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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

DISSERTATION

UNDERLYING IDEOLOGIES OF LANGUAGE MEDIUM POLICIES IN MULTILINGUAL
SOCIETIES WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICA

Presented in fulfilment of the requirements for
the Degree of
Master of Philosophy
(specialising in Language Education)

by

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ABSTRACT

Colonisation has left Africa with a collection of multilingual states whose physical lines of demarcation bear little relation to linguistic or cultural boundaries. Furthermore, the colonial period has left behind it a legacy of the colonial languages.

As these states gained independence, the new political hierarchy has defined its language policy in accordance with its political ideology.

This dissertation has been set out to examine the effects of the political ideology behind language medium choice during the British colonial rule in selected African states, on that which followed after independence. Secondly, there has been an attempt to investigate possible connective links in the language policies of independent states on those of states which gain later independence. This has been undertaken with the aim of building up a set of criteria which might make it feasible to make certain predictions for the likely course of language policy in a future Namibia and South Africa.

The question of instruction through the medium of the mother tongue as opposed to the arguments in favour of instruction through the medium of a language of wider communication (English in most cases here) is addressed.

The role and nature of nationalism as the most significant political ideology of post-colonial African states is explored in as far as it determines language choice.

A historical analysis of colonial language policy in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia is undertaken and the effects thereof are measured against post-independent language policy developments in those countries as well as in Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Special attention is given to South Africa, which is ruled by a minority government and Namibia which is the last remaining African country which has not yet achieved independence.

The influences of policy in the independent states in as far as these contribute towards the shaping of the language policy of significant bodies such as SWAPO and the ANC is examined since it is likely that the status quo in both Namibia and South Africa will change. Consequently, it is expected that language policy in these territories is also likely to undergo change.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 LOCATING THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM	2
1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY	15
CHAPTER 2 - THE MOTHER TONGUE CONTROVERSY	17
2.1 INTRODUCTION	17
2.2 A HISTORY OF THE MOTHER TONGUE POLICY IN ANGLOPHONE AFRICA	19
2.3 ARGUMENT AGAINST THE USE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE	40
2.4 TWO CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN AFRICA	51
CHAPTER 3 - THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY	54
3.1 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING	54
3.2 GOVERNMENTAL POLICY DECISIONS IN MULTILINGUAL SITUATIONS	62
CHAPTER 4 - THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NATIONALISM IN ITS RELATION TO THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE MEDIUM	71
4.1 INTRODUCTION	71
4.2 UNDERSTANDING 'NATIONALISM'	72
4.3 CAUSES OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM	85
4.4 PECULIARITIES OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN NATIONALISM	90

4.5	THE RELEVANCE OF FISHMAN'S : 'THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM ON LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE PLANNING'	91
CHAPTER 5 - NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA		109
5.1	INTRODUCTION	109
5.2	THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM	110
5.3	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND BLACK EDUCATION	123
5.4	OPPOSITION TO BANTU EDUCATION : SPECIFICALLY THE LANGUAGE ISSUE	139
CHAPTER 6 - ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES IN POST-BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KENYA AND TANZANIA		154
6.1	INTRODUCTION	154
6.2	KENYA	157
6.3	TANZANIA	176
6.4	CONCLUSIONS	192
CHAPTER 7 - FURTHER STRATEGIES IN POST-BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA - ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE		196
7.1	INTRODUCTION	196
7.2	ZAMBIA	198
7.3	BOSTWANA	209
7.4	ZIMBABWE	215

CHAPTER 8 - NAMIBIA : THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LANGUAGE	220
POLICY FOR INDEPENDENCE	
8.1 INTRODUCTION	220
8.2 LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF NAMIBIA	221
8.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	224
8.4 LINGUISTIC POLICIES FOR THE FUTURE : A MOVEMENT	235
TOWARDS LIBERATION	
8.5 ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO	252
8.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA'S	253
LANGUAGE POLICY	
 CHAPTER 9 - TRENDS IN LANGUAGE MEDIUM POLICY FOR A	258
POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA	
9.1 INTRODUCTION	258
9.2 LOCATING THE CONTEXT	263
9.3 ALTERNATIVES TO LANGUAGE POLICY UNDER APARTHEID	266
9.4 CONCLUSION	284
 CHAPTER 10 - CONCLUSION	287
10.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS	287
10.2 IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS FACING LANGUAGE POLICY FOR	299
THE FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA	
10.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY	300
 ABBREVIATIONS	303
 REFERENCES	305

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

... thousands upon thousands of school-children have suffered the assaults of an alien speech and symbolism as an impersonal violence against which they have closed their shutters and remained in hiding until the noise outside went away (Inglis, 1975: 16).

Much has been written about language in education in multilingual societies, and in colonial or ex-colonial societies. However, in the case of ex-colonial Africa, there appears to be a gap in the literature which might be able to reveal:

- (1) a coherent link of the effect of colonial language policy prior to independence on that which follows after independence; and
- (2) the influences of the language policy in independent states on those which achieve later independence.

It is hoped that this study will be able to identify trends in the ideologies behind language medium policy in post-independent African states with the aim of predicting likely trends in a post-apartheid South Africa and Namibia - the chief concern, however, being with South Africa.

Interest in the ideology behind language policy in South Africa came to a head in 1976 with the revolt of the black students in Soweto. This uprising was sparked off by a controversy surrounding the South African

government's language medium policy in black education. Since then, the government has responded with certain compromises but no real change in policy has come about since the political ideology of the country has remained firmly intact.

Nevertheless, organisations outside government bodies have begun to articulate alternative language policies and it is with these and the influences behind them that this study is ultimately concerned.

1.1 LOCATING THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1.1 The parameters of the multilingual societies under investigation

Approximately two-thirds of the world's states use as their official language one which is common to most of the inhabitants of those states, but this does not mean that these states are linguistically homogenous: far from it, in fact (Rustow, 1975: 44). This means that in one-third of the world's recognised states, a plurality of languages is used to facilitate communication. This is because a number of heterogeneous societies have been brought together under the umbrella of a state or nation-state with little or no concern for cultural and linguistic differences.

It is variously accepted that in a linguistically homogenous society, there is no necessity for the state to adopt a specific policy toward language-medium (Mackey, 1979: 5). This is because state, national, educative and cultural activities are naturally conducted through the

medium of the single language spoken in that society. Problems present themselves where more than one language is spoken within the confines of a state and when these languages indicate linguistic divisions in that society. Where a significant number of the specified society speak different languages the state needs to establish a language policy in order to deal with concerns which manifest themselves in questions such as:

How does the state exercise its control over a linguistically heterogeneous society?

Which language/s is/are chosen as the official language/s?

Which language/s is/are chosen as the medium/media of instruction?

Which criteria (political, socio-economic, educative) are used in making such decisions?

What effect do these decisions have on the different groups within that society?

The answers to these questions will obviously vary according to the specific idiosyncrasies of each society.

Societies may be multilingual as a result of one of two causes:

- (1) the immigration of significant numbers of people whose language and culture do not correspond to that of the host country; or
- (2) colonisation of a territory by a foreign power that is concerned about matters of strategic domination and not about boundaries which might correspond to those of cultural or linguistic groupings.

It may, however, be possible for the multilingual situation to arise as a result of a combination of the two causes listed above. A useful definition of 'multilingual societies' is given by Rustow.

These are states where there is no majority language, where there is no lingua franca close to all the indigenous tongues, and where there is no clear two-way confrontation. Instead there are a large number of distinct languages spoken in different regions (Rustow, 1975: 54).

This study is restricted to those areas in Africa which share:

- (1) a colonial past;
- (2) a loathing of imperialism;
- (3) a strong influence of English as a language of wider communication.

Countries north of the Limpopo River will be considered as a background to and models for South Africa and Namibia since these countries still have to emerge as liberated states, with educational policies drawn up by what is conceived of as majority governments.

At this point, it might be useful to note that colonial rule, particularly that of the British Empire, was believed to operate from the perspective of 'divide and rule'. Ex-British colonial territories in Africa harbour a deep-seated suspicion that the colonial rulers deliberately encouraged the multicultural differences in those areas in order to prevent a united opposition to their hegemony. Consequently, the policy of encouraging education through the medium of the mother tongue was thought to be a way of preventing access to positions of power where business was conducted through the colonial language. In the cases of South Africa and Namibia this belief is far more than a deep-seated suspicion.

The concerns which emanate from multilingual situations are a direct function of the political ideology which exercises its hegemony over the state in question and it is from this ideology that the language policy springs.

1.1.2 Defining the boundaries of ideology

As an initial premise, one might view ideology as a:

... general term for the ways in which certain sets of ideas and assumptions become dominant material force in society (Bennett et al., 1981: 207)

The concept of ideology is a complicated one and it is necessary to delve into its history and the ways in which it is seen to function in society before relating it directly to the concerns of this work.

Gramsci located the origin of ideology as:

... an aspect of 'sensationalism', i.e. eighteenth-century French materialism. Its original meaning was that of 'science of ideas', and since analysis was the only method recognised and applied by science it means 'analysis of ideas', that is, 'investigation of the origin of ideas'. Ideas had to be broken down into their original 'elements', and these could be nothing other than 'sensations'. Ideas derived from sensations (Gramsci, 1971: 375).

It was from this 'science of ideas' that the source of man's biases and prejudices could be established (Bell, 1977: 298). The term was then adopted by Karl Marx, although he saw it to signify something rather different. Marx argued that ideology was a selection of ideas which by their selection presented a distortion of reality. This selection of ideas would be used to justify the interests of the social system or the status quo. Karl Mannheim and Max Weber while recognising and accepting Marx's argument with regard to selectivity of ideas suggested that the negative connotation which the word 'distorted' or 'distortion' presents may not always be valid.

While Marxists identified ideology as a 'system of ideas' which is directly related to the economic structure of a society, non-Marxists began to see ideology more in terms of individuals and their own sets of ideas (Bennett et al.: 208). Gramsci was concerned about the two conceptions of the nature of ideology:

It seems to me that there is a potential element of error in assessing the value of ideologies, due to the fact ... that the name ideology is given both to the necessary superstructure of a particular structure and to the arbitrary elucubrations of particular individuals. The bad sense of the word has become

widespread, with the effect that the theoretical analysis of the concept of ideology has been modified and denatured (Gramsci, 1971: 376).

For Gramsci a danger lay in the Marxist view that the structure existed firstly and that the ideology came into being as a secondary element as a way of explaining that structure. He saw in ideology an interplay between 'historically organic ideologies' which are those whose role is to explain the structure and 'arbitrary, rationalistic, or "willed"' ideologies which are adopted by individuals (1971: 377).

Mannheim drew the distinction between the ideology of small groups and individuals and that of a larger all encompassing ideology of the state.

At this point it becomes necessary to define the notion of ideology that will be employed for the purposes of this dissertation. Bearing in mind the various ways of construing this concept and accepting the significance thereof, this work is concerned rather more with those grand-scale ideologies used either by the power structure of the state or those adopted by organised opponents of that hegemony. As such, ideology will be seen as a system of ideas which have been selected from a complexity of situations in order to explain those situations. Selection cannot be entirely scientific or objective and consequently the process is always open to the criticism that it distorts reality.

The selection of ideas brought together is employed to persuade members of society to co-operate and adopt a homogeneous set of principles. These may be in order to preserve the status quo or they may be geared toward a

change thereof. One might distinguish ideologies from beliefs and values in that in the case of the former, we are likely to discover a highly systematised set of formulae which is not present to the same extent in either of the latter.

If one accepts that, in order for a power base to exist in a state, that power base must have developed an ideology which has been used to persuade members of that state to accept the power structure, then one must also recognise that when dissatisfaction with that structure begins to emerge it will be formless and directionless unless an alternative ideology is established. Once that happens, the fears and hopes of those who are dissatisfied or disillusioned with the status quo will become articulated in a systematised way. This new ideology will automatically be selective and distortion may very well occur as it grows out of a reaction against the already entrenched ideology. Johnson (1968: 79) lists five sources of ideological distortion and selectivity:

1. Social strain - which is dissatisfaction with the way the system operates.
2. Vested interests - which represent the ways in which some proponents of the ideology will benefit should it be adopted.
3. Bitterness - this may be due to losses suffered during opposition to the status quo.

4. Limited social perspective - those seeking an alternative structure are usually ones who have been kept in a subordinate position and consequently have not been able to 'acquire firsthand knowledge of most of the system' (Johnson: 80).
5. Outmoded science - this is 'due to misunderstanding of scientific theory or to the persistence, in popular thought, of outmoded theory' (Johnson: 81).

Johnson (1968: 81) discussed the four types of ideology which Parsons distinguished. Firstly, 'conservative ideology' is the form which provides a justification of the status quo. Secondly, there is an ideology of reform; and thirdly, there is a revolutionary ideology. Lastly, a counterideology is distinguished whereby 'deviant behaviour' is given credibility through gross distortion. These distinctions become significant when the educational policies are examined in relation to the question of language at later points in this dissertation.

Shils (1968: 72) points out that when a new ideology successfully replaces that which has been operating and the necessary structural changes have been effected in the state concerned, the old ideology will never be entirely blotted out. As the new system becomes gradually complacent, so the old or other alternative ideologies begin to assert themselves.

During the 1950s, theorists, in many cases, began to believe that the all encompassing view of ideology, whereby it represented a grand world view

or 'Weltanschauung', as it had done in Nazi Germany, other fascist movements in Europe and Marxism, was no longer possible. These were disciples of a belief in what has become known as 'the end of ideology'. They saw that within developed societies, where stable power structures operated, an automatic provision for reform existed, consequently the need for developing a new alternative system of ideas became unnecessary. Nevertheless, other proponents of the concept of ideology including Shils (1968: 75) and Johnson (1968: 84-85) argue that ideology should not necessarily be seen in such extremist perspective. Rather, human nature is such that within society there will always be people with differing sets of interests and concerns and these will find articulation through different ideologies.

The system of ideas which underlie the political structure and which influence the choice of medium of instruction and its implementation will be examined herein. Furthermore, current educational ideology as far as it affects language medium policy and the ways in which it is interpreted by the dominant state ideology will be discussed.

The special case of nationalism

The concept of nationalism and the role which it has played and is likely to play in influencing language medium policy will be dealt with in great detail in Chapter 4. At this point, all that will be attempted is an introduction of the concept in as far as it affects language issues within state systems.

Paulston (1985: 33) explains that:

Very often nationalism takes place as a protest against oppression, against a common enemy, whether it be against a (dominant) group within the same state or against another state.

Malherbe (1977: 1) sees a close association between nationalism, language and education. Holmes (1980: 1) is more specific:

In Europe the growth of nationalism was associated with the rise of Christian denominationalism and the use of vernaculars as media of instruction. Somewhat later it involved the suppression of dialects or regional languages in favour of a 'national' language. Economic incentives, political power and the schools helped to mould nation-states out of communities speaking different languages and holding different beliefs.

Malherbe (1977: 1) endorses a belief held by Glyn Lewis (1974) that language contains within it the power which allows small groups as well as larger communities to articulate their 'separateness' just as much as their common interests.

Fishman (1972c: 39-55) has argued that with the growth of nationalist movements a common/universal process has taken place whereby language becomes one of the major exponents of that nationalism and furthermore, a controlling force which aids the ruling group in the maintenance of its hegemony and its particular philosophy. It is precisely this view that is both interesting and of great significance, particularly given the critical situation within which South Africa finds itself today.

1.1.3 Language medium policy

What you know fixes in part what you become. As a man's way of perceiving and organising knowledge changes, so does his identity (Inglis, 1975: 11).

Language is frequently seen as being both contained within and a product of the culture of a people. Through its figurative expressions it explains the way of life, the world view and philosophies of its cultural group. It is seen as a repository of the history, traditions and metaphysics for the people who employ it as a mother tongue. While this is so, speakers of some languages do not believe their own mother tongues are sufficiently able to provide access to the modern world.

Consequently, when language policies adopted in the educational system of a state appear to conflict with the perceived interests of members of that state they become controversial political issues which are likely to be viewed with distrust.

A number of studies have been done on educational policy in Africa and these will be examined in Chapter 3. Nevertheless it would be useful to outline the following broad strategies at this point. Brown (1975: 422-426) identifies five categories of educational policy in multicultural and multilingual societies in Africa. Firstly, he discusses 'separate development', a policy which has become associated with grave suspicion and white minority rule in Southern Africa. Secondly, he discusses 'assimilation' where the imperial power has assimilated the subordinate cultures. This is very much the case in the French colonial territories

in Africa where pupils were taught through the medium of the 'civilised' and technologically developed French language, with the objective of creating a class of French Africans. Thirdly, the attempts at 'adaptation' are examined. This policy is one used in situations of indirect rule (i.e. indirect colonial rule). Here the colonial educational policy would be adapted in an effort to be more applicable to the needs of the people under its control. The fourth category comes into operation on the gaining of 'independence'. The education of independence will obviously emerge as a response to the unique conditions of the newly independent state. Fifthly, Brown suggests that Africa seems to be moving in the direction of a policy of 'integration' whereby areas of conflict are given recognition but seen in terms of the broad parameters of African development. Instead of seeing education in terms of independent African nations the notion of the interdependence of African nations, their educational systems, together with the recognition of their position in world affairs make a strong argument in favour of an integrative approach. The rise of Pan-Africanism and black consciousness have stimulated this.

These broad educational strategies then affect language choice and the policy behind such choice. Paulston (1985: 5) distinguishes three angles to the question of language choice:

Language choice is one of the major language problems, whether it be choice of national language (as in Finland and Israel), choice of national alphabet (as in Somalia) or choice of medium of instruction (as in Norway).

The concerns of this dissertation are primarily those of language-medium choice but this very often coincides with the question of the national language.

Currently, there are two distinct streams of thought which influence language medium policy. Firstly, UNESCO's studies and conferences on the vernacular and the use of the mother tongue in the 1950s continue to hold much sway. Therein is suggested that the mother tongue is a mechanism whereby the child's home is linked to the community, the environment and the values underpinning his conception of the world. The use, then, of the mother tongue in education will facilitate easy and untraumatic transition from the home to the school and learning will take place in an environment which is familiar, at least linguistically. The trauma of actually leaving the home for the purposes of formal education is exacerbated when an alien language confronts the child early in his school life. It is argued, by those that hold this view, that the alien language will jeopardise the child's educational progress.

The second position holds that the vernacular prevents the speaker from economic development as without a language of wider communication he will be precluded from certain opportunities and his effective communication outside his limited linguistic boundaries will be hampered. Furthermore exponents of this position often suggest that it is neither economically viable to promote the development of the vernaculars so that they are equipped to cope with the demands of the highly mechanised and scientifically orientated western world, nor is it possible to do so.

Behind these educational concerns, of course, lie the existence of political ideologies, the concept of which has already been explained in 1.1.2. The architects of the dominant state ideology may have educational requirements as their primary concern, but it is more likely that the dominating objective will be the maintenance of political hegemony. Consequently, language policy will follow the path most likely to facilitate this. Educational arguments about the value of the mother tongue as opposed to the language of wider communication may then be conveniently adapted to suit and support the state ideology.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

The major objectives of this study are to:

1. Evaluate the debate between those who promote mother tongue medium of instruction and those who argue for instruction through a language of wider communication, whether it be the national language or not.
2. Distinguish between language planning procedures and language policy; and further to examine types of language policy which operate in multilingual settings.
3. Explore the role of nationalism in as far as it appears to play a major role in providing the state ideology behind language medium policies.

4. Describe the history of language medium policies as they have operated in selected Anglophone African countries with the intention of analysing such policies in terms of the political ideologies from when they emerge. More specifically, it is intended that an exploration will be made of a possible link between the effect of colonial policy prior to independence and that which follows immediately after independence.
5. Use this as a means to discover which criteria influence such decisions so that a background is provided for the especially complicated issues in South Africa and Namibia.
6. Explore possible influences of political ideology on language policy in independent states on these features in states which gain later independence.
7. Assess changes in language policy in independent states once the immediate concerns of nationalism and imperialism recede after the early period of independence. Special attention here will be focused on an apparent relaxation of attitude toward the role of the national or official state language in relation to the other languages in that country.

CHAPTER 2

THE MOTHER TONGUE CONTROVERSY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The term 'mother tongue' bears with it all the positively loaded connotations of motherhood, 'mother earth' and 'mother country' (Szepe, 1984: 63). In most European countries today, the educational policy operates on the principle that the official state language be the medium of instruction but that, also, where linguistic minorities exist, provision of education through the mother tongue should be provided (Szepe, 1984: 64). Marshall (1972) points out that in all of the Council of Europe Countries, the mother tongue principle is accepted as being central to all academic secondary education. The acceptance of the mother tongue principle is central to the acceptance of a democratised society where the rights of ethnic groups are preserved.

The situation in Africa is a complex one. While countries in Europe experienced the fervour of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the African continent is in the throes of this conflict right now. Just as in Europe, immediately after the creation of a nation state, a state policy aimed at national cohesion would ensue, so too is this a feature of African nationalism. The adoption of a national language where a multiplicity of languages existed in the European nation states is a feature discernible in Africa in the twentieth century. The problem emerges over the choice of the national or official language.

Obviously, the state needs a language of wider communication in order to promote political cohesion. Should the choice fall on a local language, a regional language, a lingua franca (like Swahili or Arabic) or would it be convenient to simply retain the language of the ex-colonial power? Whatever choice is made becomes crucial to the policy regarding language education in the school. What happens to the local vernaculars? Are they to be sacrificed in favour of an ex-colonial language or another language chosen as a national language? If they are sacrificed does this mean that the cultures embodied in those languages will also be sacrificed?

What is clear, is that the colonial powers succeeded in engendering a sense of insecurity and inferiority in the perceptions of those who speak these vernacular languages, about the economic and political value of their languages. What is also clear from a study of the literature is that the colonial educational policies, especially as they affected the language issues, have entrenched certain sets of ideas about the inherent inability of the vernaculars to cope with the demands of a modern, western technological society.

Set against this we find that time and again during the course of the twentieth century, international bodies of educational and linguistic experts have asserted the fundamental importance of using the mother tongue as a basic anchor to the commencement of formal education at school. One hypothesis of this dissertation is that it is only after a period of independence characterised by a sense of insecurity and inferiority - an effect of imperialism - that confidence begins to assert itself in the recognition of the value of traditional cultural systems and

with them their languages. Attempts to impose mother tongue instruction right after independence might be met with a suspicion that advice meted out even by international bodies like UNESCO - based in Paris, the seat of an ex-colonial power - would be yet another manifestation of the colonial policy of retaining an ignorant and subjugated society in Africa.

This chapter will be devoted to an examination of the history of the mother tongue policy and the arguments set against it.

2.2 A HISTORY OF THE MOTHER TONGUE POLICY IN ANGLOPHONE AFRICA

...a man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality... It is through our vernacular, through our folk speech ... that most of us attain to the characteristic expression of our nature and of what our nature allows us to be or to discern (The Report of the Calcutta University Mission of 1919, cited in Watson, 1979: 21).

One needs to clarify two factors before moving into a historical description of the mother tongue policy in Anglophone Africa. Firstly, one implies by this concept, a policy decision regarding the formal education of the child at school. Obviously, the mother tongue is used in the non-formal situation where there is no need for a policy decision. Adult literacy/education will not be discussed in detail as it does not provide the focus for this dissertation, because, in general, there is no conflict as far as it is concerned: mother tongue is generally accepted as being the only effective medium for adult literacy programmes (unless an African lingua franca is used). Secondly, a definition of the term, mother tongue, is needed. Awoniyi (1976: 27) suggests that one should make

a distinction between 'vernacular' and 'mother tongue'. UNESCO (1953: 46) defines the former as:

A language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in another country.

Awoniyi points out that in Africa the use of this term is associated with the inferior relationship of the dominated inhabitants with the European colonial power, so that the language of the former is considered inferior in relation to the latter. Consequently, great care should be applied when using the term 'vernacular'. Awoniyi continues to define 'mother tongue' (influenced by: Cheavens, 1957: 8-9) as:

...the language which a group of people, considered to be the inhabitants of an area, acquire in their early years and which normally becomes their natural instrument of thought and communication (1976: 27).

It should be noted that many literary sources use the terms indiscriminately. This is especially the case because much of the early policy statements seem to have chosen 'vernacular' and thereby implied the inferior status of the indigenous tongues.

2.2.1 Early contact with the missionaries

The literature dealing with the policies adopted by the missionaries of the nineteenth century who were the first to establish schools in Anglophone Africa is somewhat contradictory in its treatment of the language issue. On the one hand, Bamgbose (1976: 9-10), Fyle (1976: 54-55), Awoniyi (1976: 35), Boadi (1976: 86-87) and Elliott (1982: 4) indicate

quite clearly that the missionaries' policy was based on utilitarian motives which were intended to evangelise the indigenous population as speedily as possible. The medium they chose was that of the mother tongue as it was felt that more converts would be gained if Christianity were presented in a language which the population understood and with which it felt comfortable.

On the other hand, Tiffen (1975: 321) claims that the missionaries adopted a policy of teaching through the medium of English right from the start. He suggests that the missionaries not only wished to evangelise the indigenous population but also to inculcate an essentially British way of life in the areas in which they operated. Previously, Tiffen (1968: 70-72), while claiming that English had been the preferred medium of instruction, indicated that some attempts at mother tongue instruction had been made.

Bamgbose and Awoniyi support their claim that the missionaries were responsible for applying the mother tongue principle with the following evidence:

1. In Freetown, Sierra Leone, August 1831, lessons began in Yoruba (Bamgbose, 1976: 10).
2. Missionary linguists worked on indigenous languages, providing simple orthographies and translations (Bamgbose : 10-11).
3. Fourah Bay College in Freetown made significant contributions to the West African languages especially in the field of producing reading material in those languages (Awoniyi, 1976: 35-36).

Tiffen (1968) records that shortly after the founding of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) school at Basia in northern Sierra Leone during 1808, it became apparent that parents of Susu children regarded the acquisition of the English language of primary importance and preferred the medium of instruction through English. While Tiffen suggests that the missionaries had no specific policy in mind and that they simply assumed that the most sensible course to follow was that of the English model, he concedes that efforts were made by some missionaries to teach through the mother tongue. An Assistant Secretary of the CMS is recorded by Tiffen (1968: 72) as recommending in a 1816 Special Report on the West African Mission that:

The advantage, and indeed the necessity of teaching the children to read their own language in order to their being useful to their parents and other countrymen, by reading the Scriptures and religious Tracts, will be obvious. I gave express instructions that this should be attended to in future.

This is quite obviously an important acknowledgement of the rationale for adopting such a policy. Nevertheless, as so often happens in Africa, where policy decisions are made without the blessing of those whom they affect, such a decision was difficult to effect. The paucity of textbooks and teachers who could speak the necessary languages together with the fact that parents considered that the only advantage to education would be through the medium of English, provided considerable drawbacks to such a decision at this point. An attempt to produce texts in the mother tongue was made by Mrs Hannah Kilham in 1827 for schools in Sierra Leone (Tiffen, 1968: 72). Tiffen concludes, however, that there were many requests to England for English teachers to go to Africa for the express purpose of using that language as the medium of instruction.

What is clear from the literature is that a certain amount of confusion reigned about which language should be utilised in educative fields, but what is equally clear, is that whichever choice was made it was one made based on the ideology of evangelising the local population firstly, and any other educative functions were very much side issues.

2.2.2 Language policies after the Partition of Africa, 1884

The colonial governments made significant policy statements on the position of language in relation to the way they construed their power structures to operate over the colonies, particularly after the 1884 partition of Africa. Bamgbose (1976: 10), Awoniyi (1976: 31-35) and Yai (1976: 67-73) all report that the policy of the French government was that the only medium of instruction would be through the French language. The French regarded themselves as embodying the philosophy of liberalism which was embedded in the spirit of the French Revolution and consequently viewed France very much as a model upon which their colonies should be based. The French language was consequently regarded as the vehicle through which this world view could best be disseminated (Awoniyi: 31-35). The overriding policy adopted by the French with regard to their colonies was that of 'assimilation'. This strategy will be examined in more detail at a later point in this chapter. Similarly, Bamgbose (10) indicates that the Portuguese adopted a policy of assimilation whereby the medium of instruction was through the language of the dominant colonial power.

The British and Belgian territories were subject to an alternative strategy whereby the mother tongue came to be regarded as the initial

medium of education in schools. Initially the British government took very much a 'laissez-faire' approach to the language issue and left it up to the missionaries as it was the missionaries who founded the schools and operated them. Awoniyi (36) gives the first official British policy on education as being the Educational Ordinance for West Africa 6 May 1882. Therein, a ruling that the medium should be through English was made and this apparently infuriated the missionaries. Government grants to education would only be made if this condition was met. This policy was not successful as the colonists found that they were unable to communicate effectively with the local population and so in 1895 a European Language Examination scheme came into operation whereby the colonists would have to become competent in the use of at least one of the local languages (Awoniyi: 37).

The British government called two conferences early in the twentieth century on education in the empire in 1911 and 1923 and these were held in London. While both were concerned about language, it was the second, that held in 1923, which concerned itself with the question of medium of instruction. More or less at the same time, the Phelps-Stokes Fund financed two commissions of enquiry into education in Africa. The first one concentrated on West Africa in 1919 and the second on East Africa in 1924. The first commission published its report, Education in Africa: A Study of West, South and Equatorial Africa by the Education Commission, in 1922. The Phelps-Stokes Fund reports, while funded from the United States of America were taken most seriously in Britain. Essentially both reports revealed that British education in Africa was falling far short of what might be considered successful. Little attempt had been made at adapting

the British model to suit the needs and environment of the African child. The commission recommended that the objectives of African education be specified so that suitable models be used. The commission made quite clear the significance of language and concluded that the mother tongue 'was essential for the development of the child's latent capacity' (Makulu, 1971: 22). In fact the commission recommended that a three-tiered language system operate:

1. The tribal language should be used in the lower elementary standards or grades.
2. A lingua franca of African origin should be introduced in the middle classes of the school if the area is occupied by large native groups speaking diverse languages.
3. The language of the European nation in control should be taught in the upper standards.
(the Phelps-Stokes Fund Report, 1922, cited in Tiffen, 1968: 74).

The commission, while making a strong argument for the mother tongue also realised that in order to facilitate the social and economical mobility of the local population, other languages would become necessary vehicles of communication. The European language would be essential to those wishing to acquaint themselves with a modern, technological way of life, because this facility was not then available through the medium of most mother tongues in Africa.

As a direct response to these two reports and their findings, an Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical Dependencies was set up by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1923. A series of reports from this committee appeared:

Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (1925)

The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education (1927)

Memorandum on Language in African School Education (1943).

In each of these reports the principle of mother tongue education was stressed and the strategy to be adopted became progressively more clear with each report. The mother tongue was regarded as the language which was familiar to the child and would not create small class conflicts which the use of a foreign tongue might do. It was recognised though, that the sheer number of mother tongues would create problems of a practical nature where the provision of teachers and texts was concerned. Furthermore there was a desire by the African people to learn the English language as it was seen as a vehicle of upward social mobility. Subsequently, it was recommended that the initial medium of instruction would be through the mother tongue and that gradually English would be introduced (or alternatively, an African language which facilitated wider communication). Generally English would be taught as the medium of instruction in the upper classes. It should be noted that these reports were chiefly advisory and so did not lay down hard and fast rules to be followed. Variations of their suggested policy were adopted as local conditions demanded them. Tiffen (1975: 322-3) notes that because of the prestige accorded English, schools were often persuaded to effect the change from a mother tongue centred education to that of English at an earlier point than had been suggested as being educationally/linguistically sound policy by the committee's reports. Attempts to delay the change of medium were met with suspicion of deliberate withholding of educational advancement.

Awoniyi (39) points out that this policy of mother tongue education was not accepted, by many of those it affected, as having credibility until public examination recognition was afforded these languages. The policy, from the point of view of the British colonists, was educationally and linguistically sound. From the point of view of those who perceived themselves of being in an inferior position in the colonial system, mother tongue policy was regarded as a method employed to perpetuate their subservient position on the hierarchical scale: this to suit the core of British imperialist ideology.

2.2.3 Policy decisions post-World War II

Two most significant conferences were held in the early 1950s, which effected the policy decisions on language education in Africa. Firstly, in 1951 in Paris a UNESCO sponsored meeting of experts on 'The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education' was convened. Secondly, in 1952 'The Cambridge Conference on African Education' took place. While the first might be seen as a development of the earlier studies and commissions like those of the Phelps-Stokes in the 1920s and as such, crystallising the pro-mother tongue argument, the second represented very much a move away from this ideology and more of a return to the use of the colonial language.

UNESCO 'The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education': report published in 1953

UNESCO had come to realise that the medium of instruction was a crucial element in the development of an 'adequate' education in many areas of the world. The organisation had, therefore, called together a number of specialists to deal with various aspects of the role of vernacular languages. More particularly, the meeting was designed to assess the circumstances under which the vernacular language might be used in education and secondly how its use might be facilitated and encouraged (UNESCO, 1953: 45-46).

The impact of this particular report on mother tongue instruction has been so great that it is necessary to deal with its ideology in detail. In a preamble to the actual report, the specialists presented what they termed 'A General Statement' in which is explained the philosophy behind their ideology.

It is through his mother tongue that every human being first learns to formulate and express his ideas about himself and about the world in which he lives. This language in which he first learns to express his ideas need not be the language which his parents use; nor need it be the language he first learns to speak, since special circumstances may cause him to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age.

Every child is born into a cultural environment; the language is both a part of, and an expression of, that environment. Thus the acquiring of this language (his 'mother tongue') is a part of the process by which a child absorbs the cultural environment; it can, then be said that this language plays an important part in moulding the child's early concepts. He will, therefore, find it difficult to grasp any new concept which is so alien to his cultural environment that it cannot readily find expression in his mother tongue. If a foreign language belongs to a culture very little different from his own (as for example French is to an English child) the child's chief difficulties in

learning that language will be only linguistic. But if the foreign language belongs to a culture very different from his own (as for example English to a Nigerian child) then his learning difficulties are greatly increased; he comes into contact, not only with a new language, but also with new concepts. Similar considerations apply to adults.

In learning any foreign language a child may find difficulty in mastering the alien vocabulary and syntax sufficiently to express his ideas in it. Where the foreign language belongs to a wholly alien culture he is faced with the added and much greater difficulties; to interpret to himself the new ideas in terms of his own medium of thought - his mother tongue - and to express his own ideas and thoughts through the new modes of the alien tongue. Ideas which have been formulated in one language are so difficult to express through the modes of another, that a person habitually faced with this task can readily lose his facility to express himself. A child, faced with this task at an age when his powers of self-expression even in his mother tongue are but incompletely developed, may possibly never achieve adequate self-expression.

For these reasons it is important that every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue (UNESCO, 1953: 47).

Those responsible for the report continue to advocate that mother tongue be used as the medium of instruction in order that the transition from the home environment to that of the school be as comfortable as possible and furthermore that this medium be continued for as long as possible during the educative process.

The argument put forward by the UNESCO specialists, while generally accepted by many educationalists at the time and still by many today, is, nevertheless, one based on theory with little experimental evidence to assert its validity. (The report does cite the well-known Iloilo experiment conducted in the Philippines and records its progress between 1948-51. Its purpose was to compare the effectiveness of the local dialect as opposed to English as a medium of instruction. The results

tended to support the claim that the mother tongue would always be the most successful medium (UNESCO: 123-131).

The UNESCO report gives a summary of the findings of the specialists as follows:

1. The mother tongue is a person's natural means of self-expression, and one of his first needs is to develop his power of self-expression to the full.
2. Every pupil should begin his formal education in his mother tongue.
3. There is nothing in the structure of any language which precludes it from becoming a vehicle of modern civilization.
4. No language is inadequate to meet the needs of the child's first months in school.
5. The problems of providing an adequate supply of schoolbooks and other educational materials should be specially studied by Unesco.
6. If the mother tongue is adequate in all respects to serve as the vehicle of university and higher technical education, it should be so used.
7. In other cases, the mother tongue should be used as far as the supply of books and materials permits.
8. If each class in a school contains children from several language groups, and it is impossible to regroup the children, the teacher's first task must be to teach all pupils enough of one language to make it possible to use that language as the medium of instruction.
9. A lingua franca is not an adequate substitute for the mother tongue unless the children are familiar with it before coming to school.
10. Adult illiterates should make their first steps to literacy through their mother tongue, passing on to a second language if they desire and are able.
11. Educational authorities should aim at persuading an unwilling public to accept education through the mother tongue, and should not force it.

12. Literacy can only be maintained if there is an adequate supply of reading material, for adolescents and adults as well as for school children, and for entertainment as well as for study.
13. If a child's mother tongue is not the official language of his country, or is not a world language, he needs to learn a second language.
14. It is possible to acquire a good knowledge of a second language without using it as the medium of instruction for general subjects.
15. During the child's first or second year at school, the second language may be introduced orally as a subject of instruction.
16. The amount of the second language should be increased gradually, and if it has to become the medium of instruction, it should not do so until the pupils are sufficiently familiar with it.
17. Efficient modern techniques should be used in teaching the mother tongue and a foreign language. A teacher is not adequately qualified to teach a language merely because it is his mother tongue.
18. Where there are several languages in a country, it is an advantage if they are written as uniformly as possible.
19. For convenience of printing, languages should as far as possible be written with a limited set of symbols which are written in a single line.
20. For the needs of a polyglot state which is developing a national language, the materials for teaching the language should be simplified for instructional purposes, so that pupils may progress towards full mastery without having anything to unlearn.

(UNESCO: 68-70).

It is important to recognise that the UNESCO policy on mother tongue education, while very definitely in support of the mother tongue, warns against a prescriptive strategy which might ignore the wishes of those whom it might affect, as this would only alienate those concerned. The report, furthermore, suggests that in some situations a language other than the mother tongue may be a more practical choice in order to

facilitate communication within a society where the multiplicity of languages is so great and the number of speakers of a particular language so small that provision of mother tongue instruction becomes near impossible. This is not to say, however, that it is actually impossible to teach through the medium of any of these languages. The experts go to great pains to assert that every language has a structure of rules and patterns which could be provided with an orthography and could be developed to meet with the needs of a modern society (UNESCO: 49).

The significance of the UNESCO Report

On one level it is arguable that the report said very little that had not already been said by the Phelps-Stokes Fund reports thirty years earlier. The significance lies, however, in the fact that a large international body of experts called together three decades later, not only reaffirmed the arguments in favour of the mother tongue policy but injected more credibility to this policy precisely because it was so much later and more theorising and evaluation had taken place. Furthermore, the policy was taken out of the realm of a privately funded commission (albeit a highly respected one) into one of international standing.

The rationale behind such policy was painstakingly itemised by the UNESCO document and it has become very much of a blueprint for accepted language medium policy in developing nations throughout the world at some point or other since 1953. (This point will be elaborated upon in Chapters 5 to 9. While it must be recognised that many developing countries vacillate in their policy statements and at times adopt a different strategy, they

tend, nevertheless, to adopt this policy at some point, depending on the dominant ideology of the power structure.)

The policy recommended by this UNESCO meeting of specialists was endorsed by the UNESCO conference on 'The Use in Education of African Languages in relation to English' which was held in Jos, Nigeria in 1952. Other conferences have also supported this line of thought. In 1969, The Nigerian Curriculum Conference argued that the primary school child should have a good grounding in the mother tongue (Bamgbose, 1976: 11). Then, the meeting of the UNESCO advisory group of consultants on 'The role of linguistics and Sociolinguistics in Language Education and Policy' in February, 1972, reaffirmed the policy of the 1953 report and even went further to recommend that even where there might be languages of very small minorities, initial literacy should occur in the mother tongue (Bamgbose: 11).

One of the most interesting aspects of the UNESCO document which demonstrated a new initiative or dimension to the mother tongue issue was that it claimed that no vernacular, no matter how few speakers it had, was not worthy of cultivation as a medium of instruction. Prior to this, it had been generally assumed that where a language had a relatively small number of speakers, and the language was undeveloped and was not a written language, it would be impossible to adapt such a language so that it might become suitable as a medium of instruction.

Mackey (1984: 42) validates the claim made by the UNESCO specialists.

Today it is technically possible to offer mother-tongue literacy in any local dialect of any language. Thousands of languages and their dialects can now be alphabetized by applying to them

the tested techniques of phonology. Descriptive and normative grammars can also be developed along linguistically accepted lines. Vocabularies can be created to cover any subject. On the basis of these linguistic creations school languages can be devised either by favouring one dialect or by grouping dialects into functional mutually intelligible units ... In sum, the technology for mass literacy in the mother tongue is now available and could be applied to each of the world's thousands of local languages.

Just as the Phelps-Stokes Fund report might, particularly as it was American inspired and not British, have seemed to be a reprimand to the British for their colonial educational strategy, by the very fact that it was necessary to call together such a meeting and then follow it with the conference in Jos in 1952, UNESCO appeared to be criticising British colonial education in Africa. Interestingly, the British organised conference at Cambridge on precisely the same question in 1952 emitted a somewhat conflicting set of recommendations.

The Cambridge Conference on African Education, 1952

This conference was sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation and the British Colonial Office. Two study groups were sent to the British territories: one to West Africa and the other to East and Central Africa. Their task was to examine the educational system in Africa as it had been under severe criticism for being inadequate. This criticism was verified by both study groups. Our interest lies, however, with the views expressed upon the language issue.

The two groups had different opinions on this issue. The West African group discovered that generally English was introduced earlier than was the official policy and regarded that this was a manifestation of the fact

that teachers were 'more enlightened than the syllabus' (African Education: a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, produced on behalf of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, 1953, cited in Tiffen, 1968: 80).

On the other hand, the East and Central African group recommended that there should be a stronger line on mother tongue instruction (although the use of Swahili as a lingua franca, was regarded with a certain amount of disfavour). The focus on English should be that of reading in primary school and on spoken English at a later stage (Tiffen: 80). The final decision seemed to be that where no dominant vernacular was apparent English should be promoted.

The recommendations of the UNESCO and Cambridge conferences revealed a discrepancy in outlook. Perhaps the UNESCO report might be seen in more international terms and hence without possible vested interests other than educational ones, whereas the Cambridge report might be seen in terms of an essentially British policy and the use of English in British colonies a manifestation of colonial rule. Here one might argue that the colonial power might find it easier to promote the use of English for a number of reasons, for example: economic considerations, the need to create a class of clerical employees for positions in the civil service and for the ease of running the colony in general. The indigenous population might very well demand the use of English in the schools as a result of their perceiving themselves to be in an inferior position in relation to their colonial overlords and their language. The desire to acquire English

could then be seen as a means whereby these people might wish to ensure their upward social mobility.

par:

The significance of the Cambridge Conference

What this conference did was to articulate more clearly what seemed to be a growing trend in Anglophone Africa. The African people, themselves, had always been suspicious of the mother tongue policy because it was enmeshed in an intricate web of perceptions of inferiority. From the outset of British colonial activity in Africa, the English language had come to be associated with the language of the dominant power group. Colonialism posed a cultural threat to those over whom it operated. Colonial culture and education was associated with power and hence the language used by this group was equated with this power. Vernacular languages were seen to be inadequate in dealing with a modern western society and economic structure. British colonial education approached language instruction from a utilitarian perspective and a pride and faith in the vernacular was not fostered sufficiently to create a sense of confidence in the power of those languages. Economic advancement was believed only to be possible through the use of the language employed by the dominant colonial power. Recognition of the vernacular languages in school leaving examinations came too late to repair the damage created by their initial absence. The vernaculars had not been cultivated sufficiently in order to be used in secondary western education or tertiary education, so a change of medium became necessary at some point anyway, and many wondered why the African child should not be given an early start to the acquisition of the language which he/she would have to acquire for those purposes.

Deutsch (1975: 11-12) suggests that it is only in former British and French colonies that the theory exists that modern technology is not easily transmitted in non-western languages. In Europe, the Hungarians, Finns, Danes and Norwegians were not daunted by the prospect of modernising their vocabularies and neither were the Japanese, Thais, Iranians and Turks in the Near and Far East.

The 'Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language' held in Makerere, Uganda, 1961, came out in favour of the role of English and suggested that English be adopted as the initial medium of instruction so that the pupils would be better prepared to become more speedily involved in western, technological society (Tiffen, 1968: 84 and Tiffen, 1975: 324). Furthermore, both Kenya and Zambia embarked on a policy to do just that. In 1957 the Special Centre in Nairobi was set up to train teachers to use English from the start and integrate all subjects into an English medium system. Zambia followed suit and in 1965 set up the English Medium Centre in Lusaka to do the same.

Ghana, northern Nigeria, Malawi and Uganda chose a slightly different course, although very heavily based on English. While English was only introduced as a subject initially, a gradual change to a medium of instruction followed. It was only Tanzania that chose to adopt an African language as the only medium of instruction, and in this instance, the language chosen was a lingua franca, Swahili, and so it was not really a policy of mother tongue instruction for most pupils in Tanzania (Tiffen, 1975: 324-5).

It is not so much that the Cambridge conference drew up a mandate or specific policy to be followed that is important, it is more that it was at this conference that an alternative to the doctrine of mother tongue instruction was aired and this alternative was then given greater impetus in the conferences and strategies which followed.

While the UNESCO report had all the makings of an educationally sound policy, a strong neo-colonial spirit had caught hold of Anglophone Africa, which meant that for a time, at least, a confident belief in the value of mother tongue education slipped away.

The following table is taken from Tiffen (1975: 325-327) and shows the educational position in Commonwealth Africa in relation to the language issue.

TABLE 2.1 :

LANGUAGE SITUATION IN COMMONWEALTH AFRICA

Country	Year English introduced as a subject	Year English used as a medium	Comments
Kenya	-	1	Some 60% of Primary 1 classes use English as a medium. This percentage is unlikely to increase.
	1	4	
Zambia	-	1	By 1972, 66% of all Primary 1 classes used English as a medium. The aim is to spread this to all Primary 1 classes as soon as possible.
	1	4	
Sierra Leone	-	1	No integrated scheme as in Kenya and Zambia.

The Gambia	-	1	As Sierra Leone African language medium
Tanzania	1	-	Swahili has replaced English as a medium at all stages in the primary school.
English as a subject followed by English as a medium			
Uganda	1	by 5	English is used as a medium from Primary 1 in urban areas: elsewhere it becomes the medium by about Primary 5.
	-	1	
Ghana	1	4	Vernaculars now encouraged as a medium from Primary 1-3, and 4-6 if possible. Urban schools often use English from the beginning.
Nigeria	1	3/4	Mainly refers to the northern states. UNESCO is experimenting in the north with English medium teaching from Primary 1: there are experiments at Ite in the west to replace English by Yoruba as a medium.
English as a subject followed by English as a medium			
Malawi	1	4/5/6	English introduced as a medium at staggered intervals.
Lesotho	1	4	
Botswana	1	3	
Swaziland	1	5	

While Tiffen's table is useful, it should be noted that in 1974 a definite policy statement was made in Kenya by President Kenyatta that: 'A nation without culture is dead, and that is why I decreed that Swahili would be

the national language' (Standard, Nairobi, 1974, cited in Harries, 1984: 119). This statement suggests that the language policy should have changed in Kenya, however, Harries (1984) points out that as yet no obvious strategy has been adopted whereby Swahili has undergone a programme of planning for such an implementation. Nevertheless, it is significant that after adopting a neo-colonial position with regard to the language medium, it has become apparent that at least there are signs in Kenya that there is enormous cultural advantage in the use of an African language, and with it perhaps a greater sympathy for the value of the mother tongue.

2.3 ARGUMENT AGAINST THE USE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE

There are several dimensions to the argument against the use of the mother tongue especially as a medium of instruction. The 1953 UNESCO report: The Use of Vernacular Language in Education listed several factors which might become used as arguments to deny the validity of mother tongue instruction. These will be used as a framework against which the argument as it appears in other literature concerned with this area will be traced.

2.3.1 Political factors

Assimilation In non-self-governing areas the policy might be one of assimilation where the various cultures, societies and languages are drawn toward and into the dominant society and hence its culture and language. The promotion of mother tongue medium would run counter to

the dominant ideology of assimilation as it would promote divisions in society (UNESCO, 1953: 12).

- Integration
- (i) The political aspirations of the state structure might deem it necessary that a political and cultural homogeneity be created from a multicultural background. In this instance one language needs to be selected and promoted as the symbol of that unity and so that language would be promoted as the medium of instruction in schools (UNESCO: 12).

 - (ii) Most African states are multilingual and all use a second/third language as a medium at some point in education. These states are currently all trying to assert their national consciousness and consequently a common medium of instruction would facilitate this by circumventing the divisive effects of multilingualism (Gorman, 1970: 2).

 - (iii) Very often it is considered necessary to opt for a language of wider communication in order to facilitate more efficient internal communication (Bangbose, 1976: 11).

 - (iv) the needs of the state might be centred on cohesion and so the language policy might reflect this. The official language has a legal status and is regarded

as the chief vehicle of communication (Szepe, 1984: 67).

- (v) Mackey (1984: 37) is more specific: the modern industrial state is only able to operate if its citizens all have the same basic speech skills. The government takes specific interest in the schools in order to ensure this and circumvent diversity of speech habits. There is a world-wide trend of increasing urbanisation and that means an increase in multilingualism in the cities which could pose a threat to the linguistic hegemony of the dominant power group. A definite language policy then tends to become more assertive in order to preserve the power of the dominant language (Mackey: 39).

Inter-group
conflicts

Where political conflicts between groups arise the group that gains ascendancy might suppress the use of the language/s of those who remain in the less fortunate position/s. As political conflicts continue and changes in power occur, so then do the position of the languages change (UNESCO: 12).

Prestige

- (i) Political prestige may be accorded one language over another and therefore the language of higher political prestige may be used as a medium of instruction. Here its use as a medium may be either voluntary, where

non-native speakers may freely choose this language; or it may be imposed from above and this might generate more political conflicts (UNESCO: 12).

- (ii) The power of the dominant language to create a sense of its elitism is significant. It is through this medium that the cultural values and ideologies are expressed and if the other linguistic groups are persuaded to recognise the prestige of this language then it becomes easy to disseminate the values of the power group (Mackey: 37).

2.3.2 Linguistic factors

Limited number of speakers (i) In situations where linguistic communities are very small it would probably be too difficult, from a point of view of available resources, to use each language as a medium (UNESCO, 1953: 12).

- (ii) Only a limited number of local languages can be used as a medium - not all local languages could be used as media of instruction and those which could be facilitated would tend to be major local languages (Tiffen, 1975: 327).

Lingua franca

Very often in a multilingual society, especially where there are small linguistic communities, a lingua franca is evident and consequently a high degree of

bilingualism occurs. It might be practical, then, to use the lingua franca as the medium of instruction. This would not necessarily be an alienating force in the school environment for the child as the lingua franca would be a familiar vehicle of communication (UNESCO: 12).

Making literary (i) There are major problems which arise once an unwritten an unwritten language language is needed to fulfil the requirements of a formal education. Its grammatical and phonemic structures need to be established; its vocabulary needs to be adapted to meet modern requirements if the state concerned is gearing itself toward the technological western world; an acceptable script and orthography are needed (UNESCO: 13).

(ii) Far more historical and descriptive data are needed on the local languages and language coordinating centres are required if the mother tongue is to be educatively viable as a medium (Awoniyi, 1976: 41).

Reconditioning an ancient literary language or a written vernacular Languages which do occur in written form, but which are not equipped for a modern technological education, need to be adapted, certainly require the cultivation of a scientific and technological vocabulary (UNESCO: 13).

2.3.3 Educational factors

Teachers

- (i) Either there might not be an adequate supply of teachers or the teachers might not be qualified to teach the necessary language/s (UNESCO, 1953: 13).
- (ii) Use of a common medium of instruction makes it easier to distribute teachers on a national scale whereas where a mother tongue policy is followed, this is determined by the language the teacher uses (Gorman, 1970: 3).
- (iii) If the vernacular medium approach were to be followed it would be likely that a large number of teachers would be teaching through a medium which is not their own mother tongue (Tiffen, 1975: 327).
- (iv) At present, teacher training in the mother tongue education is inadequate. Teachers do not necessarily focus on the wider implications of the cultural and value-laden attributes of the mother tongue and so the rationale for mother tongue instruction falls away. This being the case, a more convenient language might as well be used (Awoniyi, 1976: 41).

Materials

- (i) There may be a lack of teaching materials in the necessary languages and there could be a number of

reasons why the preparation of such material may be delayed, but the sheer financial cost of such an exercise would be a major deterrent (UNESCO: 13).

- (ii) The paucity of reading material in many of the vernaculars suggests that once a pupil has achieved functional literacy in terms of his formal education, he is unlikely to be able to maintain this competence, as there is little reading material outside the educational sphere. What use is there then in providing literacy in the mother tongue? (Gorman: 4).

Linguistic
complexity

- (i) In many situations, the number of languages required to be learnt by the child, each for different purposes complicates the question of mother tongue medium. The child might, for instance, be required to be familiar with the mother tongue, an official regional language, the national language, a European language and even a language for religious purposes. To complicate matters even further, there may be a variation in type of script to be learnt to accommodate these languages. Where so many languages might be needed by the pupil, one might find that a language other than the mother tongue is selected as the medium of instruction (UNESCO: 13).

(ii) The value of mother tongue medium is questioned in situations where the pupil is going to be required to learn another language, viz English, and use this language at a later stage in the educative process anyway (Tiffen, 1968: 84-5 and 1975: 324).

Difficulties may occur when the switch from mother tongue to English medium takes place, so the use of English from the start is recommended (Tiffen, 1975: 330).

(iii) Bamgbose (1976: 12) suggests that the educational and psychological advantage to mother tongue policy has not been adequately proven in experimental studies other than the Iloilo experiment in the Philippines. In fact, an experiment in Uganda, the Iganga experiment, proved the reverse.

2.3.4 Socio-cultural factors

Society rejects (i) The fear of being denied access to westernisation might make certain groups suspicious of a mother tongue policy and they might prefer to use another language as the medium of instruction (UNESCO, 1953:13).

- (ii) Where a society wishes to adopt the technological and scientific developments of the west, the use of English as a medium is usually considered to be essential. The Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language held at Makere in 1961 promoted this policy (Tiffen, 1968: 84-5 and 1975: 324).
- (iii) A language of widespread use is required in order to cater for the technological and scientific development of the state. This must then restrict the use of the mother tongue (Bangbose, 1976: 11-12). Again the argument set out at the 1961 conference at Makere for immediate use of English is put forward (Bangbose: 16).
- (iv) In many multilingual situations linguistic groups find themselves caught between two needs: the first being that of preserving the cultural heritage embodied in the mother tongue and the second being the need for economic advancement which is possible only through the dominant language or international language (Mackey, 1984: 44).

Rejection of
national language

In some cases, where a new national language has been selected from a language which was formerly a vernacular, the group may feel that even this language

will not guarantee westernisation and a European language might be preferred. Alternatively, this vernacular elevated to the status of national language might be regarded as inferior to the groups's own mother tongue (UNESCO: 14).

Social mobility

Instances of groups with a nomadic backgroup add a further complication - as spatial movement results in contact with other linguistic communities. How does the educational system cater for nomadic groups as far as the mother tongue issue is concerned?

Class divisions within a certain locale might present problems of multilingual nature and hence choice of medium (UNESCO: 14).

2.3.5 Economic factors

Economic status (i) Very often certain languages are associated with economic advantage or disadvantage. Hence a group who perceives its language to be an obstacle to economic advantages, in the form of job opportunities, might reject its own mother tongue in favour of the more advantaged or economically powerful language (UNESCO, 1953: 14).

(ii) Mackey (1984: 43), basing his theory on Ferdinand de Saussure's comparison of words and currency, suggests that languages might be assessed according to their value in economic terms. Just as some currencies are more valuable than others, so too are some languages more valuable than others. Consequently, the language considered to be the most useful might be preferred as the medium of instruction.

2.3.6 Financial factors

Lack of funds (i) Obviously, without sufficient funding, no policy of mother tongue medium could be embarked upon or effected (UNESCO, 1953: 14).

(ii) The multiplicity of languages presents enormous financial considerations if each language is to be provided with an adequate supply of material and teaching staff, not to mention the cost of linguistic development of such languages (Bamgbose, 1976: 12).

Management of funds A lack of skilled management of funds available for provision of mother tongue instruction would hinder the implementation of such a policy (UNESCO: 14).

2.3.7 Practical factors

Non-availability of "Mechanical devices, authors, draftsmen or documentation; of printing aids such as ink, types, paper and binding facilities; the availability of electrical power; the distance, roads and other ways and means of communication and transport ..."
(UNESCO, 1953: 14).

2.4 TWO CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN AFRICA

The two arguments which follow might very well have been included in earlier sections of this chapter, however, given their specifically political nature and their relevance to newly independent African states, a special case will be made of them here. Both arguments approach the position of English in Africa from a 'radical' angle although the second might be regarded as being more purist in nature.

The first argument suggests that English in Africa no longer simply represents colonialism or British imperialism. It has transcended this boundary by adapting to the African environment and assuming much of the African idiom and hence culture.

The function of English (in Africa) is no longer a direct product of the political and social system of Great Britain, it has purposes which are far more immediate and localized, independently of Britain (Strevens, 1966: 121, cited in Angogo and Hancock, 1980: 67).

Es'kia Mphahlele (1984) suggests that the colonial languages in Africa have been appropriated and that the African has:

...domesticated them to express an African sensibility, traditional, modern, rural or urban, political or religious: the ultimate phase of emancipation.

Dealing more specifically with the situation in South Africa Mphahlele defines the political significance of English.

...the Afrikaner came to realise that English was a door to the larger world, and had to be mastered.

When the gods woke up to the fact that many more Africans spoke English than Afrikaans, and that the former had become the carrier of Prometheus's fire, mother-tongue instruction was enforced in primary and secondary schools.

The gods had come to realise that to limit thought, to immobilise the vital processes of conceptualisation, to prevent the free flow of ideas, blast language from the lips of its users, or make it appear inconsequential, at best a difficult nuisance; reduce it to an incoherent stutter.

Because to create concepts you re-create language. Concepts like liberalism (with a small 'l'), nationalism, unity, Africanity, "freedom in our time", socialism, democracy, and so on are only possible when you have a language for them. The mother tongue was not equal to this.

... I make bold to suggest that the black man here has vested interests in English as a unifying force. Through it Africa can be restored to him and, together with French, English provides a pan-African forum, widens his constituency.

Mphahlele in adopting a Pan-Africanist approach to the role of English, does two things. Firstly, he strips English of its colonial associations and secondly appears to reject the possibility that mother tongues, were they to be cultivated might be able to transmit just those concepts he perceives necessary for the liberation of Africa. Basically, he is adopting a utilitarian attitude to the role of English, largely because of

the legacy of mother tongue policy as part of the Bantu Education scheme of the National Party in South Africa.

The second argument adopts the stand that the colonial language remaining as medium of instruction after independence is an agent of neo-colonialism. This is the view held by Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

During the neo-colonial stage of imperialism education and culture play an even more important role as instruments of domination and oppression. European naming systems; European language; European theatre; European literature; European content in teaching materials; all these areas; so central to culture, are left intact (1981: 12-13).

Newly independent states have to choose which ideology to adopt and this political decision affects language policy.

CHAPTER 3

THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY

3.1 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

All too frequently, the terms 'language policy' and 'language planning' are equated or used interchangeably, when a clear distinction ought to be drawn between them. Literature which covers this domain varies from being most specific about the distinction to rendering a hazy discussion.

In general, however, most theorists regard language policy as being a part of the language planning process. Given the fact that this dissertation is concerned with the language policy issue, it is essential that the whole language planning versus language policy distinction be researched and clarified.

Paulston (1984: 55) suggests that most theorists accept the definition of language planning proffered by Fishman (1973: 23-4) as:

...the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level...*

Kennedy (1984: 1) after Rubin (1984: 4-16) defines language planning as:

...a problem-solving activity concerned with deliberate language change for specific aims, which may be social, political or educational (or a mixture of all three).

* This quotation, in fact, also appears as part of a discussion on language planning by Fishman (1972c: 55) and he attributes the source of his definition to Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971).

Rubin (1984: 4):

Language planning is deliberate language change, this is, changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organisations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes.

One notices here that Rubin makes vague reference to what Fishman (1984: 50) calls the 'distinction between planners and clients'. The usefulness of Rubin's subsequent discussion of the difference between language planning and language policy lies in her hesitancy in separating the motivations of language planning organisations from those who make provision for them (i.e. the power structure and political ideologues).

Rubin continues with her definition of language planning and argues that it is 'focused on problem-solving' (4). The concerns of the problems to be solved are given by Rubin as:

- a) Language choice - which language is to be chosen for:
 - medium of education
 - mass communication
 - the legislature
- b) Broad socio-economic goals - by which he seems to imply modernisation.

Rubin, in respect of (b) admits to being influenced by Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) who suggested that language problems do not simply involve linguistic elements but also socio-political ones and even the 'rationale' behind such problems and this term 'rationale' implies ideology (i.e. the ideology behind the policy on language policies). Again, Rubin does not

elaborate on the aspect with clarity although it would appear to have significance.

Rubin then gives an outline of an earlier model of the language planning process which she identified.

- Language planning process:
- (i) fact finding;
 - (ii) establishing goals, strategies and outcomes;
 - (iii) implementation; and
 - (iv) feedback i.e. evaluation

(Rubin, 1984: 6 after Rubin, 1971).

She identifies (ii) as the domain of the policy-maker. What she does not do with sufficient clarity at this point is to distinguish between the goals and strategies of the policy decisions made on a macro-national or state level as part of an overall ideology for the state and those policy decisions made by language planners who operate from different perspectives. Nevertheless she does point toward this:

The setting of goals seems to take place at several levels. First, a legislature may establish some general goals and assign responsibility for the implementation of a piece of legislation. Then the agency or institution which receives the mandate may define these goals more specifically... (6)

An attempt to draw the distinction between planning and policy further is made by Rubin (7):

...policy-making is not planning... If the policy-maker does not have proper background information and does not recognise that the plan must be co-ordinated with other socio-cultural processes, it is more than likely to remain just a policy.

Rubin eventually overcomes her apparent reluctance to deal with the relationship between policy decision in the domain of language problems and political requirements. She discusses the difference between stated goals and real/hidden goals. Very often the real/hidden goals are not explicitly stated as they are geared toward political control.

What Rubin needed to make more clear is that language policy appears both as part of the language planning process and overall planning of state control.

Fishman (1972c: 56) records that Neustupny (1970) identified the language planning process as involving:

TABLE 3.1

Problem/Process Correspondences in Language Planning

	1	2	3	4
Problem	Selection	Stability	Expansion	Differentiation
Process	Policy Decisions	Codification	Elaboration	Cultivation

'When the problem to be faced is that of code selection, planning is concerned with official policy formation by authorities in control of power' (Fishman, 1972c: 56). Neustupny and Fishman, then, much earlier than Rubin, were able to point quite clearly toward the political role of language policy decisions.

Cooper (1984: 29) makes a further contribution to discussion of the question of language policy:

With respect to the promoters of change, we may need to distinguish the national goals which are served by language planning from the planners' personal goals. Thus, for example, national goals of universal education might be served by language standardisation, but the planners' personal goals might be served if their own variety is used as the model of standardisation... Similarly, language has often served as a rallying-point for the formation of national consciousness, but those who promote the language also promote themselves as a proto-elite who will come to power with the political apparatus they create through mass-mobilisation (Cooper, 1984: 29-30, after Fishman, 1972a).

Fishman (1984: 37) suggests that language planning, like economic planning is a function of state structure. He elaborates further that:

A vernacular must be selected to carry the message and to be the symbol of involvement with a cause which cuts across traditional bonds and bounds. Language planning is always an outgrowth of both instrumental and sentimental assets and debits of particular polities at particular times. Language development is inevitably an aspect of social change. To the extent that social change is centrally organised and controlled, language change will be similarly exposed to organised efforts (43).

It would appear that Fishman sees such a close tie between language policy and language planning that he does not feel it necessary to distinguish between them. Although he does distinguish between 'planners and clients' (50) where he interprets the client to be 'the government, the party, the ministry'. The planners work within the limitations of what is acceptable to the client. In other words, national policy determines what the language planning activities will be. In this sense, Fishman adopts a more radical view of the language planning/language policy question, than for example does Rubin.

Paulston (1984: 55) seems to support Fishman's view of the role of national/state policy in determining language issues in citing a study by Heath (1972) in Mexico.

Language decisions are made during the history of a nation: decisions are primarily made on political and economic grounds and reflect the values of those in political power (Paulston, 1984: 55).

Paulston continues to discuss two aspects of language planning: language cultivation and language policy, 'where language cultivation deals with matters of language and language policy with matters of society and nation'. She uses Jernudd (1973) and the terms 'language determination', 'language development', and 'language implementation' therein to develop a new model:

TABLE 3.2

<u>Language cultivation</u>	<u>Language policy</u>
Determination	Determination
Development	Development
Implementation	Implementation

(Paulston, 1984: 56)

She sees a strong interrelationship between language cultivation and language policy in the realm of language planning. She suggests that language problems might occur as manifestations of either cultivation or policy, although, given the interrelationship between the two, the distinction is not always easily identifiable.

Wulston gives an elaborated version of the model presented above as follows:

TABLE 3.3:

<u>CRITERIA</u>	<u>CULTIVATION APPROACH</u>	<u>POLICY APPROACH</u>
<u>Determination</u>		
1. Who makes the decision?	Language specialists, i.e. linguists, philologists, language teachers, native informants, etc.	Government officials, agencies, ministries, etc.
2. Does decision concern native or other language?	Decision about official native language of policy makers.	Decision about choice of official language or about second or foreign language of policy-makers.
3. Whom does the decision affect?	Decision affects language behaviour of elites and policy-makers as well.	Decision affects only sub-ordinate classes or groups.
<u>Development</u>		
4. Factors in evaluating results?	Primarily linguistic or paedo-linguistic.	Primarily non-linguistic, such as economic, political, ideological, etc.
<u>Implementation</u>		
5. Factors in evaluating results of implementation?	Passive acceptance.	Strong attitudes either negative or positive.

(Paulston, 1984: 57)

Paulston does in her distinction between cultivation and policy is to clear the confusion we are left with after scholars like Rubin do not equate national goals and strategies as fundamental instruments in determining language planning from the outset. Fishman (1984), while directing his attention toward national goals and thereby concentrating on those as affecting policy does not discuss the distinction between planning and policy as such.

1.2 GOVERNMENTAL POLICY DECISIONS IN MULTILINGUAL SITUATIONS

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine language medium policy, and consequently, there will be a focus on the decisions of the empowered governmental bodies and their ideology for the state as this affects language policy as opposed to other aspects of language planning.

The domain of language policy having been established, a survey of the different types of state policy which have been adopted in various situations in Africa will follow. The overriding state ideology affects the choice of language medium to be used in schools.

The literature which covers this field isolates similar typologies of governmental control over countries in Africa, both pre- and post-independence as well all those ex-colonial territories outside Africa. In view of this, a description of these typologies will appear in the following tabular format.

Here the dominant European culture has assimilated the subordinate culture to itself through the education system both as an unconscious and conscious strategy. This policy was particularly evident in the French colonies. The rise of African Nationalism has tended to dismantle this approach (423).

Adaptation:

Part of the policy of indirect rule was to encourage the adaptation of the educational system of colonial power to suit the needs and environment of the colonised. The 1925 Memorandum on Education Policy in British Tropical Africa specified this approach. This was aimed at provision in the future of self rule (424).

Independence:

Once political independence was granted/achieved, the education system would be localised in curricula and personnel in an attempt to achieve also an economic and intellectual independence from the colonial power. (cf Nyerere's 'Education for Self-Reliance' in Tanzania) (424-5).

The French forbade the use of the vernacular in their colonial schools as the educational system was aimed at producing 'black, brown or yellow Frenchmen' (22). The dominant value system was to be transmitted (18).

Holmes sees this as the reduction of cultural differences by drawing minorities into the mainstream of national life (4). He cites the example of the suppression of dialects and regional languages after the revolution (4-5).

Where the goal of a monocultural state has been consciously 'enforced either by coercion or by the all-pervasive ideological orientation of assimilation' (18).

Schools have been used to eliminate minority cultures.

TABLE 3.4

BROWN (1975)

WATSON (1979)

HOLMES (1980)

SMOLICZ (1981)

Separate development:

This policy was based on a perception of differences among various cultures and these differences were emphasised through education. This approach has become regarded as unacceptable as it is associated with racial discrimination (cf. South Africa) (422-3).

Promotion of cultural differences
(separate development)

- (a) 'Separate and equal'
- (b) 'Separate and unequal'

Holmes suggests that it is very difficult for equality to be maintained in a system that promoted separation - inevitably the less powerful group will receive unequal treatment (4).

Separatism:

Smolicz identifies this as one side of his cultural pluralism distinction - cf below.

Cultural pluralism:

Watson cites the example of Singapore, where recognition is granted to all ethnic groups and with this recognition comes full educational rights. The political ideology has allowed each cultural group to find its own place within the overall national character (24).

• Laissez-faire:

Holmes suggests that this approach 'neither promotes nor attempts to suppress cultural differences' (5). This approach was basically that of the British to education in their early colonial days in Africa. It usually operates where no clear policy has been implemented.

Smolicz suggests that this might result in the evolution of a hybrid language although he does admit that the language of the dominant group is likely to emerge as the common language (19).

Cultural pluralism:

Smolicz differentiates between two forms of pluralism:

- (a) Separatism - where distinct cultures coexist in a society with little mutual interaction. While society at large is pluralist, individual members remain largely within their own ethnic grouping except where it is politically or economically necessary for interaction.
- (b) Multiculturalism - where minority groups 'would be allowed to maintain and develop their native cultures alongside the dominant one' (20).

Integration:

Brown suggests that Africa's newly independent states are moving toward a policy of integration, by which he means the strategy of interdependence as opposed to independence. The former implies a commonality. Areas of conflict are recognised and attempts are made to accommodate them in terms of overall

Integration:

Watson cites the example of Malaysia where, in effect, the immigrant cultural elements are destroyed and replaced by a distinctly Malaysian culture in the educational system (24).

Hybrid monism:

Smolicz's distinction of hybrid monism as the ideological blending/synthesis of cultures is not quite the 'integration' of either Watson or Brown. However the common element lies in the attempt of the society concerned, to bring together all divisive elements and create a sense of nationality

Fishman (1972a) 'National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication
in the Developing Nations'

Fishman (1972a) provides a policy framework which has not been included in the tabular description, as his framework operates within the single criterion of the policy of 'integration'. He focuses his attention on newly independent states which, he argues, are searching for sociocultural integration (191). In other words, Fishman examines the ideology of integration in far greater detail than the theoreticians discussed in the tabular description.

Fishman suggests that within the integrative ideology there are three different policy decisions which might be made by the newly independent state, and these, in turn, are influenced by six factors. Table 3.5 represents Fishman's summary of the argument.

TABLE 3.5 : National Languages and Languages of Wider Communication in
the Developing Nations

<u>Factors</u>	<u>I. Type A Decisions</u>	<u>II. Type B Decisions</u>	<u>III. Type C Decisions</u>
1. <u>Perceived socio-cultural integration</u>	a. <u>No integrating Great Tradition</u> at the national level	a. <u>One Great Tradition</u> at the national level	a. <u>Several Great Traditions</u> seeking separate, socio-political recognition
2. <u>Selection of National Languages</u>	b. Governed by considerations of political integration: nationalism	b. Governed by considerations of authenticity: nationalism	b. Governed by need to compromise between political integration and separate authenticities
3. <u>Adoption of Language of Wider Communication (LWC)</u>	c. Yes, as permanent, national symbol	c. Often transitionally: for modern functions	c. Yes, as unifying compromise (working language: W)
4. <u>Language Planning Concerns</u>	d. Minor: exonerative standardization of LWC	d. Modernization of traditional language: H or L?	d. Modernization of several traditional languages
5. <u>Bilingualism Goals</u>	e. Local, regional: transitional to LWC	e. National: transitional to indigenous monolingual	e. Regional bilingual (H & L, W & N) & national bilingual (W & N)
6. <u>Biculturism Goals</u>	f. Transitional to modernity or new integration	f. Traditional plus modern spheres	f. Traditional plus modern spheres
<u>Types</u>	<u>I. A-modal Nations</u>	<u>II. Uni-modal Nations</u>	<u>III. Multi-modal Nations</u>

Type A decisions: Where socio-cultural integration at a national level does not exist and where this coincides with a lack of 'political-operational integration' the choice of a Language of Wider Communication (LWC) as the national language becomes obvious. Very often this language is that of the ex-colonial power. Fishman, at this point, distinguishes between 'nationism' and 'nationalism'.

Nationism - as distinguished from nationalism - is primarily concerned not with ethnic authenticity but with operational efficiency (194).

He makes this distinction because in states which adopt Type A decisions, the dominant ideology is of nationism as opposed to nationalism.

The use of regional languages in these situations is simply regarded as a transitional vehicle for operational purposes. The LWC is regarded as the conveyor of national goals, symbols, etc. (193-5).

Fishman suggests that states which adopt this strategy may at a later point come under fire for adopting a neo-colonial outlook which encourages a new elite who is fluent in the LWC, and perceives this language to symbolise upward social mobility. This would have the effect of discouraging the cultural traditions and values embodied in the local languages. A dominant feature of this strategy is the focus on westernisation, sometimes to the exclusion of what is valuable in the home environment. (1)

Type B decisions: Here there is an apparent consensus that there is a 'single Great Tradition' available which can provide an integrated and

indigenous cultural system. Here, then, a single indigenous language which represents this tradition is selected as the national language and hence the conveyor of political ideology. The national identity is simply cemented by the official adoption of the national language and its cultural heritage.

A common indigenous language in the modern nation states is a powerful factor for unity. Cutting across tribal and ethnic lines, it promotes a feeling of single community... In Tanzania we have been blessed with such a language - Swahili (The Nationalist, December 20, 1968, cited in Fishman: 198-9).

Fishman suggests that in these climates it might be necessary to use a LWC as a temporary measure in higher education until the national language has been cultivated to the point where it can fulfil this role. This must be approached through the modernisation of either the classical variety (H) or the vernacular (L).

Bilingualism is seen as a temporary measure until the national language fulfils all communicative needs of the nation state and thence the need for the LWC will disappear. This is the reverse of the situation in Type A situations where it is the indigenous language which is thought to be dispensable. (2)

Type C decisions: These situations are:

...characterised by a conflicting or competing multiplicity of such Great Traditions. Since each of these Great Traditions is numerically, economically and ideologically strong enough to support separate and large scale socio-cultural and political-operational integration their co-occurrence within a single polity makes for rather constant internal tension and for nationalistic disunity... (203).

Fishman indicates that in these situations the policy must become one of supra-nationalism, and the linguistic communities be catered for in terms of regional languages incorporating 'regional Great Traditions'. In order to avoid linguistic rivalry at the supra-national level, a foreign LWC might be chosen, and this sometimes in conjunction with an indigenous language (203-4).

This LWC functions in the national or federal governmental activities. Regional languages are given prestige value and so the Great Traditions are not threatened (or need not be threatened) by the LWC. Regional governmental functions, which include educational decisions, are made through the medium of the regional language. (3)

Bilingualism is encouraged for functional purposes. Languages are seen to have certain functions: different languages used for the different functions.

What is most significant from an examination of this analysis, is that in all multilingual situations considered here, a LWC maintains an important role and bilingualism is regarded as essential for communicative purposes. In Chapters 5-9 the relationship between the traditional/indigenous languages and the LWC will be explored in the selected case studies. Given that the countries selected are, with the exception of Namibia, ex-British colonies, the policy of assimilation is one which is not applicable, and will therefore not be discussed any further. However, as already indicated in Table 3.4, the policy of separate development is one which is certainly applicable to South Africa and will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 9 as well as in Chapter 8 with reference to Namibia. The policy of adaptation is to be discussed briefly in the historical analysis

education in these two countries prior to independence. The main focus of interest, however, is on policy after independence and so greater emphasis will be placed on an examination of the policies of independence and integration.

- (1) The use of English as the LWC in so many instances in ex-British colonial Africa.
- (2) The position of English as the LWC in Tanzania and Kenya in relation to (Ki) Swahili is examined in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.
- (3) There is a strong possibility that this will become the eventual situation in South Africa at some point after independence (cf. Chapter 9).

CHAPTER 4

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NATIONALISM IN ITS RELATION

TO THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE MEDIUM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There appears to be a general consensus of opinion that the educational policy of a state is directly influenced by or even controlled by the dominant political ideology.

... all political educational systems indoctrinate the oncoming generation with the basic outlooks and values of the political order (Key, 1963: 316).

When the British Comparative Education Society took 'the changing nature of educational politics' as the theme for its annual conference in 1980 in Cambridge, it acknowledged the importance of the causal link between politics and education (Broadfoot, Brock and Tulasiewicz, 1981: 1).

... we conceive of education as enveloped within an environment of politics. Thus, the educational enterprise, from its location within that environment, conducts transactions with the several political groups that most prominently populate this same ecological setting ... In other words, education is seen as a segment within a political system (Murray Thomas, 1983: 4).

Earlier chapters herein have indicated the political nature of education, but it is in this chapter that an attempt will be made to describe the relationship between the political structure where it embodies

nationalism, and education, more specifically, language education. Murray Thomas (10-12) argues that the language issue especially with regard to medium of instruction, is very important to both ethnic and political groups 'since they see the fate of their constituents heavily influenced by how the schools treat languages.'

The dominant political force present in the African territories under consideration, herein, is that of nationalism.

... nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time (Anderson, 1983: 12).

Consequently, this chapter should concentrate on the nature of that nationalism and then assess, in Fishman's terms, 'the impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning' (Fishman, 1972c).

4.2 UNDERSTANDING 'NATIONALISM'

At a first glance, one is tempted to assume a rather woolly perception of the concept, nationalism. One associates it with ethnicity and, indeed, many might use it interchangeably with that term. Before launching into a discussion of the various interpretations of the meaning/s enveloped by the term, nationalism, one should bear in mind that as society changes so too do the semantic connotations of concepts. That being the case, one should assume that given different sets of circumstances and location in both space and time, the meaning of nationalism will be adapted accordingly. Indeed, Alexander writing under the pseudonym, No Sizwe argues:

... that it is impossible to give a definition valid for all time and place of what a nation is; all that the theorist can do is to define what the nation is in a given historical context (1979: 165).

his position is supported by Anderson:

Nation, nationality, nationalism - all have proved difficult to define, let alone analyse (1983: 12).

He continues, furthermore, that:

... nationalism has proved an uncomfortable anomaly for Marxist theory and, precisely for that reason, has been largely eluded, rather than confronted (13).

Nevertheless, many attempts have been made to define nationalism and its associated concepts and it might be useful to begin with the following:

(Nationalism is) devotion to the nation, especially the whole nation as opposed to sectionalism; nationalisation of industry; policy of national independence, ... patriotic effort, sentiment etc. (Cassell's New English Dictionary, 1949: 963).

(Nationalism) is a devotion to one's nation; a policy of national independence, ... a form of socialism based in the nationalising of all industry ... (The Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 1969: 1311).

(A nation is) a distinct race/people characterised by common descent, language/history, usually organised as a separate state and occupying a definite territory (ibid).

(Nationalism is) 1. The feeling of belonging to a group united by common racial, linguistic and historical ties, and is usually identified with a particular territory. 2. A corresponding

ideology which exalts the nation state as the ideal form of political organisation with an overriding claim on the loyalty of its citizens (The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought, 1977: 409).

Nationalism is a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It pretends to supply a criterion for the determination of the unit of population proper to enjoy a government exclusively its own, for the legitimate exercise of power in the state, and for the right organization of a society of states. Briefly, the doctrine holds that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government (Kedourie, 1971: 28).

Kedourie's somewhat loaded postulation of nationalism being an invented doctrine might perhaps be traced back to Gellner's assertion that:

Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist (Gellner, 1964: 169).

Inherent in both of these arguments is the idea that since nationalism is invented it must therefore be associated with that which is false rather than that which is creative. Anderson, in his analysis, has chosen to concentrate on the creativity of the 'invention'.

... I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion (Anderson, 1983: 15).

Although arguing perhaps from a different position, Anderson, together with Gellner and Kedourie, makes an invaluable contribution to the analysis of nationalism. Whether nationalism is a product of the creative imagination or whether it is an invention based on fabricated truths, is something unimportant for this analysis. As long as one accepts that it is a belief of the people in a nation, that they share common features of their existence with other people in that nation, then one accepts that the concept of a nation is a belief, which is something not rooted in concrete evidence.

If one accepts this view of the nation, that it is an invented or 'imagined community' then one can begin to understand why it is that there are so many different nationalisms each with their own idiosyncracies. One also begins to understand why it is that analysts find it so difficult to describe and define the concept.

Literature covering the role of nationalism and its relationship to language education policy suggests that it would be useful to examine the theoretic models of Fishman and Paulston, among others, and, more especially, to be aware of the distinction which Fishman (1968) draws between nationalism and nationism. Paulston (1985) has refined this distinction and suggests that there are four categories of semantic interpretation of the loose usage of the term, nationalism. She isolates ethnicity, ethnic movement, ethnic nationalism, and geographic nationalism - and her 'new theoretical framework' of this area is possibly of greater significance than that of Fishman.

Paulston (1985: 20-22) uses Fishman (1968: 41-42) as a starting point from which she develops her theory. Fishman (41) argues that:

... the transformation ... of tradition-bound ethnicity to unifying and ideologized nationality ... be called nationalism ...

and that:

... wherever politico-geographic momentum and consolidation are in advance of sociocultural momentum and consolidation (the term) nationism (should be applied) (42).

Paulston, furthermore, discusses van den Berghe who makes very much the same distinction as does Fishman:

To refer to a political movement based on ethnicity, I shall use the term 'nationalism' ... To refer to political movements that use the multinational state as their defining unit, I shall speak of 'territorialism' (van den Berghe, 1968: 215).

Both Fishman and van den Berghe use the term nationalism in a similar fashion, but whereas Fishman speaks of nationism, van den Berghe has chosen to use territorialism.

Paulston chooses to be cautious and suggests that the concept of ethnicity be defined clearly as a starting point to a discussion of nationalism.

Ethnicity tends to stress roots and a shared biological past and the common ancestors (factual or fictional). The basis of personal identity is cultural (including religion), and ethnicity is a matter of self-ascription. The cultural values and beliefs, which are held in common, are unconsciously learned behaviour, and ethnicity is just taken for granted. The members

tend to feel comfortable with the past and future, and there is no opposition and no violence involved (25).

What Paulston is implying here is that ethnicity is a phenomenon which exists outside systematised political structures and consequently it is not powerful enough to resist the power of a dominant group. This means that ethnicity:

... will not maintain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant group allows assimilation, and incentive and opportunity of access to the second language (L2) are present (26). (1)

Paulston's second stage concerns her concept of ethnic movement.

The major difference between Ethnicity and Ethnic Movement is when ethnicity as an unconscious source of identity turns into a conscious strategy, usually in competition for scarce resources. An ethnic movement is ethnicity turned militant, consisting of ethnic discontents who perceive the world as against them, an adversity drawn along ethnic boundaries. While ethnicity stresses the content of the culture, ethnic movements will be concerned with boundary maintenance... (28-29). (2)

Paulston suggests that very often language becomes associated with a symbol of the ethnic movement although the language may not be the original mother tongue. Paulston cites the examples of Martin Luther King's use of Black American English and Stephen Biko's choice of English as opposed to Afrikaans in South Africa.

In both instances English represents the medium through which wide contact/communication is possible. Black Americans' vernaculars disappeared long ago (although one might wish to argue that Black American

English is an identifiable language/dialect which in itself represents a
other tongue and all the cultural and ethnic associations of any other
other tongue). (3)

Paulston suggests that another feature of ethnic movement is to be found
in the phenomenon of a charismatic leader. Both of the examples cited
above bear out this theory. (4)

Furthermore, she presents religion as a feature which may be related to
ethnic identity. She suggests that where religion is seen as an
identifying force of the movement, the language of that religion will be
maintained even if it is only used for religious matters. (The Zionist
movement, where Hebrew is employed in just such a role, may present a
useful illustration). (5)

Ethnic movements, argues Paulston, are not able to maintain their own
languages but they might be able to retard the rate of shift to another
language. (6)

Paulston's third category is that of ethnic nationalism.

When ethnic discontents turn separatist, we get ethnic
nationalism (31).

We might consider examples such as the separatist movements of the
Quebequois in Canada and the Basques in Spain as falling within the
parameters of this category. (7)

her fourth category is that of geographic nationalism. Paulston discusses the features common to both forms of nationalism before distinguishing between them.

Group cohesion to the end, a goal-orientation of self-determination, a perceived threat of opposing forces, and above all access to or hope of territory are characteristics of all national movements. ... Ethnic and geographic nationalism share all these features. The goal is independence, their own political status and social institutions on their own territory. The most common ideal is the nation-state.

... Very often nationalism takes place as a protest against oppression, against a common enemy, whether it be against a (dominant) group within the same state or against another state (33). (8)

Paulston cites Basque nationalism as an example of ethnic nationalism in order to specify how loyalty and group cohesion, typical of nationalist movements, are achieved. She suggests that institutions such as: schools, church and army; symbols like the flag or national anthem; and more especially, the language operate together to engender a feeling of nationalism. Language shift is regarded as disloyalty to the spirit of nationalism. (9)

Paulston suggests that the difference between ethnic movement and ethnic nationalism lies in the existence of a strongly developed middle class in the latter whereas this is not so in the former (35). Earlier she argued that ethnic movement 'need not have an intellectual elite or a significant middle class' (29). Clearly there seems to be slight ambiguity here as the 'need not have' does not preclude the possibility of there being either an intellectual elite or a middle class in ethnic movements. The claim that 'a national movement must have a well developed middle class'

(35) in this case means that there may be instances where it is difficult to distinguish between the two. Perhaps a more workable distinction would be to suggest that in ethnic nationalism one might expect to find a high degree of systematised ideology which is transmitted through consciously organised institutions and is given the supportive strength/backing of a solid middle class. Furthermore, the idea of the nation-state seems to be more an aspect of nationalism than of ethnic movement.

Paulston's distinction between ethnic nationalism and geographic nationalism is one, she suggests, that follows Hans Kohn's isolation of 'open' and 'closed' nationalism (1968: 66).

In ethnic or closed nationalism the ethnic group is isomorphic with the nation-state. The emphasis is on the nation's autochthonous character, on the common origin and ancestral roots. In ethnic nationalism language can come to carry an importance way beyond any proportion of its communicative functions. The typical claim is that the deep thoughts and the soul of the nation can only be adequately expressed in the common mother tongue (Paulson: 36).

On the other hand:

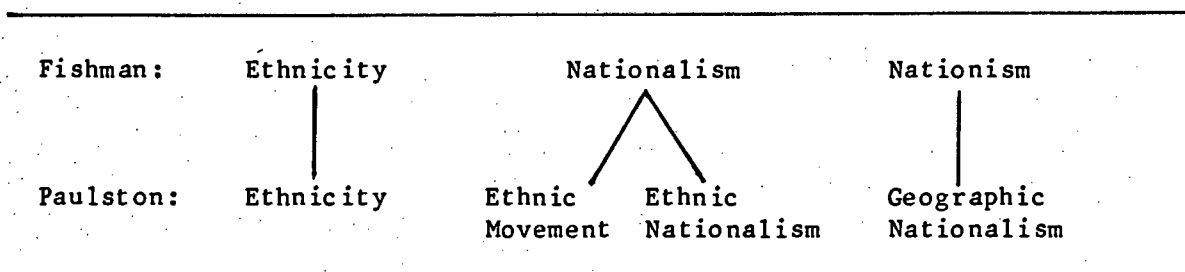
Kohn calls 'open' nationalism a more modern form; it is territorially based (hence geographic nationalism) and features a political society, constituting a nation of fellow citizens regardless of ethnic descent. The so-called great immigration countries of Canada, Australia and the United States are good examples. As Kohn comments, they rejected the notion of a nation based on a common past, a common religion or a common culture. Instead '(Americans) owe their nationhood to the affirmation of the modern trends of emancipation, assimilation, mobility and individualism' (Kohn, 1968: 66). (Paulston, 1985: 36).

Paulston continues to argue that whereas language is a 'prime symbol' in ethnic nationalism it is not necessarily the case in geographic nationalism (37). In other words, language is not regarded as an all-encompassing feature and it does not create feelings of political anxiety. A common language might, however, be promoted simply as a tool to facilitate wider communication. (10)

Table 4.2 on page 82 is a facsimile of that presented by Paulston (1985: 40) and represents a summary of her description and theory of language and nationalism.

Fishman's nationalism vs nationism distinction when seen against Paulston's model might be diagrammatically represented as follows:

TABLE 4.1 :



Fishman, writing earlier, seems to have had more difficulty in describing and defining the notion of nationalism. His attempts (1968 and 1972b) are expressed in more abstract terms and this makes his work less clear than that of Paulston.

On one hand, Fishman (1972b: 4) states:

TABLE 4.2 : Linguistic Consequences of Social Mobilization in Multilingual Settings

	ETHNICITY	ETHNIC MOVEMENT	ETHNIC NATIONALISM	GEOGRAPHIC NATIONALISM
1. Defining Characteristics	as identity	as strategy in competition for scarce resources		Territory
	unconscious learned behaviour shared ancestors; roots taken for granted not goal oriented no violence common values and beliefs survives language shift	goal: socioeconomic advantage cognitive self-chosen militant violent charismatic leader language as rallying point boundary maintenance Glorious Past etc.	closed n (Kohn) exclusive cultural self-determination	open n intellectual leaders middle class loyalty (important) common enemy taught behaviours goal: independence, political self-determination external distinction internal cohesion (Haugen) etc. as identity
	Less	Legislation Involved		More
2. Facilitating or constraining factors	? Under what social conditions? e.g. participation in social institutions, schooling, exogamy, military service, religious institutions; mass-media; roads and transportation; travel, trade, commerce, war, evangelism; occupations; in-migration, back-migration, urbanization, etc.			
3. Linguistic Consequences	language shift	language shift but slower rate	maintenance national language as powerful symbol language planning-academies strong language attitudes standardization modernization literacy-teaching training language problems : choice of national language	maintenance national language
(Also: Language spread Language death Language reformation)				

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I believe Baron's approach (1947) ... in that it considers nationalism to be essentially conscious or organised ethnocultural solidarity which may or may not then be directed outside of its initial sphere toward political, economic and religious goals.

Fishman's rather vague use of 'may or may not then be directed ... toward political ... goals' suggests that his concept would lie anywhere between Paulston's classification of ethnicity and ethnic nationalism.

Later (1972b: 5-6), he defines nationalism as:

... the organizationally heightened and elaborated beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours of societies acting on behalf of their avowed ethnocultural self-interest ...

Here, perhaps, the stress on "organizationally heightened ... beliefs" indicates more clearly that he is differentiating his nationalism from ethnicity which lacks an organised quality. He stresses, also, 'broader unity' by which he means:

... an expansion of affiliative beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours so as to include far more distant ... kin ... authorities, and far more inclusive commitments than those that are immediately available ... (Fishman, 1972b: 6).

These features, also, are clearly different from those which are more narrow and less encompassing in 'ethnicity'. Fishman furthermore lists 'stressed authenticity' as a necessary feature of nationalism. He means by this:

... stress on ethnocultural characterization and on the authenticity, purity, and nobility of the beliefs, values, and behaviours that typify the community of reference (1972b: 8).

While these features may be true of some nationalisms, they do not, in fact, hold for African nationalism where the spirit of nationalism moves beyond the 'ethnocultural characterization', 'authenticity' and 'purity' of smaller groups. Rather, African nationalism seeks out new mechanisms for engendering a sense of unity, and these are more widely encompassing. It is also clear that Fishman's definition of nationalism is much broader than is Paulston's. Rather, perhaps, Paulston has taken what Fishman calls nationalism and isolated from it two categories: ethnic movement and ethnic nationalism.

The Paulston model is of great significance, especially because it differentiates between all the marginal areas of confusion in the understanding of the term nationalism, and the descriptions of each are clear. While in its skeletal form the Fishman model is certainly useful, one might find the explanatory notes ambiguous. The problem is, which model best suits the requirements of this dissertation which is concerned with aspects of nationalism found in Africa? Unfortunately, neither model can be applied without modification to Africa, and more especially, South Africa. The end notes to this chapter will show that Paulston has tended to over-simplify the South African situation when applying her model to it. While the examination of both the Fishman and Paulston models has suggested the inadequacy of each in an examination of African nationalism, there is no model which fits the African situation precisely.

Consequently, since there are features in each model which are applicable to Africa and which also provide an interesting framework against which the African situations may be set, the inclusion of both models is thought to be useful. This is especially so, prior to examining: how the spirit of nationalism has grown in or been interpreted/modified by African societies; and how this process has then determined language medium policy.

4.3 CAUSES OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Given that this study is concerned with the ideologies of ex-British colonial African States and the effect thereon of language policy, it is essential that this significant force, African nationalism, be examined.

4.3.1 Reaction against European domination/imperialism

At home, the growth of nationalism was very much a feature of nineteenth century Europe. Abroad, the European powers were busy extending their sovereignty and dominance over the third world. The nineteenth century saw the 'scramble for Africa'. Not surprisingly, the twentieth century has seen a reaction against European colonialism.

Nationalism in Asia and Africa, it is now generally agreed, is a reaction against European domination (Kedourie, 1971: 1).

... nationalist movements in Asia and Africa (in contrast to say, France) were not a facet of the class struggle within stable boundaries. Much as in Central or Eastern Europe, nationalism in Asia and Africa was directed at the overthrow of

a political order imposed by rulers of an alien tongue. (Rustow, 1975: 51)⁽¹¹⁾

Government by aliens has been the rule rather than the exception in world history, and European domination over Asia and Africa in being alien is far from constituting an exception and a novelty which calls for complicated doctrines to account for it; it falls, on the contrary, into a very old and very familiar pattern. If European rule is exceptional, this is because of its remarkable brevity, and we may suspect that the Asian and African nationalism it has undoubtedly conjured up is a reaction to European domination, not because this domination was alien but because it was European (Kedourie: 22).

4.3.2 European domination and the disruption of traditional life-styles

Kedourie contends that the disruption created by European imperialism was so dramatic as far as the life-styles of indigenous peoples was concerned that the reaction against it became powerfully articulated and expressed more rapidly than reaction against other historical instances of foreign domination.

... nationalism in Africa and Asia is a concomitant of the severe dislocation and fargoing disruption of traditional life that both colonialism and anticolonialism bring into being (Fishman, 1972b: 32).

4.3.3 Economic change

The traditional and very often, subsistence economies of Africa, suddenly found themselves overwhelmed by western capitalism which took economic control away from the individual and placed it in the hands of the foreign administrators and entrepreneurs.

The destructive effect of European administrative methods - whether applied by European officials, as in India and Burma, or by native ones, as in the Ottoman Empire - was greatly magnified by the increasing involvement of these traditional societies with the world economy. These traditional societies had hitherto been largely self-sufficient subsistence economies: they now found themselves, sometimes gradually, sometimes suddenly, linked to a world market which brought them new and vast riches but which was subject to gusts of speculation and to mysterious unpredictable cycles of boom and depression originating in the plans and expectations of city merchants in London or cotton manufacturers in Lancashire ... (Kedourie, 1971: 24).

Some have pointed to nationalism as appealing to those whose lives have become dislocated by the introduction of modern cash economy (Fishman, 1972b: 32).

One might argue that since economic change was controlled by a foreign power, a growing resentment against this control together with a desire for control sped along the cause of nationalism.

4.3.4 Social change

The colonisers of Africa paid scant attention to linguistic or tribal boundaries when demarcating boundary lines and so the breaking down of both linguistic and tribal barriers was facilitated. Furthermore:

Some have pointed to the 'annihilation of tribal, ethnic, and linguistic barriers which the rapid modernization of either commerce or industry of necessity brings to pass (Fishman, 1972b: 32).

Kedourie elaborates upon this particular point. In traditional society well-established ties of dependence exist, so that the individual has a sense of security in a recognisable niche in society. The effect of

European imperialism has been to destroy traditional structures with an alternative, confusing system of beliefs, based not on dependence but 'intellectual, moral, and economic independence'. Once the traditional structure is undermined by colonialism, inferiority sets in.

... such strain and insecurity in the individual is bound sooner or later to erupt in violent and destructive action which will be the more difficult to contain and control precisely because the social fabric has been weakened beyond repair (Kedourie, 1971: 26).

Precisely these stresses are evident in the violence characterising South African society at present. (12)

4.3.5 Literacy and the growth of elites

Kedourie posits the theory that colonisation brought literacy to the colonies. Its effect was to reinforce the sense of inferiority in respect of traditional society. The small minority which acquired literacy began to feel the oppression of imperialism once they discovered that literacy did not necessarily allow them entry into the European society. Their social dislocation then became channelled toward providing a new literate elite leadership which appealed to the disorientated rest of society.

Fishman identifies this group in a similar manner:

Nationalism in Asia and Africa began, as an ideological and organized movement, much as it had in Europe, i.e., as an elitist intellectual phenomenon ... (1972b: 33).

he continues to record the significant role of the student communities in both Asia and Africa in the growth of nationalist movements. (13)

4.3.6 Urbanisation

part and parcel of colonial rule and its disruption of traditional rural existence is the rapid move toward urbanisation where grievances appear more concentrated, where they are better articulated and where, according to Fishman, reaction against them is more successfully organised. (14)

4.3.7 Adoption of Western concepts - especially, nationalism

Access to western ideas has worked to the advantage, in some instances, of the colonised peoples/societies. The popularity of the idea of nationalism, is one such instance. Kedourie argues that a significant aspect of nationalism is the concept of uniformity and nowhere is this more explicit than in the idea of the national language incorporating traditional heritage and culture. Fishman expresses very much the same argument, although couched in his terminology of 'authenticity' as 'the basis of internal sociocultural integration and simultaneous divergence from foreign (usually European) ways' and 'broader ethnic unity' (1972b: 30). While Fishman describes very much the same process as does Kedourie here, he does not ascribe the process to access to western concepts - he does not account for its growth, he simply describes it.

Anderson, on the other hand, queries the argument of those who concentrate on the language-based theory of nationalism. While he points out that

nationalisms in nineteenth century Europe certainly grew together with a certain linguistic-consciousness he suggests that the later African and Asian nationalisms are not necessarily associated with the concept of linguistic identity.

Nothing suggests that Ghanaian nationalism is any less real ... simply because its national language is English rather than Ashanti. It is always a mistake to treat languages in the way that certain nationalist ideologues treat them - as emblems of nation-ness, like flags, costumes, folk-dances and the rest. Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities ... If radical Mozambique speaks Portuguese, the significance of this is that Portuguese is the language through which Mozambique is imagined ... Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language ... Print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se (Anderson, 1983: 122).

Nevertheless, Anderson agrees with the assertion that western models of nationalism have provided useful examples. However, since access to these models is available in most print-languages and it is possible to transmit the idea of nationalism through other media, e.g. radio and television, in a number of different languages, it does not follow that a particular nationalism may only be perceived through one particular language.

Multilingual broadcasting can conjure up the imagined community to illiterates and populations with different mother-tongues (Anderson: 123).

4.4 PECULIARITIES OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN NATIONALISM

One very important aspect of African and Asian nationalism is its feature of differentiating the specific nationalism in question from other

societies. In this instance the concern is with the way in which African nationalist movements distinguish especially African features of society from those of the European colonists. Nevertheless, absolute differentiation is not possible in the long run as all of these societies do have economic links with the west and so some features of western society must of necessity be integrated with the African social system (e.g. science and technology). A way usually has to be found whereby the nationalist movement does not feel threatened by the integration thereof (Fishman, 1972b: 36).

A second unusual aspect of nationalism in ex-colonial territories is that territorial boundaries imposed by colonial rule, without any attention to ethnic boundaries, have more or less remained intact. Whereas with European nationalism, ethnic and cultural integration operated on usually exclusive lines, in Africa, at least, this cannot happen. Consequently, what Fishman (1972b: 37) calls 'ethnocultural integration' has to be modified to include all the various cultural groups or alternatively has to go beyond these and stress supraethnic considerations.

4.5 THE RELEVANCE OF FISHMAN'S: 'THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM ON LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE PLANNING'

Anderson (1983) has argued that since modern technological advances in the dissemination of ideas through the mass media, which operate in many different languages, the notion that nationalism may only be conveyed through a particular language is now outdated (cf. 4.3.7). This argument certainly holds true in some instances in Africa, however, the argument

that a language may in certain instances become inseparably intertwined with a spirit of nationalism is also discernible in other instances in Africa. Consequently, Fishman's work, 'The Impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning' (1972c), cannot be dismissed. This is especially so, as the nature of Afrikaner nationalism, which is to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 9 herein, operates along much the same lines as the argument put forward by Fishman.

What follows is a synopsis of the Fishman argument (1972c: 39-82) together with a commentary on it.

Fishman argues that with the growth of nationalist movements, a common/universal process has taken place, whereby language becomes one of the major exponents of that nationalism and, furthermore, a controlling force which aids the ruling power group in the maintenance of that power and its particular philosophy.

4.5.1 The vernacular as the medium of nationalism

Fishman believes that the emergence of ideologies incorporated in humanism, the Renaissance and the Reformation were responsible, to a certain extent, for giving credence to the use of the vernacular as opposed to the 'supranational ... classical languages' (40-41).

The vernacular came to have a functional role in stimulating a positive response to and preserving the spirit of nationalism.

... modern loyalties are centred on political units whose boundaries are defined by the language ... of an educational system (Gellner, 1964: 163, cited in Fishman: 43).

There are two basic reasons why the vernacular came to have such recognition: (1) the elite group saw it as a means of uniting and 'activating' the populace; (2) the process of urbanisation and modernisation depended upon a common literacy.

Fishman believes that mass nationalism is more than a single identification of the community with a language - it is the identification of nationalism with a 'unique' language which is 'functional in a way that other languages cannot match' (43).

Nationalism, in order to justify its stance, has to develop its own elaborate system of rationalising the role of language in the nationalist movement.

4.5.2 Language as (part of) the message of nationalism

Fishman's argument might be summed up in his quotation of Snyder (1954: 20):

All major works on nationalism stress in detail the significance of language.

Language as a link with the glorious past

One might interpret Fishman as suggesting that the past/historical links with the 'nation's' ancestry is/are romanticised which allows the nationalist argument/rationale to be mystified and become emotively acceptable or even desirable.

Language as the link with authenticity

Fishman explains this dimension of the associations with language as a necessary rationalisation of the uniqueness of the people and this uniqueness is supposedly embodied in the language of the people. This rationalisation is flawed by the very fact that the language adopted by the movement is invariably a language from a possible many and, consequently, it will never be able to incorporate all the traditions and cultural histories of those affected by it under the new nationalist regime.

Directly, via the language per se

... the mother tongue is itself an aspect of the soul, a part of the soul, if not the soul made manifest (Fishman, 1972c: 46).

Fishman discusses Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and his concept of the role of the vernacular:

... language was also the surest way for individuals to safeguard (or recover) the authenticity they had inherited from

their ancestors as well as to hand it on to generations yet unborn ... (Fishman, 1972c: 46).

Fishman ascribes to Herder the phenomenon whereby one becomes aware that language has become so closely tied to the question of nationality that we frequently hear such cries as: 'without Finnish we are not Finns' (46).

Nationalism, it is claimed, grew out of a fear of other nationalist power structures. For example, the 'fractionalised' Germany was faced with a formidable Romance speaking group in the South and the Slavic peoples of the East. This encouraged Herder and others to advocate a standard national German language.

Fishman indicates that both Sapir and Pfaff have cast doubt on the validity of the link between nationality and language.

... a self-conscious nationality ... will construct for itself ... a race to which is attributed the mystic power of creating a language and a culture as twin expressions of its physic peculiarities (Sapir, 1942: 660, cited in Fishman 47).

Considerations of language, history or geography are valuable, to justify what one already believes, but they do not necessarily lead to that belief (Pfaff, 1970: 159, cited in Fishman 47).

Hence, it would appear that nationalisms exaggerate the symbols created around a language so that the link between ideology and language becomes 'a cause, goal and obligation' (48).⁽¹⁵⁾

A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories -

'tis a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river' (Davies, 1945 (1845): 71, cited in Fishman: 49).

Indirectly via widespread oral and written imagery

Fishman argues that through the medium of its literature (poetry, stories, proverbs, mottos and tales) nationalism operates to 'glorify' the vernacular. Literature expressing nationalist sentiments serves to link: (1) 'the personal emotional' and (2) 'the intellectual rebirth with nationalism' (50-52).

To support his argument, Fishman quotes an early nineteenth century Finn, Estlander:

No fatherland can exist without folk poetry. Poetry is nothing more than the crystal in which nationality can mirror itself; it is the spring which brings to the surface the truly original in the folk-soul (cited in Wuorinen, 1931: 69, cited in Fishman: 52).

Contrastive self-identification via language

This involves a distaste or rejection of alternative language which might represent other cultures. Jann, a later German nationalist, argues:

He who teaches his children to learn the French language or permits them to learn it is delirious; he who persists in doing this, sins against the Holy Ghost (cited in Snyder, 1952: 38 and in Fishman: 53). (16)

The irony implicit, here, is that in selecting a vernacular from several possibilities to represent the identity of the people, this vernacular is going to be foreign to many of the people concerned and hence the argument put forward by Jann might be applied on the home front.

4.5.3 Nationalism's need for language planning

Fishman presents two similar models of how this might occur after defining language planning as 'the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level' (55 after Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971). The architects of these two models are Haugen and Neustupny (Haugen, (1972 (1966): 97-111) argues that where a dialect or a vernacular is to be used as a standard language various stages in the language planning process take place. Haugen lists four stages in this process as: selection of norm, codification of form, elaboration of function and acceptance by the community. He suggests that the first two are concerned with form while the last two are concerned with function. (17)

He presents a diagrammatic picture of the relationship of all these features together with society and language as follows:

TABLE 4.3:

	Form	Function
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration

Haugen (1972 (1966): 110).

Fishman also discusses Neustupny (1970) and his analysis of 'Problem/Process Correspondences in Language Planning'. Diagrammatically this model is recorded in Fishman (56):

TABLE 4.4:

Problem/Process Correspondences in Language Planning				
(per Neustupny, 1970)				
	1	2	3	4
Problem →	Selection	Stability	Expansion	Differentiation
↓				
Process →	Policy Decisions	Codification	Elaboration	Cultivation

Fishman then proceeds to discuss these features under the following headings:

Code Selection

In order to achieve the desired function of the language in 'unifying, authenticating and modernising', the vernacular had to undergo extensive planning (58). An alternative code had to be found in order to effectively replace one elitist power base with another.

Codification

This stage is regarded as necessary to ensure effective and efficient communication. Naturally, one might see this as a useful device in maintaining political control as the codification would be in the hands of those in power which would allow political manipulation of the codification procedures.

Elaboration

This step would require a great amount of effort and expense as the vernacular would, in all likelihood, suffer a paucity of 'lexical items'. At the same time 'proof that the nation has personality and self-respect' (Ahmad, 1960: 103, cited in Fishman: 62) had to be ensured.

4.5.4 Nationalist pressures on language planning

Fishman suggests that nationalist ideologies apply rigid 'constraints and rationales' for language planning, in other words that they provide rational arguments in favour of which items or features of language are to be considered desirable, and which are not (63).

Language as an active agent

Firstly, the vernacular adopts an active role in authenticating itself and its speakers by accepting or rejecting foreign 'impurities'.

Let us use it as a right, clerks and farmers, and though you may not believe it, English will move out. We don't want foreign languages. We feel that they are a reproach. Swahili is a good language, our original language ... (translated from Swahili by Whiteley, 1969: 161, cited in Fishman: 66).

Very often claims about the maintenance or rejection of a language are extreme, which is a feature of linguistic nationalism, but in reality these claims are not necessarily borne out. In this case, English has not yet been driven out by Swahili in Tanzania. (18)

Secondly, the concept of the superiority of the vernacular over other languages became popular.

With respect to Arabic it is necessary to 'comprehend its superior qualities over other languages and the special endowments which enabled it to achieve complete mastery over ... vast regions' (Fishman: 66 citing Nationality Consciousness, Beirut 1938: 38 cited in Nuseibeh, 1956: 70).

The authentication and sense of linguistic superiority then became agents of nationalism.

Fostering unity and authenticity via differentiation from undesirable linguistic influences

This involves a deliberate move to denigrate and abhor foreign borrowings.

Original and primitive languages are superior to composite, derived languages. German is an original language, its speech must be cleansed of foreign accretions and borrowings, since the purer the language, the more natural it is and the easier it becomes for the nation to realize itself and to increase its freedom (Fishman: 67, citing Fichte, cited in Kedourie, 1961: 66-67).

At the same time that this purging of foreign expressions occurred, enrichment of the vernacular would take place.

One should bear in mind that much of this type of rhetoric, while promoting linguistic nationalism, is not necessarily based upon very sound rational argument. There was no historical single form of German. There were many dialects/vernaculars from which one form was selected and elaborated. Hence this argument of a cleansing process is based on somewhat tenuous ground.

Fostering unity and authenticity via differentiation from internal linguistic alternatives

The question of the 'multiplicity of vernacular varieties' led Bertrand Barère, an important Jacobin, 1794, to say: 'the language of a free

people ought to be one and the same for all' (Hayes, 1931: 63, cited in Fishman: 69). The justification for this argument was found firstly in the fear of inefficiency, and secondly, in the fear of political diversity. As a result of this, romanticisation of the 'noble and uncontaminated peasant language' and the search for purity led the philosophers to obscure areas of choice of norm. Fichte is quoted as arguing:

... (it was) incumbent on a nation worthy of the name to revive, develop and extend what is taken to be its original speech, even though it might be found only in remote villages, or had not been used for centuries, even though its resources are inadequate and its literatures poor - for only such an original language will allow a nation to realize itself and attain freedom (Fichte, cited in Kedourie, 1961: 67 and cited in Fishman: 69).

Fishman provides examples of this rationale operating in Ireland, Finland, the Slavic areas and the Islamic world. He makes the point that it is interesting to note that instead of an existing norm being codified, a written form is imposed before a written tradition has actually evolved - Swahili being a good example of this.

4.5.5 Planning for modernity with authenticity

Two problems in this area are outlined: firstly, an ancient language is ill-equipped for modern purposes; and secondly, it is unnecessary and a waste of time to attempt to adapt the ancient language. (19)

Fishman points out the irony of a situation where nationalists manage to reject foreign vocabulary, while at the same time introduce modern concepts from foreign sources.

Basically what seems to occur is that aestheticism and historicity are linked to the past, while 'enlightened purism' allows alternatives into a flexible approach to language planning. In Turkey, this became evident in the modernising and Europeanisation which took place in respect of scientific terms, with the 'Turkification' of all other lexical items, syntax and orthography (75).

Escape hatches

Obviously, extremism can seldom coincide with pragmatics and so a certain amount of flexibility is generally evident in cases of linguistic nationalism programmes. Accordingly, Fishman isolates 'preferred and non-preferred' sources of borrowing (75). The following rationale for the Indian situation provides us with a useful example:

... native Hindi elements failing we should not go to a foreign country for words which can be supplied by Sanskrit; names of new objects and processes may be European and international; for ideas we should have our own words (Chatterji, 1943: 29, cited in Fishman: 75).

4.5.6 Concluding remark

Fishman's descriptive model for the 'Impact of Nationalism on Language and Language Planning' provides a useful understanding of some of the

processes taking place in countries in Africa which today are undergoing dynamic changes as a result of the emergence of African nationalism. However, as will be discussed as these territories are examined, variations in approach to the language issue are occurring in response to changing conditions and perceived needs in Africa. The Anderson argument of nationalism existing separately from a particular language needs also to be borne in mind. The idea of language being ideologically linked to nationalism seems to be part of the European concept of nationalism. Consequently, when the case of Afrikaner nationalism is examined in Chapter 5, it should not be surprising that that particular form of nationalism reveals features of this European concept of language. On the other hand, where nationalist movements elsewhere in ex-British colonial Africa have often chosen the ex-colonial language as the vehicle of their cause, the relevance of the Anderson argument will be perceived.

- (1) In South Africa, the policy of apartheid has, through the constraints of Bantu Education, made attempts to prevent assimilation and opportunity of access to English, in order to keep black people ethnically bound, as far as this is possible.
- (2) The Afrikaans speaking community in South Africa certainly displays some of the features which Paulston associates with ethnic movement, especially militancy and the perception of the antagonistic or unsympathetic world.
- (3) Paulston cites Stephen Biko as the charismatic leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa and argues that English was chosen as a language of wider communication so that the Black Consciousness Movement might be seen to transcend linguistic/tribal groupings and loyalties. This argument is sound, however, it gives an incomplete picture of the situation in South Africa. Biko's choice of English should not be seen only in terms of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), indeed, another, very powerful force present amongst the discontented majority of South Africa is the African National Congress (ANC), which has also chosen to use English as a lingua franca. Paulston's discussion portrays an apparently simplistic notion of the situation in South Africa. The ANC includes a membership of people whose mother tongue is English and who

certainly do not espouse the sentiments of the BCM. This argument will, however, be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 9.

- (4) While it is true that the BCM did have a charismatic leader in Stephen Biko before his death while in detention in a South Africa prison in 1977, and that one might argue that the BCM is an ethnic movement, this is too simplistic for the South African context.

Firstly, those who belong to the BCM have tended to perceive themselves as having transcended the concerns of ethnic movements. They would argue that while there is an identifiable ethnic movement, Inkatha, amongst the Zulu people, black consciousness has cut across traditional ethnic ties in South Africa. Indeed, they regard Inkatha with much scorn, precisely because it is an ethnic movement which encourages boundary maintenance. Nevertheless it is true that in a sense, black consciousness has tended to display features of ethnic movement in that it is militant and, in its purist form, has excluded white membership.

Secondly, one cannot single out the BCM in South Africa and regard it as being entirely separate from the African Nationalist movement. Both organisations are working toward a common goal, although the approaches taken might differ. As has already been pointed out, the ANC, precisely because it has members who have perceived themselves as belonging to different ethnic groups, cannot be said to be an ethnic movement. Its very existence is dependent upon moving beyond ethnic boundaries. The ANC also has a charismatic leader in Nelson Mandela. So, if the ANC is not an ethnic movement, while it has some of the features of Paulston's model for ethnic movement, then so is it possible for the BCM in South Africa to fall outside Paulston's conception of ethnic movement.

- (5) In South Africa, the language of the Afrikaner is a very important aspect of his religious life.
- (6) This argument of Paulston's clearly denies her earlier assertion that black consciousness in South Africa be an ethnic movement, because no attempt is made to retard the rate of shift to English, rather it is encouraged (cf. Chapter 9, the national language impetus given by AZAPO).
- (7) In South Africa, the white nationalist government has made attempts to forge ties of ethnic nationalism in the homelands to fit in with their Bantustan policy. This policy has even been implemented in a situation where the Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape have been divided into two distinct homelands: the Transkei and the Ciskei. In other words, an attempt has been made to split people even within a tribal framework where a common language and cultural background has previously held them together. The inhabitants of these two homelands are expected to see themselves as being ethnically different from one another.
- (8) In the broad context of South African nationalism one identifies two stages. The first is Afrikaner nationalism as a rejection of the

oppression suffered at the hands of the British colonials. The second is the black nationalism which is a response to and protest against white supremacy in South Africa, on the one hand, and on the other hand, it is also a protest against colonialism, per se.

- (9) In the case of Afrikaner nationalism, language is very close to the core of the Afrikaner identity. Enormous attempts have been made to strengthen the position of Afrikaans in the country - to the extent that there is even a monument dedicated to that language.
- (10) This is where one should examine the role English is to play in South Africa; and where it is already a significant factor in other ex-British colonial countries in Africa.
- (11) One should note here, that while this generalisation is essentially valid, the situation in South Africa does, in fact, reflect class struggle. Certainly, on one level, there is a rejection of colonialism, but more obviously present is the struggle to overthrow the apartheid system which has as its basis class differentiation. The experience of colonialism in South Africa is different from the norm in Africa. No Sizwe records Ngwenya's postulation that:

In fact, the white minority has established a special colonialist system differing from the classical model in that the coloniser and the colonised share the same country (Ngwenya, 1976: 49).

More explicit is the following argument:

On one level, that of 'White South Africa', there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism ... But on another level, that of 'Non-White South Africa', there are all the features of a colony. The indigenous population is subjected to national oppression, poverty and exploitation, lack of all democratic rights and political domination by a group which does everything it can to perpetrate its alien 'European' character ... Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself (SACP, 1962).

- (12) An examination of the way in which traditional society has been fragmented in South Africa will reveal that with the rapid modernisation of the country in terms of the exploitation of its mineral wealth, the demand for labour has dislocated societies. Migrant labour has meant that women and children have been left in the country. Adult men have been unable to preside over traditional socialising ceremonies for their children and consequently traditional norms and values have become confused. The steady move toward the urban areas has, furthermore, dislocated traditional patterns of behaviour and it is not surprising that together with conditions of poverty, violence is readily at hand. The apartheid system has convinced those who have no access to political power that they are being deprived of benefits reserved for the ruling class.

The phenomenon of 'People's Courts' and their intransigent judgements, against the so-called government 'collaborators' which grew out of the 'unrest' in 1985 have provided one indication of how weak the social fabric and its system of control has become.

- (13) Student organisations which have organised school boycotts in 1976, 1980 and 1984-5 have shown how effective they are in raising the political consciousness level in South Africa. Their power or rather the threat which have posed to the government has been attested to by legislation which has either banned or placed restrictions upon their activities. The students' concern with liberation in South Africa is not a recent phenomenon. As early as 1955 the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) organised the first schools' boycott in protest against the apartheid system as entrenched in the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In 1958, Brecker gave a speech at the formation of the Cape Peninsula Students' Union in Cape Town, in which he pointed to the role of the student:

.... we have claimed to be part and parcel of that (the liberatory) movement. For we too desire our freedom and the freedom of the nation of whom we are a part.

... we must do our utmost to build up this movement, that is our major task ... (Brecker, 1958).

- (14) Certainly, if one uses South Africa as an example, one will notice how organised resistance has shown itself largely in the Johannesburg/Soweto and Cape Town urban areas during the recent action of 1976, 1980 and 1984-5.
- (15) In South Africa the symbolic link between language and Afrikaner nationalism is made manifest in the monument to the Afrikaans language in Paarl. This is the only known monument to a language.
- (16) The distaste for certain languages has made itself known in both Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism in South Africa. On the one hand, Afrikaner distaste of British sovereignty during the latter years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, became linked with the fear engendered by Milner's anglicisation policy, and hence with the English language. On the other hand, once the Afrikaners were in power, their reversal of the anglicisation process in their policy of Afrikanerisation together with the mother tongue policy of instruction led to increasing distaste for Afrikaans in the black communities of South Africa (cf. Chapters 5 and 9).
- (17) The choice of two distinctly different dialects of Swahili by Tanzania and Kenya as representing the national language of each country is examined in Chapter 6. In South Africa, Afrikaans was an informally spoken dialect of Dutch before it was codified and elaborated for the purpose of a national language (cf. Chapter 5).

- (18) Furthermore, Swahili is not an indigenous vernacular in Tanzania. It is a language brought into the territory by Arab traders and subsequently used as a lingua franca.
- (19) (The debate which raged between Gandhi and Nehru over this very issue is interesting to note. Basically, Gandhi was in favour of promoting Hindi as the ancient language to be cultivated for the purposes of a national language, while Nehru argued that it would be more pragmatic to maintain English to serve as the LWC especially given the linguistic complexity of India).

CHAPTER 5

NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AND APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

A somewhat simplistic approach to this subject would be to assume that the essence of British Imperialist nationalism, under the guise of Milner's anglicisation policy, led to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, which, in turn, gave rise to black nationalism in South Africa. Nationalism as a concept requires careful consideration in order that one might come to an understanding of how it is applied to the South African situation.

Nationalism in South Africa has become a powerful political force which has had, and continues to have, serious ramifications in the structure of the country's policies on education, especially with regard to language education. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the philosophical influences and political reality of nationalism in the educational policies beginning with the British in the pre-Union days of the 20th century, through the development of Afrikaner nationalism and hence to its effect in the area of language education in the black communities and its contribution to the rise of black nationalism in South Africa. The structure of this chapter, then, lies in the principle of cause and effect.

Malherbe maintains that the educational system of a country will reflect the aims and ambitions of that country. He sees a direct relationship between nationalism, language and education, because, according to Ernest Barker:

Language is not mere words. Each word is charged with associations that touch feelings and evoke thoughts. You cannot share these feelings and thoughts unless you can unlock their associations by having the key of language. You cannot enter the heart and know the mind of a nation unless you know its speech (cited in Malherbe, 1977: 1).

Malherbe asserts that it is through language that communities of people are able to affirm their separate national identities. Consequently, the Afrikaans language symbolises the identity of the Afrikaner, and once the Afrikaner gained political ascendancy, he used this language in educational spheres to further the aims of Afrikaner nationalism.

The English-speaking South Africans felt no ideological need to build up a spirit of linguistic nationalism, because English was already an international language of much prestige and these people saw themselves as having strong ties with Britain, so they did not feel themselves to be culturally threatened or isolated.

5.2 THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

Historical events have had a profound bearing on language attitudes, policy-making and the position of Afrikaans today as a medium of instruction for other language communities in the country. In this connection one should refer to the attempt in the nineteenth century to oust Dutch as an official language; the struggle to have Afrikaans recognised as a language in its own right when the anglicising policy had failed; the identification of this struggle with Afrikaans nationalism; the fact that Afrikaans is spoken by only a relatively small group and has had to compete for survival with English, the powerful

international medium of communication; and the fact that only a small percentage of first generation immigrants take the trouble to learn Afrikaans, encouraged by the fact that other language groups in South Africa apparently do not share the Afrikaner's grim determination to maintain the position of Afrikaans as an official language ... (Kroes, 1978: 170).

Kroes maintains that there is a direct linkage between the growth of Afrikaner nationalism and language policies in the twentieth century as a result of the nineteenth century attempts at anglicisation policy carried out by the British administration. This policy, in fact, became a more serious threat to the Afrikaner identity in the early twentieth century under Milner. In dealing with the concept of anglicisation, one needs to bear in mind that it is not simply a question of language that is involved, but, also included in it is the secularisation of education. This means that the Afrikaner felt the threat of cultural, linguistic and religious isolation through the implementation of this policy and consequently reacted in such a way as to attempt to protect and preserve his identity. This in its turn had its spin-off effect in relation to other language groups in South Africa.

5.2.1 The relationship between anglicisation and Afrikaner nationalism

The Cape Education Commission of 1892 advocated the use of the English language as a medium of instruction. The Herschel system then came into being, whereby:

- a. elementary schools would be free, open to all groups, and instruction would be in either English or Dutch;

b. upper schools would charge fees and English would be the only medium.

The Herschel system came under criticism, because, at first, 'coloured' children were admitted into the same schools as white children and secondly, because this was seen as an attempt at not only the secularisation of education but also at anglicisation. Hofmeyer agitated against the use of the English language as medium in the Cape. Du Toit had published the principles behind the Afrikaner Bond in 1879 and had become head of the Education Department in the Transvaal in 1881 (Rose & Tunmer, 1975: 154). While there had been a move towards secularisation of education in the Transvaal up to this point, the Rev. du Toit reversed this policy and strongly reacted against the 'Cape liberal ideas', particularly the outcome of the 1892 Cape Education Commission (Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971: 72).

'Competition between the two language groups of the South African white community was by no means only expressed in attempts at anglicisation' (Rose & Tunmer, 1975: 159). In the Transvaal, Dutch became the only official language and the medium of instruction in the state schools. This obviously affected the Uitlander population who arrived in large numbers in the Transvaal in the 1880s and the 1890s. In order to ensure that their children received an English medium education, the Uitlanders opened private schools under the auspices of the Witwatersrand Council for Education, particularly after 1895 when a sum of 56 800 pounds was allocated to schools who used the Dutch medium only.

After the two republics had been defeated in the Anglo-Boer War, they requested that there be equal language rights for Boer and Englishman. Britain agreed that:

The Dutch language will be taught in public schools in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony where the parents of the children desire it and will be allowed in the courts of law when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice (Rose & Tunmer: 161).

However, Alfred, Lord Milner, who had instructions to reconstruct South Africa after the Treaty of Vereeniging, realised the power of language in the hands of those who control a country. He saw the possibilities of using the English language to regulate the cultural values and traditions of the conquered Boers. He determined to anglicise Boer children by allowing only five hours of instruction in Dutch per week and English was to be used as the medium of all higher education.

Milner wished to de-emphasise the importance of the concerns of the Boer community, and felt that in order to do this he needed to insist that the Boer children widen their world view through international history books (which, in effect, meant those books written from the point of view of the British). He was afraid that a dwelling on issues South African would encourage an Afrikaner nationalism and this would, in turn, engender dissatisfaction.

In fact, Milner's policy stimulated much discontent and the Dutch Reformed Churches in both the Transvaal and Orange Free State established two hundred private CNE (Christian National Education) schools in much the same way that the Uitlanders had relied on the Witwatersrand Council for

Education. President Steyn roused Boer sentiments with his statement, 'the language of the conqueror in the mouth of the conquered is the language of slaves' (Malherbe, 1977: 3).

Dutch was to be the medium in the CNE schools at primary level, while in the urban secondary schools, English continued as the main medium of instruction (Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971: 72). All of these schools emphasised a Calvinist approach to religious matters and this was extended to other areas of study.

Once Representative Government was granted, the 'Smuts Act' of 1907 in the Transvaal and the 'Hertzog Act' of 1908 in the Orange River Colony changed the educational structure so that there would be a religious component in the school day, and mother tongue instruction to Standard 3.

These provisions satisfied the CNE schools and they agreed to be taken over by the states concerned. There was much suspicion of state control of education in the conservative quarters of the Afrikaner community who felt that the new system was a compromise between the religious and national concerns of the CNE schools and the threatening English system (Christian Institute of Southern Africa: 73).

During the Union convention in 1909 Hertzog emphasised the importance of equality between the two official languages, Afrikaans and English. Ex-President Steyn continued, that racial harmony would only be achieved if there were to be an equal treatment of each of these two languages. No mention was made of the black languages. Both Hertzog and Hofmeyer had

expressed the belief that English and Afrikaner-Dutch children should, where possible, attend the same schools in order to promote a spirit of unified identity.

In 1911 a Select Committee on Education was set up and included representatives from all the political parties. The resulting recommendations, that mother tongue medium would be compulsory up to and including Standard 4, provided that parents had the right to request that the other official language be gradually introduced as a supplementary medium, came into effect in the Transvaal in 1911, and in the Cape and Orange Free State in 1912. In Natal, while both languages were taught as subjects, parents had the freedom to choose the medium.

As it happened, in the early days of Union, English maintained its advantage over Dutch, in that, while equality for each was encouraged, Dutch had several drawbacks. Firstly, Dutch was not the language spoken by the people of Dutch extraction; they spoke Afrikaans, which had not yet been recognised as a language in its own right. Dutch was a formal, written language which was primarily used in religious affairs, so children instructed through the medium of Dutch felt alienated from that language anyway. In contrast, English was not a stilted and purely formal language, it was spoken and heard in everyday speech, so that, in fact, the urban Afrikaner child might have been more familiar with English than Dutch. After much arguing from C.J. Langenhoven for the use and recognition of Afrikaans as a language, it eventually became accepted as a medium in schools and churches in 1914. It was this that gave an enormous impetus to the emergence of a particular Afrikaner nationalism. This was

particularly important, as South Africa became involved in the First World War at this point and many Afrikaners resented what they felt to be the support of their enemy, Britain. The nationalist spirit was thus given a double impetus in 1914. By 1925, Afrikaans became accepted as one of the official languages in the civil service and a constitutional change was made to that effect.

The language had several drawbacks, because, being new, there was not a wide literature from which to draw, nor was there an elaborate system of terminology and both of these areas needed time in order that development and promotion of the language could overcome the deficiencies. Afrikaans was also not an international language, and so English held the advantage. Resentment against and fear of the ascendancy of English continued to grow and add to the fostering of the nationalist spirit.

The hoped for convergence of interests in South Africa after Union did not come to fruition. People could not identify with General Botha's vague term of a 'South African Nation'. General Hertzog encouraged a sense of South African Nationalism and referred to both the English and Afrikaans-speaking groups when he spoke of Afrikaners. He was, however, misunderstood to mean an exclusively Afrikaans-speaking Afrikanerism. Dr Malan definitely tried to encourage a sense of the 'Boerenasie' and his supporters saw the Afrikaans language as symbolising their separateness (Malherbe, 1977: 19). It was hoped that in developing a strong sense of identity the Afrikaner could fully protect himself against any possible attempts at anglicisation and, in fact, assert himself against the English-speaker, who was still regarded with some suspicion with the

memories of Milner nurtured for the purpose of encouraging Afrikaner nationalism.

5.2.2 Economic factors encouraging Afrikaner nationalism:

The Anglo-Boer War had increased rural poverty and this in turn had caused a migration to the urban areas in the Transvaal, where there had been reports of high wages. These high wages were, however, for skilled labour and it was the Uitlander, English-speaking population who had the necessary skills, and not the rural Afrikaners. After World War I, the price of gold declined, and the mines decided to employ more cheap black labour for their unskilled work. The Smuts government became associated with this policy which ignored the plight of the poor Afrikaner (Tillema, 1974: 26-28). Hertzog's National Party grew in popularity through the need to protect whites against the competition of the blacks. Hertzog's party staged a successful electoral challenge to Smuts and the new government instituted a colour-bar on the mines.

The rise of industry and the agrarian crisis had emphasised the shortcomings of education for whites and it was felt that there was a need for whites to have an advantage when competing for jobs (Wilson & Thompson, 1971: 222). In fact, as early as 1911, the Natal segregationist, Maurice S. Evans, had warned of the dangers of educating the Indians and Africans into positions where they might compete with whites and hence cause friction (ibid.).

Gradually it came to be seen that it was not simply protection against the English language that had to be maintained, but protection against the economic power of the English entrepreneurs who controlled the industry and the mines in the country and hence its labour requirements. Secondly, the realisation of the possible threat of the black labour market began to dawn on the minds of the Afrikaner nationalists, and hence the threat of the black community on the survival of the Afrikaner.

5.2.3 The Broederbond and Afrikaner nationalism

Just as the economic depression of 1930 manifested itself in South Africa as well as the rest of the world, the farmers were hit by the worst drought in the history of South Africa. Smuts and Hertzog took this opportunity, when the entire white community was suffering economically, to join together to form the United Party and they brought a government into power in 1933. The Broederbond, in the process of developing a theory of racial purity much along the lines of the Nazi Party in Germany, was enraged by what was seen to be a treacherous act by Hertzog.

The Broederbond was pushing for separate schools for English and Afrikaans-speaking children on the grounds that dual-medium schools would lead to the contamination of the Afrikaner cultural and religious identity.

The Broederbond arranged for the talented Afrikaans-speaking students to be awarded scholarships to Germany and here people like Dr Diederichs, one of the architects of apartheid, in the mid-late 1930s, found the rhetoric

of Hitler significant (Malherbe, 1977: 24-5). The outbreak of war in 1939 brought Smuts and Hertzog into disagreement. Smuts favoured joining the allies in preventing the world domination of Hitler, while Hertzog wanted neutrality. Many Afrikaners openly supported Hitler and so the old Anglo-Boer wound was reopened, carefully agitated by the Broederbond. 75% of the teachers in the state schools for whites were Afrikaners and many of these were members of the Broederbond and consequently the Broederbond was in a position to influence the attitudes of children in the schools (Malherbe: 29). Afrikaans children were encouraged to harbour anti-British sentiments and regard English as a foreign language. This divisive activity effectively sabotaged efforts toward bilingualism. The provincial elections of 1943 revolved around the question of language medium in schools. The United Party argued for compulsory mother tongue instruction in primary schools with gradual supplementation of the other language as medium in secondary school. The National Party wanted mother tongue education throughout all levels of education with the other language taught merely as a subject. The latter policy disregarded the desire for bilingualism. The Nationalists hoped to secure the separate Afrikaner identity through the language policy for schools, in other words, to divide the white people of the country (Malherbe: 39-41).

As it happened, the United Party's proposals won the day. After the war, ex-servicemen and women reported that they had discovered a sense of South Africanism which had transcended linguistic differences and were disappointed to find that their children were being separated ideologically at school and in movements like the Voortrekkers, as opposed to the Boy Scouts (Malherbe: 43).

The Dutch Reformed Churches felt threatened by interaction with the English community and agitated for separation of the linguistic groups from the point of view of religious purity (Malherbe: 45). They argued for a revival of the CNE system.

In 1929 the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge had been established to operate as the voice and implementing body for the philosophies of the Broederbond. The FAK, as it became known, used propaganda to inculcate the attractiveness of the separation of the language groups. The FAK claimed, in 1939, that Afrikaner children were under threat of cultural deprivation as many were receiving their education through the wrong medium. In fact, 95% were receiving mother tongue instruction and the claims were grossly exaggerated (Malherbe: 51). In order to prove a point, the FAK claimed that Afrikaans-speaking children in a Pietermaritzburg primary school were not receiving mother tongue instruction. The case was based on misrepresentation of the facts, nevertheless, the opportunity was taken to open a Christian National Voortrekker Infants' School in Pietermaritzburg, in 1945, amidst a great storm of propaganda favouring CNE schools and the preservation of Afrikaner heritage (Malherbe: 53). This incident sparked off a well-organised effort at doing away with dual-medium schools.

Whilst most children were, in fact, attending single medium schools, an experiment was conducted in 1945 and 1946 involving the educational effect of dual-medium schools on the learning achievements of pupils concerned. Before the experiment had much chance of making a significant record of

data, there was a change of government in 1948 and the experiment ceased to operate.

The National Party passed a resolution, shortly after gaining power in 1948, by which it changed the educational structure of the country. Henceforth, the foundations of the educational policy would be found in a Christian National policy, which had been put together by academics and politicians, all of whom were members of the Broederbond. The appendage of the CNE name to the policy appeared to be a deliberate ploy to appeal to the anti-British/anti-English sentiments as associated with the earlier CNE schools after the Milner period. Malherbe suggests that it was also intended to suggest that the dual-medium policy of Smuts was a disguised attempt at anglicisation (Malherbe: 105). In 1967 the National Education Policy Act was passed by Parliament and it incorporated the principles of CNE.

CNE doctrine incorporates the philosophy that teaching in school should promote the 'love of one's own language, history and culture' (Christian Institute of Southern Africa, 1971: 77). An integral part of the policy is the emphasis on mother tongue instruction. As a result of this, Malherbe records that the second official language has become, in effect, a foreign language.

Coupled with this tendency, has been the effect of a shortage of English-speaking teachers in Afrikaans high schools, and a general deterioration of the standard of teaching English.

5.2.4 Conclusions

What we have witnessed is a gradual development of Afrikaner nationalism as associated with the Afrikaans language, beginning with the anglicisation policies of Milner, especially, and the economic hardships suffered by the rural Afrikaner. These sentiments grew into a well-coordinated concept of Afrikanerdom through the encouragement of the Dutch Reformed Churches, together with the Broederbond and its associative body, the FAK. As the Afrikaner gained political ascendancy, the policy toward language education became rigidly in favour of mother tongue instruction for the furtherment of national and cultural identity from an exclusively separatist point of view. The result has been that rather than to develop real bilingualism and have more South Africans speaking Afrikaans fluently and through use of that language become more aware of, and understand more about, and possibly even identify with the Afrikaans community, the leaders of the Afrikaner community have effectively isolated it from the reach of the English speaking community through the educational structure. Not only have they isolated themselves from the English-speaking community, but they have isolated themselves from the black communities, although in this area they have used a different technique which will be discussed below. The method chosen to protect and ensure the survival of Afrikaner identity through language may, in fact, be the very means by which it could perish. Isolationalism goes hand-in-hand with constant fear of extermination.

5.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GROWTH OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND BLACK EDUCATION

In dealing with the education of black people in South Africa, while acknowledging the areas involving 'coloured' and Indian education, the focus will primarily be on African education, because it is here that the language policies demonstrate the relentlessness of mother tongue instruction in promoting the separateness of the communities in South Africa. Both the Indian and 'coloured' educational systems are idiosyncratic in that: a) the Indian and other Asian communities are small minorities, and b) the 'coloured' community largely has Afrikaans as its mother tongue.

5.3.1 Pre-Union educational provisions for black people

In pre-Union days, there existed a largely decentralised educational policy. The churches were allowed responsibility for education. Gradually through the nineteenth century, education became more secularised, especially under British rule. The church schools, whether state-aided or not, admitted white and black children in the Cape and Natal. Church schools in the Orange River Colony occasionally accepted black children, and the Uitlander schools in the Transvaal accepted black pupils at the risk of losing republican funding (Tillema, 1974: 39). A few 'coloured' children attended the 'public undenominational schools' in Cape Town and the Zonnebloem Training School was multiracial until the 1920s (Wilson & Thompson, 1971: 221-7).

From 1890, however, the idea of segregation in schools became evident. The rural crisis and industrialisation emphasised the inadequacies of education for whites. Secular schools came into being in the late nineteenth century and these began to exclude blacks 'under the guise of raising the standard of education to meet the requirements imposed by the colonial or republican administrators' (Tillema: 39).

There were very few secular schools for Blacks, so the missions were almost entirely responsible for black education. Most of the missionaries were English speaking, other than a few Lutherans, and so the medium of education was predominantly English. Hartshorne (1982) notes that:

'There were two missionary streams (of which the English-speaking was the stronger) and the "continental" (German, Swiss, French, both Lutheran and Catholic) stream from the beginning placed greater emphasis on the African languages. (Dr W W M Eiselen, Chairman of the 1949-51 Native Education Commission, came from a family of German missionaries and was an excellent linguist. Eiselen provided the philosophical theories for separation.)'

The aim of the missionaries was to equip the black child with the tools to participate effectively in a world controlled by a western-educated white man. In the secular area, the fear of 'coloured' competition led Parliament to pass the School Boards Act of 1905, whereby attendance at state school was limited to children of European parentage. A little while later, in 1908, in order to allay the fears of black people, J. McLaren told the Bunga:

The aim of the Education Department was to give the Natives the same education as the Europeans were getting. The same kind of instruction on the same lines, and on the same standards. The reason for this was that a very large number of Europeans as well as Natives had to work together and they would work much better if they had a common foundation basis of knowledge. If they were educated in different directions they would not

understand each other (Bunga Reports, 1908, cited in Wilson & Thompson, 1971: 77).

So the administration which had the task of reconstructing South Africa also believed that education should be used to extend the benefits of a European society to the black population.

At the same time arguments were being formulated in some areas that blacks were a primitive and 'uncivilised' group and as such did not require the same type of educational provision as the whites.

5.3.2 Post-Union educational provision for black people

At the time of Union there were two distinct attitudes towards educational provision for the 'coloureds' in the Cape: the Cape Liberal vs Labourites. The Cape liberals argued that the 'coloured' community was caught in between the white and African communities, with no distinct role in either group. The Cape Liberals felt that this explained the 'so-called Coloured maladaptation to society': stealing etc. A solution to this would be to offer an education that would permit the 'coloured' access to the European way of life (Tillema, 1974: 103-4). The superiority of the European race was seen as an ideal toward which all races might aspire. The Labourite attitude that formal education should not be extended to black communities was based on a concern about competition for job opportunities.

The Act of Union divided educational responsibilities between the Union Government and the four provinces: the Union Government took

responsibility for higher education and the Provincial Governments took responsibility for primary and secondary school education.

In early Union days the funding of black education was simply a continuation of the nineteenth century policy, whereby the missions received enough provincial subsidy to have free primary education for blacks. This, however, accommodated only a very small percentage who were fortunate enough to find places at school (Hartshorne, 1982). Compulsory education would have been unenforceable at this stage. Subsidies were allocated to missions on the basis of teacher qualification, so the standard of language teaching was generally high and the competence level of graduate pupils was excellent. The provinces could not, however, meet the growing demand for African education and the Union Government intervened by introducing a system of taxation for Africans and part of this revenue would be directed toward education. This meant that, in effect, the central government was on the road to gaining administrative control of African education and this would set the tone for later Nationalist Party policy on black education. The Financial Relations Act of 1922 brought this policy into being. A Native Development Fund (renamed the South African Native Trust in 1936) was set up and 340 000 pounds was put into this fund annually for educational purposes. This amount was to be supplemented by 20% of the 1 pound poll tax. Since the amount earmarked for education remained constant and the number of children requiring schooling increased together with inflationary factors, the expenditure per pupil actually fell between 1925-1935 (Tillema: 64). Consequently, the educational standards for the black child in no way compared to that of his white counterpart. This had its spin-off effect

the lowering of the black pupil's acquisition of the official languages, particularly English and this effectively began to ensure that they would in no way be able to compete with whites in areas of job opportunity.

As a result of the deteriorating conditions under which black education operated, an Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education was set up in 1935. This body noted the relationship between education and social stratification. It recorded complaints from the white community that education made blacks 'lazy and unfit for manual work', 'cheeky', less docile as a servant, and that it isolated him from his own cultural heritage (Wilson & Thompson, 1971: 223). On the other hand a differentiated education ensured that the white child would maintain a dominant role in society, while the black child would be prepared for a subordinate role. D.F. Malan stressed the threat that a rising class of educated blacks would pose in gaining power. Other people argued that education would detribalise the blacks and so facilitate their assimilation into the white community (Wilson & Thompson: 224). Afrikaner nationalists felt that the use of English in black schools was a threat specifically to the Afrikaner in that it perpetrated anglicisation.

The Committee, nevertheless, proposed that African education be funded along the same lines as that for whites. These recommendations were not put into immediate effect, but there was a gradual increase in funding for black education. By 1945 the government funded African education through subsidies according to actual expenditure of the schools and this led to a sharp rise in the numbers of black high school pupils.

In 1936 the Welsh Commission (the Welsh commission was the Interdepartmental Committee) examined the concerns over language medium in black schools. By 1900, English had been the medium in state-aided schools and the vernacular was largely ignored, except in Natal. English had gained predominance because it had been recognised that there was a need for a lingua franca, or access language, and English had been the language of the missionaries, while Dutch was a stilted, formal language which was, in fact, not spoken colloquially. Since Union days, however, there had been an acceptance that both official languages be taught.

Each of the provinces included the mother tongue as an important subject at school and, in fact, it became the medium of instruction for several primary school years. The choice of which of the official languages would be included in primary school instruction was left to the local authority in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal. In fact, English was nearly always chosen. In the Orange Free State, English was taught up to Standard 2, and, thereafter, Afrikaans was introduced. In Natal, the mother tongue medium was used up to Standard 4, and up to Standard 2 in the Cape and Orange Free State, while only for the first two years of schooling in the Transvaal (Rose & Tunmer, 1975: 189-90).

The Commission argued for the continuation of a flexible approach as to which of the two official languages should become the replacement medium of instruction, while at the same time recommending that both official languages be taught so as to facilitate, more greatly, communication with the white community. It further recommended that the mother tongue should be the medium to the end of Standard 2 throughout all the provinces.

Black schools should, where possible, be organised along linguistic lines so that children from one particular language group would attend a school where this language was the medium. Encouragement was given to the development of more written literature in the vernaculars.

In 1945 the Native Education Finance Bill came into being as Smuts and the Minister of Education, Jan Hofmeyer, saw the need for the funding of black education from general revenue. This gave the central government more control over educational policy, and this, in turn, stimulated the fear that the blacks were being 'civilised'.

The Liberal attitude was that the urban black had the same problems as the urban white and that the blacks should therefore be brought closer toward white 'civilisation'. This would expand the labour force and do away with the problem of delinquency. The Nationalist viewpoint was that education was the tool for keeping blacks in their place.

I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country, and not the man who sits with a pen behind his ear (le Roux, cited in South Africa House of Assembly Debates, April 2 1945, cited in Tillema: 132).

More sophisticated speakers rationalised that pride in African traditions should be upheld in black schools, while these traditions were in fact regarded as being inferior to those of the whites.

During these post-Union years, the treatment of the language policy in schools for blacks was flexible. Beneath the surface, however, the black child was being discriminated against in a number of ways:

1. neither one of the official languages was the mother tongue (except in the case of the 'coloureds');
2. in addition to his own mother tongue, the black child had to learn the two official languages which meant that he had to divide his time among three languages as opposed to his white peer, who had only two languages and could consequently expect to achieve a higher level of proficiency in these languages;
3. the financial provisions for black education were far smaller than for white education, and so this effectively limited the quality and quantity of education for blacks to their disfavour, and this effectively ensured a lower proficiency of linguistic skill.

At the same time Afrikaner nationalism was growing, and with it a fear of the domination of other racial groups. A way of preventing black power was to limit educational attainments.

5.3.3 The period of nationalist governmental rule - 1948 to the present

Tillema records that the National Party used the concept of apartheid in its electoral campaign in 1948 in a response to the rise of post-war African nationalism and was elected by a narrow majority. Elections held in South West Africa in 1950 brought the Nationalist Party a further six seats. The most stringent of the apartheid laws were only put into effect after the 1953 elections. With the rise of African nationalism in the rest of Africa and the passive resistance movement in South Africa, whites

were sufficiently afraid of black ascendancy to give the Nationalists a parliamentary majority (Tillema: 136).

Paulo Freire believes that it is through language that people are able to objectify their experiences in time, space and culture. In a state of oppression the consciousness is fragmented, and it is in the interests of the oppressor to maintain fragmentation which prevents a conception of the wholeness of society, and this then prevents united and collective action. The development of the apartheid principles as practised in the education of South Africa's black peoples demonstrates just this fragmentation.

The apartheid platform of 1948 outlined a policy whereby the African population was to be regarded as belonging to particular homelands and educational provisions would separate all racial groups. A Department of Native Affairs would attend to all matters relating to Africans, including education. Similarly, a Department of Coloured Affairs would attend to the educational arrangements for that group. From now onwards, the 'coloured' people would be segregated from the white community in areas of residence, transport, amenities, education and politics. Indians were to be restricted and repatriation would be firmly encouraged (Davenport, 1980: 253).

The 1948 Sauer Report had stressed that the purity of the white race could only be maintained if there were to be segregation. Equality would strip the whites of their power. Education should build the character and anchor the native in his national traditions (Wilson & Thompson, 1971: 407).

In 1949, the Commission on Native Education under Eiselen was set up to develop:

...the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration ... (and also to) prepare natives more effectively for their future occupations (Wilson & Thompson: 225).

The Commission moved against the Roman Catholic and Protestant control over much of black education, which was still largely taking place in the missions. The Commission, furthermore, proposed that a separate educational system for the Bantu controlled by the central government should be set up. This would finally wrest black education from the hands of the provincial authorities. This was also a rejection of Hofmeyer's 1945 reform which placed responsibility in the hands of the Union Education Department which controlled at the same time the education of the white community. The content of the syllabus was clearly designed to have the black child accept a passive and subservient role. At the same time, white children would be led to believe in their superiority over the other groups in the country. At this stage, the use of loading the language in the class-room and in school texts was designed to perpetrate the ideals of the ruling elite.

Eiselen wanted a strong emphasis on the use of the vernacular medium, more so than in any other country in Africa (Davenport, 1980: 267) in order to bind the child to his cultural heritage. Eiselen collated his recommendations into a report in 1951. The policy of instructing the

black child in both official languages to equip him for future employment was introduced as a later recommendation (Hartshorne, 1982).

In 1953, the Bantu Education Act came into being. The Department of Native Affairs obtained control over all African schools, despite much criticism from the United Party who had favoured a Union Department of Education. The Minister of Native Affairs was given the power to supervise the registration of schools, appointment of teachers, conditions of employment and curriculum design. Three types of schools were provided for:

1. provincial schools were taken over and became government schools;
2. "mission and church schools, which were segregated even pre-1953, had been 'state-aided' previously...the churches either had to hand their schools over to community control (which nearly all did), run them without any subsidy (which was the decision of the Roman Catholic missions) or close them (which only the Johannesburg Diocese of the Church of the Province, ie Anglican, did). The subsidies to private R C schools were phased out in the period 1955-7: 75%, 50%, 25%, nil" (Hartshorne, 1982);
3. Bantu community schools, maintained by Bantu authorities were newly set up.

The mission schools were feared because they tended to believe that all men are equal. The criticism that there was no uniformity of standards

amongst the mission schools was but a ruse to restrict their teaching activities. The financial pressure placed upon them successfully forced them to hand over control to the government.

The policy with regard to language medium caused much concern in that it extended the period of mother tongue instruction as a medium from four to eight years. This was seen as a deliberate ploy to limit access to the official languages and hence prevent the black child from entering into competition with his white counterpart. Furthermore, a 50-50 policy was introduced into the secondary schools, whereby half of the subjects would be studied through the medium of Afrikaans and half through the medium of English. This presented a technical problem as most of the black teachers were not proficient in Afrikaans and so could not teach their subjects effectively in that language. As it happened, because of the practical problems of implementing this policy, the Department allowed some flexibility, to the extent that permission could be granted for the use of only one of either English or Afrikaans as the medium. Most schools chose English.

When Verwoerd introduced the Bantu Education Act, he stressed that blacks were to regard themselves as marketable labour and in no way to hope for equality. The tribal structure was to be emphasised and the differences between each of the black tribes were to be stressed through the education policy, so that the black people would not see themselves as part of one homogenous group but as apart of smaller and divisive groups. The prolonged use of the mother tongue would make this philosophy easier to

carry out, and so the concern to protect the identity of the Afrikaner and his nationalist ideal of racial purity was further facilitated.

The next step which would move toward rooting the black child in his tribal tradition was the implementation of an influx-control policy upon older pupils. Provision for senior secondary schools would not be made in the urban areas. Pupils who wished to attend a senior secondary school would have to go to the appropriate homeland unless they could be accommodated in those schools already in existence in the townships. Hartshorne notes that 'from 1967 onwards the pressures were so great that policy was relaxed and increased numbers of senior secondary schools came into being in urban areas' (1982). The enormous expense that this would entail for the family effectively limited the number of pupils who, in fact, could do this and so the central government effectively limited the number of black pupils who would achieve higher scholastic qualifications.

The state funded the building of schools in the homelands, but in the urban areas the local authorities were left responsible for the building of schools. Later the Bantu Affairs Administrative Boards would control this. In effect, the funds available in the urban areas were restricted and the residents were called upon to finance the construction of schools. Again this was a deliberate ploy to restrict the number of blacks in urban areas and make conditions in these areas as unattractive as possible. As late as 1970, the Department of Bantu Education had actually rejected offers from the private sector to finance the construction of senior classrooms in Soweto. Parents actually volunteered to raise funds to build more classrooms, but the Department warned that the money would

simply be directed to the homelands (Kane-Berman, 1978: 184). There was a desperate shortage of classrooms in Soweto and according to the estimates made by a Johannesburg newspaper, The Star, 35 000 children were kept out of school for this reason (ibid). The Department admitted in 1978 that there was a shortage of 700 classrooms or 40 schools in Soweto alone (Kane-Berman: 184). There was an imbalance of facilities in the homelands and urban areas.

In order to attempt to circumvent the shortage of facilities, a 'double session' system for the first two years of primary school had been instituted and this meant a shorter teaching day for the child and so his acquisition of language was further damaged.

Salaries for teachers were much lower than their 'coloured' counterparts and certainly much lower than those for whites. The qualifications of these teachers were much lower than those of the white sector and consequently the pupils were disadvantaged. Many of the teachers of the official languages were not even sufficiently proficient as to be regarded as competent teachers, whereas the white community, and more particularly, the Afrikaans-speaking, community had mother tongue speakers of the languages teaching them, so the level of instruction was higher.

Government expenditure on black education might be best evaluated from the following table, drawn up from figures provided by Kane-Berman:

(1978: 188).

TABLE 5.1:

	<u>Black Education</u>	<u>White Education</u>	
1953	R17	R128	Government
1971-2	R25	R461	expenditure
1975-6	R42	R644	per pupil

The separation of the racial groups allowed the government to place the educational provisions for each group into the hands of separate bodies so it was easier to facilitate the inequitable patterns of expenditure. Verwoerd had felt that blacks were basically needed to fill positions of unskilled labour in 1953, but by 1974 the Minister for Education and Training noted that more skilled labour was required and this need resulted in a slight change in the educational policy in order to cater for this. More funds were provided for industrial training (Kane-Berman: 188).

In the areas of university education, the government's policy of dividing people on linguistic and racial lines became evident. The Holloway Commission had investigated the administrative concerns of university apartheid. The 1959 University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act gave the central government control of Fort Hare and attendance was restricted to blacks of Xhosa or Fingo origin. An Extension of the University Education Act then provided for ethnic university colleges to be established in addition to Fort Hare. The coloureds were provided for at Bellville, the Indians at Durban, the Zulu at Ngoye, and the Sotho-Tswana students at Turfloop. It should be noted here that in accordance with the policy on

post-primary education for tribal blacks being rooted in the homelands, all the universities for Africans are in the rural homeland areas, where there is little contact with the official languages, especially English which is regarded as the access language of international communication, and so fluency in that language is further hampered.

Initially, it had been possible for black students to obtain permits to study at white universities where the black universities did not offer the courses required by these students. This regulation, however, placed a restriction on the number of black students who would be given permits and it was only in the late 1970s that this restriction was relaxed.

Freire's concept of the oppressor's concern with rule through fragmentation is clearly evident in black education in South Africa. Bantu Education systematically fragmented the black people along racial and linguistic lines. Mother tongue instruction helped to retard black political action where this would have required the use of a lingua franca to cut across ethno-linguistic boundaries.

Mother tongue instruction to the end of primary school was successful in ensuring that most children would not gain a proficiency in either of the official languages, because very few children actually progressed beyond primary school. It might be argued that this served two purposes for the Nationalist Government. Firstly, black children would not be able to compete with white children at a future date because linguistically they would be at a disadvantage, and because they would not fully understand the white languages, they would not be able to identify culturally with

the whites, and so they would not be able to become assimilated into white society. Hence the purity of the Afrikaner group would be preserved. Secondly, an official language might operate as a lingua franca for the various black groups and if most children dropped out of school before they had an opportunity to gain sufficient access to either of these languages, the continued fragmentation of the black peoples was ensured.

Inequitable spending on education while affecting all areas of education would obviously have its spin-off effect on language. Poorly qualified teachers would not be able to provide a level of instruction which would facilitate a high level of competence in the pupils. In fact, since the missions have been largely forced out of activity, the level of English has dropped considerably amongst the black community.

The 50-50 policy beyond Standard 6 was an attempt to stay the anglicisation process which the Afrikaner Nationalists had feared since the day of Milner, and it had its advantage in further fragmenting and confusing the world view of the black child.

5.4 OPPOSITION TO BANTU EDUCATION : SPECIFICALLY THE LANGUAGE ISSUE

5.4.1 The early years of resistance

Since language is seen to be the oppressor's device for controlling the aspirations of the oppressed, it was the language issue in the Bantu Education policy which inspired opponents who manifested themselves in the

face of the clergy (outside the Dutch Reformed Churches), African Nationalists, teachers, students and leaders in the black Homelands.

As previously discussed, the central government successfully wrested responsibility for the education of black people from the hands of the churches, and clerical criticism of the Bantu Education policy has had little effect in achieving change.

Clearly defined opinion on the language medium policy was expressed at a Regional Conference of the Teachers' League of South Africa in September 1952. Rhoda suggested that:

We who are in the liberatory movement are working to create unity, and what would be better for us than to have English as the common medium of instruction, with one or other of the African languages as the second official language (Rhoda, 1952: 7).

Response to the Eiselen Report from the African teachers' associations was prompt and highly critical of its contents. In 1952 the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) expressed its disapproval vehemently, and so too, though to a lesser extent, did the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) (Christie, 1986: 226). Rhetoric on the subject appeared in educational journals at the time. Particularly pertinent was an article by Mqotsi in which he condemned the manner in which education was being employed to entrench the hegemony of the white ruling classes.

Education is the mirror of society. The system of education that prevails in any given society reflects the social and economic relationships of individuals constituting the society and therefore their attitudes, outlook on life, the roles they

are destined to play, their whims and prejudices, their follies and foibles - in a word all that paraphernalia that constitutes the social fabric. In a society where personal slavery is institutionalised, education will reflect master-slave relations. In a colour-caste society, education will reflect colour-caste relations and values ... (Mqotsi, 1953: 9).

Six months later, in December 1953, a 'Union-wide conference of Non-European teachers' was called by CATA in Queenstown in order to express concern about the Eiselen Report. A resolution was adopted in which the conference of delegates accused the Commission of planning: to entrench the notion of inferiority and subservience; and to stunt the intellectual growth of the black child (Union-wide conference of Non-European teachers, 1953).

In May 1954 the African National Congress (ANC) began a campaign to 'Resist Apartheid'. Bantu Education comprised one of the aspects of the campaign. The executive body of the ANC had so many issues to deal with that it handed over the question of education to the Women's League and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL or CYL). It was decided in December to launch a schools' boycott from April 1955. The boycott was poorly organised and swift reaction on the part of the government in preventing those pupils involved from obtaining school leaving certificates brought a speedy end to this form of resistance (Christie, 1986: 227-8).

The mother tongue principle at the heart of Bantu Education came under scrutiny. Steenveld criticised the ideological adoption of the mother tongue policy by the philosophers of Christian National Education (CNE) as well as their treatment of English. He believed them to have been

influenced by Fichte's argument that language controls men rather than is controlled by them.

Language ... is not to be allowed to be a liberating agency to provide the widest knowledge and the fullest understanding, to open up an appreciation of human culture and achievement, to assist in the breaking down of international barriers, but it is to be merely the means of imbibing tribal experience ... The second 'official' language may be learnt as a foreign language, and must be viewed with suspicion, as it is the carrier of a 'foreign' ideology ... it is clear that Afrikaans can be the only language of the nation. Any other language must always be 'unnational' (Steenveld, 1955: 23).

The findings of the 1953 UNESCO conference on the vernacular confirmed sound educational principles for mother tongue instruction. This gave the architects of Bantu Education a convenient tool, but one which has been conscientiously challenged by their opponents. A distinction was soon drawn between the principles of mother tongue instruction and 'moedertaal onderwys':

'moedertaal-onderwys' is masqueraded as 'mother-tongue instruction', whereas in fact it is no more than the political enforcement of Afrikaans as medium in schools ... it is educationally sound to use the home language of a child as medium of instruction in the lower primary school. But there is definitely a sinister political intent when so-called mother-tongue instruction sets out to exclude or retard the second official language (where is it English) ... What is being attacked is the use of Afrikaans as a political weapon not only for the supremacy of one section of the 'Herrenvolk' over the other section, but, worst still, for its use as an agency of domination over the millions of Non-Whites in this country (Bastiaanse, 1956: 4-5).

In this particular instance the concern expressed about the mother tongue policy was in relation to the effect of it on those designated coloured. This group of people was seen by the government as being potentially

sympathetic to the Nationalist government given that their home language was, at the time, predominantly Afrikaans. The Report of the Coloured Education Commission: 1953-6, had engendered many of the same reservations in the minds of those it affected as had done the Eiselen Report on Bantu Education.

In 1964, Barnard defined the mother tongue policy as employed by Bantu Education and the apartheid system in the following manner:

Moedertaalonderwys ... is not the Afrikaans term for mother-tongue instruction. It is a political concept which has its roots in the dogma of Christian National Education. According to this dogma, each 'race' or 'volk' has its own identity which sets it apart from all others. An integral part of the 'soul' of each such group is its language, which the child takes in with its mother's milk, so to speak. That language has to be the vehicle of education or else the soul becomes confused and the person alienated from his own herd and subject to all manner of foreign influences.

Language can be a powerful factor in irrigating or dehydrating the intellect, in widening or limiting the horizon, in turning out an educated person or a tribalised philistine. 'Moedertaalonderwys' as applied to White children is regarded as a means whereby Afrikaanerdom presents itself and extends its political influence and strengthens its 'kultuur'. As applied to children in schools for 'Bantu' it means enforcement of learning through a vernacular throughout the effective years of a child's short school life, so as to tie him to village and tribe and give him the minimum of bridges to a wider field of knowledge, and a more modern culture. It also means foisting Afrikaans upon him as far as possible as the non-African language, so as to provide a second barrier to the wider world when once he has overcome the first. As applied to children in 'kleurlingskole', 'moedertaalonderwys' posits the political lie that Afrikaans is the 'moedertaal' of all 'kleurlinge' and only those who want to show off or play White and those who are agitators or who have been subject to alien influences in urban areas speak English or claim to speak it or even want to speak it.

...

5. Surely one has to wonder and become suspicious when there is this insistence on the part of the authorities to force upon all children, against the wishes of their parents, a particular language and exclude from the schools - completely, if possible - the other official language? What is being attempted is certainly not mother-tongue education in the interests of the children but the enforcement of 'moedertaalonderwys' as an instrument of control and subjection, as a means to an end (Barnard, 1964: 9).

It was becoming more and more clear that opponents of government policy were perceiving a sinister link between language medium policy and political control in South Africa. Increasing bitterness against the entire implementation of Bantu Education eventually reached a climax in 1976, twenty-one years after the first schools' boycott of 1955.

5.4.2 Sequence of events leading up to the 1976 Soweto student revolt

It is clear that most blacks resented the extension of the mother tongue vernacular as a medium of instruction beyond Standard 2, and the 50-50 English-Afrikaans policy at secondary level. The latter policy had not been rigorously enforced for many years, because of the paucity of teachers who were proficient in the relevant languages, a shortage of Afrikaans text-books, and the department, itself, allowed that it might be in the best interests of pupils to use only one of the official languages (Kane-Berman: 11). In 1974, Dr Hennie van Zyl, Secretary for Bantu Education, under whom this tolerant approach had existed, died. The Minister for Bantu Education, M.C. Botha, found an inflexible replacement in Rousseau, who insisted on strict adherence to the 50-50 policy. In August, 1974, the Southern Transvaal regional directorate of the department issued instructions that the 50-50 policy would, from January

1975, affect Standard 5 pupils who would then also be considered to be part of the secondary school (Kane-Berman: 12). Non-examinable subjects would be taught in the mother tongue, general science and practical studies would be taught in English, while mathematics and social studies would be taught in Afrikaans. The Department of Bantu Education made a provision that schools might be able to deviate from this ruling with permission, but, in fact, it refused nearly all such requests. At this time only about 25% of the black schools adhered to the 50-50 principle, so this brought about considerable anxiety.

The removal of the Standard 6 year, the final year at primary school, placed an enormous burden on the Standard 5 pupils, particularly as they were now to be part of the secondary school and, as such, would have to write their higher-primary certificates in English and Afrikaans, within a year of switching from mother tongue medium and a year earlier than their predecessors. Pupils were especially disturbed about writing mathematics in Afrikaans, as their teachers were usually not proficient speakers of that language and that made the transfer of information somewhat dubious.

Requests that the 50-50 policy be reviewed went unheeded. Those members of the school boards who openly opposed the policy were dismissed. In May 1976, pupils at Orlando West Junior Secondary School elected a committee to negotiate with the circuit inspector. He refused to meet them. On 16 June 1976, 20 000 black students protested in Soweto against Afrikaans being used as a medium in schools. The police responded, a student was shot dead and this incident provoked the students. Within a week, what

and begun as a peaceful demonstration had turned into a violent event of
reaching magnitude, with 176 people dead.

On 25 June 1976, the African Teachers' Association of South Africa (ATASA)
submitted a 'Memorandum on the Medium of Instruction in African Schools
under Bantu Education' to the Secretary for Bantu Education in
Johannesburg. ATASA reiterated the widely held opinion that parents
should have the freedom to decide on the medium of instruction. In most
cases English was regarded as the language which is most useful to the
black child, consequently ATASA recommended that English should become the
only medium of instruction in all African schools from Standard 5 upwards
(Diamlanze, 1985: 9).

In July 1976 the 50-50 policy from Standard 5 onwards was abandoned. By
the end of 1976 measures for the improvement of Bantu Education were
publicised. Parents would now be able to elect school committee members
and more of the text-book requirements would be covered by the Department.
The language issue would be reviewed and the Department was renamed
'Department of Education and Training' in 1977. However, students were
convinced that these measures were camouflaging the old basic principles
of Bantu Education and on 23 March 1977 a march of students toward John
Vorster Square took place and the slogan 'Bantu Education is for the
Education of Slavery' was used (Kane-Berman: 5). By 1979 the Education
and Training Act came into being and this altered the language policy
considerably. Mother tongue instruction would be implemented to the end
of Standard 2, after which parents would be entitled to choose one of the
official languages as medium of instruction.

While many of the students' criticisms of the Bantu Education policy remained ostensibly unchanged, particularly with regard to the underlying motivation of Bantu Education in ensuring a subservient group by withholding equal funding, adequate teaching facilities in the areas of teacher-training, and school buildings - all of which have their ramifications in the area of acquiring a world-view as expressed through language - the students achieved enormous success in changing the policy on language medium.

5.4.3 Leaders in the homelands

One by one, the leaders of the homelands or bantustans have called for a change in the medium of instruction: for example, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi repeatedly asked for a change from Zulu to English or Afrikaans and the Kwazulu government has subsequently passed a resolution covering that area. Even before the Transkei was given its own constitutions, the Cingo Commission was given the responsibility of reviewing the teaching of the official languages in the Transkei, and the use of mother tongue in the primary schools (Tillema, 1974: 265). At the time, 1962, it was felt by many Xhosas that the use of the mother tongue at school was having the effect of lowering the standard of English. Other criticisms of the mother tongue usage included the belief that the vernacular did not have the necessary terminology for certain subjects nor were there text-books available in the vernacular. Many people felt that the extended use of mother tongue to Standard 6 made it difficult for the pupils when suddenly faced with the transfer to two other languages, and that the emphasis on the vernaculars successfully prevented the acquisition of a lingua franca

by the black people in South Africa. The commission found that there was much support for mother tongue usage as a medium of instruction up to and including Standard 2, but in fact supported continued use of the vernacular up to Standard 4 with a gradual change to the use of the official language to be used in secondary school in Standard 5 and Standard 6 (Rose and Turner, 1975: 193--8). The commission was most critical of the late introduction of the official languages as media under the Bantu Education system. The Transkeian Legislative Assembly formed a select committee to develop recommendations on educational policy and this, in turn, rejected instruction through the vernacular which was regarded as encouraging the passive acceptance of a plural society (Tillema: 266).

The National Education Commission for Bophuthatswana examined two questions:

To what extent and up to what stage should the mother tongue be used as a medium?

What language should be used as medium at the stage at which the mother-tongue is replaced? (Bophuthatswana, 1978: 5).

English was favoured as the replacement language largely because of its stature as an international contact language. The commission felt that because the move from the home to the school was likely to be traumatic for children, Tswana should be used as a medium of teaching with which to begin. The replacement of Tswana by English at the beginning of Standard 3 was seen to be educationally acceptable because by then the child would be beginning to develop a wider world view and the contact language would

enable him to reach this perspective while Tswana would not. An abrupt change over to English was not advocated, rather that teachers would have the freedom to be flexible and sensitive to the needs of their pupils. The commission showed concern over teaching methods and teacher preparedness for the teaching through English as a medium. It was suggested that initially a large contingent of mother tongue English speakers be used in teaching in order to raise the standard or quality of teaching through English.

Lebowa, Venda, Ciskei and Gazankulu have also all come up with definite policies on language in education and it would appear that the homeland governments have been successful in changing the Bantu Education policy on language education in as far as they have limited the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction and also the use of Afrikaans as a medium. Tillema suggests that although the central South African Government controls all the homeland funding and exercises close supervision over their bureaucratic practices, it has sanctioned these changes in the hope of convincing overseas critics that the Bantustans are independent of the central government (Tillema: 266).

The choice of English as a medium after Standard 2 by the homelands suggests the concern that an international access language be used as a lingua franca among all language groups in South Africa, thereby facilitating communication and transcendence over tribal differences which had been inculcated by the Nationalist Government as well as contact with the outside world and in so doing end the fragmentation of the world picture that the language policy of Bantu Education had tried to create.

5.4.4 Resistance and movement toward reform since 1976

Two major instances of pupils' boycotting occurred in 1980 and 1984-5. In each of these instances the resistance campaign was not simply provoked by the language question, which has been deflated to a certain extent by the compromise granted by the government, but the wider issues of apartheid and how its implementation affected the education of black pupils. (In this instance the term 'black' refers to all those who are not designated white by the government.)

In the meantime, the government noting the looming crisis in education, had appointed a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Main Committee for the Investigation into Education under the Chairmanship of Professor J.P. de Lange. This commission and its report are frequently referred to as The De Lange Commission and The De Lange Report. The Main Report was published in 1981. Recommendations that all education fall under a single Ministry of Education and that universities and technikons be allowed to decide on which students they wished to admit, regardless of race, drew much criticism from the government's far right opposition. In the end, the government rejected these recommendations and this reinforced the belief that apartheid was to remain entrenched in South African society and education was to remain as a mechanism for this process.

A sub-committee appointed by The De Lange Committee, the Work Committee : Languages and language instruction, published its findings in July of 1981. The issue of language medium was addressed and a notable softening of the previously held line on policy was recommended.

In terms of the 'principles' adopted by the main Committee, reasonable flexibility needs to be built into language medium legislation and procedure in order to accommodate the divergent needs of the individual pupil and to ensure due recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the parents (Report of the Work Committee : Languages and language instruction, HSRC, 1981: 51).

The committee also recommended that the 'language to be adopted as future medium of instruction, should be taught as a subject from an early stage' (52).

While these reports reflected certain elements of a reformist approach, it should be noted that critics to the left of the government felt that education would never be equalised while apartheid remained the dominant government ideology. The stress, in the main De Lange Report, placed on educating and training a productive work force, allowed critics to assume that the recommendations were largely geared at 'the revamping of apartheid schooling' with the purpose of providing a skilled work force to maintain the hegemony of the ruling classes (The Educational Journal, December 1983: 1).

The 1984-5 pupils' boycott was primarily a reaction against the policies of apartheid and this was made pertinently obvious with the popular cry of that period: 'Liberation before Education'. The issue had broadened considerably since 1976, when it was the crisis in the language medium policy which sparked off massive discontent in the ranks of the school pupils.

5.4.5 Conclusion

The notion of nationalism in the South African context has shown itself to be open to very different interpretations. At the time of Milner's anglicisation policy, the administration was attempting to stem the tide of Afrikaner nationalism, a nationalism in the narrowest sense. The perceived threat to the Afrikaans language was associated with a threat to the Afrikaner identity. Once in power, the Afrikaner nation sought to protect its language and hence its cultural identity and hegemony by implementing a language policy which would undermine the potential power of English to act as a cohesive agent for the peoples of South Africa. The mother tongue policy, together with the attempt to foist Afrikaans upon people who did not wish to communicate through that language, had very much the same effect that Milner's policy of anglicisation had had. In other words, it sped along the growing forces of nationalism among black people by providing a common grievance with which all could identify and one which was to cut across considerations of ethnic differences. Ironically, it was just these ethnic differences which the government has sought to encourage through its policy of mother tongue instruction as a guise for the rationale of 'divide and rule'.

In chapters 6, 7 and 8, the historical forces which had led to the development of language policy in ex-colonial countries in Africa will be explored. The countries selected: Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia all display features of ideology which are likely to provide influences on a language policy which might be adopted in a post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, it is hoped that such a study will

reveal common trends in shifting ideology and that this will make it possible to provide a possible scenario for language policies in a future South Africa.

CHAPTER 6

ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES IN POST-BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA

WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KENYA AND TANZANIA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Attitudes toward and conceptions of the role of English in Anglophone Africa appear, very often, to be ambiguous and confused. This ambiguity must be attributed to the impact of British imperialism in Africa with its resultant resentment by colonised Africa and to the role of the English language as a world language or a language of wider communication. On the one hand it is seen as an agent of neo-colonialism, a term defined by Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 11): 'that process in which a country is nominally independent but its economy is still in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie'. The rationale for this viewpoint is expressed as follows:

During the neo-colonial stage of imperialism education and culture play an even more important role as instruments of domination and oppression. European naming systems; European language; European theatre; European literature; European content in teaching materials; all these areas; so central to culture, are left intact. Since the petit-bourgeoisie grew up accepting the world-view of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it will drive the youth even more vigorously into educational factories producing the same world-view (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981: 12-13).

While this manifestation of the negative response toward the English language may not always appear in quite such an extreme form, the evidence of the language policy in Tanzania bears witness to the suggestion that

the English language embodies cultural imperialism to the extent that it generates a sense of inferiority toward African languages.

On the other hand, the role of English in the wider international community, as a vehicle of international communication, trade and general sharing of educational knowledge, is not questioned. It is seen as a necessary tool in the move toward the economic advancement of developing nations in Africa. Consequently, its role is seen as having transcended that of conveying imperialism; instead, it is regarded in terms of functional expediency.

The function of English (in Africa) is no longer a direct product of the political and social system of Great Britain, it has purposes which are far more immediate and localised, independently of Britain (Stevens, 1966: 121 cited in Angogo and Hancock, 1980: 67).

...to speak of ELIC (English as a Language of International Communication) means that we no longer speak only of the nature of the language, but of its function as well (Hardin, 1979: 1).

The prevailing attitude toward the function of English in relation to the function of the African languages determines the strategy of the policy-makers with regard to the question of medium of instruction in schools/educational institutions. The importance of mother tongue instruction as opposed to LWC (Language of Wider Communication) has to be assessed by the independent country concerned. Generally, in Anglophone Africa, it would be safe to say that English has remained as a significant tool within the sphere of education, however, the African language is also used as an educational tool. The question then arises as to when/or at which point in the educational life of the pupil is the matter of medium

of instruction established or changed. What appears to happen in Africa is that there is usually a change in medium of instruction. What exactly is this change, and why, when and how is this change effected?

The following two case studies of the situation in Kenya and in Tanzania are intended to provide possible models for the alternative strategies/policies which may be adopted in post-British colonial Africa. A warning note should, at this stage, be mentioned: the linguistic as well as socio-economic and political variables in each country obviously differ significantly enough to preclude the suggestion that if a language policy works in one multilingual country it must work successfully in another. History proves this not to be the case. One might then wonder the value of examining models such as will be dealt with in this chapter. The answer lies in the belief that the more relevant criteria examined in situations where there are grounds of commonality, the more easily understandable will be the situation elsewhere. More specifically, the ultimate purpose of this study is to provide a background to what the likely language medium policies might be in Southern Africa after political change. The basic grounds for commonality are: the multilingual nature of the society, the role of English as an imperialist tool as well as its role as the medium of international communication, and the growth of the spirit of African nationalism. It is the way these factors interact with the individualised variables mentioned earlier, that affects how alternative language policies are established.

...the matter of language choice is not always decided on a purely rational basis: strong emotional undercurrents may motivate a policy decision, and a total awareness of the situation is important to understand the language planning and

its implementation as reflected, for example, in the educational policies of the country (Polomé, 1982b: 152).

Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that:

The choice of the medium of instruction is crucial and may be determined by political issues or socio-economic needs instead of reflecting the pattern of language use in the country. The language used as medium of instruction may also be purposely changed during the years of schooling, e.g., resorting to the child's mother tongue or an African national language for the early grades and shifting to an international language -- as a rule, the West European language of the former colonial power, or a world-language like English... (Polomé, 1982b: 173).

In order to give a full account of the language medium policy in both Kenya and Tanzania it is necessary to locate the issues, in each case, in an historical framework. Essentially, though, it is the period after independence that is of greater significance to this study.

6.2 KENYA

6.2.1 The historical perspective

Gorman (1974: 398) records thirty languages and 'dialect clusters' spoken in Kenya, eight of which are regarded as major languages i.e. spoken by more than 500 000 people. 88% of the population speak one of these major languages as a mother tongue, according to the Kenya Population Census (1969). Gorman argues that the number of mother tongue speakers of Swahili is relatively small; but not less than 60 000 people.

The Swahili speaking people inhabited the east coast region and their language is thought to have remained largely localised there until the nineteenth century when trading ventures into the interior began on an

extensive scale. At the Berlin Conference of 1885 Britain, France and Germany mapped out their respective spheres of colonial interest, and this was finalised by the Anglo-German Agreement of October 1886. It was possibly this agreement which was indirectly responsible for the different approaches to the language medium issue in subsequent post-colonial policy. The German approach was to encourage the spread of Swahili as a lingua franca into the interior. In 1887 The British East Africa Association was established only to become the Imperial British East African Company in 1888. In 1895, Britain declared the area a protectorate to be administered by the East Africa Company. A shift of administrative focus from the Swahili speaking coastal port of Mombasa to the interior town of Nairobi, a Kikuyu speaking area, was effected by 1907. This obviously affected the relative importance of Swahili as a language of wider communication: basically its significance began to wane in contrast to the situation in the German controlled Tanganyika (Gorman: 402).

Missionary language policy

Early missionaries regarded Swahili as a convenient medium of instruction given the fact that it was already to a certain extent a lingua franca but other missionaries reacted against it on either of or both the following grounds: firstly, it was not necessarily the mother tongue of most pupils - the mother tongue being regarded as the most effective medium of instruction; and secondly, it was associated with Islamic culture and was therefore not considered suitable as a means of furthering the cause of Christianity (Gorman: 404). Most schools in the British territory were

controlled or established by missionaries in the early twentieth century and so the language policy was not given as definite a direction as in neighbouring Tanganyika, where the German government not only established schools, but promoted the use of Swahili.

During the colonial period, a series of commissions were set up to examine educational policy and, further, to advise on procedures to be followed, particularly in the area of language policy. Gorman (1974) discusses the significance of these. It is intended that the following will demonstrate the causes of African frustration in response to British colonial policy.

The Commission on Education in the East Africa Protectorate (1919)

This commission, ignoring the suggestion of the missionary societies, who now suggested that Swahili be taught as the lingua franca, claimed that Swahili was neither the mother tongue of the people of Kenya nor that of its administrative officials and therefore English would be more suitable as the chief medium of instruction after initial primary education through the vernacular. This needs to be seen against the background of colonial administration which was conducted through the English language and consequently, any African aspiring to positions of employ within the system needed the communicative tool of English.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission in East Africa (1924)

The basic findings of this commission have already been discussed in Chapter 2. Basically, the principle of mother tongue instruction in the

early phases of education was reinforced together with a suggestion that English become the medium of instruction at a later point. This commission's most significant point was, however, that insufficient educational facilities were provided for in the area. Given the fact that this commission was set up independently of the colonial office (it was backed by the USA), its findings presumably caused some embarrassment in Britain.

The Report of the East Africa Commission (1925)

This report endorsed the findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commission with regard to suggestion for the language policy.

The Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa (1925)

The recommendations of the East Africa and Phelps-Stokes Commissions were taken into account, but the Director of Education argued that it was practically impossible to provide teaching facilities and materials in all of the vernaculars and suggested that Swahili be standardised. Initial instruction should be through the vernacular, literacy should then be achieved through Swahili and finally a change to English medium should be effected.

Memorandum on the Place of the Vernacular in Native Education (1927)

This memorandum endorsed the important role of the mother tongue in the early school life of the pupil, but emphasised the practical problems of

the difficulty of making provision for the multiplicity of languages in terms of teaching staff and materials production. The memorandum also pointed to the attitude of the East Africans themselves who apparently saw English as a vehicle of upward mobility and so the more proficient the communicative skill in that medium the more desirable it was deemed. Attempts to deny the child early access to this medium was considered by the Africans a deliberate strategy for retarding their advancement (Gorman: 413-4).

Political Movements in East Africa

Attempts began to be made toward a closer union of Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya; and Swahili was regarded as a convenient lingua franca which would help to facilitate this. The governors of the three territories appeared, in 1927, set on achieving this goal. This movement signalled a departure from other policies previously geared toward a de-emphasis on Swahili.

Education Conference in Dar es Salaam (1929)

Directors of Education in East and Central Africa came together for an educational conference in Dar es Salaam and recommended that the initial medium of instruction be the vernacular, followed by the dominant African language and then lastly by English when this became necessary. Again, the significance of this conference was the increased support given Swahili.

The Hilton Young Commission on the Closer Union of the Dependencies in Eastern and Central Africa (1928)

The commission dealt with the question of a common language, Swahili, which would facilitate an easier path to closer union of these territories. However, in the final analysis, it was argued that an insufficient number of Africans spoke Swahili well enough to use it in administrative and official situations. Furthermore, it was argued that there were insufficient teachers available to effectively teach the language.

Despite this argument, Gorman (420-21) notes that Swahili continued as the medium of instruction in most government schools until 1935 and, thereafter, a new syllabus making increased provision for the teaching of English came into being.

The Commission on Higher Education in East Africa (1937)

This commission continued the trend away from Swahili, arguing that while the language might have localised advantages, English should be promoted as soon as possible.

'Mass Education in African Society' (1943)

This report published in London stressed the need for mass literacy in African society and argued that this would only be possible through the mother tongue. As was becoming predictable in reports drawn up by the

British colonial administrators, contradictions appeared. The multiplicity of languages was cited as the reason why such a scheme would be impracticable.

Memorandum on Language in African School Education (1943)

Yet again the desirability of teaching through the medium of the mother tongue was recommended with the proviso that a second language be introduced when it became impossible to continue teaching through the medium of the former. English or another African language of wider communication (i.e. Swahili, in this case) should fulfil this role.

The British Colonial Office Advisory Committee Recommendations on Language Policy, 1927-43

Gorman's analysis (423-426) suggests that basically the British colonial policy changed very little during this period. Essentially, the idea that what they referred to as the vernacular, more preferably called the mother tongue today, was considered the most important language of education in the initial stages of education. The principle was based on the ideal that the mother tongue embodied a person's conception of reality, culture and traditions, as expressed in Chapter 2. The problem of the sheer number of vernaculars presented a situation wherein the Colonial Office appeared to flounder indecisively from year to year. The authorities dealt with the problem in Uganda of limiting the number of vernaculars (excluding Swahili) to be taught to five, whereas in Kenya it was only in

1949 that a definite policy, regarding which vernaculars could in all possibility be taught with measurable success, was drawn up.

Post-World War II Colonial Language Policy

In 1948 the 'Ten Year Plan for the Development of Education' was published. Basically, it provided for an increase and improvement of facilities for African education, particularly in the area of the primary school. This report made a note of the fact that the vernacular was the initial medium of instruction but that this was usually replaced by Swahili from Standard 3 although it was gradually being replaced by English in the junior secondary schools. The report promoted the strategy of phasing out Swahili as a medium of instruction.

The Beecher Committee Report (1949)

The Colonial Office's next step was to attempt to analyse the extent to which an increase in educational facilities would be necessitated. In order that the vernacular policy might be financially viable, it was recommended that while the vernacular should be used in oral functions, Swahili should be used for literature, otherwise the preparation of reading material would become an insoluble problem.

Further Reports (1950-1951)

During 1950 and 1951 further reports continued to argue that Swahili should be phased out as a medium of instruction, the rationale being that

the child had too many languages to effectively deal with in primary school with the vernacular, Swahili and English. Again the recommendations were modified when it had to be admitted that the vernacular could not always satisfy the initial educational needs of literacy (e.g. where lack of written materials or lack of teaching staff made these factors). Nevertheless, gradually, English as a medium began to increase in frequency (Gorman: 431). By 1953, English had become the compulsory medium for the examinations at the end of the eighth year of the primary school. This basically spelt the death knell for Swahili as a medium as the motivation for using the language obviously declined as far as school examinations were concerned.

The East African Royal Commission Report (1953-1955)

This commission's view was clearly in line with the growing trend away from Swahili and even went as far as to say that English should be introduced in the school curriculum as the medium as soon as feasible - a move which was clearly contrary to the belief in the value of mother tongue instruction for as long as possible (Gorman: 434-5). This is particularly interesting at this point as this is precisely when the UNESCO document on the teaching of vernaculars and its pro-mother tongue line became generally accepted in Europe.

A subsequent report in 1957, the Report of the Work of the Special Centre more or less rejected previously held faith in the value of mother tongue instruction and argued that the sooner the child were educated through the medium of English the better able he/she would be to control his/her

future in terms of competence to communicate in western orientated society. Consequently, a new common syllabus, known as the New Peak Course, came into being in 1961 and a gradual changeover to this followed soon after. English was adopted as the medium from the first year of primary school. The advantage really became apparent in terms of availability of teaching materials and a simplification of all the previously anomalous situations arising out of the difficulty of providing mother tongue instruction for all pupils, not only in rural areas but also in urban venues where urban drift had created an added dimension to the multilingual situation in Kenya.

What is eminently apparent from a glance at educational policy and statements made about the position of the various languages spoken in Kenya during British rule is that, in essence, except for a period during which an attempt was made at a closer union of all the British East Africa territories, a conscious effort was made to establish the dominance of English as the only feasible language, through which the country might operate in the field of administration and economics. Very little serious attempt was made to promote a satisfactory implementation of the mother tongue policy for the early years of education. Plaintive cries about the enormity of the problem with regard to the number of vernaculars spoken enabled administrators to avoid approaching the problem effectively. In Uganda, the problem had been tackled in a more manageable way. Six of the vernaculars, including Swahili, had been selected as media of instruction. Given the fact that 88% of the population of Kenya speak one of the eight major languages, one is tempted to wonder why it was that the Colonial Office kept commissioning report after report on the situation instead of

getting down to implementing a policy whereby at least attempts at reaching through these eight languages might have been made. Instead the Colonial Office's indecisiveness, as demonstrated by the need to call commission after commission, ensured that the multilingual problem remained a problem. Furthermore, the ambiguity with which Swahili was treated in Kenya seems extraordinary in retrospect. Essentially, the administrators appeared to regard the language as a threat to the hegemony of English and consistently tried to diminish its importance (recognising the exception noted above) while having to accept it as part of primary education, all the same, because it was virtually the only African language which appeared in written literary form for suitable purposes of early literacy in schools. Naturally, the administrators did not admit to the threat which Swahili posed to English, rather the justification was presented as Swahili being a hindrance to the acquisition of an adequate competence in English - too many languages would confuse the pupil. The possible role of Swahili as the language of wider communication in terms of administering Kenya and its economy did not appear to be considered. As a result, the impact of British colonial rule in Kenya might be considered to have been especially successful. The English language represented cultural imperialism and a feeling of alienation toward what was essentially African to many. It is not surprising then that the various commissions recorded findings that African parents were very often in great favour of their offspring learning English in order to achieve upward social mobility. The success of cultural imperialism, which created a situation whereby economic prosperity and access to the attractive features of western life-style was seen to be possible only through the medium of English, is responsible for this phenomenon.

6.2.2 Kenyan language policy 1963-70

The policy regarding language after independence in 1963 might be analysed in terms of two distinctly different strategies. Immediately after independence there followed a period during which time the government or the political party in power, KANU, (Kenya African National Union), seemed, in some respects, to be inadvertently immersed in neo-colonial activity. British imperialism had successfully left its mark as far as the role of the English language was concerned. The new government and the people of Kenya appeared to be convinced that all official channels of communication needed to operate through English. A noticeable lack of faith in the capabilities of the vernacular/mother tongue remained apparent. There was a change in focus toward Swahili, though. This language, instead of being demoted on a level of importance, was given a boost and was regarded with favour as a symbol of what is African, although only in rather vague terms.

Report of the Kenya Education Commission (1964)

Almost immediately after independence, the Minister for Education appointed a commission to examine Kenyan education and to suggest policy guidelines (Gorman: 440-1). The commission made a real attempt to determine the views of the Kenyan people on the language issue while at the same time having to bear in mind that the language question was closely tied to the concept of national unity. What emerged might be regarded as predictable. Most of those interviewed wished to find English established as a medium from the first year at primary school, largely

because there was a lack of confidence in the ability of the vernaculars to provide literacy and post-primary educational advantages. This is not to say that the commission disregarded the role of the vernacular altogether. A recommendation was made that the vernacular have a place in the curriculum of the first three years of primary school - but it was very much a low profile role: it was to comprise a period of story-telling each day. The attitude to Swahili demonstrated a reaction against colonial policy, albeit small at this stage. Swahili was seen as a vehicle of African 'national co-ordination and unification' as well as a facilitator of Pan-Africanism and close linkage with other territories in East and Central Africa (Gorman: 442). While the position of Swahili as a unifying force was gaining acceptance, there were those who argued that a promotion of the vernaculars would encourage divisive elements into the Kenyan society. On the other hand there was, nevertheless, a strong argument put forward about the relationship between a mother tongue and the cultural heritage of a people. The suggestion that Swahili might fulfil this function might, at this juncture, have seemed an example of Orwellian doublethink - Swahili being associated with Islamic culture and not with the various indigenous Kenyan cultures. At a later point, once a truly Kenyan national consciousness had been developed, it would become a more tenable argument. As Gorman (442) points out, the very association of Swahili with political expediency as well as education at this stage is significant and illustrates how political policy and educational policy are closely linked.

English in schools

The New Peak Course had become both popular and desirable during the early 1960s. Later this was renamed the New Primary Approach (NPA). Pupils were immersed in the English language right from the first day at school and the programme involved special materials production, teacher training and a child-centred approach, to facilitate greater effectiveness. The commission recognised the educational advantages of this system and recommended its continuance with the proviso that it only be introduced into new schools once teachers had been sufficiently trained and new materials provided. A shortage of financial assistance to effect these requirements meant that the system was simply implemented without the necessary support system. Fawcett (1970: 55) states that: by 1970 'a little over half of Kenya's 8 000 or so lower primary streams are following the New Peak Course'. Since not all primary schools followed this pattern, it appeared that pupils educated through the medium of the mother tongue for the first three years of primary school would suffer a disadvantage when writing the examinations for the Certificate of Primary Education, which were set in and had to be answered in English. Either one uniform system needed to be established right away or a new, accelerated English course needed to be established for mother tongue medium pupils once they entered the fourth year of primary school.

The next problem involving English teaching in schools is the quality of the teachers' command of the language, the adequacy of their training and the availability of suitable materials for the successful mastery of the

language. All too often, a simple lack of finance ensured ineffective English teaching.

Mother tongue instruction

Firstly, those schools which adopted the New Peak Course or the New Primary Approach (NPA) did not ignore the vernacular/mother tongue altogether. A period was set aside each day during the first three years of primary education for story-telling in the vernacular and, furthermore, religious education was very often conducted through the same medium. The 1964 commission had recommended that the value of the mother tongue in terms of its cultural heritage and domestic communicative function should not be denied. The provisions made for it in the timetable, however, were such that neither the teachers nor the pupils were inclined to take it very seriously, especially as it did not appear as an examinable subject. In urban schools, where there might be a number of different vernaculars spoken by pupils in a class, either the teacher would ignore the mother tongue periods or simply use whichever vernacular he/she felt comfortable with - consequently, the purpose of these periods became obscured.

Secondly, in those schools which adopted a mother tongue medium course, English was taught during the school day right from the start anyway. Two twenty minute periods of English were to be taught each day and movement (physical education) would also be taught through English (Fawcett, 1970: 59-60). Gachukia (1970: 20-1) says that only about 25% of the schools use the mother tongue policy. While the educational authorities have tried to suggest that the NPA need not necessarily be regarded as English

orientated, a lack of suitable material and teacher training in the vernacular toward this approach has precluded a shift of focus in methodology of teaching the vernacular. Gachukia (23) and Gorman (445) do point out that the Kenya Institute of Education has produced reading material in fourteen languages, including Swahili, but these only go as far as Primary III, whereas a maintenance of functional literacy would require a much greater availability of reading material.

Swahili in schools

Following the recommendations of the 1964 commission, Swahili is regarded as a compulsory subject in schools. Usually, in rural areas it is taught at least from Primary/Standards IV-VII, while in urban schools it is usually taught from Primary/Standard I (Gorman: 445). Materials are being produced through the Kenya Institute of Education and attempts are being made to provide suitably qualified teachers of Swahili. Unfortunately, there seems to be a shortage of teachers of Swahili and unqualified staff are frequently used and this obviously has unfortunate ramifications as far as the standard of proficiency in the language transmitted to the pupils is concerned. The commission had suggested that a linguistic department established at the university college in Nairobi would give more credence to Swahili and consequently help promote its ultimate function in stimulating a sense of national unity (Gorman: 445). This was effected in 1969 when just such a department was established at the university college.

A brief evaluation of the situation pertaining to language use in schools reveals that immediately after independence, the position of English, as an elite language and one to which most people aspired in order to achieve the prospect of upward social mobility, was preserved. The dominant position of English was reaffirmed by the post-independence government: while Kenyatta, the President, indicated that Swahili would become the national language, English has remained the language of Parliament, the language of the High Courts and the Kenyan legal system. A departure from the colonial policy, however, is the de-emphasis on the vernacular together with a more determined promotion of Swahili.

6.2.3 Kenyan language policy 1970 to the present

The second stage of post-independence policy toward language seems to be a move away from the neo-colonial stance of early independence. Statements on the issue, made by government officials, suggest that a greater confidence in what is African is taking root. Harries (1984: 118-128) provides an interesting analysis of the process of attempts made at nationalising Swahili in Kenya. During the early days of independence, President Kenyatta indicated that he would like to find Swahili used in Parliament. By 1969, he was becoming quite strident about this: 'We are soon going to use Swahili in Parliament, whether people like it or not' (Daily Nation, 1 September, 1969, cited in Harries, 1984: 118). All the same, when the constitution was revised in 1969 (April) the position of English had not been seriously challenged. The enormous difficulty of translating all legal documentation and procedures precluded a change to Swahili at that point. Furthermore, few of the parliamentarians had a

sufficient proficiency in Swahili, they themselves all having been products of a colonial educational system.

In 1970, the KANU Governing Council declared its intention of effecting Swahili as the national language. As is so often the case with policy statements, the follow-up of implementation either fails or does not manifest itself successfully. Harries (118) reports that it was expected that all Kenyans would communicate with one another through the medium of Swahili - an impracticable suggestion from all points of view. The next phase of implementing Swahili required that all government officials were to communicate with everyone in Swahili. In fact all officials were to be required to pass Swahili proficiency tests. However, these tests were not implemented and the policy statements were not taken literally. Rather, they were regarded as a warning of future requirements (Harries: 119).

In ideological terms, one might interpret Kenyatta's ultimate policy as that of trying to create a sense of national unity. He needed a convenient vehicle through which to do this. 'A nation without culture is dead, and that is why I decreed that Swahili would be the national language' (Standard, Nairobi, 14 September, 1974, cited in Harries, 1984: 119). In reality, there had never been a particular Kenyan culture. The various ethnic groups might have had their own cultural traditions but these could hardly have been expected to coincide with what Swahili and its Islamic associations might represent. Harries suggests that Kenya has about sixty ethnic communities and that in order to achieve some sort of national unity a national consciousness needed to be developed. English

represented the colonial power and what was/is essentially European in nature. Kenyatta wished to create an African consciousness which transcended ethnic ties. He wished to create what Paulston (1985) would term 'geographic nationalism' whereby the nation-state would be the epicentre. Fishman would probably term this activity 'nationism' (cf Chapter 4). Kenyatta tried to promote Swahili as the facilitator of this consciousness in favour of other African languages in Kenya simply because Swahili had a history of serving as a lingua franca and consequently had become neutralised of ethnic interests to a large extent. It would not have been politically expedient to select another, major Kenyan language as this would in all likelihood have generated sectional discontent and rivalry.

The Mombasan dialect of Swahili was selected as the one to become the national language. The difficulty in promoting this language as the national language has become increasingly apparent. It is not a language indigenous to the capital of Nairobi, nor is it a language spoken as the vernacular of a large group. Consequently, the motivation for acquiring it as an effective means of communication in the capital and business centre of Kenya is not great. Harries (122) points out that unless the political leaders in the capital acquire a high degree of proficiency in the language, there will be little chance of it becoming a success as a national language. Obviously, a rigorous plan of cultivating the language to a suitable level of communicative functionality needs to be implemented. In the meantime, a high degree of proficiency in English has been carefully established in Kenya and it is difficult to break the well entrenched notion of the prestige value of English especially as it is

regarded as a language of international communication and all major economic transactions conducted in Kenya with foreign parties are done through English. The problem lies not so much with policy-making but with the failure thus far to recognise the need for language planning procedures on a grand scale to ensure successful linguistic change in Kenya.

6.3 TANZANIA

6.3.1 The historical perspective

The missionaries and colonists:

Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries established schools in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the intention of facilitating literacy in order that the scriptures might be read and, consequently, Christianity would be promoted. Swahili had already become very much a lingua franca in the area, having been spread by Arab traders operating from the East coast. The missionaries found it (Swahili) a convenient medium for literacy training, although they romanised the script.

In 1885, after the Berlin Conference, the area which came to be known as Tanganyika fell under German colonial rule. Recognising the potential need of administrative clerks, the German authorities set about training in Swahili and Arithmetic. While the mission schools were providing a moral education, the government schools were directed toward vocational training (White, 1980: 262). The twentieth century brought with it a

radical change to the economy of the territory with the development of cash crops. Hand in hand with this phenomenon went enormous changes in communication needs. An increased demand for literate and skilled labour emerged. The colonial authorities encouraged the missions to increase their educational facilities by providing government grants for that purpose, but the outbreak of World War I put an end to this in 1914 (White, 1980: 263).

In 1918, the League of Nations gave Britain control over this territory. White suggests that even though it was apparent that the territory would be granted independence at some future point, the British colonial authorities adopted a policy of training individuals 'for the service of the colonial state' (White: 264). The influence of the Phelps-Stokes commission and its pro-vernacular line began to manifest itself, except that in the case of Tanganyika this was translated to mean Swahili. A three-tiered system of education was instituted: primary school (4 years), Swahili medium instruction; central school (4 years) - first two years - Swahili, second two years - English medium; and finally, secondary school (4 years) - English medium. In effect, very few pupils progressed beyond primary school, and only a privileged few got as far as secondary school. World War II interrupted the advancements made in the educational field.

The spirit of African nationalism became evident in the years after World War II and the Swahili language, so effectively entrenched by both colonial governments in primary school began to be identified with this African consciousness which was something quite different from ethnic

consciousness. At the same time a reaction against the European centred philosophy of education began to emerge (White: 267).

A second political feature of attitudes towards Swahili is associated with apparent British contempt of the language. Although Swahili was the medium of instruction for the first six years of school, the functional role outside school was 'downgraded by the English during the colonial regime when its speakers were restricted to the local baraza (local meeting place)' (Polomé, 1982a (1979): 90). This gave the language, in political terms, the advantage of being regarded as the language of the people - in other words, a democratised language 'untainted with colonialism or neo-colonialism' (ibid).

In 1946 The Ten Year Development Plan was introduced to increase educational provisions. More schools were established to this end. The colonial authorities tried, without consulting the wishes of the Tanganyikans, to de-emphasise western-type education, especially in the rural areas. On one level the policy might have been intended to ensure a more relevant education for people living in specific types of environments, but it was construed by Tanganyikans as a deliberate ploy to enforce peasantry on the people and deny them access to the advantages of the technological western experience. A certain ambivalence in sentiment can be discerned here. The Tanganyikans resented western influence on the one hand yet they certainly did not wish to have colonial decisions, which apparently precluded access to westernisation, foisted upon them, especially if these were seen in a dubious light.

English, before 1958, was introduced as a subject at school in Standard V and as a medium in Standard VII. In 1958 it was introduced as a subject in Standard III. Attitudes toward the role of English in the schools were somewhat ambivalent: on the one hand English was seen as a powerful international language while on the other hand it symbolised British colonialism.

A further contentious issue was the apparent racial separation of the educational systems. Separate educational authorities had been set up for Asian, European and African children. Naturally, as is presently the case in South Africa, this policy produced much feeling of resentment.

6.3.2 Tanzanian education and language policy: the Western Period (1961-66)

Tanzania achieved independence in 1961. In essence the physical boundaries cut across ethnic and cultural boundaries. Polomé (1982a (1979): 88) claims that there were ten large linguistic groups which comprised approximately 50% of the population while there were a further hundred linguistic groups comprising the rest of the population. Linguistically, the divisive potential of all these groups needed to be defused. From an historical point of view, Swahili had become well established as a powerful communicative channel and, practically, it would be economically more realistic, certainly in the early years of independence to select this language as the symbol of a new national unity. Polomé (90) suggests that, from a political angle, Swahili was associated with what is African, (the Islamic influence aside), as opposed

to English which was seen as an expression of British imperialism. Consequently, TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), the national party, adopted Swahili as the national language. This action was even more firmly cemented with the incorporation of Zanzibar to the United Republic of Tanzania, as Swahili had always been the most significant language there.

A new Educational Ordinance was drawn up in 1961, immediately after independence and came into force in 1962. Its main emphasis was to Africanise the curriculum (Gillette, 1977: 50) and it abolished the racial divisions in the educational system. Cameron and Dodd (1970: 192) discuss the projected aims of this ordinance. Swahili was to be the medium of instruction in all primary schools except for the few which catered for expatriate children. Then Swahili was to become a compulsory subject in secondary schools and in 1965 an announcement was made that all teachers would have to pass a written examination in English. Most of the teachers in the secondary schools at this point were expatriates and, as the medium of instruction at the university was English, the incentive to enforce this policy was not particularly strong. Another factor to work at cross-purposes against the support of Swahili was the introduction of English as a subject from the first year of primary education instead of the third year as previously implemented under the colonial system. In a sense, English was being given even more of a boost than it had during the colonial period. The justification for this earlier introduction of English was explained on the grounds that it would permit an easier transition to English medium later. The position of English remained very much a safely guarded one.

In 1964 the Institute of Swahili Research, which was geared toward preserving and developing that language as a national language and medium of East African culture, was established at the University College of Dar es Salaam. This early period of independence has been regarded as a period of neo-colonialism, whereby the legacy of British imperialism left such a powerful set of values and systems that the new government was at first unable to purge itself and the country of this legacy. Most symbolically significant of this aspect of neo-colonialism was the dominance of the English language in the upper precincts of educational institutions and the economy of the country. As in Kenya, the emotive power of English as the language of an elite group made those who possessed a fluency in the language loathe to cast away the status associated with it. President Nyerere and the TANU party recognised the danger of this form of neo-colonialism early on during the independence rule and consequently a more definitive guideline on the Tanzanian national consciousness was presented in a series of pamphlets written in 1967 and subsequently published in 1968.

6.3.3 Tanzanian education in response to Ujamaa (1967-79)

Nyerere's policy statements were published together in Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, and include three particularly significant essays: 'Ujamaa: the basis of African Socialism', the 'Arusha Declaration' and 'Education for Self-Reliance'. In the 'Education for Self-Reliance', Nyerere argued that the existing educational system encouraged inequality and intellectual arrogance together with a sense of individualism. These features cut

directly across the philosophy of African socialism which TANU was attempting to move toward.

...in Tanzania the only true justification for secondary education is that it is needed by the few for service to the many... (Nyerere, 1968: 62 - Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, cited in White, 1980: 275).

Nyerere's policy was directed toward a largely rural society of ujamaa villages through which people would, in a democratic way, be responsible for their own socialist development (White, 274). Expatriate teachers in the upper hierarchies of the educational institutions were replaced by Tanzanian citizens by mid-1970, a situation which White claims was unique to independent African states at that time. The East African Examinations Council was established in 1967 to replace the British Cambridge School Leaving Certificate Examination. In 1970 the first Advanced Level ('A' Level) examination in Swahili was introduced to effectively give more credence to the policy regarding that language. No longer could its educational significance be ignored and, finally, it appeared that a concerted attempt was being made to de-emphasise the importance of English.

According to the education Act of 1969, local authorities were to take over the running of the schools in order that the educational system might fit into the grand scheme of 'Education for Self-Reliance'. The central government would, however, assume responsibility for financial arrangements. A system of community schools was set up whereby the specific needs of the community, especially in the rural areas, would be catered for. These schools would double up as adult education centres.

The fundamental aim of these schools was to facilitate literacy in Swahili and improve the quality of life in the rural areas (White: 277).

The role of teacher training institutions was to ensure that:

...the teacher...(is)...persuaded, first of all, of the new political and sociological significance of everything he says and does in school. Above all the preservice the inservice training of the teachers has to contribute to the formation both of professional and political values that are consistent with the national aims (White: 279).

In July 1970 the University College of Dar es Salaam became a fully fledged university, the University of Dar es Salaam. Its chief function was spelt out as to effectively promote a truly Tanzanian consciousness according to the principles of socialism. Nyerere's inaugural address made this clear:

Our universities have aimed at understanding Western society, and being understood by Western society, apparently assuming that by this means they were preparing their students to be and themselves being of service to African society...The universities of Africa which aim at being 'progressive' will react by trying to understand, and be understood by Russian, East European, or Chinese society. Once again they will be fooling themselves into believing that they are thus preparing themselves to serve African society...The truth is that it is Tanzanian society, and African society, which this University must understand. It is Tanzania, and the Tanzanian people, who must be able to comprehend this University...We are training for a Socialist, Self-respecting and Self-reliant Tanzania (23 August 1970: Inaugural Speech as Chancellor, in: Inauguration of the University of Dar es Salaam, cited in White, 1980: 282).

Essentially, the political nature of education is unquestionably confirmed by statements such as these and, once the language issue becomes the chief exponent of these political values, the political nature of language can no longer be denied.

More than any other sociocultural agent, language functions as a binding, integrative, and solidarity-producing factor within and between groups. A common language serves as an effective means of identifying a society and as a potent symbol of the social unity and solidarity of those who speak it (Polomé, 1982a (1979): 88).

In the case of Tanzania, Swahili has unquestionably been identified with precisely these features.

In keeping with the essence of TANU's concept of African socialism and the ujamaa village community, the government set about a policy of decentralising state control. The effect on education was that from 1971/2 primary education fell under the control of regional authorities, although secondary and technical education remained under the control of central government. In October 1973, the TANU Conference pressed for complete villagisation by the end of 1976. This implied a bringing together of all the small pockets of scattered groups of rural people into village communities. The effect that this was to have on education became obvious the following year when 'The Implementation of Education for Self-reliance' (also known as the 'Musoma Resolution') directive was announced. Universal Primary Education (UPE) was called for by November 1977. In 1975 a new 'Villages and Ujamaa Villages Act' was passed whereby each village was to be regarded as a co-operative society. The process of villagisation produced greater economic success and this meant that more facilities might be provided for educational purposes. In the latter half of the 1970s, Hill (1980: 364) notes that school enrolment figures soared enormously in response to the increased classroom facilities. The effect on language education becomes perfectly obvious. A dramatic increase in the literacy level of the Tanzanian society became all the more possible,

and since this literacy would be through the medium of Swahili, the strength of the symbolical significance of that language in terms of nation-building or nationalism (territorial nationalism) is clear.

Swahili in primary schools

One of the chief purposes of primary education in Tanzania, from the outset of independence, has been the provision of a permanent literacy in the national language. There have been quite significant problems associated with this policy. During the early days of independence there were insufficient teachers fully equipped to teach Swahili. Secondly, young pupils were placed under heavy pressure from a linguistic point of view. For many, Swahili was a second language and to compound the confusion, a third language, English was introduced during the first year at school. Mbunda (1980a: 285) points out that the extent to which Swahili presented itself as a second language varied. For a small minority, the language was the mother tongue and, therefore, the only difficulty presenting itself at school was basic literacy. Then there were those pupils for whom Swahili was already known as a lingua franca and consequently the motivation for a complete mastery of the language would presumably be quite high as it would be obvious to the pupil that the language served a functional role. Thirdly, there were those pupils who lived in remote rural areas where Swahili would seldom be used. The level of difficulty in acquiring functional literacy in Swahili would then be greatly increased, although these pupils might at least speak another Bantu language and so some of the linguistic patterns might be familiar. Fourthly, there was a group of pupils whose mother tongue was not a Bantu

language and, furthermore, contact with Swahili speakers was remote. For these pupils, the prospect of having to acquire functional literacy in Swahili would be far more daunting than for other groups.

Language planners had/have a complicated task. Given the great variation in level of contact with Swahili, it becomes clear that there must be adequate provision made available for the different teaching approaches necessitated by this variation and, furthermore, teachers need to be made capable of dealing with this variation of demands. Hill (1980: 369) records that attempts have been made to provide not only basic text-books but also much supplementary reading material, in the teacher-training colleges, the Department of Swahili at the University of Dar es Salaam and the Institute of Swahili Research. Many traditional stories have been translated from the various vernaculars into Swahili. The basic text-books which ensure Swahili medium teaching are theoretically available although there appear to be printing shortages at times.

English in primary schools

The English panel of the Institute of Education at the University College of Dar es Salaam in December 1966 formally recommended that English should not be employed as the medium of instruction in primary schools. (It had not been the policy but, possibly since English was the medium in secondary schools, it was thought necessary to make a formal declaration on the subject.) Nevertheless, as Mbunda (1980a: 293) hints toward, distinctly ambivalent feelings about the role of English manifested themselves. English was to be taught as a subject right from the

beginning of primary school, whereas even during the most pro-English period of colonial policy this had only usually been effected from Standard III. On the one hand we note that there was a formal rejection of English and on the other hand it appeared to receive greater support. Perhaps the ambivalence lay in the fact that, as Hill (370-372) suggests, the perceived role of English was changing in Tanzania. In 1978 the Commissioner for National Education said that the main purpose of teaching English in Tanzanian society was that it was needed for very practical purposes, e.g. ensuring that farmers could read the instructions on imported goods. The acting Director of Teacher Education, at the same time, said that English was needed as a means to international communication and as an entry to/gaining access to new knowledge (Hill: 370). These functions of English had therefore not changed dramatically, except that English was no longer associated with the sole means of entry to the upper echelons of the administration and economic world in Tanzania. Another contributory factor to the ambivalence toward English was the increasing tendency to view the language as the purveyor of imperialism and the negative connotations associated with it while at the same time there were still those who hung onto the belief of the importance English represented when upward social mobility was aspired to. This latter belief was becoming increasingly more unpopular to those who aspired toward the new political order in Tanzania.

Trappes-Lomax (1978: 4, cited in Hill, 1980: 371-2) expresses these arguments as follows:

The positive values attached to English as 'the language associated with upward social mobility' of access to higher education and the World of International culture has been

largely lost and has been replaced with negative values as the language of former colonial domination as a language to be spoken out of necessity for some rather than out of choice. In the process of change of values and exploitation of values, the rise of Swahili it appears, has to small extent, resulted from, and to large extent, resulted in the decline of English both in its symbolic and instrumental aspects. To use English unnecessarily is said by some to be 'Kasumba', indicative of a non-Tanzanian mentality, yet the use of English in some settings, principally in education remains a necessity. How are these two realities to be reconciled?

The position of English in education seems at this stage well entrenched. This is especially so because there is still not an adequate supply of materials for a Swahili medium approach to secondary and higher education. Efforts are being made in this direction, but, as yet, 'O' and 'A' Level examinations are conducted through the medium of English. This means that the motivation to retain English as a subject in primary school is high. Furthermore a functional literacy in English simply means that an enormous range of material written in English across a wide field is available to Tanzanians.

It is, however, the intention of the government that Swahili will eventually become the medium of education throughout secondary school and even in tertiary education. The teacher education syllabus of 1976 states that the acquisition of English in primary school is intended to facilitate the transmission of ideas useful to the Tanzanian pupil as well as to ensure that the pupil will be able to cope, successfully, with the English medium at a later point in the educational programme. English is also regarded as a vehicle through which philosophies relevant to the strategy toward self-reliance and political awareness are facilitated.

One of the results of the Africanisation of education has been that expatriate teachers have been replaced by Tanzanians as far as possible and there is a fear that this will ultimately have an effect on the quality/standard of English teaching. Obviously it is more difficult for a teacher using a second language or even a third language to be able to teach as fluently in that language than it would be for a mother tongue speaker. Inevitably, if teachers are not suitably fluent in English then the quality of English passed on to the pupils will suffer and this process will be exacerbated in subsequent generations.

Two major phenomena have emerged since the early days of independence. Firstly, UPE has resulted in a huge increase in primary school entrants (225 071 in 1973 to 898 439 in 1978) (Hill: 364), which means that the potential for a growth in English literacy had risen enormously and, consequently, the importance of English in the everyday lives of rural children has changed considerably. Secondly, the feeling of ambivalence toward English has gained momentum for the reasons mentioned above.

Swahili in secondary schools

The position of Swahili has been undergoing significant changes in secondary education since the early days of independence. Initially its status in the secondary school was not very high: not only was it treated as simply another subject and not a medium, it was only in 1970 that an 'A' Level examination was introduced. There existed a sad paucity of written material in the subject and few teachers were suitably qualified to teach the language at this level especially as the Department of

Language and Linguistics (opened in 1964) which caters for Swahili, had not long been in existence at the university. Now, the university has ensured that every secondary school has a fully qualified Swahili teacher. This has been made easier because the number of secondary schools has not been increased to the same extent that primary schools have. TANU's policy here has been to limit the number of secondary schools in order that only the manpower needs of Tanzania are catered for i.e. secondary education is tied to the manpower requirements of the country (Hill: 380). Consequently, it has been easier to make adequate provisions in terms of staff and materials for the relatively few secondary schools that are in existence. Mbunda (1980b: 316) records that energetic efforts are being made to provide adequate teaching materials in Swahili. The move toward even more Swahili usage in secondary schooling now seems more feasible provided that increased materials production takes place.

English in secondary schools

Up until 1965, the syllabus for English in secondary schools was very much British orientated with a literary focus rather than a more pragmatic emphasis. The new syllabus of 1976 illustrates an entirely different approach:

During their study of English, students should grow to appreciate the cultural and political values of Tanzania and to develop socialist attitudes...English is a tool for world communication for sharing the socialist experience and for personal development... (Ministry of National Education, 1976: 27 ff, cited in Hill, 1980: 383-4).

The purpose is not only a political one, a practical motivation lies behind the new syllabus, basically to make English more relevant to the needs of the pupils involved.

More and more though, problems relating to the quality of teaching staff are becoming apparent. Brumfit (1980: 329) suggests that unless drastic action is taken in this regard the Tanzanian English dialect, 'Tangereza' will develop to such a point that the whole purpose of teaching/learning English will be denied as this dialect will not facilitate international communication.

A second and related problem is that according to Hill (287) pupils are struggling with English at secondary level. This point is a significant one and will be taken up in Chapter 8 which deals with the English medium policy of SWAPO in Namibia.

English in tertiary education

It seems likely that English will remain the medium of instruction in tertiary education for some time to come simply because the enormity of developing a technological and scientific vocabulary for Swahili and the financial considerations involved in having to translate such highly specialised texts will preclude the practical implementation of such an eventuality for the foreseeable future. This situation is much the same as that in India where the policy regarding regional languages finally gives way to English at tertiary levels because of insufficient materials and inadequacies in the linguistic abilities of the teaching staff.

French

At times the idea of Pan-Africanism and contact with Francophone Africa made the acquisition of French appear an attractive proposition. However, its position in schools and tertiary education has taken a somewhat haphazard course and in general the French language is not really taken seriously at a national level.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

The situations in both Kenya and Tanzania have much in common but also there are significant differences. In both territories the physical boundaries have been established without concern for traditional ethnic or linguistic ones. In both countries a multilingual situation presents itself. Both are ex-colonial territories where English has manifested itself as an important means of communication in economic and administrative positions. Swahili has a tradition of influence as a lingua franca, spread into the interior, initially by Arab traders from the East Coast towns of Mombasa and Zanzibar.

Essentially the differences might be ascribed to historical and political events. While Kenya's ex-colonial history was limited to British domination, Tanzania has a history of German occupation from 1885 to the end of World War I and then the imperial master became Britain. The effect of this change has much to do with the language policy in Tanzania and how it differs from Kenya. The German colonists encouraged the spread of Swahili into the interior both as a lingua franca and a medium of

instruction in schools. Furthermore, the administrative centre of the then Tanganyika and the now Tanzania was Dar es Salaam, a Swahili speaking area. Obviously this had an effect of promoting Swahili and entrenching its role in that society. Once the changeover to British was effected, although the importance of English as the language of the administrators and the economy was established, Swahili's position in primary education remained largely intact. Speakers of Swahili had already begun to build up notions of associative identity with the language.

In contrast, the situation in Kenya was altogether different. There was no history of German colonial influence and it was not the policy of the British to encourage Swahili as a lingua franca. The administrative centre of the territory was shifted from a Swahili speaking area, Mombasa, to the interior town of Nairobi where Swahili was barely known as a lingua franca. Consequently, the position of Swahili, in comparison to the situation in Tanzania, declined.

After independence, Swahili had a head start as a language capable of assuming the role of a national language in Tanzania. In Kenya, the move toward Swahili began at a much slower pace. Politically, too, the situation in Tanzania seemed far more clear at the outset of independence. For, although there followed a period of what some critics call a dependency on neo-colonial values and westernisation, it was clear that Tanzanian society was moving clearly in the direction of a specific philosophy of African socialism. By 1967/8 Nyerere's declarations made TANU's strategy eminently clear and this had its effect on the language policy and the de-emphasis of English in favour of Swahili. This is not

to say that the policy statements have been implemented in full, because they certainly have not, but steps in that direction are perfectly discernible.

Historically, Kenya was at a disadvantage as far as the position of Swahili is concerned. Politically too, it would appear that the policy direction of KANU and President Kenyatta was not nearly so closely defined toward an essentially Africanisation of Kenya. Consequently, the years immediately after independence show quite clearly the elements of neo-colonialism. From 1970 onward various statements about the Africanisation policy of KANU have been made, but as yet no clear attempt to implement these has been made. The position of English, in effect, has remained almost exactly as it was under British colonial rule. The only discernable difference now is that it is politically fashionable to regard it as tainted with the colonial brush.

The essential difference between the two countries lies, then, in the apparently greater level of articulation and implementation of policy in Tanzania than is the case in Kenya to date.

The significance of these two analyses is the emergent pattern which appears to strike newly independent countries in Africa. The legacy of the position of English is difficult to shake off. Besides, the situation is not simply one of resentment against a colonial power and its language: in the case of English, the language transcends that of imperialism, it has become a way of gaining familiarity with the rest of the world. In other words, it has become a world language, so the motivation to purge

the language from the independent state becomes obscured. Secondly, it appears that after independence it is likely that a period of neo-colonialism will exist in that society while the initial, rather tentative movements are made at establishing a new national identity. These features being the case in Tanzania and Kenya, tend to suggest that a similar pattern will emerge in other territories after independence.

CHAPTER 7

FURTHER STRATEGIES IN POST-BRITISH COLONIAL AFRICA -

ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND ZIMBABWE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Given that the ultimate purpose of this study is to draw up a possible scenario for the direction in which language policies will move in an independent South Africa, it is important to trace the policies of those countries which might prove to be influential forces in the determination of such policy.

Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe, like Kenya and Tanzania, have a history of British colonial rule. Each of these independent countries is particularly interesting in terms of assessing the situation in South Africa.

While Zambia has a potentially more complicated multilingual situation, in terms of the number of languages spoken, than does South Africa, it presents us with a set of priorities which at the moment seem to bear great influence on the SWAPO (South West African Peoples' Organisation) policy for an independent Namibia. The SWAPO policy is important because, should it become implemented in Namibia, the ramifications for South Africa would become clear. Namibia and South Africa share a common history of the effects of Bantu Education as discussed in Chapter 5 of this study. The response to the effects of Bantu Education after

dependence in each instance is, accordingly, likely to reveal similarities.

The situation in Botswana is interesting because in that country the choice of English as one of the two national and official languages is extraordinary, given the fact that most of the indigenous population are speakers of Setswana. While a country such as Tanzania has attempted to reject English and use an alternative African lingua franca one would assume that where there is already a built-in language and where the problem of the divisive nature of a multilingual situation is greatly diminished, an indigenous language would gain prominence. The implication for South Africa, of what is taking place in Botswana, is that English will achieve even greater prominence than it enjoys at present, for reasons other than national unity.

Zimbabwe presents us with a further dimension of interest. It is the 'youngest' of the independent states and so presents us with a scenario which might be more applicable to South Africa's position in the future. Secondly, Zimbabwe shares with South Africa a second feature of colonial history - its last 'colonial' master was not the British Colonial Office but the minority of settler whites living in that territory and hence the relevance for South Africa is clear.

This chapter will not be approached with the same degree of detail provided in Chapter 6 on Kenya and Tanzania for a number of reasons. Firstly, much of the early British colonial policy in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Kenya is similar and there is little point in being overly repetitive.

Secondly, the relevant documentary information about educational matters is difficult to procure from South Africa, given the sensitive nature of political relations between and these countries.⁽¹⁾ The section on Zambia will, however, be more comprehensive than those on Botswana and Zimbabwe as it is clear that there is a direct link between the Zambian policy and that of the SWAPO line at present. The close association of SWAPO and the ANC (African National Council) might lead one to assume that once the ANC articulates its language policy there might again be similarities of ideology. The dissimilarities between the South African situation and that of Botswana are such that only a brief examination of policy in Botswana will be presented. The examination of the situation in Zimbabwe will also be brief because that country is still in the early days of its independence and changes with regard to language policy are still likely to occur in a more definitive manner than is evident at present.

7.2 ZAMBIA

7.2.1 Historical perspective of language policy

The territory now known as Zambia was administered by the British South African Company between 1890 and 1924. In 1911 North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia were joined as Northern Rhodesia. In 1924 the British Colonial Office took over the administration of the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia.

At this point, education was largely in the hands of the missionaries whose main purpose was the evangelisation of the indigenous population. While the missionaries discouraged traditional customs as these would tend

to come into conflict with Christianity, they nevertheless made a study of the Zambian languages (Ohannessian, 1978a: 275). 1924 was the year of the Phelps-Stokes Commission as discussed in Chapter 6. This commission had recognised the value of mother tongue instruction but had also acknowledged the difficulties in providing the mechanisms for such a policy in territories wherein a multiplicity of languages was spoken.

In 1925 the Colonial Office appointed a Central Advisory Board on Native Education in response to the Phelps-Stokes Commission. It took into account that the missionaries had put into writing some of the Zambian languages and in 1927 recommended that four 'native' languages should be used at school from the first year of primary education.

In 1930 the Northern Rhodesian Annual Report Upon Native Education noted that as there was no African lingua franca in the area, the teaching of English should be regarded as more of a priority here than in the colonies where Swahili was used to this end (Ohannessian: 288).

In principle, by the latter part of the 1950s, education began in primary schools with mother tongue medium and that where the mother tongue was not one of the four officially recognised African languages a change to one of these languages as the medium of instruction would occur during the third year at school. During the fifth year English would be gradually introduced as the medium, so that by the end of primary school, the seventh year, English had replaced the African language. The four Zimbabwean languages continued to be taught as subjects to the end of primary school and two of them, Chibemba and Chinyanja, could be taken as

examination subjects for the Cambridge School Leaving Certificate Examinations (Mwanakatwe, 1968: 211).

At the end of the colonial period Zambia was left with an enormity of problems created by the territorial delineations of the country which ensured that it, far from being a homogeneous whole, was ethnically and linguistically divided. Furthermore, during the colonial period the educational policy had in broad terms emphasised functional literacy and practical skills which were designed to encourage the majority of the population to remain in the rural areas. The majority of pupils left school during the first few years of school which meant that they were linguistically constrained to vernaculars. These languages were not sufficiently developed to cater for the needs of a developing nation. Very little secondary education was provided to black children so that at independence in 1964, Zambia was forced to rely very heavily on foreign teaching staff as the country simply had no way of providing the teachers needed to upgrade and increase the educational facilities. Vast discrepancies existed between the educational opportunities provided for the various sectors of the population during the colonial period and these had to be eliminated after independence.

7.2.2 Language issues after independence

Zambia achieved its independence in 1964 and the first task which manifested itself was the promotion of a unified national consciousness. It was believed that the promotion of ethnic differences would be ideologically inimical to the creation of 'One Zambia, One Nation'. Consequently, when the question of the national language arose, it was

agreed that should one of the indigenous languages be chosen to fulfil this role, then resentment and divisions would occur. While Chimbemba and Chinyanja were spoken by a greater number of Zambians than the other languages, there was no widely accepted lingua franca in Zambia other than English. The colonial hegemony had left English far more efficiently entrenched in Zambia than even in Kenya and so it was hardly surprising that English was chosen as the main official language of Zambia. Seven of the indigenous languages were also given the status of official languages and these are: Chibemba, Chinyanja, Silozi, Chikaonde, Lunda, Chitonga and Luvale. This suggests, already, that greater recognition would be given the indigenous languages than was given during the colonial era when only four languages were really treated with much respect. However, as far as the medium of instruction was concerned, a decision was made in 1965 that English would be the only medium of instruction in the schools right from year one of the primary school. This was a policy decision which at the time appeared unique to Zambia when compared with the other ex-British colonial territories in Africa. This policy appears to go against the argument in favour of mother tongue instruction. The rationale behind it seems to have been influenced by the inequalities within the educational system during the years of colonial rule where those pupils who were adequately trained through the medium of English were the ones who succeeded along the road to economic advancement.

This was a decision based on the determination of the Zambian Government to democratize formal education, by preparing the way for the elimination of inequality in educational opportunity (UNIN, 1981: 77).

at the same time the teaching of the indigenous languages was also, in theory taken seriously in order that the child be given an awareness of and pride in his cultural heritage (Ohannessian, 1978b: 292). When one examines the provision made for these languages immediately after independence, one discovers that they were not, in reality, promoted through the language planning procedures which operated within the system. The Zambian languages were required to be taught only at primary school and they were not examinable. This had the effect of providing very little motivation for pupils to acquire a literacy in these languages, and secondly, it was reported that teachers were unenthusiastic about mother tongue instruction (Ohannessian: 298). The problems were compounded because very often, especially in urban settings, there would be pupils in a class whose mother tongues did not coincide and consequently the teacher would not be able to cater for the needs of all these pupils. Furthermore, there was simply an insufficient number of teachers trained to teach the Zambian languages. Ohannessian (306) notes that 34% of the teachers have a mother tongue which is not one of the seven official languages and consequently their competence to teach the designated language is doubtful. In 1970 only half the Grade I classes had text-books for the Zambian languages which suggested an inadequacy in materials provision. The problems relating to the teaching of the Zambian languages in the early years after independence might be summed up as follows:

- a) the attitudes of the community, the pupils and the teachers towards the indigenous languages were frequently negative - prestige status being conferred upon English;

- b) the linguistic backgrounds of the teachers and the pupils often did not coincide; and
- c) the teaching materials in these languages were not adequate.

In order that English be taught as a medium right from the word go, the English Medium Centre was set up under British Aid to the Commonwealth English officer (Wigzell, 1983: 2). This, in itself, suggested that Zambia was moving into a period of neo-colonialism with a dependency upon the old colonial master. The initial policy decision was that the New Peak Course of Kenya would be adapted for use in Zambia. When it was discovered that early assessment of the success of the New Peak Course was not favourable, a new Zambian course was considered necessary. The initial lack of success of the Kenyan system was largely owing to the too hasty introduction of the system and this should have provided a warning to the Zambian authorities. Political need to demonstrate success on the education front, however, resulted in a similarly hasty attempt to implement an immediate English language immersion policy (Wigzell, 1983: 2), despite recommendations against this by the English Medium Centre which later became known as the Curriculum Development Centre.

The English Medium Centre had to embark on an extensive programme to produce new materials for the English Medium Scheme (known as The New Zambia Primary Course after 1970 and then later still as the Zambian Primary Course). By the end of 1970, the materials had been produced as far as the middle of Grade 6 in the primary school (McAdam, 1978: 329).

The materials produced were specifically geared toward what was applicable to a Zambian frame of reference, so from that point of view a concerted attempt was being made to create a sense of the common national heritage out of a situation where in Fishman's terms there was previously no 'Great Tradition' at national level (cf Chapter 3 herein).

Misgivings about the stress given English, nevertheless, began to appear as early as 1969 when the Vice-President of Zambia, at that time, said:

... we should stop teaching children through English right from the start because it is the surest way of imparting inferiority complex in the children and the society. It is poisonous. It is the surest way of killing African personality and African culture. From my experience people defend what they have and not what they do not have. The African children will only defend the European culture because that is what they will be taught from the start to the finish (Kapwepwe, 1970: 68).

Serpell (1978: 432) suggests that criticisms such as expressed by Kapwepwe, above, were infrequent during the early years of independence as no-one particularly wished to be accused of promoting ethnicity (with its implications of tribal division) through the support of the cultural values attached to the Zambian languages. However, gradually more and more criticism of the English language approach began to manifest itself. Initially, the claim had been that English medium would facilitate a democratisation of education as everyone would receive exactly the same kind of educational opportunities. However, while this was so, English retained associations left over from the colonial period, when it was seen as the language of the ruling class and the African languages were seen as the languages of the peasantry. English became more and more a symbol of

power and prestige after independence partly as a result of the value accorded it in the educational sphere (Serpell: 433).

Serpell extends his argument to suggest that language became a mechanism for creating a stratified society in Zambia, and this operates in direct conflict with the attempts to democratise society. Arguments were increasingly put forward that the teaching through a medium other than the mother tongue created a conflict between the environments of the home and the school and this might be traumatic for both child and parent. An examination of the level of education of school leavers has shown that as elsewhere in Africa, the vast majority of pupils is having to leave school after primary school and many are before that. Consequently, it is unlikely that these children have acquired a sufficiently high level of literacy in their second language at this point. They might have been able to achieve a greater level of literacy in their own language.

As a result of the articulation of these concerns, the Ministry of Education began a programme of reviewing the Zambian educational system in 1975. A Draft Statement on Educational Reform was published in 1976. The question of language medium was addressed and it was noted that, while ideologically in the interests of national unity, it was necessary that all Zambians learn to communicate through the national language, English, it was educationally preferable that early schooling take place through the medium of the mother tongue. It was suggested that the medium of instruction be the mother tongue (L1) in the first four years of school where the L1 was one of the seven officially recognised Zambian languages.

change to English medium would occur in the fifth year (Zambia, Ministry of Education, 1976: 11).

When the actual reform proposals were finally published in 1977 the original position of English remained unchanged. It was argued that in a multilingual setting like Zambia it was simply not possible to cater for the needs of mother tongue medium at primary school however educationally preferable these might be. A recommendation was made that the Zambian languages, however, be given greater importance at school so that they at least enjoyed the same level of importance as the other subjects (UNIN, 1981: 78).

To return to the actual content of the Zambian Primary Course, Wigzell claimed that what was initially only an experimental course was, by 1983, being used throughout Zambia without any of the modifications which had been suggested might improve the course. In fact, he argued that the course had major deficiencies:

... all the available evidence points to the fact that as a subject English is failing to develop the degree of operational competence in the language that its use as a medium requires. The communication problem, it would appear, has its roots at the primary level, where the rigid structural syllabus gives little encouragement to the development of creative language skills. Since the pupils' communicative skills are underdeveloped, very little communicative interaction between teacher and pupils takes place inside the classroom. Children dutifully mime adult concepts but do not have sufficient control over the medium of learning to contribute, as they should, to their own conceptual growth (Wigzell, 1983: 5).

While one should take cognisance of all the rhetoric dealing with the democratisation of the educational arena in Zambia, one must also point

but that the political ideologues use this argument conveniently. The policy makers, because of their primary concern with political unity have not aligned themselves with the requirements of educational success. There has been a distinct disjunction between the goals of the policy makers and the language planning procedures which are presumably concerned with the real need of those who are to be educated in Zambia.

7.2.3 Possibilities for the future

One would be presumptuous to assume that the educational policy with regard to the language issue will remain unchanged. Society is in a continual state of change and one might argue that as society changes so too will the perceived requirements of education and, in this case, language.

At present English fulfils this function (lingua franca) but it is most difficult for the true emotion of an African National to be expressed in a western tongue. One wonders which, if any, vernacular, will eventually predominate, and what will be the conditions that pre-empt one rather than another. Or will there emerge a composite vernacular like Swahili in East Africa? (Robertson, 1970: 189).

While the sentiments expressed above are couched in patronising terminology, the essential question is one which still exists today. While English has been given so much prominence in the educational sphere, it should not be forgotten that much work has been in progress with regard to the indigenous Zambian languages. In 1971 the Zambian Languages Committee was given the task of standardising the spelling and grammar of at least seven of the languages. The presence of more adequate

descriptions of the indigenous languages will inevitably create an environment whereby more teachers of these languages can be trained.

Kashoki (1978: 31-33) argues that while English is the principal lingua franca in Zambia (or rather the one recognised to be so) it is, in reality, spoken and understood by fewer people than those who speak and understand either Chibemba or Chinyanja. He suggests, furthermore, that, according to evidence supplied by the Audience Survey conducted by the Zambian Broadcasting Services (1970-73), the seven official Zambian languages will act, to varying degrees, as languages of wider communication within Zambia. He presents the following table as evidence of this:

TABLE 7.1 : Official languages as linguae francae in Zambia

	Bemba	Nyanja	Tonga	Lozi	Lunda	Luvale	Kaonde	English
Percentage of mother-tongue speakers in the Audience Survey								
All Zambia	30.8	16.0	16.1	9.3	2.9	5.9	3.4	0.1
Percentage of respondents in the Audience Survey claiming to speak official languages								
All Zambia	56.2	42.1	23.2	17.2	5.3	8.1	7.1	26.1
All rural Zambia	46.0	36.6	24.2	19.1	4.6	8.5	5.8	19.0
All urban Zambia	83.8	57.2	20.6	12.1	7.2	7.2	10.8	45.3

(Kashoki, 1978: 32)

It is likely that, in time, when the perceived need for fostering a sense of national unity through the national language, English, becomes diminished, a gradual and natural growth in the significance or status of the indigenous languages will assert itself.

The system adopted by the Zambian Government at the moment is one, whereby, in order to achieve a homogeneous society, an attempt has been made to obliterate divisions and this has been done through what Smolicz (cf Chapter 3) calls hybrid monism. One might argue that there could well be a shift in the direction of what Smolicz calls cultural pluralism, more specifically, multiculturalism, where the linguistic and cultural groups will be allowed to maintain and develop their cultures alongside the dominant Zambian one which is conveyed through English.

7.3 Botswana

Botswana had been the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland from 1885 until its independence in 1966. 80% of the Batswana speak Setswana and so the problems associated with language choice, in contrast with the other territories under consideration are greatly reduced in Botswana.

7.3.1 The Role of the missionaries and the British Administration

The first schools were established in 1840 by the London Missionary Society and the Hermannsburg Mission (Campbell, 1980: 576). Thereafter, other missionaries were responsible for establishing schools in the territory.

The British, or more specifically, the Cecil John Rhodes, dream of a colonial empire stretching from Cape Town to Cairo, came under threat during the latter years of the nineteenth century. Fears of German colonial expansion from the west and Boer Republic expansion from the east wrought British concern.

Accordingly, in 1866, Britain proclaimed Bechuanaland a Protectorate. The area was largely uninhabitable and it did not appear to promise economic rewards. It had been annexed largely to protect British interests in the Cape Colony and to the north of the Limpopo River. Botswana, at this point in its history, was in a different situation from other British colonies which were able to afford attractive financial prizes. This had an effect on the amount of capital outlay the British Colonial Office was prepared to make in the Protectorate. Education and the social services were left largely in the hands of the missionaries.

By 1910, since the British government had failed to make much effort with regard to education, the chief of the Ngwaketse formed a committee of mission, British Administration and tribal representatives to administer the schools in his district (Campbell: 399). Other chiefs followed suit and these committees formed the basis of the school's committees until after 1966. By 1966 there were only 251 primary schools and 9 secondary schools (Campbell: 401).

Dissatisfaction with the British administration began as early as 1930 and gradually more and more pressure was brought to bear until independence was granted in 1966.

7.3.2 Linguistic features of Botswana

The 1981 census gave 936 000 as the population of Botswana. The largest linguistic group of the Batswana people is the Setswana speaking community. Various Tswana groups arrived and settled the area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their strength in number resulted in their dominance over small groups of people already living in or about to arrive in the area (Campbell: 65).

The next largest group is the Bakalanga, a mixture of people who have come together as a result of various historical factors. The language spoken is Ikalanga. Much smaller groups are the Bayei, Bambukushu and Basubiya, all of whom have tended to adopt many features of the Batswana lifestyle.

An offshoot of the Namibian Herero people, the Mbanderu, comprises a very small percentage of the population. The Mbanderu share the Herero language and customs (Mpaphadzi, 1984: 7).

Bakgalagadi is a derogatory name given the numerous small groups living on the fringes of the Kalahari desert. These people speak a number of related dialects which lie within the Sotho-Tswana linguistic group (Campbell: 85).

Speakers of San (often known as Bushman) languages also comprise a small minority of the population. The San people, the Basarwa, and the Balala live in tiny scattered communities.

There are approximately 12 000 whites living in Botswana and the majority are speakers of English.

80% of Batswana are speakers of Setswana and consequently at independence the choice of national language did not pose a problem of political conflict seen elsewhere in Africa.

7.3.3 The linguistic policies after independence

English, as elsewhere in ex-British colonial Africa, had been promoted as the language of governmental affairs and the language through which economic development would be made. Consequently, on independence in 1966, its significance did not wane. Owing to the fact that the majority of Batswanas are speakers of Setswana, that language became an official and first national language of Botswana. English became the other official language and the second language of the territory (UNIN, 1981: 79).

The problems faced by other ex-British colonial countries in Africa in choosing a language through which a national identity could be created simply did not occur in Botswana as Setswana already transmitted a common pattern of beliefs and cultural identity for the largest number of its people.

In terms of education, the policy set down was that the medium of instruction at school was to be Setswana for the first three years with a shift to English thereafter. During the latter part of the 1970s, some

en years after independence, more and more concern about the early change in medium from the mother tongue to English began to manifest itself. Concern centred on the fact that English was given so much more prominence in school than was Setswana. This meant that the second national language was being placed in a more advantageous position than was the first national language. Educationally, this was not seen as satisfactory as pupils were not given sufficient time to become literate in their mother tongue. It should be noted here that no educational provision was made with regard to speakers of the minority languages. The geographical size of Botswana, together with a small population, makes it financially impossible to cater for the small minorities. Ideologically, the emphasis on English interfered with the spirit of nationalism which was purportedly conveyed through Setswana. A further concern was that pupil motivation to acquire English was greater than that to acquire the mother tongue because the former was considered to be ultimately more useful, particularly as school leaving examinations were set in English and not Setswana. Furthermore, that governmental affairs are conducted through English as are the business matters, especially in urban areas, is something which has meant that English has been afforded a special position of prestige.

A National Commission on Education in 1977 examined these concerns and recommended that more prestige be given to Setswana by giving equal significance to each language at the end of the primary school examinations (UNIN, 1981: 79). As a result of the Commission's recommendations it was decided that as from 1980, the aim of primary education would be literacy in Setswana and that Setswana would be the medium of instruction to the end of the fourth year of primary school

(Commonwealth, April/May 1980: 13). The change to English medium would take place during the course of the fifth year at school. Thereafter Setswana would be taught as a subject through to the end of secondary school.

The situation in Botswana is of particular interest, because it is the only country of those under examination in this dissertation where there is no need for an external language to be sought as a lingua franca and convenient tool with which to circumvent divisions, resentments and jealousies among a plethora of linguistic communities. Nevertheless, English has been retained after independence, which suggests that not only has the colonial legacy, with its mixed blessing presented by English, remained present as it has elsewhere in ex-British colonial Africa, but that English performs functions other than that of internal linguistic communication.

Setswana performs the role of the first national language according to the constitution, however, English, the language used in parliament, has been performing that role. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that English, after the early years of adjustment to independence characterised by that nebulous phase of neo-colonialism, a feature of post-colonial societies, is now being increasingly seen as a threat to the national identity of the Batswana people. As Botswana moves away from its neo-colonial legacy, the dominant ideology of that country is likely to become more focused on a national identity divorced as far as possible from colonial influences. It is important, then, that there is a perceived need to strengthen the significance of the African national language to this end and that

recognition of this need became more stridently expressed some ten years after independence.

Botswana is seeking self-identity which is embedded in her culture ... She has an urgent duty to develop Setswana in order for it to take its place of respect as the national language (Botswana, National Commission for Education, 1977: 81).

To suggest that Botswana would move entirely away from English at some point in the future would be naive. English will always retain its importance as a vehicle of international communication. Botswana is surrounded by countries which have adopted English (with the exception of Angola) as their language of wider communication. In order to facilitate communication and trade with these countries the Botswana require English. The point really is, that, whereas at independence the Botswana government had so many priorities of great urgency, the implications of the ambivalent role of English was simply not addressed. Now it is being addressed and more emphasis is being given the dominant indigenous language. The situation regarding the minority languages is less clear for the future. Given the small numbers concerned one would tend to be pessimistic with regard to their future development.

7.4 ZIMBABWE

In 1889 the British South African Company, under Cecil John Rhodes, took over the territory which later became known as Rhodesia and then Zimbabwe after independence in 1979. The Education Act of Zimbabwe of 1979 stated that English was to be the medium of instruction at all schools in Zimbabwe. The official languages of Zimbabwe were recognised as being

English, Shona and Ndebele. Shona and Ndebele are the indigenous languages spoken by most of the black people in Zimbabwe, however, there are a number of other African languages spoken by small minority groups and these languages were given scant attention in the initial phase of independent rule.

Provision was made for Shona and Ndebele to be taught as subjects at school while English occupied the position of medium of instruction. A modification to the Education Act was drafted in 1984. This relaxed the ruling on English medium and made provision for schools to choose either English or one of the officially recognised Zimbabwean languages for the first three years of primary school. Toward the end of 1984, three minority languages spoken in Matabeleland: Kalanga, Venda and Tonga were recognised as educational languages for the first three years of school. Thereafter Ndebele would be regarded as the educational language in that area. It was suggested that Shangaan would be included in this arrangement at a later date (Hawkes: 1986). Hawkes notes that the circular which made this provision did not clarify whether these three minority languages would be taught as media of instruction or simply as subjects and neither was it made clear how the transfer to Ndebele in Grade 4 would be effected.

At an English Language Survey Conference in Harare, October 1985, the Deputy Permanent Secretary in charge of the Schools and Specialised Services Division of the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe, N R M Tanyongana, outlined the official rationale for the use of English in Zimbabwean education. Firstly, as English was laid down in the

constitution as being an official language which would be used in Parliament, the business world and the Law Courts, school leavers would need a proficiency in that language in order that they understand the national documents, business transactions and the mass media. Secondly, since English was the chief medium of instruction at school and the only one at tertiary level, pupils and students would need to be suitably proficient in their use of that language. Thirdly, while Shona and Ndebele were also official languages, it was English that was the lingua franca and it was therefore used:

... to generate a sense of unity, patriotism and loyalty to Zimbabwe in all our ethnic/racial/tribal/religious groups (Tanyogana, 1985: 2).

The rationale Tanyogana provided did not explain why English was given the role of first national language initially. Tanyogana recognised that the use of English has its drawbacks because it is still associated with colonialism and neo-colonialism and that as part of that association is the belief that it has the effect of devaluing African languages and hence their cultural identities.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 9) presents the radical argument against the colonial language explicitly:

The colonial education system denies that the colonised have real human languages. These are described as vernaculars meaning the languages of slaves or merely barbaric tongues. So the children of the colonised are punished and ridiculed whenever they are caught speaking their mother's language, and rewarded when they speak the language of the master, French, English, Portuguese or Italian as the case might be. This had one aim: to make a child despise himself and the people who

spoke a language which now was the cause of his daily reward and praise. Now take the English language for instance: what are the values attached to blackness in that language? If a road is very dangerous, they put the picture of a grinning skull and a cross of bones, and write down: BLACK SPOT: If a child does not fit into the family, they say he is the BLACK SHEEP ...

The implication behind this is that English, even after liberation, retains these attitudes which are inimical to African society.

What we have witnessed thus far in the early years after independence is a familiar pattern where English is selected as a language of wider communication and also one which acts as a unifying bond where intense rivalries exist between major groups within that newly independent state. This is certainly the case in Zimbabwe where there is a history of bitter rivalry between the Shona and the Matabele people. Secondly, after the initial language policy has been made, adjustments are gradually made to give greater emphasis to indigenous languages. Hawkes (1986) argues that people in Zimbabwe need English for advancement and, consequently, it will be retained in an important position in educational institutions although he predicts that gradually the policy will change toward a more bilingual approach to language education.

It would appear that this movement toward bilingualism would be in response not so much to the criticisms directed against English but more to the growing sense of pride in the indigenous languages as Zimbabweans experience a simultaneous growth in their sense of national unity and which allows them to feel less dependent upon their ex-colonial masters.

(1) Several attempts have been made to procure relevant material on Zimbabwe by this researcher. A number of written requests to the British Council in Harare have elicited no response. Approaches to the Zimbabwe Ministry of Education and the University of Zimbabwe have been met by refusals of assistance since the researcher is a South African. Dr J Childs of the University of Zimbabwe was, however, able to suggest that Dr N Hawkes might be able to provide some assistance. The information used herein is that which has been made available by both Dr Childs and Dr Hawkes.

CHAPTER 8NAMIBIA : THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LANGUAGEPOLICY FOR INDEPENDENCE8.1 INTRODUCTION

The inclusion of a chapter devoted to Namibian language medium policy in a dissertation purportedly concentrating on some of the Anglophone African territories might appear somewhat odd when the linguistic history of South West Africa/Namibia is examined. Namibia does not have a history of British Colonial rule and neither is the English language spoken widely in the territory. However, it appears that there is a strong desire on the part of Namibians to acquire English and use it as the dominant lingua franca. This fervent commitment toward the acquisition of English is significant in terms of what is happening in South Africa. The ascendancy in black political ideology in Namibia has similar causal factors to those in South Africa.

There is little doubt, today, that the concepts of Pan-Africanism and African Nationalism are influential political forces in black Namibian ideology. The role of English as the vehicle of international communication has been considered, together with French in Africa, as vital in this area. Independent black African countries like Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Angola have provided encouragement and sanctuary to black Namibian nationalists and consequently much of the ideology for an 'Independent Namibia' has, over the years, drawn on influences in these territories. With the exception of Angola, the territories rely heavily on the role of English and so it is understandable that English has

assumed an attractive position as a lingua franca in the eyes of some ideologues.

One of the objectives of this chapter is to demonstrate how attitudes toward various languages are largely ideologically, or more specifically, politically motivated. Furthermore, one of the reasons why other African countries are being examined as models from which certain linguistic patterns and common influences and concerns emerge, is that the final thrust of this dissertation is to be an examination of the possibilities for language medium policies should white rule in South Africa come to an end.

Perhaps, most importantly of all, one might view the significance of language policies in much the same way that Kamupingene (1985: 3) does:

...the language issue is a matter as controversial as the political destiny of the country. It seems that the solution of the one would imply the resolution of the other.

The effect of the South African government's language policies on Namibia have proved controversial and alternative policies emanating from those working toward change are equally controversial. What follows is a background to the issues in Namibia.

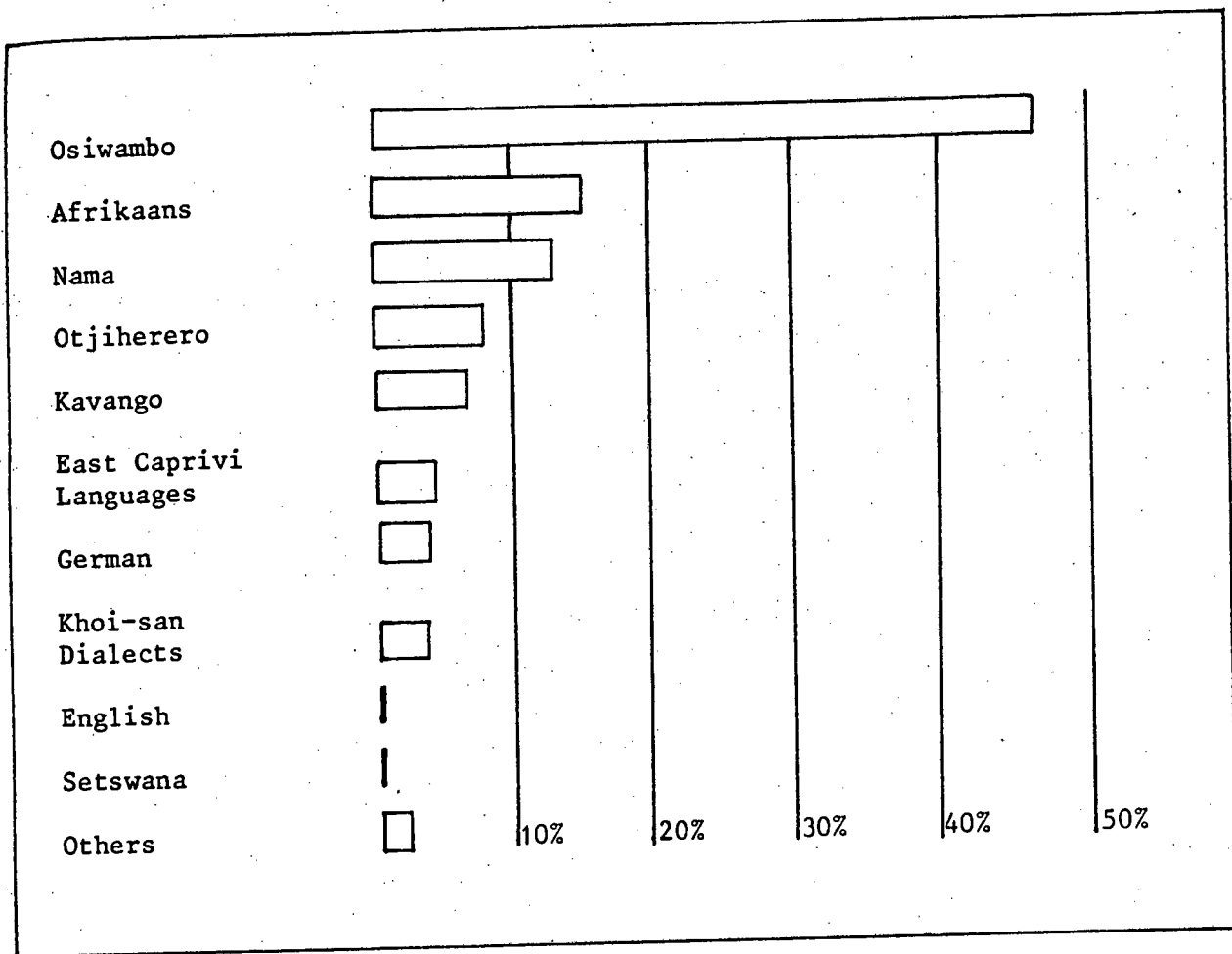
8.2 LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF NAMIBIA

Kamupingene (1985: 2) records that there are about thirty languages/dialects spoken by a Namibian population of just over one million. The United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) document,

Towards a Language Policy for Namibia (1981) identifies seven 'local language groups' which fall into either the Bantu or non-Bantu category. The Bantu language group includes Oshiwambo (with its seven dialects) which is spoken by 46% of the population; Kavango (and dialects), spoken by 7%; the Caprivian languages, spoken by 3%; Otjiherero (and dialects), spoken by 7-8%; and Setswana, spoken by 0,6% (UNIN, 1981: 3). The non-Bantu group includes the Khoisan speakers which number 3% of the population and the Nama/Damara speakers which comprise 13% of the population. The Rheoboth Basters/Rheobothers speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue (+ 3% of the population, i.e. 30 000).

Kamupingene (1985: 1-2) prefers to divide the linguistic map of Namibia into three language families: Khoisan, Bantu and Germanic. The Germanic languages comprise German, Afrikaans and English and are regarded as 'a legacy of colonialism' with Afrikaans being used widely as a lingua franca. The sparse population together with a cultural diversity which has been encouraged specifically since South Africa has gained an influence over the territory, have precluded the use of an indigenous language being used as a lingua franca.

TABLE 8.1 : Approximation of the Namibian Population by Language



(UNIN, 1981: 5)

8.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

8.3.1 Missionary education

Formal education in Namibia was begun, as elsewhere in Africa, by the missionaries. The first missionaries arrived in Warmbad in 1805 (Mbamba, 1982: 55) or 1806 (according to UNIN, 1984: 1). Initially, the London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies operated in the Southern part of Namibia but in 1842 the Rhenish Missionary Society took over (Mbamba: 55 and UNIN: 1). The Finnish Missionary Society began work in the Northern territory in 1870. The basic aim of the missionary educational process, as elsewhere in Africa, was to achieve literacy which would facilitate more effectively the evangelisation of the local inhabitants. Some efforts were made toward developing the local languages and teaching through the medium of these, especially Nama and Herero (Mbamba: 55).

8.3.2 German rule 1884-1915

In 1883 Germany formally began to exert its influence over Namibia by proclaiming what is now known as Luderitz Bay, a protectorate (UNIN: 2). Generally, though, it is considered that the German Colonial Administration began its operations in 1884. The colonial government and missions began establishing separate educational provisions for whites, 'coloureds' and Africans with very little emphasis on African education (Mbamba: 55-6).

These separate systems of education had also assumed separate functions: Non-White education aimed at converting and preparing them for semi-skilled employment in the White sector; whereas

education for Whites aimed at reproducing the European system. This was, of course, a common situation in most British colonies in Africa in the early 20th century (Mbamba: 57).

The UNIN document (4) suggests that the German Colonial administration was not clear about a specific language policy for African education. Although it tended to acknowledge some labour requirements and the consequent necessity for the labourers to have a working knowledge of German, there appeared to be a fear that access to German might encourage aspirations of democracy. In any event, education was not a priority of the colonial administration and its duration of power was a period of about 30 years, during which time very little real progress toward the education of African children was made. In general, African education was pretty much left to the missionaries. The German administration in Tanzania had, by way of contrast, had a more significant influence over the development and encouragement of the lingua franca, Swahili, with the result that Swahili's importance as the official language and medium of instruction has been promoted. So instead of Tanzania following a pro-European language policy after independence, an African language was ready to provide for the linguistic needs of that country (even if extensive language development still had to take place). In Namibia, the case is likely to be different. No African language was sufficiently encouraged during the German rule for it to be a feasible option now. This is not to say that the responsibility for such a situation to occur rests with the German administration. The situation in Tanzania was different because Arab traders had made inroads into the mainland of that country and introduced Swahili as a useful trading language long before German influence. So the African language in Tanzania had an advantage over the situation in Namibia. Furthermore, German rule in Tanzania was followed

by British colonial rule which was not as ideologically bound as far as the separatism of apartheid has been in Namibia.

8.3.3 South African hegemony and consequent language policies

South Africa occupied the territory in 1915, shortly after the onset of World War I. In 1919, the League of Nations gave Britain a mandate to control South West Africa with South Africa exercising that power. In 1921, an Education Act gave the South African Government control of education of South West Africa and a white Department of Education was set up (UNIN, 1984: 4). Education for each 'racial' group was to operate according to government regulations. In 1923, a conference was called to articulate the guidelines for African education. Education for Africans was largely left to the missions which had to conform to the principles laid down by the Education Act (Mbamba, 1982: 57 and O'Callaghan, 1977: 97). The question of medium of instruction was discussed. The Rhenish and Roman Catholic missions agreed to use English and Afrikaans because of the dearth of reading material/literature in the African languages. UNIN (4) and Mbamba (66) suggest that while much progress in white education took place between 1923-48, virtually none was made as far as black education was concerned.

The education system, by the time there was a change of South African government in 1948, was such in South Africa, that three systems operated for: Africans, 'coloureds' and whites. While the government financed education for whites, African education was funded largely by the missions and taxes on the Africans for that purpose. The United Party, the ruling

party in the Union of South Africa, instituted a Native Education Act (1945) whereby the central government would provide funds for African education. This decision replaced the earlier system of funding through African taxation (Mbamba: 60). 'Coloured' education was largely paid for by the community raising funds directly for education.

The position of language in education, at the time of National Party take-over of power in 1948, in South Africa was that as far as African education went, the primary school syllabus included the teaching of the home language, English and Afrikaans. In 'coloured' schools, Afrikaans was the medium. In white schools, the media were Afrikaans, English and German, depending upon the home language.

8.3.4 National Party hegemony in South Africa and education in South West Africa

As has already been discussed in Chapter 5, the National Party came to power in 1948 where it has remained to date. The effects of the Eiselen Commission in the terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and its subsequent amendments (1954, 56, 59 and 61) were to be seen in South West Africa/Namibia as well as in South Africa.

In 1958, the van Zyl Commission of Enquiry into Non-European Education in South West Africa was instructed to examine how the South African system of 'non-white' education might be institutionalised in South West Africa. The commission recommended:

- (1) the replacement of mission schools by the community schools,
- (2) separate administration of African education under the South West African Department of Education,
- (3) introduction of Bantu education syllabus, and
- (4) the introduction of mother tongue of various communities as the medium of instruction (UNIN, 1984: 5).

More specifically, on language the commission recommended:

...literacy in his native language as a means of communication and preserving pride in his national traditions;
 ...and literacy in the official languages as a means of communications with Europeans, as an aid in economic matters and in gaining knowledge of the outside world (Administration of South West Africa, 1958: 58).

Some instruction in primary school in Afrikaans and English was to be provided because its economic worth warranted it (Mbamba: 69). In other words, access to a competent acquisition of English and Afrikaans beyond what was necessary for the African child in terms of his role in society, as this was perceived by the South African government, was not provided. The African's role in society had been determined by those architects of apartheid who had subsequently guided the outcomes of the Eiselen Commission in Namibia, just as it had been in South Africa (cf. Chapter 5).

The Education Ordinance of 1962 included the commission's recommendations and put them into effect. The problems of mother tongue instruction raised problems at this point. The independent languages of South West Africa/Namibia were not even as developed as those of South Africa for educational purposes (O'Callaghan, 1977: 110). Consequently, there were protests from the black people of South West Africa/Namibia against the

use of mother tongue. However, the state policy continued all the same. Provision was made for a Bureau of Native Languages to be established should the Administrator of the Territory deem it necessary. The function of the bureau would be under a 'European' Bantu philologist and therefore the 'direction and development of the African languages' was to be guided by non-Africans. Furthermore, a comparison of white children's books with those of black pupils, reveals 'educational imparity' which is employed to 'sustain apartheid' (UNIN, 1984: 15).

In 1962, a further Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs under F.H. Odendaal was appointed. The recommendations made were implemented in 1964 and, accordingly, while the education of white pupils was left to the South West African Administration, 'coloured' education became the responsibility of the Department of Coloured Affairs in South Africa, and black education fell under the Department of Bantu Education in South Africa.

As a result of the South African government policy, education of blacks in South West Africa/Namibia was therefore brought under the direct influence of the apartheid system, whereby government politics dictated the rationale behind educational provisions.

O'Callaghan (1977: 120) suggests that one might follow the French marxist, Althuser's, analysis that:

...the ideological state apparatus ensures the reproduction of the social relations of production...

In other words, the South African state apparatus, which is bound by the ideology of apartheid, ensures through, in this case, the schools, the reproduction of the state's desired social relations. The educational position of black people in South West Africa/Namibia, as in South Africa, was designed to maintain tribal divisions, thereby attempting to prevent aspirations of a national unity, and at the same time a subservient, peasant class was perpetuated for purposes of unskilled and semi-skilled labour requirements.

In 1975, the Educational Ordinance gave the Director of Education in South West Africa/Namibia, the power to determine the school syllabus. In 1977, a school syllabus was established and in 1978 the Cape Syllabus was adopted by South West Africa/Namibia for all the schools. This was interpreted as a response to the student unrest, especially that of the pivotal Soweto problem of 1976. In essence though, it was in no way intended to do away with fundamentals of the apartheid system in education. The separate schools remained.

8.3.5 The language medium policy in focus

The policy with regard to medium of instruction in the territory has remained much the same since 1964 and operates as follows:

<u>Population Group</u>	<u>Language of Instruction (Medium)</u>		
	<u>Substandard A & B</u>	<u>Standard 1 & 2</u>	<u>Standard 3 - 5</u>
<u>Primary School</u>			
White : Afrikaans English German	mother tongue (M-T)	→	
'Coloured', Nama and Rheobother	M-T (Afrikaans)	→	
Black : S. Sector	M-T	M-T + Afrikaans	Afrikaans
N. Sector	M-T	→	Afrikaans
<u>Secondary School</u>	<u>Junior Sec.</u>	<u>Senior Sec.</u>	
White : Afrikaans English German - public private	M-T (Afrikaans) M-T (English) Afrik/English M-T (German)	→ → → →	Afrikaans/English
'Coloured', Nama, and Rheobother	M-T (Afrikaans)	→	
Black	Afrikaans	→	

NIN (1981: 17) claims that English is not likely to be introduced as a subject until Standard 3 in black schools, and then it is treated as a foreign language. While the mother tongue policy is followed as closely as possible in black schools, not all the indigenous languages have been promoted sufficiently to be ably used in primary schools. Very often a scarcity of written material and/or a lack of qualified teaching staff prevent the use of such languages.

Largely as a result of the UNESCO document of 1953 (see Chapter 2), educational theorists have accepted, by and large, that a child's mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction, where this is feasible. UNIN (1984: 15) reiterates a claim often made about the South African version of this policy. Coincidentally, the Bantu Education Act came into being in the very year of the UNESCO document. While it might be convenient for the South African government to claim that it is simply following a world-wide educational trend in adopting the mother tongue principle, there is much criticism which suggests that the government's motivations lie elsewhere. It is seen by many critics to be part of the mechanism of apartheid, whereby ethnic divisions and consciousness are stimulated and the gulf between black and white is reinforced. Furthermore, the black languages are not used in the economic sphere and neither are they used in government (Troup, 1976: 34-5).

Kamupingene articulates an interesting phenomenon which exists in South West Africa/Namibia as an ironic twist to what one expects to find in other multilingual situations. Usually, linguistic groups whose languages are not regarded as official media of communication, fight for the preservation and promotion of these languages. Alternatively, if pressures are perceived to present a threat, as far as the continued existence of any such language, as with the French of Canada and the Afrikaners in South Africa, even if that language has a legitimate hold in its current position, then the speakers of that language make every effort to protect it.

It is thus understandable and predictable that when a particular language is threatened with assimilation by the dominant one then its speakers are up in arms to defend it. This seems to be

the general tendency in any plural society... (Kamupingene, 1985: 3-4).

In South West Africa/Namibia, the situation is, as it is in South Africa, entirely different. The African languages have come to be seen by their speakers as inferior vehicles of communication and consequently, 'symbols of retardation'. This attitude is directly attributable to the distrust of the government's apartheid policy which is extended to the language policy where linguistic divisions are seen as a useful mechanism to prevent the rise of African nationalism and aspirations of unity, besides the very important benefits which might be afforded in the economic sphere if competence in the language of the economic markets were achieved.

It seems that in South West Africa/Namibia, the speakers of black languages are prepared to accept assimilation if one were to use the Nama people as an example. The Namas have largely come to regard Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

While these claims are made about the unsuitability of the mother tongue policy, an apparently conflicting complaint is made in UNIN (1981: 20-1 and 1984: 15-6). The complaint involves the position of Afrikaans where, owing to a lack of suitable written materials in the local languages and also a paucity of suitably trained teachers, Afrikaans is very often introduced as the medium of instruction much earlier and this then jeopardises the competent acquisition of both the local language and English, the latter being regarded as desirable. UNIN (1981: 22) argues that:

- (1) emphasis is placed on the teaching of Afrikaans at the expense of other languages for both political and administrative reasons;
- (2) the quality of teaching of Afrikaans is better than that of other local languages or of English;
- (3) inadequate materials exist for the teaching of local languages other than Afrikaans; and
- (4) the learning of Afrikaans has a higher priority value than the learning of local languages.

If one accepts these arguments as being valid, then one begins to see how feelings which are negative about Afrikaans might operate where resentment against the imposition of 'colonial' hegemony exists.

8.3.6 Language Usage Survey (February 1982)

The Department of Language Training of the Academy for Tertiary Education conducted a language usage survey in 1982 and discovered that many black people in South West Africa/Namibia are not convinced about the usefulness of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction or lingua franca, and a majority would prefer English as both medium of instruction, after early primary schooling, and as the official language. This is particularly interesting as South West Africa/Namibia has never had a history of Anglophone colonialism.

8.3.7 The position of the European languages under South African rule

Afrikaans: Although English is regarded as being one of the two official languages, it is Afrikaans which is the language of the administration, the medium of most education in the

territory and it is the lingua franca. 70% of the whites in the country speak this language (UNIN, 1981: 7).

English:

Only 16% of the white population speak English as a mother tongue (UNIN, 1981: 7). It is seen very much as a language of secondary importance by the administration even though it is an official language. Traditionally, it is seen as a language of the elite, but as the resentment against Afrikaans has mushroomed, where Afrikaans is seen as the language of the oppressor, so has there been an interesting spin-off effect for English. English is seen as the language of liberation and national unity.

German:

20% of the white in the territory have German as their mother tongue. It has not spread as a lingua franca and remains a language spoken almost entirely by the German population rather than any other linguistic group. It is offered at schools as a subject, unless the schools are private, in which case it might be used as the medium.

8.4 LINGUISTIC POLICIES FOR THE FUTURE: A MOVEMENT TOWARDS LIBERATION

A further reason for the South West African/Namibian model being of great significance to South Africa is that, already, extensive work has been done in providing an ideological standpoint on the language issue from which policy decisions will be made once the territory is independent. This ideological standpoint has come about largely as a result of Bantu

Education and the policies of the South African government. Most of the literature consulted for this chapter is in agreement that there is a need for 'major structural changes' (UNIN, 1984: 24) in the arrangements made for language policies. Mbamba (121) notes that during South African rule:

...the type of education given to the Africans in Namibia is not only insufficient, but a clear expression of South Africa's colonial and apartheid policy which, like any colonial education, has the aim of disintegration, oppression, pacification, dependence, and underdevelopment.

8.4.1 The perceived link between the role of education and the ideology of liberation

The formulation of a specific policy with regard to education has become a significant factor in Southern African liberation ideology and this is seen quite clearly in the literature on Namibian independence strategies. In more general terms, specific remarks about the role of education in conscientising the public appear frequently in official publications. For example, the following quotation appeared in a supplement to AIM Information Bulletin which is the mouthpiece of the official Mozambiquan news agency:

...the way in which each society educates and prepares its cadres conditions in turn its own economic, social and cultural development (Machel, 1981: 1).

More specifically pertinent to Namibia, the following extract appeared in UNIN (1984: 20):

A policy for the education sector cannot thus be developed in isolation from identified national goals. It implies the recognition of the impact of prevailing apartheid situation in Namibia and identification and articulation of the aspirations of the Namibians.

SWAPO, since its inception in 1960, has been campaigning for the liberation of Namibia from South African hegemony. At a seminar on Education and Culture for Liberation held in Lusaka, Zambia, in October, 1980, the SWAPO delegation outlined their ideological objection to the South African educational policy in Namibia as follows:

Whereas 'Bantu Education' denies educational opportunities to the African people it equally denies those who receive it the universal culture as contained in various realms of experience and knowing by stressing and popularising the 'science of folklore'. 'Bantu Education' was intended to heighten the level of systification and reification of state power. Students are denied the cognitive resources for critical engagement with the educated and well informed adversary, and for the creation of what Antonio Gramsci called a 'cultural and political counter-hegemony'. In Gramsci's view: for the proletariat to be able to create an alternative hegemony, a full grasp of the nature of the social formations and the natural phenomenon, is a necessary pre-requisite (FEP, 1981:19).

SWAPO has basically adopted a 'socialist development strategy' and has been influenced by the ideologies of Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Zambia which follow similar strategies. The Tanzanian model 'Ujamaa villages' and 'Education for Self-Reliance' is one which appeals to the perceived need of Namibia as seen by SWAPO (Mbamba, 1982: 122).

In 1969, SWAPO formed its Department of Education and Culture and sought to develop curricula which 'would reflect the national aspirations of the struggling Namibian peoples' (FEP, 1981: 45). The immediate need for developing such curricula became more focused when greater numbers of SWAPO members felt that they needed to find sanctuary in Zambia in the 1970s. The immediate problem was that in South West Africa/Namibia, Afrikaans had been the medium of instruction and now the children of expatriates were flung into a situation where they had to deal with

English as the medium of instruction. So the teaching of English became a priority (FEP, 1981: 45).

The situation as it is explained here suggests that expediency rather than political motivation dictated the choice of English medium. A primary concern of SWAPO, however, is that:

Every ... child must be given political orientation if we are to achieve politically cohesive centres with ramifications beneficial to our own political aspirations ... schooling is another form of struggle... (FEP: 45).

In 1973 the first SWAPO school was established in Zambia and one of the prime motivations for this was:

To germinate a model nuclear community which would form a foundation for the future Namibian society. Not only is SWAPO concerned with the material well-being of the Namibians, but also more importantly with inculcating ideas of nationhood and social reconstruction. Through the project...SWAPO envisages to reorient Namibians with different cultural, social and educational backgrounds towards the ideals of one Namibia, one People and one Nation (SWAPO, 1972).

The syllabus used by the SWAPO school was largely based on the Zambian and Tanzanian systems and it is hoped that the present syllabus will become the model for the future Namibian system (Mbamba: 128).

The language of instruction right from the lower primary classes is English because it is the language of SWAPO. SWAPO has chosen English as its official language because it is a foreign and international language and as such may play a unifying role for Namibians whereas an indigenous language may create divisions within the society. Secondly, English is

the medium of instruction at schools in the countries where most of the expatriate pupils are being educated - as has been mentioned earlier.

The United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN), in Lusaka, Zambia, has been providing facilities for higher education for future Namibian leaders since 1976. The United Nations established this institute in Lusaka in 1976 in co-operation with SWAPO. As a result of considerable SWAPO influence within the institution, the programmes and policy guidelines emanating from the institute are very much in line with SWAPO thinking or 'ideological objectives' (Mbamba: 126).

At this point it might be necessary to explain further why a committee of the UN and its suggestions for an alternative language policy might carry weight once independence has been achieved. Over the years, the UN has played a special role as an advocate and lobbyist for the independence of Africa's last remaining colony. UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 remains the only internationally accepted blueprint for an independent Namibia. Consequently, it is not surprising that the UNIN documents, Toward a Language Policy for Namibia (1981) and Education Policy for Independent Namibia (1984) are likely to be viewed as far more acceptable than an alternative seen to emanate from South Africa, the present colonial power. It is also not surprising that these two significant documents should propose that English be the medium of instruction and the medium through which the matters of government be transmitted.

UNIN (1981: 37-8) has suggested eight criteria which should be met by the language chosen as the official language for an independent Namibia.

These are as follows:

- (1) Unity - whereby the language is expected to promote national unity;
- (2) Acceptability - where the language must be found to be politically and socially acceptable;
- (3) Familiarity - where the language is familiar to the population;
- (4) Feasibility - where it is found that it would be affordable to institute and where sufficient resources are available i.e. in the form of texts and teaching staff;
- (5) Science and Technology - where the language is equipped to provide access to western scientific and technological developments;
- (6) Pan-Africanism - where the language can provide channels of communication through Africa, particularly the immediate neighbours;
- (7) Wider Communication - where international/world communication is facilitated;
- (8) United Nations - where, because of the close association of the UNO (United Nations Organisation) with Namibia, it would be desirable that a major language of the organisation be the official language.

If one were to examine the eight criteria set out by UNIN (1981) one is likely to find it obvious that the selection of an official language is quite definitely based on political and economic requirements. It is also obvious that a local, indigenous language could not fulfil most of these criteria. Afrikaans fails criteria nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

At this point, a digression will be taken from the main line of this argument to concentrate on the relationship of Afrikaans to criterion (2) mentioned above. An interesting debate has arisen as a result of the publication of the UNIN (1981) document in South African academic circles. The fact that this document is not freely available in South Africa makes the debate all the more interesting. Essentially UNIN (1981: 7) suggests that Afrikaans is an imposed language and that it is used to isolate Namibians from the outside world, i.e. prevent the influence of other African nationalist movements. H G W du Plessis (1985) has constructed an argument whereby he challenges the validity of the UNIN assertion.

Essentially, he claims that there is scientific evidence that Afrikaans in South West Africa/Namibia is neither 'imposed' nor 'colonial'. Khoi people, with a nomadic type of existence had migrated into what was to become the Cape Colony, just as others had migrated into what was to become known as South West Africa/Namibia. While it is believed that they disappeared after the 1713 smallpox epidemic in the Cape they, in fact had, to a certain extent, become acculturated through contact with the freeburghers, slaves and free blacks in the area. During the 17th century they began to pick up features of the slave languages, especially a dialect of Dutch which was remarkably close to modern Afrikaans. A precondition for freedom from slavery was that the slave could converse in Afrikaans, and this made the language attain prestige. Disintegration of the Khoi community and a conscious effort on the part of the authorities in the Cape led, in part, to the acculturation of these people. These people together with various white, black and slave elements became known as the 'Oorlams' people who left the Cape, partly as a result of the

smallpox epidemic, and partly because of the instability of their economic and political structure. The boers had established farms moving in a northward direction, forcing the nomadic groups even further north. The 'Oorlams' and later the 'Basters' brought to the area in question, various dialects of what is now regarded as Afrikaans. du Plessis argues that these dialects, because of their prestige status within the ex-slave community, assumed a similarly prestigious position in South West Africa/Namibia. Furthermore, du Plessis argues that the language was not simply a spoken one, there is evidence that it was a written one as well.

Essentially, du Plessis is suggesting that Afrikaans existed in this area as a well established and desirable language long before even the German occupation in 1884, and certainly long before South Africa had any official authority over the territory.

An article by L T du Plessis (1985) criticises both the UNIN and H G W du Plessis's assumptions and analysis of the situation. He suggests that both fail to differentiate between the form of Afrikaans that functions as the official language of Namibia and the various forms which serve as dialects spoken by many groups of the territory.

The spoken Afrikaans differs significantly from Standard Afrikaans. When H G W du Plessis argues that Afrikaans is not an imposed language, he is referring to the dialects and not to the Standard Afrikaans of the administration. The form which functions as the official language is, without a doubt, a South African development and is not based on any of the variants of Namibian Afrikaans, hence it would be a language from the

outside that would be regarded as forced upon the inhabitants. L T du Plessis suggests that the UNIN documents fails to recognise the rich differences of Namibian Afrikaans as well.

The problem really rests with the fact that the UNIN document is operating from an ideological position from where it is hoped that an ideologically changed and different society will exist in Namibia after independence and what the strategists are presently concerned with is the replacement of all that smacks of South African oppression which is manifested through the standard version of Afrikaans. The UNIN document's argument is flawed simply because it fails to make the distinction between the different forms of Afrikaans as it exists in Namibia. Likewise, H G W du Plessis appears to be missing the real point of what the UNIN document is saying about Afrikaans and while his argument is interesting, it is not going to hold much weight in the final analysis of an independent strategy for Namibia.

To return to the UNIN's eight criterias for the official language of an independent Namibia, it appears that English fulfils all of the criteria (1981: 40). One might, however, wish to query its fulfilling the criterion of familiarity, as English is simply not widely known throughout Namibia. It is not familiar to most Namibians outside the few heavily populated settlements and the Caprivi Strip. The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) has chosen English as the language of liberation. Given the fact that SWAPO has been fighting for Namibian independence for over two decades, its policy statements carry significant influence for the Namibian people. SWAPO schools and training centres

outside the country conduct their instruction through the medium of English and the UNIN operates through English as well. These factors may explain why English is regarded in such a positive light within the territory even though it is not yet widely spoken there. (1)

While there is enormous support given to English as the official language of the future in Namibia, there is obviously a strong concern that the indigenous languages should not be ignored and secondly, there is a fear that the use of a European language might 'lead to a Eurocentric orientation' (UNIN, 1981: 41).

8.4.2 The 'issues and implications' of language policies as seen by UNIN (1981)

The UNIN (1981) document dwells upon the issues and implications of language strategies at great length. The extent to which these issues have been examined is most useful as far as the implications for a future South Africa are concerned as there are many parallels to be drawn between the two situations.

UNIN (1981) outlines the issue in Chapter 6 (45-47) and then divides these into socio-political; socio-cultural; administrative and economic; and dilemma of medium of instruction, and these categories are discussed in Chapters 7-10.

What follows is a discussion of and commentary on these issues which are listed and examined in UNIN (1981) document.

Unification

Very often it is believed that unity is achieved through the medium of a single language which comes to represent the dominant ideology. An obvious example of this in Southern Africa is the position of Afrikaans within the Afrikaner community in South Africa. This example is a particularly useful one because Afrikaans is certainly seen as a unifying factor within the Afrikaner community as it embodies the cultural history, the political ideology and cultural identity of that group. However, outside that group, the Afrikaans language is seen very much as part of the divisive nature of the political system as it stands in relation to the majority of the South African population. The UNIN document argues that language can be both 'integrative and disintegrative' and suggests, furthermore, that a uniform language policy does not necessarily promote 'nationhood' (48). The use of English as the medium of education and government might promote unity but, on the other hand, as a foreign language, it might represent attitudes inimical to the Namibian way of life and consequently it might prove to be a divisive force. The very exclusive nature of the language in terms of its imperial history as well as in terms of its likely failure to communicate in rural grass-root situations without the aid of interpreters might promote 'social cleavage'. If it is perceived of as being politically neutral and the focus of its role is placed on trans-tribal and national communication, then it will be accepted as being a unifying factor. In Tanzania, a common indigenous language, Kiswahili (Swahili) has become the unifying force. However, the average Tanzanian speaks three languages: English, Swahili and a local language and, according to a study conducted in Ghana

in 1975, individuals there speak at least three languages. This suggests that in a multilingual territory, a single language option is out of the question and that a multilingual approach might be more sensible than a single minded focus of one language as a unifying factor. Possibly, one might be tempted to argue that while nationalism in Europe found its focal point in a single language, the situation in Africa with its own brand of nationalism, is different. The multilingual situation does exist and will not disappear. This suggests that African nationalism and the perceived need for unity may not necessarily be seen in terms of a single language policy which, in this case, is English. Rather, English must exist side by side with the indigenous languages. The UNIN argument seems to be suggesting criticism of the purist SWAPO English policy. Besides, English, as it is spoken in Namibian circles at the moment, is not equipped to express the cultural heritage of the various Namibian peoples. The English system in Namibia, because of its infrequent use there, has not yet assimilated cultural and environmental features peculiar to the territory. Furthermore, inadequate numbers of trained teachers of English in Namibia will hamper the process.

Prestige

The next concern with regard to the use of English as the language of instruction and government is that the language might be accorded prestige status to the extent that it would operate to the disservice of the indigenous languages. Not only that but prestige, in terms of material gain, might become associated with the language to such an extent that it might become a threat to the socialist system favoured by both SWAPO and

the UNIN. If it is seen to promote class divisions it will inevitably restrict communications between these groups and consequently it might be counter-productive to unity.

The role of the local languages

The document puts forward a strong case for the preservation and development of the local languages. It is a world-wide phenomenon that local languages are gaining an important status as official languages in tandem with the language which is the language of government. UNESCO argued the case of mother tongue instruction in the early 1950s and the importance of the mother tongue in bearing the cultural histories and metaphorical interpretation of the environment. It is not possible for English to assume these roles at the moment as it is still a foreign language and has not yet absorbed expressions of the African environment and cultural heritage sufficiently to adequately replace the mother tongue. Consequently, the institute argues that the position of the local languages be protected at least and promoted ideally.

...many contemporary experts question and deny the supposedly undesirable effects - namely insularity and competing micro-nationalism - of promoting indigenous languages. It is now being affirmed that diversity in itself is not contrary to unity. It is also said that uniformity does not necessarily produce the desired unity. Indeed, artificially produced uniformity may be a source of weakness and hostility, while there may be strength in co-ordinated diversity (Martinez Cobo, 1980: 9).

This would imply that the position of the local languages be carefully determined and that a co-ordinated planning procedure be implemented. This would, in part, be a way of reducing the prestige status accorded English.

Socio-cultural load of English

It is an undeniable fact that English has incorporated into itself a racial bias based on traditional literary allusions to the concept of blackness. Furthermore, English has been regarded as a major vehicle of imperialism in the third world and this association is bound to have some effect on its position as the official language of an independent Namibia. There may well be ambivalent attitudes toward this language. A way of de-emphasising the socio-cultural load of English might be to employ English as the official lingua franca while at the same time stressing the significance of the local languages and their importance in transmitting 'Africanness'.

The Eurocentricism of English

Closely allied to the previous issue is the perception of English as the vehicle of transmitting Eurocentric ideas, philosophies, world-views and cultural heritage which would operate to deny the importance of what is essentially African. There are theorists who would argue this position. However, it would seem that the practical advantages of using English are considered to be more important. In the following chapter on South Africa, this point is taken up and generally dismissed as insignificant at the moment during the period prior to independence/liberation. There may well come a time after independence when this concern may assert itself as more of an issue. Right now, it is a useful tool which enables a level of communication internationally necessary for the liberation movement.

Relationship of English with capitalism

English is the major language of the capitalist western countries. SWAPO and the UNIN have both suggested a pro-socialist policy for Namibia and consequently the possible conflict of the language used for an economic system inimical to the one proposed for Namibia must be a consideration. A solution would be to ensure that all national programmes be constructed in such a way as to promote the ideology of 'Namibianization' so that the link with capitalism be minimised.

Who requires English?

UNIN suggests that there may be too great an emphasis on English with regard to employment. At a grass roots level it is suggested that English is of little practical value and that fluency in the local language is of paramount importance. For the few occasions that English may be required, the services of an interpreter may be used. This implies that there may be a differentiated educational policy with regard to language issues. On the other hand, one might tend to argue that a functional knowledge of English may be useful even at a grass roots level as reading instructions on products required by the farmer is very often vital and these are hardly likely to arrive in the local language, especially if these goods have been imported. Nevertheless, this is certainly an issue which should be addressed by the language planners.

Language planning for rural and urban needs

The previous point brings us to consider this question. The needs of the two environments might be different and it is dangerous to assume that the rural population need not acquire a competence in English or that the urban population need not acquire a competence in a relevant local language. The UNIN suggests that there must be a universal core syllabus provided and that facilities be provided for any interested party to pursue the learning of English thereafter.

Languages as media or subjects

The question is really about which language should be the medium of instruction at primary school. The answer rests on the perceived function of the primary school, i.e. whether it is seen as basic education for a majority who will never go on to tertiary education or whether it is seen as a training ground for a minority who will go on to tertiary education. A second factor rests on the priority given to language where it is seen as a facilitator of modern thought and international communication or the bearer of a cultural heritage (59).

The influence of the UNESCO study in 1953 on vernacular languages and its support of the importance of mother tongue instruction, at least in the early years of education is unfortunately set against the use of mother tongue instruction by the South African government to limit access to world views and promote tribalism. This reality, together with the practicality of having a simple, single language policy in the early and

expensive years of independence suggest that initially, at least, the policy is likely to be one whereby English triumphs over the mother tongue as the medium and the mother tongue be employed as a subject rather than a medium.

The administrative role of the language planners

The UNIN document discusses several issues which basically fall under the administrative concerns of the language planners. Most importantly, the question of how English should be spread throughout Namibia, is addressed. Obviously, firstly, there needs to be a sufficient number of adequately trained teachers, not only of English, but of other subjects which need to be taught by persons competent to deal with English medium. Teaching personnel can only be adequately trained if there is a priority made of English language training programmes. There is a somewhat bleak picture of the reality of this at present. Secondly, there needs to be large-scale development of teaching material with a Namibian-centred bias and this can only be developed once a Namibian-centred syllabus has been established. This requires definite planning and financial outlay, which bring us to the next issue: financial considerations. In practical terms, the sheer magnitude of the cost of a programme on a national scale presents a problems which, in all likelihood, will not be solved in the days immediately after independence.

8.5 ATTEMPTS TO PRESERVE THE STATUS QUO

It needs be mentioned that while the policy based on liberation ideology has received much attention in this chapter, the evidence presently available indicates this will form the basis of a language policy once independence has been achieved.

In the meantime, the South African government's Department of National Education envisages a maintenance of the status quo. The Department of National Education requested that the Advisory Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council (ACHSRC) look into educational matters in Namibia. This committee's report, Verslag AGN4 (ACHSRC) ondersoek na die Onderwys in SWA/Namibie: Knelpunte in 'n Veeltaalige onderwyssituasie (1982) argues that in realistic terms, the role of English as a lingua franca cannot effectively challenge the position of Afrikaans which is firmly entrenched. Afrikaans is spoken by a sizable percentage of the population as a vernacular and is the main language of inter-'ethnic' communication. The number of native mother tongue speakers of English is very small in comparison. Furthermore, it is the view of the ACHSRC that local languages should be developed to a position whereby they become competent facilitators of communication. This last point, however valid, presented by a body connected with the South African government is not likely to be treated with anything other than suspicion given the attitude toward the pursuance of apartheid.

8.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS FOR AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA'S LANGUAGE POLICY

Ideologically, it is clear that a maintenance of the status quo will be unacceptable, and that Afrikaans is a language which is associated with apartheid and which has even been blamed for the high drop out rate of pupils from school (Mbamba: 135). Furthermore, it is seen as a language which creates ideological divisions rather than unity.

It is also clear that the position of English will be promoted to the position of the official medium of communication for the government and education. What is not quite so clear is exactly how significant the local languages will be in relation to English. On the one hand, English might assume dominance while the local languages are ignored completely, because the effects of Bantu Education have generated such distrust in their ability to perform adequately as vehicles of communication. On the other hand, they might be recognised as important educational tools in much the same way that the UNESCO document of 1953 suggests. Should this be the case, the languages will be used as far as possible in the early years of primary education as media of instruction, with a gradual changeover to English medium. An even more liberal attitude toward the local languages would be to have them exist side by side with English as official languages of Namibia. This last option would necessitate the greatest degree of planning and development of these languages and this would involve considerable expense which, realistically, a newly independent Namibia could not afford.

Mbamba cites examples of situations elsewhere in Africa where the position of local languages is relegated very much a secondary role in educational matters and where it has been discovered that the use of a foreign language such as English retards educational development (Mbamba: 164).

Both the UNIN and Mbamba suggest that the role of the mother tongue not be ignored and they show concern that the purist SWAPO line, whereby the pupils are taught through the medium of English right from the beginning of primary school, might be educationally damaging. This support of the local languages emanating from a powerful influence like the UNIN suggests that a more compromising attitude toward the local languages and a move toward their development is likely to occur at least in the early days after independence when financial considerations make this feasible. For this to take place, a Bureau of Languages would have to be established so that efficient planning could take place.

8.6.1 Predicted sequence of ideologically-bound events in language policy

In terms of the governmental policy decision options open to multilingual communities, as discussed in Chapter 3, Namibia has already experienced separate development and, to a certain extent, assimilation with the move toward Afrikaans in some communities, during South African hegemony of the territory.

The South African government clearly advocates that the situation of separate development continue as indicated by the statements made by the ACHSRC.

Policy statements and the examples of schools set up by SWAPO and studies conducted under the auspices of the UNIN indicate clearly that they are in favour of the independent strategy which includes the localising of curricula and personnel.

There are, however, indications that the policy of independence will grow into one of integration or Smolicz's concept of hybrid monism, where the diverse elements are brought together to create a sense of unity/nationality. This would be a new nationality comprising elements from all the different groups. Alternatively, there might be a move toward what Smolicz calls multiculturalism where the minority groups would develop their own cultures and languages alongside the dominant Namibian one.

In terms of the dominant ideology of nationalism in Namibia, there is strong evidence to suggest that the present policy of the South African government promoting ethnicity will be replaced by geographic nationalism where the ethnic boundaries, which facilitate the present system of divide and rule, are transcended.

What all of this really means in terms of the language policy is that, initially, the independence movement will employ English as the medium of communication which will be seen as the language of unity, i.e. the language of Namibian nationalism. The independent movement will simply not have sufficient manpower or financial resources to consider an immediate promotion of the separate languages. Besides, ideologically, the people of Namibia will need to be convinced of the need to co-operate

in the direction of unity. A single language policy will make this much easier to transmit as an ideology. However, once independence has taken place and there is a degree of Namibian nationalism entrenched in the society, the new government will be able to afford, politically, to introduce a more realistic language policy whereby the local languages receive much attention and they are regarded in a positive light as far as their usefulness goes. At this point, the legacy of mother tongue education under South African rule will not be likely to hinder the promotion of these languages.

Of course, what has been discussed here is the language policy as it has been decided upon by official bodies. What will happen in practice is more difficult to predict. In reality it will take a long time for the speakers of Afrikaans to reject their language, if at all. Furthermore, one should not ignore the fact that Afrikaans dialects do operate as *linguae francae* in Namibia and this is a consideration which has practical implications which might prove more powerful than the ideological choice of English in this role. Then the sheer numerical weakness of English at the moment and the paucity of teachers who might be able to teach through this medium suggest that what is ideologically called for and what will really happen in the early days of independence will be two different things.

- (1) Du Preez (1987) points out, however, that, in reality, Afrikaans is used extensively as a lingua franca by members of SWAPO both inside and outside Namibia. Furthermore, he states that this language is similarly used in the SWAPO schools. This would tend to point toward the phenomenon of Orwell's doublethink where the requirements of adherence to a political ideology allows one to ignore reality. Du Preez notes that there is a significant softening of previously held negative attitudes toward Afrikaans and suggests that SWAPO may soon adapt its language policy to recognise the role Afrikaans has to play as a Namibian lingua franca. (Max du Preez is a free-lance journalist and political analyst with a number of years of working experience throughout Namibia.)

CHAPTER 9

TRENDS IN LANGUAGE MEDIUM POLICY FOR A POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

9.1 INTRODUCTION

A study of language planning strategies in post-apartheid South Africa certainly requires much thought and care. An examination of models applied elsewhere in Anglophone Africa provides a background to various policy options open in a multilingual situation and also suggests the underlying ideological concerns which might affect decisions of policy. The clear link between the political ideology of the ruling body of a territory, whether it be a colony or a self-ruled state, and the educational policy, especially with regard to the matter of language has been stated frequently in studies covering the area.

What is likely to be the case in a future South Africa where the language policy is concerned? The South African situation, in many ways, bears resemblance to those situations elsewhere in Anglophone Africa, but, there again, there are remarkable differences which suggest that the models established further north are not necessarily likely models for a post-apartheid South Africa.

What makes South Africa similar to other Anglophone countries in Africa is that the territory is a multilingual one and was once a British colony where the influence of the English language in education and political

administration has been of enormous importance. What makes South Africa different from other Anglophone countries in Africa is, however, that when British colonial hegemony came to an end in May 1961 with the establishment of the Republic of South Africa, instead of there being a government based on black majority rule, a white minority government came into being. Expressed differently, the dispensation already given to white minority leadership by the colonial power simply asserted itself in a more overt fashion. One form of colonialism was replaced by another form of European colonialism under the guise of Afrikaner nationalism. The second major difference between the other African countries and South Africa is an additional complication of the language issue. The South African government policy has been based on a strong identification of the Afrikaans language with Afrikaner nationalism - the country's ideological-political power base. Nowhere else in Africa was the language employed by the ruling class to reflect its interests in such an undisguised manner.

Whereas, elsewhere, a certain amount of resentment against the use of the ex-colonial language (English) has been expressed, the situation has taken an ironic twist in South Africa. The antagonism against the colonial language, English, has manifested itself within the ranks of the current rulers, certainly, but these rulers are not seen by the majority as representing their interests. Rather, the government is seen as a mutation of the colonial power. Consequently, the antagonism towards English has, to a very large extent, been played down in black politics, and the opposition to the colonial language has been and is currently directed toward Afrikaans in black circles. The irony lies in the

emergent attitude toward English as the vehicle for ideologies of freedom and independence.

This is not to say that English is entirely free of the emotional attitudes associated with colonialism in black South African thought. Rather, the greater strength of the antagonism is directed toward Afrikaans. The de-anglicisation process of the Afrikaner nationalist in the educational sphere, in favour of Afrikaans and the local indigenous languages, has generated a momentous swing toward English by the black community. English is seen in terms of a lingua franca and an access language to the outside world. This is especially so in terms of contact with the broader spectrum of African nationalism and Pan-Africanism. The attempt by the Afrikaner nationalists to de-emphasise the role of English has, in effect, simply had the ironical result of bringing about a championing of the cause of English in South Africa. These conditions make it very likely that English will be regarded as the lingua franca and chief medium of instruction in the schools, at least during a transitional period after apartheid. This is not to suggest that Afrikaner nationalism is the only cause of the pro-English argument. As is the case in other ex-British colonial territories, the geographical boundaries have ensured the presence of potentially divisive elements in the multicultural and multilingual nature of the country. Table 9.1 on the following page, which appears in Prinsloo (1986) provides the latest official figures for the linguistic make-up of South Africa. Young (1986: 4) points out that the 1980 census data, upon which this table is based, did not include data from the homelands. While a distorted picture of the

HOME LANGUAGES IN THE RSA, ACCORDING TO
THE 1980 CENSUS (5% SAMPLE)

LANGUAGE	WHITES	COLOURED	INDIANS	BLACKS	TOTAL
Afrikaans	2 581 080	2 251 860	15 500	77 320	4 925 760
English	1 763 220	324 360	698 940	29 120	2 815 640
Dutch	11 740	.	.	.	11 740
German	40 240	.	.	.	40 240
Greek	16 780	.	.	.	16 780
Italian	16 600	.	.	.	16 600
Portuguese	57 080	.	.	.	57 080
French	6 340	.	.	.	6 340
Tamil	.	.	24 720	.	24 720
Hindi	.	.	25 900	.	25 900
Telegu	.	.	4 000	.	4 000
Gujarati	.	.	25 120	.	25 120
Urdu	.	.	13 280	.	13 280
Chinese	.	.	2 700	.	2 700
Xhosa	.	8 440	.	2 870 920	2 879 360
Zulu	.	5 580	.	6 058 900	6 064 480
Swazi	.	1 060	.	649 540	650 600
Southern-Ndebele	.	440	.	289 220	289 660
Northern-Ndebele	.	100	.	170 120	170 220
Northern-Sotho	.	2 440	.	2 429 180	2 431 620
Southern-Sotho	.	5 320	.	1 872 520	1 877 840
Tswana	.	9 300	.	1 346 360	1 355 660
Tsonga	.	1 180	.	886 960	888 140
Venda	.	40	.	169 700	169 740
Other	35 020	2 660	11 160	73 900	122 740
TOTAL	4 528 100	2 612 780	821 320	16 923 760	24 886 020

(Prinsloo, 1986)

black languages of South Africa, as a whole, emerges, the figures given are, nevertheless, useful.

Since the parameters of this work have not extended to the position of the languages of minority immigrant groups, the data relating to minority European and Asian languages will not be discussed here.

The government officially recognises ten African languages. The majority of black South Africans speak either an Nguni (which comprises: Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Southern-Ndebele and Northern-Ndebele) or a Sotho (which comprises: Northern-Sotho, Southern-Sotho and Tswana) language.

It is clear from this table that the linguistic make-up of South Africa is such that should one of the indigenous languages be chosen above others as the lingua franca, a climate for resentment would be created. Since there is no clearly obvious African lingua franca in South Africa, in the interests of national unity, English is set to perform that role.

What follows is an analysis of black opinion on the future of language policies for South Africa. This study is not essentially concerned with white opinion where it reflects the status quo as a future South Africa will, in all likelihood, be a nation-state whose government will be determined by an entirely different electorate from that which presently controls the territory.

9.2 LOCATING THE CONTEXT

Black ideology and politics fall into two camps at present. Firstly, there are a number of black leaders and groups who, to differing degrees, are regarded as collaborators of the present government. Alexander (1985a: 36) explains the term 'collaborator' in the following way:

We have correctly considered all those who worked in government-created political institutions to be collaborators ...Bantustan leaders, community councillors, management and local area committee members, SA Indian Councillors, President's Councillors and ... members of the kitchen parliament, all these are collaborators who by now knowingly work the very instruments that oppress us.

It should be noted that many of those labelled collaborators contend that their strategic decision to work for change within the system is not tantamount to an acceptance of apartheid. Their critics argue that the attempts to work toward real change from within government sponsored institutions have not worked, historically, and cannot work. Efforts to do so are viewed as cloaks for political opportunism and self-enrichment.

Extra-parliamentary critics of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives see its handling of the education crisis of 1985-6 as further evidence of the collaborationist nature of those who work within the governmental structures. The conservative and non-negotiatory stance taken by Carter Ebrahim, the Minister for Education in the House of Representatives during the schools' boycott in the Western Cape in the latter half of 1985 provided one example for criticism. Pupils boycotting school were calling for a re-structuring of the education system to

eliminate apartheid. The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev. Allan Hendrikse provided a further example for his critics with his heavy-handed call for the closure of the University of the Western Cape in 1986 as he felt the students were too politically motivated.

Black leaders who are not catered for in the parliamentary structure, but who operate within political structures set up by central government in the 'independent' homelands (Bantustans), are seen as government employees. This is because they owe their positions to government and, in the past, their sympathies have dovetailed with those of central government. The leader of Kwazulu and head of Inkatha (a cultural-political movement of over a million members), Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi is in a somewhat ambivalent position. He has been willing to become a homeland leader, which has drawn criticism from the non-collaborationist position, but he has refused to accept independence for tactical reasons. He feels that he has more leverage over the government as a leader who has not accepted independence. Buthelezi has used his status as a homeland leader as a form of political insurance against central government harassment and also as a platform to build up a political base in the form of Inkatha. His promotion of Inkatha, because it is a Zulu dominated cultural-political organisation, is seen by his critics as the promotion of ethnicity. Ethnicity is regarded by the government's extra-parliamentary critics as a euphemism for racism and a policy not only inimical to black unity but also part of the government's grand apartheid scheme of divide and rule. Central government's approval of Inkatha reinforces non-collaborationist scepticism of Buthelezi's

position. Nevertheless, he has adopted, as a basic objective of education in Kwazulu, the liberation of black people (Gastrow, 1985: 75).

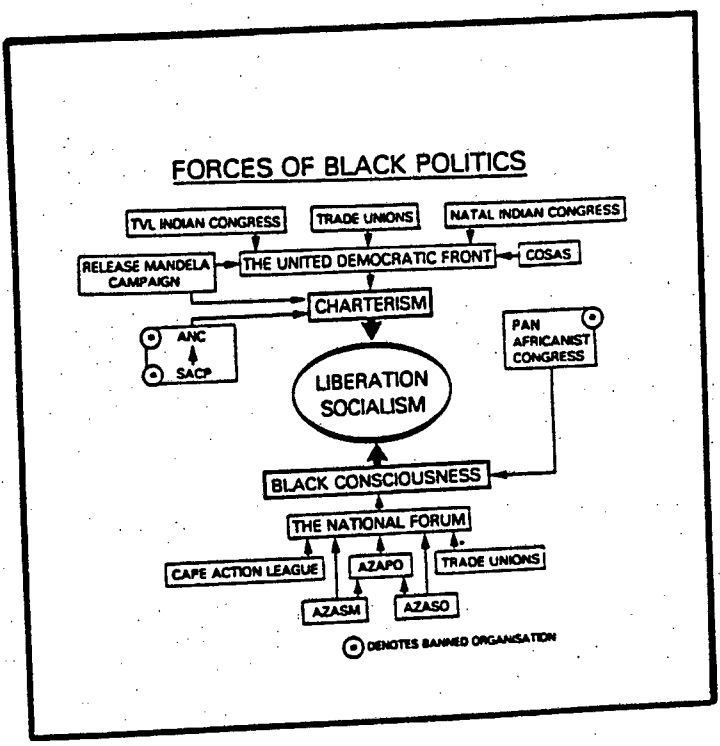
With regard to education policy, especially that of language, these labelled 'collaborators' are prepared to administer the policy acceptable to the South African government. Consequently, it is not necessary to specifically outline their points of view.

The ambivalence of the Inkatha movement and Buthelezi's position call for an examination of the Kwazulu educational policy. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the Kwazulu Minister for Education and Culture, submits that in a multi-cultural society there are basic economic reasons which should determine language policy. There are economic reasons why people should become conversant in a language through which the economy operates where that language is not the mother tongue. While he argues in favour of mother tongue instruction in the initial stages of education for the usual reasons as specified in the 1953 UNESCO document on the vernacular, economic practicalities make it necessary that black children in South Africa acquire the language which will most benefit them economically, and in this case it is English (Dhlomo, 1985). Essentially, the policy is one of economic pragmatism. This has led critics to charge that the Kwazulu stance on language policy is an aspect of its more general support for the present economic system of capitalism which entrenches the class system in South Africa. The non-collaborators submit, then, that Kwazulu does not lend itself toward alternative political structures in South Africa.

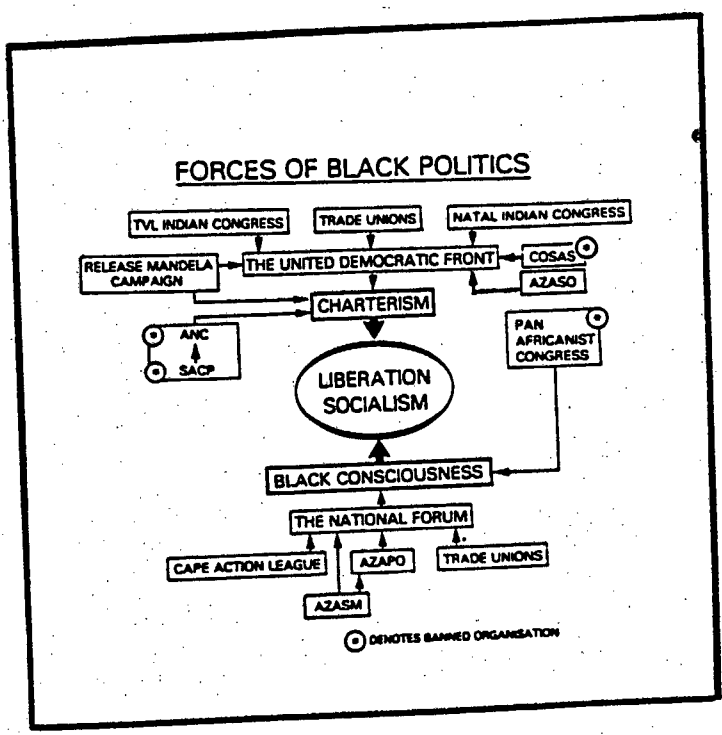
9.3 ALTERNATIVES TO LANGUAGE POLICY UNDER APARTHEID

The second large body of black opinion, which regards itself as ultimately opposed to the present governmental structure, may be seen as operating from two different points of view. Outside the country, these are represented by the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) on the one hand and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) on the other. The internal organisation of the SACP dissolved itself in June 1950 in order to divert the effects of the Suppression of Communism Bill due to come into operation later that year. After Sharpeville, both the ANC and the PAC were banned from activities within South Africa in April 1960. Consequently, they now operate from external missions, as does the SACP.

Inside South Africa, black opinion opposed to collaborationist activities is divided into two components which closely reflect the positions adopted by the ANC (together with the SACP) and the PAC respectively. The tables on the following page provide a diagrammatic picture of the two movements.



(Marshall, 1985)



Based on Marshall (1985), but reflecting the shift in allegiance of AZASO and from BC movement to an affiliation with the UDF.

9.3.1 Policies identified with Charterism

The first group might be regarded, in a broad sense, as representing or supporting 'Charterism', a term coined after the ANC adopted the Freedom Charter, which was ratified at the 1955 Congress of the People in Kliptown, as official policy. Africanists within the ANC refused to accept the Charter as official policy as they felt that the inclusion of non-Africans in the provisions of the Charter would dilute African nationalism (Marcus, 1985: 17). Divisions within the ANC increased until the Africanists were expelled from the party in 1958 and they formed the PAC in 1959.

ANC policy

Many of the office-bearers of the ANC are members of the SACP and it is widely accepted that the policy statements on education made by the ANC are not at variance with views held by the SACP.

Parts of the Freedom Charter alluded to language policy. Under the section entitled, 'All National Groups shall have equal rights!' the following statements were made:

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

All people shall have equal rights to use their own language and to develop their own folk culture and customs...

(Congress of the People, 1955).

There is an historical link between language, race and national pride but this link was presented more specifically in the second of the statements above. There, the close association of culture and custom with language is suggested. In the section of the Charter entitled, 'The Doors of Learning and Culture shall be opened!' specific reference to language was not made, however, it is implied through culture.

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture... (Congress of the People, 1955).

In 1969 a conference was held at Morogoro in Tanzania at which an analysis of the Freedom Charter was adopted. While this analysis did not articulate the policies of the ANC with regard to language policies for a future South Africa any further than did the Charter, it provided a background to the criticism of the ANC toward language policy under apartheid rule.

As far as languages are concerned, only Afrikaans and English have official status in the bodies of state such as Parliament or Provincial Councils; in the courts, schools and in administration. The culture of the African, Indian and Coloured people is barely tolerated. In fact everything is done to smash and obliterate the genuine cultural heritage of our people. If there is a reference to culture by the oppressors it is for the purpose of using it as an instrument to maintain our people in backwardness and ignorance (ANC, 1985a: 8).

The languages of the people are not permitted to be developed by them in their own way. Ignorant and officious White professors sit on education committees as arbiters of African languages and books without consultation with the people concerned. The grotesque spectacle is seen of the White government of South Africa posing as a 'protector' of so-called Bantu culture and traditions of which they know nothing... The truth is that they wish to preserve those aspects of the African traditions which

contain divisive tendencies likely to prevent the consolidation of the African people as a nation (12-13).

What is discernible from these statements is concern about the treatment the indigenous languages receive from the South African government at present. The implications appear to be that under an alternative government these languages would receive equal status with English and Afrikaans. Just what the actual policy would be and how it would be implemented is not made clear.

An ANC Youth Summer School in Hungary during 1980 inspired an article which reiterates the ANC's attitude toward the denial of the essence of African culture in South Africa:

...the oppressors' culture dominates and the cultural development of society is determined by them. In all the years of colonial and imperial domination and apartheid rule the oppressors have tried to eliminate the most important value of our culture and to preserve and present that which furthers his interests (ANC, 1985b: 59).

The implication for language, here, is that it will be employed to reaffirm cultural traditions which have been denuded during the era of apartheid.

In October of 1980 an important seminar was held in Lusaka, Zambia, on: 'Education and Culture for Liberation in Southern Africa'. The seminar was inspired by the 1978 Maputo Seminar on Education which contained in its concluding remarks the following:

The break with colonialism and the creation of an educational system to serve the interests of the people ... must enable man to re-discover his historico-cultural past, assuming it within a revolutionary perspective (Maputo Seminar on Education, 1978 cited in FEP, 1981: 8).

Implied in this is the historical importance of a person's mother tongue as the natural conveyer of this cultural heritage.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC (SA) adopted an Education Policy Document in 1978 (FEP, 1981: 15). Available literature relating to the document, discusses the aims, principles and structure of ANC educational policy, but the question of languages is not addressed directly. On the other hand, the ANC does not claim to have produced a definitive blueprint as far as educational policy is concerned:

There is no doubt that our policy and structures are still only experimental. They are thus still flexible (FEP: 17).

Nevertheless, at the Lusaka seminar, discussion which concerns language in education took place. The ANC suggested that within the structure and content of the curriculum, African culture and languages should be:

...given particular emphasis ... although certain basic problems have to be overcome with regard to the teaching of South African languages. For the present we lack trained linguists and suitable teaching materials. We will draw upon the positive and unifying features of traditional African culture to create a positive self-concept and pride in our national heritage (FEP: 43).

Herein can be discerned a tension between the interests of the various language groups and the process toward national unity. The ANC skirts the most important issue. Through which medium/media will this traditional African culture be transmitted? Evidence that the ANC is caught between two different sets of concerns becomes apparent in the rhetoric during this conference in Lusaka. Clearly influenced by the thinking of the Kenyan writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the ANC asserted that a national literature provides the central taproot of the 'cultural nourishment' of the child (FEP: 66). If this is, indeed, the case, then it follows that the ANC must accept wa Thiong'o's argument that the use of English as a medium prolongs colonialism long after independence has been achieved.

During the neo-colonial stage of imperialism education and culture play an even more important role as instruments of domination and oppression. European naming systems; European language; European theatre; European literature; European content in teaching materials; all these areas; so central to culture, are left intact. Since the petit-bourgeoisie grew up accepting the world-view of the imperialist bourgeoisie, it will drive the youth even more vigorously into educational factories producing the same world-view (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1981: 12-13).

With regard to the indigenous languages of Africa, wa Thiong'o has suggested that:

We African writers are bound by our calling to do for our languages what Spencer, Milton and Shakespeare did for English (wa Thiong'o cited in Walmsley, 1986).

At the same time the ANC's position requires that it promote national unity and the promotion of the individual languages might revive divisions.

Clearly a multiplicity of social categories and particularly of ethnic groups, makes the role of culture in the liberation movement more difficult to define (FEP: 68).

Consequently, the ANC appears reluctant to present a clear policy with regard to the position of the indigenous languages preferring to concentrate its rhetoric on aspects of unity.

...the success of the national liberation movement unites all sections and ethnic groups of a people under the banner of nationalism, and it accelerates the process of nationhood...cultural manifestations will reflect this fusion in terms of national art, national literature and so on...(FEP: 74).

The problem is that while these are obviously important concerns, they have to be transmitted through language and the ANC fails to identify the medium/media with sufficient clarity. As South Africa has no African lingua franca, this is an important omission.

A partial answer to the question of the policy on language medium issues at school is provided in a discussion on the strategies adopted by the ANC college, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, at Mazimbu in Tanzania. Since South African pupils attending the college arrive as products of the tribally divided educational system, the policy has been to attempt an elimination of the effects of apartheid.

...each tribal curriculum places emphasis on the tribal language as medium of instruction. We have decided, for the meantime in our transitional period to adopt the English language as medium of instruction (FEP: 96).

It seems, then, that the policy of the ANC is following very much the same direction toward language medium policy as has Kenya, and Zambia immediately after independence, where English is seen as the lingua franca and vehicle of national unity.

An important aspect of the Freedom Charter is the guarantee that all people shall have equal rights and its focus on democratic principles. From this perspective, it might then be argued that the ANC has not articulated a policy with regard to the language issue, with clarity, because this would be a violation of its adherence to the principle of democracy which would require that the people of South Africa be consulted on such an issue. A meeting between NUSAS and the ANC in Harare, Zimbabwe, in 1986 resulted in a NUSAS report which emphasised this point.

The Freedom Charter does not stipulate how its demands are to be implemented. This will have to be determined by democratic representatives of the people after liberation (NUSAS, 1986: 13).

Furthermore:

It (the ANC) lays emphasis on people's power, ie the ability of people to exert control over their lives and destiny at all levels (ibid).

NUSAS reports that on the question of cultural identity, the ANC pointed out that the Freedom Charter guaranteed the protection of cultural identity and language of all groups where this facilitated interaction between groups and did not foster exclusivity (NUSAS, 1986: 16). This sentiment was more particularly expressed by the ANC in 1985 when

interviewed by a South African journalist in London. An interesting aside here is that, at the time, the media expressed much surprise that the ANC guaranteed Afrikaans language rights after apartheid rule ended in the country (Cape Times, 3 December 1985). Essentially, the ANC was implying nothing that was not already contained in the Freedom Charter. The surprise reflects a misunderstanding, on the part of many whites in South Africa, of the principles underlying the Charter.

In sum, the policy of the ANC toward language has, as yet, been expressed only in a rather tentative manner where practical matters are concerned. In principle, the rights of all language groups will be upheld so long as these do not interfere with the processes of national unity. The emphasis on democratic involvement in decision making presented by the Freedom Charter has made it possible for the ANC to be cautious about articulating a language policy in definitive terms.

Charterist policy within South Africa

The largest body belonging to the Charterists within South Africa is the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF is an amorphous organisation 'conceived as a federal body to which other organisations could affiliate' and was established in May 1983 (Lodge, 1985: 15). At present there are about 600 bodies or organisations which are affiliated to the UDF (Lodge: 16), of which the student organisations are those which are most specifically concerned with the educational policy. The Congress of South African Students (COSAS), an organisation of black secondary school students and said to be the largest affiliate group of the UDF was

promising, together with the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), a body for black university students, to bring out an Education Charter as early as 1982. AZASO was the successor of the Black Consciousness aligned South African Student Organisation (SASO) established in 1968 by Steve Biko and subsequently banned in 1977 after his death. In 1981, AZASO dropped its purist Black Consciousness (BC) line and entered into discussions with NUSAS, an organisation on white university campuses. In so shifting policy, AZASO is seen to be closer to the UDF camp. AZASO together with COSAS (until its banning on 28 August 1985) and NUSAS have continued with the Education Charter Campaign. Although the campaign has not yet produced any concrete policy, Alexander (1984: 47) regards the Education Charter Campaign as one of 'two of the most significant alternative initiatives now gathering momentum in South Africa'. It is intended that the charter become a document of guidelines for educational strategies during the struggle for liberation. The campaign is linked to the educational aspirations hinted at in the Freedom Charter and Alexander fears that the Charterist allegiances of the movement might alienate it from the non-Charterists (1984: 48). The situation of political 'unrest', the State of Emergency, and the student boycotts of 1985 and 1986 have delayed the activities of the campaign which has meant that no clear outlines have been drawn up.

9.3.2 Black Consciousness policy

The second major group which regards itself as non-collaborationist is that which is seen to represent the Black Consciousness movement. Outside the country it operates as the PAC. Inside the country, various

organisations such as the Cape Action League (CAL), and the Azanian People's organisation (AZAPO) have come together under the banner of the National Forum (NF). This Black Consciousness group opposes the Charterists on the grounds that the former have compromised the cause of liberation by entering into alliances with organisations which, while anti-government, have ties with the white ruling class (eg the Black Sash and NUSAS). The National Forum is essentially more purist and more ideologically unified than the Charterist movements. Consequently, it is not surprising that the educational policies with which this analysis is concerned are to be found articulated in more detail within the ranks of the National Forum than they are in the Charterist movements.

The PAC is a smaller organisation and it publishes less than the ANC. That which it does publish is even less readily available in South Africa than is that of the ANC. One might, however, focus on AZAPO (the Azanian People's Organisation) material which reflects the BC line. While this is not PAC material, it is widely accepted that AZAPO is the internal wing of the PAC. Hence, it is accepted that the arguments and policies of the internal wing reflect those of the parent body quite closely.

The only specific policy statement produced by extra-parliamentary political groups comes from within the ranks of the National Forum in South Africa. The AZAPO Educational Policy document discussed over Easter 1985 suggests that:

As we work towards the complete overhauling and restructuring of the present educational system we must:

...Implement a national project to teach the English language to all Black people. This will ensure that Azania will not be isolated from the rest of the world and will play an integral part in nation-building. English as a lingua franca allows for communication across so-called tribal, racial and ethnic barriers (AZAPO, 1985: 15).

The architect of this 'national project to teach the English language to all Black people' is Dr Neville Alexander. Dr Alexander is a member of the Cape Action League (CAL) as well as being a member of the National Forum Committee. He has been the director of the Cape Town office of the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) and is the inspiration behind the National Language Project which is being co-ordinated by a body associated with SACHED, the Education Co-ordinating Council of South Africa (ECCSA). ECCSA's existence has been based on a perceived need for a change in the educational system in South Africa and its aim has been to co-ordinate alternative strategies which are able to operate at present but which are geared toward a future society.

...since the students' uprising of 1976, education for liberation has become the watchword of ... high-school and university students ... More than at any other period in our history, black people have become aware of the political importance of education (Samuel, 1983: 24).

While ECCSA has links with groups associated with the National Forum, it should be noted that ECCSA was not formed as an exclusivist organisation. Its position was spelled out in a pamphlet explaining the nature of and goals of the body in 1985.

...the political persuasion of such organisations did not make any difference to the ECCSA, so long as those organisations try

to intervene in a progressive direction in the education sphere... (ECCSA, 1985).

Consequently, it would be naive to assume that programmes under the auspices of ECCSA are geared only toward serving the interests of National Forum members. The organisation's goal has been to co-ordinate in a democratic way the plethora of educational projects which have sprung up through grass root, civic and community groups as a response to the crisis in education which has become increasingly obvious since 1976.

One of the most significant steps toward 'education for liberation' might be seen in what was initially called the National English Language Project (NELP), and later the National Language Project (NLP).

This is undoubtedly the most urgent project. Politically, it is essential because of the fact that only a lingua franca or a linking language can in the long run guarantee the unity of the nation of South Africa. The nation-building aspect of this project is its most fundamental feature. Because of the National Party government's sectarian insistence on treating English and Afrikaans as co-equal 'official' languages, state resistance will be forthcoming. However, since such a project is necessarily community-based and national (involving churches, youth groups, teachers' organisations, students' organisations, trade unions, civic bodies, creches, etc., etc.) it will be impossible for any government to stop it. This language movement will become simultaneously a cultural movement since it is clear that different cultural elements will be or can be conveyed to all sections of the population through the same language medium. The NELP will also constitute a guarantee that South Africa will not be isolated from the rest of the world (Samuel, 1983: 27).

What is so important about this project, is that it clearly outlines a policy toward language medium as a strategy for changing the status quo and providing a vehicle for national unity. The choice of language medium

and a policy with regard to all the languages is an essential starting point for any movement intent on changes within the structure of society.

Alexander (1983: 35-36) explains the perceived link between political and educational change as:

...while it is quite true to say that educational change, generally speaking, will not bring about the desired political or economic change...it is clear from our very history that practical interventions by independent educational instances have been a major contributory factor to the growth of political consciousness among our people... By intervening in the educational arena ... we are ... participating in the class struggle on the cultural front.

The essential ideology behind Alexander's interest in a National English Language Project lies in his belief in the concept of 'building the nation'.

It is necessary to stress that all these and many other advantages of co-ordination can only be realised if there is some broad ideological agreement that can make hundreds of different community, worker and educational organisations cohere. I believe that this ideological cement can be nothing other than the process of building the nation, ie, the struggle for an Azanian/South African nation in which oppression and exploitation shall have been eliminated (Alexander, 1983: 41).

On economic, political and ideological grounds, the universalisation of English speech has become priority number one (42).

ECCSA is to be dissolved at the end of 1986 as groups outside the BC movement associated the organisation with BC policy even though ECCSA has since its inception shown a desire to consult with all groups which were working toward change. The National Language Project, however, is to

continue as an autonomous body from 1987 (Knott, 1986). The intention is that it should not be seen to represent the interests of any particular group working toward post-apartheid South Africa.

It should be noted that the name of the language project was altered between 1983 and 1985 from the National English Language Project to the National Language Project. Underlying this change is a shift of emphasis from the apparent focus on English toward the other languages of South Africa. Samuel (1983: 27) referred to the fact 'that only a lingua franca or a linking language can in the long run guarantee the unity of the nation of South Africa' - by which he meant English. Alexander (1986) plays down the focus on English in the following:

...the NLP sets out to promote English as a linking language which, we consider at this stage to be a sub-set of English for Special Purposes rather than as the equivalent of a lingua franca...

Further, he argues that:

...all languages spoken by the people of South Africa have an equal right to flourish, having due regard to the economic and technical constraints that inevitably but usually only temporarily limit the implementation of policy (1986: 1).

What Alexander is alluding to is the historical sequence of changing language policies in Africa, where immediately after independence the ex-colonial language, English has usually been adopted as the lingua franca and chief medium of instruction. This has been done in the interests of promoting national unity and discouraging elements of division which might

be perpetrated through a multi-lingual approach. Since the colonising agents failed to promote the indigenous languages to where they could function adequately in a modern world, newly independent countries have found that economically and technologically they are unable to make adequate educational provisions for these languages until sometime after independence, in any case. So English has been used as a convenient vehicle of communication during the transitional phase immediately after independence. An examination of the history of language policy and planning in Anglophone Africa shows an increasing movement away from the dominating influence of English as the need to promote a spirit of nationalism decreases.

An acknowledgement of this process appears in:

We accept that in the first phase of a democratic post-apartheid South Africa, whatever the socio-economic system prevailing, English will necessarily function as the lingua franca (in the sense of a universal second language) (1986: 2).

Alexander believes that regional languages would be promoted and used at regional administrative levels in a post-apartheid society. So that, in the Cape, for example, English, Xhosa and Afrikaans would be regarded as carrying equal status. Although there is a great deal of antagonism directed toward Afrikaans, he argues that it is not simply the language of the oppressor. It is the mother tongue of a large number of people who do not form part of the ruling elite (Alexander, 1985b).

With regard to the implementation of language medium policies at school, Alexander foresees an acceptance of the basic tenets of the 1953 UNESCO

document on the vernacular. Initial instruction should be in the mother tongue while English should be introduced almost immediately as a subject. The shift to English medium would probably occur in the fourth or fifth year of school (1985b).

9.3.3 Other Argument

Meerkotter (1985) has argued the case for a movement in South Africa toward monolingualism. He sees the variety of Afrikaans employed by the ruling elite, at present, as one which is likely to be rejected as a medium of instruction by a new set of rulers. Consequently, he implies that that register of Afrikaans will become decreasingly less important. At the same time, he argues that the indigenous languages are not equipped to meet the needs of a modern technological world and, consequently, are likely to suffer a further erosion of their ability to convey communication. While this argument is interesting, the history of language elsewhere in Africa has shown that indigenous languages are gaining more and more prestige.

Mphahlele has been an outspoken critic of the government's language policy for a number of years. His position is one which rejects the implementation of language medium policy under Bantu Education where emphasis on the mother tongue has been responsible for preventing black pupils from acquiring adequate levels of communicative competence (1985). He argues that by withholding English, the black pupils have been denied access to the modern world. His position then is one from which he promotes English as the language of national unity and the one which

provides international communication. While Mphahlele recognises the need for initial mother tongue instruction, it is essentially English which he sees as the dominant language of South Africa. He asserts that the argument of English being the agent of neo-colonialism is not a tenable one given the more important function English has in facilitating wider communication and fostering close ties with other African countries (1985b).

9.4 CONCLUSION

Several things are clear in an analysis of the direction of language medium policies in a post-apartheid South Africa:

- (1) the role of English is set to be one of great significance;
- (2) the role of the black languages is likely to become more prestigious;
- (3) the role of Afrikaans is likely to diminish.

While there is no unequivocal articulation of a language medium policy within the ranks of the ANC, it is clear that from the ANC viewpoint, English is likely to perform the role of the lingua franca for the purposes of national unity at least during a transitional period and immediately after a change in government, should this happen.

Policy emanating from the National Forum presents very much the same position for English, but in a more clearly defined manner. AZAPO has focused on the need for a national project to teach English.

At the same time the position of the African languages of South Africa should not be ignored. The choice of English is simply one based on convenience. It will facilitate communication not only on a national level but also an international one. Concern about the position of the African language was expressed in The Freedom Charter and hence it is safe to assume that ANC policy will ultimately promote these languages. More and more concern about these languages is becoming evident within the National Forum. The National Language Project, while promoting English as a linking language is looking toward a situation where the local languages will have a significant role in regional government.

The debate about English being the conveyor of neo-colonialism is one which has not yet gained much ground in South Africa as the more immediate needs of national unity can only be achieved through a lingua franca. English is the only language which could conceivably perform this role at the moment. Once a post-apartheid South Africa has been achieved it is possible, as is evident in African countries to the North, that English will gradually be seen to be less apparently neutral. In this event, more attention and status is likely to be conferred upon the black languages.

Already, a certain amount of resentment of English has been discerned among the grass root educational organisations in the Western Cape (Knott, 1986).

Finally, the position of Afrikaans needs be addressed. It is widely accepted that under an alternative structure, Afrikaans would lose its prestigious position. While there are those who would argue that

Afrikaans is likely to perish, a more realistic view would be to recognise that Afrikaans is the mother tongue of a significant number of people in South Africa. The Freedom Charter supports equality of languages and the right of each linguistic group to use its own language. The ANC has stated that Afrikaans speakers need not fear the loss of their language rights. Furthermore, Alexander has suggested that Afrikaans may well be seen as one of the regional languages in South Africa after apartheid (1985b).

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

10.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Education in ex-colonial Africa is now seen in terms of its function of promoting the ideology behind state policy for the purpose of maintaining the power base. After gaining independence, African states need to reorganise their societies and education is seen as a key to this process. This phenomenon is not peculiar to Africa. It is a feature regarded as being present in most developing countries. As Coleman has observed:

Once regarded as an essentially conservative, culture-preserving, culture-transmitting institution, the educational system now tends to be viewed as the master determinant of all aspects of change (1965: 3).

The medium through which this change is transmitted is clearly language. Consequently, the choice of language becomes significant and it has been a tenet of this study that choice of language medium in independent African states is partly in response to colonial policy. Expressed differently, the effect of colonial policy has been such that independent states have found it necessary to adopt a particular language medium policy in order to communicate the state ideology. This state ideology, in the countries studied, has been found to be what is variously identified as 'nationalism', 'geographic nationalism' and 'open nationalism'.

The broad spectrum of British colonial policy in the territories included in this work has been given as 'adaptation' by Brown, since it was the expressed aim of education in the colonies to provide for eventual self-rule. At the same time, however, it has been shown that British colonial policy was often regarded by the colonised as promoting 'separatism' through the use of the vernacular in education. The vernacular was perceived, by its speakers, as the language which limited economic and social advancement. This study has shown, however, a shifting of emphasis and contradictions in the ex-colonies. Perhaps more pertinently influential have been the attitudes associated with or directed toward language during the colonial period and which became significant after independence.

From a socio-economic perspective, it emerges that those who were colonised came to see English as the language of power and prestige. At the same time, the effect of colonialism was such that it brought with it a perception of the inferiority of the indigenous local languages. What has become clear is that this was an inferiority reinforced by a belief that local languages were not capable of transmitting the messages of the modern world. There is little evidence to show ex-British colonial African support for the argument of linguists who claim that any language is capable of development and growth to the point that it can function equally well with important world languages. The government of Tanzania has, however, promoted Swahili with the intention of that language fulfilling the functions of other modern languages. One should bear in mind, though, that Swahili enjoyed a privileged position in that country before independence and furthermore it is seen as a language which

facilitates communication with neighbouring Kenya and Uganda. Kenya and Botswana have also included an indigenous language as one of the two official languages of government and education, but in each case English shares the second position. In reality, in both of these instances, English dominates. Evidence from the other territories under consideration indicates that in the early years of independence, there is little desire to wait for slow progress in the direction of vernacular development. Since English, a world language, provides speedy access to their goal of economic advancement it becomes clear that pragmatism tends to outweigh loyalty to local languages.

The attitudes of groups living in South Africa toward language policy implemented by authoritarian regimes also need to be noted. Milner's anglicisation policy in the latter days of British imperialism has been shown to contribute greatly to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, an ethnic nationalism. Afrikaner nationalism, based partly on the fear of losing Afrikaner identity, was responsible, in turn, for contributing toward the rise of African nationalism in South Africa and the rejection of the Afrikaans language. Ironically, the Afrikaner absorption with self-protection is exactly what is likely to be responsible for the loss of his power and a decline in the influence of his language.

Ultimately, the most notable effect of colonisation has been in the emergence of the ideology of nationalism. Since colonial boundaries cut across previously held linguistic and cultural groupings, new governments have been faced with the task of unifying disparate groups under the aegis of nationalism.

As has been discussed, there are numerous versions and interpretations of nationalism. The concept emerged in nineteenth century Europe. There, ties of a cultural nature based on 'a glorious past' and an 'authenticity' perceived to be expressed through vernacular languages were very much part of this phenomenon.

The European manifestation of nationalism should not be used as a yardstick for examining African nationalism. In the states under consideration, the neo-Fichtian concept of a relationship between an ethnic nationalism and its expression through a particular language of historical cultural attachment has not, with the exception of the Afrikaner ideology, been part of nationalism. The multilingual nature of these states has necessitated that nationalism be based on another consideration, namely a transcendence of ethnic associations with language. This is not to say that nationalism in Africa is divorced from concerns of its expression through a particular language. Far from it: language remains an important vehicle of nationalism, but the language chosen to convey this ideology is one which has been selected to act as a lingua franca and which is largely devoid of partisan interests.

This study has demonstrated that the period of colonialism has brought to Africa languages of wider international communication and in the case of the ex-British colonies, this language is English. The extent to which English dominates as the chosen language for the integration of the multilingual/cultural/ethnic groups through 'hybrid monism' has depended upon two factors, namely, the type of colonial language policy prior to

independence, and the existence or non-existence of a widely accepted African lingua franca in the territory.

In other words, with the exception of Tanzania and Botswana, English has dominated as a lingua franca and medium of instruction in the early years of independence in the examples discussed. The findings show that all too frequently the interests of state policy, justified by economic and practical considerations, dominate during the early years of independence (cf. the Kenyan New Peak Course adopted by Zambia despite adverse educational criticism; and the pro-English SWAPO argument).

However, there has also been a noticeable shift in emphasis some years after independence. Rhetoric, which reflects a broadening of focus on the role which the ex-colonial language plays, emerges. The argument expressed is that while English may very well facilitate non-sectarian unity when this is the primary concern of a new composite nation, it is at the expense of continuing the process of imperialism. English, since it was the colonial language, continues to transmit neo-colonial values which may be seen as inimical to African society. The associations of prestige and materialism with this language are ones which, in theory, are in opposition to the new state philosophies. Concomitant with this argument exists that of those educationalists who present the case for mother tongue instruction. In Kenya and Zimbabwe, there has been a noticeable shift in emphasis towards the value of instruction through the indigenous languages. In Kenya, however, the state policy reflects more of an interest in Swahili, the African lingua franca, while influential writers like Ngugi wa Thiong'o argue the case of the mother tongue. In Zimbabwe,

the recent recognition of minority languages as media of instruction reflects this position more clearly.

The argument presented by this study is that once the new governments begin to feel more relaxed about establishing nationalism they allow their perception of the danger of neo-colonialism to be expressed. Since language is seen to convey attitudes and values, the next step is to give greater prestige to the indigenous languages. This phenomenon is certainly is evidence in Kenya and Zimbabwe, and even in Zambia educationalists have argued the case for mother tongue instruction more vociferously during the 'second' phase of independence.

As the political concerns with language soften or weaken, so does the argument of most educationalists strengthen. The evidence is that it is widely accepted that the mother tongue is the most suitable medium for the initial stages of education and literacy. Nowhere has this premise been effectively challenged. Quite simply, state ideology is stronger than the argument of educationalists, and political concerns override educationally advantageous ones when their interests do not coincide.

A further concern of this work has been to demonstrate that there is a discernible connection of language policy among these independent states. Tanzania, benefitting perhaps from a shorter period of British rule, appeared better able than Kenya to shake off 'the yoke of imperialism'. The use of Swahili, in the former, not only provided for unity but also short-circuited the neo-colonial phase of English in the

latter. Secondly, the use of Swahili, an African language, satisfied to some extent the educational argument for the value of the mother tongue.

After the early years of Kenyan independence, the influence of Tanzanian policy is clearly evident in the Kenyan attempts to elevate Swahili to greater importance.

Since Zambia does not have the benefit of Swahili as a potential lingua franca there is no discernible connection here between Zambian policy and that of Kenya and Tanzania. Nevertheless, it has already been shown that the English language immersion policy of Kenya's early independence was adopted by Zambia. More research needs to be conducted to ascertain whether there was a link between the Zambian English medium policy and that of early Zimbabwean English medium policy. However, as indicated, this researcher was not permitted sufficient access to material which may have clarified this point.

Botswana is a special case and its peculiar linguistic make-up has made a powerful, ideological attachment to language unnecessary. Consequently, there have been no discernible trends in shifting language policy. Essentially British rule left a legacy of English as it has done elsewhere. Since the majority of the country's inhabitants speak Setswana that has become the national language and medium of early instruction. The stresses associated with language medium elsewhere are not apparent here. Neither are there any noticeable ideological links between the language policy in Botswana and the other independent states discussed,

apart from its use of English which facilitates international communication.

The connections between the independent states already discussed and a future Namibian and South Africa language policy are of particular importance. Both Namibia and South Africa have shared a secondary colonial phase in the white South African National Party Government. In each instance the question of language has been shown to have unusually sensitive associations.

After British colonial rule ended in South Africa, the legacy of resentment against associations with this period continued unabated until the National Party came into power in 1948. Milner's anglicisation policy had successfully alienated the Afrikaners from the English language. Whereas elsewhere, English was used as a lingua franca in order to create unity, in South Africa, the Afrikaner sought to protect his identity and language. Instead of choosing a language to promote national unity, the Afrikaner strove to promote Afrikaner nationalism, an ethnic nationalism. In order to maintain the status quo, it has been shown that the government chose a process which was the reverse of that chosen in the other African countries who were to achieve later independence. The South African choice was 'divide and rule'. One of the mechanisms by which this was implemented was the policy of mother tongue instruction. Conveniently, the UNESCO conference on the vernacular in education put forward the educational rationale for mother tongue instruction at exactly the same time the government was devising its educational policy for the black people of South Africa and Namibia. Even so, it has been demonstrated

that black people recognised the political intention behind the language policy early on.

It comes as no surprise, then, that attitudes of inferiority and resentment have emerged toward the mother tongue in these areas. Coupled with this has been the belief that access to the world language, English, has been denied. The consequence is that the desire for access to English has been compounded in these two areas to a greater extent than in countries to the north. This also explains, in part, why SWAPO has been pursuing a strongly pro-English line in its education policy for a future Namibia. This has been the case even though Namibia never had a history of British colonial rule and the language is only infrequently spoken in the territory. Resentment against the use of Afrikaans, which does function as a lingua franca, and could also be argued to be an African language, is strongly present in the ideological thinking of the SWAPO leadership because of its association with South African imperialism.

There are other reasons for the SWAPO pro-English attachment, however. The SWAPO schools in Zambia follow the Zambian school syllabus and its English medium policy - hence the link between Zambian and Namibian policy. Secondly, in the interests of Pan-Africanism, English is the clear choice.

All the same, there are signs that this ideological attachment to English may soften in the interests of reality in Namibia. Afrikaans is known to be used within SWAPO circles, so it is possible that the antipathetical

associations with that language may decrease should SWAPO come to political power in the territory.

South Africa is another case again. School pupils demonstrated their attitude toward a denial of access to English quite clearly in 1976. Extra-parliamentary political figures have all shown a strong inclination toward the use of English as the lingua franca in a post-apartheid South Africa. The ANC school in Tanzania uses an English medium system just as the SWAPO schools do. It could be argued that the SWAPO language policy, influenced by the Zambian policy has influenced ANC school language policy, but this would require more detailed field research. It is clear, though, that SWAPO and the ANC do have close ties and have exchanged ideas on educational policy. More to the point, though, is that black people in Namibia and South Africa have been exposed to a similar educational policy, especially since 1948, and their reaction against it has been sparked by the same concerns.

A notable difference has nevertheless emerged. The ANC has consistently argued that each language group should have the right to use its language. Furthermore, there is evidence that the ANC has also adopted a more moderate attitude toward Afrikaners than has SWAPO. It is, however, frankly acknowledged that there were certain practical difficulties in obtaining access to a comprehensive range of material relating to the ANC's position on language. This could provide a useful area for future research given the likely significance of the ANC in a future dispensation for South Africa.

Inside South Africa, the organisations aligned with the black consciousness National Forum have clearly indicated their preference for English as a lingua franca. Influential argument emerging from this group has furthermore indicated that the regional languages including Afrikaans would be given positions of prestige and that there would be a policy of elaborating these languages. Here, the policy is one based on a recognition of the educative and cultural value of the mother tongue. This follows the structure identified by Smolicz as 'multiculturalism' where minority groups are allowed to develop their cultures alongside the dominant one which would be seen in terms of an open nationalism/geographic nationalism.

Already, groups which are likely to play a significant role in the shaping of a future South Africa have shown a remarkable sense of foresight with their approaches to language policy in a future South Africa. While it does seem likely that South Africa will have to go through a neo-colonial phase of using English as the medium of entry to a new world, it is also clear that there is already an understanding of the important role which the indigenous languages can play. It also seems likely that the significance of this role would increase as the early concern for the establishment of a new nation requires less attention.

Associated with this development might very well be a growing support of the argument already expressed in countries to the north that English, in ex-British colonies, becomes a purveyor of neo-colonialism. Ndebele, perhaps influenced by wa Thiong'o's theory, warns that while English seems

set to play an obviously significant role in South Africa, one should be aware that:

... the history of the spread of the English language throughout the world is inseparable from the history of the spread of English and American imperialisms. This fact is important when we consider the place of English in formerly colonised multi-lingual societies. The imposition of English effectively tied those societies to a world imperialist culture which was to impose, almost permanently, severe limitations on those countries' ability to make independent linguistic choices at the moment of independence (Ndebele, 1987: 3).

Essentially, Ndebele argues that in opting for what appears to be a pragmatic choice, in this case English, the perceptions and attitudes of the ex-colonial power are likely to be retained. It is feared that these perceptions and attitudes would entrench the social relationships which exist in the country at present rather than those relationships deemed necessary for a new South Africa. Nevertheless, given the evidence in the countries to the north of South Africa, the interests of what is pragmatic tend to outweigh such reservations especially in the early days of independence.

What is important, is that these issues are already being confronted before the social fabric of the country has been altered significantly. This would suggest that a more considered policy towards language choice, than has been possible in other countries, might be possible should a new dispensation be given South Africa.

The case is somewhat different for Namibia. From the evidence available, the language policy of SWAPO is largely rooted in an ideological framework and the realities of a pragmatic approach to the language question need to

be addressed. The lessons of Kenya, Zambia and Zimbabwe together with the trends now shaping the ideology behind language policy for a future South Africa may very well influence SWAPO policy in the direction of a more realistic approach. It seems likely that the emphasis of English has little hope of effective implementation and that the reality of Afrikaans as a lingua franca may become a less ideologically sensitive issue as the process toward Namibian independence advances.

10.2 IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS FACING LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THE FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

One of the most immediate problems facing educational bodies planning for a future South Africa is that they operate outside of government organisations. Much of their funding comes from sources overseas and this might be in jeopardy as the government has, during the early part of 1987, hinted that funding for a number of organisations will be curtailed. If this were to be the case, alternative language projects would suffer to the point that they may no longer be able to operate.

The National Language Project is a potentially significant body since it has been geared toward co-ordinating language projects existing in numerous grass-root organisations. However, since there are conflicts between those which follow the Charterist line and those which follow the National Forum line, the NLP is attempting to operate from a language planning platform detached from political ideology. Evidence throughout Africa has shown, however, that language planning procedures are likely to fail unless there is a clear and supportive political ideology behind

them. Consequently, for the NLP to succeed, it must ultimately adopt either the Charterist or the National Forum ideology. Alternatively, consensus between the two must be reached, so that a coherent agreement on basic educational principles and the role of language medium can be reached.

10.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

In order to further investigate arguments advanced in this study there are a number of areas where empirical evidence might either strengthen or negate assertions made herein. The political and social conditions of both South Africa and Namibia are likely to change at some point in the future. Already there is an awareness that language must play a vital role in the reconstruction of these societies. Consequently, the role that organisations which appear to be those likely to play important parts in the reconstruction should be assessed in terms of their language policy and implementation thereof. Accordingly, there are several field studies which might be undertaken in both South Africa and Namibia as well as in the ANC and SWAPO schools outside these territories. These include:

- (1a) an analysis of the actual use of language medium among SWAPO members in its relation to the espoused policy on language
- (1b) an analysis of the use of language medium in the SWAPO schools in relation to SWAPO policy

(Since it has been suggested that the SWAPO argument is largely ideologically bound, it would be interesting to examine to what extent the ideology is supported by planning procedures and implementation. If the ideology is, indeed, supported, it would be interesting to examine the mechanics and methodology of this support. Should it be discovered that there is a disjunction between ideology and what occurs in reality, it might be possible to assess more clearly whether a shift in ideology would be likely and in which direction this shift might occur.)

- (2) an investigation into the use of Afrikaans as a lingua franca in Namibia

(In a sense, this area of research is closely linked to those above. Since there is a debate about the role of Afrikaans in Namibia, it would be useful to investigate the attitudes of various groups within that territory towards Afrikaans and then assess these findings in terms of how they relate to the actual use of Afrikaans by those groups. Further it might be useful to assess whether it would be possible for Afrikaans to become the accepted lingua franca in Namibia from both an ideological and pragmatic point of view.)

- (3a) research into the current thinking of the ANC on education, specifically language education

- (3b) an analysis of the use of language medium in the ANC school in Tanzania

(There have been a number of difficulties in obtaining evidence of definitive ANC material or documentation on educational policy. From the limited sources available there is little evidence of a clear policy or the follow-up procedures of implementation. However, this needs clarification since it is likely that the ANC will play a significant role in a future South Africa and, consequently, ANC thought on education and language must be considered significant. Analysis of the use of language medium in the ANC school might be able to reveal how thought, ideology or policy is put into practice and how successful the policy and methods of implementation might be. An analysis of language medium use in the ANC school may also reveal whether or not there is any clear evidence of influence from the policies of other African countries.)

(4) a comparison of language medium policy and language medium use between the SWAPO and ANC schools

(The purpose of this study would be to examine, firstly, evidence of discernible influences between SWAPO and the ANC on the educational front. Secondly, it would be valuable to discover whether the policy and methodology of the one might appear to have more success than the other. This might, in turn, provide useful material for language education in the future.)

ABBREVIATIONS

ACHSRC	:	Advisory Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council
ANC	:	African National Congress
ANCYL	:	African National Congress Youth League
ATASA	:	African Teachers' Association of South Africa
AZAPO	:	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASM	:	Azanian Students' Movement
AZASO	:	Azanian Students' Organisation
BC	:	Black Consciousness
BCM	:	Black Consciousness Movement
CAL	:	Cape Action League
CATA	:	Cape African Teachers' Association
CMS	:	Church Missionary Society
CNE	:	Christian National Education
COSAS	:	Congress of South African Students
CYL	:	Congress Youth League (or ANCYL)
ECCSA	:	Education Co-ordinating Council of South Africa
ELIC	:	English as a Language of International Communication
FAK	:	Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge
FEP	:	Foundation for Education with Production
HSRC	:	Human Sciences Research Council
KANU	:	Kenya African National Union
L 1	:	First Language (mother tongue)
L 2	:	Second Language
LWC	:	Language of Wider Communication
NELP	:	National English Language Project
NF	:	National Forum

NLP : National Language Project
NPA : New Primary Approach
NUSAS : National Union of South African Students
PAC : Pan-Africanist Congress
RC : Roman Catholic
SACHED : South African Committee for Higher Education
SACP : South African Communist Party
SASO : South African Students' Organisation
SWA : South West Africa
SWAPO : South West African People's Organisation
TANU : Tanganyika (later Tanzania) African National Union
TATA : Transvaal African Teachers' Association
UDF : United Democratic Front
UNESCO : United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIN : United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNO : United Nations Organisation
UPE : Universal Primary Education
USA : United States of America

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