activities and physical education were taught in English, while vernacular and religious studies were taught in the local languages (Mwanakatwe, 219). In 1968, this Straight-to-English policy expanded to 168 schools.

Interim   Laitin (1992, citing Kashoki 1978) says that national languages were introduced as media of instruction in the first four years of school (130).

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). 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). Samuel reports that in 1996 the government "implemented a pilot reading programme in one 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).

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Zimbabwe

Independence	1990	2004
0	0	0

LANGUAGE POLICY

Pre-Independence British colonization, then white minority rule. The government was primarily concerned with White education. "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.

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 their mother tongue during the first three years of education. But by 1998, the curriculum development unit had produced few materials in the five languages that the Education Act authorized – Kalanga, Venda, Tonga, Shangani, and Nambya (Roy-Campbell, 167). The Embassy reports that English is the medium, local languages are subjects.

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