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Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa – the Language Factor

**A Stock-taking Research on Mother Tongue
and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa**

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Glossary

Abbreviations and Terminology

AL	African language
ALWC	African language of wider communication
BLE	bilingual education
Code-switching	switching between two languages (codes)
FL	foreign language
FLT	foreign language teaching
ILWC	international language of wider communication such as English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Arabic
Lingua franca, pl. lingua francae	languages of wider communication, often cross border languages
L1	first language or “mother tongue” which is sometimes also called ‘home language’ or ‘language of the home’
L2	second language. In this report the term second language will be used to mean the second language learned at school for formal educational purposes, and should not be confused with a student’s second or other languages learned informally outside of school.
LoI	language of instruction (synonymes : MoI/MoE)
LOLT	language of learning and teaching (used especially in South Africa for MoI/LoI)
LWC	language of wider communication (in many cases local/familiar language)
MoI	medium of instruction
MoE	medium of education
MT	mother tongue (also: local/familiar language, the language of the immediate community which is best known to the child)
MTE	mother tongue education (we accept the term to include the use of ‘a language best known to the child’)
NL	national language
NLWC	national language of wider communication
OL	official language (also: official/foreign language – the official language as legally defined, which is in many cases, but not always, foreign to some parts of the society, in many cases even to the majority of the citizens.)
SLA	second language acquisition
SoI	subject of instruction

Informal language learning

Where learning takes place out of school/educational contexts. The learning of the first language/mother tongue usually takes place in informal contexts in the home and immediate community before the child goes to school. There after, it is usual that L1 acquisition is continued through the formal teaching of the mother tongue for academic purposes.

Formal language learning

Where learning takes place in formal educational contexts. There can be formal learning of the first, second, third etc. language in the school.

Bilingual education

BLE is defined in different ways. The term originally meant the use of two languages as mediums of instruction. It included, but was not restricted, to the learning of two languages as subjects. Therefore it usually means: the L1 plus an L2 as media of instruction. In South Africa bilingual education is understood as mother tongue instruction (L1 medium) throughout school plus a second language taught as a subject to a high level of proficiency.

Increasingly the term has come to be misused in some contexts, especially North America, to mean L1 for a short time (see early-exit transitional models) followed by L2 as a medium for the greater amount of time. In other words, it has become misused to mean a mainly second language education system. This misuse of the term has been transported to many countries in Africa where people label programmes bilingual even though there is very little L1 medium in place. Therefore in this report, we identify and describe the type of bilingual education programme (e.g. early exit, late exit, additive, subtractive bilingual education) to which we refer each time it becomes appropriate.

Foreign and official language:

The team agreed that both terms “foreign” and “official” language with respect to the ex-colonial languages are at times unsatisfactory. On the one hand, from the perspective of many African learners, they are foreign. On the other hand, from the social perspective, they are not foreign languages any more as they have acquired official status and they have been present for over 100 years in African countries. In addition, in the urban areas of many African countries, there are people who historically would have spoken ALs at home, but who now identify themselves as L1 speakers of Portuguese (Maputo, Luanda), French (e.g. Dakar) or English (e.g. Johannesburg, Nairobi). The team thus decided to use the double term *official/foreign language where this is appropriate*.

Local and familiar language:

Accordingly, the term local/familiar language is used to refer to the many instances, where there will be a large number of often related languages which co-exist in the environment of the child. In these situations it is unlikely that each child would be able to receive MTE in the narrow sense of the term. It is more likely and possible that education provision could be made available in a language of the immediate or local community and with which the child is familiar.

Subtractive Education Model: The objective of the subtractive model is to move learners out of MT and into the official/foreign language as a medium of instruction as early as possible. Sometimes this involves going straight to the official/foreign language medium of instruction in the first grade in school. Many “Francophone” and “Lusophone” countries in Africa use these models inherited from the colonial era. In these countries, the mother tongue is taken out of the formal school system as a medium of instruction and also as a subject of instruction.

Transition Models or Early / Late Exit models: The objective of these models is the same as the subtractive ones. It is a single target language at the end of the school, and the target is the official/foreign language. The learners may begin with the MT and then gradually move to the official/foreign language as MoI. If the transition to the official/foreign language takes place within 1-3 years it is called early exit transition model. If the transition is delayed to grade 5-6, it is called late exit transition model.

Whereas more and more “Francophone” countries in Africa are now just starting to run experimental programs based on early exit models, Anglophone Africa experienced MT education for the first 3-4 years of primary education followed by English as MoI even during the colonial era. In some cases, African languages have been used for up to six years followed by English as a MoI.

Additive (Bilingual) Education Models: In the additive education model, the objective is the use of MT as a MoI throughout (with the official / foreign language taught as a subject) or use MT plus official / foreign language as two (dual) media of instruction to the end of school. In the additive education model, MT is never removed as a medium of instruction and never used less than 50% of the day/subject. Therefore, the target is a high level of proficiency in MT plus a high level of proficiency in the official/foreign language. In Africa, the kind of additive models that are applicable would be either:

- Mother tongue throughout with official/foreign language as a subject by a specialist teacher;
- Dual medium: mother tongue to at least grade 4-5 followed by gradual use of official/foreign language for up to but no more than 50% of the day/subject by the end of the school.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 Background and Terms of Reference

The document at hand is a stocktaking research that assesses comprehensively the experiences of mother tongue and bilingual education programmes in sub-Saharan Africa. Its overall conclusion can be summarised as **Language is not Everything in Education, but without Language, Everything is nothing in Education** (quote from E. Wolff chapter two).

The need for the research arose out of the 2003 Biennial Meeting “Improving the Quality of Education in sub-Saharan Africa” Association of the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) (visit www.adeanet.org for more information).

One of the major themes discussed during the 2003 Biennial Meeting was the relevance of adapting curricula and the use of African languages. The contributions on mother tongue education and bilingual education created a momentum for intense discussions and a need for further research.

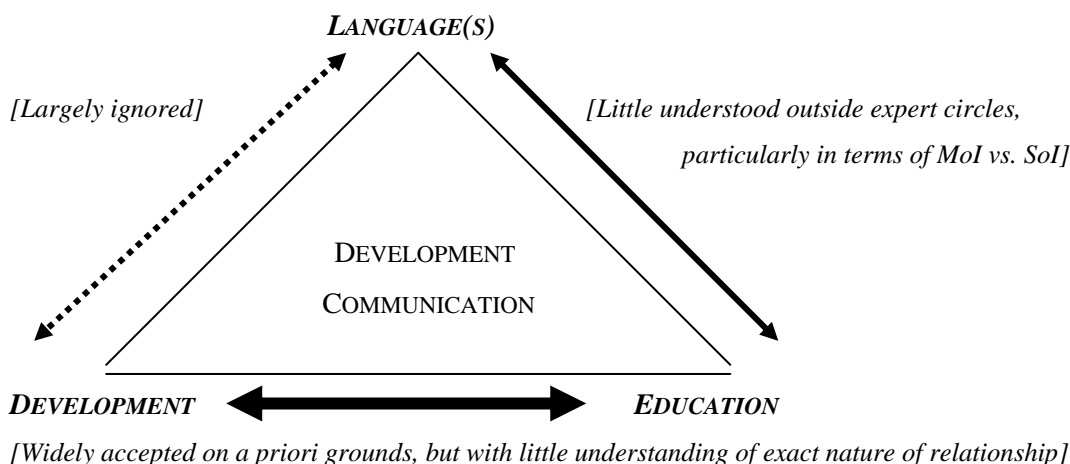
As noted in the proceedings of the biennial:

Participants concluded that African languages were a necessary choice for the new century: “Let us return to our African identities! Let us not persist in our colonial past!” pleaded one of the ministers. However, reservations continued to be expressed by the most senior education planners from a variety of countries who had lived through the challenges of language change in the curriculum and who were familiar with the opposition on take-up of African languages in schools. A minister recalled a parent in a village saying to her: “It’s not skill in his mother tongue which makes a child succeed in life, but how much English he knows. Is it going to be one type of school for the rich and another for the poor? At the end of the day we are expected to pass examinations in English!”

In order to clarify contentious issues and to help policy-makers and educators to make informed decisions, ADEA seized the opportunity to follow up on the discussion.

As Wolff observes in chapter 2 of this report, the connection between (a) development and language use is largely ignored, the connection between (b) language and education is little understood outside expert circles and the connection between (c) development and education is widely accepted on a priori grounds, but with little understanding of the exact nature of the relationship. He visualises this “language-development-education” triangle in the following model and recommends a much closer cooperation between linguists, educationalists, and economists in the future:

Model of Development Communication with Regard to Language(s) and Education by Ekkehard Wolff



In 2005 ADEA commissioned the stocktaking research on the state-of-the-art on mother tongue and bilingual education in formal and non-formal education in sub-Saharan Africa. Given their experience and interest in the subject the UNESCO Institute for Education (UIE) and The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) received the mandate to organise and co-ordinate the study together with ADEA. The stocktaking research addresses core questions regarding the role of language in education and development in order to unearth evidence that could inform policy and support the needed reform.

The stocktaking aims at presenting evidence-based recommendations for language-in-education policies and language use in education in order to support policy-makers and other stakeholders. The research has three objectives:

1. to document and analyze research and experiences of African countries with regard to the use of African languages as the medium of instruction and the adaptation of curricula to local context and culture;
2. to explore the state of the art of mother tongue and bilingual education with emphasis on its situation in Africa South of the Sahara;
3. to facilitate policy dialogue on the issues of the use of African languages and bilingual education.

The focus of the research was on *scientific and empirical evidence* pertaining to language use and its implications on the quality of learning and education. Six experts critically assessed existing educational programmes and related language policies. They gave (1) priority to studies which are supported by sound theoretical and empirical evidence, and (2) greater weight to independent evaluations; while consulting and paying due attention to internal evaluations including those commissioned and paid by the programmes' stakeholders were consulted. These studies were analysed for findings on learning achievements, and elements of successful implementation strategies but also elements of failure and the technical, financial, linguistic, institutional, political and social reasons given. Additionally, aspects of cost-effectiveness, equity and equality were taken into consideration. Each expert selected one or two themes based on the team's joint analysis of the issues that need to be addressed.

Initially, the researchers looked at a selection of countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mali, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia), which was extended during the research by additional case studies that the team could access. For an overview of the countries and programmes reviewed see below.

ADEA, UIE, GTZ and the research team consider the stocktaking research as a milestone for the improvement of the quality of education in Africa. African Ministries of Education and Financial Planning, practitioners and researchers in education are called upon to build on the experiences and resources that have been developed for mother tongue and bi- or multilingual education in Africa and to expand them. The current research suggests that using African languages as media of instruction for at least 6 six years and implementing multilingual language models in schools will not only increase considerably the social returns of investments in education, but will additionally boost the social and economic development of African nations and contribute to the improvement of the continent to knowledge creation and scientific development.

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The following countries and/or programmes in mother tongue and bilingual education in Africa were considered during the stocktaking research:

Country	Programme
Benin	
Burkina Faso	Bilingual Schools
Burkina Faso	Satellite Schools
Burkina Faso	Non-formal Basic Education Centres (NFBEC)
Botswana	Government formal education
Cameroon	PROPELCA
Chad	Programme for teaching in national language, Ministry of Education, GTZ/PEB
Eritrea	Government mother tongue education from the mid-1990s
Ethiopia	Government mother tongue education since independence
Ghana	Government bilingual schools between (1971 – 2002 language policy open for Ghanaian languages in P1-P3)
Ghana	Local Languages Initial Literacy pilot project
Ghana	ASTEP programs by GTZ
Ghana	UNICEF's Childscope project in the Afram Plains
Ghana	Shepard School Program (SSP)
Ghana	Teacher-training colleges by GTZ
Ghana	Mass printing and distribution of textbooks and teacher guides in two major languages by World Bank
Guinea (Conakry)	Government mother tongue education between 1966-1984
Guinea-Bissau	
Kenya	Rehema School
Liberia	Language and education policy for multilingual education currently under development
Mali	Écoles de la Pédagogie Convergente
Mali	Pupil Teacher Centres
Malawi	Government language education policy and Community Schools Centres d'Education pour le Développement (CED)
Mozambique	PEBIMO
Namibia	Village School Programme in J/'Hoan of the Nyae Nyae Foundation
Namibia	Ondao Mobile School project
Niger	Experimental bilingual schools (MEB/GZT-2PEB)
Niger	Bilingual pilot schools French-Hausa
Nigeria	Six Year Primary Project (Ife Mother Tongue Education Project)
Nigeria	Rivers Readers Project
Senegal	Community Schools (Ecole Communautaires de Base ECB)
Senegal	Non-formal education by ARED
Somalia	Government mother tongue education between 1973-1986
South Africa	PRAESA Multilingual Education, teacher and training of trainers programmes; and the LOITASA Project
South Africa	Government mother tongue education between 1955-2005
Tanzania	Government mother tongue education since independence; and the LOITASA Project
Togo	Community Schools EDIL (Ecole d'Initiative Locale)
Uganda	BEUPA by GTZ
Uganda	COPE by GTZ
Uganda	Reading Pilot Project by the Ministry of Education
Zambia	Primary Reading Program
Zambia, South Africa, Namibia, Botswana etc.	Molteno Project , Breakthrough to Literacy

In the following, the Executive Summary highlights the key results and evidences from the analysis of each thematic chapter and summarises the core recommendations made by the authors.

1.2 Main Line of Argument

The central concern of this volume is how to provide quality education to African children and adolescents through the best-suited media and curricular content in order to achieve sustainable development in Africa.

For at least five decades, since the 1953 UNESCO Report on The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, African countries have been struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an education system inherited from the colonial period to a more transformative and culturally relevant education that takes into consideration African values and languages, people's socio-cultural and linguistic background as well as their educational needs. Such a relevant and effective education strategy would be characterized, first of all, by the use of an appropriate medium of instruction (MoI), the use of adequate teaching techniques, the use of culturally adequate curriculum content and sufficient financial and material resources.

Currently there are two competing views with respect to the central issue of language in education. Each view is based on a different vision for African societies.

(1) The view that reflects the current practice in most African countries advocates for the continued use of the official/foreign language as the primary and ultimate MoI during the whole educational system. The current language policy and education system worked well and succeeded under the colonial system in developing the leadership needed and in training the manpower required for the Africa envisioned by the colonial powers. This colonial vision of Africa should and can no longer be the vision for contemporary Africa.

(2) The second view advocates for the use of mother tongue (MT) or a familiar national language (NL) and the official / foreign language as a MoI throughout the education system.

As a result of the stocktaking research, there are convincing evidence highlighted below to argue for the second approach, the use of mother tongue or the use of an African language familiar to the children upon school entry as the natural medium of instruction in all African schools and institutions of higher education. This approach reflects better the socio-economic and cultural realities of multilingual Africa. However, it does not advocate the rejection of the official/foreign language.

On the contrary, research evidence shows that the use of MT or NL as a medium of instruction throughout schooling improves the teaching and learning of the official/foreign language as a subject of learning and will ultimately make it a better medium of specialized learning wherever appropriate. Such a change in approach aims at bringing profound social change in terms of development and societal progress.

The research team is well aware that an educational system which emphasizes the use of African languages will only be viable if the socio-economic environment values these languages so that people with a diploma in an African language will find challenging positions where they can continue to grow professionally. It is recommended that any kind of language policy be based on the vision of the society it is designed and implemented for as well as the political economy and the sociolinguistic reality of the country.

Each chapter of this synthesis focuses on a specific strategy for optimizing learning and education in Africa, taking into consideration the language factor at various levels: policy and development, language education models, the classroom, publishing, non-formal as compared to formal education,

finance and management. The main issues raised in each chapter are outlined in the following sections.

1.3 Multilingualism, Communication, Development and Education

In his chapter, Wolff aims to (i) establish the normality of multilingualism for the majority of children in Africa, (ii) draw attention to various factors that tend to impede the formulation and implementation of adequate and socio-culturally integrated language and language-in-education policies, and (iii) highlight the necessity of making language a central issue in all developmental discourse.

According to Wolff, language in Africa is a very sensitive issue mainly because of its history and its current neo-colonial relationship with former colonial powers, multilateral agencies and organizations; and yet, multilingualism and multiculturalism are integral features of African reality. This multilingualism is facilitated by the fact that Africa is home to about one third of the world's living languages. In fact, there are between 1200 and 2000 languages on the continent. This asset has been distorted as a threat to national unity and used to justify the use of the official / foreign language in government business and as the principal MoI in education consequently, missing the opportunity to build a quality education on such an asset and build on the potential of the whole population instead of a tiny minority.

To prevail over such a distortion and thus have a language-in-education policy more efficient and more effective, Wolff points out three major obstacles to overcome: (i) the uninformed attitude towards language in education by key stakeholders in Africa; (ii) western experts' negative attitudes regarding African languages, and (iii) the fact that African universities are not fulfilling the leadership role they should have in promoting and developing mother tongue education.

Overcoming these obstacles will open the path to long lasting development. Quoting Okombo (2000), Wolff argues that no matter how we define development, it cannot be seriously analyzed and discussed without reference to language as an important factor. To illustrate his argument, he stressed the following principles regarding development in Africa as underscored by Okombo (2000):

1. Modern development relies heavily on knowledge and information;
2. African countries rely significantly on foreign sources of knowledge and information, especially in the area of science and technology;
3. Knowledge and information come to Africa through international languages which are not indigenous to the African continent;
4. For development ideas to take root in Africa and benefit from African creativity, development activities must involve the African masses and not only the leaders; and
5. The goal of involving the African masses in the development activities cannot be achieved through a national communication network (including education) based exclusively on non-indigenous languages.

Knowledge and information needed for modern development cannot reach African masses that have no access to the official/foreign languages. Because knowledge and information come to Africa through the official/foreign language, the critical mass of knowledgeable and informed Africans required to achieve development will not be created in a foreseeable future. Closing the communication gap between the different levels of African societies will be a crucial and rewarding undertaking for which the education sector could take the lead role.

Development projects require communication in order to be taken on and be sustained by the local people. Such a communication can only take place through the use of languages mastered by the people (i.e. mother tongues or local, regional or national lingua-franca.). Thus, linguistic issues become inseparable from issues related to development. In fact, for development to take place in

Africa, it has to be thought, designed, implemented and monitored primarily in local indigenous languages.

Contrary to popular belief, there is no prove that multilingualism correlates with poverty. Wolff points to the results of a study by Fishman who

correlated 238 different economic, political, social, cultural, historical, geographic and demographic variables from across 170 countries to GNP, only to find that linguistic heterogeneity bore no predictive value for the level of per capita GNP (Fishman 1991: 13). And, in fact, Fishman and Solano (1989) even suggest that the existence of lingua francae and bilingualism enable many polities to attain a higher per capita GNP. (Stroud 2002: 37)

From the point of view of development therefore, a multilingual approach to education is called for; especially as multilingualism is increasing. Wolff highlights that “individual multilingualism has increased considerably involving lingua francae (such as Kiswahili, Hausa, Fulfulde, Bambara) which spread dynamically as second or third languages also into former monolingual pockets due to enhanced mobility and communication and, not the least, to education. On the other hand, demographic growth results in drastically increased numbers of people who maintain their mother tongue which they now use together with one or two other languages”.

The following table adapted from Obanya (1999a: 95) based on a UNESCO study (1985) shows the power of African cross border languages in terms of countries covered and number of speakers (25 years later and with the population growing these figures are much higher today).

Africa’s Shared (Cross-Border) Languages, adapted from Obanya (1999a)

Language	Countries covered	Speakers
1. Fulfulde	Mauretania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroun, Burkina Faso	11 million
2. Kiswahili	Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, D.R.Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique	38 million
3. Mandinka	Senegal, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Gambia, Liberia, Côte d’Ivoire	2.8 million
4. Hausa	Niger, Chad, Cameroun, Sudan, Nigeria, Benin, Ghana	34 million
5. Songhay	Mali, Niger, Benin, Nigeria	2.4 million
6. Kanuri	Niger, Chad, Nigeria, Cameroun	2 million
7. Crioulo	Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome e Principe	800.000
8. Fang	Cameroun, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo	800.000
9. Yoruba	Nigeria, Benin, Togo	12 million
10. Kikongo	D.R.Congo, Congo (Brazzaville), Angola	8 million
11. Luo	Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania	4 million
12. Wolof	Mauretania, Senegal, Gambia	3 million
13. Lingala	D. R. Congo, Congo (Brazzaville)	8.5 million
14. Shona	Mozambique, Zimbabwe	7 million
15. Ewe	Ghana, Togo	3.3 million
16. Dyula	Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire	2 million
= 16 languages	= 34 countries	= > 140 million

The African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) and African Union (AU), for example, envision working on the international harmonization of these languages. Focussing on cross-border languages, Wolff suggests that it could be a rewarding field for cooperation, also for universities, NGOs and donor organisations, with regard to cross-border publishing potentials and the creation of a meaningful post-literacy and publishing environment for African languages.

Furthermore, another example for African often overlooked linguistic resources is the degree to which African languages are used in written communication. Obanya (1999b) suggest that about 217 African languages, which are also used in written communication, and could reach nearly 50% of the African population – provided they were literate in these languages (see table below). It should be noted that several scripts are in use in Africa and that some languages are even written in more than one script, depending on the communication context.

A Selection of Africa's 'Written' Languages, Obanya (1999b: 83)

Country	Written Languages	Population in million	Country	Written Languages	Population in million
Benin	7	12.0	Nigeria	22	121,8
Burkina Faso	12	11,4	Uganda	3	21.3
Cameroun	38	14.3	Central Africa	4	3.5
Côte d'Ivoire	19	14.6	Senegal	6	9.0
Ethiopia	11	62.0	Sierra Leone	6	4,6
Ghana	19	18.9	South Africa	8	44.3
Guinea	6	7.7	Tchad	4	6.9
Kenya	7	29.0	Togo	13	4.4
Liberia	4	2.7	D.R.C. (Zaire)	7	49.2
Mali	9	11.8	Zambia	7	8.7
Niger	5	10.1			

Language-in-education policies are at the core of African development. In multilingual settings, the question of language choice for both medium of instruction (MoI) and subject of instruction (SoI) is crucial if Africa is to achieve development. In the multilingual approach, both the relevant local language (mother tongues or *linguae-francae*) and the official/foreign language must have their appropriate place and methods of teaching. The creative potential of Africans for modern science and technology is currently thwarted by a language barrier. It makes Africa even more dependent on expensive foreign expertise and impedes its development.

1.4 Language Education Models: Design, Outcomes and National Educational Goals

In her chapter, Kathleen Heugh looks at language education models in Africa and the use of African languages through these models. She analyses the different models in light of their design feature, potential outcomes, and their synchrony with national education goal.

As discussed in other chapters in this report, there are very many programmes, initiated by well-intentioned organizations which establish early literacy and education programmes in African languages. The considerable efforts undertaken are valuable and contribute towards a growing body of work which supports the development and use of indigenous languages across the continent. They contribute positively towards the better provision of education for children. Many non-government organizations (NGOs), donor/aid agencies, and governments have assisted in the development of early literacy and education programmes.¹ This work includes the transcription of languages which have

¹ This includes early literacy development in Ethiopia between the 7th and 13th Centuries; the teaching of literacy along with the spread of Islam across North and West Africa and reaching the highest levels of academic development in several West African languages transcribed into Arabic script at the University Mosques of Timbuktu in the 12th Century. It includes the work of missionaries from the late 19th century and renewed interest in this work over the last 30 years. Examples of the most recent work in this area include the literacy programmes in many Cameroonian languages initiated by PROPELCA; the bilingual schools (*écoles bilingues*) in Niger; 'pedagogie convergente' in Mali; bilingual experiments in Mozambique; new initial literacy programmes in Zambia; new early materials in African languages in Namibia; and the new developments in

sometimes never before been used in education and in other instances includes the development of reading and learning materials in African languages.

Yet, with the benefit of hindsight, and new research, we can now see, that this work has to be taken further. Early education in African languages is a good thing, but if its education benefits are to be of lasting value, then mother-tongue/L1 literacy and mother-tongue medium education (MTE) needs to continue at least to the end of the sixth year/grade 6, and preferably longer. Literacy in mother tongue needs to be developed beyond the decoding of stories or narrative texts in the first three to four years of school. Mother tongue (or language best known to the child) literacy and oral language development, needs to be developed to the level that written texts and oral language used for learning and teaching mathematics, science, history, and geography can be understood and actively used by the learner. In other words, the learner needs to be able to comprehend and construct written language required for learning at upper levels of primary and secondary school. This is so that the learning process is not interrupted. If a switch in medium of instruction occurs before learners have developed high level of written as well as spoken proficiency in both the L1 and L2, then the learning process across the curriculum will be interrupted. Learners will fall behind their peers who have L1 or MTE throughout in other education systems.

In Africa, all learners need to have very good teaching of the language of high economic, educational and political status in the country (the L2 / foreign language / international language of wider communication) as a subject, so that it becomes possible to use the L2 as a **complementary** medium of learning by the second half of secondary school. It needs to be emphasised that a switch from MTE to L2 medium only is, contrary to popular wisdom, not necessary nor the best way to ensure the highest level of proficiency in the L2.

The research evidence from which we are able to draw in the early years of the 21st century provides us with a more nuanced understanding of language acquisition processes in the home and local community as well as the more structured processes which occur in and are expected in the formal education systems of countries worldwide. Informal oral language development of children, who are able to learn conversational skills in second, third or more languages quickly and easily, is not the same as the learning of a second language for formal education. It occurs very differently from the learning of language for the kind of educational challenges of the school curriculum. Children's ability to pick up and use oral speech competently and quickly while at play is often misunderstood to mean that they will be able to learn to use cognitively demanding decontextualised language for formal education in school settings quickly and easily. Unfortunately, this is a misconception. Children and adults take longer to develop the kind of language and literacy proficiency required of the schooling system than it takes them to learn enough spoken language for informal conversational purposes.

When UNESCO published its Report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education in 1953, it was commonly thought that if children could have mother tongue literacy and education for the first few years of school (2 – 4 years), and at the same time also learn the international language of wider communication (ILWC) as a subject, they would develop sufficiently strong literacy skills to be able to switch from mother tongue medium to L2 medium by about grade 3 or 4. We now know, that by the end of the 3rd year of school, most children in well-resourced African settings would have only a small fraction of the language skills in the ILWC/L2 that they need for learning across the curriculum

The developmental process necessary for the high level cognitive language proficiency required for successful learning across the school curriculum, takes longer than most people expect. The development of the type of literacy necessary for reading and writing about science, history and geography, or understanding problems in mathematics, becomes increasingly complex and difficult

Ethiopia and Eritrea (see also Alidou, Brock-Utne and Aliou chapters in this report). Many international organisations, e.g. UNESCO Institute for Education, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), and several donor/aid agencies (e.g. GTZ, SIDA, Royal Netherlands Embassy, the Flemish Government, etc), have encouraged and participated in the development of African languages in education.

from the fourth year of school onwards. This is the case for most children worldwide and who have MTE. It is much more arduous if children are expected to do this in a language they barely know.

In her chapter, Heugh shows clearly that:

- Subtractive and early-exit transitional models can only offer students a score of between 20% and 40% in the ILWC by the end of school and this means failure across the curriculum.
- MTE needs to be reinforced and developed for at least 6 years of formal school in order for successful official/foreign language and academic success to take place.
- Under optimal conditions, it takes 6-8 years to learn a second language sufficiently well to use it as a medium of instruction. (In Africa, where the conditions are not optimal, it would probably take more years.)
- Language education models, which remove MT as a primary medium of instruction before grade 5, will facilitate little success for the majority of learners.
- Language education models, which retain MT as a primary medium of instruction for six years, can succeed under well-resourced conditions in African settings.
- Eight years of MTE can be enough under less well-resourced conditions.

1.5 Teaching Experiences: The Medium of Instruction Factor

In their first chapter Hassana Alidou and Birgit Brock-Utne present classroom observation studies conducted in several countries in Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, South Africa, Togo, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Botswana). They reveal that the use of unfamiliar languages forces teachers to use traditional and teacher-centered teaching methods which undermine teachers' effort to teach and students' effort to learn. Teachers do most of the talking while children remain silent or passive participants during most of the classroom interactions. Because children do not speak the languages of instruction (LoI), teachers are also forced to use traditional teaching techniques such as chorus teaching, repetition, memorization, recall, code-switching and safe talk. In this context, authentic teaching and learning cannot take place. Such situation accounts largely for the school ineffectiveness and low academic achievement experienced by students in Africa.

In countries and schools where languages familiar to children are used as languages of instruction the studies indicate that teachers and students communicate better. Such communication leads to better teaching on the part of the teachers and better learning for students. Few countries have developed or revitalized the use of mother tongues within a bi/multilingual educational framework. Studies related to bi/multilingual education in Africa (Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Malawi, Tanzania Zambia to name a few) indicate that the use of mother tongues in basic education produces positive outcomes if carefully implemented. The primary beneficial aspects discussed in the literature are: the improvement of communication and interactions in the classroom and the integration of African cultures and indigenous knowledge systems into formal school curricula. Effective communication leads to more successful learning opportunities in classrooms where languages familiar to both children and teachers are used as LoI at least in the first three years of education (Alidou 1997; Alidou and Mallam 2004; Bamgbose 2005; Brock-Utne 2000; Brock-Utne, Desai, Qorro 2004; Chekaraou 2004; Heugh 2000; IDRC 1997; Traoré, 2001; Ouédraogo 2003).

Moreover, when teachers teach effectively reading, writing and literacy in the mother tongues students can develop adequate literacy skills that they can use in learning the official languages. The Breakthrough Literacy Project implemented in Zambia is very illustrative of what could be done and how to improve the quality of learning and achieve better results. Its main goal is to facilitate the development of reading ability and literacy skills in both mother tongues and English among school children. The recent evaluations indicate that there is a correlation between students' literacy skills and their academic achievements (Sampa 2003).

One of the major problems highlighted in all the reviewed studies is the inadequacy of the existing teacher training programs. In an assessment conducted by Ngu (2004) of teacher training institutions in Africa he concluded that current dominant teacher-training programs were developed before most African countries got their political independence. This implies that student-teachers are being prepared as hitherto to teach in languages that are unfamiliar to children (English, French, Spanish and Portuguese). This largely accounts for the recurrent educational problems faced by African children and the ineffectiveness of formal basic education. Due to lack of adequate training African teachers do not know how to effectively monitor and assess student learning. One should also point out that the achievement tests administered to pupils are often not valid and reliable. Consequently, one can argue that in African contexts, it is very difficult to accurately determine the impact of teaching on students' learning.

Furthermore, teaching practice and the development of literacy are also negatively impacted by a severe lack of appropriate educational materials (teachers' guides, textbooks, and reference books in both mother tongues and second languages). Untrained teachers and teachers who do not have regular support from principals and inspectors heavily rely on available teacher's guides to develop their curriculum and lesson plans. Unfortunately, all African schools suffer from the scarcity of quality educational materials in both first and second languages. This issue is acute in bi/multilingual schools where teachers are forced to translate materials which are destined for instruction through the official or foreign language or they have to work with textbooks written in language A and there teacher guides written in language B.

All the studies mentioned in this chapter concluded with a set of common recommendations. These recommendations include: the adoption of an adequate language education policy; the reform of the teacher training programs to account for the new education language policies; the integration of innovative teaching methods, taking teachers sociolinguistic profiles into account for their placement into schools and the development of culturally relevant curricula.

Finally, teaching practice is negatively impacted by the overall socio-political contexts which are not always in favour of the expansion of the use of African languages as LoI in formal education. Teaching in mother tongues is still viewed by many Africans, as a second class occupation compared to teaching in international foreign language. This attitude affects both teachers and students' morale. Moreover, this attitude forces teachers to focus more on teaching second languages than mother tongues. Therefore, to promote effective teaching practice in bilingual schools, policy-makers should make a serious effort to politically promote the use of African languages in all spheres including their promotion as languages of instruction within bi/multilingual educational programs.

1.6 Active Students: The Medium of Instruction Factor

In their second chapter, Birgit Brock-Utne and Hassana Alidou analyse the relationship between the LoI and teaching and learning. The findings of both authors confirm what international research on learning and many African teachers also suggests: When asked to draw a profile of an effective primary teacher Ghanaian tutors placed "mastery of local language", "knowledge and respect of child's culture, "loving and caring" at the same level as "mastery of subjects and methodologies" (Chatry-Komarek 2003: 33).

Instruction in MT or a familiar language contributes far more to the cultural, affective, cognitive and socio-psychological development of the child than instruction in the official/foreign language, Akinnaso (1993), Alidou (1997), Bergmann et al (2002), UNESCO (2003). Brock-Utne and Alidou analyse the many advantages of an education given in the mother tongue or in a familiar language of the student:

1. A very first advantage for the student is that his/her learning progression goes from the familiar to the unfamiliar, from the known to the unknown hence, respecting a basic sound pedagogical principal.
2. Studies indicate that in MTE, teachers and students communicate better. Such communication leads to better teaching on the part of the teachers and better learning for students. Teachers are more likely to use effective and student-centred teaching methods that enhance their effort to teach and students' effort to learn. Bergman and al. (2002: 66) who studied the effect of using local languages as languages of instruction in so-called experimental schools in Niger noted that: "Teachers of experimental schools...create an atmosphere of trust between the pupils and themselves [...]. Pupils in experimental schools who are not intimidated by their teachers, are more alert, take responsibility,...participate more actively in classes and contribute to helping the weaker ones."
3. Using the students MT or a familiar language as language of instruction facilitates the integration of African culture into the school curriculum, thus creating a culturally sensitive curriculum and developing a positive perception of the culture. In addition to that, integrating the children's culture and language into curricular activities ensures the involvement of parents into school activities, therefore making schools part of the community.
4. MTE leads to a more effective teaching of the official/ foreign language as a subject of instruction (SoI).
5. MTE leads to more effective teaching of sciences and math (Prophet and Dow 1994; Mwinsheikhe 2002, 2003) as supported by the case of Ethiopia presented in this chapter.

Comparative studies between monolingual schools teaching in the official/foreign language and bilingual primary schools show that pupils in bilingual schools perform better in primary school leaving examinations. The following table compares results in monolingual and bilingual primary schools in Burkina Faso.

Comparative evaluation of monolingual and bilingual schools in Burkina Faso, Ilboudo (2003: 48)

	Monolingual schools				Bilingual schools	
	Nomgana	Donsi B	Donsi A	Lombila	Bilingual school of Goué	Bilingual school of Nomgana
Number of pupils evaluated	44	40	42	29	25	30
Number of pupils who obtained ½ of the expected target performance	18	8	18	1	17	23
Means score of the schools	40%	20%	42.85%	3.44%	68%	76.66
Deviation	5.20-7.60	5 -6.80	5-7.50	5-5	5-8.8	5-8.60
Standard deviation	1.9-4.90	1.70- 4.80	2-4.90	1.50-4.80	1.6-4.6	3.40-4.90

The first cohort of "Ecoles Bilingues" pupils took the end of primary school examination test in 1998. After only 5 years of instruction in local languages and French, these pupils performed better than their counterparts who had six to seven years of instruction in French. In 2002, 85.02% of "Ecoles bilingues" pupils successfully passed the end of primary school examination (Ilboudo 2003). The national average is 61.81% with six to seven years of instruction in French.

MT instruction will necessitate moving from a traditional evaluation of school effectiveness that mainly looks at achievement test results to assessment methods that are more holistic. It does not matter that curriculum guidelines say that children should learn to cooperate, learn to till the land or to help in the neighbourhood, if all that is measured through tests is individual behaviour and narrow cognitive skills. Such behaviour and skills become the real, although hidden, curriculum. Assessment

systems should focus more on the pupil's ability to demonstrate mastery of knowledge acquired in schools through various kinds of practical application. Therefore, locally designed examinations to correspond to local/endogenous curricula should be undertaken.

The greatest threat to the adoption of locally adapted curricula based on indigenous knowledge systems is the reintroduction of exams created in the West, often by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate for Anglophone Africa. Professional educators know that those who construct the tests and decide on the examinations to be used are the ones who decide the curriculum. It ought to be the other way around: first a country decides on the education it wants its citizens to acquire, and then it decides how to evaluate whether desired learning has taken place. A positive example of monitoring of exams is Namibia where a western bias in many exam questions was detected. In Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, one of main goals of the experimental bilingual schools is to help young people develop a deeper understanding of their environment and cultures, as the majority of them are expected to remain in their community and contribute effectively to its socio-cultural and economic development.

The integration of children's culture and languages into curricular activities has facilitated parental involvement in rural schools. It also promotes a favourable attitude toward schools among parents and pupils. Parents appreciate bilingual education when they see that the overall school performance of their children improves. Ilboudo (2003) highlighted a significant achievement which may account for the effectiveness of the so-called "Ecoles Bilingues" in Burkina Faso. He reported the increased cultural learning among pupils and higher socio-economic productivity of the "Ecoles Bilingues" schools. He stated that pupils were able to benefit from these schools in a number of ways. The economic projects such as cattle breeding served to help students learn multiple subjects and integrate the indigenous knowledge system in formal basic education. In addition, pupils were able to make some financial gains. This activity helped teachers teach subject matters such as social studies, biology (breeding) and mathematics in meaningful contexts. By buying, raising and selling goats, sheep and chickens children learn how breeding is done in their own culture and in modern context. They learn new methods of modernizing some of the socio-economic activities found in their own community. Schooling, therefore, becomes more relevant not only for children as they learn by doing, but also for the parents who benefit from their children's contribution to all socio-economic and cultural activities.

The studies reported on in this chapter show that active learning takes place in programs where instruction is done in African languages known to teachers and children. The use of familiar languages alone does, however, not guarantee success. Other factors like the availability of trained teachers and having quality educational materials built on the culture of the pupils are also important. Exams need to reflect local curricula. Pupils ought to be awarded for a right answer, even if the answer is not provided in the unfamiliar/less familiar official medium of instruction.

1.7 Language Use In Non-Formal Education

This chapter's main focus is the alternative delivery mode encompassing the language factor provided by non formal education (NFE) systems that cater to children who have either dropped out of school or never had the chance to go to schools. In this chapter, Boly examines a variety of models used in the non formal education system in Africa in regard to the language of instruction and looks at what the NFE system can bring to the formal system. Based on the review of the existing literature, Boly states that there are many different models of non-formal education in Africa going from those mirroring very closely the formal school system and those evolving entirely outside of any formal education.

Some of the non-formal education efforts have been designed to allow children who are otherwise not in school to gain entry into the formal school system. Among the examples given are the COPE centers in Uganda, the Satellites Schools in Burkina Faso, Community Schools in Mali and Senegal, etc). These NFE schools use either subtractive models or early exit models. In the case of the COPE schools, teaching is straight in English (Brock-Utne 1997c); in the case of the Satellites Schools² in Burkina Faso, teaching is in the MT of the learner in the first two years. French is taught as a subject during these first two years. During the third year, French becomes the medium of instruction and the mother tongue a subject of instruction. By year four, the mother tongue is removed entirely from the programme.

Other non-formal schools provide alternatives outside of the formal education system. The models reviewed include (i) Burkina Faso's Non-formal Basic Education Centers (NFBEC), (ii) Ecoles Communautaires de Bases in Senegal, (iii) A literacy "movement" in Pulaar in Senegal mainly for adults (ARED/CERFLA³), (iv) The Centres d'Education pour le Développement (CED) in Mali. With the exception of ARED/CERFLA, those schools' original goal was to provide training to the learners to be active contributors to the local economy after their studies. In the NFBEC in Burkina Faso the language of instruction is the MT during the first two years of education. During year three and four, French becomes the MoI. The same situation applies to the CED in Mali and the Ecoles Communautaires de Base in Senegal. Only the literacy "movement" in Pulaar provides training throughout the MT of the learner.

This preliminary review of the different NFE models in Africa indicates that whether NFE is seen as an alternative to formal schooling, with the ultimate goal of preparing larger number of students to be productive and competitive or defined as a bridge to formal schooling, early exit models are dominant. As mentioned in the "The Tragedy of Education in Africa", Govender and Gruzd (2004) state that children need more than to learn to read, write, and do arithmetic. They need to become independent learners and critical thinkers who feel that they can better contribute to their families' and their communities' lives. A critical condition for that to happen is to train the children in their mother tongue or their dominant language of communication, be it in the formal or non formal education system.

NFE has a great potential to contribute to Education for All in Africa but (i) it has to use additive model and (ii) it needs to be seen as more than just a contributor to increase statistics. It needs to be seen as a legitimate avenue for children to achieve their full potential as active players in the economy and in social change. This can only be done if NFE is seen as a serious alternative which effectively meets the educational needs of each society.

1.8 Written Texts are the Substratum on which School Learning is built – the Publishing Sector

Strengthening the African publishing sector is a key aspect in building the African language industry which will provide the education sector with relevant teaching and learning material and will it be a key player in creating a meaningful literate environment. In his chapter, Diallo looks at issues related to publishing in African Languages in the context of the current education policies and by analyzing the role of key actors, their strengths and weaknesses and making some recommendations on how to improve the situation.

² Satellites Schools in Burkina are considered part of the Primary Education in a village setting where formal classic primary school cannot be built.

³ ARED (Associates in Research and Education for Development) and CERFLA (*Centre d'Etudes pour la Recherche et la Formation en Langues Africaines*)

He starts by underlying the fact that publishing in African languages is in its initial stage with a very limited number of books and, in most countries, it is carried out by a national government office in charge of the promotion of adult literacy. According to Diallo, the reason for this limited interest in publishing in African languages is both political and economic. The national language and education policies adopted by most countries promote official languages such as French, English, Spanish and Portuguese to the detriment of African languages. For private publishers, it is therefore more profitable to publish in these official languages than in African languages which are not allocated official functions in the administration and education and thus possess a very limited readership. Diallo goes on to describe the difficult environment in which publishing takes place in Africa, despite some progress noticed since the Jomtien conference in countries like Guinea, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso and Mali besides most stronger presence prevailing in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria, Namibia and South Africa. First, there are few professional publishers who can produce quality materials in African languages. Secondly, publishing textbooks requires a financial investment which most African publishers cannot afford. Thirdly, distribution is the weakest and most difficult aspect of publishing in Africa because the state and even the private sector have failed to develop an appropriate book policy.

Diallo has observed that to promote literacy in African languages, both private publishers and local NGO need financial and technical support. If international NGOs such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), and bi-lateral and multilateral organizations such as Capacity Building International (InWent), GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), UNESCO, and Agence intergouvernemental de la Francophonie (AIF) often provide financial support to local NGOs, none is provided to private publishers who have also difficulties accessing loans from national banks. However, both local NGOs and private publishers benefit from technical assistance provided by institutions such as UNESCO, AIF, APNET (The African Publishers Network), INWENT and GTZ. This assistance contributes to capacity building at the national level.

In recent years, one can observe a noticeable expansion of publishing in African languages in countries which have created a more favourable institutional environment for the promotion of African languages as languages of instruction and communication. However, even in this situation, governments must formulate more effective language and book policies.

Finally, to promote publishing in African languages and the development of a literate culture and literate environment in both multilingual educational systems and African societies, Diallo argues that the following aspects, among others, must be seriously addressed:

- The formulation and implementation of an adequate language policy, book policy, and the promotion of a culture of reading and literacy;
- The formulation and implementation of adequate taxing systems which facilitate the importation of paper and other materials needed for the production of printed materials in Africa. Such policies can contribute to lowering the price of printed materials, especially textbooks;
- The creation of adequate distribution systems;
- Reduction of the dependence on books from abroad;
- Capacity-building in all aspects of the book chain (authors, publishers, librarians, distributors...);
- The promotion of a partnership between public and private sector in defining and implementing national language and educational policies including the design and implementation of a national book policy;
- The creation of a close partnership between governments, private publishers and non-governmental organizations at the national level for the development of a literate environment and a literate culture. This objective can be achieved if all libraries carry a significant number of

reading materials written in African languages. Therefore, each country must develop and implement an adequate book distribution policy;

- A regional cooperation between African publishers to produce and distribute textbooks and other reading materials especially in the languages of wider communication such as Hausa, Pular and Mandingo;
- In all countries, the contribution of authors of books produced in African languages should be recognized and valued. This recognition should be equal to that expressed toward authors who produce textbooks and other materials in the official languages.

1.9 Financing Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education

Heugh explores some of the issues around the costs of implementing both successful and unsuccessful language education programmes and outlines some of the initiatives and strategies which can be taken, with minimal cost implications.

There are very few studies on the costs and benefits of different language in education programmes, especially in Africa. Thus, discussions about costs are often led by uninformed assumptions and related beliefs. Whenever mother tongue education issues are debated, there is a belief that it is too costly to use African languages in education. However, at the moment there is *no scientific evidence* which demonstrates that in the medium to long-term:

- the use of African languages in education is more costly than the use of the former colonial languages; or that
- the use of the former colonial languages is more cost-effective than the use of African languages in education.

An interesting result of her stocktaking is that with a little additional expenditure, education which makes greater use of local languages and provides better tuition of the international language could be implemented. Current analysis indicates that the additional expenditure may vary between 1% - 5% which will however be recovered within five years through lower repetition rates.

If we consider the evidence we do have it becomes clear that in Africa, we continue to invest in programmes which are designed to fail. System-wide, multi-country studies, such as the second Southern [and Eastern] Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ II) (Mothibeli 2005), show that by grade 6 more than 55% of students in 14 Southern and Eastern Africa countries have not attained the most minimal level of literacy required to remain in the school system. Only 14, 6% have reached the desired level of literacy. The current literacy and language models are so ineffectual that they result in at least 55% of students leaving school by the end of grade 6 as unsuccessful learners, and this undermines the Millennium Development Goals and UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) agendas. It is most definitely not cost-effective or economically wise. It is therefore necessary to change from a dysfunctional approach to one which may offer a good return on investment.

As a general guideline for the understanding of costs for the implementation of language policies and models Heugh refers to the work of François Grin, one of the few economists specialized in language and the economy:

1. ...[C]osts are relatively little known and little understood ...Cost is meaningless in itself – it makes sense only in relation with what one gets in return for the cost incurred' (Grin 2005:11).
2. 'It follows then that even a high-cost policy can be perfectly reasonable on economic grounds, if the outcome is 'worth it'; and paying for something which is worth paying for is a quintessentially sound economic decision (Grin 2005:13).

Heugh's comparative analysis of cost items in the delivery of quality education models (see section 3.1 in her chapter) demonstrates that the only differences occur in the areas of orthography

development (where there are no existing orthographies), terminology and for translation of text books. Furthermore, these costs are lower than many people believe.

For example, studies by Halaoui (2003) and Vawda & Patrinos (1999) imply that, in most cases, the volume of text books required in African languages is large enough to ensure that the difference in cost per unit between books in European languages and books in African languages is minimal. In total, Vawda & Patrinos estimate that the additional cost of producing materials in African languages and having them used efficiently in the classroom will be less than 10% of the learning materials and teacher education budget. In South Africa an additional 10% of the cost of materials and teacher education would amount to less than 1% (closer to 0, 7 – 0, 8 %) of the entire education budget. So at most, we are looking at an additional 1% of the whole education budget in this country.

Another example is the recent translation of school leaving examinations in science in Northern Sotho (Sesotho sa Leboa) funded by the Pan South African Language Board in 2000 which was facilitated on about US\$12 000. In order to translate the examinations, the terminology had to be developed in or explained in Sesotho sa Leboa. This means that the science terminology, used to the end of secondary school, has been developed in this language on a minimal budget. Since Sesotho sa Leboa is very closely related to two other South African languages (Sesotho and Setswana) parallel translations and terminology development for science will be expedited and therefore cost less.

If teacher education provision is planned to support a functioning system and then mapped out according to different language models (see section 3.4 in the chapter), then it becomes obvious that the use of African languages is not more costly than English, French, Portuguese or Spanish dominant models.

- Firstly, teacher education requirements regarding curriculum studies, content knowledge and classroom methodologies incur the same or equal costs across all language models.
- Secondly, it does not cost more to train teachers in Africa to teach through the languages they know and speak well. It costs more to train teachers to use a language in which they do not yet have an adequate proficiency.
- Such teachers first have to learn the language through which they are required to teach and also develop a high level of academic proficiency in this language. This takes time (at least 200 hours per teacher). Time equals money.

Usually, those who argue that mother tongue education is too costly have completely underestimated the impact of the medium of instruction. They assume that teachers currently in the system are competent in the language they are supposed to use for teaching. They do not realise or sufficiently understand that the teachers cannot perform the impossible. They cannot teach through languages in which they do not have the required level of academic literacy.

In addition to these factors, the medium term economic benefits of developing the language industry in African countries should not be underestimated. It would breathe new life into tertiary education on the continent and it would open up new possibilities for employment.

Heugh recommends the following cost reduction strategies:

- Pool, share and use more effectively indigenous resources of the continent e.g. through regional co-operation, for example in joint training programmes and for cross-border languages
- Maximize existing knowledge and expertise
- Create and use checklists to better guide decisions makers and reduce ill-informed choices (suggestions see section 5.2 in the chapter)

Finally, she suggests the following 10 point plan of activities required to make further use of African languages in education (see next page).

	WHAT	WHO	TIME	COST: same or more
1.	Language education policy	Small consultative informed team: use experts from within Africa	2 months – electronic discussions; 2-3 meetings	Same as for any education policy/language policy development
2.	Implementation Plan	Smaller informed team	2 months	Same as for any policy implementation
3.	Public support	Education officials and experts via public media; formal & informal channels of communication	Start immediately; keep public up to date with the debates; engage public participation in debates.	Public media should carry this without cost to the state; state expenditure where possible. Same costs as for any government policy.
4.	Language Technology: terminology	Small team of experts to engage in capacity development	Speeds up timeframe for delivery	New costs but inexpensive, replicable, electronically accessible.
5.	Translation technology	University departments of African languages to re-tool/skill where necessary	Fast - can reduce translation time by 50%; can be used for textbooks and electronic resources - download assessments, worksheets etc.	Inexpensive software investment. Time reduction = cost reduction.
6.	Language development units	African universities - prepare students for orthographic, lexicographic, terminology and translation development expertise	Start training 2007	State invest in re-skilling university trainers and establishment of language development units; develop business plan - should be self-funding in 5-10 years.
7.	Dictionaries (multilingual)	Identify institutional affiliation (e.g. university/ies; government department; non-profit independent structure)	On-going – long-term project	State investment/annual allocation.
8.	Multilingual materials	a. Publishers – domestic; b. Specialist teachers can also produce these electronically.	a. Publishing timeframes require careful scheduling. b. Use of electronic education bank for storing teacher generated materials is faster and can be used almost immediately	a. Publishing: Cross-border collaboration reduces outlay costs and speeds up return on investment. Usually not much more. b. Electronic bank of materials – minimal costs. Publishing houses can recover costs and grow business in Africa
9.	Teacher Training	Re-tooling/skilling of teacher trainers; share available African expertise;	Fast-track capacity development, thereafter timeframes same as for regular provision.	Minimal costs for initial design of new programmes, soon becomes normal recurrent costs.
10.	Total Investment - additional expenditure on education budget for 5 years			1%-5% ⁴ recoverable and reduces overall expenditure over medium term (5 years). Medium to long term prognosis – economic benefits to each country.

⁴ Countries where orthographies and other language development units already exist can expect 1% increase; where there are no orthographies, the costs could escalate to 5%.

1.10 Managing Educational Reforms

The report advocates for a paradigm shift in the definition of successful education in order to reach for cultures of effectiveness for educational systems. Such a paradigm shift, if wanted by the leaders of African countries, would require, among many other issues, to update knowledge about the key role of language-in education and development in the respective society. The paradigm shift would also give way for educational reform.

Wolff suggests that the organization and management of the ensuing communication and management processes for language and educational planning could profit from an Integrated Social Marketing (ISM) approach. Such an approach could translate the social vision for education into the social system.

Integrated Social Marketing *for non-commercial/non-profit organisations* is defined as

- the planning, organisation, implementation and control of strategies and activities of non-commercial organisations, which directly or indirectly aim at solutions to social problems/tasks;
- offering the philosophy, concepts, strategies and tools to approach social problems, and finally effectuate the desired social and cultural changes (towards “modernisation”);
- the orientation of activities towards the needs of target groups and about professional communication with the target groups; the target groups involve the general public, decision-makers and administrators, media, and professional organisations;

In particular, ISM is about communicating (new) social ideas (i.e. advocacy, dissemination, and acceptance), preparing the ground for attitudinal and behavioural change, and about negotiating social reforms such as educational reforms, particularly in view of creating the social setting of a dynamic multi-stakeholder partnership to enhance the success prospects of implementing new policies.

There are two different perspectives in ISM:

1. The institutional perspective looks at the realisation of social goals from the perspective of a given institution. This makes social marketing a leadership concept for social institutions (increasingly we observe social marketing for hospitals, political parties, museums, theatres, etc.).
2. The problem-driven perspective of social marketing focuses on the question as to what kind of techniques, methods and tools can be used for solving social problems. This happens irrespective of which organisations would be responsible for the execution of such programmes (e.g. marketing for solving problems of preservation of natural environment, fighting xenophobia, recycling, and unemployment).

The application of the ISM approach seems to be advisable in the context of language and educational planning because

- Multilingual education involves language planning.
- Language planning is both strategic and operational planning, it involves fact-finding, policy development (& governmental decision-making), implementation, evaluation.
- Language planning and formal education are both part of social planning; the target is to effect social and cultural changes.
- Language planning, particularly language planning for education, provides fundamental prerequisites for development (individual, social, cultural, economic, political development), poverty alleviation, and enjoying human rights.

This approach would support a systematic and long-term communication process for dynamic social partnerships among all stakeholders.

1.11 Conclusion

In conclusion, it is obvious that there is no education and learning where there is no communication between the teacher and the learner. And where the MoI is not mastered by either the learner or the teacher there is no efficient communication. This is still the case for most African pupils and teachers. Hence, the failure so far, we all witnessed of the education system in Africa.

This situation has been perpetuated by some of the African political elite, the former colonial powers, international agencies and organizations as well as the resistance by the African communities due to their well nurtured ignorance concerning the potential and capacity of their own languages. The research teams' findings dispel the myths that not only deny Sub-Saharan African languages the same value as for example English, French, and Portuguese but also rob African languages of their potential. The fear that efficient multilingual education would cost too much was taken seriously and a whole chapter is dedicated to this question. The good news is that the initial investment would be affordable and range most likely only from 1% to 5% of the national education budget; with the immediate, mid-term and long-term social and economic returns for the whole society and language industry not yet taken into account.

Recommendations for action such as suggestions for actions plans, checklists and management models are derived from the findings in order to ease the transfer of research results into concrete action. Appropriate language-in-education policies, promoting the use of African languages as MoI throughout the education system, along with the implementation of culturally relevant curricula, are critical conditions for reversing the current unsatisfying situation. In addition, promoting the use of African languages in the government and daily business in the private sector is the critical condition to promoting such a policy and to ensuring its success and sustainability.

Important and substantial contributions have already been made to the development and use of African languages in education on which we should build. There are for example numerous mother tongue literacy programs, transcription of oral languages, community-based and non-government based organizations, donor and development agencies, specialized university departments. Each of these initiatives needs to be encouraged in their respective settings and supported further. However their potential cannot be realized if they are subsumed into education systems which discourage the use of African languages after the initial years of early literacy or short-term mother tongue programs. Every effort should be directed towards building on these existing resources. This means extending and expanding the work of these initiatives so that the development of terminology lists, dictionaries, schoolbooks, teacher education programs, etc. is directed towards resourcing the entire school system with mother tongue education programs.

There are successful models of education language policies, used in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The use of African languages as MOI throughout multilingual educational systems models is viewed as a realistic solution for the improvement of education in Africa. It is one which requires initial investment, determination and courage, but it is also one which will show promising economic, educational and social returns.

2 Background and History - Language Politics and Planning in Africa

H. Ekkehard WOLFF

This chapter provides a very general outline of some of the major problems and prospects of language politics and planning in Africa to serve as background for the present study. The chapter deals with the impact of the language issue on sustained development and poverty alleviation, with special reference to language-in-education policies.

The following account is based on the conviction that political stability, peace, poverty reduction, economic development, and fully functional institutions require the recognition of linguistic and cultural plurality as indispensable resources, i.e. they rest, to a large extent, on indigenous solutions to social problems in terms of local action based on local resources. Productivity, economic growth, and societal change are no longer seen to be effected by interventionist strategies only. African governments are still facing the challenges posed by the *Jomtien Declaration of the World Conference for Education* (1990), the targets of the *World Summit for Social Development* (1995), and the *Dakar Framework for Action*, adopted at the *World Education Forum* (2000). A major stepping stone towards achieving the *Millennium Development Goals* is *Universal Primary Education* in the framework of *Education for All*, in which the “language factor” must be given due recognition. It is understood that the strengths of the new *Sector-wide Approach* must be duly exploited in terms of comprehensive plans and strategies, decentralization, stakeholder consultation, monitoring, and fund allocation (cf. chapter 8).

The urgency of the task becomes apparent from a few observations and figures that characterize present education trends in Africa (World Bank 2001: 1):

- The education development record in Africa since 1988 has been disappointing. Several countries – including Botswana, Cape Verde, Mauritius, Namibia, Seychelles, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe – sustained progress in the 1980s and 1990s. Others have initiated promising long-term programs of reform and development. But the reality for too many Africans is an education system characterized by low quality and limited access.
- For the region as a whole, progress has largely stalled since 1990, failing to reverse the setbacks of the 1980s. Every level has too few education facilities, and those that exist are often in poor repair and inadequately equipped.
- Africa has the lowest enrolment rate at every level, and it is the only region where the numbers of children out of school are continuing to rise. The average African adult has fewer than three years of schooling, lower than the attainment for any other region. There are also growing education inequalities within Africa between income groups and between urban and rural populations.
- Education trends have a direct bearing on poverty reduction efforts in sub-Saharan Africa. Africa’s share of global poverty since 1987 has risen, and a growing proportion of Africans cannot meet their basic needs.
- Without a quantum leap in education at the national level, African will miss the 2015 target of universal primary education by a margin of 55 million children.
- Failing to extend the benefits of education development to the poor is thus likely to prove highly costly – economically, socially, and politically. Accelerating education development in Africa therefore needs to be part of broader poverty reduction and rural development strategies.

2.1. The Language Factor in Education and Development Discourse

African governments, together with organisations and devoted individuals, have made remarkable efforts and have channelled considerable resources into the national educational systems on the continent in order to comply with the goals of the 1990 Jomtien *World Conference for Education* that were scheduled to be reached by the year 2000. Five years past the deadline, however, we are facing the necessity to extend the deadline to the year 2015 under the notion of *Millennium Goals for Education*. In the light of apparent failure to reach the goal, quite obviously, something must have gone wrong in the course of the action and in educational practice, presumably not only since 1990 but for a much longer period. African governments, therefore, would be well advised to stand back and critically review their educational policies, no matter whether they have largely retained the educational system inherited from the colonial times (as has largely been the case in the so-called Francophone and Lusophone countries) or whether they have attempted to change it since independence (as has happened in some of the so-called Anglophone countries).

Evidence suggests that one of the major factors responsible for the failure is the “language factor”, whose role not only in the classroom but also and primordially so in society as a whole, is to be analysed and described in the present document in order to arrive at scientifically based recommendations for African governments and other stakeholders regarding the way forward.

In a nutshell: educational practices in Africa have failed independent of the two most commonly used language-in-education models (for details see chapter 3): Where educational systems have been retained that are based on the exclusive usage of the language of the former colonial master as the sole medium of instruction, the rule is rather poor performance of the system as a whole. This is largely the situation in the so-called Francophone and Lusophone countries of Africa. This, however, does not come as a surprise to language-in-education experts, who have always maintained that learning in a foreign or unfamiliar language simply cannot work for most learners. Even where considerable efforts were made by governments to introduce or maintain mother tongue/L1 education (MTE) during the first few years of primary education, these have often not shown the expected results: Again, we observe rather poor performance of the system, such as is the case in much of so-called Anglophone Africa. This may in fact come as a counter-intuitive surprise to non-expert observers, who have been told by experts that the use of the mother tongue/local language in lower primary plus transition to the official/foreign language (L2) under a so-called early-exit model would remarkably enhance educational success. Recent scientific research, however, shows that “early exit models” are likely to fail in the long run due to the overly restricted period of learning in the L1.

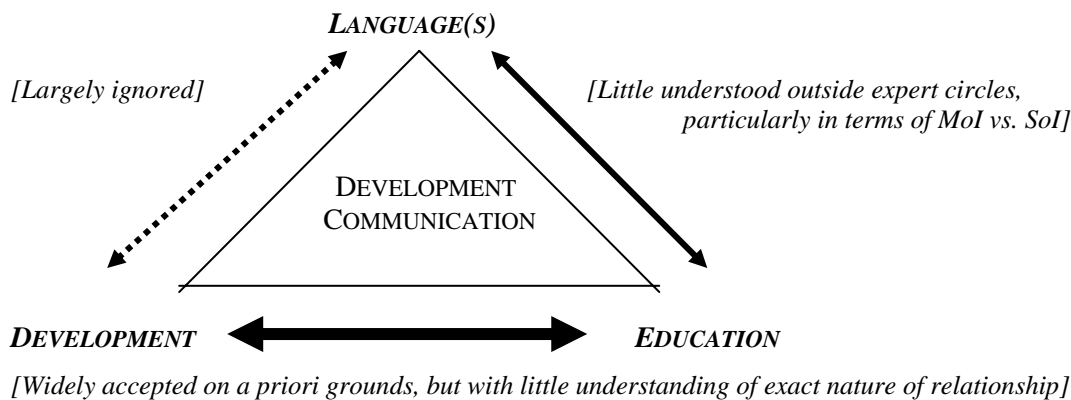
Across the continent and irrespective of the particular colonial past of a country, we are forced to state poor performance regarding practically all major demands on the educational system, such as low school intakes, uneven distribution of girls and boys in schools, poor standards of teaching, low motivation of teachers and pupils, high rates of drop-outs and class repeaters, poor results at final examinations, low transfer from primary to secondary (and from secondary to tertiary) education, with primary school leavers remaining practically illiterate and with no or rather low competence in the official language; quite often school leavers have gained little or no practical or vocational qualification to make them better farmers, gardeners or craftsmen when they return from school.

Apart from widely spread underperformance of the educational systems, there is yet another set of reasons that continues to detrimentally affect progress in the educational sector in Africa since Independence, namely the fact that the “language factor” is practically totally absent from mainstream development discourse. This is true with regard to discourse on, for instance, such central issues as poverty alleviation and sustained development for Africa. This discourse tends to be monopolized by experts from economics and related social science disciplines, who – as a rule – have little or no understanding of the role that the “language factor” has for successful development communication. It is, or has been, also true for major philosophical and strategic documents that focus on the continent’s future, such as key documents relating to *NEPAD*, the *African Renaissance*, even regarding *Education for All*; the salient issues addressed in this study, namely the eminent role of the indigenous African

languages for quality education as part of additive bi- or trilingual systems, receive marginal treatment at the most – as a rule, the issues are not addressed at all. If language is mentioned as an issue at all, reference is usually only to the official languages of non-African origin that were inherited from the colonial past, such as English, French, and Portuguese.

The present chapter sets out to identify some of the fundamental reasons, why and how various deficits in language and development planning and implementation in Africa “conspire” to impede advances and serious progress of development in general, and of education in particular. Clearly, the focus is on the “language factor”. The approach is based on the following simplified model that illustrates both, the interrelationship between LANGUAGES(S), EDUCATION, and DEVELOPMENT, and the different degrees of our understanding of the respective interrelationship:

Fig. 1. Model of Development Communication with Regard to Language(s) and Education



Given the multilingual settings in which most African societies function, development communication in Africa requires multilingual strategies for the following simple reasons:

- Development is largely about communication; in Africa this involves stakeholders with different language backgrounds.
- Communication is predominantly through language, be it oral or written, be it in a foreign/official language or through indigenous/local languages.
- Communication is facilitated by shared language competence and language repertoires, most of all between local people and advisors/consultants, be they nationals or expatriates.

This chapter provides some background for a better understanding of language policy discourse in and on Africa, with particular emphasis on language-in-education policies. Education will be understood to encompass both formal education systems⁵ and practices in non-formal education⁶, including aspects of literacy and post-literacy in both indigenous African mother tongues/national languages and non-indigenous official/foreign languages as used in national communication and/or in the educational system⁷. The central message of the chapter, therefore, is the following:

- Present and continuing underdevelopment in Africa is intimately linked to the language factor, which plays a decisive role for the success or failure of development communication, which again is closely linked to education, more specifically: to the language factor in education.
- Science-based reviews and analyses of the background and history of language politics and language planning in Africa, particularly language planning for education, leads to advocating comprehensive social planning, which must be based on politics of language that reflect the

⁵ Cf. chapters by Heugh, Alidou and Brock-Utne in this volume.

⁶ Cf. chapter by Boly in this volume.

⁷ Cf. chapter by Diallo in this volume.

multilingual and multicultural heritage of the people planned for, and that must be guided by clear visions for a free and democratic society.

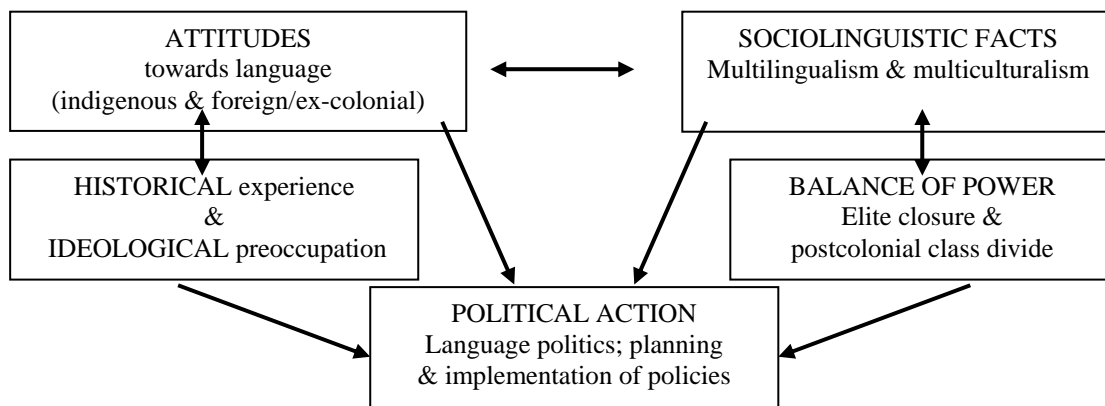
- These visions must view education as a societal project that aims at sustained economic and socio-political development framed in a broader context of social engineering that is facilitated by socio-culturally adequate language and education policies and practice.

2.2. The Complexity of the Language Question in Africa

Language planning in Africa has to take place against the background of several factors, including multilingualism, the colonial legacy, the role of education as an agent of social change, high incidence of illiteracy, and concerns for communication, national integration and development (Ayo Bamgbose).

The formulation and implementation of adequate politics of language in general and language-in-education policies in particular is heavily impeded by the complex interplay of various factors that will be outlined below. This “conspiracy” of factors is largely responsible for what has been termed the STATUS QUO MAINTENANCE SYNDROM with an overall effect of persisting mediocrity through blocking the developmental capacity of African people (Alexander). This status quo maintenance syndrome, however, benefits both the national elites and their expatriate counterparts to the detriment of the continuously “under-educated masses”. The following is an attempt to graphically represent the complexity of issues that have impact on language politics and planning.

Fig. 2. Factors contributing to complexity of the language question in Africa and the “status quo maintenance syndrome”



The central question for the present document to answer is how to provide quality education to African children (and adults) through best suited media and curricular content management under a vision for sustained development and poverty alleviation on the continent. In order to find answers, we must address some deeply interwoven aspects of the highly complex communication landscape and patterns of language use in African countries, each with their particular socio-cultural fabric. Aspects to be considered are, among others:

- The sensitivity of the “language question” in Africa – given the particular post-colonial setting of all discourse regarding policy matters and the continuing impact of uninformed attitudes in the form of negative prejudice, stereotype, and cliché that detrimentally affect the status and prestige of the African languages and that are shared by many of the stakeholders;

- The plurality of languages and multilingualism as natural assets of individuals and polities in Africa – and why it is so hard for many people to accept African languages as viable resources on both personal and societal levels;
- The role of language(s) in and for development, i.e. what African languages have to do not only with “soft” notions such as *African Identity*, *African Personality*, and the *African Renaissance*, for instance, but with hard-core economic, social and political development and poverty alleviation strategies – and why and how this must be based on affirmative managing of the received linguistic and cultural diversity in order to achieve, in the long run, national unity and social equality out of inherited social inequality and national disunity;
- The role of African languages as indispensable media of instruction for providing quality education in Africa, together with the adequate introduction of “intercontinental languages of wider communication” (ILWCs, like English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, but also Arabic) as subject of instruction in “non-exit” language-in-education models – and why so many people, laypersons and even some “experts”, get things wrong here;
- The developmental effect of quality education based on advanced language skills – i.e. why understanding what the teachers says is not a trivial matter, and what African languages have to do with better learning results not only in maths and science, for instance, but also with regard to better proficiency in English, French, and Portuguese, or any other official language that is - originally - foreign to the country;
- The proposal of superior and highly promising concepts for language-in-education policies for Africa – and what it needs to successfully “market” it with some hope of establishing new traditions of comprehensive planning and sustained implementation of dramatically needed educational reforms across the continent.

This chapter, therefore, aims to (a) establish the normality of multilingualism for the majority of children and adults in Africa that any educational policy must take into consideration, (b) highlight the necessity to make language a central issue in all developmental discourse, and (c) draw attention to various factors that tend to impede the formulation and implementation of adequate and socio-culturally integrated language and language-in-education policies, in order to overcome existing intellectual and ideological obstacles towards turning the “language factor” into an asset for sustained development and poverty alleviation.

2.3. The Sensitivity of the Language Question in Africa

Language is a highly sensitive issue everywhere in the world. In the African context, the sensitivity is particularly intense due to the continent’s colonial past and perpetuated post- or neo-colonial dependencies which have immediate effects on all politics and educational issues. It is, therefore, not surprising that the expression “language question” is often used as a euphemism for “language conflict”.

2.3.1 Language, power, and social change

The language question in Africa reflects not only past and present political, economic and cultural dependencies and touches upon self-esteem and feelings of identity, but relates to hard-core governmental politics, internal and external. Language policy is a pawn in the struggle for or the preservation of, power and this is by no means a typically African phenomenon (Cummins 2000). The continued use of a dominant originally foreign (ex-colonial) official language after independence created a postcolonial class divide, as was noticed quite early by the French Africanist Pierre

Alexandre (1962, Engl. translation 1974, quoted in Alidou & Jung 2002: 65) and pointed out lucidly again by the late Kahombo Mateene, who maintained that the colonial and post-colonial education and language policies had divided the African populations into

Two national groups, a linguistic division which has been based on the fact that one group knows better the colonial language, has got access to an education considered better, whereas the other group in fact the majority, only knows the national African languages, which by government decision, give it no right of access to useful and valuable education, and consequently condemns it to remain always an ignorant class, dominated (Mateene 1980, quoted in Alidou & Jung 2002: 65).

Since education is about opening up options for social change and progress, the political elites of African countries find themselves trapped in a dilemma which, until this day, has made them somewhat reluctant to accept educational reforms that would amount to social change or ruptures with unclear consequences for the balance of power in their polities. A broader approach to language policy must be targeted with the goal of establishing the use of African languages in the primary domains of official government business on the national and provincial or regional levels, i.e. in all legislative, executive and juridical domains. Failing to do this will maintain low status and prestige for the African languages, and subsequently maintain the marginalisation of the majority of the citizens and bereave them of options for social change and a democratic transformation of society.

2.3.2 Language and (post-/neo-)colonial dependencies

In the African context, the language issue is charged with aspects of perpetual (neo-) colonial dependence and intellectual domination. This brings the project of “intellectualisation” of the African languages to the fore which is viewed as an effective means to “decolonise the mind” (Ngugi). A particularly clear case of the use of language as a symbol and tool for maintaining neo-colonial dependency is represented by the various institutions related to the notion of *Francophonie*. Apart from nationalist or even neo-colonialist motivations on the side of former colonial powers, reference must also be made to the role that the World Bank used to play in the past (cf. Mazrui 1997; see also Phillipson 1997).

...the World Bank’s real position ... encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa ... the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole primary education and beyond as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalising universities, for example makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education... (Mazrui 1997: 39).

In essence, the World Bank’s proposed educational configuration in Africa demonstrates the continued role of instruction in Euro-languages in creating and maintaining an economy dominated primarily by foreign economic interests and, secondarily, by a small aspiring African bourgeoisie (Mazrui 1997: 44).

Note, however, that more recent World Bank documents appear to turn towards a less stringent adverse position, from admitting some value to “local languages” in education (World Bank 2001), to beginning to fully realize the obvious “Benefits of the Use of First Language Instruction” with explicit reference to successful bilingual approaches in Mali (Convergent Pedagogy), Burkina Faso, Eritrea, and the D.R.C. (and Brazil, Guatemala, Mexico, Haiti, and Papua New Guinea for that matter):

First language instruction results in (i) increased access and equity, (ii) improved learning outcomes, (iii) reduced repetition and dropout rates, (iv) socio-cultural benefits and (v) lower overall costs (World Bank 2005: [2]).

This means nothing less than that the World Bank finally appears to accept what enlightened (socio-) linguists, particularly in and for Africa, have been advocating for several decades. This must be considered a major breakthrough!

2.3.3 Language, dominance and control

Another factor working against the generalisation of the use of indigenous languages for education and generally for official communication is the attempt by smaller groups to maintain power and control over larger populations: Already the colonial masters had to learn that in cultures and societies with basically oral communication it is only through spoken language that they could know and find out what the “natives” thought and planned to do. Post-independence language policies in Africa, however, were largely in favour of maintaining or installing the colonial foreign language as official language of the newly independent country; this worked much to the benefit of the former colonial masters: all official dealings with the new governments could be conducted in the language of colonialisation. Likewise, the new governments saw no other way of smoothly taking over control and power from the former colonial master than by insisting on official monolingualism in their favour. Any change of language policies in favour of national languages to complement, if not replace the foreign colonial languages as official languages on the national level in the long run, would put them at a disadvantage in terms of communication and control. The ex-colonial foreign language, therefore, comes in handy for “mass exclusion” from control and access to power and resources.

2.3.4 Language, identity, and attitudes

The “language question in Africa” has another ideological dimension, namely that of being burdened with aspects regarding notions like *African Identity/Personality* and *African Renaissance*, again with a distinctly anti- (neo-) colonial smack. This ideology has a long intellectual tradition in Africa grounding, for instance, on the writings and teaching of Sheikh Anta Diop, and taken up by Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in their quest for *African Renaissance*, for instance, and by many expert linguists, sociolinguistics and educationists working in and on Africa.⁸

People everywhere tend to have very strong attitudes towards languages, particularly in terms of attributing and recognising status and prestige. Language attitudes reflect people’s changing views on society and culture. Negative attitudes towards African languages are widely spread and shared – surprisingly – by many African people and expatriate government advisors. According to Obanya (1999b), they are deeply rooted in the fear of social change particularly on the part of members of the postcolonial elites, but also on the part of their expatriate advisors and non-linguist experts from donor countries and agencies. This fear is based on the potential for marginalised sections of population, such as minorities, illiterates, women and even children, to become empowered through official recognition of their languages, a fact which would detrimentally affect the balance of power and threaten the privileges of the dominant elite. Generally speaking, their current privileged situation was engendered as a legacy of colonialism and is perpetuated via neo-colonial educational and media structures. Acceptance of the perpetual dominance of “Western culture” (with its politico-economic ramifications) often comes disguised in terms such as universalism or globalisation. Positive attitudes towards African languages, on the other hand, connect to the theoretical framework of indigenisation, which rests on the exploitation of the creative intellectual and educational resources provided by indigenous African cultural heritage and value systems, but place such educational systems into the neighbourhood of the detested “Bantu Education” of the apartheid period in South Africa – at least in the eyes of its opponents from the quarters of the propagators of Westernisation and globalisation. This accounts for the observation that members of the modern African “elites”, intellectuals and decision-makers, tend to be distinctly divided into two factions: those fervently opposed to the actual empowerment of the African languages (which quite often they don’t master well themselves, preferring English, French or Portuguese), and those who strongly advocate an enhanced role for indigenous languages, particularly in basic education and for creative expression of the “African

⁸ In most, if not all, available documents which refer to the notion of *African Renaissance*, however, the role of the indigenous African languages remains somewhat marginal if not obscure. Even where the “African soul, identity and creativity” is evoked, there is no linking of these concepts to the predominantly oral expression in the two thousand or more ancestral mother tongues (cf. Wolff 2003b).

personality”. Quite surprisingly, adherents of these antagonistic schools of thought fail to see the benefits of a multilingual approach to the problem that would allow to have one’s cake and eat it, too!

2.3.5 Language as both “tool” and “symbol”

Even though it is hard to underestimate the role and functions of language in society, in public debates about language in Africa one often witnesses an overloading of language with functions that it does not perform, i.e. falsely identifying the tool with the object or purpose to which the tool is applied, for instance in providing sophisticated scientific education. This is true for the originally foreign colonial languages that are generally viewed as being somehow superior and more adequate “tools” for purposes of learning in formal education. It is also true for the African languages, which are – antagonistically – viewed as being inferior and inadequate “tools” for matters of formal education (cf. Mateene 1980). Here the languages which happen to be those of the former colonial masters become equated with the type and degree of the economic, political, technological, and scientific development that the societies of the former colonial masters represent. At the same time, the ex-colonial language is viewed as a “symbol” of political dominance and cultural superiority. Antagonistically, the African languages are viewed as “symbols” of political and cultural inferiority and underdevelopment.

2.3.6 Language revalorisation and empowerment through extended usage

The indigenous languages and the so-called traditional cultures of Africa must not necessarily be viewed as “good” in themselves just because they belong to some un-empowered “ethnic” groups or “underdeveloped” countries. In any case, they need be adapted to the requirements of socio-cultural and economic development, considering the project of building a democratic society as well as the inescapable context of globalisation (Rabenoro 1999).

The best if not only way for un-empowered languages to become empowered is through expanded usage in new domains. This applies, first of all, to their full integration into systems of formal and informal education. Any revalorisation and empowerment of the African languages would be based on the sociolinguistic axiom that language development (in terms of status, prestige, and adaptation to new domains of usage) is through language usage in new domains. Language prestige is equivalent to language use in prestigious domains, including not only higher levels of education, but all national economic, political and cultural business. This expert view, however, has not yet been effectively publicised and propagated to politicians, decision-makers and administrators in charge, hence the need for integrated social marketing with regard to language policies (cf. chapter 8).

2.4 Multilingualism in Africa: Natural Asset and Resource

Multilingualism (and its twin multiculturalism) is and will remain an integral feature of African reality, as in much of the rest of the world. All political, social, cultural and educational planning must take this fact into account. As Annamalai (2003) points out, even for the former colonial powers “monolingualism at home” is a myth rather than a reality, as a non-ideologically biased look at the sociolinguistic situation of France and Great Britain, for instance, will reveal.

The African continent is the home of about one third of the worlds living languages, figures range between roughly 1.200 and 2.000 indigenous African languages of a total of about 5.000 to 7.000 languages still spoken around the globe. Whether or not we are willing to share pessimistic views on the survival rate of languages in the world that assume up to 90% of today’s languages to die within the next 100 years, we would still be left with the basic political question of (a) whether at all to

address the issue of language in education (in the light of a few hundred languages still remaining and spoken by large sections of populations in Africa), or (b) not change the status quo despite its miserable performance in terms of desired results and cost-effectiveness (cf. Chapter 3).

In general and in non-formal domains, Africans know how to use their multilingualism as an asset. In non-formal domains people come in contact through travels, marriages, etc. and learn each others' languages spontaneously and based on needs. They allocate different functions to the languages they speak. So at home, in the street and community Africans celebrate their everyday multilingualism. But, ironically, multilingualism is viewed as a problem in administration and formal education.

Quite clearly, there were expectations fostered by early post-independence governments in Africa and their expatriate advisors that the colonial language would develop into a viable medium of national communication and, ideally, become a symbol for national unity that would transgress all ethnico-linguistic divisions of the country, because – not being a “tribal” language of sorts to be associated with an already powerful particular population group in the country – citizens might consider this a “neutral” language in terms of ethnic rivalries. Sociolinguists will argue, however, that there is no such thing as a “neutral” language, particularly not with regard to “official” languages that are, by definition, symbols and tools of power.

2.4.1 “Big” vs. “small” languages

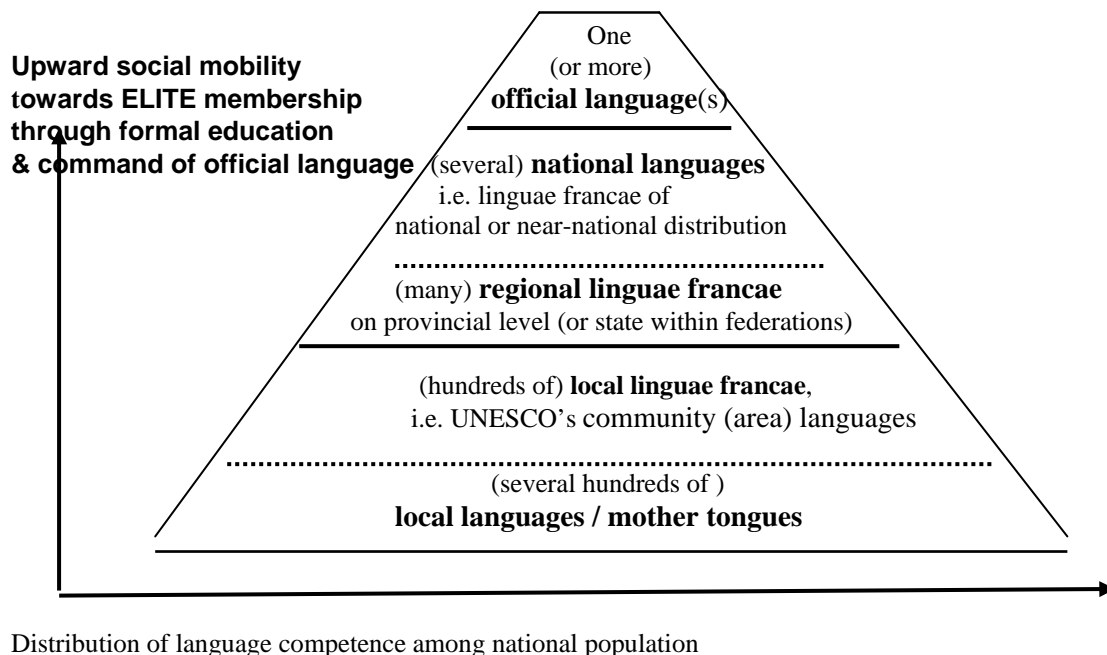
Given the overall demographic development in Africa, percentages of speakers of given (usually) minority languages must be treated with great care. The assumption that was virulent in colonial and immediately post-independence days, namely that the “problem” of having so many minority languages in some African countries will soon find a solution in the sense that speakers of these languages will “die out”, either by biological discontinuity under the impact of ecological and social changes (like in the case of most Khoisan language speakers in Southern Africa), or by shifting to another language (a lingua franca or even the official language), has proven to be wrong. On the contrary, even though the pockets of monolingual communities mainly in rural areas become increasingly smaller, rather than undergoing complete “language shift” (i.e. giving up one’s mother tongue in favour of another language) individual multilingualism has increased considerably involving *linguae francae* (such as Kiswahili, Hausa, Fulfulde, Bambara etc.) which spread dynamically as second or third languages also into former monolingual pockets due to enhanced mobility and communication and, not the least, to education. On the other hand, demographic growth results in drastically increased numbers of people who maintain their mother tongue which they now use together with one or two other languages in what sociolinguists refer to as “stable bi-/trilingualism”.

Negative reactions towards multilingualism in education are often based on numerical considerations maintaining that to invest in minority languages is not cost-effective because these languages only have small numbers of speakers. In Africa, only 72 indigenous African languages have more than 1 Mio speakers (and only 16 of these have more than 5 Mio, counting mutually intelligible isiZulu and isiXhosa as two different languages and including Malagasy and Afrikaans). As in the rest of the world, the vast majority of African languages have less than 100.000 speakers, probably even less than 50.000. Therefore, only taking “big” languages into consideration for educational purposes would amount to neglecting about 96% of Africa’s mother tongue speakers! Quality-oriented education must base language policy on the linguistic resources that are already available, i.e. multilingualism involving the mother tongue and local or regional *linguae francae* (national languages), if not the official language (or distinct varieties thereof) in certain metropolitan environments.

2.4.2 The African “Multilingualism Pyramid”: Diglossia and Triglossia

The majority of individuals and communities in Africa tend to live and function well in multilingual settings that are characterized by a di- or triglossic communication landscape.⁹ Characteristically for the African situation, the languages on the higher prestige level (i.e. the “official” languages of the country) that provide access to the ranks of the “elites”, are restricted to only few sections of the population, whereas the languages at the lower end of the prestige scale (the “local” languages, or: “mother tongues”) are spoken by the vast majority of the populations. The communication landscape is further characterized by *linguae francae* for inter-ethnic communication at various levels of distribution (areal/regional, national, cross-border). In a highly abstract model of representation, this situation can be illustrated in terms of the “Multilingualism Pyramid”:

Fig. 3 The “Multilingualism Pyramid” involving diglossia and triglossia



Additive bilingual or trilingual educational systems, therefore, that would make maximal use of the multilingual competence of children and adults, need to take the prevalent communication patterns into account in the following way, i.e. the technical notion of “bilingual” education needs to accommodate local/regional trilingual instantiations with two additional L2 languages, as the situation for the children may require where the local or community/area language is not the same as the relevant national language, if such exists; the models are illustrated for theoretically possible cases in Niger and Cameroon (see next page).

⁹ The terms “diglossia” and “triglossia” refer to a hierarchical relationship of two or three languages in terms of higher and lower prestige, power, and “market value” for the speakers.

Table 1. Theoretical cases of bi- and trilingual models of education (Niger, Cameroon)

		Niger		Cameroon
(1) Additive bilingual model: L1 + L2				
L1 (MoI)	= local language/mother tongue, OR: community/area language	Hausa	Zarma	Ewondo
L2 (SoI)	= official language	French		French/English
(2) Additive trilingual model L1 + L2 + L2				
L1 (MoI)	= local language/mother tongue, OR: community/area language	Kanuri	Gulmance	Gisiga
L2 (SoI)	= national language	Hausa	Zarma	Fulfulde
L2 (SoI)	= official language	French		French/English

2.4.3 Naturalness of Child Multilingualism in Africa

Observation of African children of preschool and primary school age in multilingual settings testifies to multilingualism as a natural behavioural pattern in terms of playful code-switching as highly effective communication strategies that children in Africa grow up with in their peer groups (Khamis 1994). Corroborating evidence comes from research on early childhood multilingualism in Africa as carried out under the auspices of PRAESA at the University of Cape Town. Anyone who has responsibility in planning and deciding on the linguistic aspects of educational policies would be well advised to view multilingualism as an important resource to be made use of as widely as possible because it draws on the children's prior experience, their already established abilities, and relates directly to their linguistic, social, and cultural behavioural patterns in their out-of-school environments (Wolff 2000b).

These findings stand in contrast to a widespread negative attitude towards early childhood multilingualism virulent in European societies and the United States, which have a strong impact on the way Africans (both elites and masses) think about multilingual educational programs involving the mother tongues. This attitude is paired with a number of misconceptions about the purported damaging effects of bilingualism on the child, who – as uninformed folklore warns – will learn none of the languages properly and remain semiliterate in both. Psycholinguistic research over almost 100 years shows, however, that apart from pathological cases where children suffer from physical or mental deficits independently, bi- or multilingualism has never done harm to the mental and cognitive development of any child. On the contrary, children growing up with two or even more languages, which they have acquired simultaneously or successively during early childhood, tend to outperform monolingual children in their school career in practically all intellectual activities and at all times – provided healthy, stable, and thereby conducive environments both at school and at home.

The following “myths” regarding child multilingualism are listed in Dutcher and Tucker (1995, as quoted in GTZ 2003: 20ff):

- Myth 1: Children have learnt their 1st language by the age of six when they go to school.
- Myth 2: Children learn 2nd languages more quickly and easily than adults.
- Myth 3: The younger the child, the more skilled in acquiring a second language.
- Myth 4: The more time students spend in a second language context, the quicker they learn the language.
- Myth 5: Children have learned a second language once they have learned it.

These myths can all be proven on scientific grounds to be false (cf. Dutcher and Tucker 1995). A GTZ brochure on *Universal Primary Education in Multilingual Societies* (2003) has a few more myths to add from their 25 years of experience in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa:

- Myth 6: Scientific and mathematical contents can only be transported by the official language.
- Myth 7: Without the official language no broad communication would be possible in the capital and in towns.
- Myth 8: Children of civil servants are excluded from education when one parent is transferred to posts outside their language area.
- Myth 9: Globalisation forces everybody to master English.
- Myth 10: The parents want their children to be taught (only) in the official language.
- Myth 11: Teaching the mother tongue was the reason for the educational failure of the past.

These myths, too, can all be proven to be false; they are based on uninformed assumptions and handed-down folkloristic prejudice, and by poor methodology of social research¹⁰. Rather, all available evidence shows (cf. chapters 3-5 of this volume) that continued maintenance of the mother tongue (or a national language) medium of instruction plus the teaching of the official and other foreign languages by skilled teachers will secure quality education, in Africa as much as in the so-called developed countries.

2.4.4 Africa's Linguae Francae and Cross-Border Languages as Prime Resources for Multilingual Education

In view of the fact that most languages in Africa and the world have less than 100.000 speakers, linguae francae and cross-border languages that tend to have much larger numbers of speakers who use these languages as second, third or even fourth language in addition to their mother tongue, become of high concern for aspects of economising on means of communication, nationally and across borders with adjacent countries in Africa. Languages such as Hausa, Fulfulde, Jula, Bamanankan etc. have been and are being used as effective linguae francae in cross-border trade and, for instance, campaigns against HIV/AIDS, which, with regard to one of the most sweeping ways of spreading, has been referred to a "truck-drivers' and prostitutes' disease". To reach people like the truckers, who do transnational commerce, and local prostitutes, for instance, governments are obliged to use these cross-border languages to conduct their health campaigns. Non-African languages such as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese will not reach the most important target groups.¹¹

National linguae francae and cross-border languages, therefore, provide valuable resources for regional communication and cooperation, prevent doubling or tripling of efforts, and allow burden-sharing. Problems still to overcome, however, concern the deplorable absence of nationally and internationally harmonised standards of codification ("standard orthographies") that root in the divisive approaches to identifying "tribes" and "tribal languages" in the colonial past, and in the rivalries between missions of different denominations who used to prefer their flocks to have "their own bibles", i.e. use different and distinct orthographies.

The high degree of individual multilingualism in Africa is largely due to two major factors:

- (a) the usually rather small number of speakers of one's mother tongue that is not usually acquired or learnt by neighbouring communities that have their own languages; this creates the need to use local, regional or even national linguae francae as second or third languages for interethnic communication;

¹⁰ I.e. by asking parents "either-or" questions ("English OR local language?") without presenting the "as well as" option ("Local language AND English?") to them for unbiased answers.

¹¹ I owe this particular line of argument to Hassana Alidou (p.c.).

(b) the higher prestige and socio-economic potential of national or official languages that are instrumental if not a prerequisite for social and geographic mobility.

These needs have made Africa the home, already in pre-colonial times, of several *linguae francae* that function on different levels (local, regional, national, international). Multilingual African individuals may actively command any number of languages along the sociolinguistic scale of communicative scope and domains of use within any one independent country (cf. above Fig. 3.). For instance,

- MALI has 12 languages and 90% of the population use four of them and 60-65% use only one language, Bamanan, as first (L1) or second (L2) language. Twenty years ago this percentage was around 40%; the increase is due to growing numbers of users of Bamanan as L2 rather than the demographic increase of the ethnic Bamanan.
- BURKINA FASO has about 60 languages for a population of 9 million, half of which is morephone (speakers of the More language), i.e. either has More as their mother tongue or is at least bilingual in their mother tongue and More.
- SENEGAL has six major “national” languages (Diola/Joola, Mandinka, Pulaar, Seereer, Soninke, Wolof) but uses French as the only “official” language which, however, is spoken by maximally 15% of the population even after having dominated the educational system of the country for more than 100 years, as opposed to Wolof which is spoken by about 80% of the population.

The development of *linguae francae* in Africa predates the colonial times with the effect that many of them were not confined to the various former colonial territories and, subsequently, the international borders of the independent states in Africa today. These cross-border languages are – generally and quite falsely so – not counted among the “international” languages in Africa; UNESCO refers to them as Inter-African languages. They have a particularly high potential for extended use including education and inter-African communication. Based on UNESCO’s study (1985), the following table has been slightly rearranged from Obanya (1999a).

Table 2. Africa’s Shared (Cross-Border) Languages, adapted from Obanya (1999a: 95)¹²

Language	<i>Countries covered</i>	Speakers
17. Fulfulde	Mauretania, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroun, Burkina Faso	11 million
18. Kiswahili	Sudan, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, D.R.Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique	38 million
19. Mandinka	Senegal, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Gambia, Liberia, Côte d’Ivoire	2.8 million
20. Hausa	Niger, Chad, Cameroun, Sudan, Nigeria, Benin, Ghana	34 million
21. Songhay	Mali, Niger, Benin, Nigeria	2.4 million
22. Kanuri	Niger, Chad, Nigeria, Cameroun	2 million
23. Crioulo	Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome e Principe	800.000
24. Fang	Cameroun, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Congo	800.000
25. Yoruba	Nigeria, Benin, Togo	12 million
26. Kikongo	D.R.Congo, Congo (Brazzaville), Angola	8 million
27. Luo	Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania	4 million
28. Wolof	Mauretania, Senegal, Gambia	3 million
29. Lingala	D.R.Congo, Congo (Brazzaville)	8.5 million
30. Shona	Mozambique, Zimbabwe	7 million
31. Ewe	Ghana, Togo	3.3 million
32. Dyula	Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire	2 million

¹² Note that, with the above population figures representing estimates from the early 1980s, Africa’s high population growth will by now, 25 years later, have made these figures considerably higher!

International harmonization of cross-border languages in Africa, as is already on the agenda of the emerging African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) under the auspices of the African Union (AU), would appear to provide a rewarding field of international cooperation with the support of NGOs and donor organisations, also with regard to cross-border publishing potentials and the creation of a wider post-literacy and publishing environment for African languages (cf. chapter 7).

2.4.5 Educational Efficiency and the Language Factor

...in the case of Africa, the retention of colonial language policies in education contributes significantly to ineffective communication and lack of student participation in classroom activities. Moreover, it explains to a large extent the low academic achievement of African students at every level of the educational system (Hassana Alidou).

As has been pointed out by several African authors (cf., for instance, Alidou 2003, but also Bamgbose and others in several publications over the years), traditional education in pre-colonial Africa did not suffer from language-in-education problems. Local mother tongue languages were used quite naturally within each ethnic or linguistic group for cultural socialisation of the young generation. In areas where Islam was entrenched as religion, Arabic (written in what was called *ajami*, i.e. adaptations of the Arabic script) would also come in as “specialised language” in the domain of religious instruction as part of what is now referred to as the still persisting institution of Qur’anic education in large parts of Africa. One could say, therefore, that multilingual education had a long tradition in Africa reaching far into the pre-colonial days. Consequently, the much deplored language-in-education problems and controversies only arose with the advent of colonialism and the dominant impact of the languages of the colonisers.

Given the almost overall multilingual setting of schools and universities in Africa, there are basically three options for language-in-education policies:

- **total endoglossic** strategies, i.e. mother tongue/national language MoI throughout the whole system, i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary cycles;
- **total exoglossic** strategies, i.e. “straight for English/French/Portuguese” strategies without giving any room to mother tongues or indigenous *linguae francae* that the children are already familiar with by the time they enter school, with disastrous effects in terms of efficiency of learning;
- **combined endo- and exoglossic** strategies, i.e. either (a) a full primary cycle with an African language plus, for instance, French as the official language, or (b) early exit models from mother tongue MoI into official language MoI (mostly after two or three years) which are characteristic for much of Anglophone Africa and have proven to also be unsuccessful models.

The total endoglossic strategy has only been applied once in Africa, i.e. in Somalia (Somali); partially, at least, it has been effected in countries such as Tanzania (Kiswahili), Malawi (Chichewa), and imperial Ethiopia (Amharic), in which a “dominant” national language is imposed on children of various mother tongue backgrounds for most if not the whole of the primary cycle. It is, however, the total exoglossic and the combined endo- and exoglossic strategies that dominate the educational systems on the African continent, and which have failed to establish themselves as adequate and efficient. (With regard to educational efficiency see Stroud 2002: 51) Taking French as an example of a total exoglossic strategy, Alidou and Jung point out:

Regarding the effectiveness of the use of French as the exclusive language in education, several studies indicate that there is a strong correlation between post-colonial language policies and the high rate of academic failure (high attrition and wastage rates) experienced by students in Francophone African countries (Alidou, 1997; Bokamba, 1991; Mateene, 1980). Most pupils who enter formal schools in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger have no knowledge of French, the language of instruction; yet, they are expected to participate actively in learning. Secondly, French is not the mother tongue of any ethnic group in these countries, therefore teaching in French as a first language is certainly not appropriate. Clearly, the

language policy implemented in the schools is bound to produce negative results, as it ignores the basic findings of second and foreign language acquisition and bilingual education in multilingual settings (Cummins, 1981; Collier and Ovando, 1998). In particular, the policy fails to consider the role that longer exposure to meaningful linguistic input in an second or foreign language plays in developing adequate academic proficiency in that language (Krashen, 1976; 1988) (Alidou and Jung, 2002: 66).

The results of pedolinguistic and psychological studies over the last 80 years strongly suggest that multilingual exposure should ideally take place from the earliest stages of the child's development, because, among other things (reference is to various sources between 1914 and 1989, cf. Oksaar 1988 and 1989 also for bibliographical references),

- small children who simultaneously acquire two languages keep these languages well distinct and associate different value systems with them;
- bilingualism enhances analytical skills, allows for more complex views of reality, and facilitates learning of a third language;
- bilingual children tend to show a higher ability to imitate, show higher cognitive flexibility and spontaneity, and are less inhibited;
- bilingual children tend to show reflections on structural properties of their mother tongue and the other tongue much earlier, i.e. at the age of 4-5 years, which testifies to abstract operations which, following the influential model of Piaget, would only be expected from much older monolingual children;
- bilingual children tend to learn to write and to read in both languages much earlier (65% of the bilingual children in the so-called Hamburg Project, cf. Oksaar op. cit., could do so by the age of 4-5) which also testifies to abstract comparative operations and analytical properties.

However, despite considerable research that has been devoted to the issue worldwide and also in Africa, it is still difficult to determine the exact degree of impact that teaching in the mother tongue has on academic success – other than that it is a factor of primordial importance. Other aspects come into play, such as the curriculum and selections of culture-relevant contents, quality of textbooks and other materials, and most of all the quality of the teachers, their professional training and skills (again an particularly in both the mother tongue[s] or national language[s] and the colonial language), and the teaching methods they are able to use. What appears to be certain is that from a pedagogical standpoint, all other things being equal, it is far better to teach children in their mother tongue or, if that should not be feasible, in a language they already know upon entering school (this will be most likely a regional or national lingua franca shared by many other children in the same school if the school was located in urban quarters or linguistically particularly heterogeneous areas). In view of the overall importance attributed to knowledge of the official (foreign) language, and taking into account the salient role played by African *linguae francae*, combined endo- and exoglossic models would appear to provide solutions to many of the burning problems of education in Africa.

2.4.6 Language Standardization and Multilingual Literacy

Even if it is true that there are no orthographies (yet) for the majority of the 2.000 or so African languages, this fact provides little reason to generally object to the use of African languages in education; it is a job easily to be achieved by trained linguists in much less time and for much smaller costs as is generally assumed by the uninformed public. Creating literacy and a sustainable post-literacy environment, however, will take more time and effort and must involve larger sections of the speaker populations (intellectuals, teachers, poets, religious personalities etc.) and, to a certain extent, must or should involve local publishing facilities. There is still a lot of ignorance, however, about the degree to which African languages have already been turned into “written languages”, which as a rule are major languages or *linguae francae* (national languages) with wide catchment areas – regional or national. See the following table from UNESCO 1999 quoted by Obanya (1999b), which lists 217 “written” African languages, which would only make up for just over 10% of all African languages, but whose reach could be anywhere near 50% of the African population – provided they were literate

in these languages – given the high degree of multilingualism and the nature of many of these languages as regional or even national *linguae francae*. (Unfortunately, there are no exact figures available on L1 vs. L2 usage for most of these languages.)

Table 3. A Selection of Africa’s ‘Written’ Languages, Obanya (1999b: 83)

Country	Written Languages	Population in million	Country	Written Languages	Population in million
Benin	7	12.0	Nigeria	22	121,8
Burkina Faso	12	11,4	Uganda	3	21.3
Cameroun	38	14.3	Central Africa	4	3.5
Côte d’Ivoire	19	14.6	Senegal	6	9.0
Ethiopia	11	62.0	Sierra Leone	6	4,6
Ghana	19	18.9	South Africa	8	44.3
Guinea	6	7.7	Tchad	4	6.9
Kenya	7	29.0	Togo	13	4.4
Liberia	4	2.7	D.R.C. (Zaire)	7	49.2
Mali	9	11.8	Zambia	7	8.7
Niger	5	10.1			

The notion of literacy is a central issue in all educational programmes and must be construed to mean literacy in all the languages which are used in the educational system. Likewise and generally overlooked in the African context is the ability to write in several different writing systems that coexist on the continent together with the script based on the Latin/Roman alphabet.

Quality-oriented education for Africa must involve the development of both functional and academic multilingual literacy. Here, too, the sound pedagogical principle of proceeding from the known and familiar to the unknown and unfamiliar must also apply, i.e., all learning must take place in the local/familiar language (mother tongue/national language, L1), and also literacy must begin in this language. Knowledge and literacy skills can then in due course be transferred into other languages such as the foreign/official language.

2.5. Language Attitudes

Planning and implementing language and language-in-education policies for post-colonial Africa has met in the past, and still meets today, with a fair amount of negative attitudes on the part of most stakeholders towards (a) the feasibility of multilingualism in education, (b) the value of the indigenous African languages for quality education, and (c) the value of the official/foreign language as medium of learning. Widespread negative attitudes are based on prejudice, stereotype and cliché that lead to “uninformed choices” (Bamgbose), for instance, when it comes to deciding on the medium of instruction in schools. Such uninformed attitudes are shared by members of the African political and administrative elites, many of their expatriate expert counterparts (notably economists and social scientists without any background in sociolinguistics), and the affected general public, in particular teachers, parents, and pupils. The choice is – quite falsely – seen to be one between EITHER the official/foreign language OR the mother tongue/national language. Multilingual solution to educational challenges are, as a rule, not being considered as viable despite the objective fact that multilingual systems reflect the African situation best.

2.5.1 Popular Objections to the Promotion of African Languages

Obanya (1999b) lists eight distinct areas of concern that, in the eyes of decision-makers, pose major challenges to the promotion of African languages in education, i.e. the multiplicity of languages, the

multi-ethnic nature of urban areas, the low level of technical development of African languages, the official status of indigenous languages, the hostility of Africans to the study of their own languages, the limited personnel and material resources for teaching indigenous languages, the assumed high costs of educating in African languages, and even long-term ill-effects on the learner. As can and has been shown, some of these issues are ill-conceived and do not stand the test of what has been proven by research, practical experience, and day-to-day evidence. Others can be met by consistent language politics in favour of multilingualism involving both the indigenous African languages and the official/foreign languages. The real obstacles to the promotion of African languages in education lie elsewhere, yet not in the spheres listed, but often in the “fear of the unknown” (Obanya 1999b; cf. chapter 8 on the need for professionally “managing” the promotion of the necessary educational reforms).

It is ... noticeable that outside academia often, the public discussion on UPE in multilingual societies is often dominated by all sorts of objections. The all-important advantages of teaching in the mother tongue and its technical feasibility are usually marginalised if not silenced (GTZ 2003: 22).

2.5.2 Negative Language Attitudes

The post-colonial African elites are largely defined through their linguistic behaviour, i.e. a preference for using the official ex-colonial language. They can do so because they have succeeded in a foreign language-based education system in which the colonial language was the dominant MoI. However, their success is no guarantee for the overall efficiency of the system (Roy-Campbell 2001). Largely based on their own educational success stories, the idea of using indigenous African languages in education, or generally for official purposes, tends to meet with strong opposition from the political elites. Neville Alexander aptly calls this the status quo maintenance syndrome:

...the new elite, black and white, is prepared to do no more than pay lip service to the promotion of multilingualism or the development of the African and other marginalized languages... The reason for this tendency is that the new elites, in practice, are quite comfortable with simply taking over the colonial state, ‘reforming’ it to the extent that they put ‘black faces in white places’, but allowing everything in essence to remain the same (Alexander 1999: 3).

With regard to the so-called masses of the population, decades and centuries of marginalisation have created deep-rooted negative prejudice in the minds of many Africans towards their own indigenous languages which stems from traumatic experiences during the colonial times:

With years of indoctrination, many people have come to accept that ‘real’ education can only be obtained in a world language such as English. Even the idea that a child will benefit if his or her initial education is given in the first language is disputed by many so-called educated parents. Here, there is undoubtedly ignorance and prejudice at work and a major aspect of the implementation of a policy of using indigenous media of instruction should be an enlightenment campaign designed to explain in terms that the layperson can understand, the arguments in favour of the policy (Bamgbose 2000a: 88).

Where formal education is exclusively or predominantly linked to an official language of non-African origin, African languages stand little chance to be accepted as languages of teaching and learning by the vast majority of the Africa peoples unless their uninformed attitudes can be changed by awareness campaigns and successful social marketing for superior educational models (cf. chapter 8).

Formal and informal discourse particularly by and among Western experts without any professional (socio-) linguistic background, i.e. the mainstream economic and social science consultants and donor representatives, tends to testify to rather critical attitudes towards multilingualism and the use of indigenous languages for education in Africa (cf. Wolff 2005), if the issue is addressed at all.¹³ This is

¹³ The perusal of many relevant documents relating to NEPAD, African Renaissance, Education for All, Millennium Goals, etc. shows that issues of multilingualism, particularly the use of indigenous languages, are conspicuously absent in mainstream development discourse. “Education” as such is frequently mentioned, but in which language or languages remains, as a rule, completely unaddressed. It can be inferred from context, however, that education in the official (foreign) language is taken as “given” as a kind of default solution.

largely due to inherited negative attitudes towards non-elitist and particularly childhood multilingualism, because multilingualism is not generally accepted as a blessing in Western cultures.

There is a long history in certain western societies of people actually 'looking down' on those who are bilingual. We give prestige only to a certain few 'classical' languages (e.g., Greek and Latin) or modern languages of 'high' culture (e.g., English, French, Italian, and German). You generally get little credit for speaking Swahili and, until recently at least, not much more for speaking Russian, Japanese, Arabic, or Chinese. Bilingualism is actually sometimes regarded as a 'problem' in that many bilingual individuals tend to occupy rather low positions in society and knowledge of another language becomes associated with 'inferiority'. 'Bilingualism' is seen as a personal and social problem, not something that has strong positive connotations (Wardhaugh 1992: 101).

Oksaar (1989) observes that in Western (particularly European) cultures multilingual adults are generally admired, but multilingual children tend to be pitied. Modern pedolinguistic, psycholinguistic and neurophysiological research on the cognitive development of children refute this Western heritage, which is intimately linked to neo-romantic notions concerning the Western European nation-state ideology of the 19th century: "one country - one nation - one culture - one language". Reference is to one more cultural impact from Western and Central Europe surviving from the heydays of romanticism and nationalism in the 19th century that can be referred to – quite provocatively – as "monomania" (Wolff 2000a). By this I refer to an ideological position regarding "oneness" in terms of race, nation, territory, culture, language, leadership. Symptoms are the discrimination, if not eradication of non-standard "dialects" and indigenous "vernaculars", a strong opposition to multilingualism and diglossia involving indigenous languages, a strong preference for political decisions fostering monolingualism and monoculturalism, a positive attitude towards globalisation, etc.

In the African context, the negative attitude towards multilingualism involving indigenous African languages often rests, at least implicitly or subconsciously, on the idea of the superiority of colonial languages and cultures and the general inferiority of the languages and cultures of the colonised populations; their languages are usually discriminated under such terms as "dialects" or "vernaculars". The negative attitude against "dialects" or "vernaculars" is paired with a fundamental distrust towards multilingual individuals whom they tend to identify with marginalised sections of minority populations such as immigrants and refugees, migrant workers, nomadic people, children from mixed marriages, etc. One set of clichés that are virulent with a general public relate to postulated properties or non-properties of African languages: African languages are not proper "languages" (because they are not "standardized") but merely "dialects" (or: sub-standard), they possess no grammar, have only limited vocabulary with little or no abstract terminology, and cannot be written; etc. In professional linguistic terms, all this is utter nonsense. Nevertheless, African languages have long been and still are widely perceived as being "primitive" idioms with limited communicative value, only to be spoken by illiterate hunter-gatherers, farmers or cattle-herders and for culturally highly restricted local matters only. According to this perception, African languages are in no way apt to be used for any advanced nor written communication pertaining to political, economic, cultural and social matters of our times, in particular not for anything to do with modern technology, science, and political philosophy. This widespread attitude of non-African provenance has dramatically damaged the image of any indigenous African language even in the eyes of some, if not many of their own speakers.

There is another frequently met negative attitude among non-linguist experts on development cooperation with Africa that spreads endemically into adjacent intellectual quarters, this is an attitude of fervent "anti-lingualism". This means that representatives of the social sciences tend to abhor language issues. This is probably based on two facts that sets them apart from professional linguists and language practitioners: (a) they are simply ignorant of the complex issues that need and deserve the attention of linguists and sociolinguists in the African context, and (b) they are, as a rule, not able to speak one or more African languages in the first place (and may feel uncomfortable about this professional deficit and, therefore, create a culture of merciful silence or taboo around the issue). There are, however, notable exceptions to this rule.

2.6 Language and Development in Africa

No matter how narrowly or widely we define “development”, there is no way in which issues relating to political systems and democracy, juridical and educational systems, the Human Rights situation, economy and social mobility, the role of electronic and print media in society, issues of cultural autonomy and the status of minority groups, etc. can be seriously analysed and discussed without reference to “language” as an important factor. The following premises taken from Okombo (2000: 43) would appear to be axiomatic for the African situation: (a) Modern development relies heavily on knowledge and information; (b) African countries rely significantly on foreign sources of knowledge and information, especially in the areas of science and technology; (c) the knowledge and information comes to Africa through international languages which are not indigenous to the African continent; (d) for development ideas to take root in Africa and benefit from African creativity, development activities must involve the African masses, not only the elite; and (e) the goal of involving the African masses in development activities cannot be achieved through a national communication network (including education) based exclusively on non-indigenous languages as is presently and most widely the case.

With regard to the role that education must play, all available research points to the fact that most educational systems in place, namely *monolingual* and *subtractive bilingual models*, fail the majority of the pupils and exclude the masses, because they disallow access to the relevant knowledge and information needed for modern development. Faulty language-in-education policies also prevent the African masses from successful access to the official/foreign languages. Because knowledge and information come to Africa through the official/foreign languages, the critical mass of knowledgeable and informed Africans required to achieve development, therefore, will not be created in a foreseeable future for reasons of “wrong” language politics and inadequate language-in-education policies and/or deficient implementation.

2.6.1 The (Absence of the) Language Factor in Mainstream Development Discourse

On first sight and only superficially, “language” appears to have little or nothing to do with the “real” problems of economic development and poverty alleviation. This apparent misconception can be explained by the following observation: Discourse on educational development has largely been dominated by economists, development theoreticians and planners, political scientists, and political analysts. Discourse on language policies and planning, on literacy and post-literacy issues have largely remained the domain of sociolinguists and some educationists. Both sides hardly ever talk to each other, usually do not read each other’s papers, nor meet at the same conferences and workshops. The result is widespread ignorance with regard to the complex interrelationship between language, education, poverty, and development.

Received wisdom among social scientists barely recognises the fact that most developing countries are multilingual and multicultural with ensuing problems for national communication, and how this might affect the conspicuous correlation with both high levels of poverty and high levels of illiteracy (cf. Fishman 1968, and Pool 1972). Reviewing the issues later with much more statistical scrutiny, Fishman (1991) provides a critical analysis of the claim that relatively higher levels of poverty correspond with highly multilingual parts of the world, like India and Africa:

Using advanced statistical techniques, he [i.e. Fishman (1991) – HEW] correlated 238 different economic, political, social, cultural, historical, geographic and demographic variables from across 170 countries to GNP, only to find that linguistic heterogeneity bore no predictive value for the level of per capita GNP (Fishman 1991: 13). And, in fact, Fishman and Solano (1989) even suggest that the existence of lingua francas and bilingualism enable many polities to attain a higher per capita GNP (Stroud 2002: 37).

Such insights appear to have had little impact so far on mainstream development discourse which continues to be characterised by the almost complete neglect of language issues. Despite the correlation between degree of multilingualism and economic and social development on the surface of things, no direct causal relationship has ever been established between linguistic diversity and economic and social development:

... in all the analyses and indicators of development used by UNDP, the World Bank, OECD and so on, the language factor is never considered as part of the equation. Even UNESCO, which has advocated the mother tongue as the language of instruction since the 1950s, makes no references to linguistic diversity in its statistical data offered in the World Education Reports. Illiteracy figures are cited, but in which language – national, international or local – is unclear. This is surprising given UNESCO's concern for linguistic diversity and the development of local languages (Watson 1999: 6-7).

It needs to be noted that so-called "underdeveloped" and linguistically heterogeneous states hardly ever allow the majority of citizens to be educated through their mother tongue through all educational cycles, i.e. from preschool kindergarten to university. On the other hand, exactly this is the norm in all developed countries, irrespective of the number of languages within the national borders. The issue, therefore, is not one of quantity (i.e. number of languages and degree of multilingualism) but of quality (education in the mother tongue or a national language).

2.6.2 Language and Social Development

There are publications and documents available that stress the relationship between the use of indigenous languages (together with an adequate role for the foreign/official languages), development and democratisation, and true independence from colonial and neo-colonial domination, and social development in general. The most relevant document from Africa contains the recommendations from the *Intergovernmental Conference of Ministers on Language Policy in Africa* (Harare, 1997).

The African political elites, apart from paying lip service to the empowerment of the African languages, largely stand opposed to the writings and teachings of African scholars and intellectuals on the matter who strongly advocate the role that the African languages must play for political democratisation and the general decolonisation of African cultures and society (cf. much of the writings of Neville Alexander, Ayo Bamgbose, Paulin Djité, Kahombo Mateene, Kwesi Prah, to mention just a few out of an ever growing number of outstanding African voices, following the much earlier appeals of, for instance, Sheikh Anta Diop and Ngugi wa Thiongo) as well as for enhancing "the developmental capacity of African people".

... the fact that the languages of scientific and technological innovation are foreign to the common people of Africa necessarily restricts the layer of creative people from whom recruits to the modern sector can be drawn. One of the unintended consequences of this situation is that the economy is necessarily orientated towards the European, and other Northern, metropolises from which the "experts" always come. If the concepts of modern science and technology were accessible through the indigenous languages of African, there is no doubt that the layer of creativity and innovation would be exponentially enlarged and the economies would be rendered less dependent on foreign expertise. In my own view, there is no doubt that the situation in which modernity and technological sophistication is accessible to African people only through the languages of Europe, generally speaking is one of the main reasons for the enduring mediocrity of African intellectual production in the late 20th century (Alexander 2000b: 20).

With regard to the gender issue which is often evoked in this context, there appears to be no in-depth research available on which to establish a robust connection between the use of the mother tongue in primary education, or bilingual education involving the mother tongue, and girls' school participation and success in Sub-Saharan Africa (cf. Benson 2002), yet this point is favourably taken up by the World Bank (2005) and can be found scattered through various general statements. Since gender is likely to interact with other variables such as age and socio-cultural background or class, the language/gender interface is rather difficult to ascertain. It appears safe to assume, however, that MTE

or multilingual educational programmes would not interfere in any negative way with the concern of establishing gender parity with regard to education in Africa.

There are several idealistic initiatives, publications, and documents that relate education, the official use of mother tongues, and – in particular – the use of mother tongue in education, to the more general Human Rights issue (Bamgbose 2000a for the following line of argument). Following the example of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which most nations have subscribed to and which has become a feature of the constitutions of many countries, it has been suggested that a similar goal can be achieved by a declaration or charter of *Linguistic Human Rights*, irrespective of obvious problems of implementation and enforcement that already make the Universal Declaration of Human Rights little more than a paper promise for most people around the world. A similar example, this time specifically on language policy, is the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) *Language Plan of Action for Africa* which was adopted in July 1986 and has remained an archival material to be quoted by scholars writing on language policy.

The fundamental ideas underlying these initiatives and documents emphasise non-discrimination, pluralism, and community initiatives in language use and development. In particular, they involve the right to education in one's own language, respect for immigrants' rights and culture, equal rights for languages, right to the use of one's language in communication, arts and culture, courts, legal instruments, business transactions, etc., even the setting up of a World Commission on Linguistic Rights (Bamgbose op.cit.). See also the resolutions passed on the occasions of the international conferences of the *Association for the Development of African Languages in Education, Science and Technology* (ADALEST), held at Kisumu (2000), Hammanskraal/Pretoria (2002), and Mangochi (2004), and the *Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literature* (2000).¹⁴

2.6.3 Language as Resource

In recent years a new paradigm has gained ground among enlightened Africanists that no longer views African languages as an end in itself. The new paradigm looks, first of all, at the speakers of language(s) and how they use (or do not use) language(s) as resource(s) in everyday life, and to the benefit or detriment of social, political, and economic development. The question is no longer what (socio-) linguists specialising on African languages can do for these languages, but what these languages can do for their speakers and how linguists can assist in the process of the speakers' tapping into the resourcefulness of indigenous and foreign languages in order to promote socio-economic development, democracy, and eradication of poverty.

First of all, multilingualism must not be viewed as if it were a "problem", but as resourceful even in the narrow sense of economic asset. Comparable to the energy sector with the introduction of innovative technologies regarding more sustainable resources such as sun, wind and water, the language sector provides rich potential for innovative and sustainable language industries. Even in very narrow terms of cost-benefit analysis for industrial production sites, language skills figure as factor.

2.6.4 Language and Development Communication

Development, development aid and intervention, is about communication. It is cultural, perception- and communication-loaded, and not only a matter of material "inputs" (Childers 1990, quoted in Robinson 1996). Development projects require communication in order to be taken on by local people, and when they are sustained by the local people themselves they involve communication both within the local community and with outside sources (Robinson 1996). Since human communication is

¹⁴ These documents can be found on the Internet; they have also been put together in print, with other relevant documents concerning the "African Renaissance", as appendices to the book *Tied Tongues. The African Renaissance as a Challenge for Language Planning*, ed. by H. E. Wolff, 2003a.

largely through the use of language(s), linguistic issues become inseparable from issues related to development. There is yet another catch to the issue: “People in power know that language barriers help maintain the *status quo* and hinder development. Developers need to know that politicians know this and add language use as a variable in planning” (Eastman 1990, as quoted in Robinson 1996: 259).

However, bottom-up grassroots development based on free communication in the local language would provide serious problems for non-local agents of development with their top-down approach conveyed through the official and international language. Rather than learning to use the local language or lingua franca, today’s international experts, “non-competent in a local language, or unwilling to learn it, end up interacting with those who speak their language. This creates a bias towards those rural people whose language competence already gives them greater access to information and resources” (Robinson 1996). From the point of view of development, therefore, a multilingual approach to education is called for in which both the official language and the relevant local language(s) – mother tongue or lingua franca/national language – must have their appropriate place and methods of teaching.

2.6.5 Wasting Resources through Bad Educational Policies

When we speak of wastage in the educational sector, we refer to at least three different unhappy consequences of wrong policies.

- First of all, there is wastage with regard to human resources, i.e. affecting thousands of students and teachers, hundreds of teacher trainers, administrators and supervisors, even decision-makers, who all waste time and effort on poor and both ineffective as much as inefficient programmes.
- Secondly, we are talking economic wastage in terms of exorbitant financial resources, i.e. investment in infrastructure, i.e. building an maintenance of classrooms, teachers’ and teacher trainers’ salaries, bottle-neck effects in school caused by class repeaters, low productivity of poorly educated labour force, scholarships and stipends for ill-prepared students in secondary and tertiary cycles.
- Thirdly, we have to make reference to mediocrity and poor performance of secondary school leavers and academicians from tertiary institutions, which are taken in by the public sector and become responsible for ubiquitous inefficiency of bureaucracy, poor decision-preparation and implementation monitoring, etc.

This all-encompassing wastage of resources that no one has ever calculated for individual African countries can be linked in a fairly straight-forward way to wrong language-in-education policies and its effects in terms of underdevelopment and poverty.

2.6.6 Moderate Re-Indigenisation of Education as a Prerequisite for Sustainable Development in Africa

With regard to language-in-education policies and under the prevailing circumstances resting on historical facts, there is no “either-or” approach to sustainable development for Africa conceivable that would meet the hopes and aspirations of a whole continent, one rather has to opt for “as well as” approaches. The colonial experience as much as the irrevocable presence of the ex-colonial languages in modern Africa, together with the irrefutable need for exploiting Africa’s rich cultural and linguistic heritage for sustainable development and effective and efficient educational systems, call for “moderate re-indigenisation” of what have been handed down until this day as “post- or neo-colonial educational systems”. This has also been argued for by several African scholars (for instance, Djité 1993, Okombo 2000, Prah 1995, 1997) – and even the World Bank (1989, 2005).

The key issue in Africa’s development efforts is how to benefit from both internal and external resources in a healthy, synergetic pooling of all valuable resources. Too much reliance on external resources fails

because it often runs into counterproductive conflict with African realities; insistence on exclusively African resources is expensive and generates progress at a pace that is too slow to cope with the rapid development demands of modern Africa. Wisdom, it looks, lies in finding the golden mean – a non-antagonistic combination of indigenous and non-indigenous resources (Okombo 2000: 42).

Can Africa's decline be reversed? The simple answer is yes. It can be and must be. The alternative is too awful to contemplate. But it must happen from within Africa. Like trees, countries cannot be made to grow by being pulled upward from the outside; they must grow from within, from their own roots. But Africa will need sustained and increased external support if it is to meet the challenge without unreasonable hardship (World Bank 1989: 194).

In order to (a) exploit the resource potential of the indigenous African languages for individual and societal development, and (b) give them greater currency in not only in the respective African societies and economies but also in a global perspective (by affirmatively linking the issue to internationalisation and globalisation), it is imperative to review current language in education policies in terms of general and public empowerment that will make these languages play their roles in the greater society. At the same time, this would be the political prerequisite for the economic development of national and international language industries that would create job opportunities for thousands of African language speakers in designing, programming, manufacturing, selling and distributing human language technology (HLT) products specialised for African languages.

Indeed, if handled properly, languages, like all other resources, have a job-creating potential. In some countries, notably Australia, Canada, Belgium, Sweden, a language industry has been set up which caters for domestic as well as international linguistic needs. Thus, for instance, hundreds – and even thousands – of interpreters, translators, terminologists, lexicographers and other language practitioners and professionals have to be trained and employed in order to make the multilinguality work smoothly (Alexander 2003: 34).

Further, social stability and low crime rates are highly welcome corollaries of so-called developed societies; they are both prerequisites for and results of, continuing (foreign) investment, steady economic growth and low unemployment rates. This, too, has to do with language and education in multilingual societies where one language dominates the other(s), be it immigrant societies in Europe or elsewhere, including most African countries (cf. Wolff 2000b).

2.7. Designing Language-in-Education Policies for Africa

We should distinguish between knowing an international language as a second language and making an international language the internal official working language of the whole population at the expense of the native languages of the population. Even if English is the most international language it must be remarked that it is learnt by the majority of its speakers all over the world as a second language. This means that the majority of the people who speak an international language know at least two languages of which the native or national language is the first (Mateene 1980: 29).

2.7.1 The Legitimate Quest for Access to the Official Language

One has to accept the fact that, in Africa and legitimately so, parents and students view access to and proficiency in the foreign/official language(s) as a primordial target of formal education. Unaware of fundamental insights of science-based professional modern language pedagogy and didactics (Bamgbose speaks of “uninformed choices” by parents), they believe that early and maximally long exposure to the foreign language is the best approach (“the longer the better”, implying “the earlier the better”) and ideally would like their children to begin preschool kindergarten education already in the

foreign/official language. Many best-willing parents undergo considerable sacrifices to send their children to private institutions that adhere to the foreign/official language medium. Changing such misguided and uninformed attitudes is a difficult task that calls for professional management of educational reforms and an integrated social marketing approach to educational policies (cf. chapter 8).

Multilingual language-in-education policies for Africa must include the official language(s) of the country; it must not necessarily involve all mother tongues spoken in the country which as MoI can be substituted by national languages and/or regional *linguae francae*, as long as the children are familiar with these languages upon school entry. Any failure to make provisions for proficiency in the official language(s) will jeopardise the multilingual approach, provoke unwanted suspicions, and lower the degree of acceptability and sustainability considerably.

2.7.2 Official Language Medium Schools are in fact Mother Tongue or Dual Media Schools

Official English or French media classrooms, no matter at what level of schooling, are turned into *de facto* dual or trial media classrooms in everyday practice. In order to capture the attention of their pupils and create more interaction and active participation, or simply to get a particular point across, teachers abandon usage the official language and switch, temporarily or permanently for a period, to a language that most, if not all of the students master and share with the teacher – be it their mother tongue or a regional/national *lingua franca*. This routine practice by teachers is based on their professional or intuitive insight about enhanced learning in the mother tongue.

With regard to pedagogical effectiveness, research shows that LoI [Language-of-Instruction] policies which favour mother tongues in the early years of basic education result in improved and faster acquisition of knowledge by pupils. Furthermore, mother tongue LoI instruction is effective in promoting the acquisition of second language competencies (ADEA 1996: ii).

2.7.3 African Languages in Secondary and Tertiary Education

Empowerment of African languages through use in education cannot stop at the primary level where it is still and mostly seen as an necessary evil to be overcome as soon as possible by a transition as early as possible to the official language (so-called “early exit models”). The moderate re-indigenisation of education through fully implemented multilingual policies that was proposed further above must encompass all levels, primary, secondary and tertiary.

...universities are essential to enhancing the status and intellectualisation of African languages. University leadership is necessary to dispel the widespread notions that serious discourse must be conducted in the colonial languages and that African languages are only adequate for the marketplace, the kitchen and informal social settings. Countering these notions cannot be left only to primary and secondary school teachers who are rarely prepared to intellectualise their languages, and have few incentives to do so. Instead it is up to universities, scholars, writers, critics and sometimes politicians and statesmen and women, that is, high status and high profile institutions and individuals, to validate to the wider public both the current and potential capacity of African languages to deal with complex social, scientific, professional and humanistic issues... The Asian experience indicates that individual scholarly ‘champions’ of teaching in the national language – often, and even especially, by individuals for whom it is not even their mother tongue – can powerfully shape new conceptualisations and curricula as well as mobilise other scholars and students to use the national language for academic and broadly intellectual purposes (PRAESA 2003: 10).

2.7.4 Language is not Everything in Education, but Without Language Everything is Nothing in Education

Quality education can only be achieved in combination of the following four components: (a) appropriate medium of instruction (in mono- or multimedia systems); (b) culturally adequate curricular content; (c) professionally applied teaching methods; (d) adequate financial and material resources. Special emphasis must be laid on adequate curriculum reforms, teaching methods (both in training of teachers and for teachers in class), and secure funding. Schools have to do more than teach reading, writing and arithmetic - pupils need to be educated to become independent and critical thinkers. The curriculum is the tool to achieve this objective and should be designed in such a way that what is learned in one grade forms the step for what can be reached at the next. While some countries have “Africanised” their curricula by giving preference to indigenous languages and cultures, the actual changes to the subject matter are minimal.

Clearly, non-African institutions and publishers of textbooks, who barely know the indigenous languages and cultures to be taken into account, are unlikely to be in a position to meet the above-mentioned challenges for adequate curricular content. This establishes the demand for African publishers and insider curriculum planners and textbook experts to become involved, if not take over, curriculum planning and textbook production in Africa (cf. chapter 7).

2.7.5 Where Language Policies Tend to Fail, and Why

The neo-colonial impact on African governments and educational agencies, at times taking the form of devout anticipatory obedience with regard to the assumed “feelings” of potential international donors that one can find with African functionaries and public servants, impedes progress on the policy level and, in the light of a more independent national policy, the subsequent implementation of existing policies in favour of mother tongue or national language education. Such invisible hand conspiracy ranks “from a refusal to extend successful pilot projects to the national level, to a reduction in the number of school years or the number of subjects taught in the mother tongue; holding the language policy in a permanent climate of insecurity and sometimes ending with the total reversal of the language policy” (GTZ 2003: 20).

Two major sets of factors conspire towards failures in policy formulation and implementation with regard to language in general and language-in-education in particular. The first set relates to negative attitudes towards African languages on the part of most stakeholders. These attitudes have been described above.

The second set of factors relates to poor policy planning and implementation, i.e. the absence of comprehensive and integrated planning theories and implementation monitoring based on modern concepts of integrated social marketing (cf. Wolff 2004, and chapter 8). In several sharp-witted analyses of language policies in African countries, Bamgbose (e.g. 1990, 2000a) has identified the major factors which lie at the bottom of the practically overall failure of language planning and implementation. He refers to them as avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation, and declaration without implementation. Failures in the language planning and implementation process in the African context can have sources of various kinds, which can be regrouped under the following two major headings:

(1) Politics of language

This involves, first of all, the absence of the “political will” on the part of governments and political elites to question and change the status quo; this goes with the systematic lack of sanctions for non-compliance with existing policies, in combination with faulty planning and deficits of the implementation process.

Apart from their total lack of political will to initiate changes of the status quo, Africa’s basically conservative governments and individual members of the ruling elites, as long as they identify with the dominance of Western culture and the imposed eurocentrism that comes with it, profit from an inherent weakness of most, if not all, language planning processes in the African context: The

implementation of existing language policies or action plans is hardly ever enforceable. There are practically no sanctions for violations of linguistic rights, nor are there courts for individuals or groups of people, associations, NGOs or any other representatives of civil society to appeal to in order to stop the abuse of linguistic rights and non-compliance with constitutional stipulations (cf. Bamgbose 2000a).

(2) Material deficits

These pertain to both inadequate language development (corpus planning) and insufficient resource allocation with regard to teachers, teacher training, pedagogical materials, and general infrastructure.

Corpus planning (i.e., graphisation, standardisation, modernisation: “intellectualisation”) in terms of lexical innovation (terminology), involves language-specific linguistic engineering and thus is of technical interest to hard-core linguists and lexicographers. As important, rewarding, and time-consuming corpus planning may be, particularly with regard to acceptance and usage by the speakers, corpus planning is no longer a qualitative problem that would pose any major theoretical, methodological or technical problems for language planning. Rather, in a given language-planning situation, corpus planning may prove to be a quantitative challenge: how many languages can be engineered in a parallel fashion at the same time, how many skilled corpus planners are available, etc. – i.e. we are again dealing with questions of resource allocation (cf. below).

Inadequacy of resources both in terms of availability of skilled teachers and adequate teacher training facilities as well as of pedagogical materials for use in classrooms may also lead to complete failure in implementing language planning programmes. The necessary allocation of funds for teacher training and production of materials is a question of national political priority and must be seen as such. Again, it poses neither theoretical, nor methodological, nor technical problems for language planners and implementers.

One of the most important lessons learned from case studies across Africa with regard to the planning plus implementation process itself is the need for clear objectives in policy statements, including anticipation and formulation of step-by-step implementation procedures as integral part of the comprehensive planning process. At the same time, it is necessary to create a political and socio-cultural environment, which is conducive to successful implementation. What is lacking is professional management (or marketing) of policies, which in the case of language and language-in-education policies falls under the relatively recent concept of “integrated social marketing” (cf. chapter 8).

2.8 Multilingual Education Escapes the “Bedevilling Dilemma” of Language Planning

Adebija (2000) lucidly outlined the nature of a “bedevilling dilemma” that language and language-in-education planners feel confronted with when it comes to medium-of-education policy in Africa: no matter which decision is taken in favour of either the mother tongue/national language or the foreign/official language, it will send out “wrong messages” (cf. Adebija 2000: 316 ff.). As worldwide practice and experience has shown, if need arises human beings tend to be functionally multilingual, in Africa as much as elsewhere in the world. The language and educational planner must accept multilingual answers to the language question, based on the specific sociolinguistic fabric of each country and society; there is no one-size-fits-all solution for Africa conceivable.

...it does seem that the question of a blanket, complete replacement of exogenous languages with indigenous ones seems, for now at least, to be totally out of the question in most African countries, especially in the area of higher education. The situation of each country has to be considered in its own merit. Thus, a policy of live and let-live in which both types of languages complement each other (rather

than one replacing the other) at both the lower and higher levels of education has to be formulated and pursued in accordance with the sociolinguistic flora and fauna of each African country. One point seems indisputable, however, namely that both in the educational and other aspects of national life, African languages deserve a greater role and honour within their own territories and home-base than they are at the moment being accorded in most countries by policy planners. Their present supposed inability to cope with the demand of modern life should [not] continue to be used as an excuse or pretext for their perpetual neglect or lack of development. ...it seems evident that both exogenous languages and at least some African indigenous languages are required, and so should be used, at all levels of education. No doubt, exogenous languages already function disproportionately, actively, and at the moment in most African countries, in a *non-pareil* status in this domain, especially at the highest level of education. In order to begin to address or resolve the dilemma discussed in this paper, a grain of linguistic mustard seed faith in the future of the indigenous language[s] has to be sown now, if their development and growth for use in the educational domain, especially at the highest levels, is to be seen and established in the future. Only with the sowing of such a seed at the present can the African languages truly complement rather than be appendages to exogenous languages in the domain of education, as most of them presently seem to be. To do less is to continue, especially in the domain of higher education, to make African indigenous languages perpetually dependent on the linguistic crumbs falling from the tables of exogenous languages (Adegbija 2000: 326f).

Adegbija's vision of a shared burden approach that would make use of both mother tongue/national languages and foreign/official languages in education comes very close to the main line of arguments in the present chapter and throughout this whole volume. Yet, one must point out a latent dangerous misconception that one finds hidden behind many advocacy statements for multilingual education which do not clearly spell out the highly relevant distinction between MoI and SoI. Even Adegbija's analysis and vision stops short of addressing a widespread fundamental misunderstanding that we have encountered again and again in the literature: this misunderstanding constantly confuses

- (a) language learning in terms of access to the official language, and
- (b) the totally independent question of the most adequate medium of instruction in terms of general access to knowledge and learning.

As a consequence of this widespread confusion, for a long time and still today, well-meaning parents and many members of the African elites prefer to send their children to (well-resourced private) schools with earliest possible, if not exclusive, exposure to the foreign/official language as medium of instruction (based on a "monolingual exoglossic model") – and continue, thereby, to send wrong signals to the "masses" of their compatriots with lasting damaging effects on the language-in-education question in national discourse. In short: Learning the official language as a foreign language is a matter of professionally skilled instruction as SoI; teaching how to learn, including learning a foreign language, is a matter of using a familiar MoI, which ideally is the first language of the learners or a language already mastered well upon school entry.

2.9 Cases: Multilingual Primary Education in Niger, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Zambia

The number of African governments that show an interest in making use of the obviously positive role of the African languages in education is constantly increasing, albeit most governments appear to favour early exit models that, as the present study shows, fall short of the expectations regarding their efficiency, cases in point are, for instance, Uganda and Zambia. In other cases, new education policies remain on paper with little or no prospect of implementation. A case in point of the latter is Niger, a country with long-standing and largely positive experience of bilingual education. Bilingual education, however, remains win the ghetto of so-called experimental schools, one reason being that Niger, like other francophone African states, suffers from the persistent influence (called "*Francophonie*") of the

former colonial power France, which – despite increasing considerations given to the notion of *diversité culturelle* – maintains a strong political grip on the members of the “francophone family of states”.

NIGER: Systematic bilingual experimentation began in 1973 with five different mother tongues used in the first three grades and transition to French in grade 4; L1 remained subject through grade 6. French is introduced after the second year, first orally and then in its written form. The bilingual classrooms were more stimulating, interactive, and relaxed; the majority of parents surveyed were in favour of early schooling in the mother tongue and wished to see national languages also used in other public contexts. Despite a decline due to unfavourable external conditions, the experimental schools have survived a difficult transition period between 1988 and 1998. Still, evaluations carried out in 1985 and 13 years later testify to the superiority of the combined mother-tongue and context sensitive curriculum (APP - *activités pratiques et productives*) approach: With regard to the final primary examination during the 1980-85 period, the success rate was 95%, repetition of classes was down to 2-3%, and the drop-out rate was only 1%! The experimental schools are carrying on to date, but policy in Niger has not yet changed in response other than on paper. It can be demonstrated that a significant factor in the failure to implement mother tongue programs is the reticence of the national political elite. The former “experimental schools” are now called “Bilingual French – National Language Schools”. In 1998, a new education bill was passed which adopts in particular the MT strategy along the following lines:

levels	age of entry	duration	medium of instruction	language as SoI
pre-school	3 – 5			
basic level I	6 – 7	six years	MT	official L
basic level II	11 – 13	four years	official L	MT

Unfortunately, this very progressive education bill foresees no steps for generalized implementation and, therefore, rests on paper; bilingual education in Niger remains in its “experimental” ghetto.

In a very recent study, Nekeman (2005) has reviewed three cases in Africa where multilingual primary education is indeed being implemented in a generalized fashion:

ETHIOPIA has radically changed its language policy in 1994, instigating the advocacy of multilingualism to the extent that originally 17 African languages, now 21, were introduced as MoI in primary education (grades 1-6) next to Amharic, the former official language of the imperial period, and English. Vis-à-vis the rather elitist system of the past, the intentions of the 1994 language policy reform were to decrease linguistic problems and to increase children’s access to primary education, in addition to improvement with regard to literacy results and general academic achievement. A further target was to enhance the appreciation of local languages and cultures.

UGANDA’s language policy as changed in 1991-1992 (cf. Government White Paper), resulting in the introduction of 6 African languages into primary education (grades 1-7), in addition to Kiswahili (which is not a Ugandan language properly speaking, but a cross-border Inter-African language of the sub-region) and English. On the whole, more than 30 mother tongues are being used across the country in primary education, albeit most of them only in the very early grades. The rationale behind the new policy was primarily to use local languages in order to develop a sense of belonging to and pride in indigenous cultures, but also to improve literacy results and academic learning results in general that had been rather poor under the English-only language policy of the past.

ZAMBIA implemented its new policy in 2002-2003 when the curriculum was adjusted and local languages were introduced into primary education, fostered by the success of the so-called Primary Reading Program. Subsequently, 7 African languages were introduced as MoI (grades 1-7) in addition to English.

However, Uganda and Zambia still struggle with the domination of English in the educational system not only with regard to text book production and development of pedagogical materials. English also remains the main language of instruction at the level of Primary Teacher Colleges.

The three countries researched by Nekeman (2005) have achieved considerable progress in the implementation of multilingual programs, catering for trilingual models where the use of local languages, a dominant national language and the official language (English) require this. However, severe problems with regard to teacher training and provision of materials and textbooks in the African languages remain to be solved.

2.10 Recommendations

African governments and organisations that are active in the field of education must

1. Acknowledge the fact that underdevelopment and poverty in Africa are intimately linked to the language factor, which plays a decisive role for the success or failure of development communication, which again is closely linked to the language factor in education;
2. Take notice that science-based reviews and analyses of the background and history of language politics and language planning in Africa, particularly language planning for education, unequivocally advocate comprehensive social planning, which must be based on politics of language that reflect the multilingual and multicultural heritage of the people planned for, and that must be guided by clear visions for a free and democratic society;
3. View education as a societal project that aims at sustained economic and socio-political development framed in a broader context of social engineering that is facilitated by socio-culturally adequate language and education policies and practice.

In order to reach or at least progress towards the Millennium Goal of UPE by 2015, African governments must

4. Design and implement national language policies immediately, if they have not done so already, particularly with regard to language-in-education, based on the available scientific evidence regarding multilingual strategies to secure quality education;
5. Start serious implementation immediately, if they have such language policies in place but have so far failed to implement them in any serious manner. (How to go about comprehensive language planning and implementation is discussed in chapter 8.)
6. Not only put multilingual educational systems in place, but must manage them efficiently and effectively. (How to manage the necessary educational reform is discussed in chapter 8.)
7. Attempt to change the language attitudes virulent among stakeholders, in the ranks of the African “elites” and among the “masses” as much as among expatriate advisors to African governments. Attitudes must be shifted
 - towards accepting multilingualism in Africa as an asset and resource,
 - away from overestimating the role of the official/foreign language as a tool for learning and teaching, and
 - towards a positive recognition of the value and significance of the African languages for progress and development in Africa.

Depending on the sociolinguistic profile of the catchment area of the school/university, the national educational system must

8. Use African mother tongues/national languages in all cycles of the three-stage formal education system, i.e. in primary, secondary, and tertiary education. In order to achieve maximal learning success, MT/NL (a) must serve across the curriculum as exclusive MoI in earlier years for as long as possible and give way to the official language as MoI in the later years of the three-stage system as late as possible and for certain subject matters only, (b) must be retained as SoI throughout the whole system.
9. Be flexible to alternatively offer trilingual additive systems in place of bilingual additive systems, where need arises, in order to accommodate (a) the universal needs for L1 medium, and (b) access to and proficiency in the official/foreign language ($L2_1 = \text{SoI}$), but also (c) access to and proficiency in a national language of wider communication/cross-border communication ($L2_2 = \text{SoI}$). This is particularly necessary where the L1 is not a language of wider regional or national distribution.

The result of successful implementation of models based on the above recommendations would be characterised by the following desirable features:

- **Quality education** is secured through maximal learning through a familiar language.
- **Optimal access to the official language** is secured through adequate pedagogy and didactics and through teaching by specially trained teachers.
- **The African/national languages used in all cycles of education become increasingly intellectualised and empowered**; they obtain high prestige and status as true “national” languages on eye-level with the official language at least in terms of their educational value.
- Such system would be the **most efficient in terms of educational output** as well as the **most effective in terms of cost-benefit relations**.
- Such systems would allow for maximal **social mobility**, full **democratic participation**, and generally **high standards of education**.
- Such system would answer to the **expressed wishes of most, if not all stakeholders**.

Further, such system could not be trapped in a false dilemma of choice between the official language and the African/national languages as MoI, rather it would reconcile conflicting “pulls” stemming from serious concerns regarding identity factors of the human condition that would appear to stress the role of the indigenous languages, and the rational of the attractiveness of the “window-on-the-world”/globalisation perspectives that would appear to stress the role of the foreign/official and any other foreign language

In sum, such system would answer to most of not all fundamental needs of sustained democratic, socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic “development” for Africa and would be a decisive major factor in overcoming poverty. What more could one expect from an educational system?

3 Theory and Practice – Language Education Models in Africa: research, design, decision-making, and outcomes

Kathleen HEUGH

3.1 Introduction¹⁵

In multilingual societies, the choice of language of instruction and language policy in schools is critical for effective learning (EFA 2005:160)

This chapter will show what the research tells us about different types of literacy and language education models which are used to implement language education policy. It will show a historical progression of emerging language education models used in Africa. The models will be analysed in terms of their design features and their potential outcomes. Finally, the chapter should point the way ahead towards improving the design and implementation of language models which can better serve the children on this continent and by so doing, serve the interests of governments, the economies and society at large.

A baffling phenomenon, debated at length by countless education and language scholars in Africa, and even beyond, is the continued use in Africa of language models which cannot offer students meaningful access to quality education. These models have failed the majority of those children who have had access to school systems since the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 allocated control over the continent to the colonial powers. They have succeeded only in providing successful formal education for a small percentage of children, yet they continue to be used as if they could offer lasting educational success for the majority of students. This is problematic for several reasons. The models have never demonstrated a positive return on investment in educational, social, economic or development terms despite the significant financial and donor resources which have been funnelled into these education systems.

Bernard Spolsky (2004) has recently contributed a valuable and new insight into the discussions about language policy implementation internationally and this has particular relevance to sub-Saharan Africa. Spolsky draws attention to the responsibility which the advisors and ‘experts’, including ourselves, must accept in regard to the application of the wrong policies in education. The implementation of policies which do not work are usually blamed on governments or ruling elites, but as Spolsky points out, allocating all the blame to governments is counter productive and also not entirely correct. Lily Wong-Fillmore (2004), in a related discussion, has recently argued that one of the reasons that the advocates of bilingual education have not been successful in the USA is that they have been advocating the wrong or inadequate theories of second language acquisition (SLA). In yet another significant body of research on second language acquisition, several authors show that much of the research on second language acquisition has been seriously flawed or misinterpreted (cf. several chapters in Doughty and Long 2003). There are significant gaps in the research, the most pertinent of which is that the international literature is not informed by data and evidence from research on second language acquisition in African contexts.

For these reasons, we, the experts who offer advice to governments need to be quite sure that we have kept abreast of the research in the field. We need to understand SLA in international contexts and how

¹⁵ The author gratefully acknowledges the helpful comments of many people, particularly those of Hassana Alidou, Brigit Brock-Utne, Aliou Boly, Ekkehard Wolff, Blasius Chiatoh, Marie Komarek-Chatry, Peter Plüddemann, Carol Benson, Denis Malone, Susan Malone, and Christine Glanz.

this relates to circumstances in multilingual African settings. We need to be continually sensitive to new evidences which require changes and adaptations to the theoretical underpinnings, design and methodologies of programmes we advance. Part of this endeavour is to keep ourselves informed about the implications of research not only in Africa, but beyond, and weigh this judiciously. What we know of the research today is substantially different from what we knew in 1955, 1985 or 1995. What we offer here is a critical appraisal of the evidence available by 2005. Each decade will bring new evidence to refine or alter the analyses we have now. This is a natural historical process, and it requires adjustments in our thinking. Reliable and valid monitoring and evaluation of programmes is essential if governments are to be advised wisely.

3.2. Components of Language Education Models

3.2.1 African Language plus an International Language of Wider Communication

A series of educational commissions of enquiry and reports, beginning with the United Missionary Conference in Kenya in 1909, and including the 1953 UNESCO *Report on the Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education* have been undertaken in Africa. Each of these has recommended the use of the mother tongue as the primary medium of education, and for at least the first few years of the primary school. They have been followed by yet other series of reports and even resolutions of ministers of education and heads of state, such as the Organisation of African Unity's Language Plan of Action for Africa (OAU 1986, Mateene 1999) and the Asmara Declaration of 2000 (see Blommaert 2001).¹⁶

More precisely, what these commissions and reports on education in Africa have for 100 years advocated, is the use of the first language (L1) home language/mother tongue¹⁷ as both a medium of instruction and as a subject of learning in school. Seldom, if ever, has there ever been a suggestion in these reports that the L1/MT is sufficient or that children should be limited only to the L1. L1/MTE is always advanced alongside the principle of additional L2¹⁸ education, as both subjects from early on and later also as an additional medium of learning and teaching. In other words, there has been consensus at least on the use of initial mother tongue education followed by the addition of an international language of wider communication (ILWC)¹⁹, inevitably the language of the respective colonial power.

There is consensus in the recommendations about:

- a need for further development and use of African languages in education systems across the continent, and
- the better provision of and teaching of an ILWC in each case.

Where there is not yet consensus is:

- the point at which the medium should change from MT to ILWC;

¹⁶ See Wolff Chapter for complete list of these.

¹⁷ The terms home language, mother tongue and first language (L1) are used interchangeably in this chapter. They are also used in a broad sense to mean, in the case of multilingual children, the language/s which the child knows best upon entering formal education. It may be the language/s of the wider community and it may be a variety, closely related to but not identical with, a formal variety more commonly used in a school setting. This is not unusual in other settings (e.g. Swiss German = L1, but standard German = L1 for school purposes; Australian English – standard International English, etc). The mother tongue in Africa is often a multilingual repertoire rather than a single language variety.

¹⁸ Even though many children are already multilingual, the L2 is used here to denote the L2 for educational purposes, and this is usually a language other than any of the child's existing spoken repertoire of languages.

¹⁹ ILWC is used to avoid the cumbersome repetitive use of 'former colonial language'. It denotes an acknowledgement of the desire to participate in international debates and concerns.

- whether a change in medium is necessary if the ILWC is taught efficiently as a subject;
- whether it is possible to use both MT and ILWC as complementary mediums of instruction (MOIs) through the school system.

An additional factor which the education commissions and reports have considered is the role of powerful regional lingua francas, or national languages of wider communication (NLWC) vis à vis smaller local languages and the ILWC. Different responses to this situation have emerged as follows:

- Where there is no obvious large regional language, a **two language, or bilingual model, L1-ILWC**, is regarded as sufficient
- Where there are both multiple local languages and one or more significantly used regional lingua francas, a **three language model** has been recommended: **L1-regional lingua franca/NLWC-ILWC**. [Nigeria, with three powerful regional (national) languages has opted for the three language model.]
- An **alternative** response is a **two language model**: (regional/national lingua franca) **NLWC-ILWC** (the smaller, minority languages are not included). [Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia (until recently) and Botswana have followed this approach.]

The key issue at stake, and common across all situations, is **the extent of the role of African languages (ALs) in these two (bilingual) or three (trilingual) language models**. Influential authorities in the domain of education (government, education departments, international donors, private sector interests, external advisors and even some academics), however, often misunderstand or misrepresent the **AL plus ILWC** recommendations. As a result, there is enormous **pressure to move** from bilingual or trilingual models **to monolingual models using the ILWC only**. In many countries, particularly in the former ‘francophone’ and ‘lusophone’ countries, bilingual models were until recently simply not used at all, and monolingual, straight-for-ILWC, models were favoured.

Several scholars have provided typologies of language education policies and models in African settings, which move away from MTE towards ILWC/L2 models and demonstrate that most are ineffective/inefficient/counter-productive (Bamgbose 2000a; Obanya 1999a, b; Ouane 2003; Wolff 2004). There have also been literally hundreds of studies which investigate the efficacy of L2 systems vs. MTE systems. The research, African (e.g. Bamgbose 2000, Macdonald 1990) and international (Ramirez et al 1991; Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002), shows policy makers that subtractive (straight for L2/ILWC) and early transition to L2 programmes do not facilitate successful results. While there may appear to be an initial improvement in well-resourced programmes, this tends to disappear by about the fourth to fifth year of school. Thereafter, very few students show positive signs of achievement.

There is, on the other hand, research which shows the advantages of extended use of MTE plus the L2 (late-exit transition and additive / strong bilingual models) (e.g. Afolayan 1984, Bamgbose 1984, 2000, 2004b; Heugh 2002; Malherbe 1943).

3.2.2 Variations in the Extent of AL Use in the Models

3.2.2.1 Identifying the level of use of ALs as MOI

The development of ALs for use in formal education has been uneven across the continent (Ouane 2003; see Wolff chapter). Bamgbose (2004a:14) has developed a typology of the use/non-use of African Languages as medium of instruction (MOI) showing a list of countries where African languages have been /not used.

Over the course of the last century there have been changes reflecting both a decreased use of ALs in some systems and an increased use of ALs in others. Bamgbose (2004b) points also to these changes, as well as fluctuations of use. There are significant variations which apply at the level of early primary, full primary and secondary school systems.

3.2.2.2 Variations of use at different levels

Development and use of a single AL for literacy development and as MOI

Countries like Botswana (Setswana), Swaziland (SiSwati), and Malawi (Chichewa until recent language policy change) have concentrated on only one AL for literacy development and as medium of instruction for part of the primary phase.

In Tanzania and Somalia, investment has only been made in one African language (Kiswahili and Somali) for use to the end of the primary phase. In Nigeria this was limited to Yoruba in the Six Year Primary Project. In Ethiopia, the practice until the mid-1990s has been to use only Amharic. Malagasy has been developed for use to the end of primary school in Madagascar, but its use is discontinued or reintroduced depending upon the government of the day.

The selection of one African language in preference to others has usually been contested, however, because minority language communities believe that their interests have been marginalized in the process. The contestation has increased recently, notably in Botswana (e.g. Nyati-Ramahobo 1999).

Development and use of several ALs for literacy development and as MOI

In most of the former British colonies, the missionaries developed several ALs in order to teach literacy and for use as MOI for the first three or four, and even sometimes 6 years of primary school. This principle was extended by the apartheid government in both South Africa and Namibia to the end of primary school (to end of 8th grade/year, from 1953-1976). In Guinea Conakry, Sékou Touré introduced mother tongue education in 8 (later reduced to 6) local languages for 8 years of schooling (1966-1984).

Decreasing use of ALs as MOI²⁰.

Decreasing use of ALs as MOI is most evident after independence in several 'anglophone' countries, where various missionary groups had played a significant role in advancing ALs for literacy and as MOI for at least 3 to 4 years of primary school. Decisions at independence made in the interests of fostering national unity and avoiding potential ethnolinguistic rivalry has reduced the role of ALs, often entirely. This is most notable in Zambia, and to a lesser extent in Malawi, Botswana, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Ghana is another example, but this is also one where there are dramatic fluctuations of policy. There have been two stages of decreasing use of ALs in South Africa: from 8 to 4 years during the second phase of apartheid education 1977-1993; and from 4 to 3 years after the new democratic government introduced curriculum changes in 1997. There has also been a decrease of use of ALs in the Democratic Republic of Congo, a formerly francophone country (Bamgbose 2004a).

Increasing use of ALs for literacy and as MOI²¹.

Some countries, like Mozambique, have moved from zero to some accommodation of ALs in education. A Portuguese-only model was used in the formal system until 2003. Several years of experimental bilingual programmes, sponsored by development agencies from Northern Europe have assisted a change towards greater accommodation of local languages (see Benson 2000). The new approach is to use MTE to the end of grade 3 with a switch to Portuguese thereafter. Change in Malawian language policy in 1996 has brought about the need to accommodate languages other than Chichewa as MOI. Now, other significant languages like Chiyao, Chitumbuka, Chilomwe and Chisena have been added. However, whereas Chichewa was formerly used as MOI to the end of the 4th grade²², curriculum reform following on from the policy change is restricting MTE to 1 to 2 years with transition to English in the 2nd grade. So there is an increase in the number of ALs used in the system, but a diminished period of time for use, from 4 to 2 years in the case of Chichewa.

In another example, recent policy changes have marginally restored the early use of ALs in Zambian education. Before independence several languages were used for four years (up to 6 years at times

²⁰Adapted from Bamgbose 2004b.

²¹Adapted from Bamgbose 2004.

²² In Malawi each grade is known as 'Standard', thus the 4th grade would be 'Standard 4'.

during first half of 20th century) in early primary and then entirely dropped in favour of English from 1966-1996. ALs are now used for initial literacy in the 1st grade, but the MOI remains English even in grade 1 (Muyeeba 2004). Similarly, in Botswana, although Setswana was used as the medium of instruction for the first four years of school until 1994, this has now been almost entirely eliminated. Mathematics and Science are taught through English from the first grade, and all other subjects except Setswana are taught through English from the second grade (Arua et al 2005).

Several francophone countries, which initially excluded ALs in education have also begun to introduce ALs in the first one or two years of school and in a number of instances there have been experimental programmes e.g. in Niger which show signs of being taken up across the education system. Perhaps the most impressive has been the developments in Mali, where experimental programmes for 3 years from the late 1980s and 1990s (*pedagogie convergente*) have recently been inclining towards later transition to French (see chapters authored by Alidou & Brock-Utne in this volume).

Fluctuating Use of ALs as MOI

Both Bamgbose (1991, 2004b) and Komarek (1997) draw attention to fluctuating use of ALs in education.

“A closer look at all ...countries where MTT [mother tongue teaching] is not allowed or reduced to the very first years of primary education or confined to just primary education leads to the same result: MTT is stagnant or even threatened not because of educational or technical considerations, not because of major technical or financial problems but because it is used as a pawn in the struggle for political power ... between the elite and the counter elite” (Komarek 1997: 2).

(See also Wolff in this report.)

3.3. Clarifying Terminology Used to Identify Language Models in Africa

In this section the models which are most commonly used in African settings are discussed using terminology which is currently in use in the international literature.

However, because this terminology is often misunderstood or used in different ways by education planners and advisors, it will be clarified here.

3.3.1 Subtractive and Transitional (Bilingual) Education – Weak Bilingual Models:

The TARGET is the L2 (a one language target, and this is a L2 target)

Subtractive Models:

The objective of a subtractive model is to move the learners out of the home language/L1 and into the L2 as a medium of learning as early as possible. Sometimes this involves a *Straight-for-L2* medium from the first grade in school. Sometimes it does make a little provision for remedial work in the L2. The bottom line is the use of L2 mainly or only for teaching and learning. It is sometimes referred to as the *submersion model* which literally means that the child is submerged in the L2 which leads to a ‘survival of the fittest’ or ‘sink or swim’ scenario.²³

Transition Models:

²³ Most sink.

These have the same end goal/objective as subtractive bilingual models – it is a single TARGET language at the end of school; and the target is the L2. The learners may begin school in the L1 and then gradually move towards the L2 as the medium. If the transition (switch) to the L2 takes place within 1-3 years, we call this an *early-exit (from the L1) transition model*. If the transition is delayed to grade 6, we call this a *late-exit (from L1) transition model*.²⁴

Weak bilingual Models:

Some authors (e.g. Baker & Garcia 1996; Baker 2002) prefer to use the term ‘weak bilingual’ when referring to subtractive and early-exit transitional models. It does not matter which of the terms are used, but for the sake of clarity:

Subtractive + early-exit transitional bilingual models = weak bilingual models.

3.3.2 Additive (Bilingual) Education - Strong Bilingual Models

The TARGET is either L1 medium throughout (with L2 taught well as a subject) or it is L1 plus L2 as two (dual) mediums to the end of school.

The L1 is NEVER REMOVED as a medium.

Therefore the TARGET is high level proficiency in L1 PLUS high level proficiency in L2.

The kind of additive bilingual models which are applicable in most African countries would be: either

- o L1 medium throughout with L2 taught as a subject by a specialist teacher.
- o Dual medium: L1 mainly to at least grade 4-5 (preferably grade 6); followed by gradual use of L2 for up to but not more than 50% of the day/subjects by the end of school.

Strong Bilingual Models

Some authors (e.g. Baker and Garcia 1996; Baker 2002) prefer to use the term ‘strong bilingual’ models/programmes.

Additive Bilingual Models = Strong Bilingual Models/Programmes

The Tables 1-3 below illustrate different examples of additive bilingual models.

Table 1: Multilingual countries with no obvious NLWC

Grades 1-2	L1 medium 90%: literacy & numeracy	L2 (ILWC) 10%: mainly oral	
Grades 3-4	L1 80%: literacy development and as medium	L2 15-20%: oral & L2 literacy	Optional extra: L3 5%: oral
Grade 5	L1 70%: strengthen L1 literacy, L1 as a subject and as a medium: especially for Mathematics, Science, etc	L2 20-30%: L2 literacy and as a subject; L2 can also be used as medium for: Sport/Music/Art	Optional extra: L3 – 10%
Grade 6	L1 60%: strengthen academic literacy and as	L2 30-40%: L2 literacy and as a subject; and can	Optional extra: L3 – 10%

²⁴ Ramirez et al (1991) refer to early-exit models as those where learners switch from the mother tongue to L2 any time between Grade 1 and the end of Grade 2; and late-exit models as those where the L1 is retained for at least 40-45% of teaching time to the end of Grade 6, in the US. In African countries where the L2 is hardly known or heard outside of the metropolitan centres, an early-exit model applies to a situation where the child is switched from L1 to L2 any time before or at the beginning of the year/grade 4. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research shows us that it takes at least 6 years to learn enough L2 to learn through the L2. Thus transition to the L2 as medium between year/grade 5 and 6 is late-exit transition. But in Africa, because of generally poorly resourced learning conditions in most countries, optimal provision of SLA to the end of year/grade 6 is unlikely. Therefore 6 years of L2 learning may not be enough to facilitate successful transition to L2 medium education.

	subject; L1 and medium: Mathematics & Science; and either Geography or History	be used as a medium for Sport/ Music/Art & History or Geography	
Grades 7-12	L1 45-50%: strengthen academic literacy in L1 and as subject. L1 Medium For Mathematics, Science, etc	L2 40 -50%: build L2 academic literacy and L2 as a subject. Can use L2 as medium for Sport, History, Geography, etc.	Optional extra: L3 10-15% as subject & maybe Art or another subject

Table 2: Multilingual countries with strong NLWC

Grades 1-2	L1 medium 80% literacy & numeracy	NLWC 20% Mainly oral	
Grades 3-4	L1 literacy and medium 70%	NLWC 30%: oral; literacy & numeracy	
Grade 5	L1 literacy development and medium 50%	NLWC 40%	ILWC 10%
Grade 6-7*	L1 literacy development and medium 40%	NLWC 40%	ILWC 20%
Grade 8-12#	L1 literacy strengthening and medium \pm 35%	NLWC \pm 35% Academic literacy development and medium	ILWC 30% Academic literacy development and medium

*Elsewhere we argue that L1 should be retained for 50% of the teaching day. However, when a third language is brought into the equation it requires adjustments to be made. The L1 will continue to be used for at least half of the time across the rest of the curriculum.

The significant switch to the NLWC is justified at this point because it is a language widely used in the region and is thus more accessible to learners than a 'foreign language'/ ILWC.

Table 3: AL/MTE throughout with strong L2 teaching as a subject – possible versions

a. Grades 1-12	L1 medium 80%	ILWC 20%	
b. Grades 1-4	L1 medium 80%	NLWC 10%	ILWC 10%
Grades 5-12	L1 medium 65-70%	NLWC 10-15%	ILWC 15-20%

3.4. Convergence towards Early-Exit Transitional Models in Africa

The practice since European colonization in the 'francophone' and 'lusophone' countries has been characterized by models which use 'straight for', or 'submersion' into, the international language of wider communication (ILWC). This is known as a subtractive language education model because the L1 is taken out of the formal school system as a medium of learning and teaching. The use of African Languages (ALs) in mainstream state education systems has tended to be negligible. Where there have been experimental bilingual programmes, these have usually been based on early-exit models where children begin school in their home language or language of the immediate community, followed by a rapid switch or transition to French within a year or two, occasionally by year three.²⁵ (See, for example PROPELCA in Cameroon discussed in chapters by Brock-Utne and Alidou in this report; and also in Alidou & Maman 2003).

In contrast, the practice introduced by missionaries in the 'anglophone' countries, was inevitably L1 for the first three to four years followed by English. In some parts of Southern Africa the missionaries

²⁵ A recent exception has been a late transition model in Mali (see Chapter 2, Alidou & Brock-Utne).

developed and used ALs for up to 6 years of school (e.g. Zambia and parts of South Africa). This is known as a transitional model: transition from mother tongue to English. Increasingly the tendency in the francophone countries and lately also in Mozambique has been to replace the subtractive (straight for French or Portuguese) model with a transitional model: one or two, and in the case of Mozambique, three, years of mother tongue followed by transition to French or Portuguese medium education.

There has also, since independence, been a converse trend in several Anglophone countries away from the transitional models employing four or more years of MT followed by a switch to LWC. This results in a diminished use of local languages. Transitional programmes with an earlier exit point from MTE to ILWC (one to three years of MTE) or subtractive models (zero MTE) have been/are being established in 'Anglophone' countries. In the years immediately after independence, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Namibia embarked on a dramatic reduction of the use of early mother tongue education. This has been most dramatic and resilient in Zambia where the four years of mother tongue education were replaced by a straight-for-English (subtractive) model which continued for over 30 years. Recommendations for a return to MTE for four years were rejected in two policy reforms, 1977 and 1996. The latest change in language policy has resulted in a continuation of English only medium but with minimal accommodation of initial L1 literacy. For the rest it is English medium, even in the first grade (Muyeeba 2004).

Within a few years of independence both Zimbabwe and Namibia settled on an early-exit transitional model (early-exit to English by end of grade 3).

To a large extent then, there has been convergence towards an early-exit transitional model of education. There are several exceptions to this trend and these are discussed below (and in chapters by Alidou, Brock-Utne and Wolff in this report).

3.5. Summarising Language Learning/Acquisition Theory ²⁶

3.5.1 Language and Learning

Children come into school proficient in at least one and often several languages used in their immediate community. They have learnt to use these languages for effective communication in mainly informal contexts. What is expected in the school setting, in most parts of the world, is that:

1. Learners' language skills and expertise in their home language will be further developed for use in formal academic contexts. This includes, especially, reading and writing (literacy) for creative and cognitively challenging purposes.
2. Learners' thinking (cognitive) skills will be enhanced through the range of challenges across the curriculum, including the development of high levels of literacy for comprehension of and engagement with academic/educational texts.
3. As the curriculum becomes progressively challenging through the school system, so too do the literacy and linguistic requirements. Students need to continue developing their literacy and language expertise in order to meet the ever increasing challenges of the formal curriculum.
4. Literacy development and language learning do not only take place in the language subject class; they occur (or should occur) in every lesson and every subject of the day. Language and literacy development, therefore, needs to be enhanced across the curriculum. This requires direct and explicit attention from all teachers, not only the language subject teachers.

²⁶ Baker & Garcia (1996), Baker (2002) and Dutcher and Tucker (1995) provide excellent summaries of current research.

In African countries, we have come to believe that we should expect our children to do all of this, through a language they do not understand.

Although many people believe that the sooner a child is exposed to a new language in the classroom, the better s/he will learn the language, we now know from comprehensive research that this is not necessary and it will usually have the opposite effect.²⁷ If a child needs to learn a new language, such as the official language/ILWC, s/he will normally need six to eight years of learning this language as a subject before it can be used as a medium of instruction. One cannot expect a child to begin learning a new language as a subject and also to use this as a medium of instruction at the same time. If one tries to hurry the process, the child will neither learn the new language well enough nor the other important subjects of the school curriculum. We now know that most children, who have to try to learn about mathematics and science through a language they do not know, will not manage to understand the concepts or the explanations of these concepts. This means that students fall further and further behind their peers who enjoy MTE.

We also know from the available research in Africa that there are three ways in which children can learn an additional language successfully and also succeed in their other subjects in formal educational contexts:

1. *MTE throughout*: Where learners have mother-tongue medium throughout and good provision of the additional language taught by expert teachers. (L1 speakers of Afrikaans in South Africa have become highly proficient in English, where English is taught only as a subject for one lesson per day).
2. *Additive bilingual education*: Where there is mother-tongue medium for at least six to eight years/ grades 6-8, plus good provision of the additional language taught by expert teachers during these six to eight years; followed by dual medium education (some subjects mother tongue medium; some subjects in the additional language/L2 in years/grades 8 - 12).
3. Very late-exit transition to L2: We know from an earlier experience in South Africa that students who have 8 years of mother tongue education with competent teaching of a second language during this time, that transition to English in the 9th year (very late-exit to English) can achieve well. Students who went through this process between 1955 and 1976 achieved very high success rates in English language achievement and in other areas of the curriculum.

3.5.2 Literacy Development and Medium of Instruction

Many authors include literacy in their discussions of language development. However, language specialists, this author included, often take for granted that other education specialists understand the link between literacy and language development in education. We may not have made the implications of literacy development for high level educational purposes sufficiently transparent to educators who specialise in other areas. Similarly, early literacy specialists may not have paid sufficient attention to literacy development for high level cognitive functions beyond early childhood education (i.e. as required in most education systems from year/grade 4 onwards). Thus a brief discussion is presented here.

Literacy development is very closely connected to language development. It needs to be emphasised that for most children in Africa, formal exposure to literacy occurs at the beginning of the first year of school. The usual pattern of school literacy teaching and learning is that pupils are taught to read simple stories (narratives) in the first three years of school. These stories are characterised by high levels of predictability, and are usually written in a familiar genre. Children at this stage learn to

²⁷ Children pick up accents and simple everyday communicative vocabulary very easily and quickly. Many authors, especially in the work of Stephen Krashen and Jim Cummins for the last 20 years, and authors in Doughty and Long (2003) show that young children's apparent aptitude for learning the L2 quickly, is widely misunderstood. They learn simple conversational skills very quickly, in one to two years. But they do not develop the necessary proficiency in the complex decontextualised discourse of educational subject material in fewer than 6 years.

'decode' the written symbols on a page and are in the process of 'learning to read' (Pretorius, 2002; Pretorius and Ribbens, 2005). Engaging in other learning activities in the first three years of school involves few or limited reading and writing tasks. In multilingual societies, it is common for children to be introduced to initial literacy in a second language at least by the second year/grade 2. Again, this is in the context of decoding letters, simple vocabulary and simple sentences used in familiar narratives or for number counting exercises. However, from the beginning of the 4th year, the curriculum usually requires a rapid escalation of reading activities involving increasingly unfamiliar text, contexts, discourse and genres. Pupils are expected to shift from decoding simple narratives and 'learning to read', to 'reading in order to learn' (Pretorius, 2002; Pretorius and Ribbens, 2005). In other words, students have to negotiate a cognitive leap from decoding familiar words in a text with a familiar predictable story-line to comprehending and interpreting texts involving unfamiliar concepts and unexpected outcomes (in mathematics, history, geography and science). Pupils have to use their reading or literacy skills in order to understand what they need to learn.

This involves a significant cognitive challenge for most children when it happens in the mother tongue. Children who continue in MTE programmes have a linguistic store of 7000 or more words and a sophisticated knowledge of the structure of language (e.g. compound and complex sentences which can be altered by qualifying and modifying phrases and clauses). They know how to use various techniques to adjust their register or variety depending on the context and function of their communication. They may not have learnt to read all of the language items and structures they know how to use orally, but they have an extensive reservoir from which to draw.

If children have to jump from L1 literacy (decoding and simple narratives) to L2 medium of instruction, even if they have had a year or two of early literacy exposure to rudimentary L2 narratives, the cognitive distance is simply too far for the majority of learners. Most will 'sink', few will be able to 'swim' under such circumstances. South African speakers of African languages have about 500 words in English and enough early literacy skills in L2 to read simple 3-7 word sentences (usually in the simple present tense) by the end of grade 3. They cannot squeeze all the knowledge and experience of the world they have in their home language/s into what they know of the L2. Similarly, what is required of their understanding of the world in the curriculum at this point cannot be squeezed into or out of the impoverished L2 linguistic pot through which they are expected to filter the whole curriculum. It needs to be emphasised that in many countries learners are still expected to switch to the L2 even earlier than grade 3. What happens in the classroom where there is an early transition to L2 medium is a reliance on the teacher's and learner's spoken language and rote-learning. Teachers will be obliged to use explanations in the mother tongue (code-switching) and limit their questions in the L2 to those of 'low-order' cognitive value (Brock-Utne and Alidou chapter). For a while, classroom observations may reveal superficial spoken conversational language proficiency in the L2. This, however, is not matched by grade level reading and writing proficiencies in the diverse subject areas of the curriculum from about grade 4 onwards. It becomes a matter of time before the learner can simply no longer cope with the requirements of formal education and repeater and attrition rates escalate.

3.5.3 The Exceptions to the Rule

Internationally acknowledged exceptions to this pattern of literacy and language development, involve French or Spanish *immersion* programmes for middle class children from wealthy or professional, usually English-speaking, homes in Canada and the USA. For a few years during the late 1970s to the early 1990s, the Canadian Immersion programmes for English speaking learners placed in French medium schools appeared to offer examples of second language education which might work in African, Russian Federation, and South-East Asian countries. It needs to be remembered that the immersion programmes have never been mainstreamed, and they have always been very well resourced, and cater mainly for children who do not lack resources at home. Later research however shows that these models are not replicable in mainstream school systems in African, South-East Asian and Russian Federation countries. Even the middle class L1 speakers of English in the French

immersion Canadian programmes prefer to take their school leaving examinations in English, their L1, rather than in French their L2. They have not, after all, achieved ‘native-like’ or ‘near-native-like’ proficiency in French by the end of school and do not feel sufficiently confident to risk getting poor grades in their L2, French. “There is not enough exposure to the target language in a classroom; the teacher is the only native language model (if he or she is), and the context is limited” (Helle 1995: 118). The attempts to have French children, who tended to come from economically less advantaged homes, in English immersion programmes in Canada were seldom successful. The lesson we can draw from this in Africa is that if the *immersion* model has not met with the success it promised early on in the well resourced Canadian conditions, there is no way that it could serve the majority of children in African countries well. No advisor, therefore, should recommend immersion models to governments on the continent.

A second possible exception appears in the linguistic development of Asian children from highly literate Japanese, Korean, Mandarin and Cantonese, home language backgrounds, and who are placed in L2 medium school situations, for example in Singapore, or as newly arrived communities in the USA, Australia and Northern Europe. These students typically come from home backgrounds where parents are highly motivated and have the educational and / or economic power to ensure that their children succeed. These children do succeed even if their parents are not economically well-off at the time their children are in school. To date there is insufficient research to explain all the factors which lead to this success. What we do know, is that students from other language backgrounds do not thrive in these programmes.

A note on the difference between immersion and submersion programmes:

The plunging of children into education programmes which are predominantly in their second language occurs in two contexts and has different outcomes. In the first context, children who come from middle class, professional and socially privileged homes are likely to have parents who have a high level of literacy and ample reading materials in the home. The parents will have positive and high expectations of their children succeeding in school and the home language is likely to be one of high status, like English in Canada; Russian in the Republics of the Russian Federation; or French in Francophone Africa.

Learners from such homes succeed in *immersion* programmes because of the range of other factors which keep them educationally afloat and support their success.

Learners from language communities which do not enjoy such prestige, whose parents are from lower socio-economic backgrounds and who do not themselves have high levels of formal literacy, and who are plunged into second language only programmes are said to be in *submersion programmes*. Typically most of these children do not have the support factors to keep them afloat and they sink to the bottom of the education system.

Placing most children from African, South American, South-East Asian and also minority language speakers in the Russian Federation countries into second language only programmes results in *submersion* and it would not be responsible to attempt to replicate such models in Africa at this time.

3.5.4 What the International Second Language Experts say in 2005/6

There is, at the time of writing, no internationally acknowledged second language acquisition expert who suggests that transition to L2 by the end of year/grade 3 will serve most children well. No acknowledged expert in psycholinguistics and second language acquisition will suggest that children in developing countries and minority or poor communities can switch from MTE by the end of grade/year 3 to the L2 and also achieve well across the curriculum by the second half of primary school or in secondary school. There is no internationally recognised or validated research which shows that this is possible. What the research does show, however, follows below.

3.6. What the Models can Offer Students by the End of Secondary School

The international literature includes longitudinal studies of different models of bilingual education, as well as the available literature on research conducted in African countries. A careful analysis of these resources will elicit sufficient data for predictions to be made on the likely educational outcomes of students in our settings.²⁸

3.6.1 Studies which Show Positive Linguistic and Academic Achievement in Additive/Strong Bilingual Programmes

The following is a selection of relevant African and international studies. Malherbe (1943) in an early study on bilingual education in South Africa showed that students who had mother tongue education to the end of primary school (7 years of MTE) followed by dual-medium Afrikaans-English education (grades 8-12), performed better than students in monolingual Afrikaans, and monolingual English schools.

- a. they performed better in L1 and L2; and
- b. they outperformed their peers in other areas of the curriculum;
- c. they showed higher levels of social tolerance across linguistic groups, than was evident in the monolingual secondary schools;
- d. even children with apparent learning difficulties performed better;
- e. the dual medium schools were mostly in rural and less well-resourced areas.

Bambose (1984, 2000, 2004a, b), Elugbe (1996); Fafunwa (1990) etc: have shown through the well resourced Six Year Yoruba medium project in Ife, Nigeria, that compared to students who switched to English medium after 3 years of MTE:

- a. students who had 6 years of MTE performed better in English, and
- b. they performed better in other content subjects
- c. therefore, grade 4 was too early for the transition to occur: three years of MTE is not enough.

Macdonald (1990) has shown the students who were switched from L1 medium (Setswana) to English medium at the beginning of grade 5, were not able to cope with the linguistic requirements of the system at that point.

- a. The study shows a dramatic rise in dropouts from and repeaters in the system by the end of grade 5.
- b. Four years of MTE is therefore not enough.
- c. Four years of learning a second language for use as a medium is not enough [for example: by the end of grade 4 learners had exposure to 800 words in English, but they needed 7000 to cope with the grade 5 curriculum].

Heugh (2002, 2003) has shown that:

- a. 8 years of MTE in South African schools (1955-75) resulted in increasing pass rates for African language speaking learners at the final exit point (grade 12).
- b. After a reduction to four years of MTE from 1976 onwards, the pass rate at grade 12 fell from 83, 7% in 1976 to 44% in 1992.
- c. The education achievement of African pupils increased during the period of 8 years of MTE despite the poor resourcing of schools and significantly unequal expenditure between white and black children.

²⁸ The studies include, for example: Ramirez et al 1991; Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002; Malherbe 1943; Macdonald 1990; Bambose 1984, 2000, 2004a,b; Fafunwa 1990; Heugh 2002, 2003.

Hartshorne 1992: reveals that English language achievement scores fell after 8 years of MTE was reduced to 4 years in South Africa:

- a. from a 78% pass rate in 1978 when grade 12 students had still benefited from 8 years of MTE,
- b. to 38, 5% pass rate in 1984 when grade 12 students had only had 4 years of MTE.

Ramirez et al 1991, through a longitudinal study, show that under very well-resourced conditions in the USA:

- a. Straight-for English and early-exit models produce promising indications of educational achievement to grade 3. Students appear to be catching up to the national norm for L1 speakers.
- b. However, they reach a plateau of achievement, well below the norm in relation to L1 learners in the system, about mid-way between grades 3-4.
- c. From grade 4 onwards the achievement level of these learners falls in a downward curve in relation to the national norm.
- d. The longer the mother tongue is retained as a medium of learning, the better the prognosis for L1 and L2 achievement.
- e. The longer the mother tongue is retained as medium of learning, the better the achievement in mathematics.

Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002) and Collier & Thomas (2004) confirm the Ramirez et al study and show the benefits of two-way immersion (dual medium – additive) models in North America:

- a. Dual language programmes are the only ones in which the gap in performance between L1 and L2 learners of English closes.
- b. The separation of languages is a key feature of the dual language programmes (learners are taught through both languages in separate and structured ways, e.g. part of the lesson in one language, part in the other – no unplanned code-mixing or code-switching).
- c. Remedial programmes which include straight-for-English and early-exit transition to English programmes may provide L2 learners with support for one to four years, but four years is not enough to close the gap (i.e. four years of MTE is not enough).
- d. Students from subtractive and early-exit models increasingly fall behind L1 students in secondary school (i.e. the gap widens).

Summaries of other relevant studies can be found in: ADEA (1996, 1997); Küper (1998); Baker (2002). The combined body of research referred to above confirms that for most school learners, across the world, the following applies:

- a. The L1 needs to be reinforced and developed for 12 years in order for successful L2 learning and academic success to take place (e.g. Dutcher & Tucker 1995). This means birth to 12 years, i.e. L1 medium for at least 6 years of formal schooling.
- b. The international second language acquisition (SLA) literature indicates that under optimal conditions (these do not apply in most education systems in Africa) it takes 6-8 years to learn an L2 sufficiently well enough to use it as a medium of instruction.
- c. Language education models which remove the L1 as a primary medium of instruction before grade 5 will facilitate little success for the majority of learners.
- d. Language education models which retain the L1 as a primary medium of instruction for 6 years can succeed under very well-resourced conditions in African settings.
- e. Eight years of MTE may be enough under less well-resourced conditions.

What the research has not yet pinned down exactly is the point between 6 and 8 years which would be the break-even point. The Six Year Primary Project, with the benefit of significantly better resources (well-trained teachers plus adequate materials) than would apply under most conditions, showed that 6 years of MTE was enough. The South African example between 1955-1976 showed that under less well-resourced conditions (well-trained teachers but insufficient materials) 8 years of mother tongue

education was enough. However, since it is unlikely that well-resourced conditions could be generalised across the entire education system of any African country at this time, the minimum use of MTE is probably somewhere between 6-8 years. This confirms other analyses of applied linguists in Australia (Liddicoat 1991) and in the North (e.g. Cummins 1984, 2000; Krashen 1996; Baker 2002, Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, 2000 etc.) who argue that 6-8 years of MTE is necessary in those contexts. In other words, if children in better resourced areas of the world require 6-8 years of MTE to succeed, then so do children in Africa. There is no evidence that they can manage with less.

3.6.2 What Educational Planners Can Predict from the Studies

A close analysis of data from the available African research and longitudinal and other studies from other parts of the world, a consistent pattern of achievement is emerging from students who have undergone a range of language education models.

The following is a tabular representation of what we may expect of the various language education models by the end of the secondary school.

Table 4: Expected Scores for L2 (Subject) in well-resourced schools²⁹ by Grade 10-12 depending on earlier language medium choices

70						
60						
50						
40						
30						
20						
10						
0						
%	L2 medium Mainstream plus L2 pull-out	L1 for 2-3 years then switch to L2	L1 for 2-3 years plus specialised L2 each subject – double teaching time	L1 for 6/7 years then L2 medium	Dual medium (L1 only 5-6 yrs, L1 +L2 MOI from 7 th yr.)	L1 medium throughout plus good provision of L2 as subject
TYPE	1 Subtractive	2a Early-exit transitional	2b Early-exit transitional	3 Late-exit transitional	4a Additive	4b Additive ³⁰

What this table does is to provide planners with a framework against which to measure and predict the likely outcomes for the education system, depending on the language education model in use. In African settings the majority of models are subtractive or early-exit (2a). The best one could hope for would be scores of between 20-40% in the L2 by grade 12 if these models continue.

If one examines the early-exit models and the findings of studies which have been conducted in the large-scale studies in the USA (Ramirez et al 1991; Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002) as well as the studies conducted in African countries, for example in Niger (Halaoui 2003), and Zambia (Sampa 2003), one expects to find that for the first three to four years, students in each of the programmes

²⁹ In other words: specialist teachers of English, small classes, adequate classroom resources (extrapolated from Ramirez 1991, Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002; correlated with Macdonald 1990 & Heugh 2002).

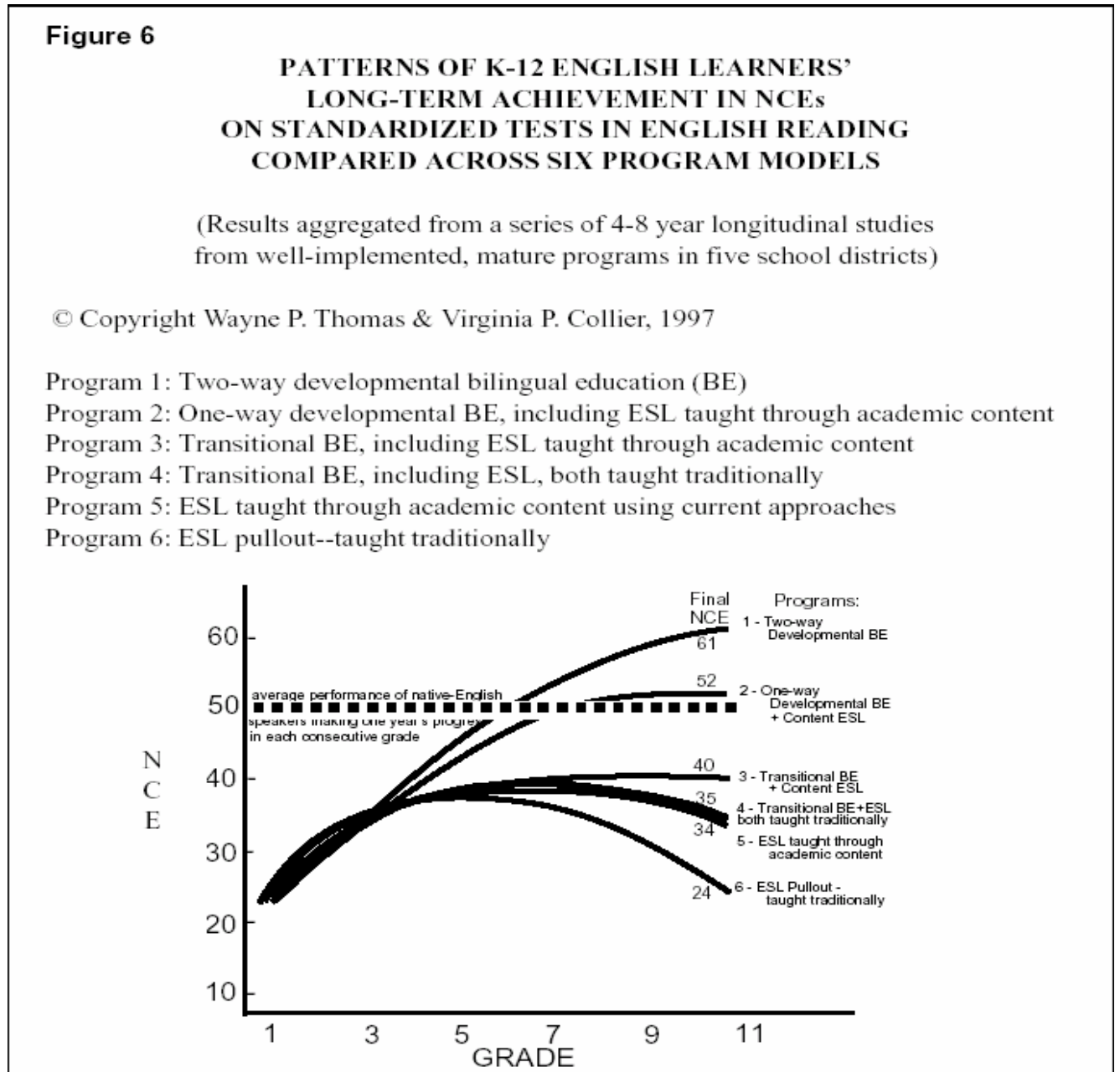
³⁰ This model, L1 (mother tongue) throughout, plus ILWC as a subject taught by specialist teachers in this language has been used in South Africa for speakers of Afrikaans. The students who have the highest academic achievement at the end of secondary school in South Africa are students who have been in schools using this model.

appear to be progressing well (i.e. they are learning to decode the written text of simple sentences, usually in a narrative genre).

However, by mid-way through year four (sometimes sooner), these students in the straight-for-L2 (submersion) or early-exit to L2 programmes start to fall behind those who are, in other contexts being taught in L1/MTE. They cannot keep up with the national norms for students who have L1 education throughout. Furthermore, at each grade level they fall further behind.

Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002), whose research has tracked second language learners of English in the USA, across various programmes shows how achievement progresses over grades 1 to 3, starts to slow down in grade 4, flattens out in grade 5, and then begins to lose ground against L1 learners after that point.

Table 5: The following table is reproduced, with permission, from Thomas and Collier (1997: 53)



Although this table with curved graphs arises out of research conducted in the USA, there is evidence which shows that these findings illustrate the performance of students in African countries. Recent systemic studies of student performance in language and mathematics in South Africa show that students language/literacy achievement in the predominantly early-exit from MTE by the end of grade 3 and grade 6 fall almost exactly on the curved line for “4 – Transitional BE + ESL both taught traditionally” (Thomas & Collier, in Table 5 above). The national average achievement in the language of learning and teaching, English for the majority, at grade 6 is 38% (DoE 2005). The average achievement in mathematics is 11 percentage points below that for language (i.e. 27%) which is not surprising. Recent analysis of the Southern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality II (SACMEQ II) study of reading and numeracy at grade 6 level in 14 Southern and East African countries shows that 44% of learners across the region achieved a minimum level of reading and only 14.6 % of learners achieved the desirable level of reading at grade 6 (Mothibele 2005: Table 2). Poor proficiency in the language of learning will result in poor achievement in other subjects, most

particularly in mathematics where language use is significantly decontextualised. Preliminary information from more recent longitudinal studies of the Zambian early literacy and exit to English programme which earlier showed signs of success (cf. Sampa 2003), indicate that by the fourth and fifth grade, this starts to decline and loses momentum. Similarly, the early analysis of success of the bilingual programmes in Niger, show that the rate of success starts to dissipate by grades 4 and 5. “(T)he positive effect of the experimental school is more pronounced in grade 3 than in grade 6” (ADEA 2001: 55). These findings all point to the need for learners to have extended MTE (medium) programmes. We can now predict with some accuracy that learners in early-exit programmes and who remain in the system beyond grades 4 – 5 are likely to have to repeat or drop out of the system.

Across the continent, fewer than 50% of pupils remain in school to the end of primary school. Repetition and attrition (drop-out) rates are very high, thus it is not immediately apparent to education planners that if they choose early-exit models, they are effectively selecting an outcome whereby students could only score 20-40% in the language which is used as the MOI by grade 10 - 12. Without realizing the consequences, the education officials of most countries select a model which can only offer limited success, and limited access to secondary school and beyond. Students will not be able to understand or succeed in areas of the curriculum such as Science and Mathematics if they do not have a sufficient proficiency in the MOI. This is painfully obvious in South Africa where less than 1% of students who are L1 speakers of African languages are able to gain a university entrance pass in Mathematics and Science at the end of secondary school.

3.7 So, Why Do the Decision-Makers Invest in Models which Cannot Work?

Why is there a convergence towards early-exit models in many African countries?

In the chapter by Wolff, the policy decisions are explained. In addition to the discussion in that chapter, there are a number of other reasons why at the level of education decision-making, the wrong decisions are taken in one country after the next. These include:

- The cycle of influence, where one country’s policy decision has been mirrored by the next after independence. One by one, education authorities have decided to favour either straight-for-ILWC models (subtractive) or early-exit transitional models. If one country chooses early-exit, it seems safe to do the same. Zambia’s straight-for-English approach in 1966 had significant influence on later Namibian (early SWAPO debates, see UNIN 1981) and South African debates or decisions on policy and implementation (through influences on the ANC education policy debates in the 1990s). There are also significant similarities amongst the ‘francophone’ decisions.
- Key (well-meaning) individuals and agencies in each context take implementation decisions which conflict with the actual policy (Akinnaso 1991) and between 1997-2005 in South Africa (Heugh 2002, 2003).
- Key advisors to government ministries and departments of education do not have the requisite expertise in the cognitive aspects of language education and may even be foreign to the multilingual context. [Choosing the wrong advisors, e.g. in Zambia, Namibia, South Africa.]
- Key NGO providers, however well-meaning, conflate different language acquisition concepts and language education models and present transitional models as if they are additive [see below].
- Donor agencies employ the services of evaluators who, for various reasons, offer compromised, flawed or overly optimistic evaluations of subtractive/submersion or early-exit transitional models.

3.7.1 Confusion and Conflation of Key Language Acquisition Concepts and Language Education Models

3.7.1.1 The Difference between Transfer and Transition

The terms **transfer** and **transition** sound very similar and are often confused or used interchangeably. In fact they come from different fields of study and have very different meanings.

Transfer: is a term which comes from the literature on psycholinguistics and second language acquisition theory. It is most often associated with the work of Jim Cummins (e.g. 1984, and see Baker 2002). It involves a hypothesis that there is a cognitive process where what is known in the L1 (knowledge of language and academic concepts) can be *transferred* to the L2. [This knowledge includes: how to read, how to write, how to write for different purposes (genres e.g. a story, letter, science experiment, history essay). It includes the understanding of concepts, an understanding of how the L1 works, and making inferences or interpreting text.] An adequate degree of transfer from the L1 to the L2 is not possible until the L1 is sufficiently well established and the L2 is sufficiently well known. Jim Cummins and other psycholinguists believe that an adequate transfer of knowledge required for formal education is only possible once there is a firm foundation of academic and cognitive development in the L1. Transfer is made possible in additive bilingual programmes because the L1 is kept present as the primary medium of learning and language from which the knowledge and skills can be transferred.³¹

It has become clear, however, that some agencies are not clear about the difference between learning to use early literacy decoding skills, and the cognitively more challenging requirements of comprehending or making meaning of extended written text.³² Therefore, some programmes are designed on inadequate assumptions that early literacy decoding skills in the L1, facilitates a transfer of literacy skills to the L2 within a short period of time.³³ Many early mother tongue and literacy programmes are in and of themselves making an enormous contribution to the development and use of African languages. However, we now know from incontrovertible evidence, that where they offer transition to the L2, especially when this is the use of the L2 as medium before or by grade 4, then they are not affecting adequate transfer of knowledge.

In such instances the programme designers have misunderstood the **difference between: transition** to English (before learners could possibly have learnt enough of the L2 to function in educational contexts at grade level across the curriculum); vs. **transfer** to L2 when the learners have developed

³¹ It is also important to note that the danger of discussing *transfer* in SLA in a document like this is that it can be misunderstood because of the need to summarise key aspects of the discussion. Obviously all language users begin to transfer some of what they know from one language to another as they acquire the linguistic tools in the L2. So there is some transfer early on in SLA and this increases the more L2 is learnt. However, there has to be sufficient knowledge of and in the L2, before it is possible to transfer enough of what one knows in one language to the other language, and also continue to keep up with the rest of the school requirements for learning across the curriculum at grade level.

³² For example: if an English speaker sees text in Spanish for the first time, the English speaker will recognise sentences and individual words and even be able to ‘read’ the words aloud – but this does not mean that the English speaker has any idea of what the words mean.

³³ For example: in the current Zambian reading programmes (L1 literacy in grade 1, oral introduction of English in grade 1; introduction to L2 literacy in grade 2). The programme agents assert, in a video clip, “A Quiet Revolution” (Ministry of Education, Zambia, 2004), that L1 literacy facilitates a “transfer of skills” and a “transfer to English” in grade 2. The slippage of terminology creates the wrong impression that learners would thus be able to learn through the medium of English, because they have managed to transfer what they know in L1 across to English. All that learners can do at this stage is to apply decoding skills of the Roman alphabet across to English, and apply this to a very small lexicon and beginner grasp of the syntax. The required level of semantic meaning, which would be present in the L1, for negotiating the rest of the curriculum, is not yet nearly developed in English at this point. Similar or duplicate programmes in several ‘anglophone’ countries are based on the same misunderstanding.

cognitive academic literacy and language proficiency (i.e. to a level where they can understand decontextualised text, and their L2 is sufficiently advanced to make transfer possible).

ADDITIVE MODELS FACILITATE TRANSFER
And
TRANSFER IS POSSIBLE WITHIN ADDITIVE MODELS

Transition: is not a cognitive process. It involves a model of language education (i.e. programme design) where teaching shifts or switches from using the L1 to the L2 as a medium of instruction. Learners may be able to apply surface level decoding skills of early literacy to the beginning of decoding L2 early on. However, the transition to L2 usually happens *before* the learner has sufficient knowledge in the L2 – i.e. it happens before the learner can *transfer* knowledge requiring interpretative skills and academic competence to the L2. If the L1 is removed as a medium of instruction too early – there is no (or insufficient) transfer. One cannot transfer (move) knowledge from one language to another if the scaffolding in the former has been removed from the education process.

EARLY-Exit TRANSITION MODELS DO NOT FACILITATE TRANSFER
And
TRANSFER IS VERY UNLIKELY IN Early-Exit TRANSITIONAL MODELS

Successful transfer of cognitively decontextualised or challenging academic and language knowledge may be possible in the late-exit (after 6 years of MTE) and very late-exit (after 8 years of MTE) transition programmes. Transfer may be possible in very well-resourced circumstances after 6 years of MTE when accompanied with very good teaching of the L2 as a subject by L2 language specialists. It is more likely to be possible after 8 years of MTE in less well-resourced circumstances.

3.7.1.2 What happens with the confusion?

Frequently, language education providers/NGOs/development agencies and education advisors mistake these concepts. If the agents think that transfer = transition, then they think that transitional models = additive models. Because they confuse the terms, such advisors are not clear about the different outcomes which will be achieved through the different models. Therefore, although these agencies are not actively supporting straight-for English-, French- or Portuguese-only models, they nevertheless, by default, contribute towards the same educational outcome. When they write documents about the models they recommend for implementation and they use the terminology incorrectly, they inadvertently contribute to the cycle of confusion about which models may in fact work and which cannot work.

3.7.1.3 Examples of the transposition of terms

There are several examples of confusion or transposition of terms and a sample of these from different contexts is illustrated below. There have been frequent confusions in the South African literature between the transfer hypothesis and the transition model since the early 1990s. It occurred in the debates of the Department of Education and Training (DET) (responsible for education of AL student prior to 1994) and in the work of a highly respected and influential educator, Ken Hartshorne (1992). More importantly, it continued via last minute editing changes in the final Report on Language of the National Education Policy Investigation (Taylor, 1992) and then into later, strategically important documentation (e.g. ANC 1994; Taylor & Vinjevold 1999). In each case there is a transposition and confusion of terms and the research via well-meaning and highly influential educators who were unfamiliar with psycholinguistics and second language acquisition theory.

Language education specialists with experience of applied, socio and psycholinguistics, nevertheless, influenced the explicit formulation and adoption of language education policy supportive of additive bilingual education for the country (DoE 1997). Despite this, the influence of advisors in the earlier documentation have carried the day and their preference for early-exit transition to English models have filtered into the new revised National Curriculum Statements of the national department of

education (DoE 2002). The curriculum documents accommodate the language policy by stating that the approach is consistent with additive bilingual education, but the implementation of the curriculum is steered towards early-exit to English for speakers of African languages after grade 3.

The new revised curriculum is now based on the completely incorrect assumption that additive bilingual education can be provided with 3 years of MTE followed by a switch to English medium from grade 4. The training programmes for teachers of grade 4 and upwards facilitated by the department are not, at the time of writing, geared towards mother tongue medium beyond grade 3.

The confusion appears also in the literature of some of those who offer language education programmes even though they have participated in the applied and sociolinguistic debates about these issues since the early 1990s. One of the most significant of these is a South African based NGO, the Molteno Project. Its programme was originally designed in Britain in the 1970s and adapted in South Africa as an initial mother tongue literacy (grade 1) followed by very early exit to ESL programme in grade 2. By 2002 Molteno had secured the implementation of its early-exit programmes in six African countries and in 36 languages (South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia, and Lesotho, Swaziland) and were in the process of negotiating programme provision in another four countries:

Thanks to enthusiastic UNICEF backing adaptations in Ugandan languages are proceeding well. Further adaptations are likely for Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (Rodseth 2002:98).

Subsequent to the announcement of the South African language education policy (DoE 1997) which explicitly supports additive bilingual education, Molteno has changed promotional material to indicate that its early-exit to English programmes comply with additive bilingual programmes.³⁴

After years of lobbying the [Molteno] project received funding to extend its mother tongue literacy programme beyond Grade 1 in 1998. Thus the programme was able to support additive bilingual development. Breakthrough to literacy courses in the mother tongue were extended to Grades 2 and 3 (Rodseth 2002: 97).

On an anecdotal level, there is no doubt that learners who are strongly literate in the main language at the end of Grade 1 transfer and make the transition to English quite easily – especially when using the contrastive-linguistically constructed *Bridge to English*. However there is no elegant qualitative research to support this hypothesis ... (Rodseth 2002: 105).

The first extract shows that early-exit transition to English is conflated with additive bilingual education (which would retain the L1 as the primary medium throughout). The second demonstrates the conflation of two entirely different terms as discussed earlier: ‘transfer’ and ‘transition’. Promotional material on the project’s website includes the following: “Bridge to English is highly focused on language across the curriculum and as such prepares learners for effective learning all subjects through the medium of English” (Molteno 2005). Since this means from grade 4 in South Africa, and in the case of Zambia, it means from grade 1. This is simply not possible.

What is required now of providers that have been engaged in early-exit models is to take stock of the research and make substantial changes to the design and delivery of their programmes. This will better prepare them to meet the challenge of additive bilingual provision or even late-exit transition. Incorrect identification of the programme design is not acceptable.

To a lesser extent, other experts who are firmly supportive of the extended use of African languages in education have miscalculated the requisite time requirements and use of mother tongue in transitional programmes and similarly conflate transitional with additive ones. In a recently facilitated a workshop on “Developing a language and education policy and implementing multilingual education in Liberia” a programme which involves a ‘gradual’ transition from MTE to English over an 8 year period, and

³⁴ See for example: the Molteno programme in Zambia, as discussed in Sampa (2003); in the video footage of its programme (Ministry of Education, Zambia 2004); and on the Molteno Project website during 2005.

identified as: ‘a “Late exit” or “additive” bilingual model’ is proposed (Malone & Malone 2004:10). This model certainly makes a stronger case for extended use of African languages than most transitional models in use on the continent. However, while a well-planned gradual transitional model may have a great deal to commend it, English, in this proposal, replaces MTE at the following rate: 10% in grade 1; 25% in grade 2; 50% in grade 3; 75% in grade 4; 90% in grade 5. For a programme to qualify as additive, the L2 cannot replace the L1 for more than 50% of the teaching day. In late-exit transitional models the L1 needs to be retained as the primary/main medium of instruction for at least 40-45% of the time to the end of year/grade 6 (Ramirez et al 1991).³⁵ However, in this proposal, the model reduces L1 to 25% of the time in grade 4 (6th year, if the two preschool years are counted). Therefore it does not meet the Ramirez et al definition of late-exit transition models. This proposal, shifts the early-exit transition boundaries, but not quite far enough and it could be strengthened by slowing down the rate at which transition is currently proposed.

3.7.1.4 The fundamental flaw or source of the confusion: the over-emphasis of second language methodology in applied linguistics

Part of the colonial legacy which affects much of the continent is that the knowledge borrowed from the former colonial power is given privileged status and knowledge derived from local settings is seen as less significant. For historical reasons, language education in South Africa, and in other parts of the former Anglophone countries of Africa, has relied heavily on studies in applied linguistics and the English Second Language (ESL) industry in Britain. South African universities and teacher training institutions have drawn mainly from these studies in applied linguistics and to a lesser extent those from North America. In particular, teacher education programmes and post-graduate studies of applied linguistics in South Africa have focused on the methodologies which underpin the teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) designed in Britain. In Britain, a large industry has developed around ESL courses, programmes and textbooks designed to assist newly arrived minority communities assimilate into British society and to equip them with the necessary language (survival) skills for this process (see also a similar discussion in the USA by Tollefson 1991). They were also designed for use in second and foreign language programmes used in European schools where English is taught as a subject, but not used as a medium of instruction. An extension of the ESL industry has been to disseminate ESL and EFL programmes to other parts of the world.³⁶

Similar scenarios apply to the use of French and Portuguese second language programmes in use in former francophone or lusophone countries in Africa. These programmes have in general been designed from within the field of applied linguistics with adaptations which focus on new classroom strategies and practices. The programme design, however, has not kept up to date with current and new research in the related field of psycholinguistics and SLA³⁷ in particular. So while those who work in SLA have become increasingly aware, over the last 15 years, that it takes at least 6 – 8 years to learn enough of the L2 in order to learn through the L2, the ESL/FSL/PSL etc. specialists have focused more on new L2 methodologies and materials. The idea behind this is that if one can improve the technology of language teaching, the students’ learning will improve. The new materials and methodologies tend to be trialled in the north and in settings with adequate classroom resources and well-trained teachers who are good models of the language they teach. They are then brought to African classrooms. Sometimes adaptations involving the exchange of Eurocentric names and pictures for African ones are made to the materials. However, the more significant differences in context,

³⁵ The authors believe that mother tongue used in two years of pre-school need to be taken into account. Even if this is the case, then the L1 would still need to be used for 50% of the teaching time in this model’s grade 4 year.
³⁶ This has been so successful that there is now a thriving Australian ESL industry which targets the Pacific Ocean Rim countries.

³⁷ Many people assume that second language acquisition and (English/French/Portuguese/Spanish) second language teaching is the same discipline. Although they are related, they come from different academic disciplines. In the first, the emphasis is on acquisition and cognition, i.e. it arises out of psycholinguistics and often in relation to sociolinguistics. ESL/FSL etc is focused on the application of what is known in linguistics (e.g. the structure of language) and how to teach this in a classroom through various methodologies (tricks and treats of the profession).

especially the multilingual nature of the continent; the reality that English, French, Portuguese and Spanish remain foreign languages for the majority; and that their use is limited mainly to the metropolitan areas, has escaped attention.

The design flaw is that insufficient attention is taken of the cognitive development and needs of the African language speaking child/learner by the second language industry. This results in a very serious error: the use of English/French/Portuguese second language programmes for a purpose for which they were not intended. The objective is to teach the second language (as a subject), but they are not meant to prepare students to learn through the medium of the L2. They are designed to teach one subject from the whole curriculum. They are kept up to date with the latest subject language teaching technologies and these range from being mediocre to state of the art in quality. The purpose of this study, however, is not to evaluate the second language programmes designed to teach the language as a subject only. It is to focus on the medium of instruction, i.e. use of mother tongue and second language programmes as these are used for learning across the curriculum.

A programme designed to teach a second language as a subject should not be used to prepare students to learn through this language prematurely. Programmes which are designed to prepare students to learn through a second language, especially in African settings where for most students the educational L2 is really a foreign language, will take into account what is known from the study of language and cognition in SLA and psycholinguistics. Therefore, the programme agents who suggest that the ESL/FSL/PSL programmes can achieve this in fewer than six years are: incorrect and make claims which are not substantiated through valid evaluation or research; and / or have insufficient knowledge of language and cognition.

3.7.2 Evaluation of Literacy and Language Education Programmes

Owing to the historical preference for studies in applied linguistics and especially ESL in South African institutions, there are not, currently, enough language education specialists who have a thorough grounding in psycholinguistics, the sociolinguistics of multilingual communities in Africa, and who also work in language programme design (applied linguistics). It would appear that the first two areas require more emphasis in other African countries as well. A consequence of this is that there are few South African specialists who are sufficiently informed to perform evaluations of literacy and language programmes in South Africa. Again, this is not necessarily a phenomenon peculiar to South Africa. A sample study of several evaluations of literacy and language programmes conducted in Zambia, Ghana, Niger, Cameroon, Namibia and Mozambique show that evaluators from a cross-section of countries within and without Africa often do not pay sufficient attention to cognition, SLA and psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistic issues when they evaluate second language programmes.

Just as examinations / tests / assessments require ‘construct validity’³⁸ as well as ‘rater reliability’³⁹, so too do the evaluations of education programmes. No language education evaluation should omit psycholinguistic analysis, clear identification of the type of language programme, the sociolinguistic environment in which the intervention occurs, and a clear methodology that illustrates which and how each indicator is arrived at through careful construct validity checks and balances.

Evaluators need to be certain that their reports unequivocally, accurately and clearly identify the programme design as including which one or more of the following:

- Mother tongue literacy
- L2 literacy/language (as a subject)
- Mother tongue medium
- L2 medium (subtractive/submersion/early-exit/late-exit transition to L2 medium)

³⁸ Bachman & Palmer (1996:21) explain this term as follows: ‘Construct validity pertains to the meaningfulness and appropriateness of the *interpretations* that we make on the basis of test scores’.

³⁹ This term refers to the requisite training and expertise of the ‘rater’ or in this case, the evaluator. Does the evaluator have the requisite expertise to perform an adequate evaluation and is this reliable?

- Additive bilingual (MTE kept as medium for 80-90% of time for 3-5 years; 50% of time across the curriculum from 6th year to end of school).

Secondly, the period over which the programme is evaluated needs to be made explicit together with an assessment of its medium to long term effect on the educational achievement of learners. It is generally accepted in education debates that any well-resourced intervention will show improved results when compared with any dysfunctional system. The improvements arise out of better teacher training, better or more materials and attention focused on the site (school) in which the intervention occurs. This does not necessarily have anything to do with the programme itself. Therefore it is not valid to ascribe improvement to the programme unless the effect of the actual programme can be isolated from other associated factors. The value of the Ramirez et al (1991) and Thomas & Collier (1997 and 2002) longitudinal studies on language education programmes is that they demonstrate that there is little point in evaluating any language programme during years/grades 1 – 3(or 4). All well-resourced programme designs (whether straight for the L2 or initial mother tongue followed by early-exit to the L2) show that students improve at similar rates over year/grade 1-3 or 4. The differences start to become evident only from grade 4 onwards (see above).

At the same time, any evaluation of a mother tongue or second language education programme, provided by well-trained teachers and with adequate materials, will show significant improvement compared with programmes provided in schools which have poorly trained teachers, few learning materials, and no specific intervention. Dysfunctional school systems happen to be the norm in most countries at present. It is therefore obvious that any newly introduced literacy or second language programme will show improvement over the achievements found in control schools selected from a mainly dysfunctional school system. So this needs to be taken into consideration by the evaluator/s and also the stakeholders who commission such evaluations.

Unfortunately, although there are clearly many evaluations which do comply with criteria for construct validity and issues of reliability, there are many other examples of evaluations which for one reason or another ‘fudge’: the divide between transitional and additive programmes; the use of control groups from dysfunctional contexts; and the time-frame over which the evaluation is conducted.

Donor organisations or governments may request a programme evaluation for the period during which the intervention is conducted. Such evaluations can only reflect upon the evidence immediately before them and this is inevitably a well-resourced literacy/language programme in grades 1 to 3, but located in an early-exit model. The crucial feature of the international research: that well-resourced teaching of either mother tongue literacy or L2 programmes in grades 1 to 3 shows positive results when compared with poorly resourced teaching, whether in the L1 or L2, is not made sufficiently apparent in most evaluations in Africa.⁴⁰ What is also not acknowledged is that in all subtractive and early-exit models, there is an expected initial improvement, then a levelling out of performance and followed by a steady decline in performance from about mid-way through grade 4 (see Ramirez et al.1991; Thomas and Collier 1997, 2002).

There are no fully functioning late-exit or additive programmes to evaluate in sub-Saharan Africa at present, most are early-exit⁴¹. The efficacy of these programmes can only be measured if the assessment of participants monitors their achievement to at least grade 6. To date, the early-exit programmes in Africa show that early achievement starts to disappear by grade 4 – 5. The gap between MTE learners and early-exit to L2 learners starts to widen from this point, as evident in the discussions of the transitional models in Niger by Halaoui (2003); recent findings of a system-wide study of grade 6 students in South Africa (DoE 2005); and Alidou and Brock-Utne (in this volume). This parallels the Thomas & Collier (1997, 2002) research (see Table 5 above) conducted in the USA.

⁴⁰ See for example the bilingual experimental schools in Niger (ADEA 2001: 55); and in Zambia (e.g. Sampa 2003).

⁴¹ With the exception of the LOITASA project, discussed by Brock-Utne & Alidou elsewhere in this report.

The current understanding of the relationship between language development and cognition discussed earlier is supported through this evidence. Thus short-term studies of subtractive/transitional programmes are not valid unless there is a longitudinal design of 5-6 years during which the performance of students is tracked as they progress through, repeat or drop out of primary school. If it can be shown that students continue to demonstrate linguistic and academic achievement through the first 6 years of school, then the prognosis for further success is good. If students' achievement levels start to decline by grade 4 – 5, then it is unlikely that this trend can be reversed without a change of programme design.

Learners who have exited from the early mother tongue programmes, i.e. are in the second language medium programmes from the end of grade 3:

... may not necessarily catch up. This is particularly true for the secondary level, but may remain hidden at the elementary level as students “pass” the test at the lowest level, but are not quite proficient yet. These findings ... underscore that the schooling of minority language students is not only the responsibility of bilingual or ESL teachers but continues after students have been exited from such programs. Statements about achievement patterns ... or claims that linguistic barriers for [ESL learners] have been overcome can only be examined when exited [ESL learners] are included in the analysis.... It is therefore important to disaggregate data for ... [ESL learners] and follow their achievement over time (De Jong, 2004: 13).

Therefore, any evaluation of an early-exit transitional programme which does not show students' performance to at least grade 6 (i.e. the medium term resilience of the intervention) is fundamentally flawed or lacking in construct validity.

While evaluators wish to acknowledge progress in moving from subtractive (zero MTE) programmes to early-exit, they ought not to obscure the central problem. It is to the medium - long term disservice of the programme provider, the community in which the programme is conducted, and the national education system where relevant, if the evaluator does not point out the fundamental design flaw/s. The design flaw of the early-exit models offer a **lose-lose scenario for all stake-holders** over the medium to long-term.

Another aspect which requires sensitive attention is the ambiguous position of the evaluator.⁴² If an evaluator is hired by the agency responsible for the programme, then it is axiomatic that the independence of the evaluation could be compromised. It is very difficult to offer an evaluation which points towards a fundamental error in programme design if one is being hired or paid by the agency responsible for the design flaw. What makes this more difficult is the likelihood of the evaluator's sensitivity towards the career prospects of the person responsible for designing and implementing an expensive programme which cannot deliver medium to long term success.⁴³

Some of the evaluations brought to the attention of this team unfortunately show evidence of interference by the agency responsible for the design and delivery of early-exit L2 programmes. This is particularly disturbing if the programme provider makes use of such evaluations as part of its promotional and or marketing material.⁴⁴

⁴² I acknowledge Hassana Alidou's contributions towards this discussion (personal communication 2004/5), and also in Alidou (2003).

⁴³ In some cases the evaluator is not sufficiently experienced to make a valid or reliable judgement.

⁴⁴ The documentation is not cited out of sensitivity towards affected stakeholders. The interference includes: senior programme personnel (re)interpreting for the students the evaluation instruments designed to measure student L2 performance; demands to alter control groups; and demands that theoretical criticism of early-exit models be elided from evaluation report/s.

3.7.3 Influential Advisors and Transitional Models

Sometimes, even when the external advisors/agencies understand the need for substantial MTE, they feel constrained to offer ministries/departments of education encouragement when there is a shift from subtractive to early-exit models. Although they understand that this is insufficient, they believe that the use of some mother tongue education is better than none at all.⁴⁵ Kamanda (2002) argues that UNESCO has consistently advocated transitional programmes:

Transitional mother tongue literacy, the model commonly associated with Unesco, results from the use of [the mother tongue] as a bridge to the introduction of a more permanent medium for literacy instruction (Kamanda 2002:195).

If this is indeed the case, then powerful bodies such as UNESCO need to rethink their positions. The argument here is that there has been a history of blurring the edges between different models and use of language as a medium in the debates and policies of influential stakeholders and that this contributes towards perpetuating a confusion and partial understanding of issues within the government departments responsible for education in the region. What needs to be provided are much sharper definitions, clarity about outcomes, and principled positions.

3.7.4 Concluding Remarks on Early-exit transition models

Thus at both meso- and micro-levels, a combination of factors have combined to influence a convergence towards early-exit transitional models. Some of these have to do with terminological and conceptual difficulties which have muddled the debates. Some of these have to do with the participation of powerful individuals and organizations that have misunderstood, conflated or underestimated the literature in psycho- and applied linguistics.

Alidou (2004) notes that since the 1990 World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien there has been increased interest in experimental programmes which begin with African languages in education. Alidou & Maman (2003:18) argue that since Jomtien most countries talk about additive bilingual models but have transitional ones in place. Experimental bilingual or trilingual programmes have been trialled in several African countries and usually funded by aid agencies from Germany, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries. Well-meaning as they may be, they are nevertheless almost always framed as transitional models, with the ultimate target being an exogenous language. The difficulty with this is that while they attempt to revalue African languages, the process is fundamentally flawed. Models based on transition from the local language to one of higher status, in which most teachers are not proficient, and which the communities seldom hear or use in everyday activities, have already failed across the continent for 120 years (Ouane 2003, Stroud 2002, Wolff 2000a). The solution lies elsewhere.

3.8. Successful prolonged use of African languages in Education

3.8.1 An African Language as MOI throughout the School System

There have been examples of strong/additive and late-exit transitional language models in Africa which have successful academic outcomes and these offer useful insights. Somalia is the only country to have achieved, since independence, the use of an African language throughout school education. Government commitment towards rapid implementation effected the development of the Somali

⁴⁵ Carol Benson in discussion with participants in a Training of Trainers for Multilingual Education programme run by the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) at the University of Cape Town (August 2004).

orthography, the use and resourcing of Somali medium education between 1973 and 1986. What was required was a government-driven process. The outbreak of civil war, however, has brought about a collapse in the education system (Griefenow-Mewis 2004).

3.8.2 The Use of a National Language of Wider Communication as MOI

2.8.2.1 Ethiopia and Tanzania – one NLWC across the system

Ethiopia and Tanzania have each since independence selected and used a dominant African language, Amharic and Kiswahili, respectively, as medium of instruction throughout primary school, followed by transition to English in secondary school. On the one hand, these examples offer a great deal of encouragement in terms of the development and use of African languages for the duration of primary school education. On the other hand, the danger of concentrating on only one language is that insufficient attention is given the other languages and there are educational difficulties for the L1 speakers of those languages which have not been developed for use in school. In each of Ethiopia and Tanzania, few students have found their way into secondary school education and beyond. The response to declining entries to secondary school in Tanzania has been pressure to introduce English medium earlier than before (Roy-Campbell & Qorro 1997; Brock-Utne 2005b). Ethiopia has however opted to introduce other significant regional languages for MTE in primary school since 1994. Implementation has been complicated and slow and it is too early to analyse the efficacy of this alternative (Bloor & Tamrat 1996).

3.8.2.2 The Six Year Primary Project in Ife, Nigeria

The Six Year Primary Project in Ife, Nigeria, in which Yoruba was used as the medium of instruction for the 6 years of primary education has been well-documented, for example in Adegbija (2003); Afolayan (1984), Bamgbose (2000a), Elugbe (1996) and key research findings from this experiment are discussed earlier in this chapter. The significant lesson from this longitudinal study and programme is that mother-tongue medium does not prevent proficiency in the LWC. Rather the extended use of the mother tongue is better able to facilitate high levels of proficiency in the other target language. This project confirms in an African setting the current SLA theories which show that in well-resourced conditions (well prepared teachers and good materials) six years of L2 teaching can facilitate successful transition to L2 medium in grade 7. This is an example of a *late-exit transition* to English model.

3.8.3 The Use of Multiple African Languages as MOI

There are two examples of multiple local language development and use throughout primary education: in South Africa and Guinea Conakry.

3.8.3.1 South Africa

Government, during the first phase of apartheid (1955-1976) succeeded in training teachers, developing terminology, translating school text books and establishing mother tongue medium education for eight years of primary education for African pupils in South Africa and Namibia (formerly South West Africa). This *very late-exit model* was achieved with minimal expenditure: far less was spent on the education of African children than was spent (see chapter on Costs in this volume) on English and Afrikaans-speaking learners. Even with meagre resources devoted to African education, the apartheid system developed the linguistic terminology, text-books and teacher education programmes to establish the system in seven South African languages and several Namibian languages.

In addition to the extended use of these languages, Afrikaans, an informal patois at the turn of the 20th century was developed during apartheid into a language of use throughout the entire education system and was used at highly sophisticated academic levels at tertiary institutions. This example exceeds even that of Somali, referred to above. Political resistance to apartheid and the compulsory use of Afrikaans alongside English in secondary school for African children however resulted in a student

uprising in Soweto in June 1976. Thereafter mother tongue education for African children was reduced to four years in South Africa followed by a switch to English for most students.

The example of Afrikaans is instructive on another level. Afrikaans speaking students who have enjoyed MTE to the end of schooling and even through university education, have consistently scored higher academic results than any other students in the country.

During the first half of the 20th century, the use of MTE primary schools for speakers of Afrikaans and English and the widespread occurrence, especially in rural areas, of dual medium (simultaneous use of Afrikaans and English as mediums of instruction across the curriculum) for secondary schools achieved the highest levels of bilingualism the country has yet experienced. This was an example of *additive bilingual education*. The political changes which reduced the incidence of dual medium schools after 1948, has resulted in a decrease in the level of bilingual proficiency of English speakers. Nevertheless, English and Afrikaans speakers continue to enjoy MTE throughout with good provision of the L2.

In the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) 2003, mother tongue speakers of Afrikaans and English performed at the international average, whilst the scores of students who took the test in their L2 were so weak that the national average for South African results placed this country last (Reddy 2005).

A new government having declared 11 languages as official languages in a democratic constitution introduced further changes in 1997. Although this language policy foregrounds greater use of African languages, the ministry and department ignore their own policy and have established instead an even earlier transition to English. The 78% of students who have African home languages switch to English after three years, while, ironically, English and Afrikaans speakers continue to enjoy mother tongue medium education as they did during the colonial and apartheid eras. The gap in educational achievement, predictably, continues to widen (Heugh 2003).

3.8.3.2 Guinea-Conakry

The first independent government of Guinea Conakry, formerly a French colony, also established mother tongue education in 8 (later reduced to 6) local languages for 8 years of schooling from 1966-1984. This MTE policy appears to have failed because parents and communities were not sufficiently consulted and the process was entirely top-down, linked specifically to the autocratic leadership of Sékou Touré (Sylla 1997, Yerende 2005). Political changes since 1984 resulted in a reversal of the policy to French medium. Most recently there has been discussion of adapting a model from Mali in which 3 years of mother tongue is followed by transition to French (Yerende 2005).

3.8.4 What these Examples Confirm

What each of these examples, separately and collectively, tell us is that African languages can be used as languages of education to the end of primary school. They can even be developed for use in secondary and even tertiary education. If nuclear physics can be taught through Afrikaans in South Africa, it is technically possible for every African language to be used at this level of academic discourse.

The Somali, South African and Guinean examples are particularly instructive. Where there is political will, provision of mother tongue or local language development is feasible in Africa, and can be effected over a relatively short period of time. These examples, as well as the case-study of Madagascar (Komarek 1997), show that cost is not a prohibitive factor. These achievements occurred with minimal expenditure. A further lesson, from South Africa and Guinea-Conakry, is that where communities do not believe that they have been adequately consulted and where policy is implemented by an undemocratic government, the successful implementation is short-lived.

The Nigerian and South African cases provide other critical evidence. African children achieved considerable academic success during both the Six Year Yoruba programme (Bangbose 2000a) and

the 8 years mother-tongue programme (followed by transition to English and sometimes Afrikaans) (Heugh 2003). In each case the mother tongue was used as medium of instruction and English was taught as a subject only, but by teachers proficient in the language. By the time students were required to switch medium to English, they had kept up with the academic requirements of the rest of the curriculum and they had sufficient proficiency to switch to English. On the other hand, there is no example in Africa of a successful mainstream education programme, which uses a transition from the familiar to unfamiliar language in under six years.

3.9 Conclusions

The arguments in this chapter attempt to illustrate how, in the earlier absence of reliable information and advice, education decisions have continued to converge towards early-exit transitional language models. These models cannot offer educational success. Many of the language education experts, advisors, and consultants who work in African countries, are themselves inadequately equipped to offer advice. We now have to take collective responsibility to set things right. We now have incontrovertible evidence which shows us both the location of the systemic weakness and the appropriate strategies to transform the situation. Subtractive (submersion) and early-exit transitional models are not based on sound theory or research evidence which show how children learn language and use language for learning in formal education. This means that these models have an in-built design flaw. Learning language informally is different from learning language for use in academic contexts. Successful education requires MTE throughout, but an absolute minimum of 6-8 years of MT (or language closest to the MT) medium of instruction. It can also include the teaching and learning of a second language for use as a second, complementary medium, for up to, but no more than 50% of the day from the 7th year of school. Successful education everywhere requires mother-tongue based systems. In Africa this means AL-based systems. The end target of school cannot be the former colonial/official language only. The target must be high level of proficiency in at least two languages – therefore the target is academic bi- or trilingualism.

3.10 Recommendations

1. Governments need to develop a communication or advocacy strategy which both informs and engages communities in language and education debates. The purpose is to ensure that civil society is provided with the information about *the critical role of both African languages and other languages of wider communication for successful and sustainable development of literacy, success in education, and national development.*
2. Governments need to build onto existing provision of African languages as the primary medium of instruction in primary school systematically over the next 5 years.
3. African languages should be used as the primary medium of instruction to at least the end of grade/year 6 (preferably to grade 8, ideally to the end of secondary school). [See also the 10 point plan in the chapter on Costs].
4. Governments, at the same time, need to improve the provision of the international language of wider communication, ILWC (English, French, Portuguese or Spanish) alongside the relevant African Language/s in each country.
5. The ILWC should be seen as a supportive medium of instruction during secondary school, but not the only medium of instruction.
6. Wherever possible or relevant, a third language, of national or regional significance should be included in the education system of each country.

7. Evaluations of literacy, language and education models should track student performance to at least grade 5, preferably to grade 6.
8. Evaluations of literacy and language education programmes should correctly identify the kind of programme (i.e. straight of L2 only/subtractive; early-exit transition to L2; late-exit transition to L2; additive bilingual).
9. Evaluators who are tasked with evaluating language and literacy programmes in African settings should have appropriate expertise in: biliteracy and bilingual development throughout primary school; language acquisition and or psycholinguistics; applied linguistics; knowledge and experience of education in predominantly multilingual/minority language settings.
10. Additive bilingual (or trilingual) education should become a common feature of education in national development and a common feature of education and development across the African continent.

4 Experience I - Teaching Practices – Teaching in a Familiar Language

Hassana ALIDOU
Birgit BROCK-UTNE

4.1 Introduction

The main purpose of chapter 4 and chapter 5 is to address teaching and learning issues faced by African teachers and students in schools and classrooms that use languages that they do not master as languages of instruction. Very few observational studies are conducted in African classroom in order to show how teaching impacts on learning. By focusing on teaching practices in this chapter we hope to fill this gap. Therefore, in this chapter we have put more emphasis on teaching practices in both regular classrooms (here English and French are the exclusive languages of instruction) and bilingual classrooms in order to show how the use of languages familiar to teachers and students impact positively on teaching practices in bilingual classrooms. We examine the teaching practices in order to determine the types of reform and innovations that Ministries of education must undertake in order to empower African teachers. After all, effective learning (the focus of chapter 5) will not take place without qualified teachers.

The studies reviewed from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger in Francophone Africa and Ghana, Malawi, and Tanzania in Anglophone Africa indicate that the use of learner-centered pedagogy is facilitated by the use of a language that both teachers and pupils understand. The use of national languages as languages of instruction helps pupils to become more motivated and involved in learning activities. They communicate better with their teachers and among themselves. Excerpts of the teacher-students interactions in African classrooms show clearly that the implementation of learner-centered pedagogy is difficult when the language of instruction (in this case English) is not familiar to children.

Teaching practice and student learning are significantly influenced by education language policy and the teacher's professional background (Kaphesi, 2003; Mchazime, 1995). Studies related to language of instruction issues in post-colonial Africa unanimously suggest that the maintenance of languages such as English, French, and Portuguese as dominant or exclusive languages of instruction (LoI) creates teaching and learning problems in African schools. Such policies are implemented in contexts where very few people, particularly children, can speak these languages. This situation accounts largely for the serious communication and learning problems faced daily by both teachers and students in African classrooms. Teachers have much difficulty presenting subject matter in languages in which they have very little competence. In most African countries, teachers are expected to teach children to read and write in a language unfamiliar to children (Alidou 1997; Brock-Utne, Desai, Qorro 2004; Erny 1972; Heugh 2000; Bamgbose 1983; Bamgbose 2005; Moumouni 1968; Ouane 1995).

Classroom observation studies conducted in several countries in Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, South Africa, Togo, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Botswana) reveal that the use of unfamiliar languages forces teachers to use traditional and teacher-centered teaching methods. Teachers do most of the talking while children remain silent or passive participants during most of the classroom interactions. Because children do not speak the LoI, teachers are also forced to use traditional teaching techniques such as chorus teaching, repetition, memorization, recall, code-switching and safe talk (Alidou, 1997; Alidou, 2003; Benson, 1997; Brock-Utne et al. 2003; Brock-Utne 2005; Hovens, 2002; Rubagumya, 2003). In our subsequent chapter we give an illustration of the teacher-student communication going on in a classroom where a language – foreign to both the teacher and the students is used as language of instruction. This example is contrasted with an example

from another classroom where the teacher teaches the same topic through a language familiar to both herself and the students.

To help children understand what they are saying in the LoI and/or to encourage them to speak and participate in classroom activities, teachers frequently use a strategy we call code-switching, switching between students' home language and the official medium of instruction.

Teachers know that they are not allowed to code-switch, yet most of them still do. In Tanzania the language of instruction in primary school is Kiswahili. The National Kiswahili Council in 2004 estimated that 99 percent of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili either as their first or their second language. In secondary school the language of instruction is English, a foreign language only spoken as an official language used as language of instruction by less than 5% of the Tanzanian population. Halima Mwinsheikhe, who has worked as a biology teacher in Tanzanian secondary schools for many years, admits:

I personally was compelled to switch to Kiswahili by a sense of helplessness born of the inability to make students understand the subject matter by using English (Mwinsheikhe, 2001: 16).

Teachers who are using a code-switching strategy do so with a bad conscience since they know that the official guidelines say they are not allowed to use such a strategy. Actually the use of such a strategy may be the best way to have students understand subject matter if one has to teach in a language students are not familiar with. In a study made by Halima Mwinsheikhe (2003) she found that many of the school inspectors she interviewed were well aware of the fact that teachers used code-switching even though they were not supposed to. A school inspector she interviewed said:

When I am inspecting a lesson I am aware of the fact that the teacher is "staging an English only lesson" because I can hear some Kiswahili used in another class. (Mwinsheikhe, 2003: 139).

Teachers code-switch not only to get subject matter across but also in order to create a more relaxed atmosphere in class. One of the secondary school teachers Mwinsheikhe (2001: 56) interviewed said: "I sometimes use Kiswahili to make students smile or laugh once in a while, which is good for learning".

Mwinsheikhe conducted a research to find out the extent to which Kiswahili is "unofficially" used by both students and teachers in the teaching of science in Tanzanian secondary schools. To analyze the situation she used data derived from observations and interviews. The majority of the 68 (74%) teachers interviewed acknowledged the existence of a language problem in the teaching/learning of science. Only a small proportion - 20 (22%) asserted that they faced no problem. Most teachers - 82 (89%) admitted using Kiswahili during their teaching, while only 9 (10%) said they did not do so. It was interesting to note that some of the teachers who claimed to have no language problem indicated that they, in spite of official policy, still used Kiswahili in their teaching. Responding to the question: What lesson activities prompt you to switch to Kiswahili? Seventy teachers (82%) admitted using Kiswahili during lessons. These same teachers said they use this strategy to clarify difficult and or key concepts of the lessons. Thirteen teachers (15%) mentioned using this same strategy to give instructions for practical work and assignments.

According to Rubagumya (2003) teachers and students rely on "safe talk" during classroom interaction when the language of instruction is not familiar to them. "Safe talk" is characterized by "the encouragement of chorus answers from pupils, repeating phrases or words after the teacher and copying notes from the blackboard" (Rubagumya 2003:162). "Safe talk" is used by teachers to compensate for their limited proficiency. To illustrate his point, Rubagumya provided an example of the use of safe talk in a classroom where English is used as language of instruction at Standard 2:

“Safe talk”

Teacher: number twelve...let us go together...one two three.

Pupils (Chorus): The doctor and his wife has gone out

Teacher: The doctor and his wife has gone out

Kevin: The doctor and his wife have gone out

Teacher: The doctor and his wife have gone out...is the correct?

Pupils (chorus): YEES! (Rubagumuya 2003: 162).

If not carefully analyzed, the dialogue presented above seems to indicate that active learning is taking place. Unfortunately, this is not the case. A discourse analysis shows that repetition and guessing are more involved in this interaction. The fact that there is interaction between a teacher and students does not necessarily mean that meaningful learning is taking place. Due to language barrier, teachers construct materials, lessons, and tests that lend themselves to repetition, memorization, guessing and regurgitation. Students spend hours memorizing lessons for the test instead of trying to understand the meaning of what they have read. Effective teaching involves teachers' use of quality questions. Effective questioning emphasizes higher level (or more complex) thinking and leads to effective learning on the part of the student. Such questioning is only possible when conducted in a language familiar to the students.

The use of unfamiliar languages also leads teachers to the use of coercive measures to force children to speak in the LoI. During the colonial era, teachers shamed African pupils for using their mother tongues. According to Moumouni (1968) children who were caught speaking their mother tongue even during recess were beaten and they had to wear “a symbol” around their neck indicating their incompetence. Unfortunately, this practice continued in Francophone Africa even during the post-colonial era. It was, however, prohibited by the Ministries of Education in the early eighties. Unfortunately, due to lack of enforcement of the policy, it is still possible to catch some frustrated teachers using such coercive measures against pupils who have difficulties expressing themselves in the official language used as language of instruction (French). In the subsequent chapter we give an example of a coercive measure used by a Tanzanian teacher teaching her students through the medium of English. She punishes the students by having them stand up if they are not able to answer her questions. The teacher never uses this strategy when she teaches the children in Kiswahili.

Often teachers equate lack of adequate proficiency in the language of instruction with laziness, lack of intelligence or an uncooperative attitude on the part of the students. This type of attitude can seriously inhibit students and create anxiety related to language learning and learning in general. To avoid being shamed in front of their classmates, some students refrain from volunteering to answer in class. This attitude is commonly observed among girls in Africa. Female pupils try their best to avoid being ridiculed in the classrooms. Therefore, girls often avoid speaking if the language of instruction is unfamiliar to them. Smith (2003) suggested that corporal punishment and frustration are among the main factors that explain school disaffection among children, and the high dropout rates in Africa.

Though teachers understand the difficulties their students experience in learning subject matter in a medium of instruction that is foreign to them, there seems to be little emphasis within teacher training in Africa on this problem. Addabor (1996) wrote an overview of in-service education for teachers in Ghana. He mentioned that the curriculum covered in the so-called “Pupil Teacher Centres” was English, Arithmetic and Methods (pedagogy). He also stated that there was no training in mother tongue instruction or in bilingual teaching methodology. Teachers who are trained but uncertified formerly had their work inspected

after some years of teaching and they are awarded certificates based on the inspectors' recommendation. Since 1987, a six-week course has been given for this group of teachers on a residential basis. The curriculum again covered English, Arithmetic, Education and General Paper. There were no courses offered in mother tongue teaching nor in bilingual teaching or in strategies to use when teaching in a foreign language. Ngu (2004) conducted an assessment of teacher training institutions in Africa on behalf of UNESCO. He concluded that teacher training programs were developed before most African countries got their political independence. This implies that student-teachers are being prepared to teach in languages which are unfamiliar to children (English, French, Spanish and Portuguese). This largely accounts for the recurrent educational problems faced by African children and the ineffectiveness of formal basic education.

4.2 Language Use and Teaching Practices in Bi/multilingual Education Programs

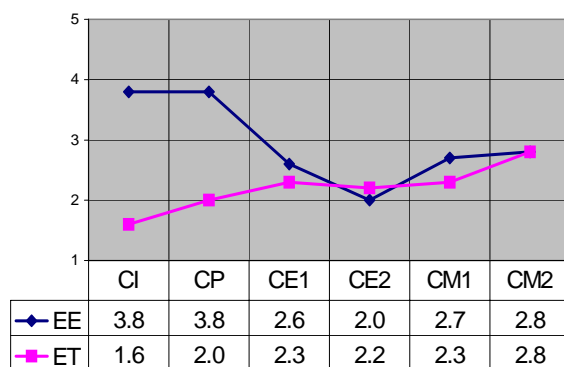
After the World Conference on Education for All held in Jomtien in 1990, many African countries renewed their interest in promoting their national languages as media of instruction as one of the central aspects of their reform of basic education. In this context, few countries have developed or revitalized the use of mother tongues within a bi/multilingual educational framework.

However, studies related to bi/multilingual education in Africa indicate that the use of mother tongues in basic education will produce positive outcomes if carefully implemented. The primary beneficial aspects discussed in the literature are: the improvement of communication and interactions in the classroom and the integration of African cultures and indigenous knowledge systems into formal school curricula. Effective communication leads to more successful learning opportunities in classrooms where languages familiar to both children and teachers are used as L1 at least in the first three years of education (Alidou, 1997; Alidou and Mallam, 2004; Bamgbose, 2005; Brock-Utne, 2000; Chekaraou, 2004; Heugh, 2000; IDRC 1997; Traoré, 2001; Ouédraogo, 2003).

In the study on "Pedagogical Renewal and Teacher Development in Sub-Saharan Africa" Dembélé and Miaro-II (2004) stated that "Ecoles Bilingues" in Burkina Faso (Ilboudo, 2003), Ecoles de la Pédagogie Convergente in Mali (Fomba et al., 2003) and Zambian Primary Reading Program (Sampa et al. 2003) are examples of educational models which have adopted effective teaching practices. They argue that the use of mother tongues as languages of instruction facilitate the implementation of child-centered pedagogy. A comparative study conducted by the Ministry of Basic Education and GTZ (2002) indicate that interaction patterns are slowly emerging in both traditional (or conventional schools which are the main model schools inherited from the colonial era) and bilingual classrooms due to teachers' use of active learning strategies. On the other hand Bergmann et al. (2002) reported, however, that this particular teaching style is more prevalent in experimental bilingual schools where both teachers and students are able to use a familiar language. Bergmann et al. states:

De manière générale, les enseignants ne monopolisent pas la parole. Ils laissent les élèves s'exprimer très souvent au CI et parfois dans les autres classes. Jusqu'au CE2, le maître des écoles traditionnelles le fait nettement moins que son homologue des Ecoles Expérimentales (Bergmann et al. 2002: 62).

Graph 1: The teacher encourages pupils to justify their responses, from Bergmann et al. 2002: 64⁴⁶



Graph 1 is related to experimental bilingual teachers (EE) and conventional school teachers (ET) communication patterns in the classrooms namely, CI (first grade), CP (second grade), CE1 (third grade), CE2 (fourth grade), CM1 (fifth grade) and CM2 (sixth grade). Graph 1 clearly shows that the use of a familiar language in first and second grades influences active participation from the students. It also indicates that when French is introduced as the main language of instruction in the third grade (CE1) both traditional and bilingual teachers went back to the use of teacher-centered pedagogy. They requested fewer answers or participation from their students.

To optimize teaching and learning in bilingual schools, the Ministry of Basic Education in Niger and GTZ decided to revise the model of bi/multilingual education which had been implemented since 1973. In 2001, it was suggested that Niger move from the implementation of transitional bilingual models to more appropriate bilingual models which maintain the use of national languages as LoI throughout primary school. The proposed model is presented below:

Table 1: Suggested percentage of time allocated to national languages and French in pilot bilingual schools (Government Decree on Teaching in Bilingual Schools, 2001), from Chekaraou, 2004: 42

Grades	National languages	French
1 st grade	90%	10%
2 nd grade	75%	25%
3 rd and 4 th grades	60%	40%
5 th and 6 th grades	50%	50%

The World Bank’s Good Practice info No. 103 of August 2004 also highlighted Mali as one of the African countries where learning in public schools is improving. In its lessons learned section, it stated that “bi/multilingual education in multilingual countries improves school attendance, reduces drop-out rates, and has cumulative advantages for student learning.” This finding is corroborated by several other studies which examined the effectiveness of la Pédagogie Convergente, a transitional bilingual program whose main purpose is to produce

⁴⁶ CI= first grade
 CP= Second grade
 CE1= third grade
 CE2=fourth grade
 CM1= fifth grade
 CM2=Sixth grade

functional bilingual learners (Traoré, 2001; Woolman, 2001). In *Pédagogie Convergente* schools five national languages (Bambara, Ffulfulde, Sonrai, Tamajaq, and Dogon) are used as a means of instruction, along with French.

Table 2: Time allocated to teaching national languages and French in *Pédagogie Convergente* schools in Mali, adopted from Traoré (2001: 12)

	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
National language (NL)	NL 100%	NL 75%	NL 25%	NL 25%	NL 50%	NL 50%
French		French 25%	French 75%	French 75%	French 50%	French 50%

In *Pédagogie Convergente* Schools, instruction in mother tongues prevails in both first and second grades. French is introduced in its oral form at the end of second grade. The written form of French is not introduced until the child is able to write in the mother tongue; thereafter, there is a drastic increase in the use of oral and written French from grade three through grade four. Table 2 clearly indicates that Mali is moving from the implementation of early exit transitional bilingual model where mother tongues are quickly replaced by French before children develop satisfactory literacy in their first language to the promotion of a maintenance bilingual model. This second option can influence the development of additive bilingualism and bi-literacy among primary school children. In addition, to the use of national languages, Mali is in the process of fully Africanizing its curriculum. Teachers develop learning activities that reflect agrarian pastoral life, sports, arts and cultural expression (Woolman, 2001: 38). *Pédagogie Convergente* involves 345 schools and 45,000 pupils. According to Traoré (2001) the current bilingual model was adopted after several evaluations related to the use of mother tongue revealed that the use of mother tongue in itself cannot guarantee teaching and learning effectiveness. He states:

Les évaluations ont permis de constater que, le fait pour l'enfant d'apprendre dans sa langue maternelle lui donnait certes, plus de facilité d'acquérir des connaissances, mais cela ne suffisait pas pour garantir les compétences optimum que l'on assigne à l'utilisation des langues nationales dans l'enseignement. Pour exploiter au maximum les avantages liés l'utilisation des langues nationales dans l'enseignement, il fallait également que la méthode d'enseignement soit efficace et que le matériel didactique soit adapté (Traoré, 2001: 5).

To optimize teaching and learning in mother tongue, Traoré suggested that Mali needed to adopt a more effective bi/multilingual education model. The maintenance of mother tongue instruction throughout primary school is necessary to help children develop successful functional literacy in their mother tongue and French. Malian educators also thought that it was necessary to revise the language teaching methods. In addition, the Ministry of Basic Education is producing appropriate teaching and learning materials in national languages and French. Just like Niger, Mali is moving towards the implementation of a balanced bi/multilingual education model. Such a model is associated with positive outcomes for teachers and students. This model promotes additive bilingualism and literacy in children's first and official language used as language of instruction. The maintenance of mother tongues (Bambara, Ffulfulde, Sonrai, Tamajeq and Dogon) throughout the primary school allows children to develop adequate literacy skills in their mother tongue or familiar language. With effective teaching they can more easily transfer literacy skills developed in the familiar language into the acquisition of and development of literacy and academic skills in the official language used as language of instruction (French).

Another innovation introduced in Mali is the inclusion of tests in national languages along with other tests (reading, writing, mathematics, social sciences) administered in French. This innovation establishes the importance of national language instruction in more formal basic education for both teachers and students in Mali. It also contributes to solving the problem of

hasty transition to French instruction. This change can help reduce teachers and students' fears of lagging behind monolingual school pupils who are taught exclusively in French from first grade onward (Traoré, 2001).

Ecoles Bilingues from Burkina Faso are also presented in the recent literature as a new success story (ADEA, 2003; Ouédraogo and Nikiema, 1998). Ecole Bilingue is a late exit transitional bilingual program which lasts five years. It maintains the use of national languages even when teachers switch to teaching in French in fourth and fifth grades (see Table 3).

Table 3: Time allocation for languages of instruction, from Ouédraogo (2002: 14)

First year	National language (90%)	French (10%)
Second year	National language (80%)	French (20%)
Third year	National language (50%)	French (50%)
Fourth year	National language (20%)	French (80%)
Fifth year	National language (10)	French (90%)

Ecoles Bilingues teachers receive regular school-based pedagogical support from the University of Ouagadougou linguists and they are familiarized with first and official language used as language of instruction. It should be pointed out that Ecole Bilingue pupils are older children who have not had the chance to be enrolled in formal primary schools. These children are nine years old or older and they have developed full language and cognitive skills in their mother tongues before enrolling in Ecole Bilingue. In this regard, their profile is quite different from the younger children attending traditional primary schools. Linguists train Ecoles Bilingues teachers to use a method used in adult education to teach functional literacy in both national languages and French.

Internal evaluations of the Ecoles Bilingues project indicate that after five years of instruction pupils from this project are ready to take the end of primary school examination. The results of the 2003 and 2004 achievement tests showed that Ecoles Bilingues pupils performed better than pupils attending monolingual schools where the language of instruction is French (Ouédraogo 2002).

For the promoters of Ecoles Bilingues, being successful in the end of elementary school examination is certainly celebrated. However, this is clearly not the only factor which defines educational success within this bi/multilingual education system. The concept of educational success is broadened to include attaining grade level functional literacy and a knowledge base that children and young adolescents can use to actively participate in all socio-cultural and economic activities. Another important goal of Ecoles Bilingues is to help children develop positive culturally values and become more tolerant citizens.

Ilboudo (2003) and Ouédraogo (2002) also indicated that the use of national languages facilitates the implementation of child-centered pedagogy in classrooms and parental involvement. Bilingual teachers who have utilized active learning pedagogy develop community-based projects that encourage hands-on activities and parental involvement. In light of this report, one can argue that effective teaching in the national language can help convince disfranchised parents and students about the value of school. In Niger, fathers are particularly in favor of bilingual schools for similar reasons:

These parents, especially fathers, find that teaching in African languages is better than the traditional system because children learn easily. They do not want experimental schools to cross over to the traditional system. The big majority of them want to keep the experimental schools for three major reasons: the development of its own culture, better comprehension of lessons and better learning of how to read and write in the two languages (Bergmann et al. 2002: 96).

Comparative studies related to monolingual traditional schools which use official languages such as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese as Lol and bilingual schools which use the languages the pupils speak as well as the official languages show that in general bilingual students tend to perform academically better than their counterparts from traditional schools (Alidou, 1997; Ouédraogo, 2002; Bergmann et al. 2002; Mekonnen, 2005). An extensive review of the impact of the use of familiar language on students' ability to learn and perform is provided in the next chapter. We illustrate the point here by presenting the case of Ethiopia.

In Ethiopia the education and training policy of 1994 stipulates that the medium of instruction of the different levels of education be as follows:

Table 4: National policy on language of instruction by level of education, from Ministry of Education of Ethiopia, 1994

<i>Level of education</i>		<i>National policy on language of instruction</i>
I.	Primary Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I cycle (Grade 1-4) ▪ II Cycle(grade 5-8) 	Mother –tongues
II.	Secondary Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I cycle (Grade 9-10) ▪ Preparatory (Grade11-12) 	English
III.	Primary Teachers' Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PTE for I cycle ▪ PTE for II cycle 	Mother- tongues
IV.	Secondary Teachers' education	English

The above table shows that there is a policy congruence of the language of instruction used in the primary and secondary educational levels and the languages of instruction used in the primary and secondary teachers' education. Mekonnen (2005) has, however, found that the national policy is not followed up in actual practice. The table below shows how languages of instruction are actually being used in Ethiopia today:

Table 5: Languages of instruction currently used in the primary schools and in the primary teachers' education in Ethiopia, adapted from Mekonnen (2005)

Educational Level		Language of instruction	Regional state
I.	Primary Education		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grade 1-4 	Mother tongues	All regions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grade 5-6 	Mother tongues English	All regions except Gambella Gambella
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Grade 7-8 	Mother tongue-Tigrinya Mother tongue-Amharic Mother tongue-Oromifa English	Tigray Amhara Oromiya The other seven regions
II.	Primary Teachers' Education		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For Grade 1-4 	Mother tongues	All regions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For grade 5-8 	English	All regions

When we here look at the language of instruction actually used at the different levels of education in Ethiopia, we find that there is incongruence between the second cycle of primary education (Grade 5-

8) and the language of instruction of the teachers' education for the second cycle of primary education, as is demonstrated in Table 5 above.

Ethiopia is divided into ten regions. Gambella is the region closest to Somalia. In Gambella, English is being used as the language of instruction from grade 5. The fact that three regions, namely Tigray, Amhara and Oromiya, have used their mother tongues as the language of instruction for eight years while six of the seven other regions use mother tongue only for six years and one region, Gambella, only for four years makes Ethiopia an interesting case to study. How well do students who use mother tongues as language of instruction for four, for six or for eight years of primary school perform in science and technology subjects like mathematics, biology and chemistry? How well do students who use a foreign language – in this case English - as language of instruction from grade 5 or grade 7 perform in the same subjects? A study made by the Government of Ethiopia (MOE, 2001) with the assistance of US-Aid and a couple of American consultants is revealing.

Table 6: Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry Mean Achievement Scores by Language of Instruction, from Ministry of Education of Ethiopia, 2001

	Region	Language of instruction	Sample Number	MATHS	BIOLOGY	CHEMISTRY
1	Tigray	Tigrinya	390	45%	56%	47%
2	Amhara	Amharic	580	44%	61%	45%
3	Oromiya	Oromifa	598	40%	56%	45%
4	Harari	English	372	40%	48%	43%
5	AddisAbaba	English	548	39%	44%	40%
6	Benshangul	English	268	36%	43%	41%
7	DireDawa	English	377	37%	41%	39%
8	SNNP	English	1235	36%	43%	36%
9	Afer	English	394	36%	39%	36%
10	Gambella	English	400	27%	37%	33%
	Total		5163			

Table 6 shows that students whose LoI is their mother tongue have scored higher in the three subjects mentioned above than students whose LoI is English, which is a foreign language. Mekonnen (2005) shows through the use t-tests and the statistical program ANOVA that there is a significant difference in the performance between those students taught in their mother tongue and those students being taught through a foreign language. He concludes: "In other words, students of the seven regional states who are using English as a LoI for the UPE are disadvantaged in terms of their mathematics, biology and chemistry mean achievement scores when compared to the students of the three regional states who are using their respective mother tongues as languages of instruction in the entire primary education." In fact, the students scoring the lowest in these subjects, so important for the development of science and technology, are the students from Gambella, the region where they start using English as the language of instruction as early as fifth grade. How do students perform in English in the other ten regions?

Table 7: English achievement in grade 8 by regions, from Ministry of Education of Ethiopia, 2001

	Region	Language of instruction	Sample Number	English Achievement score
1	Tigray	Mother tongue-Tigrinya	390	39%
2	Amhara	Mother tongue –Amharic	580	34%
3	Ormya	Mother tongue –Oromifa	599	39%
4	Harari	Foreign Language-English	372	45%
5	AddisAbaba	Foreign Language-English	548	46%
6	Benshangul	Foreign Language-English	268	40%
7	DireDawa	Foreign Language-English	377	39%
8	SNNP	Foreign Language-English	1235	37%
9	Afar	Foreign Language-English	394	34%
10	Gambella	Foreign Language-English	400	36%

Mekonnen calculated the average English achievement score of all the regions and found it to be 39%. Of the three regions which are using mother tongues as LoI in the entire elementary education (1-8), only students from regional state of Amhara (34%) have scored below the average English achievement score. Students in the other two regions, Tigray and Oromiya, have scored equal to the average or 39%. Out of the seven regions which are using English, three regions Hareri, Addis Ababa, Benshangul scored above the average, (45%, 46%, and 40% respectively). Both in Hareri and Addis Ababa children are more exposed to English on a daily basis than in most other regions. One region – DireDawa scored equal to the average-(39%), and three other regions-SNNP, Afar and Gambella scored below the average (37%, 34% and 36%). It is interesting to note that Gambella, the region among the ten which starts using English as the language of instruction at the earliest stage, already in grade 5, is the region where students have the next lowest score in English!

On the basis of the results above it is strange to read the conclusion and the following recommendations made by the Minister of Education in association with US AID:

Schools in areas where English is the primary language of instruction for grade 8 don't have as high a level of achievement, even in the English language, as schools in areas that use the major languages. **Special effort needs to be devoted to strengthening the English language skills of teachers** (MOE of Ethiopia, 2001: 102, emphasis added).

This conclusion is most surprising since the logical recommendation would be a switch to the use of mother tongue as the language of instruction in all ten regions and not only in Tigray, Amhara, and Oromiya. It is the lack of English language skills for teachers that is the problem rather than the fact that teachers are forced to teach in a language students do not understand. Students learn better when they understand what the teacher is saying. Here is another strange conclusion from the same report:

With the exception of English, the Regions display a similar pattern of achievement across regions— Tigray, Amhara, Oromiya, and Harari attaining the highest scores, while Gambella and Afar regions have the lowest scores. **Performance on English Achievement appears to be supported by the use of English as the instructional language.** (MOE of Ethiopia, 2001: 10, emphasis added).

This statement, however, is not true. If one looks at the results in Table 4, one sees that students from Gambella, the region which starts the earliest with the use of English as the LoI, actually have lower test scores in English than the students in Tigrinya and Oromifa. The students in Tigrinya and Oromifa have their mother tongues as instructional languages all through the eight years of primary school. The students from Tigrinya and Oromifa do not use English as an instructional language at all but they learn it as a foreign language. The results reported clearly show that the use of English as a language of instruction does not have a statistically significant effect on the students' English mean achievement scores.

The Ethiopian situation obviously shows that the use of familiar languages helps children to learn and perform better in schools, but often the use of these languages is complicated by policy incongruence. This problem seriously undermines the potential of bi/multilingual education. In the next section, we examine some of the critical problems which must be addressed in order to optimize teaching and learning in bilingual schools.

4.3 Issues in Bi/multilingual Schools

Nadine Dutcher reminds us that:

The outlook for successful education is brighter when the school builds on the foundation of mother tongue in teaching a second and third language. Such is the promise of mother tongue education. But there are perils as well. They include the possibility of ineffective teaching for a number of reasons and lack of support for mother tongue on the part of teachers, parents and governments (Dutcher, 2004b: 1).

Transitional bilingual programs which advocate early exit from mother tongue instruction are prevalent in Africa (Alidou and Garba 2003). Studies related to these programs show that in most cases teachers do not clearly understand the phenomenon of bilingualism and how children develop functional literacy. Teachers primarily rely on language teaching methods used in traditional schools. Due to lack of adequate training, bi/multilingual teachers rely on their own experience as learners to teach their students.

In Niger, Chekaroua (2004) found that former traditional school teachers who are transferred to bilingual schools have a negative perception of teacher-student interactions in bilingual schools because they are used to classrooms where they have control of the classrooms due to the use of languages unfamiliar to children. These teachers especially believed that bilingual school pupils who express themselves freely in the classroom are “impolite”. Chekaroua (2004: 188) asked two bilingual teachers to characterize their students’ participation and to share their view about these students’ behavior. Fortunately, trained and experienced bilingual teachers do not share the view of the former monolingual school teachers as indicated by the responses given by two bilingual teachers:

First teacher:

I do not think it is indiscipline. Children feel at ease when in bilingual classes. They make use of their own language. Therefore, they do not feel blocked and intimidated. They understand what they are saying and what they hear from the teacher perfectly. I think it is a freedom of expression and an ease that characterize the behavior of these children (Interview with TP-1, May/June, 2002).

The second teacher's response is similar to teacher 1 as indicated below:

It is not indiscipline. In bilingual schools, the children do not feel blocked or intimidated. The teacher is not authoritative, acting like a dictator who imposes everything on the students while they [the students] are not given time to express themselves freely. No [we make use of] a teaching method consisting of letting the students express themselves freely, go do something practical and receive all the necessary means to explore what is in their immediate environment without imposition. In the bilingual classroom, the teacher guides the students. As a result, children are inquisitive, open-minded and have time and freedom to communicate with and ask clarification questions of their teacher. It is not like in traditional French monolingual schools in which it is the teacher who monopolizes knowledge while children remain inactive, as consumers only. When any visitor who is interested in these bilingual schools visits us, s/he will find children enjoying themselves in the classroom and expressing themselves without any restraint using natural gestures and the words that they already know. On the other hand, those detractors of bilingual schools come here and see how our children engage conversations freely with us and they think no, either the children accept what I tell them or they must shut it up. For them children in the bilingual schools are undisciplined. For us the children’s behavior does not have anything to do with indiscipline (Interview with TP-2, May/June, 2002).

Former monolingual teachers' negative attitude toward pupils' autonomy and active participation in their own learning demonstrates that there is a serious need to help teachers understand the importance of creating a safe learning environment where children can express themselves without any fear. Learning cannot take place in classrooms where children are silenced and stigmatized.

Bi/multilingual education schools throughout Africa are confronted with their heavy reliance on untrained teachers. The majority of bilingual teachers are either mainstream teachers who are enthusiastic about teaching in mother tongues or new graduates from secondary schools who volunteer to teach in the bilingual programs while they are looking for other employment opportunities. Both categories of teachers receive very limited training in teaching mother tongues and they are given responsibility to teach without adequate school-based support (Benson, 2002; Traoré, 2001). Alidou argues that:

Teacher's enthusiasm cannot substitute for qualification required for teaching in mother tongues and official languages. Many bilingual teachers face serious professional challenges. They may be able to speak the language of instruction, but they have not mastered reading and writing in that language (Alidou, 2003:112).

According to Traoré (2001), teacher training programs should be revised to integrate bi/multilingual education and the training needs of bilingual teachers. It is also imperative that all school supervisors and leaders receive not only administrative training, but also pedagogical training which helps them develop a knowledge base about bi/multilingual education and how to help teachers in these programs.

In 1968 Malawi adopted a language policy, which promoted Chichewa one of its languages as a national language. The main objective of this policy was to promote national unity through a language that the majority of citizens can speak. English was retained as the official language of the country. In schools, Chichewa was used as LoI from first grade up to fourth grade. English replaces it from fifth grade onwards. However, both Chichewa and English are taught as subjects from first grade all the way to university. According to Chilora (2000), this language policy has had a positive impact on the development of Chichewa as a language for schooling. The various governments invested significantly in teacher colleges developed special programs whose main goal is to training teachers in teaching in Chichewa as LoI. Textbooks were also produced for all subject matters (language, mathematics and general studies) taught in that language. However, teachers' guides were produced in English to accommodate teachers who did not speak very well Chichewa.

The main shortcoming of this policy is that it did not take into consideration all teachers' sociolinguistic backgrounds. Some teachers were not speakers of Chichewa and they served in non-Chichewa speech communities. Therefore neither the teachers nor the students spoke Chichewa. To help children learn, these teachers were forced to use local languages as LoI. This situation caused serious problems for both teachers and students. One should point out that in this case, children were tested in Chichewa and English and both languages are unfamiliar to them. To remedy this problem, in 1994 the government introduced a new language policy that legitimated the use of local languages-languages familiar to children. The main reason for the shift in education language policy is

To give children an opportunity to participate fully in classroom discussions using a language that they are more familiar with than to struggle in a language that they are just learning (Chilora, 2000: 4).

Unfortunately, this change of policy was not followed by an appropriate redeployment of teachers. Teachers' sociolinguistic profiles were not necessarily taken into consideration for their placement into schools. The Ministry of Education of Malawi considered instead regional demand for teachers. In addition, textbooks were still in Chichewa therefore teachers have to translate them in many different languages.

Another problem identified by Kaphesi (2003) is the mis-match between the language of study and the language of instruction. Textbooks were written in Chichewa while the teacher's guides were written in English. He argues that this situation creates serious problems:

Teachers have a problem translating the mathematical vocabulary between English and Chichewa and this brings about pressures and tension among the mathematics teachers who may not find the equivalent terms between English and Chichewa (Kaphesi, 2003: 277).

The problem highlighted above by Kaphesi shows that for adequate teaching in African language teachers should have textbooks and teachers' guides written in the same language. When teachers use African languages to teach subject matters they develop appropriate meta-language in these languages. Such use can also contribute to the modernization of these languages.

Williams and Mchazime (1999) conducted a study on reading proficiency in Chichewa and English among primary school children in Malawi. They found that reading, listening comprehension, and speaking in Chichewa were much easier for children. The same children performed poorly when they were tested in English.

The Ministry of Education and Save the Children Federation Inc. (USA) conducted a study to determine the impact of the Free Primary Education Policy implemented since 1994. This is done within the Improvement of the Quality of Education Project (IQE) initiated by UNESCO. One aspect analyzed in this study is the impact of the new language policy on children's academic achievement. The results indicated that the use of familiar languages influences better learning on the part of the children.

African children experience lot of difficulty in reading and writing in both their mother tongue and the official languages. This explains why most students do not develop adequate literacy skills after six and seven years of formal basic education. This problem is identified in both monolingual and bi/multilingual schools. Unfortunately, teachers are not trained to detect reading difficulty and in general they do not have adequate competence in teaching reading, writing and literacy. Few countries have explicitly addressed the reading and literacy problems in school. UNESCO, the International Reading Association and the Ugandan Ministry of Basic Education have initiated the "Reading for All Project". The main goal of this project is to help teachers teach reading more effectively and instill the joy of reading among children. (Gordon, 2005). Zambia has also tackled the problem of reading and illiteracy among formal basic education pupils by implementing an intensive reading program called "Breakthrough to Literacy" (Sampa, 2003).

Breakthrough to Literacy is based on child-centered pedagogy, literature based literacy and it also promotes writing among children by using their stories as basic reading texts. Parents are also involved in this project and they are required to help their children write their own books. Parents read with their children and they also come to school to observe reading and writing sessions. Studies indicate that pupils who benefit from this instruction are developing beyond grade level literacy skills in the Zambian languages and they perform at appropriate grade levels in English. In 2002, grade 1 and grade 2 students were tested to determine the effectiveness of the project. Students were administered reading and writing tests in both Zambian languages and English. According to Sampa (2003), in 1999 grade 1 pupils scored 2.1 out of the expected score band of 0-24 for test administered in Zambian languages. In 2000, grade 1 children who went through the literacy project scored 16.24. This indicates a 780% increase in the ability to read. Second graders also showed an increase of 575% and third to fifth graders demonstrated an increase of 484%.

Pupils also showed that they learned English more effectively through the Breakthrough Literacy Project. In 1999, grade 1 pupils had 4.8 as a mean score for an English language test. In 2002, their mean score was 16. More concretely, Sampa (2003: 41) observed that children can effectively use

both Zambian languages and English to learn. They are able to “read fluently and write clearly and will transfer the skills [literacy] to other subject areas so that they can learn effectively across the curriculum.”

Teaching practice and the development of literacy are also negatively impacted by a severe lack of appropriate educational materials (teachers’ guides, textbooks, and reference books in both mother tongues and second languages). Untrained teachers and teachers who do not have regular support from principals and inspectors heavily rely on available teacher’s guides to develop their curriculum and lesson plans. Unfortunately, all African schools suffer from the scarcity of quality educational materials in both first and second languages. This issue is acute in bi/multilingual schools where teachers are forced to translate materials which are destined for instruction through the official or foreign language.

Since the early 1990s the German Foundation for International Development (INWENT) and GTZ have developed several projects whose aim is to promote effective functional literacy among children and adults in Africa. In Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger for example, INWENT have trained more than seventy national textbook authors. INWENT has also promoted an integrated language teaching approach which emphasizes the development of oral and written language among first, second and third grades. The textbooks produced in this project help children develop not only cognitive skills but also meta-cognitive ones which help them to think about how they best learn how to read and also how to learn all types of subjects. In addition, all the reading texts are based on children’s immediate educational needs, immediate culture, and other regional cultures. These texts also include cooperative learning activities that encourage children to develop functional and academic literacy. The Ministries of Basic Education from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger in cooperation with INWENT and GTZ produced a comprehensive teachers’ guide which includes all the national languages used in these three countries (Galdames et. al, 2004). This approach has also been implemented by GTZ in ASTEP Programs in Ghana (Komarek, 2003). In the ASTEP Programs culturally relevant textbooks and teachers’ guides were produced to help teachers and pupils achieve better performance in respectively teaching and developing literacy.

The lack of a literate environment in schools and communities is another critical factor which undermines teachers’ effort to teach literacy in both national languages and official languages used as LoI. Most studies related to both traditional and bilingual schools in Africa indicate that one of the serious problems that educators and teachers must address is how to make education and literacy relevant to children and adults. With that in mind, one would argue that the practice of literacy should be related to the actual use of written language to accomplish all types of academic and social functions. Unfortunately, because of the exclusion of African languages from particularly formal oral and written communication in many African countries, teachers and children do not always have the opportunity to use the literacy skills they develop in their mother tongues or national languages in real life situations. This, however, varies from one African country to another. In Tanzania, for instance, most newspapers are written in Kiswahili.

In recent years, both GTZ and INWENT have contributed to the promotion of effective teaching and literacy practices in bilingual schools in Niger, Ghana and Mali. These organizations also support the Ministries of Education’s effort to promote literacy and literate culture in national languages. GTZ is currently funding an editorial project in Niger as a follow-up to its bi/multilingual education project which ended in 2003. The main goal of the current project is to facilitate the creation of literate environment in national languages and reading culture among children and adults. Consequently, the project produces reading materials in national languages for children and adults and it supports financially and technically local and regional publishing companies. Other local and regional literacy organizations such as ARED in Senegal, TIN TUA in Burkina Faso, the private publishing companies Edition Alpha in Niger, GANN DAL in Guinea and local authors are also contributing to the development of literate environment and culture in national languages in Africa (Alidou and Jung 2002; Glanz 2004).

Due to lack of adequate training African teachers do not know how to effectively monitor and assess student learning. One should also point out that the variety of achievement tests administered to pupils is often not valid and reliable. Consequently, one can argue that in African contexts, it is very difficult to accurately determine the impact of teaching on students' learning.

An aspect related to school administration that affect teaching practices in bi/multilingual education is teacher deployment. Often teachers who are non speakers of or literate in particular *national* languages are posted to areas where such languages are used as LoI (Dzinyela 2001). This situation impacts on teachers' ability to use adequately the LoI and communicate well with their students.

Finally, teaching practice is negatively impacted by the overall socio-political contexts which are not always in favor of the expansion of the use of African languages as LoI in formal education. At the macro-sociopolitical level, this situation is characterized by some international donors' reluctance to support the use of mother tongues throughout the formal education systems (Alidou 1997; Alidou 2002; Komarek 2003; Malone 2000). Teaching in mother tongues is still viewed by many people, both educated and un-educated Africans, as a second class education. This attitude affects both teachers and students' morale. Moreover, this attitude forces teachers to focus more on teaching second languages than mother tongues. Therefore, to promote effective teaching practice in bilingual schools, policy-makers should make a serious effort to politically promote the use of African languages as languages of instruction within bi/multilingual educational programs.

4.4 Recommendations

1. **Developing multilingual and intercultural teacher preparation programs:** Integration of multilingual and intercultural education philosophies, theories and methodologies in the initial and in-service teacher training programs. Such approach will help teachers become familiar with first and second language acquisition and teaching theories and methodologies. Consequently, the promotion of multilingual and intercultural education programs in Africa requires a serious revision of the curriculum for teacher preparation programs.
2. **Preparing teachers to teach effectively reading and literacy in both first and second languages:** African teachers struggle to teach reading and literacy to young learners. Effective learning cannot take place if pupils do not develop adequate literacy skills in the languages of instruction. Zambia has addressed the literacy issue in schools by promoting the *Zambian Primary Reading Program*. This program has produced positive results. Other African countries must adopt similar strategy in order to help teachers and pupils.
3. **Teaching teachers how to assess effectively students' progress:** One of the major problems that prevails in African classroom is the inability of teachers to adequately assess their own teaching and students' progress. The main reason that accounts for this situation is the absence of assessment and evaluation component in the teacher preparation curriculum. Teachers are trained to grade but they are not trained to assess learning and students' progress. Assessment both formative and summative must become an integral part of teacher preparation program.
4. **Training of supervisors:** In order to promote multilingual and intercultural education in Africa, both teachers and their supervisors must developed adequate competencies in multilingual education and pedagogy. Often supervisors are not included in the training programs, yet they are expected to promote the educational reform, supervise and evaluate teachers. In order to eliminate supervisors' resistance to the promotion of multilingual education and help them support adequately teachers they must be offered professional

development training related to multilingual and intercultural education. They must also become familiar with the first and second language acquisition and teaching philosophies, theories and methodologies. As their role is to help teachers and evaluate them they must know the appropriate assessment and evaluation methods used in bilingual and intercultural education.

5. Promoting qualitative and quantitative studies on teaching in both national and official languages and at all levels of instruction in Africa. It is very important to conduct observational and ethnographic studies in classrooms, schools and communities in order to assess the impact of pedagogical innovations promoted in the schools and classrooms. In Africa, very few studies were produced in this area over the last forty years.

5 Experience II - Active Students – learning through a language they master

Birgit BROCK-UTNE
Hassana ALIDOU

1.1.1. 5.1 Introduction

There is little doubt that the systematic but frequently ignored differences between the language and culture of the school and the language and culture of the learner's community have often resulted in educational programmes with only marginal success at teaching anything except self-depreciation (Okonkwo 1983: 377).

The focus of this chapter is the African learner. Had we merged this chapter with the previous one, the learner would easily have disappeared. While the previous chapter has focused on the strategies *the teacher* uses to teach in a situation where neither s/he nor the pupils master the language of instruction well we shall here look at what is learnt in such a situation. We shall also look at learning taking place when the teacher uses a language with which s/he and the learners *are* familiar. The most important learning that takes place in a class-room can hardly be measured in test scores since they deal with lasting attitudes to academic learning. For this reason we have decided to open this chapter with an illustration from an ongoing research project in Tanzania where participant observation is being used to register what is going on when students are taught in a familiar language and when they are taught in a foreign language.

Both this example and the example from Ethiopia from the previous chapter deal with students beyond the first primary years of schooling. They show that even at somewhat later stages of schooling – the 8th grade in Ethiopia which corresponds to 1 year of secondary school in Tanzania - students learn better in a familiar language. Examples from lower level of schooling are taken from Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Burkina Faso. The pedagogical principle of going from the familiar to the unfamiliar pertains not only to the language of instruction but also to the content of the curriculum. It is not so easy for a child to be suddenly exposed to a decimal system when s/he is used to other ways of counting centering around eight or twenty. It is not sufficient to translate foreign books and learning material into local languages. Learning material should entail content familiar to the child, taken from her or his surroundings, making him/her proud of the African heritage. Towards the end of the chapter the focus is on exams, on the difficulties pupils have when both the language of examination and the content of the curriculum are from a foreign environment. An example from Namibia of monitoring the content of exams for cultural bias is given. At the very end some recommendations will be given.

The "Education For All" strategy formulated at the important educational conference in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 was meant to target the poor (Brock-Utne 2000; Brock-Utne 2005a). In an article on education for all: policy lessons from high-achieving countries Santosh Mehrotra (1998) draws our attention to what he sees as the most important characteristic of those developing countries that really target the poor and have the highest percentage of the population with a completed basic education:

The experience of the high-achievers has been unequivocal: the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction at the primary level in all cases...Students who have learned to read in their mother tongue learn to read in a second language more quickly than do those who are first taught to read in the second language (Mehrotra 1998: 479).

Yet in the 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar there was, according to Dutcher (2004) no mention of the language issue in the plenary sessions of the conference. There is also little consideration of the language issue in the resulting documents from the Forum. There is limited reference in official documents to the fact that millions of children are entering school without knowing the language of instruction. Many of these children are in Africa. The only type of formal schooling available to these children is in a language they neither speak nor understand. Nadine Dutcher holds:

It is shocking that the international dialogue on Education for All has not confronted the problems children face when they enter school not understanding the medium of instruction, when they are expected to **learn** a new language at the same time as they are learning **in** and **through** the new language. **The basic problem is that children cannot understand what the teacher is saying!** We believe that if international planners had faced these issues on a global scale, there would have been progress to report. However, instead of making changes that would lead to real advancement, the international community has simply repledged itself to the same goals, merely moving the target ahead from the year 2000 to 2015 (Dutcher 2004: 8).

In most African countries children have great difficulties learning simply because they do not understand what the teacher is saying. Teacher guides are being worked out and teacher training courses given to have African teachers become more “learner-centered”, to help them activate their students and engage them in critical thinking and dialogue. Teachers are asked to abandon a teacher style where students just copy notes from the blackboard, learn their notes by heart and repeat them at tests. Little thought has been given to the fact that this teaching style might be the only one possible when neither the teacher nor the students command the language of instruction. Africa is called Anglophone, francophone or Lusophone according to the languages introduced by the colonial masters and still used as official languages. These languages are, however, not the languages spoken in Africa. They are comfortably mastered only by 5 to 10% of the people. The great majority of Africans use African languages for daily communication. Africa is Afrophone.

As mentioned this chapter gives an example from a field study taking place in a language in education project in Tanzania illustrating how the teaching style is dependent upon whether a familiar or a foreign language is used as the language of instruction. We try to analyze the type of learning going on in the two different class-rooms. The ongoing LOITASA (Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa) project (2002 – 2007) has some classes in South Africa which, on an experimental basis, are being taught in isiXhosa in some subjects in grade 4, 5 and 6 in primary school (Desai, 2004, Brock-Utne, 2005a). In Tanzania only a shorter experiment limited to three months under the auspices of the University of Dar es Salaam in two secondary schools could be carried out (Brock-Utne 2005c). In Tanzania all of the seven years in primary school are conducted through the medium of Kiswahili but secondary and tertiary education are carried out through the medium of English (Brock-Utne 2005b). We shall here give an example from the Tanzanian part of the LOITASA project.

5.2 A Look into Two Secondary School Classrooms in Tanzania – One Taught in Kiswahili – One Taught in English

As an experiment the same teacher was teaching the same topic in biology to two different classes of Form I students in a large secondary school. The teacher, we here call her Mwajabu, taught the topics in English to one class and in Kiswahili to another class. Below is an excerpt from field-notes from August 2004 taken from many hours of observations (Brock-Utne 2005c). We start with a lesson Mwajabu taught in English and look at what the students learn. We then switch to a lesson Mwajabu taught in Kiswahili on the same topic to another class a couple of days later and look at the quality of teaching and learning in that class-room.

1. Biology class, language of instruction English

When we came into the class-room five minutes too late since we had been changing classes, we were surprised to find about two thirds of the students standing by their desks. Mwajabu saw our surprise and said: "I told them to stand up because some of them are sleeping". This is a strategy Mwajabu never uses when she teaches in Kiswahili. She went through the classes of phylum chordate. When she asked for examples, at first no one raised a hand. At long last a student, who was standing, attempted an answer. Mwajabu asked the class:

Teacher (T): Is she right?

Students (Ss): Silence

T: Is she right, class?

Ss: No.

T: No, she is not right. Keep on standing.

The students tried to look into their note-books without the teacher seeing it (they were not supposed to do this) and to give an answer they had just read. If it was correct, they might sit down. If not, they had to remain standing. They were at one point asked to give examples from the group fish.

The teacher said:

T: Speak loudly. (It sounded like "lovely")

One of the boys, who had been standing for a long time, tried to read in his book and when the teacher pointed at him. He said:

Student (S): Bird. (He pronounced it "beerd")

T: Spell

S: B – I – R – D

The teacher then wrote "bird" on the blackboard and pronounced it "bird". She asked:

T: Is bird a fish? Keep standing. Don't use the material which you have given (Instead of "have been given").

Such humiliating experiences do not happen when the teaching is in Kiswahili.

T: Have you understood what I asked you to do? Yes or no? Who has not understood?

Ss: Silence

T: You have to talk. Speak English please.

Mwajabu asked the students to go into their normal five groups. One of the five groups did not know whether they were group no three or group no five. They asked the teacher in Kiswahili:

Ss: Hatujui sisi ni kundi cha tatu au kundi cha tano
(We do not know whether we are group three or five.).

Before Mwajabu tried to clear this question up with them she said:

T: Speak English, please.

She was not able to get through the lesson plan she had made for the lesson.

The students in this class being taught in English were silent, grave and looked afraid. They were trying to guess the answers the teacher wanted. The student who came up with the answer bird when the teacher asked for an example of a fish did either not understand the word fish, the word bird or neither of them. He was trying to look in his book for an answer which would have made it possible for him to sit down instead of having to stand as a form of further punishment. We may ask ourselves what the students learn in this lesson, which qualifications they get. They learn to obey, learn to keep quiet. They learn that if they do not answer the way the teacher wants, they get punished. They learn to memorize. They learn survival strategies like looking in their book for an answer even when they are not supposed to. Some sink into apathy and become indifferent. Some learn that they are dumb, that they are unlikely to succeed. We shall now turn to another class-room where Mwajabu teaches the same subject and look at the learning taking place here.

2. Biology class, language of instruction Swahili

Baiolojia

Mwajabu was now teaching in Kiswahili and wanted to know about the importance of the Failam kodata. She wanted the students to work in groups and give her examples of “faida” (advantage or economic importance) of the animals and the “hasara” (disadvantage or danger). Mwajabu was like another teacher. She smiled, seemed confident, and seemed to enjoy herself. So did the students. They worked quickly, were very lively and came up with many and very good suggestions. In some cases they even taught the teacher things she did not know or did not think about.

One of the students said that many of the large animals brought foreign currency to Tanzania (fedha za wageni). The teacher could not understand how this was possible but the student went on at great length and explained that when tourists came to Mikumi or Serengeti (national parks) for instance to see lions, giraffes and elephants the tourists bought souvenirs, used the hotels and paid guides and drivers etc. The teacher had to accept that that was certainly correct.

The students said that many of the animals could be used for transport. The teacher asked which ones could be used for transport of people. They answered donkey, camels and horses. One student mentioned elephants but the teacher first said that elephants were not used to transport people. The student insisted that she was right because she had been informed that in India elephants were indeed used for transport of people. Another student supported her and said that he had seen on television that in India people rode on elephants and also brought goods with them tied to the back of the elephant. One student said that in India elephants were domesticated while in Africa they were not. Again the teacher was learning from the students and the students were learning from each other.. Another student mentioned “kobe” (tortoise) and told about the huge ones she had heard of. People rode on those too.

There were many smiles and much laughter during this lesson and it went very fast (both for the teacher, the students and the observers). At one point the teacher wanted to know what on the cow could be used for what. After some obvious answers one student said that the blood could also be used for drinking. Some protested. The student said: “Wachagga wana kunywa damu” (the Wachagga drink blood) and looked at the teacher knowing that she is a Mchagga. Many students laughed. The teacher asked about the advantage of a lot of animals and the class was really with her. She wanted to know which animals were the “rafiki wa binadamu” (friend of human beings) and all hands were up to give her examples. Students were competing to answer.

In this lesson students were trained in skills like combining earlier knowledge with new knowledge. They were developing creative qualifications like independence and critical thinking. They trained the ability to enter into constructive cooperation with others. There was no need for the teacher here to say: “Do not look in your books.”

Here the students were encouraged to activate the knowledge they had, build on the knowledge of each other, teach each other and the teacher. This was an interactive lesson, a lesson of give and take between teacher and students and between students, not only a lesson where the teacher pours bits of knowledge into student heads. It helped them build self-confidence and a belief in themselves and their learning potential.

5.3 Other Studies from Africa Showing the Quality of Learning when a Familiar Language is Used as the Language of Instruction

There are many studies from Africa which show similar results when a familiar language is used as the language of instruction. An evaluation study of the IEQ (Improving Educational Quality) project in Ghana using participant observation to study the implementation of the language policy in Ghanaian primary schools found that pupils participated more actively when Ghanaian language was used as the language of instruction (Dzinyela 2001).

Chekarou who has made a comprehensive study of two of the bilingual pilot schools in Niger using Hausa as the language of instruction in the early grades tells how

the entire class wanted to participate so much that they would stand up from their seats, move towards the teacher and wanting to be called upon to answer questions (Chekarou 2004: 323)

He tells how the teaching in these schools through a language with which children are familiar fostered active teacher-student interaction which enabled students to “develop their critical thinking skills which were transferable to all learning experiences even when first language ceased to be the language of instruction in upper grades” (2004: 341). He goes on to explain how teaching through a familiar language helps the cognitive development of the students:

By and large, native language use contributed to children developing knowledge that they would not have obtained otherwise. For example, the discussion of idioms related to body parts which carried metaphorical meanings and the proverbs that the teacher discussed with his students were edifying examples which helped children to develop meta-linguistic skills in their own language which contributed to enhancing their overall cognitive potential (Chekarou, 2004: 343).

In an overview of research on language of instruction, mostly covering so-called “francophone” countries in Africa Hassana Alidou and Mallam Garba Maman (2003) conclude that when taught in African languages students are much more active than when taught in the national, yet foreign languages. The teaching through mother tongue is more effective and provides for quality learning for students, learning where they can combine existing knowledge with new knowledge.

The Six-Year Primary Project (SYPP) in Nigeria, sometimes called the Ife Mother Tongue Education Project, is to date the most authoritative case study on the use of mother tongue in formal education. SYPP, begun in 1970, was basically an experiment in medium of instruction involving a comparison of the traditional 3-year Yoruba medium plus 3-year English medium with a 6-year Yoruba medium in primary schools. The SYPP was based at the Institute of Education, University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ile-Ife in South Western Nigeria. According to Bamgbose (2005) the SYPP started in a rural school with two experimental classes and one control class. The main aim of the project was to use Yoruba as a medium of instruction throughout the six years of primary education in order to find out whether primary education given in the child’s mother tongue medium would be likely to be more meaningful and of greater advantage to the students who matriculated through the schooling system. Other subsidiary aims were an enrichment of the curriculum, development of materials in Yoruba, and a more effective teaching of English as a subject through the use of specialist teachers of English (Afolayan 1976). The SYPP curriculum consisted of English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, and Yoruba. English and Yoruba were taught as subjects from the beginning of primary education, while other subjects were taught through the medium of Yoruba in the experimental classes. The main differences between the original experimental and the control classes were in the medium of instruction in the last three years of primary school as well as in the use of a specialist teacher of English as a subject for the experimental class. Bamgbose notes:

The advantage of the latter arrangement is that only the specialist teacher of English would provide a model of communicating in English for the class, since all other teachers would teach their subjects in Yoruba. With exposure to a good model of English, it was expected that there would be considerable improvement in the pupils' mastery of the English language (Bamgbose 2005: 215).

In the course of the experiment, certain modifications were made to the original design of the project. The project was extended in 1973 to more schools, including urban schools. The use of specialist teachers of English was abandoned for the new experimental classes. Bamgbose (2005) tells that in designing the SYPP, certain contingencies were provided for. It was thought that the experimental group taught only in Yoruba with English as a subject would require a transitional course of intensive English for one year in order to be able to transfer the concepts they had learnt in Yoruba into English. It turned out that such a course was not necessary. The students in the experimental classes competed favorably with their counterparts from other public schools and passed the common entrance examination into high schools. During the duration of the Project, detailed evaluation covering various subject areas and intelligence tests were administered. The results showed consistently that the group that performed highest on tests of all subjects was the Original Experimental Group followed closely by the New Experimental Group. The worst group in all cases was the Traditional Control Group. Consequently the difference in medium of instruction is shown to be significant (Fafunwa Macauley & Sokoya 1989; Bamgbose 1984).

Several studies related to the performance and effectiveness of this program indicate that pupils who were educated in Yoruba for six years performed significantly better than pupils who were taught in Yoruba only for three years and then taught exclusively in English as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Comparison of performances of pupils in the Ife Project and pupils in classic schools (control group) in end of primary examinations, from Fafunwa et al. (1989: 128)

Classic Schools N= 32 and Ife Project Schools N= 43						
	Average	SD	Average	SD	Diff	R.
Subjects	50,31	21,56	37,40	22,67	12,91	2,51
Arithmetic	58,41	15,32	58,16	17,14	0,29	0,65
English	51,66	12,31	52,44	15,56	0,78	0,24
General Knowledge	29,34	9,78	29,82	10,70	0,48	0,20
Yoruba	71,91	8,09	77,72	7,88	5,81	3,11*
* The difference is statistically significant at 0,01						

According to Akinnaso (1993), after six years of instruction in Yoruba (and English) the cultural, affective, cognitive and socio-psychological development of children attending the Ife Project was more advanced than their counterparts' attending the regular school where English is used as the exclusive language of instruction. Comparable studies conducted in Niger found that similar results. They show that when experimental bilingual schools had political and technical supports they produced positive results and the pupils were culturally more integrated into their own communities (Alidou 1997; Bergman et al. 2002; Chekaroua 2004, UNESCO 2003).

In recent years, Mali with Ecoles de la Pédagogie Convergente has also produced convincing evidence about the positive effects of familiar languages on pupils' ability to learn. Comparative evaluations of the performance of pupils from Ecoles de la Pédagogie Convergente schools and regular schools show that the first school system is more effective (see Table 2). Ecoles de la Pédagogie Convergente students perform better than their counterparts from French-based schools on the achievement examination administered at the end of formal basic education which is a seven-year program in Mali.

Table 2: Comparison of pupils' performance at the end of formal basic education; from Traoré (2001: 24)

Year	Ecoles de la Pédagogie Convergente (Bilingual)	French-based schools (Monolingual)
1994	56.52%	40.62%
1995	37.64%	42.34%
1996	75.75%	54.26%
1997	50%	36.89%
1998	71.95%	48.30%
1999	78.75%	49.13%
2000	68.57%	52.34% (with a standard deviation of 16.23)

According to Traoré (2001), the use of African languages along with an active pedagogy supports and enhances students' ability to learn. Overall, this educational innovation helps improve school effectiveness.

In Burkina Faso, two types of bilingual schools have been implemented since the early 1990s. The Ecoles Bilingues supported by OSEO (a Swiss non-profit organization) and few academics from the University of Ouagadougou Department of Linguistics. The Ecoles Satellites are a different type of bilingual programs. They are supported by the Ministry of Basic Education and UNICEF. Studies related to the Ecoles Satellites show that they are low performing schools due to the lack of adequate technical and financial support for teachers and also because they make use of an ineffective bilingual education model. In the preceding chapter, we presented the Ecoles Bilingues which are emerging as effective bilingual programs with significant positive impact on the performance of teachers and students. Burkina Faso Ministry of Basic Education conducted a comparative study of this project and its regular schools. It found that the Ecoles Bilingues are significantly more effective than monolingual schools which use French for six years as language of instruction. The statistical results are presented below:

Table 3: Comparative evaluation of monolingual and bilingual schools in Burkina Faso, from Ilboudo (2003: 48)

	Monolingual schools				Bilingual schools	
	Nomgana	Donsi B	Donsi A	Lombila	Bilingual school of Goué	Bilingual school of Nomgana
Number of pupils evaluated	44	40	42	29	25	30
Number of pupils who obtained ½ of the expected target performance	18	8	18	1	17	23
Means score of the schools	40%	20%	42.85%	3.44%	68%	76.66%
Deviation	5.20 - 7.60	5 - 6.80	5 - 7.50	5 - 5	5 - 8.8	5 - 8.60
Standard deviation	1.9 - 4.90	1.70 - 4.80	2 - 4.90	1.50 - 4.80	1.6 - 4.6	3.40 - 4.90

The first cohort of Ecoles Bilingues pupils took the end of primary school examination test in 1998. After only 5 years of instruction in local languages and French, these pupils performed better than their counterparts who had six to seven years of instruction in French. In 2002, 85.02% of Ecoles Bilingues pupils successfully passed the end of primary school examination (Ilboudo 2003). The national average is 61.81% with six to seven years of instruction in French.

Through the use of languages familiar to both teachers and children teachers are able to appeal easily to pupils' prior knowledge and to guide them toward self-learning, cooperative learning, hands-on activities and especially the acquisition of new knowledge (Alidou and Jung 2000). For example, Bergmann et al. who studied the effect of using local languages as languages of instruction in so-called experimental schools in Niger noted that:

Teachers of experimental schools...create an atmosphere of trust between the pupils and themselves [...]. Pupils in experimental schools who are not intimidated by their teachers, are more alert, take responsibility,...participate more actively in classes and contribute to helping the weaker ones (Bergmann et al. 2002: 66).

African countries are still struggling to find an effective strategy that allows them to move from an inadequate educational system inherited from the colonial period to a transformative and cultural relevant education that takes into consideration African languages, people's socio-cultural, linguistic backgrounds as well as their educational needs.

5.4 Learning of Science and Mathematics

The effective use of familiar languages in African classrooms facilitates the development of literacy. It also helps pupils learn more effectively other subjects such as mathematics (Kaphesi 2003). In a study by Prophet and Dow (1994) from Botswana a set of science concepts was taught to an experimental group in Setswana and to a control group in English. The researchers tested understanding of these concepts and found that Form I students taught in Setswana had developed a significantly better understanding of the concepts than those Form I students taught in English. A similar study with the same results has been carried out in Tanzania. Secondary school students taught science concepts in Kiswahili did far better than those who had been taught in English (Mwinsheikhe 2002, 2003).

Fredua-Kwarteng and Ahia (2004) mention that the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded a study to investigate the differences in academic performance of private and public elementary schools in Ghana. Private elementary schools in Ghana are solely funded by their owners for the purpose of making a profit. They are also owner-controlled. The owners of private elementary schools can be individuals or church organizations. Private elementary schools are called various names such as preparatory, international or experimental schools. The private schools use English as the medium of instruction from grade 1 while the government schools, at the time of the study, were using local languages for the first three grades. Most of the private schools are located in regional urban centers such as Accra, Kumasi, Koforidua, and Cape Coast, where there are a good proportion of the elite or Western educated class. However, recently the number of private elementary schools in Ghana has increased exponentially. Some have sprung up in small towns, which, hitherto were dominated by public elementary schools. Fredua-Kwarteng and Ahia see the market economy policies of the government and deterioration in conditions in public elementary schools as responsible for this trend.

The USAID's study used three main methodologies in generating data for analysis: standardized testing, interviews and observations. Standardized tests in mathematics and English language were administered to a random sample of both private and public elementary school students in Ghana. The study reports that at level three or primary three, private elementary school students had a mean score of 48% in English compared with those in public elementary schools that had 34%. With regards to mathematics achievement at the same level, however, the mean score for public elementary schools was 58% and 41% for private elementary schools. In a way the last result is quite remarkable as the public schools recruit children from the poor, lower class strata of the society. The difference in favor

of the public schools is likely to come from the fact that children there have been taught through the mother tongue during the first years of schooling and were taking their exam in the local language.

The national language policy of Ghana from 1971 until 2002 stated that

During the first three years of basic education, P1-3, teaching and learning are to take place in the predominant Ghanaian language of the area in which the child lives. English is to be taught as a foreign language before it becomes the medium of instruction in P4. Ghanaian languages and culture are then taught as compulsory subjects up to the end of Basic education. French is taught as a foreign language at the JSS level where there are French tutors (MoE of Ghana 2001: 24).

This document appeared in September 2001. Up till then the Ghanaian government had for several years received support from various donor agencies to implement the policy of mother tongue education for the first three years of schooling. There were Danish-supported Shepherd Schools in the north of the country and UNICEF's Childscope project in the Afram Plains teaching in local languages. The German Technical Cooperation was working to strengthen the teaching in local languages in the many teacher-training colleges in the country. The World Bank had been financing the mass printing and distribution of textbooks and teacher guides in two major languages covering about 70% of the Ghanaian population (Komarek 2004). In mid November of the same year as the quote above a memorandum was sent from the Prime Minister's Office to "Development Partners" and with a copy to the Minister for Education withdrawing the "Education Sector Policies and Strategic Plans" document. And in a parliamentary debate on the 28th of February 2002 the Minister of Education, Prof. Akumfi announced:

Instruction at all levels of primary school will be in English. However, pupils in all basic school (both public and private) will be required to study a Ghanaian language as a subject from primary 1. Where there are teachers, French will be taught from J.S.S. 1 to J.S.S.3 (Parliament of Ghana 2002: 1871).

This decision became officially known on May 17, 2002 when Ghana's Minister of Education was reported in the Daily Graphic as saying that Cabinet had decided that from September 2002 English will be the only medium of instruction at all levels of education.

Wilmot from the University of Cape Coast sees it as:

Worthy to note the closeness of this new policy, in its wording, to the one promulgated immediately after independence. The difference is that the earlier policy gave room for teachers at the first grade to use their professional judgment and switch instruction from English to the indigenous Ghanaian language in situations where it was evident to them that, children at that level, were not following their lessons. The current policy, on the other hand, does not give any leeway to teachers (Wilmot 2003a: 5).

Eric Wilmot (2003b) made a case study among second graders which shows some of the effects of the 2002 language policy of Ghana. Wilmot made clinical interviews with 30 selected children by probing each child's counting processes and problem solving behavior using various tasks. The interviews were video recorded and analyzed. In the urban primary school in Cape Coast, where Wilmot made his study, English was used as a medium of instruction right from the start. By changing the medium of instruction from English to the child's mother tongue, this study revealed how much more children know and how much better they learn when taught in a language familiar to them. Wilmot shows that children who were classified as low achieving children actually had a lot of knowledge which by the school was incorrectly assessed because the children did not master the foreign language which was the language of instruction. This is the case in many urban and private schools in Ghana which are run in English from the first grade.

Though 30 children participated in the clinical interviews Wilmot (2003b) in a research paper concentrates on two of the selected second-grade children, Fiffi from upper-class parents speaking mostly English and sometimes Fante at home, Elli from more of a middle-class family speaking Ewe

at home. Fante was the language of the area. Fiffi was very active in class having fluent command of both English and Fante. Elli was most of the time either silent or not participating actively. According to their teacher's assessment Fiffi was performing above the class average while Elli was just an average performer. The qualitative research showed that Elli got answers to the mathematical problems right but was unable to explain how he arrived at them. When the language of instruction was shifted to Elli's mother tongue Ewe he explained very well and showed a clear competency in abstract thinking which had not been possible to detect when he was forced to answer in English. The analysis of the problems these children were asked to solve showed that they were equally competent in mathematics and could solve mathematical problems at the same level of difficulty. The only difference between the two children had to do with language competence. By changing the medium of instruction from the dominant classroom languages to the child's mother tongue what was "invisible" to the teacher – Elli's true knowledge of mathematics – was made visible.

In the 2003 TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) mathematics test for grade eight, it was reported that out of the 45 countries that participated Ghana finished as number 44. Ghanaian students scored 276 compared to the international average of 466. In two articles in Ghana News Y. Fredua-Kwarteng and Francis Ahia (2005a, 2005b) try to explain these low results. In the first article they discuss the results in mathematics, in the second the results in science. They start by explaining that a country, whose national mathematics pedagogy is compatible with the one under girding the test, is more likely to do well than a country with different mathematics pedagogy. In Ghana, according to the authors:

Mathematics teaching at the eighth grade is characterized by the transmission and the command models. Teachers merely transmit mathematical facts, principles and algorithms, and students are commanded to learn them in a passive and fearful manner. Students are not encouraged to pose questions or engage in problem-solving activities in order to attain both conceptual and procedural understanding of what they are being taught. Students simply memorize the algorithms and regurgitate them during tests or examinations (Fredua-Kwarteng, Ahia 2005a).

They find the main reason for why the students do not learn problem-solving and problem-posing skills in the use of a foreign medium as the language of instruction:

Since Ghanaian students took the test in English (the so-called official language of Ghana), those whose first language is non-English are at great disadvantage. We are not surprised that countries that top-performed in the mathematics test--- Taiwan, Malaysia, Latvia, Russia- used their own language to teach and learn mathematics (Fredua-Kwarteng, Ahia 2005a).

The two authors, who both are mathematics educators, argue that a Ghanaian student who is proficient in his or her mother or native language would be likely to answer most of the questions correctly if the questions were translated into the native language of the student. They are aware of the fact that the language of instruction in Ghanaian schools is a contentious issue. And they go on to note:

Some Ghanaians theorize that a person becomes increasingly proficient in a foreign language after using it over and over for a long time. Applying this line of reasoning to the case under discussion, as our grade eight students go through the grade-ladder they would eventually attain English proficiency needed for mathematical problem-solving. Nevertheless, the unfortunate thing is that most of these students would psychologically drop out of mathematics before they attain English proficiency! Some Ghanaians also argue that using English for instruction makes it possible for Ghanaians to "transport" their education to any of the English-speaking countries. But as we have argued in one of our articles on mathematics education, when Ghanaian students at the secondary level enroll in schools in Canada they are confronted with two main tasks. They have to find the meaning of mathematical concepts and also the words to communicate the meaning of those concepts. Asian students, on the other hand, have to find the words to express their understanding of mathematical concepts. This is because they have already learnt the meanings of mathematics concepts in their own language. So whose education is more portable? (Fredua-Kwarteng, Ahia 2005a).

The authors further criticize the tests for being rooted in a western, especially American environment using concepts which are unfamiliar in Ghana, like a “parking lot”. From their professional experience, students are more likely to solve mathematical problems if they can relate to the cultural context of the problem. The cultural context will be dealt with in the passage below. It should here be mentioned that in October 2004 there was again a reversal of the language policy in Ghana and the new White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee indicates that:

The Government accepts the recommendation that the children's first home language and Ghana's official language, English, should be used as the medium of instruction at the kindergarten and the primary level. Government therefore further accepts the recommendation of the committee that where teachers and learning materials are available and linguistic composition of the class is fairly uniform, the children's first language must be used as the dominant medium of instruction in kindergarten and lower primary school (MoE of Ghana 2004: 10).

5.5 Integrating Education into African Community Life

The principle “from the familiar to the unfamiliar” pertains not only to language but also to the contents of the curriculum. There is a need to create a culturally sensitive curriculum taught in a language that the learners master. The following four models exist in Africa:

	Local/familiar language	Official/foreign language
Culturally sensitive content	A	C
Unfamiliar content	B	D

Of these four models A is the best though unfortunately the one used the least, though we shall show later that it is being used in the Village school programme in Namibia. D is the worst model yet unfortunately employed the most.

When asked to draw a profile of an effective primary teacher Ghanaian tutors placed “mastery of local language”, “knowledge and respect of child’s culture, “loving and caring” at the same level as “mastery of subjects and methodologies” (Chatry-Komarek 2003: 33).

In his doctoral dissertation on the bilingual schools in Niger Chekaraou (2004) mentions that the aim was not only to teach in the children’s mother tongue, Hausa, but also to create a culture sensitive curriculum:

Lessons in the bilingual schools were based on themes that reflected the immediate environment of the children. Discussing endogenous topics in the classroom contributed to maintenance of endogenous cultures. The discussion contributed to children seeing their culture as positive and increased the chances that they would pass the knowledge on to future generations. For example discussing games that children did at home as well as those played in town helped the children realize the importance of these games in the society. Likewise, the notion of goats and sheep used in math lessons to teach computation not only contributed to the children valuing their background knowledge but also to its maintenance (Chekaraou 2004: 342).

Most studies show that the use of familiar or national languages as LoI has also facilitated the integration of African cultures into school curricula making bilingual or multilingual education more responsive to the needs of African children and adults. Children who attend schools which use their mother tongues or a familiar language develop pride in their cultures and languages. In Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger, one of main goals of the experimental bilingual schools is to help young people develop a deeper understanding of their environment and cultures, as the majority of them are expected to remain in their community and contribute effectively to its socio-cultural and economic development. These bilingual programs integrate indigenous knowledge into modern curricula. In

each country, educators have made a considerable effort to develop a multicultural curriculum which includes not only knowledge about national cultures and how they relate to each other, but also regional cultures. Another significant goal of these programs is to promote respect for local, national and regional diversity, culture of peace and tolerance among young people. In all these countries, the bilingual education curriculum also emphasizes the importance of gender equity (Ilboudo 2003). In Burkina Faso, the Minister of Basic Education, a supporter of bilingual education, Ouédraogo (2002) stated that Ecoles Bilingues have several goals. Four of these goals are specifically related to the promotion of culturally relevant education in schools and communities:

- **Gender equality** both as concerns access to school and course content and putting into practice the trades learnt in school
- **Link between education and production:** pupils carry out manual activities such as farming, cattle rearing, handicraft, carpentry, related to the local economy. These activities are part of the courses taught and also constitute practical fields for the lessons learnt
- **Revaluing of culture:** Introduction into schools of such positive African cultural values as solidarity, honesty, tolerance, hard work, respect for the elderly, respect for life, as well as fairy tales and proverbs, songs and dances, indigenous music and traditional musical instruments
- **Participation of parents:** Fathers and mothers take part in the drawing up of the school syllabus and in the definition of certain aspects of education in school such as production and culture.

The integration of children's culture and languages into curricular activities has facilitated parental involvement in rural schools. It also promotes a favorable attitude toward schools among parents and pupils. In Nigeria, pupils who attended the Ife bilingual project had more advanced knowledge about their socio-cultural context and were more active than pupils in regular schools mainly taught in English (Fafunwa et al. 1989; Dutcher and Tucker 1995: 13 and Bamgbose 2005).

Ilboudo (2003) highlighted a significant achievement which may account for the effectiveness of the so-called Ecoles Bilingues in Burkina Faso. He reported the increased cultural learning among pupils and higher socio-economic productivity of the Ecoles Bilingues schools. He stated that pupils were able to benefit from these schools in a number of ways. The economic projects such as cattle breeding served to help students learn multiple subjects and integrate the indigenous knowledge system in formal basic education. In addition, pupils were able to make some financial gains, for example see Table 4 below. This activity helped teachers teach subject matters such as social studies, biology (breeding) and mathematics in meaningful contexts. By buying, raising and selling goats, sheep and chickens children learn how breeding is done in their own culture and in modern context. They learn new methods of modernizing some of the socio-economic activities found in their own community. Schooling, therefore, becomes more relevant not only for children as they learn by doing, but also for the parents who benefit from their children's contribution to all socio-economic and cultural activities.

Table 4: The Productivity of the Economic Breeding Project, in Franc CFA

Bilingual Schools	Number of Sheep	Price Paid for Sheep	Selling Price of Sheep	Profit
Nomgana	30	225.000	356.000	132.000
Goué	25	187.000	289.000	102.000
Total	55	412.000	645.000	233.000

We should remind the readers that one of the main goals of this educational innovation is to prepare pupils to become productive and active citizens in their own communities. Cultural, pastoralist and agricultural activities are part of the school curriculum. By including cultural and socio-economic achievements in their official reports, promoters of Ecoles Bilingues clearly re-emphasize the need to move from traditional evaluation of school effectiveness, which mainly looks at achievement tests'

results, to assessment methods which are more holistic. Such types of assessments include other very significant aspects such as the pupils' ability to demonstrate mastery of knowledge acquired in schools by application. This aspect must be considered and retained if critical and transformative educational reform is to take place in Africa.

An interesting educational program, known as the Village School Program, was in 1994 put in place for the Ju/'hoansi San children in the Nyae Nyae area in the north-eastern part of Otjozondjupa region in Namibia (Brock-Utne 1997a; Brock-Utne 2000). The general aim of the Village School Project was to provide basic education in mother tongue for grades 1 to 3. The philosophy of the Village School Programme is that school facilities should be close to where the children live. The school should not divide children from parents. For four of the five village schools school buildings were constructed. In the fifth school the teacher taught under a tree (Pfaffe 2002). The older people are integrated in these village schools, too. Religion is not taught in the schools since the learners receive their own religion instruction from home. The teachers are from the community and speak the language of the children.

The educational program is geared to the culture of the learner. The language of instruction is the local language Ju/'Hoan. The Ju/'hoansi San children are known not to attend school, but they attend the Village School Programme of the Nyae Nyae Foundation. The reason for this may be the cultural sensitivity of the programme. Part of the reason why the Ju/'hoansi San have not wanted their children to attend school is that schools have practiced corporal punishment (such punishment has now been outlawed in Namibian schools). Corporal punishment is a practice which goes completely against the Ju/'hoansi San culture. In the Village School Programme such punishment has never been practiced. When the learners get fidgety or bored, the lessons are simply stopped. They then do something else or stop completely for the day (Brock-Utne 1995; Brock-Utne 2000).

According to personal communication from the Nyae Nyae Foundation, the 220 children in the Village School Programme are far ahead of other learners because they learn in their mother tongue and are exposed to culturally sensitive teaching material and teachers whom everyone respects (Brock-Utne, 1995; Brock-Utne 2000). The production of teaching material was done within the program and great emphasis has been placed on local curriculum development. Joachim Pfaffe (2002) tells that during the course of the project literacy primers of the Ju/'hoan language were developed, based on traditional stories of the Ju/'hoan people. These were collected in the villages of Nyae Nyae by the student teachers themselves. During the subsequent development process of the readers, the original stories were accompanied by illustrations and also didactically adapted for initial literacy teaching. Pfaffe tells how:

Following the production of the Ju/'hoan literacy primers, their subsequent translation into English promoted the cultural richness of the Ju/'hoan people, and made it accessible to a wider audience. Moreover, the English readers are now offering possibilities for contextually appropriate teaching of English as a foreign language (Pfaffe 2002: 161)

The 220 school-children get food through the World Feeding Programme and are supplied with donkeys and donkey - carts as means of transportation.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ On a trip to the Kalahari Desert in Botswana in the beginning of September 1997 Brock-Utne (1997b) met again a group of children of the San people, the Basarwa, and thought how much better it would have been for them to have had the teaching the Nyae Nyae Foundation of Namibia provided. The Basarwa children were living in hostels near a school far away from their parents and were taught through languages they did not understand. The food they received was of very low quality nutritionally.

5.6 The Contents of the Exams, Assessment and the Testing Business

The greatest threat to the adoption of locally adapted curricula based on indigenous knowledge systems is the reintroduction of exams created in the West, often by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate for Anglophone Africa. Professional educators know that those who construct the tests and decide on the examinations to be used are really the ones who decide the curriculum. It does not matter that curriculum guidelines say that children should learn to cooperate, learn to till the land or to help in the neighborhood, if all that is measured through tests is individual behavior and narrow cognitive skills. This behavior and these skills then become the curriculum; they become what the children learn. Ideally, it ought to be the other way around: first a country decides on the education it wants its citizens to acquire, and then it decides how to evaluate whether desired learning has taken place. The first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, the *mwalimu*, expressed this professional understanding well in his policy directive published in March 1967 called *Education for Self-Reliance*:

The examinations our children at present sit are themselves geared to an international standard and practice which has developed regardless of our particular problems and needs. What we need to do now is to think first about the education we want to provide, and when thinking is completed, think about whether some form of examination is an appropriate way of closing an education phase. Then such an examination should be designed to fit the education which has been provided (Nyerere 1968: 63).

In the same policy directive, Nyerere notes that for the education which independent Tanzania wants to build, "the purpose is not to provide an inferior education to that given at present. The purpose is to provide a different education" (1968: 63). He wanted the educational system of Tanzania to emphasize co-operative endeavor, not individual advancement, and to stress concepts of equality and responsibility (1968).

Nyerere pointed to a fact which all educators know; namely that exams decide the curricula. What is measured in the tests that count for further advancement in the system is what the pupils will try to learn no matter what the teacher tries to teach them. Imported textbooks could be used creatively by a teacher also to emphasize an indigenous curriculum were the examinations locally made. Imported examinations will make any indigenous curricular work impossible.

The Finnish researcher Tuomas Takala (1995), who has conducted a study on the textbook provision in Zambia, Mozambique, and Namibia, mentions that especially at the secondary level importation of textbooks from abroad is significant in these countries. About their influence he remarks:

In policy discussions, the external influence ensuing from the use of foreign books has sometimes been criticized, but it is largely a consequence of giving preference to metropolitan secondary level examinations, or adopted versions of them, over locally designed examinations (Takala 1995: 164).

Brock-Utne (2000) mentions in a discussion on examinations in Africa that Pai Obanya claims it to be one of the great achievements of curricular work in the Anglophone countries of western Africa in the years following independence that terminal school examinations were based on the school curricula worked out locally by the curriculum centers in Africa. The renewed donor stress on "academic standards,"⁴⁸ according to Angela Little (1992), may well mean Western standards and Western tests.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ When the World Bank (1988a) argues that academic standards in African countries are low, it does so by referring to low test - scores earned by African pupils and students on tests developed in the West, for instance, by the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement). These tests stem from a Western culture and entail Western concepts. Most African students, who are required to take them, often have to do this in their second, or even in their third, language, while most students in the industrialized countries answer them in their mother tongue. IEA tests in reading comprehension, general science, and mathematics, administered to some African countries and referred to by the World Bank in its 1988 *EPSSA* paper, led the World Bank to draw

The Donors to African Education in 1989 created a Working Group on School Examinations (WGSE) led by the Irish development agency HEDCO to "help coordinate and collaborate on the development of national examination systems as a mechanism for improving primary and secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Lynch, 1994: 10). The WGSE has built a program of country-specific, five-year, costed action plans for the improvement of examination systems in fourteen Sub-Saharan countries. Its intention has also been to "draw attention to the role examinations can play in improving primary and secondary education" (Lynch, 1994: 10). The WGSE finds that it has met its objectives but concludes: "there still is, and will continue to be, a need for assistance to the African examination systems through advice, technical assistance and training"(p.10).

The technical assistance sought will most likely come from the North, from one of the "donor" countries, even though, as Pai Obanya claims, there exists a corps of capable curriculum and testing workers in Africa. The person(s) from a donor country who could be able to assist an African country in making school-tests would have to know the culture of the country, preferably speak one or more of the African languages spoken in the region, know the educational ideology of the state in question, be familiar with the curriculum they have been (or are in the process of) creating, and be aware of the hopes of parents and children for the future.⁵⁰ Angela Little (1992) has analyzed the tensions between external standards and internal cultures. Cultural definitions of necessary levels of learning achievement vary; so, too, do strategies for assessing them. She detects an increasing trend toward the internationalization of educational assessment targets and practices and asks:

If "international standards" which in many instances [in the African context] means "external standards" produced in the West begin to take precedence over national and sub-national standards what are the implications for nationally and culturally prescribed curricula?

Will an internationalised education assessment technology begin to drive an internationalised curriculum reform? How much wider will become the gap between the culture of those who control education and who design "international" tests and curricula (i.e., the "supranational educators") and the culture of the child whose learning is the goal? (Little 1992: 20).

But the fact that exams have such a great influence on the curriculum also provides an opportunity for conscious educationists working in the Ministries of Education and National Examination Councils to monitor and analyze exams and use the analysis for construction of different exams that will pay more attention to an indigenous curriculum. In this way an indigenization of the curriculum can take place. We shall look at a good example of monitoring exams, taken from Namibia.

the conclusion that "the quality of education in Sub-Saharan Africa is well below world standards." (World Bank, 1988a: 40). African educational researchers are extremely skeptical to assessing African students against batteries of tests that have been used transnationally by bodies such as the IEA, which they see as coming "out of very specific cultural milieus in northern industrialized countries" (Ishumi 1985: 13).

⁴⁹ The Danish researcher Joan Conrad has studied the effects of a basic education program which was put in place in Nepal as a consequence of the donor commitment to basic education following the Jomtien conference. She admits that donor agencies from the North may have the best intentions when they embark on a project like the Basic and Primary Education Program (BPEP), which was initiated in Nepal in 1992. They feel committed "to improve the quality of teaching and to meet basic educational needs in Nepal" (Conrad 1994: 1). But the expression "the quality of teaching" is loaded with ideological content. Main components of the project include curriculum development and textbook production as well as improvement of the general examination system. Specific efforts will be directed toward developing an effective grade 5 examination, based on predetermined criteria.

The BPEP represents a model program generally regarded as being universally valid in relation to improving educational quality in developing countries with no regard to the characteristic cultural conditions of any specific country. Conrad, who is highly critical to the functioning of the BPEP in Nepal, laments: "The very similarity of such programs is alarming" (Conrad 1994: 20).

⁵⁰ As the Danish educational researcher Spæt Henriksen also realizes when describing a curriculum project the Danes are involved in, in a different part of the world, in Lithuania: "It should not be possible to embark on a project which defines itself as 'help to self-helping' without trying to understand as much as possible of the culture of the country, its history, and the structure and content of its education" (Henriksen 1993: 71 my translation).

5.7 Monitoring of Exams: A Positive Example

A decade ago attempts were made in Namibia, a country which at that time was a recently independent country to monitor the countrywide examinations as to their cultural bias and gender bias (MEC/NIED 1994). This monitoring of exams is quite impressive and can serve as an example to other African countries.

The monitoring of the junior secondary certificate examination in 1993 showed, for instance, that the examination in the home science subject had a clear cultural bias toward urban living and European food. All the illustrations were of Europeans or European home environments; all the recipes were of European food. There was nothing in the examination paper indicating that it was from Africa or Namibia. When it came to the examination paper in art, it was found that only 16% of the marks could be earned on anything to do with Namibia; 84% of the marks were devoted to European art history. The monitoring paper concludes:

With only a token [attention] to Namibian or African art, this examination continues the cultural disinheritance of Namibia, strongly criticised in Ministry documents, and counter to Ministry policy. The examination paper as a whole is also devoid of gender awareness (MEC/NIED 1994: 9).

Likewise, the examination paper in music is said to have a dreadful cultural bias. Of 100 marks, 74 could be gained on specifically European music, 10 on specifically African music and 16 on more or less culturally neutral music theory. Only male composers were referred to. The history paper was, however, praised for promoting awareness of Namibian and African history⁵¹.

5.8 When Students are Assessed through a Language They Do Not Master

As mentioned much of the teaching in African class-rooms is conducted in a code-switching manner. Teachers switch between the official language of instruction and the local language that children speak. This they do in order to have pupils understand subject matter. Though this teaching strategy is devalued and some places even not allowed using, it may be a pedagogical sound and sensible strategy. The problem is, however, that if students answer in their mother tongue or local language in their exams, they are given zero points even if their answers are correct. Leketi Makelela (2005) writes about the same problem in South African schools. Teachers make use of the African languages of the pupils in teaching them but when it comes to exams only answers written in English or Afrikaans are accepted.

In a study by Safarani Kalole (2004) she found that eighteen of the twenty-three markers of exam papers interviewed and eight of the ten officers interviewed in NECTA (National Examinations Council of Tanzania) were in favor of a switch from English to Kiswahili as the language of instruction in secondary school. These are the people who more than anyone in Tanzania experience the difficulties the students encounter because of the foreign medium of instruction. All interviewees admitted that language incompetence in English seems to be the main factor which influences candidates' performance in their final examinations. One would think that studies like these would have an impact on the political climate.

⁵¹ However, the history examination paper was criticized for making women and their contribution to history invisible. When it came to the examination paper in accounting, it drew on a variety of cultural settings but nearly all persons mentioned were male.

5.9 Conclusion

From the review of available studies, there should be enough evidence to stop the impossible debate about the effectiveness of the use of African languages as LoI (Heugh 2000; Ouane 1995). The studies show that active learning is taking place in programs where instruction is done in African languages known to teachers and children. The use of familiar languages alone does, however, not guarantee success. Other factors like the availability of trained teachers and having quality educational materials built on the culture of the pupils are also important. Exams need to reflect local curricula. Pupils ought to be awarded for a right answer, even if the answer is not provided in the official medium of instruction. For learning to take place in African schools policy makers and educators must work hard to transform the current educational system. There must be a move away from the banking and bookish model of education which is a result of teaching through a language unfamiliar to both teachers and students to a more active, empowering and transformative educational model based on African realities and educational needs and conducted in African languages.

5.10 Recommendations

1. Pilot studies using a familiar African language as language of instruction beyond the third grade in primary school should be undertaken. The easiest would be to start such studies in countries where a familiar African language is already being used as LOI in the first three grades
2. Pilot studies using a familiar African language as language of instruction in secondary school should be undertaken. The easiest would be to start such studies in countries where a familiar African language is already being used as LOI all through primary school like in Tanzania and Ethiopia.
3. Culturally sensitive curriculum in African languages building on the culture, surroundings and heritage of the child should be developed
4. Exams should be monitored for their cultural content. Children should be allowed to answer exam questions in the language they feel most comfortable in.

6 Experience III - Cross-fertilization – Non-formal and Formal Education

Aliou BOLY

6.1. Introduction

Non-formal education (NFE) in most African countries finds its roots in the failure of public services to address the social demands for education. This failure stems from several factors. Among these factors, the most frequently mentioned are:

- The formal education system crisis evidenced with a high rate of repetition and dropouts due to an obsolete, incongruous, education system inherited from the colonial powers (d'Almeida et al, 2004).
- An important segment of the population is denied any opportunity of formal education (Marchand 2000).
- High demographic growth rate resulting in non satisfied social demand for education.
- The reduction of the education budget due to macro-economic constraints.

Motivated by the wish to attain Education For All, non-formal education in Africa has long been a focus of international, national and local discussions, policies and actions. Governments, international and national NGOS, and local associations have all tried to solve the puzzle of developing basic reading, writing and arithmetic skills for vulnerable populations.

The results have been mixed. Some successful models have been experimented; some communities and students are very satisfied. However, given the efforts and investment in the sector, the impact has been limited and the satisfaction incomplete.

This paper will examine a variety of models of NFE in Africa, and the place of the LoI in these models and will identify the factors limiting the impact of NFE. A new approach to NFE will be proposed based on field practices and lessons learned.

6.2. Current Organizations and Strategies of NFE in Africa

There are many different models of non-formal education in Africa going from those mirroring very closely the formal school system and those evolving entirely outside of any formal education. There are also many different uses of language in these models.

6.2.1 NFE as a Lead-in to Formal Education

Some non-formal education efforts are designed to allow children who are otherwise not in school to gain entry into the formal school system. In terms of LoI, the review of the existing literature indicates that these NFE centers use either subtractive models or early-exit models.

The **COPE school in Uganda** (Brock-Utne 1997c; Hess 1999) is of this type. COPE is a joint government – UNICEF initiative for which the objective is to provide a community level response to cultivating basic literacy, numeracy and life skills in children who have been unable to enroll in the formal government schools. COPE focuses on children from 8 – 14 who are “vulnerable” (orphans, disabled, living in poverty). The curriculum is derived from the formal school system – five years condensed into three.

The appeal of COPE is its flexibility. Children go to school only in the morning and the starting time is flexible allowing kids to help out at home before coming to school. For poverty-stricken families, this element is significant in that the need for children's labor at home is often an obstacle for enrolling their children in formal school. Being in school for only three years is also an advantage for them.

Children are generally satisfied with the school but, along with parents, would like to see the school expanded to be more similar to formal schools. Although theoretically the children can transfer to formal schools and do so with relative ease, the obstacles which initially prevented the children from going to the formal school system still exists. (These obstacles are financial. With 35% of the children enrolled being orphans and most of the others from very disadvantaged families, even with free schooling, the cost of uniforms, supplies and the loss of the children's labor at home is prohibitive for the families.) Consequently, only 7.5% of the children actually do transfer and the others terminate their schooling.

The communities play a key role in the management of the schools. They build the school building and they pay the teachers.

The COPE centers use the subtractive models. The language of instruction is the official/foreign language, English, and the textbooks are all written in English even for the first grade even though the national policy of Uganda states that MT should be the medium of instruction for the first four years.

The **Satellite Schools (SS) in Burkina Faso** (Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabetisation / UNICEF 2002) are also modeled on the formal primary schools. They were established as a way to increase access to formal schools. Satellites schools are placed in areas which had no access to schooling and they are attached to "mother schools" where children who, after three years of education in the SS, are older and able to walk or travel the greater distance, to continue their schooling. The management of the SS is the responsibility of the communities who oversee the daily management but, unlike COPE, they do not pay the teachers' salaries. Teachers' salaries are paid by the government. SS target children aged 6 – 8 years and the intention is to prepare the children to join the formal school system after three years. There are several differences from the "classic" primary school.

The program is, in fact, the same program for the formal schools with the exception that the SS use the early exit model. The MoI is mother tongue (MT) of the learner or the dominant indigenous language of the region during grades one and two. The official / foreign language, French, is taught as a subject during the first two years. At grade three, French becomes the medium of instruction and the mother tongue a subject of instruction. By grade four, the mother tongue is removed entirely from the program. Studies show that children who enrolled in the formal system after completing three years of SS are performing well and in some cases better than those who began in the formal schools with only French as the LoI from the beginning.

The example of **Ghana's Shepard School Program (SSP)** (Mfum-Mensah 2003) initiated by Action Aid which provides non-formal education to pastoral communities also closely reflects the formal school program. SSP follows the formal school curriculum and structure and uses an early exit model.

The difference with the formal school program resides in the fact that:

- There is a flexible schedule and time to accommodate needs for children's labor;
- Facilitators (teachers) are hired locally by local committees (but paid by Action Aid) and are from the community;
- SSP management is delegated to the local committees;
- The early years of schooling are conducted in the local language;
- SSP incorporates local culture into the program.

Designed to provide a “bridge-up” to the formal school system, using MT as a MoI with an introduction of English later, it has indeed contributed to increasing access to schooling among the children in Northern Ghana. SSP has developed strong positive relationships within the school and with the community because of the utilization of L1 as a MoI and the fact that the programs include some socio cultural aspect of the communities. However, it has maintained the formal school focus on having graduates pursue salaried positions in the urban areas rather than helping to develop the community in which they live.

Kenya’s Rehema school (Ruto 1999) was initially created for adults. However, after realizing that many children who were not in school indeed, wished to be in school, Rehema changed its focus. Rehema has a seven-year program, with a curriculum derived from the formal school system but they have added other subjects such as social education and ethics, home science, music, drama and physical education, business and children’s rights. Rehema follows a subtractive model of education and the official /foreign language, is the medium of instruction was English.

Children came in growing numbers, but the retention rate was low. There were many drop-outs. Some (10%) joined a formal educational institution. However, no clear destination was defined for the kids going through Rehema. In the words of one teacher (Ruto 1999: 262) “Dropouts from Kenyan (formal) schools join NFE, dropouts from NFE go on to the streets.” Parents and students expressed the wish for Rehema to add an additional year to prepare the children for the formal school exams. Passing the exam would provide a recognized certificate. So, although the school met the need for education for vulnerable children and gave them basic skills, it did not provide enough interest for children to stay and pursue their studies. If the children had a clearer idea of where the education would lead them, the retention rate may have been higher.

In **Senegal**, according to Marchand (2000), the Minister of Basic Education and National Language initiated **community schools** as a solution to the problem of access. The community schools represent a little less than 10% of the students enrolled. The MoI in these schools is the dominant regional indigenous language and the decision to what language will be used as MoI is left to the community to make. However, the community schools in Senegal use an early exit model. French is introduced on a progressive basis and becomes the MoI.

In **Mali**, **community schools**, including village schools represent about 10% of the children enrolled. The community schools (~~brackets deleted~~) target out-of-school children 6 –12 years old. Village or community schools are divided into two subsets: The first set of schools use the subtractive model. Education is provided in the official / foreign language, French from the onset. The main purpose of these schools is to provide reading, writing and basic math skills to children so that they can join the formal education system.

The second set of schools use the early exit model. Education is provided in learners’ MT during the first and second grades with the official/foreign language, French, being progressively introduced. The intention is also to transfer the children to the formal education system. In addition to basic reading, writing and math skills, children attending these schools integrate the local social and cultural values as well as the history of their village.

In **Togo**, **community schools known as EDIL (Ecole d’Initiative Locale)** provide access to more than 10% of children enrolled in the first grade (in the northern part of Togo, EDILs represents 14% of total enrolment). The EDIL use the subtractive model. French is the MoI and whenever possible, the government of Togo transforms the EDIL into a primary public school.

6.2.2 NFE as an Alternative to Formal Education

Burkina Faso’s Non-formal Basic Education Centers (NFBE), established in 1995, provide another model of non-formal education which is completely outside of the formal education system.

The principal objective was to develop skills to enable the students from 9 to 15 years old to contribute economically to their zone. Other objectives were to increase the literacy rate and to help students after the fourth year to find a job (job training was usually in basic skills such as carpentry, hairdressing, mechanics, etc.). The MoI in NFBE is MT during grade one. In grade two, the official / foreign language is introduced. The two languages are used throughout the four years of schooling.

Although the centers have become an important aspect of education in Burkina, there are still many problems in the implementation of the program. Many children abandon the centers (up to 60% in one particular school) and many parents put more priority on the children's assistance at home (especially for girls) than on their participation in class. Extra seasonal work in their parents' fields is also an important factor in the low retention rate.

As for the instructors, there have been considerable problems in keeping them employed and motivated: working at times with three classes at once, being paid less than the formal primary school teachers, being ill-trained and ill-equipped to carry out their functions especially concerning the bilingual aspect of the curriculum.

Senegal presents two other non-formal education models. The first is the **Ecoles Communautaires de Base (ECB)** with the objective of providing professional training to children. However, the ECB in Senegal are characterized by a high rate of dropouts due mainly to the non-relevance of the programs, the unmet expectations of the children and the lack of clearly defined goals.

Senegal presents a second model (Fagerberg-Diallo 2002). The case study shows **a literacy “movement” in Pulaar** that was community based. There is a growing interest in learning literacy and numeracy and not because of “the functionality and economic incentives” but rather because the “link which has been forged between cultural identity, language and literacy...is one instrument for reaching the goal” of revitalizing their culture.

A high degree of personal sacrifice (economic, social, and financial) has been paid by many participants in the interest of non-formal education. Participants saw valuable impacts of the education in their community such as less violence in the village, personal empowerment, and increased social cohesion and interaction – highly and commonly held values among the community. Thus, this presents a truly community managed model where the education serves local objectives which are very different from the standard objectives of many educational efforts.

In **Mali, the Centres d'Education pour le Développement (CED)** were initially created to provide professional training to children between 9-14 years old. The training lasts four years and the MoI is in L1 of the children. According to a review conducted by Marchand (2000), the dropout rate during the four years of training in CEB is very high especially for girls during the 4th and last year of schooling. The major reason for the dropouts is the lack of a focused professional training. In some communities, CEDs are somehow seen as training future “jobless” people.

6.3 Success and Contributing Factors of NFE

As varied as are the different models of NFE, there are some very strong commonalities in the factors leading to success.

In virtually all the systems, there was an enthusiastic reception of the school or center in the community. Children were enrolled and communities were involved. One major factor, as cited above, was increased **access**. This illustrates a strongly felt need by parents and children alike for education.

Ghana's SSP brought the classes closer to the populations for whom the distance was a major factor in low school enrolment. Kenya's nomadic schools do not require uniforms to cut down on costs, provides flexible hours to enable children to perform necessary economic tasks at home while continuing their schooling and allow for flexible payment schedules for the minimal fees required. Burkina's NFBEC and SS are closer to the target populations who otherwise would not have geographical access and also targets older children. All of these factors were cited as important in encouraging parents to send their children to school.

Many different **curricula** were developed and were considered successful albeit using different criteria of success according to the particular objectives. For example, the Ghana pastoral schools were successful in pedagogical innovations that promoted learning by students, and stronger teacher/student relationships. Pulaar literacy programs were successful in promoting Pulaar language and culture which were the primary motivation of learners, but being in a class where the teacher is patient, encouraging and never humiliating also develops self-confidence among the learners.

A case study of Kenya's education for nomadic populations has shown that schools that meet the cultural and occupational needs of the community and make gender responsive curricula can be successful in geographic areas which previously saw many obstacles to formal education.

The success is determined by the results perceived by the students and their families. More self-confidence, increased awareness of their culture, and increased social cohesion were criteria used which are not frequently used by governments or donors in the evaluation of non-formal educational systems.

The role of African languages in the non-formal education system also played an important role in the success of the programs. Where instruction was in MT, the communities were more involved, the children learned the material better and the local cultural and environmental issues were integrated into the curriculum.

6.3.1 Disappointments and Contributing Factors

Initial enthusiasm, innovative approaches and local successes have still not, however, led to a large-scale successful NFE movement in Africa. Many common obstacles remain.

Effective **teacher training** is difficult for most of the models. National funding is too low or non-existent so many teachers do not participate in any structured training course. Even if funding existed, structures and training modules for NFE are generally not available nationally. Burkina and Senegal are an exception in that the teachers have a pre-service training provided by the Ministry of Basic Education in the government teacher training institutions. However, on-the-job training and follow-up remains very weak and in some cases non-existent.

Resources are also commonly seen as an impediment to effective training. For vocational training, the necessary equipment may be promised but never actually distributed. Books may be rare as well as basic school supplies. Some schools even had problems providing adequate classrooms.

The foreign language as **Language of Instruction** was a factor as well in the disappointing results of the schools. Where official / foreign language was introduced as early as the first year, there were difficulties not only at the level of the students, but also at the level of the teachers. For example, in the case of COPE, the teachers were not trained and many did not master English. In other cases, having the official / foreign language as the principle language, the communities were excluded from many of the school activities as the parents were not comfortable in the official/foreign language.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a common obstacle is the question of "**vision**". What is the objective of the NFE? Where do the children go afterwards? For what are they being prepared?

As mentioned above, many of the schools hope to see their students transfer into the formal school systems but there are still many hurdles for children to access these formal schools which are not addressed or reduced. The fact is that most of the children do not transfer to formal schools and are again on the streets with inadequate training.

Other schools have the goal of training their students to be active contributors to the local economy after their studies. Burkina Faso had foreseen even giving basic supplies to their graduates of the NFBEC so that they could begin working for themselves. In reality, the government was not able to live up to this promise and the desirability of this policy is still being debated. Even if supplies and equipment were furnished, the training is in fact, very rudimentary and not sufficient for the graduates to begin to work on their own.

Where the question of “What next?” was not posed by the learners and their parents was in Senegal where the literacy classes were integrated into the lives of the learners and helped them with their everyday issues.

As mentioned in the “The Tragedy of Education in Africa”, Govender and Grudz (2004) state that children need more than to learn to read, write, and do arithmetic. They need to become independent learners and critical thinkers who feel that they can better contribute to their families’ and their communities’ lives.

6.4 Lessons Learned

A review of these case studies brings out the following lessons:

NFE reaches populations in need of furthering their education. These populations are very enthusiastic about the opportunity and make sacrifices to enable their children to attend.

1. A clear language-in- education policy is yet to be adopted for many programs and yet to be enforced for countries where such a policy exists. The review shows that the dominant education models in NFE are the subtractive and the early exit models. The implementing agencies of the NFE seem to decide which model to use based on the overall “goal” of the program.
2. Having the MT as the language of instruction enables the community to participate more, and thus to create a a school environment that integrates more the cultural environment, than if the language of instruction was in a foreign language.
3. Many NFE programs have found that the more they integrate the program into the community needs and the cultural environment, the more successful is the education.
4. By their very nature, NFE programs are flexible and able to respond to communities’ and learners’ needs. This is their strength.
5. The independence and autonomy which allows their flexibility is, however, the cause of many of the disadvantages: very limited resources, inadequately trained teachers and insufficient infrastructure.
6. NFE programs often strive to integrate children into the formal system. They use materials and curricula from the formal school system. Thus, instead of providing an alternative to formal education, they offer an alternative means of entry into the formal system.
7. Given that in reality, few children actually transfer to the formal system from the informal education, the children coming out of the NFE system are inadequately prepared for being productive members of the community.
8. This continuing problem of placement and skills of graduating students is felt by the students, the parents and the children, which consequently reduces the motivation for pursuing NFE beyond the initial literacy courses.

This preliminary review of NFE models in Africa shows that NFE has not reached the success it could have because it has never been looked at as a whole system of education which can give children opportunities to be highly qualified in the long term completely outside of the formal school system and using their own national languages. NFE has been implemented as a quick-fix solution to out-of-school children. It's seen as a strategy to increase the literacy rate and improve educational statistics. But the ultimate objective, that of preparing larger number of students to be productive and competitive, to thrive and to contribute to their socio-economic environments, even if planned, has never been taken or implemented seriously.

The underlying assumption of all policies is that NFE is necessarily inferior to the existing formal education system and that students coming from the NFE sector will never be the influential leaders of the country. This is the case even when the fundamental problems of the formal educational system are officially recognized. It is this unstated assumption which has blocked NFE efforts from reaching their very powerful potential.

NFE is seen throughout Africa as a "short-term" training. No program reviewed had any intention of instituting a 12-year program or a life-long continuing education program. One example had seven years of training but stopped short of eight years which would have brought the students to the level of the formal school peers. Consequently, it provides neither an adequate alternative to formal schooling nor an effective entry into formal schooling.

There is no defensible logic in the current model where, in three to seven years, children are expected to master literacy and numeracy, become more aware of social/political/environmental issues, understand their own socio-cultural environment and in addition perhaps learn a trade. Is this not setting the system up for failure?

Providing geographic, financial, economic and linguistic access to learning for thousands of otherwise unschooled children is a commendable achievement so far. However, the lessons learned are strongly showing that much, much more can be done if NFE is looked at through completely new lenses and within a new paradigm

6.5 Proposal for More Effective NFE

The solution is to develop NFE education which maintains the accessibility and flexibility of the current programs to respond to specific needs of the communities while opening up new opportunities for the students for a long-term professional training in the students' MT.

The first step would be to identify the potential that the children can achieve after going through a full NFE system. They can be social, economic, political leaders in their regions and countries. What can they offer that students from formal systems cannot offer? There needs to be strategic thinking which opens up an entirely new way of planning for NFE and which gives it the credibility and value that it deserves.

This ultimate objective of NFE needs to be defined taking into consideration the local socio-cultural-economic realities, needs and potential. Where does the formal school system fail in responding to and reaching these needs and potentials? How can the NFE now begin to address them?

A balance needs to be found between national policies which provide incentives and avenues for the growth of NFE and local initiatives which are essential for their success.

This requires a systematic and comprehensive planning process which is not limited to experts and leaders in the formal educational system. Indeed, they may very well be the major obstacles to

effective NFE. Input needs to be gathered from all sectors of the society which benefit from the educational system. This is the private sector as well as the public sector; business as well as social services; agricultural and rural industries as well as modern manufacturing companies. Together, with their diverse perspectives but their common need for qualified personnel, they can clearly define the needs of the labor market and a more adequate profile of the future work force.

From these new profiles should come the objectives of non-formal education. Given the diverse contributors to the process, the objectives will also be diverse which will require NFE to maintain its flexibility and ability to respond to local needs. Specific objectives on a national level will neither be possible nor advisable. However, at the national level, there should be the political commitment and investment to provide long-term non-formal educational opportunities which will enable those children outside of the formal school system to grow, to meet the needs of their society and to play leadership roles.

6.6 NFE's Possible Contributions to Formal Education

Many of the lessons learned can and should be applied to formal education as well. For example, given the positive results of early education in the mother tongue, the effectiveness of early learning in the MT should be given more consideration in the formal school systems.

Linked closely with schooling in the MT, another important lesson is that implicating the community in the management of the school and in the teaching does bring more community support to the school and thus a higher retention rate. If the major language of the school is the MT, the community can be involved more easily.

Finally, where the curriculum content was most interesting for the students, the program integrated aspects of the local culture and customs. With a curriculum sensitive to and respectful of the local environment, the students were more interested and more motivated to continue their studies.

6.7 Conclusion

NFE programs being implemented need to be supported by a clear language in education policy, fostering MT education. NFE has a great potential to contribute to Education for All in Africa but it needs to be seen as more than just a contributor to increase statistics. It needs to be seen as a legitimate avenue for children to achieve their full potential as active players in the economy and in social change. This can only be done if NFE is seen as a serious alternative which effectively meets the educational needs of each society.

7 Experience IV – Publications in African languages and the development of bilingual education

Yaya Satina DIALLO

7.1 Introduction

The development of African educational systems has reached a decisive turning point, characterised by the need to interlink the languages being used with the cultures they are supposed to serve. This explains why many countries have been formulating educational strategies based on functional bilingualism that is expected to facilitate the reconciliation of the major interests of the learners with the need to be more open to the rest of the world.

The aim of education for all is to develop educated societies. This cannot be achieved if, as indicated in the technical document APNET/InWent (2004), “the majority of people, with all their diversity, are unable to obtain written documents and/or acquire the reading habit during their lifetime”.

Despite efforts in popular literacy training during the last decades, books and other printed materials in African languages are rare. Hence, access to reading materials for the vast majority of readers is mainly limited to bilingual schools and literacy training centres. This situation has a lasting impact on the supplyline for educational books and other reading materials for the population at large, especially in African languages, printed by national or regional publishers to support a good quality education for all policy (Technical Document APNET/InWent 2004).

The choice of language or the language of instruction is one of the fundamental criteria used to define the quality of education, and is correlated with the learner’s language and the availability of learning materials. It is equally true that manuals and other reading material in African languages can and should play a decisive role in the development of education for all, since they underpin the bases of the organisation of school learning.

African countries are looking for appropriate, sustainable strategies to use African languages as languages of instruction in their schools, together with the languages called the official international languages, bearing in mind the national situation and the evolution of the global culture. Research and experiences in several countries have confirmed the importance of African languages to a child's speed of intellectual development. This search for solutions could be supported by populations with linguistic diversity since they are convinced of the need to preserve their own languages and other African cultural values.

Because of this situation, it is essential to define appropriate, sustainable strategies using realistic policies and programmes that enjoy popular support and meet national requirements for mother-tongue education.

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the need for a viable, literate environment to support efforts by governments, communities and partners-in-development to use African languages successfully and constructively as tools of education and training alongside foreign languages. Publishers, thus, have a vital role to play since they are key players in the “book chain”.

The role of book editors and publishers is well described by Alidou (2004) who says that the development of good quality bilingual education in Africa requires: (i) the production of good quality

books (textbooks, guidebooks, reference documents, novels, stories, etc.) in African languages and official languages, (ii) culture-based development of reading and writing in national languages and official languages.

7.2 Contributions by this sector to the creation of a literate environment

Furthering a literate environment, especially in African languages, is essential in achieving the inclusion of school education and literacy training in a country's cultural development. And it is primarily up to the editors/publishers, writers and other African cultural players to key their output to the needs and realities of the targeted, grassroots public.

In many countries, the very few books produced in African languages are often published exclusively by the State via national literacy-training services and a few education-related NGOs. This is due to the large number of languages spoken by the populations, and the fact that they are used nearly exclusively to teach the rural populations the reading and writing they need to solve their daily problems, while these languages should serve as vectors that enable access to the science and technology needed for sustainable social and economic development.

Since national languages are not used as languages of instruction in the schools, there is no real literature industry in these languages because the readership, which is very small and geographically limited, is mainly composed of new literates, most of whom are people living in the rural areas. In many countries, the introduction of these languages in the schools is eternally part of an "experimental programme".

Sow (2003b) pointed out that lack of reliable statistics made it difficult, or even impossible, to give a clear picture of the publishing sector in African languages both as concerns the global volume and economic value of production and the scope of the intrinsic production potential. Despite initiatives by ADEA, working with the African Publishers' Network (APNET), and especially the 2002 study on current barriers to intra-African trade in books, obtaining statistical data in the books sectors is still a major challenge (Makotsi et al. 2002). ADEA contacts will be helpful in rounding out this first initiative by producing a database, updated yearly by the publishers, on the production and distribution of books in Africa.

Modern endogenous publications in African languages, in Africa, are still in the tottering stage mainly because the sector only started growing during the last twenty years, especially in the English-speaking countries. This is a sector that is seeking its bearings and future in a global context dominated by publications in Western languages which, especially in French-speaking countries, are the languages still officially used in the workplace and in schools in Africa (Sow 2003 b).

This situation cannot be dissociated from the global context, marked by slow change in the education and training sector, a sector that depends directly on the education, linguistic and cultural policies that, since the independence of the sub-Saharan African countries, are often timidly implemented. How else can we explain the fact that education in African languages is nearly always considered an experiment although the effect of learning one's mother tongue on the quality of education is universally accepted?

And when these languages are introduced on an experimental basis or as complementary languages in the schools, there is no continuity in the production of extensive educational materials and other

printed supports needed to develop reading. Guinea provides a typical example. School manuals have been published in the eight national languages that were selected to support scientific learning. But the production figures were far too low to meet the needs, and they were never accompanied by teachers' manuals and other complementary educational materials. Hence, globally, the results did not live up to the political goals set by the government in the 1960s and 1970s.

During this period, out of the 276 titles listed, 90 manuscripts were prepared, and between 1968 and 1983 only 10 were printed (Assessment of the Days of Study, Conakry, April 1983). The situation is summarized in the following table:

Table 1 - Production of school manuals, 1968- 1983, Diallo et al. 2005

Cycles	No. of manuscripts needed			
	Textbooks	Manuscripts	Approved	Printed
1 st cycle (1 st – 6 th year)	96	38	11	9
2 nd cycle				
7 th year	60	27	-	1
8 th year	60	25	-	-
9 th year	60	-	-	-
Totals	276	90	11	10

As an example of the low national publication figures, in Guinea, Edition Ganndal published, on average, 6 books a year for the last three years (readers, short stories, storybooks) in four national languages, namely, Pulaar, Maninka, Sosso and Kpele. These titles are listed in the publisher's catalogue together with the French titles and are sold through the same marketing channels (book stores and decentralised sales points). The market for this line of production is almost negligible.

Considering the low printing figures for this type of production (around 1,500 copies on average) and the low sales price, it is not logical to count on any commercial profitability. But new literates greatly appreciate these books whose formats meet universal publishing standards, because they take the reader out of the strictly literacy-training mode and allow them to enjoy everyday reading in books that have quality appeal.

To make school manuals and other reading and learning materials more readily available in African languages, publishers and certain specialised NGOs are playing an increasingly active role in producing teaching supports for education for all (EFA). This new dynamism draws its inspiration from the renewed interest in using African languages in the schools, and funding is available for certain components of various basic EFA programmes.

African countries that have established institutional environments that encourage the development of national languages by incorporating them as educational supports are enjoying significant growth in the book publishing sector (design, production, publication, circulation/distribution) and are gradually developing skills, at the national level, in the production of teaching materials in African languages.

In most of these countries, publishing in African languages is an endogenous activity that provides literature for youth, school and university books, novels and other reading supports. This means that the public has access to a variety of reading and learning products in their own languages, e.g. in Senegal, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Mali, and Mozambique, just to mention a few countries that are developing the use of national language in their bilingual education programmes.

To help attract the resident populations to development goals, on the one hand, and to provide readily available reading materials, on the other, certain publishers and cultural NGOs in French-speaking West Africa distribute newspapers in national languages e.g. Jamana (a cultural cooperative), Soore (an NGO in Burkina Faso), Papyrus Africa publishers in Senegal, etc. The contents of these newspapers are not limited to what is generally found in the "rural press". They have become genuine sources of information and education that deal mainly with the everyday problems of the local population and broach a wide range of subjects such as health, agriculture, animal production, politics, environmental protection, and the rights of women and children.

But these newspapers are "victims" of the official status of the African languages in which they are published and the small readership. From the technical angle, they also suffer from the shortage of professional writers and, from the financial angle, from slow retransmission of revenue from sales. They usually survive thanks to subsidies from bi- and multi-lateral donor organisations.

As concerns the commercial distribution of these newspapers in national languages, their fate is not significantly different from that of other types of publications whose sales are limited for well known reasons such as lack of the habit to read, low purchasing power of the target public, reduction or even non existence of a local distribution capacity, and high illiteracy rates in the rural areas.

Nonetheless, it is remarkable that despite an environment lacking in incentives, professionals are developing alternative, innovative strategies to improve relations between readers and reading goals in national languages. The ARED experience with distribution in Senegal (Fagerberg-Diallo 2001) has clearly demonstrated that the public was very aware of and keen on books devoted to subjects that appeal to them and are related to their main centres of interest. The readers themselves submit requests for specific books to the publishers.

A certain momentum has been achieved in Senegal, where Editions Papyrus Afrique has published a good quality monthly called Lasli-Njëlben regularly for about ten years, with very limited resources, in two national languages, (Pulaar and Wolof). It is distributed through book stores and by sales teams on weekly markets in rural areas where they promote and sell the journal and other publications put out by Editions Papyrus Afrique.

With hefty subsidies, religious organisations (mainly Christian) serve as a major source of publications in African languages: translations and excerpts from the Bible, various educational booklets and other forms of publications that restore religious and local cultural values. In Ghana, for example, literacy activities are carried out in the various African languages, using texts from the Bible. The faithful thus learn, in their own languages, the messages contained in the holy book which satisfy their spiritual needs. The knowledge acquired also encourages the newly literate to read and write in other contexts which relate more closely to their daily activities.

Certain African languages are trans-national, sometimes even regional, such as:

- Pular, which is spoken in more than 16 countries of the continent: Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Mauritania, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Burkina Faso, Benin, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, contains numerous lexical variants used by those who speak this language in these countries. The languages used, in fact, are either Pular or Fulfude.
- Malinke, a sub-regional language spoken in Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone and Liberia.
- Hausa, spoken in Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, etc.

Unfortunately, the numerous variants and the borrowing of words amongst these African languages make it difficult to publish books which can be used by the populations of these countries. For example, the translation tentative made in the African Visual Dictionary, DVA in Pular (in which the picture serves as a definition), adapted for use by these peoples, was not completed due to the

dialectical and lexical variants existent in Guinea, Mali, Senegal, etc. The populations of those countries, where this trans-national language is spoken, cannot use books as a basis for reading unless they correspond to their own particular environment.

The experience acquired in the course of the first generation of the sub-regional projects, MAPE/PEUL, was an example of linguistic co-operation whose results benefited all those countries involved in these projects. With the harmonization of the alphabets (national alphabet, harmonized Arab alphabet, N'Ko alphabet), of these trans-national languages, other forms of linguistic co-operation can be developed at a sub-regional level.

Although these various languages have one or more harmonized alphabets, there is no large-scale regional publisher, nor a trans-State distribution of material in African languages, apart from a few exhibitions in the fairs organized in certain African countries.

Furthermore, the costs of production and the sales results are difficult to establish, especially as those who publish in national languages do not have the necessary high level of funds to publish and distribute African-language books trans-nationally. In addition, the use of languages for training is limited in the various countries concerned. Only Mali has given African languages the status of teaching languages, thus furthering the publishing of books in African languages, taking as an example those books published in the official language, which is French.

Also, no well-established network of distribution/circulation of books in African languages exists in the States which share this preoccupation. Even inside the countries, these circuits do not exist. Each actor possesses his/her own circuits of distribution/sales, quite cut off from the rest of the world; producing and selling alone.

Just as no inter-State distribution/circulation network exists, so also is it difficult to describe a system of book sales in African languages at the regional level due not only to the way individuals work in isolation, but also to the conceptual differences in the various languages and, above all because, since independence, such languages have been used on an experimental basis in most of these countries.

This sub-sector of circulation/distribution of books in the official language used in teaching is weak both on a national scale as well as on a sub-regional scale. In each one of these countries, there are only one or two bookshops (often subsidiary companies of foreign bookstores) which undertake sales. In our countries, there are only very few companies which deal with a more specialized distribution, even in the official language. In most of our countries, the State has the monopoly on distribution.

Within a trans-national framework, research/action could be undertaken to identify the needs of the populations who, in the various countries, share the same languages. The textbook publishers of each one of these countries could take into account the results obtained in order to conceive and develop, for example, reading booklets which take into account the needs of the learners. In this way, production units can publish suitable material that, as long as what is offered corresponds to the demand, will be easily sold on the market.

In this way, the actors in the book chain of national languages of all these countries can exchange their points of view on new ideas which generate initiatives and income, including the identification of the needs of the learners to the distribution/sales of books to the consumers.

The need to integrate through co-production, co-publishing and the distribution of works in trans-national languages would seem a necessary strategic option. The actors of the book chain should take this up in order to minimize production costs and to shorten the period that it takes to produce books and make them available to the public.

In every case, co-production or co-publishing in trans-national languages has advantages, amongst which are:

- the harmonization of concepts of the trans-national languages with the perspective of enriching the various vocabularies of each country that shares languages;
- co-operation between actors in the book chain of a particular country as well as those in various countries.

This means developing an integrated editorial policy for works in trans-national languages through the implementation of joint production and distribution strategies. The actors of the book chain must undertake this in order to minimize production costs and to make books available more quickly.

Other than the advantages of more extended markets, a better financial basis, the availability of competent human resources, those in the book trade will be able to minimize the unitary cost price of their production through co-operation with others.

This can only be effective within the framework of the adoption of both a linguistic policy (offering a larger use of African languages in school, or as official languages, in the same way as an official foreign language is used) and a book policy which defines the methods to be used in the endogenous development of the book trade. These two institutional frameworks form the basis of the creation and development of an environment in which people are well-read in African languages.

Many bi- and multi-lateral development cooperation organisations are greatly concerned with the question of access to education using African languages and the establishment of a literate environment in these languages. German Cooperation is among the leaders through its programme InWent⁵² which, for over a decade, has been backing a major training and production support programme for manuals and other reading materials in African languages in seven French-speaking countries of West and Central Africa, namely, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Senegal. This programme has contributed extensively to national capacity building in designing (training for authors) and producing (training for editors and publication officers in NGOs) of books in national languages.

As part of inter-organisational initiatives to improve the productivity and quality of publications in African languages and to encourage the public to read in these languages, the African Publishers' Network (APNET), German cooperation through InWent, ADEA, the Francophone Inter-Governmental Agency (AIF) and the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg organised a sub-regional meeting in November 2004 in Dakar on "les livres – un enjeu de l'Education pour tous. Quelle politique éditoriale pour les langues africaines" (books a challenge in education for all. What publishing policy is needed for which African languages?)⁵³. The results of this meeting encouraged the participating parties to devote more resources and attention to developing publications and reading in national languages.

For the following reasons, however, it is not easy to show that books, of high technical quality with interesting content, can be published in national languages in Africa: weak material and financial means, continued taxation of inputs needed to produce the books, narrow markets, and an encumbering socio-political context that makes it difficult for the NGOs, publishers and private distributors to do their jobs.

The use of computer assisted publishing (CAP) and Print On Demand should facilitate and improve the design and publishing, allowing for greater control of quality and lower production costs.

⁵² See: http://www.inwent.org/internet/themen_reg/themen/soz_entw/bildung/lese_lernmaterial/index.en.shtml, 27 June 2005.

⁵³ See: *Quelle politique éditoriale pour les langues africaines* » ? Les livres en langues nationales, un enjeu de l'Education pour tous. Conference in Dakar, 26-30 November 2004 http://www.adeanet.org/fr_index.html, 27 June 2005.

Last, the development of publications in African languages is held back by the insufficient use of one of the topmost fields of literary production, i.e. translations, either from African languages to European languages spoken in Africa or, the opposite. Translations are extremely useful in diversifying and connecting reading materials to the realities of the world and in promoting the African culture in other continents. A few attempts have been made to translate works written in languages that have been mixed together with other languages and are used over a vast geographical area, such as Kiswahili and Hausa.

7.3. Role of politics in promoting languages

Since national policies on the use of African languages in formal education in many countries now condone the expansion of the bi-lingual education models, general orientations should be set out more clearly in the educational and cultural policy, the linguistic policy, the commercial policy, and the promotion policy, and with regard to the protection of copyrights in African languages, etc. bearing in mind the recent developments in the countries and the global environment.

One of the weaknesses of these orientations is the lack of effective synergy between the current literacy training system and the education system in the formal schools, a fact that is criticised in the literacy training policies. Nada Centres is a good example. These centres were "second chance schools" created in Guinea with the help of UNICEF and could easily have been used to establish an educational structure that would lead to a bilingual (French and national languages) educational system. This was not possible because French is the language of instruction in these centres. (Diallo 1999).

No further proof is needed to demonstrate the benefits of using the native language in the learning process from primary schools to the third level of formal education. Appropriate educational policies would have an immediate impact on training and would contribute to the local production of well adapted publications at a reasonable cost because publishers and NGOs publishing in African languages have to abide by general policies that, as concerns language(s) of instruction and languages used at the workplace as well as tariff regulations, are decided upon by the public authorities.

It is very clear that as long as publishers do not have access to the huge textbooks markets, the number of books in these languages will not grow and development will not be sustainable. This is due both to the law of numbers and the commercial competitiveness that stimulates publishers to do more and work better.

7.4 On a national book policy

The economic and political stakes of globalisation make the introduction of policies, strategies and mechanisms that encourage cultural convergence essential at the national, sub-regional and regional levels in order to create the right conditions for the emergence of a national book industry that encourages the involvement of all the parties in the book chain. National capacity building to ensure the active, effective participation of national professionals in the publications sector (authors, publishers, printers, bookstore keepers, librarians), and close collaboration with the governmental services (ministers of education and/or culture, economic affairs and finance, etc.), civil society organisations and partners-in-development constitutes the strategic basis for this approach (MEPU-EC/USAID 2000).

The demand for the reinforcement of capacity with regard to the creation of the necessary conditions to establish a national book trade is based on the “**National book policy as a factor of cultural development**”, of which the principal strategies and actions, amongst others, are

- Making publishers, political decision-makers, partners-in-development aware of the motivations for and advantages of designing and adopting national book policies;
- Defining indications on the foundations, methodology and mechanisms needed to implement national book policies;
- The introduction, by governments, of regulations that exonerate books and inputs for their production from import duties;
- The commitment by the States, the professional organisations involved in producing book and the technical/financial partners to support initiatives keyed to introducing book policies in the countries, policies that include a school textbooks policy based on a participatory, consensual approach as a fundamental pillar;
- The definition of a linguistic policy for national or African languages that grants these languages the status of language of instruction and literacy training. It is also absolutely necessary to use various strategies in order to define linguistic policies, which are:
 - to heighten the awareness of those who are taking political decisions;
 - the mobilization of material, financial and human resources, in the preparation and application of legal and institutional texts in this field;
 - to prepare a persuasive case so that education partners become involved in these matters;
 - to make the grass-roots populations aware of the need to respect the ethics of the policy, using various channels of communication: through the audio-visual medias, the Press, posters and personal contact.

Useful immediate actions:

1. To organize discussions on the role and the place of mother-tongue languages in the development of education and culture. Invitations will be sent to intellectuals, researchers, writers, communicators, book trade professionals, political decision makers and those people who play an important role in influencing decision making;
2. To give thought to, draw up and adopt a linguistic policy;
3. The adoption of a law on books, taking into account the use of African languages.

Implementation of all these elements could lead to expected changes, namely, *inter alia*, separation of decision-making levels and transparency, thus showing that roles and responsibilities are shared by the various partners in the book chain, especially between the public and the private sectors. This would lead to: (i) the development of local book suppliers, a difficult, long-term undertaking that would give countries national sovereignty over education and culture; (ii) ownership of the book industry by nationals thus creating income-generating employment and the development of specific national expertise; (iii) acquisition of in-company financing for the book sector.

In time, the national book policy should be fully aligned with international legislation, and preferential terms should be granted to the importation of inputs for the book industry in order to lower the production costs of reading materials. The ultimate goal should be the adoption and implementation of a specific law on books that gives pride of place to the use of African languages in education as a way to develop the national culture (Askerud 1998).

The effects of a book policy depend largely on the relevance and strength of coordination mechanisms established at the national levels. This explains why, ideally, coordination should be entrusted to an independent organisation whose sole activity is promoting books. Such an organisation would be instrumental in giving impetus to and regulating the book trade (Sow, Camara, Diallo 2001).

In addition, the national policy on books should be based on pertinent objectives and with this end in mind: create the institutional, material and technical conditions to render the book (written in any language) available and accessible to all levels of society by means of the development of a national book trade industry in African languages and in official languages, covering the initial preparation, the publishing, their distribution/circulation as well as the making of these reading materials available to the public.

More specifically (Sow, Ouigo, Satina 2001):

- To make available and accessible those books written both in African languages as well as in official foreign languages to all levels of the literate population;
- To set up a fund for the publishing of books in African languages at the national and sub-regional levels;
- To facilitate the access to bank credits of African-language book trade professionals in order to stimulate endogenous production and improve the circuit of distribution/sales;
- To apply tax and customs measures that are conducive to the development of the book chain (de-taxation on book imports and printer's inputs that are related to their production of books);
- To apply and to reinforce the legal framework for the protection of copyright and other related rights;
- To support the training and the improvement of professionals throughout the whole of the African-language book chain (authors, publishers, printers, bookshops, librarians, etc.);
- To promote the network of public reading through the creation and the energizing of public and school libraries, having at their disposal a collection of books available in African languages;
- To facilitate the setting up and the functioning of a National Book Council and the application of the principal international conventions (the Florence Agreement, the Nairobi Protocol, the Geneva and Berne Conventions on Copyright).

The national book policy is supported by various book development policies, development strategies in various sectors of the national economy, and the roles and responsibilities of various partners, i.e. the public sector, the private sector, partners-in-development and the beneficiary populations.

7.5 Production of school textbooks in African languages: economic problems and stakes

According to studies by UNESCO/IIEP⁵⁴ referred to by L'éguéré (2003), slightly over 500 billion CFA francs was spent on primary school textbooks and teaching materials for all of French-speaking Africa during the last ten years (about 3/5th of the books came from publishers in the North).

After looking at these figures, it would be interesting to know what percentage of the remaining funds were spent on textbooks published in national languages. This is a difficult question because of the lack of economic indicators in this field. But considering the very limited importance of national languages in formal education in these countries, the funds spent on teaching materials in these languages are probably negligible.

Since school books constitute the only lasting source of funding (they account for 95% of the book market in French-speaking Africa, for instance), opening this economic opportunity to African

⁵⁴ See ADEA work group on books and educational materials, http://www.adeanet.org/workgroups/fr_wgblm.html, 27 June 2005.

publishers would provide them with the means to strengthen their technological and financial weight and consolidate the basis for a genuinely local book industry. All the publishers agree that the financial sustainability of their enterprises depends on school books and that the publication of general literary works predicated on profits from school books.

Informative examples can be derived from recent experiences in producing school textbooks in national languages by private publishers in Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Mali (support for "converging education"), Senegal and many other places where national publishers won sizeable contracts with the State and with other technical and financial partners who are supporting educational initiatives in national languages.

Complementary reading materials, such as children's books, fiction, novels, etc. should be well placed in school libraries and reading corners in traditional and bilingual classes set up under the education for all programmes. This unquestionably would provide new commercial opportunities for editors and NGOs that publish in national languages.

Yet, it is obvious that regardless of the estimated economic, cultural and social importance of textbooks and other educational materials in African languages, nothing can be done until the political decision-makers adopt the institutional measures required to ensure official recognition of the role and position of national languages as tools and supports, especially for basic education.

Some progress has been made, e.g. taxes and duties on books were lowered already a few years ago in Mali, Burkina Faso, Ghana and, recently, in Guinea, etc.; professional capacity has been improved thanks to various training opportunities for editors/publishers offered by APNET, InWent, AIF, etc.; various national associations in the book trade (authors, editors/publishers, printers, bookstore keepers) have strengthened their intervention and coordination capacity, and several governments have shown their political will to formulate and adopt major national book policies.

Another noteworthy event in several countries has been the gradual introduction of mechanisms to decentralise the procurement and management of school books, thereby capitalising the local manufacturing of educational materials. Decentralising the financial mobilisation and/or management process, and having the local communities play their role as catalysers of basic education, would easily solve the key question of which textbooks and other publications should be recommended to the schools, and would mean that national sources of production would be more systematically used.

Decentralisation of procurement channels for school books and other reading materials would contribute to the creation of libraries and rural bookshops and the emergence of a society of readers. This would also give market access to national publishers and develop the capacity to produce African books, written by and for Africans.

Whatever be the case, as Sow (2003a) said, there are still major challenges that have to be resolved in order to overcome the many obstacles to the veritable development of school books in African languages, especially:

- a) the lack of political will in many States with regard to policies on language, books and reading;

In the majority of countries, the ministries of education that culture show little political interest in working together to establish cultural and linguistic policies that define the goals related to the

development of a literate environment in national languages, or give due attention to books published in these languages and promoting readership.

b) heavy taxes and duties that penalise endogenous production;

High production costs in many countries can be traced especially to the heavy import duties on the main inputs needed for publishing, e.g. import duties in Guinea: paper (26.25%), ink (32.25%), plates and films (35.25%), computers (42.25%), etc. And in the vast majority of countries, practically no aid is granted to the national publishing enterprises. The situation does not contribute to the production of books at prices that are within the reach of the public at large and, moreover, it tends to encourage the importation of finished products.

c) difficult access to bank credit for professional of the book industry;

Publishers usually have limited financial resources, and, in most of the countries, it is difficult, or even impossible for them to obtain bank credit. Lack of capital is also one of the reasons for the scarcity of projects for national language publications since the latter are not designed for a quick return on investment.

d) shrinking markets and non-existence of reliable distribution systems.

The potential market for books in African languages is vast since many of these languages are spoken by a large number of people. But there are certain factors that reduce the size of the potential clientele considerably, especially the high illiteracy rate, the lack of a habit to read, the low purchasing power and the absence of reliable distributions systems.

7.6. Conclusion and Recommendations

The development of both an environment where people are well-read in African languages as well as of bi-lingual education must, of course, include publishing. However, the low level of revenues (thus of print runs), the rarity of qualified personnel, the insufficiency of strategies to promote books in African languages, the absence of a linguistic policy, the low level of both literacy in the reading public (who are otherwise very isolated), and of their purchasing power, the lack of a habit of reading, the absence of books in African languages, in the very rare libraries which exist in these countries, are the principal problems with regard to publishing in African languages.

In order to find a remedy for this, attention must be given to a certain number of basic principles required to create the right conditions for the emergence of a publishing sector that can provide effective support for bilingual education and literacy training, e.g.

1. promotion of effective public-private sector partnerships, in particular as part of book policies that clearly set out national orientations regarding linguistic and educational choices;
2. commitment by publishers to work with the NGOs at the national level in sharing resources and in publication projects to create a literate environment;
3. sub-regional cooperation among publishers by creating textbook series and other reading materials in the major languages of communications, e.g. Hausa, Pulaar, Mandingue, etc. through co-publications, co-productions and co-distribution. This would also create enabling conditions for the production of books printed in large numbers at reduced production costs, and hence would mean that sales prices would be readily within the reach of the targeted populations

4. protection of copyrights and extension of laws in force, thus encouraging respect of copyright laws and avoiding the discouragement that authors feel about creating literature in African languages especially since they are rather often perceived as people who merely exploit the oral tradition. Publications and popular works in African languages should be granted the same status as those written in the European languages used in Africa. Provisions should be made to avoid having writers who use these languages be considered as "second class" authors. As it appears that most of the works produced (above all, by the NGOs) have no ISBN, nor copyright. Sometimes copyright is held by the ministry which is the author and the publisher. However, copyright and an ISBN obtained by a publisher guarantee copyright and related rights. This is spirit in which the Geneva and Berne Conventions were drawn up with regard intellectual property.
5. promotion of public reading and the reading habit.

There are difficulties in organising and consolidating the public reading sub-sector essentially because of the great dependence on foreign book suppliers and the weak developmental level of the circulation and dissemination systems. It would be advisable that library procurement policies include a permanent item on book procurement and national languages.

The creation of an environment in which people are well-read is ensured by a number of indispensable strategies which each country must not fail to take into consideration. It means, amongst other things:

1) A synergy must be created between the actions taken by the various partners: State, private, development partners, beneficiaries ...

The role and function of **the State** is to:

- adopt a law on books in African languages and in official foreign languages;
- train African-language book trade professionals;
- define and implement measures which will help and encourage the development of the endogenous publication of books;
- pull itself out from the book production and distribution circuit as the project manager of policies and strategies for the creation and development of the national book trade;
- create and supply with financial resources a fund to help publication;
- open the school book market to the national private sector.

2) The **private sector** must produce and distribute books of quality, accessible to all categories of readers.

3) **Development partners** must support the development of the national book trade.

4) **Communities** must become mobilized to support the success of Education for All programmes in the formal as well as in the informal sector.

The path ahead is long and difficult, but there is room for hope. The production of books in national languages and their use in most of the countries has been improving significantly, despite linguistic policies that give little visibility to these languages and an economic situation that is far from favourable to the rapid take off of local book industries (Sow 2003a).

8 Cost Implications of the Provision of Mother Tongue and Strong Bilingual Models of Education in Africa

Kathleen HEUGH

8.1 Introduction⁵⁵

Fifty percent of the world's out-of-school children live in communities where the language of schooling is rarely, if ever, used at home. This underscores the biggest challenge to achieving Education for All (EFA): a legacy of non-productive practices that lead to low levels of learning and high levels of dropout and repetition. In these circumstances, an increase in resources, although necessary, would not be sufficient to produce universal completion of a good-quality primary school programme (World Bank 2005).

Whenever mother tongue education issues are debated, there is a series of predictable reactions from senior government officials responsible for education as well as very many education specialists. These reactions usually include the following responses which are linked to a belief that it is too costly to use African languages in education:

- We know that mother tongue education is best, but this country has too many languages; it is not possible to develop all of these languages for use in education.
- Mother tongue education costs too much.
- There is no alternative but to continue with the current practice.

Respected scholars on the continent, like Ayo Bamgbose (e.g. 2000) and Pai Obanya (e.g. 1999), amongst others, have taken these and many other arguments and shown that they are based more on fear and uncertainty about possible change, than on material reasons which prevent change. The purpose of this chapter is to explore some of the issues around the costs of implementing both successful and unsuccessful language education programmes. It will also outline some of the initiatives and strategies which can be taken, with minimal cost implications. They can be taken in order to continue and expand the work which has already begun in terms of developing stronger education programmes in African languages.

There are very few studies on the costs and benefits of different education programmes in education, especially in Africa. There are few, if any, studies which demonstrate how much is spent on unsuccessful models of education provision in Africa. After a comprehensive search, this team has not found any national government funded study which has compared the costs of second language /foreign language / International Language of Wider Communication (ILWC) models with bilingual (mother tongue **plus** ILWC) models in education. We emphasise here, as elsewhere in this study, that formal education in Africa should provide school pupils access to high level achievement in both an African language and an international language of wider communication. At no point is there a suggestion that mother tongue (or African language) is enough. There is no suggestion that the L2/foreign/language of wider communication is sufficient. Both are necessary in order to meet domestic/regional and global demands for equitable education and social and economic development. The goal needs to be strong bilingual education. Cost-effective mechanisms need to be established to ensure that this goal is reached.

⁵⁵ The author gratefully acknowledges helpful comments and suggestions from a number of people including: Wilfried Goertler, Adama Ouane, Christine Glanz and Carol Macdonald.

At the moment there is *no scientific evidence which demonstrates* that in the medium to long-term:

- the use of African languages in education is more costly than the use of the former colonial languages; or that
- the use of the former colonial languages is more cost-effective than the use of African languages in education.

If we consider the evidence we do have, however, it becomes clear that in Africa, we continue to invest in programmes which are designed to fail. This is most definitely not cost-effective or economically wise. It is therefore necessary to change from a dysfunctional approach to one which may offer a good return on investment.

8.2 Continued Investment in Programmes Designed to Fail

The evidence is clear: only well-resourced programmes which use L1 as medium for a minimum of 6 years will allow students an even chance of becoming sufficiently proficient in the LWC and their other academic studies. The discussion of an emerging trend of convergence of approaches towards early-exit transitional models, with the possible recent exceptions in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Tanzania, is disturbing in the light of the evidence.

Subtractive and early-exit transitional models can only offer students a score of between 20% and 40% in the ILWC by the end of school and this means failure across the curriculum. System-wide, multi-country studies, such as the second Southern [and Eastern] Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ II) (Mothibeli 2005), show that by grade 6 more than 55% of students in 14 Southern and Eastern Africa countries have not attained the most minimal level of literacy required to remain in the school system. Only 14, 6% have reached the desired level of literacy. The investment required to keep students in the system to this point, is therefore not yielding a good return. It is a poor investment. It is a waste of expenditure to retain students in the system after grade 6 if they have not reached the minimal level of literacy achievement at this point. The current literacy and language models are so ineffectual that they result in at least 55% of students leaving school by the end of grade 6 as unsuccessful learners, and this undermines the Millennium Development Goals and UNESCO's Education for All (EFA) agendas.

There are of course other reasons which compound the challenges to successful education in Africa. These include poverty, hunger and increasingly the impact of HIV/AIDS. We can now see, however, from the closely monitored longitudinal study of students in the USA (Ramirez et al 1991; Thomas & Collier 1997, 2002) that even where poverty, hunger and incidence of HIV/AIDS are far less common, students in programmes similar to those in Africa (early-exit from mother tongue to English) can only be expected to reach an achievement of about 37, 5% in the language of learning by grade 6. The most recent South African systemic study of grade 6 learners shows that the national average achievement for students in grade 6 is 38% for literacy in the language of learning, and 27% for mathematics (DoE 2005). These statistics are inflated by the 20% of Afrikaans- and English-speaking students who have MTE and who performed significantly better than African language speaking students who are in ESL programmes. When these findings are compared with the Thomas & Collier studies in the US, it becomes clear that one can expect a literacy achievement of 37, 5 - 38% in grade 6 under well-resourced conditions. In less well-resourced conditions, e.g. in South Africa, a lower level of achievement should be expected of learners who are in second language programmes.

To summarise, the research discussed in earlier chapters of this report show that: early-exit literacy and language models do not offer most students the opportunity of education success in wealthy, developed contexts like the USA and Canada. They also do not offer education success in African countries. If they cannot offer a better return of investment in settings where: pupil teacher ratios are significantly lower than in African countries; where teachers are better trained/qualified; and the resources in the schools are far better than those in African countries, then how can they succeed in Africa? The answer is simple: they cannot. Expenditure on models which are not designed to succeed is therefore wasteful.

8.3 The Cost Implications

You learn only what you understand...without changing the language used to teach, basic education can be neither effective nor efficient. Language difficulties result in higher dropout and repeater rates that cannot be reduced (Bergmann 2002: 4).

Lewin (2001a, b; 2004) shows that primary education is not sufficient to meet the demands of development. The emphasis on universal primary education since Jomtien in 1990 has taken some of the attention away from secondary school provision. There needs to be a much higher throughput from primary to secondary education in Africa. Two-thirds of the countries with the lowest gross enrolment rates at secondary (GER2) level are in Africa and of these most are in francophone countries (Lewin 2001b: 21) It is becoming increasingly

... important to reshape investment in secondary schooling so that it can promote higher-level learning goals effectively and be accessible to greater proportions of the population (Lewin 2001a:11-12).

Yet, as Lewin shows, the unit cost of secondary education is usually much higher in countries with low GER2. This means that secondary school becomes a point at which inequalities escalate, and the unit cost needs to be reduced in order to allow greater access. He estimates that annually an additional US\$ 2342 million (at \$100 per pupil) is required to provide a GER2 rate of 50% across sub-Saharan Africa (2004:11). However in order for students to have access to secondary school, they need to remain in the system to the end of primary. We know from the earlier discussion that this is not the case. For socio-economic reasons we need to facilitate greater retention, lower dropout rates in primary, higher throughput to secondary and lower costs in secondary education. If students are going to be able to make progress in secondary, and if the expenditure on their secondary education is to be cost-effective, they must have grade level literacy and numeracy proficiencies at entry to secondary. If they do not, there is a strong chance that investment will not yield the returns which governments seek.

Psacharopoulos (1996: 430) provides a taxonomy for economic analysis in education which might better inform policy decisions:

First Level Analysis

1. Unit cost of education: by schooling level; by curriculum type; of pedagogical inputs; in public and private institutions,
2. Benefits of education – learning outcomes; earnings/productivity of graduates – by schooling level; by curriculum type; in public vs. private sectors

Second Level Analysis

1. Efficiency assessment: cost-effectiveness analysis, cost-benefit analysis
2. Equity assessment: costs incidence, benefits incidence

The assumption is that the decision-makers are driven by a concern for both the efficient use of expenditure in education and equitable distribution of resources. Although there is a substantial volume of research on the economics of education, there remains very little in relation to the economics of different language education models in the system, and especially in Africa. François Grin (2005) argues that the costs of implementing language policies and models which use the MT have been misunderstood.

...[C]osts are relatively little known and little understoodCost is meaningless in itself – it makes sense only in relation with what one gets in return for the cost incurred (Grin 2005: 11).

It follows then that even a high-cost policy can be perfectly reasonable on economic grounds, if the outcome is 'worth it'; and paying for something which is worth paying for is a quintessentially sound economic decision (Grin 2005: 13).

South Africa, one of the few countries in the continent to have a GER2 of more than 50% does not, however, show a good rate of return on its investment. About 27% of those who have started school have exited the system with a school leaving certificate in grade 12. The country currently spends 5, 5% of its GDP or 22% of its non-interest section of the budget on education, although this was as high as 25% in about 2002. It is a country with one of the highest proportionate expenditures on education (Wildeman 2005). Yet, South Africa has performed very poorly, coming last in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) assessments in 1999 and 2003. Other studies show that the level of literacy of school leavers has declined rapidly since 1992, leaving most school leavers unemployable, and unable to gain access to tertiary institutions. This is despite an official school leaving pass rate which escalated dramatically between 1999 and 2004. Of those who do pass and who pass well are those who have MTE throughout the education system. They are the L1 speakers of English and Afrikaans. Despite efforts since 1994/5 to reallocate resources and reduce the inequities in the system from the apartheid era, less than 1% of African learners in 2000 at Grade 12 passed Mathematics and Science in the examination which would allow them access to tertiary education. So if the Psacharopoulos taxonomy were to be applied here, it is likely that the system would not be rated highly in terms of efficiency or equity. The evidence points towards the need to improve resources for MTE and bilingual education, yet the final blockage in the system is the argument advanced by most governments that MTE is too costly.

8.3.1 Which costs are specific to language provision in education?

Although governments frequently cite cost as the prohibitive factor, as mentioned earlier, there are no studies which show that subtractive and early-exit models are in fact cheaper. We can only compare costs and work out if one model is indeed more expensive than another if we use the same criteria for measurement. The table below includes a list of items related to the implementation of formal school education and which incur costs. This is framed in terms of UNESCO's Education for All goal: providing *quality education*.

Table 1: Implications for Costs in the delivery of Quality Education Models

	English/French/ Portuguese/ Spanish [E/F/P/S] only	Initial African language literacy + early-exit to E/F/P/S	Late exit MTE, transition to E/F/P/S	Strong/additive bilingual: MTE + E/F/P/S to end of secondary
Curriculum Design	Costs will be the same across all models			
Training teachers to implement curriculum	Costs will be the same across all language models. This includes upgrading of expertise – so that teachers are sufficiently competent to teach the content of their grade or subject area specialisation			
Improving teachers' own language proficiency and academic literacy skills	Many teachers do not have adequate academic literacy skills or proficiency in the language of learning and teaching. In order to meet the Education for All goal of <i>Quality</i> education, teachers need further education and training so that they have the necessary language and literacy skills and resources to provide <i>quality teaching</i> .			
Equipping teachers with the appropriate literacy and language for teaching each subject/ curriculum area	All language and subject teachers need to understand their own role in developing literacy and appropriate language proficiency across the curriculum. All teachers need training so that they can help their students develop the necessary literacy and language expertise for each subject or grade level. See further cost implications in Table 2 below.			
Text-book design	Text-book design is a once-off cost, but different language versions will require additional layout costs (see Vawda & Patrinos 1999).			
Text-book production & provision	The same number of text-books is required, no matter which model is selected. Where several different language versions are required, as long as the print-run exceeds 15 000-20 000, the additional per unit cost is minimal (Vawda & Patrinos 1999) ⁵⁶			
Orthographic development	None if E/F/P/S only used	Each language selected for use in education requires the development of an orthography. Many African languages have a long written tradition. Many others do not. The development of an orthography is not necessarily expensive, and can often be shared across borders. Community participation and work in organisations such as SIL and NACALCO (in Cameroon) have been accomplished with minimal expenditure.		
Terminology development	Use of E/F/P/S only – appears to be the cheapest option since the terminology is borrowed from Europe/northern contexts.	Initial readers in ALs; text-books from grade 4 onwards all in E/F/P/S – minimal terminology development required, therefore appears to be the second cheapest	African language text-books to about grade 6; then E/F/P/S only. Additional terminology across the curriculum required in the African language/s selected for the system	African language terminology developed to the end of secondary school – apparently the most expensive option
Translation	None required if materials originated in E/F/P/S are used. If learner centred materials, i.e. those originated in African society are used, then these must be translated into E/F/P/S.	Translation only required for early readers (see previous column)	Translation of all text-books to grade 6.	Translation of texts to end of secondary.
Teacher	Same costs			

⁵⁶ This is a generous estimate. In an earlier version of this study, Vawda & Patrinos (1998) record the following: “production economies would be maximized between production levels of 5, 000 and 10, 000 materials”.

salaries			
Classrooms	Same costs		
Assessment instruments, administration,	Same costs		
Assessment translation	Not applicable (instruments developed in language of teaching by teachers– no additional costs)	Only if there are national instruments being used at end of grade 6 – usually not applicable	Only likely for secondary school-exit instruments

What the table above shows is that many of the costs are the same across the different language models. The only differences occur in the areas of orthography development if there are no existing orthographies, terminology and translation. These together could be regarded as the costs required in the production of different language versions of text-books.

In an exceptionally useful study, Vawda & Patrinos (1999) show that the additional costs are mainly in relation to possible teacher education and materials production costs. The table above, however, assumes that the EFA goal of quality education implies a general need for improved teacher education. Achieving quality requires additional teacher education costs anyway. It does not matter which language model is being implemented, teachers require further training in their subject area, the level/grade in which they specialise, and their own language and literacy proficiency. This is a reality which should not be ignored. A discussion of text-book provision and teacher education will follow in that sequence.

8.3.2 Cost-implications: Text book production in African Languages

Patrinos & Velez (1995) and Vawda & Patrinos (1998, 1999) have written a great deal about the costs of text-book production in indigenous languages in Guatemala, Senegal and the Gambia. The additional costs, as identified also by several other authors, are surprisingly lower than most of the second language/international language lobby believes. They are in relation to the written use of African languages and include necessary language tools for text-book production as follows:

- Orthographic development (where necessary)
- Terminology development, or translated explanations of terminology, or a combination of both
- Translation of text books (and school exit assessment instruments where applicable)
- African language versions of text-books

So how expensive are these?

8.3.2.1 Orthographic development

Missionaries and other agencies have already developed extensive orthographies in many African languages, especially in former British colonies (e.g. Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Nigeria) and in South African and Namibia during apartheid. Similar developments occurred in several languages of Guinea Conakry, and in Somalia in the late 1970s and 1980s. Amharic has long been used as a language of learning and during the last decade extensive work has occurred in several Ethiopian and Eritrean languages. The work in Kiswahili is very well known across the continent. Mali, Niger and Cameroon have made significant progress in the development of literacy and which means that there are established orthographies. There are ongoing initiatives in Madagascar, Malawi⁵⁷, Mozambique, Namibia and in many other countries. So the situation is far more promising than many people imagine.

⁵⁷ See, for example, the cross-border orthographic work of the Centre for Language Studies, University of Malawi in Zomba.

However, where orthographic development is not well-established, this will require an investment, and this will require additional costs. All the same, it is possible by using the principle of: identifying a selected number of priority languages (initially these will be larger regional languages with widest spread); and setting targets and time-frames for beginning the developmental process and later adding to this, as financial and other resources become available. In countries where there are few such resources, the obvious option is to seek international aid to support processes which are driven by African scholars and community participation. There are several agencies which recognise the need to support this work.

Research on orthographic development, for example in South and Central America, shows that if one plans the process well, it is not nearly as expensive as it is made out to be. It is important to ensure community participation in the work if the orthographies are to be acceptable and in order to avoid additional costs required by unnecessary revision and negotiation too late in the process. Another apparently successful initiative has been witnessed in Papua New Guinea where literacy materials in 380 languages were in production by 2000 (World Bank 2005). This would not have been possible if the costs were too high.

8.3.2.2 Terminology

During apartheid, the South African government set about further developing the orthographies of several South African and Namibian languages as part of its policy of separate development. Ethnolinguistic segregation in the schooling system was managed through unequal expenditure per learner: expenditure for 'white' learners far exceeded that for African learners. Yet, orthographic and terminological development, proceeded within this unequal and limited budget. For example, average expenditure per school pupil in 1974-5 was R39,53 for each African child, and it was R605 for each white child (SAIRR 1976: 321) Despite the enormous discrepancy in expenditure, the government afforded terminology development and the publishers translated the textbooks for use in African education. If it had been too expensive, the government of the time would not have engaged in such activities. Terminology lists from the 1955-1975 period were assessed by language specialists of the Pan South African Language Board and the National Language Service of the Department of Arts and Culture in 2001. Although there is now a 25 year gap in terms of maintaining the terminology lists and keeping them up to date, they were found to be surprisingly acceptable and useful for school education some decades later. Recent translation of school leaving examinations in science in Northern Sotho (Sesotho sa Leboa) funded by the Pan South African Language Board in 2000 was facilitated on about US\$12 000. In order to translate the examinations, the terminology had to be developed in or explained in Sesotho sa Leboa. This means that the science terminology, used to the end of secondary school, has been developed in this language on a minimal budget. Since Sesotho sa Leboa is very closely related to two other South African languages (Sesotho and Setswana) parallel translations and terminology development for science will be expedited and therefore cost less. Based on this, the estimated cost to develop sufficient terminology for use in nine South African languages and to cover: mathematics, science, biology, geography, history and economics to the end of secondary school would cost about US\$ 550 000. At least five South African languages are shared with neighbouring countries, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Thus investment in terminology which is very much affordable in South Africa could assist neighbouring countries and reduce the required investment by its neighbours. (See also discussion of terminology bank below).

8.3.2.3 Translation

As mentioned earlier, between 1955 and 1975 education under apartheid necessitated translation and text book production for the entire primary school curriculum (grades 1-8). Initially it had been believed that the text-books in African languages were dumbed down. A comparison of text-books from this era (Mahlalela-Thusi and Heugh 2004) shows that, in fact, the text books were direct and complete translations. The content (including terminology and concepts) of educational material available in Afrikaans and English was developed also in seven South African languages and several Namibian languages during this time. The expenditure on African education was far less than that spent on the education of Afrikaans and English speaking students. The development costs (translation and terminology) were paid for by government. What was not provided for African students was sufficient text-books (i.e. the government did not invest in large enough print-runs to supply each child with the necessary books). So text-book print-runs were not made according to the economies of scale which would have reduced the per unit cost.

New developments in human language technology (HLT) and information technology in general are revolutionising the field of translation beyond Africa. The technology is such that it can be borrowed in Africa and adapted for use. The advantage of this (electronic) technology is that it reduces the time required for translation and therefore rapidly reduces translation costs. So it is effectively less expensive to translate school text books today than it was during the first phase of apartheid education (1955- 1975) or during Sékou Touré's time in Guinea Conakry.

The related advantage of language technology is that it would be possible to build a generic electronic terminology bank⁵⁸ to include core/essential educational terms for each of the subjects taught in African schools. Such a terminology or knowledge bank could be shared across regions, e.g. Southern Africa, East Africa, West Africa, the Horn, etc. It has the possibility of being shared across the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, with regional or national supplementary features where needed or required. The biggest advantage to an electronic resource is its portability and capacity for rapid updating.

Even if the education/knowledge/terminology bank were to be originated in English or French or Portuguese, it has the facility of multiple parallel options. So if, for example, it were to be started in South Africa, a parallel one could be started in Senegal and the two could be merged, so that students in Senegal who speak Wolof might out of curiosity have a look to see what Zulu speakers in South Africa call an eagle or a church or a mosque. The bank would have the facility to incorporate both international terminology necessary for science, but it would also be able to include indigenous knowledge terms.

Language practitioners in conjunction with HLT software (which is not expensive) could use the terminology/knowledge bank in combination with the translation software to begin the process of translating core text-books into the priority languages for education in each country. The considerable overlap of languages and similarity between them would mean that through co-operative sharing of resources and expertise, the start up costs of translation and training of translators would be dispersed and thus reduced for each country.

8.3.2.4 African language versions of text books

Vawda & Patrinos (1999) have demonstrated that the publication of educational materials in African languages does cost more, but not nearly as much as is usually argued. Halaoui (2003) in another study systematically debunks the usual arguments which suggest that text-book production in African languages will be more costly to provide. Together the implications of the Halaoui (2003) and Vawda & Patrinos (1999) studies are that, in most cases, the volume of text books required in African languages is large enough to ensure that the difference in cost per unit between books in European languages and books in African languages is minimal. Vawda & Patrinos (1999), for example, show

⁵⁸ The idea of an electronic National Terminology Bank has been on the drawing board in South Africa for several years. Progress has been disappointing for political rather than technical reasons.

that where there are print-runs of in excess of 15 000 – 20 000 books, the unit cost compares favourably with books produced in English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. Even print-runs of 5 000 to 10 000 are considered to be viable. Vawda & Patrinos further show that cross-border co-operation and sharing of costs will often make it possible to reduce costs further and allow the use of a minority language in one country affordable because its development costs are shared.

So, although there is an initial start-up development cost, this can often be shared and it becomes part of normal recurrent rather than additional costs over several years (owing to reprinting, the normal requirements of text-book provision etc.) Although Vawda & Patrinos (ibid.) include an initial teacher education cost, as discussed above, they argue that this also becomes part of the regular recurrent costs, and over time. Once the new teacher education programme has been designed, trialled etc, it is subject to the same evaluations and adaptations as any other teacher education programme. In total, Vawda & Patrinos estimate that the additional cost of producing materials in African languages and having them used efficiently in the classroom will be less than 10% of the learning materials and teacher education budget. In South Africa an additional 10% of the cost of materials and teacher education would amount to less than 1% (closer to 0, 7 – 0, 8 %) of the entire budget. So at most, we are looking at an additional 1% of the whole education budget in this country.

In situations where there are very small language communities and hence print-runs which would not reach 15 000 (or even the 5 000 – 10 000 break-even print-run), alternative approaches can be used.

Papua New Guinea, for instance, has published materials in hundreds of languages by using a basic ‘shell book’ format. As of 2000, the country was using 380 languages in schooling (World Bank 2005).

8.3.3 Economic spin-offs of an African language industry for Africa

Thus far, we have concentrated on additional cost implications. What we have not considered are the medium term economic benefits of developing the language industry in African countries. Orthographic and terminology development and expertise in translation would breathe new life into tertiary education on the continent. It would reinvigorate departments of African languages and linguistics. It would demand post-graduate students equipped as language practitioners. It would open up new possibilities for employment. It would limit the dependence on international publishing houses often based in Europe. The second language industry is a significant contributor to the economies of Britain, the USA, France, Spain and Portugal. The language industry, albeit a largely English second language industry, appropriated and domesticated in Australia, over the last 15 years, has contributed significantly to that country’s economy. There is every reason why a loosening of the dependence upon the foreign-owned second language text-book industry would bring economic benefits to Africa.

Initial investment, in resourcing African languages for greater use in schools, to improve the quality of education, has the potential to reap economic rewards beyond the education sector.

8.3.4 Cost implications: improving the quality through teacher education

If we return to the discussion of teacher education implications and further unpack what is necessary for different language education models we see that, in fact, the straight for L2/foreign language and early-exit models are not cheaper to resource, they are actually more expensive.

If we examine very closely the implications for teacher education of different literacy/language education models for / in use in African countries, we find data which may surprise many senior education officials. Currently the situation in most countries is such that teachers are not sufficiently well trained or prepared for the classroom. New curriculum changes are being implemented in many countries. This means that there needs to be changes at pre-service teacher education programme level and also at in-service teacher education provision in order to ensure the successful implementation of the curriculum.

Even where new curriculum change is not being attempted, teachers remain largely under-prepared or under-qualified in the majority of schools in sub-Saharan Africa. The logical step, whether in relation to old or new curriculum implementation is that most teachers require further training in Africa. In addition, it is clear the pre-service training programmes need to be overhauled, changed or adapted. Continued expenditure on dysfunctional systems is wasteful. Reinvigorated teacher education is a priority in order to meet the Education for All goals, especially in relation to *Quality*.

We can work out what it would take to prepare teachers currently in the system to implement existing or new curriculum to meet the EFA goals. We can do this comparatively in relation to each of the different language models we have considered in the report. This example therefore focuses on in-service education.

Table 2: Teacher Education per language education model

L2/FL only		Early-exit		Late-exit		Strong/additive bilingual (AL + L2 medium)		AL/MTE medium throughout + specialist L2 subject	
100% ⁵⁹ teachers from grade 1-12 require upgrading of their proficiency in English/French/Portuguese or Spanish.		75% all teachers (all who teach grades 4-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S.		50% of all teachers (all who teach from grade 7-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S		50% of all teachers (all who teach from grade 7-12) require upgrading of proficiency in E/F/P/S		15% of teachers (only the specialist teachers of the L2 as a subject) require upgrading of E/F/P/S proficiency	
100 % teachers: L2 language & L2 literacy methodology across the curriculum		100% teachers: 25% L1, 75% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum		100% teachers: 50% L1 & 50% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum		100% teachers: 50% L1 & 50% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum		100% teachers: 85% L1 & 15% L2 language and literacy methodology across the curriculum	
100% teachers require content and curriculum upgrade training – cost the same across all models – cost is the same									
Expected student achievement 20% in L2 ⁶⁰		Expected student achievement 30-35% in L2		Expected student achievement 50% in L2		Expected student achievement 60% in L2		Expected student achievement 60% in L2	
Cost	Value ⁶¹	Cost	Value	Cost	Value	Cost	Value	Cost	Value
highest	lowest	high	low	medium	good	medium	high	lowest	high

If the objective is a functioning well-planned education system, there will be implications for teacher training/education. If teacher education provision is planned to support a functioning system and then mapped out according to different language models, then it becomes obvious that the use of African languages is not more costly than English, French, Portuguese or Spanish dominant models.

- Firstly, teacher education requirements regarding curriculum studies, content knowledge and classroom methodologies incur the same or equal costs across all language models.
- Secondly, it does not cost more to train teachers in Africa to teach through the languages they know and speak well. It costs more to train teachers to use a language in which they do not yet have an adequate proficiency.
- Such teachers first have to learn the language through which they are required to teach and also develop a high level of academic proficiency in this language. This takes time (at least 200 hours per teacher⁶²). Time equals money.

⁵⁹ These % figures are used to illustrate proportions. Obviously there will always be some competent and well trained teachers in the system. But proportionately, 100% of those who are not proficient in the L2 will require in-service training etc. The same principle applies to the rest of this table.

⁶⁰ Expected achievement as per the research discussed in earlier chapter (Heugh) table 4.

⁶¹ Value is determined here by the projected achievement levels evident from the available research.

⁶² In South Africa, this would mean that about 280 000 of the 350 000 cohort of teachers would require up to 200 hours of in-service language proficiency tuition. This is a huge undertaking and costly.

Usually, those who argue that mother tongue education is too costly have completely underestimated the impact of the medium of instruction. They assume that teachers currently in the system are competent in the language they are supposed to use for teaching. They do not realise or sufficiently understand that the teachers cannot perform the impossible. They cannot teach through languages in which they do not have the required level of academic literacy.

A frequently cited argument, in regard to centralised teacher education provision, is that it is difficult to train teachers through several different languages in the same institution. The default option is to provide training only in the foreign/ILWC. A recent World Bank newsletter offers some advice on this:

...Where there are many languages, formerly centralized approaches to teacher development and deployment will need to be modified. To address this challenge, countries can decentralize the recruitment of teacher candidates and pre- and in-service teacher training can also be managed regionally rather than centrally (World Bank 2005).

The decentralisation of teacher education and support should not be linked only to language education issues. The issue extends across every facet of teacher support. Current, centralised approaches to teacher education are not adequate. Teachers on the periphery are left without sufficient support. Other conversations about in-service teacher education and support recognise that there need to be regional and local structures in place. These are more likely to better support the pursuit of quality education and are pre-requisite conditions for successful curriculum implementation and monitoring. They would also better resource the literacy and language development requirements of all teachers. To link decentralised teacher education or support only to the language and literacy issues would not be appropriate.

Finally, in a study on cost-effectiveness of mother tongue education in Africa, Komarek (1998) argues that in-service teacher education and text-book production in African languages are cost-effective and efficient, as argued above. However, this is with the proviso that governments do not change policy mid-stream. In other words, in unstable political climates, initiatives supportive of MTE do not show good returns on the investment. This is because there is often premature termination of MTE programmes, i.e. during the early start-up phase. This is where initial investment cost is anticipated and termination occurs before the return on the investment can occur. Such circumstances should not be used as arguments to deny the affordability of MTE.

8.3.4.1 Summary of the discussion thus far

The greater the reliance on a former colonial language; the more expensive it is to resource with adequately trained teachers. In addition, we know from the international studies discussed earlier in this report that, the greater the use of the ILWC, the lower the expected level of achievement. Therefore, it is clear, that the greater the expenditure on the former colonial language in African education, the poorer the return on the investment.

At most, we have initial estimated costs of an increase of less than 10% of the teacher education and material production budget for education if we follow the calculations of Vawda & Patrinos. However, if we consider the additional arguments presented above, this is likely to be less. If South Africa is used as an example, since less than 10% of the entire education budget is spent on school materials and teacher education, this would mean approximately an additional 1% for the whole budget, at most. Although this discussion points towards the benefits for domestic and the regional language and publishing industry, the costs and benefits for students have not yet been explored. Such benefits are likely to outweigh any initial investment.

8.4. Simulated cost-benefit calculations for education of students

One of the few economists who specialize in language and the economy is François Grin. Grin has been involved in various costing exercises for the accommodation of multilingualism, for example in the European Union, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. His work shows that, the use of indigenous languages for education and administrative purposes is not nearly as costly as usually believed.

Grin (2005) provides a useful simulated tabular example of the relatively low costs of accommodating bilingual or multilingual language policies in general. He identifies the gap in studies which might show detailed costs and benefits of different language education models, for example:

dominant language-medium, with or without teaching of other languages as subjects;
minority [MTE] language-medium instruction;
bilingual streams with some subjects taught through the medium of the dominant language, and other subjects through the medium of the minority or dominated language (Grin 2005:17).

In the absence of studies which cost these scenarios, he develops an earlier model (Vaillancourt & Grin 2000) to illustrate the argument.

Under very general assumptions, it can be shown that language of wider communication (LWC) education will generally be less expensive than MT education with respect to certain components of cost, such as necessary language standardisation and the production of educational materials. The actual activity of teaching and training would by and large cost the same, irrespective of the language in which it takes place; this latter result extends to teacher training.⁶³ On balance, the analytical breakdown of items of expenditure leads us to expect MT education to be slightly more expensive than LWC education, in line with the finding, mentioned earlier, that moving from a unilingual (LWC) to a bilingual (LWC + MT) education system carries an extra cost in the 4% to 5% range. At the same time, MT will have an edge over LWC as a LOLT with respect to educational outcomes, usually in the form of higher test scores, less repetition of grades and lower drop-out rates. Another implication of using the MT as LOLT, since it points to an overall increase in the number of years of schooling that students undergo, is that they will accumulate a higher stock of human capital. To the extent that human capital, is a predictor of labour productivity, and hence of earnings, developing an MT educational stream will eventually result in higher earnings (Grin 2005: 20-21).

Using simulated analysis, Grin (2005) demonstrates the likely implications in relation to cost over a five year period of primary education.

Table 3: Cost effects of repetition and drop-out with LWC education for all students (reproduced from: Grin 2005: 22)

⁶³ 'Training MT teachers may carry a higher cost if all teacher training occurs through LWC, and only future MT teachers require *additional* training in order to be able to teach through the MT. This would then raise the question of the grounds on which the LWC is the medium of teacher training for all, and illustrate the frequent fact that seemingly higher costs for MT or minority language education are not a technical inevitability, but merely the result of some (eminently political) institutional arrangement.' (Grin 2005: 20).

YEAR	CUMULATIVE DROP-OUT RATE	AVERAGE COST
1 st	0	100
2 nd	0	100
2 nd repeated	0	100
3 rd	5	95
4 th	10	90
4 th repeated	15	85
5 th	15	85
Cost of graduating student		655

Table 4: Cost effects of repetition and drop-out with MT education for MT students (Grin 2005: 22)

YEAR	CUMULATIVE DROP-OUT RATE	AVERAGE COST	AVERAGE COST WITH 7.5% RISE
1 st	0	100	107.5
2 nd	0	100	107.5
2 nd repeated	0	100	107.5
3 rd	0	100	107.5
4 th	5	95	102.1
4 th repeated	n.a.	n.a.	n.a
5 th	10	90	96.7
Cost of graduating student		585	628.8

It needs to be emphasised that these tables represent simulated estimates. In reality, we expect there to be repetition and drop-outs from as early as grade 1 in many cases. These tables illustrate that the overall cost of educating a child using the MT is likely to be less in the medium term, because MTE reduces repeater and dropout incidence. Even if MTE were to incur an additional 7, 5% outlay, as provided for in these tables (Grin's argument is that it is more likely to be in the 4-5% range; and the earlier discussion in this chapter suggests an even lower additional outlay of about 1%), the accumulated cost of retaining a child in school to the end of the 5th grade in a MTE-bilingual programme is less than it would be in an LWC programme (628, 8 vs., 655). Thus there is a saving of actual financial outlay to the system, plus longer term benefits.

A World Bank study in Mali showed that although French only programmes cost less per year to resource, the higher repetition and dropout rates, made them more expensive than the mother tongue-bilingual programmes during the primary phase:

...French-only programs cost about 8% less per year than mother-tongue schooling, but the total cost of educating a student through the six-year primary cycle is about 27% more, largely because of the difference in repetition and drop-out rates. Similar results have been found in Guatemala (World Bank 2005).

The study referred to above concludes thus:

Bilingual education in Guatemala is an efficient public investment. This is confirmed by a crude cost-benefit exercise. A shift to bilingual education in Guatemala would result in considerable cost savings as a result of reduced repetition.... The cost savings due to bilingual education, even allowing for its higher cost, is estimated at over ...US\$5.6million in a year. A reduction in drop-out and its effect on personal earnings is estimated as an increase in individual yearly earnings of an average of ...US\$ 33,8 (Patrinos & Velez 1995: 2, cited in Woodhall 1998: 9).

The benefits of initial investment in African languages, in the long-term, with enhanced opportunities of formal employment and higher taxation, would result in returns to the national treasury in the form of taxation. There are other additional social, development and educational benefits to the national system, where students stay in school for longer. One of the key findings of research in relation to health, and specifically HIV/AIDS, is that the longer girls/women are in school, the lower the incidence of HIV/AIDS and other health related problems. This would in turn have positive economic benefits to the economy. The most obvious benefits relate to the impact on lower health care costs, higher potential earnings, and increased parental support for next generation of school children.

The arguments that cost prevents MTE are in fact based on flimsy perceptions rather than empirical evidence. The detractors usually demand hard evidence of the lower cost of functioning MTE programmes, yet they do not recognise the need to produce similar hard evidence of the real medium to long-term costs of early-exit education systems, which as shown in this study, are designed to fail the majority of learners.

8.5. Smart Cost-reduction Strategies for Resourcing African Languages in Education

For too long, African countries, for all sorts of reasons relating to the residual effects of colonialism and the condition of new post-colonial elites, have placed too much reliance on expertise, material resources and education programmes designed in the north and west. By pooling the indigenous resources of the continent, and maximising existing knowledge and expertise, costs which relate to the further development of African languages, text-book production, teacher education, and language education models for African countries can be minimised. It is no longer necessary to call upon and rely unduly on expensive expertise from beyond the continent. Our own experiences already provide us with the knowledge to design more appropriate models and approaches from within. This is not to suggest that it is advisable to ignore new knowledge from beyond Africa, but we need to reposition the expertise we have in much smarter ways.

8.5.1 Implications for Teacher Education and Smart Use of Programme Design

UNESCO's Education for All and Millennium Development Goals, in addition to many other initiatives, have already prioritized the need to upgrade teacher education and to provide in-service or continuing education for teachers in Africa. There are significant numbers of teachers who simply have no training or are inadequately trained to mediate any educational model with success. Mazrui (2002) suggests as part of a five-point plan for educational transformation in Africa, that there should be far greater co-operation and sharing of expertise within the continent.

Most African countries have been involved in some form of curriculum transformation since Jomtien, and new revised teacher education programmes are necessary. These obviously require that the trainers are themselves adequately acquainted with new knowledge and expertise. There is furthermore much to be learned and shared amongst countries on this continent, and this is necessary if some of the difficulties and mistakes identified above are to be avoided in future.

Since there has to be initial investment in new teacher education programmes to put new curriculum in place, programmes which include the requirements for bilingual pedagogy and language acquisition are unlikely to incur additional costs at the inception stage when compared with other programmes designed to prepare teachers for curriculum changes. Once they have been designed and trialled, their maintenance becomes part of normal recurrent costs, as Vawda & Patrinos (1999) and Grin (2005) argue.

The international literature has already provided substantial data on the teacher education needs for bilingual education models. This together with sufficient evidence from research as well as teacher education programmes designed to support MTE, NLWC and ILWC needs to be shared and disseminated more effectively across the continent. The Project for the Study of Alternative Education (PRAESA), for example, has been involved in the in-service training of teachers to teach in bilingual/multilingual contexts through the University of Cape Town, since 1998. It also initiated a programme, Training of Trainers for Multilingual Education, in 2002, as a strategy to pilot a programme which might be adapted for use across the region. The purpose of the training of trainers' programme is to equip teacher educators and language education policy and planning officials with the information they require to take the decisions which will best accommodate the language learning and educational needs of students in their respective African country. This is in line with the 1997 SADC Protocol on Education which prioritized teacher education and a sharing of expertise or collaboration within the region. Lessons learned from initiatives such as these can be fruitfully noted and programmes can be adapted with little or no design cost implications, elsewhere on the continent. This does not mean that one country is advised to adopt programmes designed in another. Rather, the emphasis is on sharing and learning from each other's expertise, and making better informed decisions which can speed up processes, cut costs and make most efficient use of the expertise we do have.

8.5.2 Cost effective teacher education, training of teacher educators and criteria for advisors

The continent has already spent vast sums of money on programmes which do not serve learners well. This expenditure has been largely wasted. One way to ensure that expenditure is more appropriately targeted towards programmes which are more likely to succeed would be to have a series of check lists for: teacher education programmes; training of teacher educators; and expertise required of advisors to government departments. Earlier in the study it became apparent that there are too many ill-informed advisors or providers who influence government decisions to select programmes.

8.5.2.1 Teacher Education

Experience gained from teacher trainer and teacher education programmes mentioned above, together with the international experience of bilingual teacher education, show that in the interests of efficient use of expenditure, teacher education programmes need to take into account the following considerations at present:

- Teachers have not been trained to recognise the difference between the teaching and learning of a language and the use of a language as a medium for content subjects.
- The use of local/indigenous languages as mediums of instruction is not addressed directly – it is assumed that if a teacher speaks a language she can teach through this language.
- Teachers expected to teach through their L2 or even a language, which is basically foreign to them, is something which is not adequately addressed in the training programmes. The result is poor communication/language modelling.
- Teachers end up code-switching as an act of desperation – so it is not usually systematic. It is not a validated activity – so teachers and students are often obliged to disguise this activity as if it were not legitimate. In fact it may be beneficial where it is used systematically. However, this issue needs to be properly addressed in teacher education programmes.
- Students reaching tertiary institutions – often have to engage in remedial language programmes, English, French or Portuguese for academic development etc.

The curriculum for teacher education programmes in Africa should include:

- Language proficiency modules for the teacher in both L1 and L2, so that the teacher can provide good modelling for the learners, and work efficiently with school texts.

- A basic introduction to first and second language acquisition theory, including how children become literate and effective readers and writers (applicable to teachers across the curriculum).
- Teaching teachers how to teach reading and writing.⁶⁴
- Bilingual / multilingual teaching methodology and classroom strategies (including how to teach in and through African languages).
- Use of and introduction to the process of developing of terminology in ALs.
- Upgrading of content subject knowledge and expertise.
- Introduction to and use of information technology.
- Essentials of classroom materials production.
- Classroom-based or action-research.
- Intercultural education.

8.5.2.2 Training the Trainers and Informing the Planners

In order to prepare educational planners/policy makers to make the most informed decisions and teacher educators for their changing responsibilities, it is feasible to act on Mazrui's suggestion for regional co-operation and offer joint programmes or programmes which include participants from several different countries. Experience from the PRAESA programme suggests that participants at this level would find the following course outline helpful.

- (Introduction to) First and second language acquisition theory, including how children become literate and effective readers and writers (applicable to planners across the curriculum).
- Language education policy, models and outcomes.
- Bilingual / multilingual teaching pedagogical principles.
- Introduction to the process of developing of terminology in ALs.
- Participatory (community involvement) approaches to education policy and planning.
- Education planning advocacy.
- Cost-benefit approaches of medium to long-term planning for educational success vs. short-term planning to protect incumbent's careers.

8.5.2.3 Requirements for Advisors to Education Authorities

In order to reduce unnecessary expenditure on approaches which are unlikely to yield positive returns, any education department or ministry seeking external advice regarding language education issues should insist that the advisors have adequate expertise in the following:

- First and second language acquisition theory
- Multilingual contexts in which the L1 is/are African languages and are spoken by the majority.
- The ILWC as the minority rather than majority language (as it inevitably is in Europe).

8.5.2.4 Requirements of Language and or Literacy Programme Evaluators

Many educators who take on evaluations of literacy and second language programmes in Africa do not necessarily have sufficient expertise in literacy development and language acquisition. This is quite obvious from the plethora of evaluation studies which have not tracked students' performance to grade 5 or 6, which is the point where it becomes clear whether or not the language programme has been successful and facilitated adequate learning for pupils. It is not advisable for donor organizations or other stakeholders to engage the services of education evaluators whose objective it is to provide adequate analysis of literacy and language programmes unless they demonstrate the necessary

⁶⁴ I wish to acknowledge Hassana Alidou for this point.

expertise. Literacy and language evaluators need to have adequate expertise and knowledge of the following:

- First and second language acquisition theory
- Language education policy, models and outcomes.
- Current research on literacy and language learning in Africa and beyond.
- Bilingual / multilingual teaching pedagogical principles.
- Sensitivity to language development time-frames and how these impact on the need for longitudinally based features of a programme.
- Adequate expertise in the construction of the instruments for evaluation.

Where evaluators do not meet these criteria, expenditure on evaluations or systemic assessments may be wasted.

8.5.3 A Ten Point Plan: Activities required to make further use of African languages in education

	WHAT	WHO	TIME	COST: same or more
1.	Language education policy	Small consultative informed team: use experts from within Africa	2 months – electronic discussions; 2-3 meetings	Same as for any education policy/language policy development
2.	Implementation Plan	Smaller informed team	2 months	Same as for any policy implementation
3.	Public support	Education officials and experts via public media; formal & informal channels of communication	Start immediately; keep public up to date with the debates; engage public participation in debates.	Public media should carry this without cost to the state; state expenditure where possible. Same costs as for any government policy.
4.	Language Technology: terminology	Small team of experts to engage in capacity development	Speeds up timeframe for delivery	New costs but inexpensive, replicable, electronically accessible.
5.	Translation technology	University departments of African languages to re-tool/skill where necessary	Fast - can reduce translation time by 50%; can be used for textbooks and electronic resources - download assessments, worksheets etc.	Inexpensive software investment. Time reduction = cost reduction.
6.	Language development units	African universities - prepare students for orthographic, lexicographic, terminology and translation development expertise	Start training 2007	State invest in re-skilling university trainers and establishment of language development units; develop business plan - should be self-funding in 5-10 years.
7.	Dictionaries (multilingual)	Identify institutional affiliation (e.g. university/ies; government department; non-profit independent structure)	On-going – long-term project	State investment/annual allocation.
8.	Multilingual materials	a. Publishers – domestic; b. Specialist teachers can also produce these electronically.	a. Publishing timeframes require careful scheduling. b. Use of electronic education bank for storing teacher generated materials is faster and can be used almost immediately	a. Publishing: Cross-border collaboration reduces outlay costs and speeds up return on investment. Usually not much more. b. Electronic bank of materials – minimal costs. Publishing houses can recover costs and grow business in Africa
9.	Teacher Training	Re-tooling/skilling of teacher trainers; share available African expertise;	Fast-track capacity development, thereafter timeframes same as for regular provision.	Minimal costs for initial design of new programmes, soon becomes normal recurrent costs.
10.	Total Investment - additional expenditure on education budget for 5 years			1%-5% ⁶⁵ recoverable and reduces overall expenditure over medium term (5 years). Medium to long term prognosis – economic benefits to each country.

⁶⁵ Countries where orthographies and other language development units already exist can expect 1% increase; where there are no orthographies, the costs could escalate to 5%.

8.6 Conclusion

Finally, inadequate economic theory allows governments to fall back on systems which show little return on their investment. What we know is that the current models of education which do not make best use of the languages through which children and their teachers understand the world means that we offer them education which is largely without meaning. This education is expensive and has a very low rate of good return. With a little additional expenditure (current analysis indicates that this may vary between 1% - 5% on the additional provision of education which makes greater use of local languages and provides better tuition of the international language), this will be recovered within five years through lower repetition rates. What many people do not realize is that the salary bill for teachers and administrators takes the largest portion of the education budget and this cost remains the same whichever language model is used.⁶⁶

Pai Obanya in a documentary film, Sink or Swim (Westcott 2004) challenges us to consider the cost of not making the necessary investment in African language and extended bilingual education. What are the consequences of continuing to provide expensive education which does not teach students to learn? What are the consequences of ignorance in relation to health issues (especially HIV/AIDS), and the social impact of disgruntled youth?

We do know that for the economy, the longer students are in school, the higher will be their potential earnings, and thus the higher the potential tax repayment to the state coffers (Grin 2005).

8.7 Recommendations

1. Cost the budgetary implications of the different options over 5-10 years [i.e. initial additional costs, recurrent costs, cost recovery, return on investment].
2. Ensure that the economists have the necessary information regarding literacy and language development issues in education.
3. Develop a 10 point Language Education Plan for each African Country.
4. Adjust the education budget and identify domestic and international sources for initial investment.
5. Engage civil society in the social, educational and economic costs and benefits of different language and education models.
6. Engage in bilateral or multilateral co-operative arrangements with other African countries.
7. Contain costs: maximise use of available expertise in Africa and about African language and literacy development.
8. Plan to recover costs and reap benefits from 2010-2015 onwards.

⁶⁶ It is unlikely that the additional costs would reach 5% even initially. The biggest cost in South African education is salary costs. Only 7-8% is spent on teacher education and learning materials.

9 Managing Educational Reforms in Africa

H. Ekkehard WOLFF

9.1. Educational Reforms – A Prerequisite for Poverty Alleviation and Sustained Development in Africa

15 years after the *World Conference on Education for All* in Jomtien 1990 and in view of the *Millennium Goals for Education* to be met by 2015, one of the greatest challenges for governments in Africa remains the design of adequate educational policies and subsequent successful implementation and management of the necessary educational reforms, which would allow African countries and societies to fully exploit their human resource capital for sustained development and poverty alleviation through quality education and literacy for all.

Dramatically needed educational reforms would have to be based on the nation-wide introduction of bi- or trilingual educational systems whose fundamental prerequisite is the L1 medium of instruction (MoI) in additive bi- or trilingual models. In such systems, the “first language” of the child, i.e. L1 (mother tongue or a language that the child is sufficiently familiar with upon school entry), is maintained as MoI throughout – ideally – all educational cycles, with the official (often foreign/ex-colonial) language being introduced as L2 (= subject of instruction) at some point in the curriculum, and a national language of wider communication (possibly a cross-border language of inter-African communication), as a further L2 – if the country’s sociolinguistic profile suggests this as a feasible and acceptable solution for the communication needs of the vast majority of its nationals.

Educational reforms of pitch and moment would not only require a very high professional degree of strategic communication, but also a shared vision on the basis of a strong corporate identity on the part of the responsible agency; as a rule, this would be the national *Ministry of Education* (MoE). Ministries in Africa tend to lack traditions with regard to comprehensive communication skills and networks. In addition to widely spread deficits concerning internal communication within the Ministry (due to strongly hierarchical top-down structures and symbolized by absence of corporate identity and commitment to a shared vision), we hardly find adequate external communication strategies in place in terms of dynamic partnership networking with all external stakeholders. Taking all stakeholders aboard, each group with their specific needs and aspirations, would include not only successful advocacy of the relevant policies, but also transparency of decisions and accountability of all parties involved, particularly on the side of Government and the MoE as the lead agency. Any successful multi-stakeholder dynamic partnership approach to strategic communication must be based on the insight that the field of education is characterized by partly conflicting interests of many actors (cf. the discussion in Chapter 2), with the MoE being but one fish in the pond.

Educational reforms for poverty alleviation and sustained development in Africa have, by necessity, to do with the empowerment not only of the indigenous African languages that will be used throughout all educational cycles, but with the empowerment of the people who speak these languages.

The political and philosophical maxim that ought to lead governments, parliaments and other stakeholders would be, as a saying goes, *aller à l’idéal, tout en comprenant le réel*, i.e. to aim for the IDEAL, based on due recognition of the REAL. The “ideal” in our case being additive bi-/trilingualism throughout all cycles of formal education and in non-formal education, the “real” being the sociolinguistic, socio-historic, socio-political and socio-cultural facts that may characterize the situation of any African country.

This outlook chapter recognizes the above needs and challenges; it suggests a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach for a successful implementation of educational reforms under the prevailing conditions in African countries. This approach offers valid theoretical analyses and conclusions

regarding the necessary prerequisites and mechanisms, and provides efficient methodological tools. This approach is recognized in the relevant literature as *Integrated Social Marketing*.

It needs pointing out that *Marketing* in the framework of the integrated concept of *Social Marketing* refers to a comprehensive *leadership concept* for non-commercial organisations and has, despite immediate but wrong associations that are likely to come to the mind of the non-initiated reader/listener, little if anything to do with market-driven forces that characterize the commercial sector. Despite the fact that the terminology has been largely borrowed from the commercial sector, *Integrated Social Marketing* refers to the optimized management of social ideas, i.e. addressing social problems and aiming for social goals and effecting social change (for the interrelationship of language politics and social change cf. Chapter 2). According to this approach, we may expect that (new) social problems can be solved more efficiently and more effectively by using management tools that are offered by *Integrated Social Marketing theory*.

9.2. Applying Integrated Social Marketing Theory to Problem-Solving with Regard to Educational Reforms in Africa

As has been recently claimed by Wolff (2004), *Integrated Social Marketing* (ISM) can be profitably applied in terms of professional management of educational reforms for purposes of human resource development and poverty alleviation in Africa. These educational reforms must be based on adequate design and successful implementation of comprehensive language planning in general, and language-in-education policies in particular. For indispensable academic backup, “Applied African Sociolinguistics” must find its place in educational programmes at the tertiary level across Africa – such as is envisaged by ACALAN’s special Master Programme. Such *Applied African Sociolinguistics* must be innovative and must integrate ISM theory with regard to the particular problems of language-in-education management under the special conditions that prevail for its operational and situational application in Africa. Such innovative programme concerning integrated Language Planning and Educational Planning is based on the following axiomatic assumptions:

1. Multilingual education involves language planning.
2. Language planning is both strategic and operational planning, it involves fact-finding, policy development (& governmental decision-making), implementation, evaluation.
3. Language planning and formal education are both part of social planning, the target is to effect social and cultural changes (also sometimes referred to as “modernisation” of society).
4. Language planning, particularly language planning for education, provides fundamental prerequisites for development (individual, social, cultural, economic, political development), poverty alleviation, and enjoying human rights.
5. Putting multilingual education for all into practice (“implementation”), based on professional language planning and the professional execution of appropriate language and educational policies, can profit from applying the theoretical framework of *Social Marketing*.

These assumptions are based on a particular understanding of what *Social Marketing* (SM) is about. *Social Marketing*, as it is to be understood for the purpose of this chapter,

1. is the planning, organisation, implementation and control of strategies and activities of non-commercial organisations, which directly or indirectly aim at solutions to social problems/tasks;
2. claims to offer the philosophy, concepts, strategies and tools to approach social problems, and finally effectuate the desired social and cultural changes (towards “modernisation”);

3. is the orientation of activities towards the needs of target groups and about professional communication with the target groups; the target groups involve the general public, decision-makers and administrators, media, and professional organisations;
4. is feasible for non-commercial/non-profit organisations like Ministries of Education.

In particular, ISM is about communicating (new) social ideas (i.e. advocacy, dissemination, and acceptance), and about negotiating social reforms such as educational reforms, particularly in view of creating the social setting of a dynamic multi-stakeholder partnership to enhance the success prospects of implementing new policies. It is understood that all management tasks, including those under the SM approach, must involve controlling. While marketing as such is a leadership concept, controlling is a tool for leadership support. (Note that “controlling” in SM theory has little or nothing to do with “control” in the ordinary sense of the word.) Managing (marketing) multilingual education involves a set of interrelated policies, such as target group policy, communication policy, distributional policy, economic policy, etc. In Africa in particular, any SM must be culture-sensitive and be based on solid research with regard to the historical and socio-cultural idiosyncrasies of each individual country. In the case of education, one of the central issues is the empowerment of the un-empowered (with reference to both languages and their speakers), which necessitates sensitivity, transparency, and accountability with regard to all actors.

The task of managing education lies with the national Ministries of Education, who, as a rule, are neither used nor adequately equipped to handle this task comprehensively, effectively, and efficiently. In order to provide Ministries, where necessary, with suggestions and concepts of how to improve their performance, the following lines of thought and arguments may be found helpful.

- Education for all is a social marketing task which targets better/high performances of and within educational systems; the responsible agency to address this task is the national Ministry of Education.
- Ministries of Education are the central agencies for managing and, thereby, marketing educational policies, they must be able to answer to questions of the kind “*What can the Ministry of Education contribute in terms of development and poverty alleviation, and what is and can be expected of the Ministry of Education in this regard?*”
- Marketing is feasible for governmental organizations such as Ministries of Education (quite contrary to uninformed preconceptions).
- Social marketing for education, however, requires high levels of professionalism and special management / marketing competence.
- Ministries of Education tend to share particular deficits of “bureaucratic” organisations regarding management and marketing, information flow and organisational structure, and in terms of staff qualifications and requirements. In order to stand up to their tasks, the Ministries have to be “professionalized” with regard to SM issues where necessary.
- Ministries of Education face particular problems due to adverse attitudes related to engineering social change (“modernisation”) through formal education both with regard to the general public and within the organisation. These involve internal resistance to rigid professional management in terms of marketing and controlling, as well as external adverse attitudinal and behavioural patterns of people who belong to different layers of society or generations with different social and cultural backgrounds.
- Ministries of Education face particular marketing problems due to the innate long-term effectiveness of educational action, as opposed to the rather short-term effects in commercial and political marketing.

Consequently, in order to overcome the notorious failures of African educational systems, we need to not only review educational policies across the continent in terms of languages used (as media and subjects of instructions) and content matters taught, in combination with appropriate and professional teacher training and pedagogical materials production. We must also recognise and get rid of

inefficient bureaucracy, mediocrity and lack of professionalism on the part of the relevant agencies of educational reforms that are part of social and cultural change, i.e. insist on capacity building and professionalism on the level of the national Ministries of Education and related authorities, with a special attention given to *Integrated Social Marketing* of new educational policies, including the language-in-education issue.

Social Marketing starts off from the assumption that new social problems (for instance, regarding education, sanitation & health care, pollution of environment, family planning, juvenile delinquency etc.) can be solved more efficiently by using marketing tools. One could, therefore, say that

“Social marketing is planning, organisation, implementation and control of marketing strategies and activities of non-commercial organisations, which directly or indirectly aim at solutions to social tasks.” (Bruhn/Tilmes 1994: 23 – translation HEW).

We distinguish two different perspectives within Social Marketing (Bruhn/Tilmes 1994: 22 – translation HEW):

- The institutional perspective looks at the realisation of social goals from the perspective of a given institution. This makes social marketing a leadership concept for social institutions (increasingly we observe social marketing for hospitals, political parties, museums, theatres, etc.).
- The problem-driven perspective of social marketing focuses on the question as to what kind of techniques, methods and tools can be used for solving social problems. This happens irrespective of which organisations would be responsible for the execution of such programmes (e.g. marketing for solving problems of preservation of natural environment, fighting xenophobia, recycling, and unemployment).

Most African economies and political cultures are considered to be “underdeveloped”, not the least because their societies are characterised by massive social problems, such as poverty and illiteracy, poor sanitation and hygienic standards, HIV/AIDS, demographic explosion in the absence of efficient family planning, high unemployment, little vertical social mobility, crime and juvenile delinquency, alienation of the new “elites” from the “masses”, poor performances of and within the educational system, such as low school intakes, uneven distribution of girls and boys in schools, poor standards of teaching, low motivation of teachers and pupils, high rates of drop-outs and class repeaters, poor results at final examinations, low transfer from primary to secondary (and from secondary to tertiary) education, primary school leavers remaining practically illiterate, school leavers with no or rather low competence in the official language that is used as medium of instruction in school, school leavers with no practical or vocational qualification to make them better farmers, gardeners or craftsmen when they return from school, etc.

Social marketing claims to offer the philosophy, concepts, strategies and tools to approach these kinds of social problems, and finally effectuate the desired social and cultural change (towards “modernisation” or “development”).

Zooming in on education, in particular basic education for all, social marketing under a problem-driven perspective would target, for instance, *development* and *poverty alleviation* as social goals, and would develop strategies (including the organisation of a network of social institutions and organisations, governmental and non-governmental) in order to meet the target(s). One of the specially designed social “products” to be marketed would be the educational policy of “multilingual universal education”. Under the institutional perspective, social marketing would focus on the role of the national Ministry of Education (MoE) as the central organisation for managing educational policies in general, and multilingual universal education in particular.

It follows from this that we have to talk about professionalism and special management competence on the appropriate levels of administration within, for instance, any given Ministry of Education. Only

a high degree of professionalism and competence would allow ministerial managers to function efficiently and effectively under the regime of what is called the management cycle, i.e. a dynamic planning and implementation process, involving activities as given in Fig. 1 below.

Fig. 1 Management Cycle



There is no reason why public and governmental institutions should be exempted from the requirements of professionalism and management competence. Like private institutions they must have a philosophy and a mission, must have precise information on their role in a specific environment, be able to narrowly define targets, develop strategies in order to achieve the targets, and implement control mechanisms that would feed back into fact-finding and, if necessary, lead to a re-orientation of targets and strategies. All this is part of marketing. In this sense, modern and wider marketing is nothing but a professional management philosophy aiming at optimising functional processes in which the organisation is involved. (And this has little or nothing to do with advertising a new shampoo or brand of cigarettes, as marketing is sometimes too narrowly, and therefore falsely, construed.)

9.3. The Challenge: Language Planning as Social Planning

One of the axiomatic insights of sociolinguistics says that language planning is social planning. Modern and advanced social planning and its implementation, in Africa or elsewhere in the world, can no longer do without elements of SM theory and its operational application. So, if indeed language planning is a form of social planning, then how about marketing language for education, or rather: marketing multilingual education under due recognition of the role of mother tongues/L1?

⁶⁷ The analysis usually follows a so-called SWOT approach (Strengths – Weaknesses – Opportunities – Threats) where *Strengths* and *Weaknesses* apply to the internal environment (i.e. the organisation itself and its structures), while *Opportunities* and *Threats* apply to the external environment.

It is not generally accepted and far from traditional wisdom that professional management - involving marketing and controlling in particular – are of conceptual and organisational necessity in the sub-fields of social planning, including educational planning. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that, in terms of budget size and staff numbers, the institutions involved, such as ministries and other governmental agencies or some NGOs, measure up to medium size commercial enterprises. Even though education is less concerned with “hard products” (i.e. material and storable goods) than with “soft products” (immaterial and non-storable “goods”), the need for management, marketing and controlling is still there, albeit most of all in the shape of “service management”.

Service management faces a set of particular problems which relate to the “soft” nature of its products. Reference here is to products such as “good training”, “successful education”, “adequate curricula”, “increased creative potential and motivation” of teachers and pupils, etc. Therefore and instead, we usually find, if anything, success stories conveyed to the media for propaganda purposes concerning quantities of “hard products”, like numbers of classrooms built and books printed, numbers of teachers trained and school leavers at various levels, percentages of female enrolment, etc. In particular, educational marketing has to do with the change of attitudinal and behavioural patterns of people who belong to different generations with different social and cultural backgrounds. A new educational policy, as a policy, cannot be already considered successfully marketed when it appears to be widely accepted by the public as, for instance, mirrored in the media – particularly in the context of a press which, unfortunately in a number of African countries, may not be free at all. Rather, it takes many years and several cohorts of pupils and students to be seen and accepted as being notably “better educated” in terms of immediate results which can be measured and linked to this new policy, part of which being better employment perspectives. Here lies one of the specific major problems of social respectively educational planning, i.e. the long-term effects of action, as opposed to the rather short-term effects in political marketing, for instance, during election campaigns.

The central agency for all activities regarding educational policies, their planning and implementation, provision of school buildings and furniture, pedagogical materials and consumables, teacher training and employment, curriculum development and organisation of final examinations etc. is a Ministry of Education (MoE) of some sort.

9.4. The Institutional Perspective

The last two to three decades have witnessed interesting attempts to enlarge the scope of marketing science to encompass also non-commercial problems and organisations. This has come to be known as *Social Marketing*. However, it would only be fair to say that many, if not most central issues of Social Marketing have not been satisfactorily addressed nor even solved (cf. Bruhn/Tilmes 1994: 230 ff.).

Introducing professional marketing into the agenda of a governmental institution such as any MoE in Africa may meet with considerable scepticism. In our traditional bipartite conception of “government and public administration” on the one hand, and “economy and market activities” on the other, there appears to be little room – on first sight – for introducing conceptual adaptations from the economic and market sector of commercial actors into the routines of government and administration. This, however, may be part of the problem and is one of several reasons why governments and administrations perform poorly. As a matter of fact, MoEs already use marketing concepts, or at least elements of marketing:

- the media, often under government control anyway, are used as multipliers for communication between government and the public, even with donors;
- some of the target groups are identified as addressees for occasional special action, such as special programmes run for in- and out-of-service training of teachers and administrators, curriculum development, piloting experimental approaches to basic education, etc.

- certain results of piloting studies, and changes in certain curricula, are being generally implemented, while others are not.

These are all marketing elements and part of the MoE's communication with its environment where it occurs.

As a rule, however, one would presume that we are dealing with ad hoc and rather intuitive marketing in such cases, i.e. most of the time there will be no marketing oriented communication, but simple top-down decrees, or no communication at all. What is needed, however, is long-term and systematic strategic communication, which as such involves long-term and systematic planning. There are obvious shortcomings of ad hoc and intuitive marketing activities, namely

- it has no long-term developmental perspective, but is rather geared towards immediate solution to arising problems (more in the sense of repair strategies);
- it is not concerned with internal communication of the targets (which are addressed in external communication) within the various sections of the MoE and to all staff who are involved in the particular activities; i.e. most staff members are neither participating in identifying the targets nor are the targets made explicit to them, even though their administrative performance will decide on the success or failure of achieving the targets through the marketing operations;
- there is no systematic reflection in terms of success and failure analyses (learning from failures is particularly instructive);
- if short-term activities appear to work, this is it – there is little or no further inclination to pursue long-term activities even if these are considered promising.

If governmental, in our case: ministerial, leadership means, first of all, communication to the outside, and coordination of communication within, professionalism is increasingly called for. This cannot mean to simply replace practical experience with purely theoretical knowledge, but rather to apply structural knowledge to experience and, thereby, systematically reflect practice in terms of theory.

It appears to be non-controversial to say that a specific set of problems lies within the nature of governmental institutions and their staff profiles. This is particularly true for the most central agencies involved in educational matters – i.e. national Ministries of Education. Most staff members, including or particularly those in leading positions, share considerable prejudice and reservation against the introduction and application of marketing principles and methods. They tend to worry about the impact that marketing would have on the identity of the organisation and their own position within. Also, most people simply think of media advertising and posting when they hear the word “marketing” and wonder what that would have to do with their work as a governmental institution. Finally, ministries and other governmental institutions tend to have long and rather conservative traditions based on structures that are not easily changed (some are deeply rooted in colonial times). New concepts such as “(internal) controlling”, even more than the better known “external evaluation”, are in principle quite adverse to the image they have of their own organisation, the way it should be run, and their own responsibilities within the organisation.

Under a wider concept of “marketing”, MoEs can indeed be said to correspond to commercial enterprises in market economy and, therefore, underlie economic conditions and require professional management. This equation may sound surprising at first, but makes sense once we become aware of the following facts⁶⁸:

- MoEs organise and coordinate activities of people;

⁶⁸ The following section is based on Benkert (1994). We will apply Benkert's general outline of marketing and controlling for public cultural institutions as narrowly as possibly to one particular agent, i.e. a hypothetical Ministry of Education (MoE) in a generalised African context. Illustrations, where introduced, refer to the situation in Niger, West Africa. The reader is encouraged to compare this to the situation in her/his own country and the educational situation there that s/he knows best.

- MoEs acquire and use financial and other means and transform these as factors of production (inputs) into goods and services (outputs) that are being used by other people;
- MoEs compare to commercial enterprises in terms of budget size and number of staff.

Further, ministries, like players in the commercial sector – at least in theory – would allow for

- integrated marketing, i.e. coordination of all marketing activities among all sectors and sub-organisations;
- flexibility and efficiency in the face of and despite changing data and conditions in its environment;
- creativity and innovation potential;
- qualification of staff towards certain functions.

However, MoEs do not restrict their activities within the economic dimension, even though economic considerations (such as cost-benefit relationship) are a necessary prerequisite also for ministries in order to efficiently and effectively facilitate achievements in the educational sector. In this sense, education is economically conditioned in the double sense of the word “condition”, i.e. it is “made possible” to take place in the first place, and it is “restricted” by financial and other constraints.

Accordingly and in order to be efficient also under a cost-benefit regime, MoEs require professional management and marketing like any commercial enterprise of comparable size. Management in the wider sense, by the way, is here conceived of as “a bundle of steering tasks independent of type of enterprise” (Schreyögg 1993, quoted in Benkert 1994). What is different, however, and that is why we need a specialised management theory for Social Marketing, is that with MoEs economic targets such as cost-benefit efficiency regarding quantitative achievements and “hard products” (like numbers of classrooms built and books printed, numbers of teachers trained, school intake and leaving rates, percentages of female vs. male enrolment, etc.) are superimposed by cultural/educational targets of qualitative nature that are “soft products” (like “good training”, “successful education”, “adequate curricula and syllabi”, “increased creative potential” of teachers and pupils, etc.) It follows from the above that educational management must provide *service* for needs of society rather than being profit-oriented. Further, MoEs tend to be public monopolists in a market without or with only little private competition. (Monopolists, as we know, by their position in an almost non-existent market, have a tendency to consider efficiency and marketing largely unnecessary.)

Since a functioning MoE must be concerned about the relationship between strategic tasks (i.e. its “mission” and the specific “targets” to be achieved that have been set for it by government politics), the operational tasks for the implementation of particular policies, the available means (provided by the Ministry of Finance or non-governmental bodies, like foreign donors), and the demographic and cultural environment in which to perform its tasks, specialised management competence is required, involving the application of models for marketing and controlling, besides other management “functions” such as budgeting & finances, staff planning & development, etc.

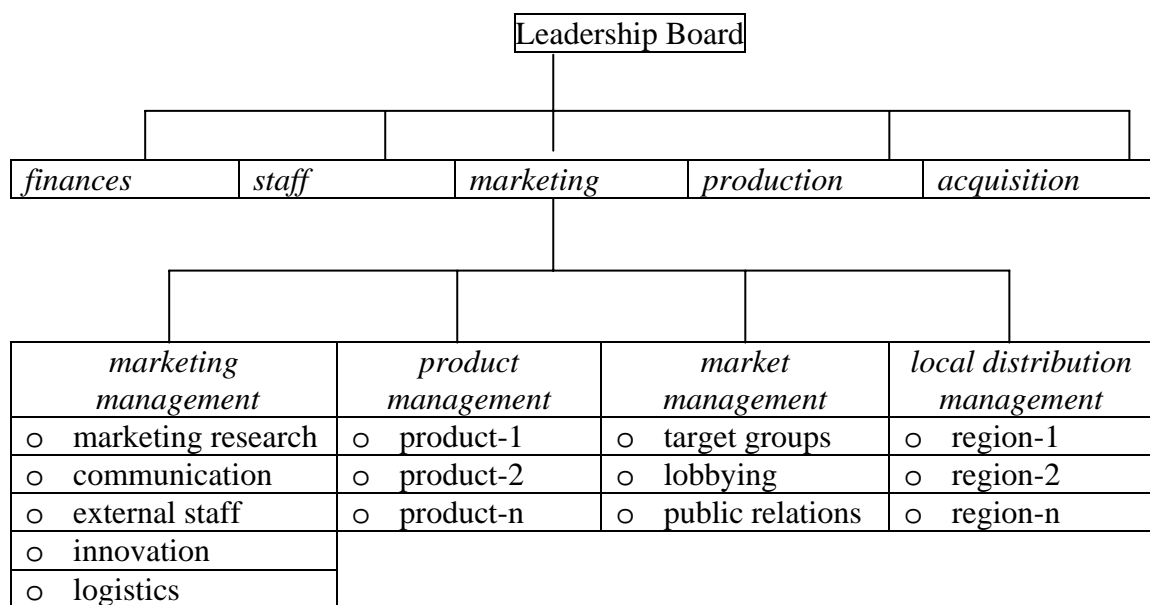
Governmental institutions like ministries tend to face particular deficits regarding information flow and organisational structure:

- Marketing is hardly ever accepted as being of any, and definitely not prime importance. Usually, if at all, it is attributed some marginal status. Accordingly, there is no central marketing unit within the organisational structure. Rather, we might find a few individual members of staff in charge who have only little knowledge about marketing concepts; often the whole issue is out-sourced by involving external consultants, if at all the ministry can be bothered.
- There is no continuous collection and evaluation of information on past activities, so that there is hardly a basis for information-based marketing (planning) and a solidly established marketing unit within the organisation that would have immediate access to the Board.
- Marketing plans, if they exist, are not being used as steering tools, but rather are treated as “archival” materials.

- Cost-benefit analyses and auditing hardly ever take place, and if they are forced on the organisation, they usually have little or no consequences.
- In Africa, in particular, frequent changes in government and, subsequently, in the leadership of the relevant organisation tends to entail adverse discontinuity effects in terms of planning and implementation, since new governments have a tendency to change policies almost at any cost in order to be publicly recognised as being different (and, ideally, “better” – another instance of marketing in terms of public relations, related to “image” if not “propaganda”).
- As opposed to NGOs or any (sometimes voluntary) organisation as part of civil society, governmental institutions are characterised by organisational structural features that appear to conspire towards lack of flexibility.⁶⁹

One wonders how many MoEs in Africa do have a specialised management section that would handle, or be able to handle, marketing and controlling. Available organigrams of ministries, for instance, that of the former *MEN* in Niger (Bergmann/Yahouza 1992), suggest that they have not. A separate marketing unit would require a minimum of specialised staff in leading positions, such as given in the following diagram (Fig. 4).

Fig. 2 Illustration of a generic marketing unit integrated in the management (modified from Kotler 1978: 232f., as quoted in Bruhn/Tilmes 1994: 222f.)



Note that each box filled by function terms in *italics* indicates important management staff positions that one needs to look at in terms of its specific challenges and requirements.

The personal qualifications and requirements for the staff of the marketing unit, managers and others, that are valid for commercial organisations are definitely not those that are normally required for

⁶⁹ Some of these features are (a) formalisation of internal communication as opposed to free interaction among members; (b) formal external as opposed to informal and internal control mechanisms within the organisation; (c) coordination: central leadership with predominantly or exclusively top-down communication; (d) internal organisation: “subject/task”-oriented rather than according to “role” with strong input in bottom-up communication; (e) staff recruitment: external selection, fixed (automatic) promotion procedures; (f) motivation: physical presence rather than “membership” and job satisfaction; (g) overall structure: hierarchic rather than democratic/participatory.

recruitment for any governmental institution. The following criteria to be met for such a job appear not to be the usual qualifications for hiring and promoting civil servants in ministries:

- flexibility,
- individual initiative,
- decision-making capacities,
- free working hours,
- team-oriented leadership,
- problem-solving capacities,
- ability to openly handle conflicts,
- creativity and manifold personal interests,
- general openness,
- feeling of social responsibility,
- learnability and willingness to learn,
- integrative capacities,
- curiosity,
- adaptability,
- etc.

Since MoEs would appear not to be institutions where one would find staff with the above qualifications, one should not be surprised about the widely deplored fact that education policies in general, and certain innovative educational policies in particular, are so slow in getting implemented on the ground, if they have any chance of being implemented in any serious manner at all!

Maybe a short mention of the necessary market research is in order here (cf. Otte 1999: 50ff.). Being empirical research in the proper sense, market research must be planned, adhere to scientific principles and come up with reproducible results. Experts distinguish between empirical data elicitation on the one hand, and desk research on the other. For data elicitation, the standard methodology involves both market analysis and market observation (using tools such as individual and focus-group interviews, observation, experiments, both in the field and under laboratory conditions).

Since marketing is the orientation of activities towards the needs of target groups, we must first identify the corresponding *target groups* for our MoE, and the *needs* of these target groups. It will simply not do to say that the target group is “society” as such, and that its needs are “formal education organised in educational cycles”. Clearly, we must refine the analysis. What is generally overlooked, however, is that not only groups of “consumers” of educational policies are concerned (whom we would identify, first of all, with pupils, parents, and teachers), but also other persons and institutions within the wider environment of education, such as politicians and decisions-makers on various levels, administrators, donors, the media, the general public, professional organisations and syndicates, etc.

Since marketing is, further and first of all, communication with the target groups, we need to identify the needs and interests of the target groups, the conditions under which these needs can be satisfied, the processes involved in education, the contents of education, the modalities of providing education, and all of this within the frame provided by the educational policies that are set up by parliament and/or government which, in a circular way, must already be based on market research and intensive communication with target groups and within the Ministry itself.

It follows that marketing within the MoE must be organised as cross-sectoral activity, so that what would be needed is not just another “directorate” or section parallel to all other directorates or sections, but rather as a truly cross-sectoral unit affecting all other administrative units and all staff members within the MoE in the sense of modern notions of *Integrated Social Management*. If not, we are facing a strong risk of unhappy rivalries between individual sections or directorates which would be counter-effective to the measures proposed and implemented by a marketing unit as just another parallel unit among many.

In addition to the above, so-called integrated social marketing further requires focused operation of various marketing instruments in order to achieve a maximum of synergetic effects, together with – as we have already mentioned – cross-sectoral internal coordination of the activities and communication within the responsible organisation. Effective social marketing programmes further presuppose precisions concerning (a) organisational prerequisites, (b) staff qualification, and – of course –, (c) the implementation of effective controlling.

A relatively new but strong argument in favour of Social Marketing, involving education, derives from the observation that education is increasingly becoming a field for *sociosponsoring*, meaning stronger influence of external donors on educational matters.⁷⁰ Sociosponsoring and Social Marketing are instruments which, when used systematically and professionally, will entail advantages to all who are vitally concerned with education, i.e. both organisations and target groups.

9.5. The Problem-Driven Perspective

The following section where it makes reference to situations on the ground have, as an example, the Republic of Niger in mind; details of how this applies to the Niger situation can be found in Wolff (2004).

9.5.1 Target Group Analysis

Based on our general notion of leadership which has to do with external and internal communication, the identification of targets is a primordial leadership task. Note that among the target groups in the educational sector we do not only count teachers, pupils and parents, i.e. the immediate “consumers” so-to-speak, but also the general public, politicians and administrators, actual and potential donors etc., i.e. the whole gamut of stakeholders. Certain marketing tools will then be reserved for certain target groups in order to enhance their motivation to behave and act in particular ways.

Each target group has specific needs or expectations which are often implicit rather than explicitly stated. Target groups may be institutional (e.g. governmental bodies, NGOs), organisations of civil society (e.g. professional organisations, syndicates), or individuals (decision-makers, administrators, teachers, parents etc.). Each target group is characterised by restricted options in terms of social behaviour. Dealing with different target groups, therefore, requires access to a mix of communication and marketing tools.

9.5.2 Product Policy and Market Position

As we have indicated, complexity in terms of target groups requires a complex mix of marketing tools which are specifically directed at certain target groups. In a commercial context, marketing requires a product policy, i.e. decisions regarding the kind of products and the market position with reference to these products and in view of the competitors. In the monopolist position of our MoE, the competitors are the other ministries and their financial needs and aspirations. They will also market their policies, be it on cabinet level or in terms of getting donor support, in order to have budget guarantees or even increases. As a rule and under general governmental constraints, ministries compete for the same and limited resources. This means, that the ME leadership must be able to answer the central question for good governance: *What can the ME contribute in terms of development and poverty alleviation, and what can and is to be expected of the ME in this regard?* In other words, the question is: What makes education in general, and the suggested educational policy (for instance, multilingual universal primary education) in particular, attractive and a political requirement of highest priority, ideally of even higher priority than, for instance, national defence, public health and infrastructure? Our proposed marketing unit would have to insist on the inherent cross-sectoral nature of education as prerequisite for sustained development and poverty alleviation, i.e. saying that education is the basis

⁷⁰ International NGOs and agencies were actually quite slow in discovering “education” as one of the most important fields for developmental aid but are now and finally paying growing attention to it. A case in point is the German Technical Cooperation GTZ (*Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit*), cf. their recent brochure on “Universal Primary Education in Multilingual Societies” (GTZ 2003, author: Kurt Komarek) commissioned by ADEA for its Biennial Meeting in Mauritius, December 2003.

for all other governmental policies to be successfully implemented anyway. The discussion of economic consequences must follow such kind of market positioning which, in turn, must take notice of the criteria which target groups consider relevant.

9.5.3 Distribution Policy

In addition to product policy, we need a distributional policy involving logistics. This is where the traditional “inspections” which form part of most MEs could come in – but not in order to “control” in a top-down fashion, but as a marketing tool for bottom-up communication with regard to local conditions: buildings, furniture, equipment, transport facilities, books, consumables, etc., but also in-service training options, parent support, support from local government and traditional rulers, etc. This is particularly obvious in the rural areas in which school enrolment tends to be low, for several well-known reasons. But certain quarters in mega-cities and *bidonville* townships may pose similar problems for different reasons, such as overcrowding and demands exceeding the facilities.

9.5.4 Communication Policy

The by far most important tool to consider is communication policy with regard to the various target groups among stakeholders and the general public, not to forget the essential internal communication within the MoE. Communication must transport relevant contents which relate to the other marketing tools, namely product policy and the distributional policy. Further, advertising the product (e.g. for a particular educational policy, like *multilingual UPE*⁷¹) belongs here, but also public relations in the traditional sense (regarding the image of the institution as a powerful, reliable and successful agent of social development and individual progress) and, as part of it, creating a corporate identity, which not only adds favourably to the external image of the institution, but enhances internal communication and makes the institution a favourite employer in the public sector. Formulating a *mission statement* is regarded as a helpful device. (We should not forget that we would want the brightest and most motivated employees of public administration to work for our visionary model MoE!)

In particular, for communication within government and towards legislative bodies (as much as external donors, NGOs etc.) a strong and persuasive *mission statement* must create the image of the MoE as a primordial agency for development and poverty alleviation and the enjoyment of Human Rights.

External communication must address the huge and almost insurmountable heap of negative attitudes both within government, the ministry itself, and the general public, both “traditionalists” and “non-traditionalists”, all of them sharing specific fears, prejudices and misconceptions about formal education and the role of language therein.

Let us look at “traditionalist” sections of the public first who have problems with “modernisation” in general and require special marketing targets:

Table 1 Targets for campaign to promote formal education among “traditionalist” sections of the general public

before	after
Fear among Muslim community that pupils are “lost” to Islam	<i>Muslim community no longer fearing that formal education is adversely affecting Islam</i>
some religious dignitaries discourage formal education	<i>most religious dignitaries in favour of formal education</i>
many parents disallow formal education for their children	<i>parents eager to enrol all their children in formal education</i>

⁷¹ UPE = Universal Primary Education

Communicating the benefits of reformed quality primary education (involving mother-tongue and lingua franca as medium of instruction, culturally adequate educational contents) to the non-traditionalist sectors of the general public, i.e. largely those who have profited themselves in some way from formal education of the old system, aims at considerable attitudinal changes which can only be effected if and when the new educational policy creates notable if not drastic educational successes with ensuing increased job opportunities, even for members of the present “elite”. From this derives the probably most challenging set of marketing targets:

Table 2 Targets for campaign to promote the “new educational system” to the non-traditionalist sections of the general public and to the functional elites

before	after
status maintenance syndrome: secondary school leavers and university students adverse to changes of the status quo	<i>elitist and quasi-feudalistic self-conception of class of “functionaries” changed towards a more egalitarian and democratic philosophy</i>
general disrespect for basic education	<i>basic education recognised as highly relevant for development and poverty alleviation</i>
primary school leavers who do not continue their formal education are considered “losses” to the system	<i>general public views (life long) education as a human right for everybody, and a value in itself; basic education is accepted as being “terminal” for most children and providing a promising base also for traditional activities (farming, gardening, crafts etc.) and in the formal and informal sector of economy</i>
primary education is seen as leading to first school leaving certificate (CFEPD) and entrance to secondary education	
the general public views employment in the formal sector as prime target of education	
the general public is not (yet) convinced of the advantages of educational reforms	<i>general public is able to see the advantages of educational reforms and supports them as beneficial to their children</i>
most initiatives regarding educational reforms have failed	

The general public must further be addressed in terms of enhancing the prestige of the teaching profession in general and of primary teachers in particular. This follows the above mentioned marketing campaign regarding the public benefits of reformed quality primary education.

Table 3 Targets for image campaign to enhance prestige of the teaching profession

before	after
low prestige of teachers	<i>teaching considered a prestigious and highly respected profession</i>
teaching is viewed as only second choice in career planning	<i>teaching considered by students to be a highly desirable profession</i>
alternatives to teaching in terms of permanent employment diminishing	<i>teaching is so attractive that only the best qualified applicants are employed</i>

The two external communication campaigns described above, if successful, will almost automatically result in the targeted higher motivation and professional ethics of teachers:

Table 4 Targets for campaign to increase professional ethics and motivation among teachers

before	after
primary school teachers with low motivation	<i>high motivation among primary school teachers</i>
high fluctuation rate by teachers	<i>job stability with low fluctuation among teachers</i>
lack of vocational motivation (for teacher training) with	<i>students in teacher training institutions highly</i>

many students	<i>motivated</i>
lack of vocational motivation for many teacher trainers	<i>teaching staff involved in teacher training highly motivated</i>
teacher trainers with adverse attitude towards pedagogical innovations	<i>teacher trainers innovative and creative with regard to pedagogical innovations</i>

At the end of the campaigns, most negative features of the “old educational system” will have been replaced by the desired features of the new educational system:

Table 5 Targets for campaign to lift standards and ameliorate working conditions in education

before	after
generally poor working conditions for teachers	<i>generally good working conditions for teachers</i>
generally bad working conditions for pupils	<i>generally good working conditions for pupils (in class)</i>
prescribed number of classes/periods are not given	<i>prescribed number of classes/periods given</i>
no exposure to prescribed methods of teaching	<i>innovative and creative methods of teaching being applied</i>
standards of teaching are mediocre (at best)	<i>good/high standards of teaching achieved</i>
some teachers use corporal punishment	<i>corporal punishment generally considered inappropriate by teachers</i>

In a circular way we may assume that with the above attitudinal changes effected in the long run by and after the appropriate marketing campaigns, the more general positive achievements targeted by the new reformed educational policies will be enhanced and accelerated, such as

Table 6 Targets for better performance and output in primary education

<i>teaching programmes better adapted to the social and cultural environment</i>
<i>linkage firmly established with the immediate environment (milieu)</i>
<i>continuing high standards of school leavers with high literacy competence in L1, L2</i>
<i>low rate of class repeaters</i>
<i>drop-out rate close to zero</i>
<i>100% attendance at 1st final exam</i>
<i>continuing high rate of success at 1st final exam</i>
<i>creative and intellectual potential of pupils fully developed</i>
<i>illiteracy rate lowered: all school leavers highly literate in several languages</i>
<i>schooling rate increased to almost 100%</i>
<i>girls and boys equally well represented</i>

9.5.5 Other Policies

In the commercial sector, price policy is a highly relevant marketing tool. In the context of free primary education, this would be no concern. But as soon as we come to fee-paying secondary and/or tertiary education, this would open a vast field of discussion.

In marketing education, however, at least one more management sector needs special attention: finances and high standards of accountancy involving planning and controlling in terms of cost-benefit relations. This particular challenge is closely connected to the communication sector already described above in some detail.

Table 7 Targets for achieving high efficiency and balanced cost-benefit relations within the educational system

before	after
decrease of resource allocation to education	<i>adequate/sufficient resource allocation to education</i>
inadequate division of scarce resources within the educational system	<i>adequate division of resources within the educational system</i>
lack of means	<i>availability of necessary means</i>
increase of share of staff costs to the detriment of other costs per pupil	<i>balanced distribution between staff costs and general per head costs per student</i>
cost-benefit: costs per pupil rather high	<i>adequate levelling of costs per student through even distribution of pupils per class, also urban/rural</i>
particularly bad cost-benefit relation in rural areas (low attendance due to fact that children have to work)	
system-internal efficiency rather low	<i>high internal efficiency</i>
system-external efficiency (at job market) rather low	<i>high external efficiency</i>

9.6. No Effective Management of Educational Reforms without “Controlling”

If we accept marketing as a promising leadership concept for managing education in Africa, we must accept controlling as an essential part of it. We know now that marketing education is not simply “selling” a particular governmental policy to the public and implementing it in daily practice, but a continuing process of complex two-way communication between all stakeholders in the wider environment of education (some concerned experts refer to this as “multi-stakeholder dynamic partnership approach”). Developing this communication is a feature of the inherently dynamic nature that makes marketing a strategic task for efficient leadership, which must be followed by the identification of operational tasks in order to be effectively implemented. Efficient leadership will seek to optimise this communication both in its external dimension (i.e. *marketing* in the narrower sense) and in its internal dimension (i.e. *controlling*).

Controlling, as we have already pointed out further above, has less to do with “control” in the common sense of the word, but rather with internal communication within the organisation based on evaluation regarding targets and efficiency. Looking at the organisational structures of MoEs – centralized or regionalized/localized –, with its several specialised sections labelled “inspections”, one can’t help the impression that “control” rather than “controlling” is at the heart of these institutions, i.e. top-down control to make sure that top-down legislature and decrees are being followed to the point – rather than organising a dialogue and allowing for bottom-up communication and, therefore, permanent “feed-back” from the grass-roots. If, however, we translate controlling with “steering”, it is the task of controlling to provide and evaluate data concerning activities, achievements in terms of realising targets, costs and benefits. Whereas marketing is a leadership concept, controlling is a tool for leadership support. Controlling can take the form of external evaluations. However, external evaluations if compared to integrated controlling would appear to be much less effective for the overall promotion of education, since it does not form part of the leadership concept of the MoE, nor does it involve internal communication within the MoE, nor continuous assessment. External evaluations tend to be punctual exercises maybe every 5 or 10 years. External evaluation may be fine and have implications for external stakeholders like donor agencies, but for the country’s government and public, particularly our MoE, everybody concerned could easily turn their back on such external evaluation and continue “business as usual”.

Controlling in the sense of “steering” is needed wherever we have different options for social behaviour, it is also needed in the absence of automatisms in the sequence of activities or if automatisms must be excluded when facing alternative decisions. This idea is basically adverse to the nature of bureaucratic institutions like a ministry which is used to follow legal prescriptions and decrees without any room for corrective decision-making, and which are, therefore, largely

characterised by rule-governed automatism. What we need, therefore, are non-bureaucratically structured cross-sectoral marketing units within the MoE, superimposed to all existing directorates and sections, with direct access to the leadership.

The administrative reforms that are advocated here do not aim at totally revolutionising post-colonial administrative structures – this would be an impossible task and possibly suicidal for one’s own administrative career. All I am advocating is to create a strong central marketing unit within the MoE, whose controlling section will organise the internal communication in terms of

- a common devotion to the jointly developed mission statement and targets, thereby fostering corporate identity and enhancing the image of the institution as an agent for development and poverty alleviation;
- identifying options for decision-making within the framework of a given policy in areas where feed-back from the target groups calls for modifications and precisions (flexible strategies);
- organising internal feed-back from practice to strategic planning in order to avoid unplanned developments;
- keeping an eye on cost-benefit relations.

Planning and controlling are two sides of the same coin, planning precedes controlling. Planning is proactive, its perspective relates to actions in the future, whereas controlling is, partly at least, concerned with a retroactive perspective in terms of deviations from original planning, it is at the same time an early warning system in terms of consequences for future actions (plan corrective). In the narrower sense, controlling involves elicitation and condensing of data, analysis and report, interpretation of findings. In the wider sense, as it is sometimes applied, controlling would also include pre- and post-controlling activities, i.e. planning (preceding controlling in the narrower sense) and evaluation in terms of advising leadership with regard to the interpretation and options for actions to be taken (following controlling in the narrower sense). In particular, controlling would review, in terms of continuous assessments (possibly assisted by occasional and focussed external evaluations), planning (strategic and operational), plan implementation (and correctives), cost-benefit relations, internal and external efficiency, management strategies (including controlling “controlling”). Further and even more specialised controlling would also have to pertain to staff controlling (i.e. having the right people in the right places, according to qualification and motivation), and logistics controlling (i.e. the supply of material goods to the various locations where educational activities take place).

Controlling could be effected internally by the organisation’s central marketing unit, but it could also be out-sourced and be conducted by external consultants. Both strategies have their advantages and disadvantages in terms of familiarity (nearness vs. distance), shorter vs. longer communication channels, costs, and conflicting interests.

9.7 How to Start and Where to Go

In as much as modern concepts regarding *Integrated Social Marketing* would ideally be put into practice across the board in a sweeping fashion, this might not work for several reasons in many African contexts (e.g. lack of “political will” due to both lack of intellectual and political competence as well as resistance from within administrative structures, lack of qualified personnel, shortage of resources, budget problems). With regard to our model MoE, however, both marketing and controlling tools need not be introduced in such overall fashion all at once, but rather could be introduced in terms of piecemeal marketing and controlling concepts. This would mean that a newly established marketing unit could concentrate, for instance, on marketing and controlling the implementation of *multilingual UPE*, first of all, and parallel *multilingual adult literacy*. This suggestion, of course, somewhat

resembles what is long known, especially among agents of foreign aid to Africa and their local counterparts, as “project management”.⁷²

The difference to project management is that the former aims at a well-defined particular task to be accomplished, whereas marketing and controlling in the sense of leadership concepts and support is a permanent feature of modern management with long-term perspective. The introduction of marketing concepts by “project” would be feasible when it entails a step-by-step combination of several selected areas of focus (or “projects”) in order to create an expanding network for strategic planning – parallel to the expansion of the role of strategic management in general.

This step-by-step strategy for the introduction of a marketing philosophy into traditionally highly bureaucratic institutions would probably be appropriate also in view of the widespread absence of specialized professionalism (or fairly low degree of such professionalism) on the part of ministerial leadership. A highly professional marketing unit would be of little use in an institution whose leadership was incapable of integrating the results of controlling into any kind of strategic management. In any case: The first steps must be the expression of the political will to embrace modern concepts of language and education management by government, and the “go ahead” for serious implementation by establishing a highly professional “marketing unit” (with immediate access to the leadership level) that is familiar with and capable of complying to modern concepts of Integrated Social Marketing for education policies in general, and language-in-education policies in particular, within the responsible Ministry or Ministries.

This central managerial unit must and will be guided by visions that target a democratic society in which the educational system allows every citizen to develop her/his full intellectual and creative potential through the continuous use of her/his first language (or any language that s/he is truly familiar with as her/his L1) of learning throughout all educational cycles, in addition to one or two other languages (L2), one of which will be the official language of the country, if this was different from the L1.

Additive bi- and trilingualism in education, as the present study has amply demonstrated, is the inevitable foundation for most parts of Africa on the way towards sustained socio-cultural and politico-economic development, eradication of poverty, and finally breaking the invisible chains of mental colonization. There is little, if any, hope that this could be achieved without adequate language and language-in-education policies that give the indigenous African languages their rightful and unrivalled place complementary to the likewise inevitable access to effective performance in the official language(s) that the educational system must also provide. The peoples of Africa should feel encouraged to accept for themselves that it is better to develop one’s strengths than try to compensate for one’s weaknesses, which – with regard to the politics of language and education – would mean to proudly exploit and expand on the inherited patterns of multilingualism so widely spread in Africa rather than obediently copying the purported monolingualism that appears to characterize the home country of the former colonial power. The challenge for Africa and the Africans is to finally escape from the traps of colonialization:

There is some feeling, that what is traditional is incompatible with what is progressive. This is mainly due to the fact that those things that are worth preserving in the so-called primitive African societies have been so much caricatured, ridiculed, and indeed condemned as savagery and decadent by the Europeans who set the norms of acceptance. Thus, the African is accidentally caught in a dualism of equally vicious sets of cultures militating against each other. As a consequence, he either becomes a caricature of himself or an imitator of others (Emeka Manuwuike 1978).

Africans have always lived out their lives and their cultures. The African Academy shall be the decisive instrument for the total liberation of the continent, and the revival of initiatives by the populations. It shall contribute to the dissemination of a dynamic vision of languages, vehicles of cultures and moral values, the basis of African societies, and unavoidable factors of integration, peace and an everlasting

⁷² Often, project management already includes a controlling or monitoring unit, based on the general insight that controlling, like marketing as such, is of a cross-sectoral nature.

endogenous development within a balanced and a dynamic partnership with languages inherited from colonialisation.

It is now time that Africa stopped being the only continent where a school child can have access to knowledge and science only through a language other than the one spoken in his family!

(Adama Samassekou, President of ACALAN 2002).

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