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TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING STUDIES

THE POLITICS AND POLICIES OF LANGUAGE USE IN AFRICAN UNION INSTITUTIONS

BY

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ABSTRACT

Upon its inception in May 1963, the founding fathers of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (or AU), demonstrated a great deal of commitment towards the achievement of what should be called - as far as this study is concerned - the 'African linguistic dream'. In this dream, the OAU founding fathers saw an African citizen who is empowered linguistically (UNESCO, 2006).[1] Consequently, they were determined to ensure the development and promotion of indigenous African languages. The Experts Meeting held in Harare, Zimbabwe, in March 1997, therefore acknowledged that - in Africa - language policies should be informed by an African dream (UNESCO, 2006: 50)[2].

There have been several initiatives, policies, programmes, etc., to promote and develop indigenous African languages some of which are the 1986 Language Plan of Action for Africa[3], the creation of the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages (OAU-BIL) which was later replaced by the ACALAN (Matsinhe, 2013, 2015), and recently the AU's Agenda 2063[4].

However, more than half a century after independence, indigenous African languages have still not been accorded their rightful place in public life, media, education and national affairs. The African linguistic dream is yet to materialise. Paradoxically, these languages are recognised as national and even official languages. Such designations are pointless because they are not supported by clear policies capable of guiding their implementation. To this extent, there has been a big contradiction between these talks and the actual linguistic reality on the ground (Chimhundu, 2015).

In this study, a qualitative approach was used to investigate why the implementation of the OAU/AU's Language Plans of Action for Africa (LPAAs) has not led to an effective promotion of the language agenda. Qualitative methods such as purposive sampling, convenience sampling as well as snowball sampling strategies were used to gather views of language experts, language policy makers and implementers and politicians, and linguistic experts, some of whom have contributed to the drafting of the LPAAs. Twenty semi-structured individual interviews and two group interviews were conducted.

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[1] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997.

[2] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p: 50.

[3] The first Language Plan of Action for Africa or LPAA was adopted in 1986 and revised in 2006 (Chimhundu, 2015; Batibo, 2015; Nyati-Saleshando, 2015).

[4] Agenda 2063 epitomises the New Vision for the continent of Africa (Third edition, January 2015), http://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/agenda2063.pdf [Accessed 20 December 2016].

Each of which was made up of 11 and 8participants, i.e., n=19, making a total of 39 participants. The interviews were all in English, and they were transcribed directly without being translated from or into any other language. A thematic analysis was then applied to the transcripts using the Framework Method.

The study confirms that the implementation of the LPAAs has not contributed substantianly to the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages as there has been a significant shift from the OAU-BIL's militant approach of eradication of the use of colonial languages, given the fact that it opposed the use of colonial languages from the onset in 1963, to a much softer stance since ACALAN - the Specialised Organ of the OAU/AU responsible for developing and promoting indigenous African languages - now calls for a partnership between African languages and colonial languages (African Union, 2015; Batibo 2015; Matsinhe, 2013: 27).

Africa does not need to waste its precious time and resources on developing and promoting effective use of indigenous African languages because both LPAAs are still pertinent, topical and remain a reference (Chimhundu, 2015).

Key words: Language-planning, language policy, Language Plan of Action for Africa, indigenous African languages, Agenda 2063, African Academy of Languages, OAU-BIL, qualitative research, purposive sampling.

Declaration

I, Codjo Raymond Tohouenou, wish to declare that this thesis is my own, unaided work, except where otherwise acknowledged. It is being submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Translation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. This thesis has never been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. All sources which I have used, made reference to, or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged.

Signed this 1st day of October 2018

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Codjo Raymond Tohouenou

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated first to God the Almighty whose abundant grace and mercies sustained me through this PhD programme at the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. To my daughter and to my spouse, Dziedzorm and Margaret Mary Tohouenou, respectively, for their encouragement, support, patience and sacrifices, which kept me going through difficult times. To my parents Landry Kouassi Tohouenou, particularly to my beloved mother Catherine Tchotchovi Tohouenou, who had so much faith and confidence in me and believed in my capabilities, and who passed on while I was still writing this thesis. Mum, I wish you were still alive to see the fruition of all your sacrifices: financial, physical and material. May the Good Lord grant both of you Eternal Rest. You will be remembered forever.Thank you mum!

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I owe a debt of gratitude to the Executive Secretary of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) and staff, to the management and staff of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) for their kindness and generosity and support.

I am also indebted to the all the participants in this study - particularly the language experts, the linguistic experts, the language policy makers and implementers as well as the politicians (Ministers of Arts and Culture) - who kindly agreed to be part of this project by sharing their perspectives and experiences on the language policies of the African Union, particularly the reasons why the implementation of the OAU/AU's comprehensive 1986 & 2006 LPAAs has not led to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in all domains of life.

Finally, I would like to thank Ms Marilyn Thorne, the former administrator of the Department of Translation and Interpretation, for her special care and attention throughout my training at the Departmennt, and all the staff of the Department of Translation and Interpreting of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

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List of acronyms

AU: African Union

ACALAN: Academy of African Languages

OAU: Organization of African Unity

OAU-BIL: Organization of African Unity Inter-African Bureau of Languages

LPAA: Language Plan of Action

MTBMLE: Mother-tongue-based multilingual Education

PACC: Pan-African Cultural Congress

NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

PRAESA: Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa

Chapter 1: On developing African languages: The OAU/AU Vision

Compared to other continents in the world, Africa is one of the most linguistically diverse continents (Chumbow, 2013; Campbell, 2015; Batibo 2015; Chimhundu 2015; Nyati-Saleshando, 2015; Senkoro, 2015). Out of the more than 6000 languages spoken by about 7 billion humans, there are over 2 000 languages spoken in Africa (Campbell, 2015: 3). The distribution of languages across the globeis illustrated in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Distribution of languages

Region	**Number of languages**	**% of total**
Europe	230	3%
The Americas (South, Central, North)	1 013	15%
Africa	2 058	30%
Asia	2 197	33%
The Pacific	1 311	19%

Source: UNESCO, Sharing the World of Difference[5]

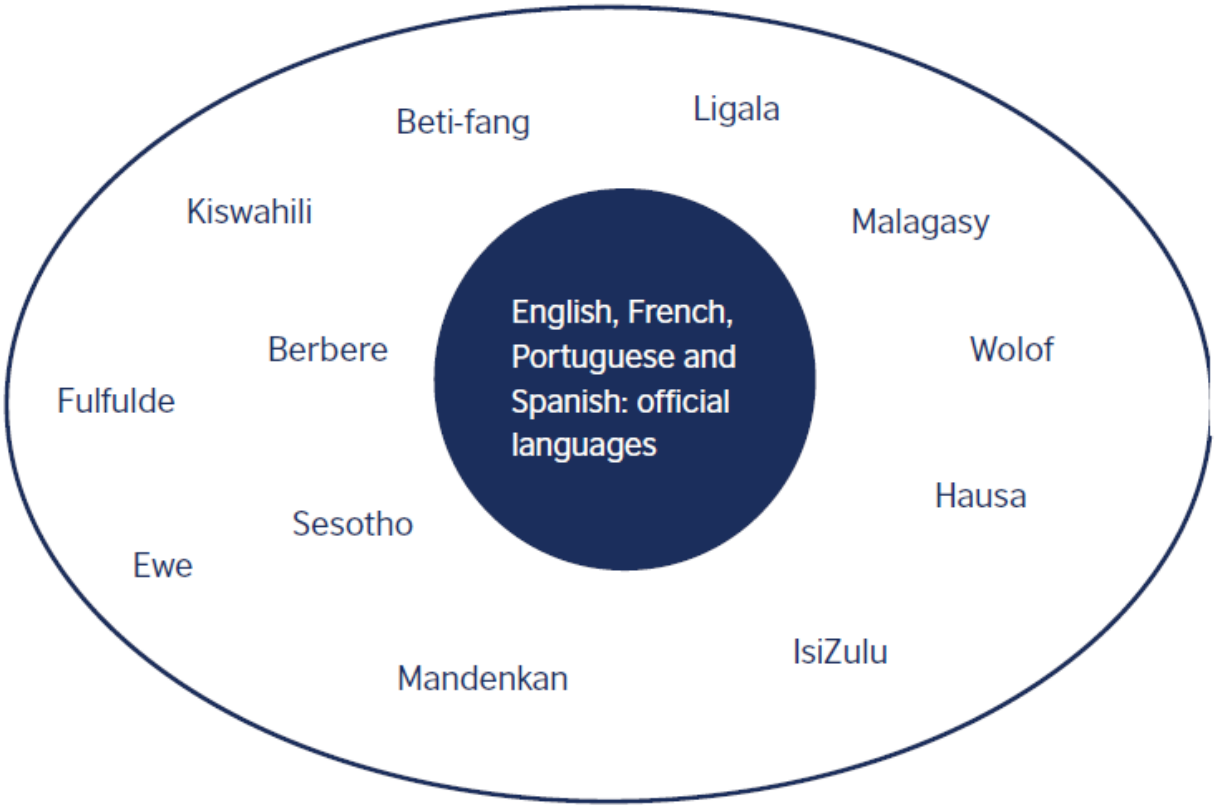
Against this background, this introductory chapter highlights four important factors that are central to the study. Firstly, it is necessary to highlight the linguistic diversity of the continent, which is by far unmatched compared to other continents (Campbell, 2015; Batibo, 2015, Senkoro, 2015). As indicated by participant **16:** "*Africa's linguistic diversity is a reality. Unfortunately, the colonial policies did not contribute to its promotion. So, by the time colonisation ended, indigenous African languages have lost the little and uncontested prestige they had before colonial languages were introduced"* (lines 67-74). One dilemma the political elites of the continent had to deal with after independence was how to address this cultural and linguistic diversity effectively and manage it responsibly, and - most

[5] http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001323/132384e.pdf [Accessed, May 16 2016].

importantly- the status to be accorded to the numerous languages as per the linguistic reality of each country. In other words, African leaders had the daunting task of determining which of those indigenous African languages would be official languages.

The African Linguistic Mosaic illustrated in Figure 1 below(Matsinhe, 2015: 24) illustrates the situation described above, which is the focus of this study.

Figure 1: African Linguistic Mosaic (Matsinhe, 2015:24).



Second, the issue of the development and the promotion of effective use of indigenous languages has been high on the agenda in Africa since independence because the majority of African countries realised that non-colonial languages can play a crucial role in the political, socio-economic and technological development process of the continent (Mtenje, 2009). This point is illustrated by participant 17 as follows: *"We must not lose sight of the fact that languages are very important in our lives, because they are the means through which we express and explain ourselves"* (lines 211-215). This position is reinforced by Participant 32 in the following terms: *"I think the time has come for all Africans to accept the fact that indigenous languages are assets which need to be preserved if we want to push the development agenda forward"* (lines 511-515). Accordingly, at national level, several

statements have been made and several declarations have been signed to demonstrate their commitment to promote African languages (Mtenje, 2009). For example, at a continental level, the OAU/AU has devoted a great deal of time to demonstrating its commitment to the development and promotion of African languages (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015). This explains why there have been several initiatives across the continent aimed at promoting the language agenda because of various pressures exerted by the majority of Africans on the political elites to ensure an integrated, united and prosperous Africa (Campbell, 2015: 1).

The third factor focuses on the fact that, irrespective of the enthusiasm or the zeal demonstrated by African political elites, the linguistic reality is such that colonial languages still dominate the African linguistic landscape, marginalising indigenous African languages because, for example, in most African countries comprehensive language policies are lacking, non-existent or are even not implemented effectively (Mtenje, 2009: 24).

A Language Plan of action was drafted and adopted in 1986 and revised in 2006. This comprehensive document clearly spells out various goals most African countries are expected to achieve about the recognition, development and promotion of non-colonial languages. The language plan of action proposes to Africans all that is required to ensure a true development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages in the following pertinent domains: education, trade, government and media (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015).

Furthermore, there are several other pertinent policy documents - particularly the New Vision of the OAU/AU and Agenda 2063 (**Aspirations 3 and 5** highlight the importance of African languages or even the Language Policy Guide adopted in 2010) - which argue for the integration of indigenous African languages into the educations systems (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015).

All these initiatives demonstrate the commitment of the leadership of the continent towards the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. Despite all these initiatives, however, the linguistic reality has remained almost unchanged since independence. To this extent, after more than 50 years following political independence of the majority of African countries, indigenous African countries are still not playing any major roles while colonial languages are reserved for formal high-domain assignments such as high levels of education, the judiciary, legislature, health, administration, science, technology, research, publications, business, international affairs and the media (Mtenje, 2009; Bamgbose, 1999; 2011).

Fourth, the context of the linguistic paradox that the continent has been dealing with for decades is highlighted in the section below. It is further referred to in all chapters.

This introductory chapter is organised as follows. The context and background of the study are set out below, explaining the significance of the topic as well as stating clearly the vision of the fathers of the OAU, with a focus on the language policy failings of the OAU/AU. The section on the aims and objectives of the study presents the main aim of the study and two primary objectives which have been established based on the reason(s) why the implementation of the OAU/AU's Language Plans of action for Africa (LPAAs) has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages.

The rationale for the study then gives pertinent reasons for the importance of conducting this research. The section on the methodology highlights the main methodology of the study, which is discussed in full in chapter two. The constraints of the study deal with the various challenges associated with the practical aspects of carrying out the research. These mostly concern the process of obtaining official permission to conduct the study, funding and logistics. Finally, the outline of chapters provides a brief description of the content and structure of the seven chapters which make up this dissertation.

1.1 Context and background to the study

To understand the significance of this study, it is important to state clearly the vision the forefathers of the then OAU[6] had concerning the development and promotion and effective use of indigenous African languages, as reflected in the first LPAA (Chimhundu, 2015: 3)[7], which was adopted in 1986. This was, among other things, intended to produce an African citizen confident in his community, his internal region, his nation and in the international community. In the LPAA, it was suggested that each region of Africa should ensure the development of a language of its choice as a lingua franca (UNESC0, 2006: 51).[8]

Furthermore, this vision provides the necessary guidelines for ensuring the successful implementation of the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. For example, the language plan of action contains priority areas for actions including the formulation of clear language

[6] The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was created in 1963 and was transformed into the African Union (AU) in 2002.
[7] The first language plan of action (1986). The 1986 LPA was revised two decades later, i.e., in 2006. Even after the revision, the content of both documents remain the same (see Chimhundu, 2015: 3).
[8] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p51.

policies as well as specific methods and means aimed at realising the stated objectives at national, regional and continental levels (Chimhundu, 2015). All these examples demonstrate the OAU/AU's commitment towards the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages.

However, despite the commitment and efforts made in this regard, the linguistic reality has not changed a great deal since independence because, among other things, the colonial state was very anti-democratic and coercive in all respects, particularly about language policies (Campbell, 2015). Paradoxically, the continent still relies on colonial languages instead of indigenous African languages (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015). As Bamgbose (1999) notes, one phenomenon which is common in all countries in sub-Saharan Africa is the lower status occupied by African languages compared to European languages. In fact, it would be fair to argue in this vein that "the record of the Organisation of African Unity, OUA, on its commitment to Africa's indigenous languages is anything but impressive" (Kalema, 1985: 1).

There are three main reasons why the vision of the forefathers of the OAU/AU needs to be stated and highlighted here. First, every argument and discussion from the introduction to the conclusion of this study revolves around the LPAA and all its intents. Second, focusing on the vision and intentions of the LPAA facilitates a better understanding of the purpose and significance of this study. Third, the study seeks to prove the main notion or assumption that Africa is a continent where policy makers and implementers, experts as well as the political elite, enjoy talking but achieve very little.

It follows that Africa is a continent in which there are great deal of policy talks (Muriithi, 2015) with very little action on the ground. For example, when the first LPAA was adopted in 1986 by the Heads of States and Governments of the then OAU, hopes were subsequently raised because it was believed that the document would serve as a roadmap to the practical development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. The LPAA is a comprehensive document because it provides all the necessary guidelines needed for ensuring effective development and promotion of indigenous African languages on the continent (Matinshe, 2015).

What makes the LPAA an even more comprehensive document is that its formulation and production were inspired by the following pertinent documents:

- The Organization of African Unity Charter;
- The Pan-African Cultural Manifesto of Algiers (1969);

- The Inter-Governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa organised by UNESCO in Accra (1975) in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity;
- The Cultural Charter for Africa, with special reference to Part I Article 1 (a) and (b), Article 2 (a), Part III Article 6.1(a), 2(b) and Part V Articles 17-19;
- The Lagos Plan of Action (1980) for the Economic Development of Africa; and
- The Final Report (27th April 1982) of UNESCO's Meeting of Experts on the "Definition of a Strategy for Promotion of African Languages" (Appendix 1, p211).[9]

There were other initiativessuch as the United Nations Science and Culture Organisation (UNESCO) thatsupported the Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa held in 1997 during which it formulated a very comprehensive and more practical multilingual language policy (Chimhundu, 2015). Reference can also be made to the African Cultural Charter which was adopted in 1976 by the African Heads of State and Governments of the OAU, the aim of which was to ensure the integration of cultural development plans in the overall social and economic development programmes (Muriithi, 2015). A great deal has happened, particularly at the regional and international levels with the organisation of two UNESCO culture conventions, one of which = was based on the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) and the other on on Cultural Diversity (2005), the revision of the 1986 LPAA in 2006, and the creation in 2006 of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) (Chimhundu, 2015).

Again, during the final period before the conceptualisation and establishment of core projects of ACALAN, several conferences, seminars, symposia, workshops and bilateral deliberations were held, during which the main participants or speakers were African linguists and other language professionals, practitioners and activists. One of the most important of such meetings was the World Congress of African Linguists (WOCAL), which was organised from 7 - 11 August 2006 at the African Union Conference Centre in Addis Ababa (Alexander, 2010).

The history of the continent abounds with many examples of brilliant and well-crafted policies and programmes regarding the promotion of indigenous African languages, namely, the OAU Language Plans of Action (1986, 2006), the Harare Declaration and Plan of Action from the 1997

[9] The OAU/AU's LPAA (See Appendix 1 p 211).

Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa (IGCLPA) (Chimhundu, 2015: 3), the African Cultural Charter and the Charter for African Cultural Renaissance (Muriithi, 2015). Interestingly, these policies, particularly, the two Language Plans of Action (LPAAs) are yet to be fully implemented or to have any meaningful impact on the lives of the masses of the people of Africa.

Furthermore, several conferences have been organised since the adoption of the LPAAs, which often provide the opportunity to recycle the same issues without any signs of practical implementation (Chimhundu, 2015). Furthermore, since the adoption of the Charter of the OAU in 1963, experts and political leaders have seized the opportunity at every important conference to stress the commitment of the political elites of the continent towards the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African language without making any serious attempt to implement pertinent resolutions, including the language plan of action adopted by the first Conference of African Ministers of Culture in Mauritius (UNESCO, 2006: 11).

With regard to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages, Chimhundu (2015) notes that the majority of African countries still have much progress to make before finally breaking out the cycle of rhetoric or lip service and beginning to develop and take practical measures towards the implementation of comprehensive legally binding policies. This is because colonial languages, particularly English, have enjoyed and continue to enjoy their hegemony in almost all spheres of life even more than five decades after the liberation from colonialism. Ironically, it is the language in which both OAU/AU LPAAs have been drafted and implemented.

In the context of Africa, therefore, the continuous use of English in language policy is a deliberate choice (Bamgbose, 2003). Increasingly, one issue that has come to be accepted across the globe is that language policy discourse, no doubt, revolves around English. The privilege enjoyed by a language in a language policy may be dependent on several factors, namely population, prestige, status and functionality, nationalism. In different countries, all these factors are shared by English. In fact, in the same country, English may have more than one of these factors (Bamgbose, 2003).

However, concerning the implementation of language policy in Africa, namely the use of non-indigenous African language,this state of affairs should be regarded as an extension of the lease on the privilege enjoyed by colonial languages (Prah, 2009). It has been encouraged and perpetuated, to a large extent, since the desire of the political elites in Africa is to maintain and to use colonial languages as languages of distinction (Prah, 2009). As Prah (2009) notes, the paradox is however that Africa

proper, excluding non-Arabic-Africa, is the only place in the world where – 50 years after independence - the majorities (about 90% and beyond) of people continue to depend excessively on colonial languages as languages of instruction.

The continued use of non-indigenous African languages has a negative impact on social stratification, social inclusion, education and literacy, status of languages other than English, and language rights (Bamgbose, 2003). However, the current linguistic reality in most African countries seems to suggest that the leadership of the continent has not yet realised these 'detrimental effects', at least for now, because of the way language policies are formulated and implemented. Indeed, as Bamgbose notes, "[l]anguage policies in the African context suffer from lack of focus and direction, politicization, and lip service to agreed policies. Inconsistencies, constant changes and waivers of policy are a direct result of these deficiencies" (1999: 19).

This study seeks to investigate the reason why the implementation of the LPAAs has not led to the promotion of the language agenda of the OAU/AU, which was to develop and encourage effective use of indigenous African languages and make these accessible to all citizens in major domains on the continent, i.e., education, public life and media (Chimhundu, 2015). The aims and objectives are set out in more detail below.

1.2 Aim and objectives of the study

The main aim of the study is to investigate the OAU/AU's language policy failure. The questions below support this primary aim:

Research Question One: Why has the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs (1986 & 2006) not contributed to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in Africa?

Research Question Two: What is Agenda 2063, the AU's new vision for Africa, proposing about the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages?

The main argument in the rationale of the study below will revolve around these two research questions.

1.3 Rationale of the study

Regardless of the number of initiatives, conferences, and policies which are aimed at translating the linguistic dream of the founding fathers of the OAU/AU - as reflected in the 1986 and 2006 LPAAs -

into practical terms, Africa is still heavily dependent on colonial languages. This state of affairs reveals that most African countries did not have well-established national language policies after their independence from colonial rule. To address this important issue, the Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa was organised. The main expected outcome was a reference framework that was mutually agreed upon to guide the formulation of a clear and comprehensive language policy by each African state, spelling out clearly the statuses and functions of the languages that are used and proposed measures to ensure the implementation of that language policy (UNESCO, 2006: 10).[10]

In this respect, since each national language policy needs to consider the specific linguistic and cultural realities of each individual country, and be coherent and realistic, its formulation would have to be preceded by research, much of which had been done across the continent over the years, to determine, among other things:

- Which languages are the dominant local languages, inter-community languages or languages used more widely?
- Which languages are used for what and at which levels?
- What budget is required for further research, for production of materials (especially for teaching), and for the equipment, personnel and structures to be set up to manage this policy? [11]

At the national level across the continent, on the one hand, the language policy situation is such that:

> African languages are sole official languages in three countries (Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somalia) and joint official languages with English or French in seven (Botswana, Burundi, Lesotho, Madagascar, Rwanda, South Africa, and Tanzania). This is, no doubt, an indication that some progress has been made in the realization of this particular aspiration. However, such progress pales into insignificance when compared with the number of countries in which imported European languages continue to function as official languages: French (Sole:13, Joint:8), English (Sole:14, Joint:5), Portuguese (Sole:5), Spanish (Sole:1). (Bamgbose, 1999: 16)

[10] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa: p19.
[11] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa: p19.

At the continental level, on the other hand, there are two important reference points regarding language policies in Africa, namely, the language plan of action that was adopted in 1986 by the then Organization of African Unity, and which was revised in 2006 by the African Union. However, the content of both plans remain the same. The second reference point is the 1997 Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa's Harare Declaration and Plan of Action (Chimhundu, 2015 :3).

My main arguments here are that since the independence of most African countries about more than five decades ago, indigenous African languages have enjoyed a low status and privilege in major domains of society such as education, media, business, politics, etc., compared to colonial languages, namely, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Efforts have been made by successive governments across the continent to develop and promote the use of indigenous African languages in the domains. Among such initiatives, there have been a great deal of high level policy talks meetings organised both at national and continental levels, during which policy makers and implementers, as Chimhundu (2015: 2) remarks, have recycled the same issues but have achieved poor and unimpressive results in this regard (Bamgbose, 2011: 1). Further, the LPPA, which was adopted in 1986 and revised twenty years later, i.e., has not helped change substantially the linguistic landscape in most African countries in particular, and at the continental level in general.

In fact, to date, the two language plans of action, on a whole, have not been implemented (Chimhundu, 2015). This is because, as Bamgbose (1999) notes, one of the main challenges associated with language planning is that it is often taken to be policy-making alone, while its implementation is treated with a lack of seriousness.

The aim of this thesis is, therefore, to interrogate the continuous use of non-indigenous African languages, namely, colonial languages, as working languages of the OAU/AU to the detriment of other widely spoken African languages, and to investigate the following: 1) why the implementation of the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains of society, particularly against the backdrop of the militant stance of the then OAU, i.e., to free the African continent from linguistic imperialism (Matsinhe, 2013, 2015); (2) what is Agenda 2063, the AU's new vision for Africa, proposing about the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages?

In addition, as a language student and practitioner, I have always been interested in issues pertaining to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages and how these fit into the developmental agenda of the continent. Therefore, this study provides me with anopportunity to explore the definetiness of purpose - or lack thereof - of the leadership of Africa regarding the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages. This is important given that Africa is the linguistically endowed continent *par excellence* (Campbell, 2015; Batibo 2015; Kanengoni-Malinga, 2015).

This study provides the opportunity to understand further what may be referred to as the "cycle of policy contradictions and paradoxes" (Chimhundu, 2015: 3). In other words, it is well known that the OAU/AU is good at crafting good policies, protocols and programmes. Unfortunately, in most cases, the OAU/AU has failed to implement such programmes, policies and protocols, some of which are, for example, the *Proceedings of the Inter-Governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa* organised by UNESCO in Accra, in 1975, in collaboration with the then OAU; the *Cultural Charter for Africa*, the *Organization of African Unity Lagos Plan of Action* (1980) for the Economic Development of Africa (see Language Plan of Action for Africa, 2006:1). Of particular importance is the latter, a very comprehensive document which has a significant section on language and culture as well as the content of curriculum (Matinshe, 2015:10). Unfortunately, this document failed to propel the political and socio-economic development of the continent because the policy was not implemented, and the list is not exhaustive.

Furthermore, the current lack of a coherent language policy across the continent can be likened to the statement made by (Smith, 2012: 21) regarding the concerns raised by some International Relations (IR) scholars about a lack of adequate scholarship on Africa in that field and he says,"while some have focused on how Africa is overlooked as an important object of study, others have lamented the unsatisfactory tools with which IR tries to make sense of Africa"

To this extent, there is a huge gap in knowledge in the area of Language Planning and Language Policy (LPLP) particularly at the OAU/AU and this gap needs to be filled as a matter of political urgency. This study explores possible ways of interrogating the paradoxes and contradictions identified in the current language-planning and language policy (LPLP) of the OAU/AU, and how these can be addressed adequately. It also contributes to, and enriches, the debate about LPLP in Africa, especially in helping to understand the failure of the OAU/AU as well as to promote and develop indigenous African languages. Most importantly, the study highlights the implications of the LPLP of the OAU/AU for its

political vision - particularly Agenda 2063, the AU's new vision for Africa - for Africans who are marginalised in relation to the on-going political discourse at the OAU/AU and the broader perspective of the overall development of the continent. Highlighting the implications of the lack of implementation of the LPAAs on the majority of Africans is important since it has been established that development cannot take place if all linguistic groups of a given country are not involved in its process (Bamgbose, 2014). Development is all about human beings talking to each other to see how to improve their lives in languages they understand best (Matinshe, 2015). Therefore, true development is not centred on physical infrastructure but primarily on people. Consequently, for the human capital to participate fully in the development process, the human capital must be educated, most importantly in African languages (Bamgbose, 1999: 24). It follows that, in the context of Africa, language remains 'the missing link' in the development agenda of the continent (Bamgbose, 2014; Matinshe, 2013; Matinshe 2015; Batibo, 2015).

This study does not intend to prescribe to the AU and its institutions what to do and how its organs and specialised institutions should manage their official and working languages. However, it is hoped that the discussions and findings of this research, most importantly the various views and perspectives shared by participants,some of who were part of the team which drafted the first LPAA, will contribute to the improvement of the language policy-making and implementation processes of the OAU/AU as a whole. In other words, the thesis aims to complement the rich literature on language policy formulation and implementation in Africa written by authorities in the field such as Alexander, Bamgbose, Batibo, Chimhundu, Senkoro, Nyati-Saleshando, Campbell, Mtenje, etc.

The implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs remains a highly political, complex and controversial issue given OAU's fastidious determination to free the continent from linguistic imperialism.

1.4 Methodology of data collection

To address the research questions raised in this thesis, I used qualitative methods of gathering data, namely, semi-structured in-depth/personal interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, documentary sources and field notes. The use of these qualitative methods was instrumental in gathering quality data from participants in the study for the following reason. Given the primary aim of the study, which is to investigate the reason(s) why the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAA has not led to an effective development and promotion of non-colonial languages, the best way to achieve this primary aim is to select, seek and explore views, perspectives and experiences of participants who

are knowledgeable in the OAU/AU's LPAAs in particular, and the implementation of language policies in Africa in general, using a qualitative methodology.

To this extent, various techniques, approaches and methods of qualitative methodology have been explored from as many angles as possible in order to ensure credibility and trustworthiness. Works from well-known researchers in the field was consulted. These are: Tufford and Newman (2010), Vaismoradi et al (2016), Morse (2007), Holosko (2010), Pacho (2015), Merriam (2002), Holloway and Wheeler (2002), Leedy and Ormrod (2005), Cresswell (1998), Lieber and Weisner (2010), Snape and Spencer (2003), Oates (2006), Dornyei (2007), Glasser & Strauss (1967), Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011), Polit et al (2001), Coynes (1997), Gale et al. (2013), Cohen (2007), Parahoo (1997), Litosseliti (2003), Lewis (2003), ETA (2008), Krueger (2002), Krueger and Casey (2000), Bogdan and Taylor (1975), Mayr (2008), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Guest et al. (2006), Lillis and North (2006) and Bucholtz (2007).

1.5 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this study is drawn from theories and frameworks borrowed from other disciplines. This is to demonstrate the relationship of dominance between colonial powers and former colonies which are characterised by imperialism, particularly linguistic imperialism which is the focus of this study.

These theories - namely linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2008; Nicholson, 2002), Imperialism (Galtung, 1971; Nicholson, 2002; Balàzs, 2009), World Theory System - especially Centre and Periphery (Galtung, 1971; Tollefson, 2011:368), Governmentality (Inda, 2005; Lemke, 2000; Tremain, 2005), Dependency Theory (Cooper, 1989), Colonialism (Scott, 2005), Ecology of Language (Cronin, 2003), Fill (2001), Tollefson (2011) – provide the lens through which I examine power and domination that have characterised the relationship between former colonial powers and Africa. Colonialism left a weak political, economic, social and cultural heritage resulting from a constant state of dependency in which most post-colonial nations find themselves. The main theoretical implication(s) of these theories for the study are highlighted in chapter 3.

1.6 Constraints of the study

The main purpose of this study is, among others, "to hold accountable to its own ultimate ideals" (Mazrui, 2005: 68), the ideals of Pan-Africanism espoused by the current political leadership of Africa. In achieving that, this study participants were language planners, linguists, policy makers, politicians,

and translators only. This is because, ideally, those held accountable to the very ideals of Pan-Africanism as far as this study is concerned should be the Assembly of the OAU/AU (the Heads of States and Governments) or at least the Foreign Affairs Ministers/Ambassadors of the 55 member states of the AU. However, it would be challenging or almost impossible to include such personalities in the study. Further, the study is limited to the Pan African Parliament (PAP) and the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN).

Second, apart from the Executive Secretary of the ACALAN who gave official permission to carry out the study, the African Union Commission (AUC) did not grant this permission regardless of the numerous correspondences that were sent from October 2013 to 2015. In most cases, correspondences sent to the Commission could simply not be traced. The PAP finally granted its official permission on 18 November 2014 after a dely of almost one year.

The third major constraint of this study is financial. According to the Financial Aid Office of the University of the Witwatersrand, no funds are available for fieldwork. This meant that data was collected under very tight budgetary constraints. Consequently, the study - which was originally supposed to span three institutions - had to be limited to two institutions, i.e., the PAP and the ACALAN. The Executive Secretary of the ACALAN made special arrangements for the research to collect data during the 4th Pan-African Cultural Congress (PACC4), a gathering of language experts, linguists, politicians, policy makers and implementers. The assistance of the Executive Secretary meant that I did not have to travel to the Headquarters of the ACALAN in Bamako (Mali).

1.7 Outline of chapters

The study is divided into seven chapters.

The introduction to the study states at the outset the vision of the founding fathers of the OAU/AU with respect to the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages in Africa, as reflected in the LPAA adopted in 1986. The chapter notes that since the adoption the OAU/AU's LPAA several high-level conferences, meetings and seminars have been held and policy recommendations been made in this regard. However, all these policy recommendations are yet to be translated into pragmatic and practical actions. This state of affairs can be explained by the fact that, in Africa, policy makers and implementers as well as politicians talk a lot but very little is achieved. The section states the main aim and objectives of the study, the rationale and linguistic assumptions, the

constraints and challenges associated with carrying out the study, and ends with an outline of each of the nine chapters of the study.

Chapter two deals with the methodology employed regarding data collection and analysis in the study. A qualitative approach was used in gathering data, particularly in relation to the topic and to the research questions, to delve further into the OAU/AU's language policy failure. Secondly, it discusses the rationale of the choice of the settings of the study: the Pan-African Parliament and the PCCC4. Thirdly, it deals with the methods of data collection which include - among others - research design, data collection and data analysis. Fourthly, the chapter presents the limitations of the methodology and the approaches employed to ensure validity and reliability. The chapter finally discusses the preparation, transcription and analysis of the data.

Chapter three focuses on various aspects of LPLP: history and evolution, goals, aims and motivations, and frameworks underpinning LPLP. It also poses the pertinent question about whether language can be planned. The chapter then delves into different perspectives of language-planning, language policy, and language management. The chapter explains the basic concepts of LPLP and further provides an overview of the LPLP in post-colonial Africa, which is characterised by the dominance of colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish to the detriment of widely spoken national languages. This state of affairs is reflected at the level of the OAU/AU, the working languages of which are all colonial languages.

The last section of the chapter focuses on the analytical framework which draws heavily on the theoretical framework of Phillipson (1992, 2009) used in *Linguistic Imperialism and Linguistic Imperialism Continued*. These works discuss and summarise theories and 'traditions' borrowed from a 'number of disciplines' in the social sciences and the humanities. For example, in the social sciences, theories such as "imperialism theories and concepts derived from them in the analysis of international cultural phenomena, the sociology of language, theories of the state and hegemony" (1992: 3) are discussed. The theoretical framework of this study discusses other theories such as the world system theory, particularly Center and Periphery (Tollefson, 2011), governmentality, political theory, the notion of nationism and nationhood and the ecology of language as well as their implications for the study.

Chapter four highlights the contradictions and paradoxes of the language policy of the OAU/AU. Next it explores the issue of globalisation and its implications for the development and promotion of

indigenous African languages given the dominant role colonial languages play in the running of affairs in post-colonial countries in Africa. It argues further that language, particularly language policy-making, has power, political and ideological underpinnings (Vaara et al., 2005). The chapter finally presents a comprehensive picture of the linguistic realities of the continent and further explores the role of language, particularly in the context of globalisation and its implications for the LPLP of the OAU/AU.

Chapter five critically examines the OAU/AU's1986 LPAA which was later revised in 2006 and the AU's Agenda 2063, or Africa's new Vision for the next 50 years. The significance of this exercise is twofold. Since the adoption of the LPAA, the OAU/AU is still heavily dependent on colonial languages, notably English, French, Portuguese and Spanish. This has in the process relegated indigenous African languages to the background. The second part provides various typologies both for language situations and for language policies in selected regions of Africa in an attempt to: (1) bring to the fore and interrogate the paradoxes and contradictions between language policy statements and effective implementation on the ground further; (2) to establish clearly the underlying factors accounting for the devaluation of African languages, the failure of the leadership of the continent to develop and promote effective use of indigenous languages in all domains of society.

Chapter six discusses the findings of the study, mainly, the major themes and sub-themes which emerged during the process of data analysis - together with some excerpts of personal interviews and focus group discussions - to make a story out of the findings of the study. This is done to relate the various themes and sub-themes to the two main questions of the study, to answer the two study questions posed in Chapter one, and to suggest possible ways of dealing with the issue of policy talks, which are hardly backed by pragmatic actions. The presentation and discussions of the findings of the study was worthwhile so that meanings embedded in the themes could be interpreted in attempt to answer the two research questions.

Chapter seven concludes the study, makes pertinent suggestions and recommendations and presents the implications for future studies. A great deal of talks, initiatives, conferences and meetings have been held with respect to the promotion and development of indigenous African languages. Paradoxically, these two policy documents could not be implemented successfully for several reasons which are discussed at length in the previous sections.

Conclusion

The introduction discussed the vision of the founding fathers of the OAU/AU as reflected in the first LPAA adopted in 1986 and later revised in 2006. It argued that since then so many high-level meetings, conferences and seminars have been held where many policy recommendations have been made. However, all these policy recommendations are yet to be translated into pragmatic and practical actions. This state of affairs can be explained by the fact that in Africa policy makers and implementers as well as politicians talk a great deal but very little is achieved.

Chapter Two: Methodology

The success of any study depends largely on the techniques a researcher uses in gathering data that is crucial to the total amount of data needed by the researcher to carry out a study (Morse, 2007). In carrying out a study, every researcher aims, according to Holosko (2010: 341), to produce and contribute to the body of knowledge by discovering new information, facts, theories, methods or new ideas. To this extent, research becomes "the fuel that drives the engine of knowledge" (Holosko, 2010: 341).

In seeking to understand why the implementation of the OAU/AU's 1986 and 2006 LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages, I therefore had to use a qualitative methodology. In this regard, Tufford and Newman (2010) argue that within the discipline of social work research, a qualitative methodology is used to make good use of - and to explore - first-hand accounts and impressions of participants in a study. Holosko (2010) notes that research is a systematic way of investigating a specific phenomenon; that it is a process through which facts are searched, investigated and/or discovered using a scientific enquiry.

The approach of Vaismoradi et al. (2016) in *Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis* views qualitative research as a set of methods used in collecting and analysing data to give a thorough socio-contextual and detailed account and interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated. To this extent, "the purpose of qualitative researchers is to seek a better understanding of complex situations, and their work is often exploratory in nature" (Pacho, 2015: 44). The perspective of Pacho (2015) in *Exploring participants' experiences using a case study* is that in a qualitative study, researchers seek primarily to have a better understanding of situations which may be complex. Often, the nature of the work of researchers is exploratory, empirical, inductive and interpretative of a phenomenon in a particular situation.

I had to select language planners, language policy-makers and implementers and linguists (some of whom – as mentioned previously - were part of the team which drafted the OAU/AU's LPAAs), politicians (ministers) as participants for this research.

2.1 Criteria for selecting participants

The criteria listed below were set to answer the above-mentioned research questions in an intellectually challenging and rigorous manner:

- Participants who are "experts in the experience or the phenomena under investigation must be willing to participate, have the time to share the necessary information and must be reflective, willing, and able to speak articulately about the experience" (Morse, 2007: 230);

- Participants who are language experts (preferably those who were part of the team which drafted the first LPAA in 1986, which was revised 20 years later, i.e., in 2006);

- Participants who are language policy makers and implementers;

- Participants who are politicians and should be high-level government officials, preferably Ministers of Culture who would be able to share their views on the implementation or lack thereof the LPAAs in their respective countries;

- Participants who are linguists in all the working languages of the OAU/AU: Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, kiSwahili and Spanish[12]. The Pan African Parliament (PAP) is so far the only organ of the African Union which uses this language combination.

2.1.1 Participants selected

A total of 39 participants took part in this study, the breakdown of which is as follows: linguists experts n= 3, language experts n=3, language policy makers and advisors n= 4, Ministers= 2 and language professionals n=8 took part in the personal interviews making a total of 20 participants.

In addition, two group interviews were held in which 19 participants took part, that is, linguistic experts, language policy makers and advisors, ministers and language experts, and language professionals. A snowball technique was used through which I was introduced to language policy makers and advisors who in turn introduced me to linguistic experts and finally to two ministers. Participants provided pertinent perspectives and insights which helped me gain a broader understanding of the LPLP of the OAU/AU.

The number of participants may seem small, however, a qualitative study of this nature does not concern itself with numbers. This is because in a qualitative study the quality of data gathered from participants takes precedence, i.e., their in-depth knowledge and experience in the field of language

[12] So far the Pan African Parliament (PAP) is the only organ of the African Union which uses the language combination referred to above, that is, Arabic, English, French, Kiswahili, Portuguese and Spanish as its working languages, particularly during the two annual sessions of the Parliament (around April/May, July/August each year).

policy. Using the same logic, for example, an interview which uses an initial sample of 6 to 10 participants may also be very useful (Dornyei, 2007).

2.2 Sampling size

Since this study is qualitative in nature, it is primarily focused in "the rich, thick descriptions, the words (not numbers) that persuade the reader of the trustworthiness of the findings" (Merriam, 2002: 15). Participants were selected because they fit the purpose of the study and because, in this particular context, using random sampling makes no sense (Merriam, 2002).

According Immy Holloway and Stephanie Wheeler (2002: 128), the sample size does not influence the importance or quality of the study and there are no guidelines in determining sample size in qualitative research. Therefore, there is no perfect way of sampling since it is a process that continues to change with the methodology used (Coynes, 1997: 630). In qualitative studies, researchers do not normally know the number of people in the research beforehand. The sample may change in size and type during the research. The decision to select participants in the study is primarily influenced by the fact that, in qualitative research, sampling is not necessarily designed to represent a bigger population in the study. It is done purposively to harness various experiences and perspectives about a phenomenon (Gale et al, 2013: 6).

2.3 Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 206), is the means through which - as the name suggests - people or other units are selected for a specific purpose. I had to employ purposive, convenience sampling because I wanted to subscribe to the suggestion that it makes very little sense to use a random sample as most of the participants may not be knowledgeable in specific issues and therefore will not be in a position to provide insightful perspectives to the study. Hence, a purposive sample is pertinent (Cohen, 2007: 115).

Participants were selected based on their experiences and knowledge which would help answer the research questions and fulfil the objectives of the study. Therefore, participants who were willing to provide information about their personal and unique perceptions, views and experiences about the topic under investigation were selected because in seeking qualitative samples, researchers should always take into account processes of purposeful selection based on specific parameters that have been identified in the study, rather than processes of random selection (Morse, 2007: 234).

2.4 Data-collection instruments

2.4.1. Semi-structured in-depth/personal interviews

Qualitative researchers depend heavily on in-depth interviews (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). As this study involved gathering knowledge, views, personal experiences of participants about the politics of language use and policy at the OAU/AU, semi-structured personal interviews were the most appropriate because they combine questions that are structured. Generally, in the context of a study, specific information is sought from participants (Merriam, 2002: 13).

During the interviews, participants were taken through each stage of the interview and were asked specific questions about their knowledge, understanding, and personal experiences about the topic under investigation. A researcher can use a guide which is made up of a list of questions or issues the researcher intends exploring, the exact wording or the other of which is not predetermined (Merriam, 2002: 13).

Semi-structured interviews were appropriate as they provided the opportunity to ask participants predetermined flexible questions. This flexibility then led participants to answer questions at length in a friendly and much more relaxed environment. In-depth interviews can be used for various purposes, including the assessment of needs, the refinement of programmes, the identification of issues and strategic planning (Pacho, 2015: 48). The open-ended as well as closed-ended questions that were posed to participants were meant to seek information from participants and to show an interest in them, to make them feel at ease, and to make the interview look like an informal dialogue (Mayr, 2008: 41).

Table2: Composition of the two group interviews of participants

Composition		**Participant category**
Group 1 (n=12): A cross group of linguistic experts, language policy makers and advisers, politicians, language experts		Linguistic experts n=3
		Language experts n=3
		Language policy makers a**nd advisers n= 4**
		Politician**s n=2**
		Total= 12

Group 2 (n=8): Language professionals working in the working languages of the PAP, including kiSwahili, the only African language.		Language professionals (n=8)
Total number of participants who took part in the personal interviews:		**Total number= 20**

2.4.2. Focus group discussion

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions are very important in qualitative studies because both methods serve different purposes. The choice of methods is dependent on three main factors, namely, the type of data desired, the topic area, and the calibre of the participants in the study (Lewis, 2003). As the name suggests, a focus group discussion is generally an interview of a group of about 6 to 12 people who have similar characteristics or common views and interests. A moderator facilitates discussions for the group according to specific themes that have been decided in advance (ETA, 2008).

I conducted two focus group discussions at both the PAP and the PACC4. The focus group discussions were held in line with Richard Krueger (2002) and Richard Krueger and Casey's (2000) recommendations that researchers organising focus group discussions must ensure that the number of participants should be at least between six and eight.

To handle the focus group discussion professionally, I first employed an interview guide which consisted of semi-structured questions. As this interview guide served as the roadmap, I could

confidently make eye contact with all participants in the group. Second, I asked open-ended questions as well as closed-ended questions with the aim of obtaining as much information as possible from the participants.

I further gave participants the opportunity to pose any questions or make any comments and contributions. Even though the interview guide was made up of semi-structured questions, I had to ensure that sometimes questions, comments and contributions from participants allowed for much flexibility. In sum, both focus group discussions were suitable and appropriate as they helped gather data about the impressions, feelings, opinions and experiences of participants (Pacho, 2015: 47).

Table 3: Composition of the two focus group discussions

<table>
<tr><td>Composition</td><td></td><td>Participant category</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Group 1 (n=11): A cross group of linguistic experts, language policy makers and advisers, politicians, language experts.</td><td></td><td>Linguistic experts (n=3)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4"></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Language policy makers and advisers (n= 3)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Politicians (n=2)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Language experts (n=3)</td></tr>
</table>

Group 2 (n=8): Language professionals working in the working languages of the PAP, including kiSwahili, the only African language		Language professionals (n=8)
Total number of participants in the focus group discussions		**Total number= 19**

2.4.3. Participant observation

In every type of qualitative research, researchers are expected to be deeply involved in the natural environment they are observing (Holosko, 2010: 344). This is because it is an appropriate period of intense collaboration between the researcher and participants in the study. In other words, it is the suitable moment for the researcher to gather data systematically that is not obstructive (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). It is important and appropriate for a researcher to observe participants in a study. I employed this approach in line with the recommendation that this technique helps researchers harness quality data because of their involvement in the field (Mayr, 2008: 169). In this study, my observations were based mainly on the ways translators were translating into and out of the working languages of the OAU/AU, particularly what source and target languages they were translating into and out of. Also, it provided the opportunity to find out exactly the main working languages of the OAU/AU and the PACC4 as well as the main reasons behind the choice of such languages. Finally, I was interested in knowing the prevailing atmosphere at both the PAP and the PACC4.

My observations in this study were based mainly on the following questions: what were the main working languages of the PAP and the PACC4 and how many indigenous languages were used during proceedings as well as the main reasons behind the choice of such languages. For example, it came to light that the working languages of the PACC4 were mainly English and French as were the working documents and simultaneous interpretation provided throughout the meeting in these two languages. Ironically, kiSwahili, which is the only indigenous African language used, was not included in the working languages of such a high-level meeting that were aimed primarily at promoting indigenous African languages on the continent. As one of the speakers at the PACC4 pointed out, "[t]he 4th Pan African cultural Congress should be using the regional languages of Southern Africa, namely Setswana and Chichewa. I should be presenting this paper in Setswana with translation services" (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015: 7). As participant 36 noted, "*The development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages we are talking about should be high on the agenda of the political leadership of the continent. We already have scholars in these languages. It is only a government policy and that is all*" (lines 278-284).

The working languages of PAP are Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and kiSwahili. The PAP uses this language combination because sessions of the PAP are considered to be high-profile gatherings as they are attended by foreign dignitaries, particularly African Heads of states and Governments, senior government officials, representatives of the diplomatic corps, NGOs, civil society organisations as well as foreign dignitaries and media. However, during committee meetings - that is the meetings of the 10 permanent committees of the PAP held generally in March/April and July/August - Arabic, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish are used. KiSwahili is not used at these meetings because these are not high-profile meetings ("One Africa, One Voice"- Basic documents of the Pan-African Parliament, 2013: 28-29).

2.4.4. Documentary sources

Documents pertaining to the study - such as soft and hard copies of the presentations during the PAAC4, the LPAAs (1986& 2006), the Popular version of Agenda 2063, and other materials related to language policies - were collected, read, and analysed because they were a vital and reliable source of information. Reviewing pertinent documents is important because they are very useful supplementary sources of data for a study (Pacho, 2015: 47). This method represents another source of collecting written documents and other related materials with the view to broadening the scope of a study.

By using this data-collection approach, I tried to follow the recommendation of Merriam that "[t]he strength of documents as a data source lies with the fact that they already exist in the situation; they do not intrude upon or alter any settings in ways that the presence of the investigator might" (2002 :13). Using such documents helped a great deal because data collected from this source are not so different from those collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

Collecting archived data about the language policies, language plans of action as well as proceedings of conferences on language and implementation policies was very instrumental in obtaining a much broader perspective about the topic. These documents were collected, read, and analysed with the understanding that these are a vital and reliable source of information for the study as they are secondary sources which serve as a benchmark for comparing the results of the primary data collected (Pacho, 2015 :47).

2.4.5. Taking fieldnotes

Taking notes during field activities is as important as recording the data itself. However, if handled poorly or unprofessionally, taking fieldnotes may turn out to be very distracting (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002: 237). At each stage of the data-collection process, especially during interviews and focus group discussions, I made sure that note taking did not interfere much with the discussions with participants, even though it was not an easy exercise. However, taking fieldnotes was very important particularly during and shortly after the personal interviews and focus group discussions with participants in the study. Copious notes were sometimes taken especially after the personal interviews and focus group discussions if participants wanted to give further background information and views on the topic under investigation, after the recordings of the interviews were over.

The fieldnotes that I took detailed my interactions with participants, my personal reflections on the study (called my study journal), my field observations, and all the activities that took place during the data-collection process. The field notes were instrumental in the entire data-analysis process because these helped me to be much closer to the data and more familiar with both personal interviews and focus group discussions. Thus, through the fieldnotes ,I could link each participant with their respective interviews. This helped a great deal in dealing with the challenges associated with capturing what participants said during the personal interviews and focus group discussions as well as what had been transcribed.

2.4.6 Tape recording during focus group discussions and interviews

Prior to the focus group discussions and interviews, official permission was sought from the PAP, the Executive Secretary of the ACALAN and from all the participants through consent forms. Consent is generally sought and documented using a combination of an information sheet and consent form (Oates, 2006 :213).

These forms were returned signed before the interviews began. Other consent forms, which was specifically related to the recording of the interviews and focus group discussions, were also signed by participants before the recordings began. Recording interviews and discussions was vital because it helped me cross-check statements made by participants during the interviews and the focus group discussions. At each stage, I made sure the tapes were labelled and that the relevant information pertaining to those interviews - such as the date, venue and time of the interview - were legibly written on the tape. Fieldnotes were taken at each stage of the data-collection process to complement the recording of the data. I also kept a diary throughout the research project as it is important for researchers to keep a record of their thoughts and decisions (Lillis & North, 2006: 117). Recording interviews and discussions was crucial because it enabled me to verify statements made by participants during both interviews and focus group discussions.

2.5 Justification of the selection of the institutions

Context is significant for qualitative research because it represents the setting in which the entire process of a specific study unfolds. It includes the setting, the conditions in which the study is carried out and its location, as well as the culture of participants in a given study (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002: 34).

This study was conducted at the PAP in Midrand, Johannesburg, South Africa as well as at the Sandton Convention Centre, which is also situated in Johannesburg, South Africa. The ACALAN convened the PACC4 at the latter venue[13].

The PAP was chosen because, as the legislative organ of the AU, it represents the interests of the 54 member states of the AU through its 250 members of parliament (MPs). It was appropriate to investigate the politics and policy of language use of the OAU/AU using this body. Moreover, conducting this study at the PAP provided an opportunity to find out the steps being taken by the

[13] The Pan African Cultural Congress is organised around May every year. It gathers linguists, language experts, language policy makers and implementers as well as politicians such as high-level government officials or Ministers of culture.

legislative organ of the OAU/AU to promote the language agenda aimed at developing and promoting indigenous African languages. Of particular interest were the laws passed so far, if there are any, as well as how many indigenous African languages are used during annual proceedings of committee meetings and sessions of the PAP (PAP, 2013) and to highlight the main objectives of the PAP. These are, among others, to:

- Facilitate the effective implementation of the policies and objectives of the OAU/AEC and ultimately the African Union;
- Promote the principle of human rights and democracy in Africa;
- Encourage good governance, transparency and accountability in member states;
- Familiarise the people of Africa with the objectives and policies aimed at integrating the African continent within the framework of the establishment of the AU;
- Promote peace, security and stability;
- Contribute to a more prosperous future for the people of Africa by promoting collective self-reliance and economic recovery;
- Facilitate cooperation and development in Africa;
- Strengthen continental solidarity and build a sense of common destiny among the people of Africa; and
- Facilitate cooperation among regional economic communities and their parliamentary forums[14].

The ACALAN was chosen because it is "a specialized institution of the African Union mandated to develop and promote the use of African languages in all the domains of the society" (acalan.org).[15]

[14] AU member states are represented at the PAP by five parliamentarians, at least one of whom must be a woman. The representation of each member state must reflect the diversity of political opinions in each national parliament or other deliberative organ. Source: http://www.panafricanparliament.org/overview [Accessed 7 November 2015].

[15] Source: http://www.acalan.org/index.php/en/ [Accessed 8 November 2015].

The Executive Secretary of the ACALAN was contacted regarding the study. He gave official permission for the study to be conducted in the institution in Bamako (Mali). As a result, Prof. Matsinhe extended an invitation for me to attend the Fourth Pan-African Cultural Congress (PACC4) at the Sandton Convention Centre in Johannesburg. The motivation behind this invitation was that, the linguists and policy framers and implementers who participated in the drafting of the OAU/AU LPAAs are not stationed in Bamako (Mali), where the headquarters of the ACALAN is situated - they are scattered across the continent. Therefore, it was felt that the PACC4 was the ideal platform for me to undertake a project of this nature since the majority of linguists and policy implementers confirmed their participation in the event[16]. The PACC4 afforded the opportunity to obtain first-hand information about the history of the two LPAAs (1986 and 2006). According to Herbert Chimhundu, these two LPAAs "still provide the full rationale, guidelines and framework for the formulation and implementation of comprehensive national language policies in Africa, and for their alignment to achieve both social cohesion and regional integration" (2015: 2).

At PACC4, I had the opportunity to interact with participants who were mainly language policy makers and implementers, politicians (Ministers of arts and culture of Africa), as well as linguists from the continent. The insights and perspectives provided by these participants were very useful in understanding the reason(s) why the implementation of the two LPAAs (1986 and 2006) had not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages.

2.6. Preparation and transcription of the data

The process of data or text transcription often implies that there are meanings embedded in the data and the identification of these meanings requires some efforts on the part of the researcher with data analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2016: 101). Data gathered for this study were in English. Consequently, I

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[16] The PACC4 was organised by the African Union Commission (AUC) in conjunction with the Department of Arts and Culture of the Republic of South African (DAC) from 25 – 27 May 2015. The theme: **"Unity in Cultural Diversity for Africa's Development".** It aimed at providing a platform for cultural experts and practitioners to deliberate and make appropriate recommendations on policy issues pertaining to the culture and arts sector (Framework for Action of the 4th Pan-African Cultural Congress, 2015: 1). What is particularly relevant and appropriate as far as this study is concerned is that Point VI of the Framework mentioned above underscores "[l]anguage as a depository and vehicle of cultural diversity and factor for Africa's development and integration" (2015: 3).

did not have to translate any part of the data into English. My task was limited to the transcription of the spoken interviews, i.e., the individual interviews and the focus group discussions.

2.7. Transcription of the data

Transcription aims primarily to provide researchers with the opportunity to be closer to their data, to sharpen their analytical skills since, ultimately, these skills help them verify the data and unpack the meaning embedded in them. Transcription forms are an integral part of the process of data analysis and areused in basic as well as applied research in various disciplines and fields of professional practice (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999: 64).

I transcribed the data to convert what has been referred to in the context of a qualitative study as 'spoken data' into texts (transcripts) that can be easily read. This process was necessary because data had been gathered mainly through the recording of both personal interviews and focus group discussions. This process was relatively long and time consuming. Nonetheless, transcription is an important, intensive process because it concerns itself with all parts of the data, including non-verbal parts (Braun & Clark, 2006).

The process of transcribing data afforded me the opportunity to be fully involved in the data (Gale et al., 2013). During this process, as suggested by Gale et al (2013), I made provision for large margins and adequate line spacing to allow for coding or indexing of the data as well as for making further notes. Throughout the entire process, I had to check the matching of the texts and the original recordings. The transcription process is otherwise referred to as an "interpretative act" (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999) as it affords a researcher the opportunity to interpret the data from the rich and diverse perspectives of participants while taking into account the study questions.

There are no specific rules governing the transcription of data. This is because it is influenced by the researcher's subjective opinion, hence it is difficult to agree on standard method of transcription (Bucholtz, 2000: 1446). As this study is qualitative-oriented, I was much more interested in the analysis of the content of the entire dataset, i.e., the personal views, perspectives and experiences of participants in the study.

2.8. Using the Framework Method for the analysis of the data

The Framework Method helps to provide specific guidelines to be followed so that high-quality structured summarised data is yielded (Gale et al., 2013: 2). Framework analysis is a method of qualitative analysis which provides "systematic analysis stages which are clearly defined and easily

accessible to others (e.g. funders). Furthermore, it is particularly well suited to qualitative research where there are pre-set questions that need to be addressed (a priori issues)".[17]

The Framework Method and content analysis were used for the transcriptions of both the personal interviews and focus group discussions because itcreates a different structure for the data (instead of the full original accounts provided by participants) that helps reduce the data in a manner that the researcher is able to answer research question (s) (Gale et al., 2013: 1). To this extent, the two research questions aim at finding out, among other things, the reason(s) why the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of non-colonial languages, and to examine critically what Agenda 2063, the New Vision of Africa, proposes regarding the development and effective promotion of effective use of these languages.

The Framework Method helped in the process of to identifying similarities and differences in qualitative data before focusing on the nexus between different aspects of the data. In the process, attempts were made to draw conclusions that are descriptive and/or explanatory from various themes embedded in the data (Gale et al., 2013:2). Consequently, I was able to identify the common features that characterise qualitative data analysis (Punch, 2005: 194) and, to some extent, the features of the data that are different. This is because the success of a qualitative data analysis depends a great deal on the aims of the study. It is then important that the methods of analysing the data are combined from the beginning with other parts of the study, instead of it being a product of a second thought (Punch, 2005). Applying the Framework Method was instrumental in positioning the data in the best possible manner in order that it could contribute to the cognitive work of the researcher (Morse, 2007: 233).

For a qualitative study such as this, the Framework Method is useful because it helped me to adopt an interpretive approach in understanding the OAU/AU's language policy failure. By so doing, it was possible to extract meanings from the transcripts of both personal and focus group discussions, particularly from the various themes that emerged from the process of data analysis, which is itself an exciting process as it helps researchers unravel themes and concepts that are embedded in interviews they conducted (Rubin & Rubin, 1999: 226).

[17] https://www.rds-yh.nihr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/9_Qualitative_Data_Analysis_Revision_2009.pdf

Developing themes is an integral part of the process of qualitative data analysis. It involves uncovering systematic patterns in the data that provide full explanations which can help researchers explain the problem being investigated better (Gale et al., 2013: 3). Since the goal of analysing the data gathered for this study is to generate themes that are related to the experiences, perspectives and views of participants about the OAU/AU's language policy failure, it became clear that the Framework Method was the appropriate method to achieve this aim because it is a flexible instrument at the disposal of researchers which can be used together with several other qualitative methods capable of helping researchers generate themes (Gale et al., 2013: 3).

2.9 Appropriateness of thematic analysis using the Framework Method

Thematic analysis involves a process of constantly searching for recurrent patterns of meaning across a set of data, whether it is a number of interviews of focus group discussions or a range of texts (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 16). As the study focuses on the experiences, views and perspectives of participants, the Framework Method was the most suitable means of analysing data gathered from interviews for the purposes of generating themes by comparing several cases (Gale et al., 2013: 7). It allows for the easy identification of pertinent extracts from the data to explain themes and to verify if there are enough materials (data) to support a proposed data (Gale et al., 2013: 7).

Furthermore, the Framework method is most suitable for the analysis of manuscripts (textual data), where it is important for researchers to be able to compare and contrast data according to themes across many cases. It will help locate each perspective in context by maintaining the relationship with other aspects of each participant's account of a phenomenon (Gale et al., 2013: 6). Both thematic analysis and content analysis were applied since they are very useful tools - in the context of analysis of the written texts (in this case, the transcripts of the raw data) - to unravel potential themes therein (Vaismoradi, 2016). The application of the two techniques in the analysis of the data is as important as pertinent because these are useful tools at the disposal of researchers to be able to code systematically, explore meaning and give a description of the social reality created through potential themes uncovered in the process of data analysis (Vaismoradi, 2016: 100).

2.10 Becoming familiar with the data

To become familiar with the data means, for example, playing back recorded interviews, going back to transcripts or to any reflective notes written by the researcher. This represents a crucial stage in the process of interpretating data (Gale et al., 2013: 4). It is important as a first step, after data has been

gathered, for researchers to become deeply involved in the data collected so that they become very familiar with all parts of the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 16).

The first step I took to familiarise myself with the data was to listen to the recordings (both interviews and focus groups). This was very useful as it provided me with the opportunity to re-listen to all parts of the recorded interviews (Gale et al., 2013: 4). I played the recordings as much as possible, checked the recordings against the statements made by each participant on a particular issue raised between the personal interview and the focus group discussions. Listening to what each participant said in relation to a particular issue or theme at a particular time and going back and forth to link them to the various statements made was more of a "recursive process" than a "linear process" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 16). The next step I took was to write down notes and all the relevant information pertaining to the study that was emerging from the data.

2.11 Anonymising of sensitive data

After transcribing the data from both personal and focus group discussions, the data was grouped into units that could allow these to be managed easily. In doing so, I adopted what is referred to as a "policy of 'blanket anonymisation', whereby all names, places and other identifying features are disguised across a data set"[18]. Each personal interview and focus group discussion - as well as transcript - was given a pseudonym and allocated a specific code for the purpose of protecting the identity and confidentiality of all the participants in the study.

Furthermore, in order to avoid any possible confusion between the pseudonyms and the code numbers during the process of analysing the data, I created a special file which enabled me to link the pseudonyms and the code numbers to each participant in the study (Robert, 1978: 23).[19]

2.12 Coding

Coding is an important stage in the entire process of data analysis because it is the first activity in this process and provides a foundation for future activities (Punch, 2005 :19). Coding provides the

[18] http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/480/1/0706_anonymising_research_data.pdf [Accessed, July 11, 2017]. P:2.

[19] While anonymity actually means the non-disclosure of the identity of participants in a study, confidentiality is the non-disclosure to third parties views, opinions or information gathered in the course of a research . Protecting the identity and confidentiality of participants in this study is ethically important because ensuring that the anonymity of participants, a preliminary condition to the conduct of any social research, is protected has, for a long time, not been given the seriousness it deserves (Robert, 1978: 23).

researcher with a more concise and abstract view of the data, its size and the extent to which the data is relevant, a view which would otherwise have given the impression of an essentially different phenomenon (Holton, 2007). In short, coding "gets the researcher off the empirical level by fracturing the data, then conceptualizing the underlying pattern of a set of empirical indicators in the data as a theory that explains what is happening in the data" (Holton, 2007: 266).

In the context of a qualitative study, a code may often be "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of a language-based or visual data" (Saldana, 2009: 3). To this extent, codes are names, tags, labels and the process of allocating names, tags or labels to units of data is known as coding (Punch, 2005: 199).

Before proceeding with the actual coding, I had to read all the transcripts carefully line by line. In so doing, I tried to apply a paraphrase, label, or even a specific code that helps describe best what is pertinent in the passages of the transcripts in relation to the objectives of the study (Gale et al., 2013).

The next important step taken was to produce an initial list of ideas related to the actual content of the data and what is significant about these data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 18). This is because codes are the most basic information, aspect or element of the data that can be analysed meaningfully in relation to the phenomenon being investigated (Boyatzis, 1998 :68). The next step was 'open coding', which means coding anything (ideas, phrases, information) that the researcher thought was pertinent to the study from several possible angles (Gale et al., 2013: 4).

I was very careful not to confuse coded data and themes. The difference between coded data and themes (which are units of analysis) is that the latter (themes) are broader in scope and occur immediately after data has been coded (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Consequently, by the time I finished coding or putting the data into meaningful groups, I was able to know in advance that the themes which would be generated from the data would be more data-driven or derived from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

After generating the initial codes, I had to match these up with extracts from the data that corresponded with each individual code. Coding is the most appropriate technique to organise and manage data effectively, particularly when researchers have big chunks of data to deal with.

During the process of coding the data, I had to bear in mind the following suggestions made by Saldana (2009), which are pertinent questions worth considering by researchers:

- Is the coding method(s) harmonising with your study's conceptual or theoretical framework?
- Do the coding method(s) relate to or address your research questions? (Structural coding is designed to start organising data around specific research questions but additional coding methods choices afterward should help find answers, not create mysteries.)
- Are you feeling comfortable and confident applying coding method(s) to your data? In other words, is coding a provocative thinking exercise rather than a puzzling or confusing one?
- Is the data lending itself to the coding method(s)? In other words, are there codes appropriate for fieldnotes or interview transcripts?
- Does the coding method(s) provide the specificity needed? Is a sufficient overall number of codes or a sufficient ratio of codes to the data being generated to enable one to see complexity and not complication?
- Is the coding method(s) leading towards an analytic pathway, for example towards the construction of categories of taxonomies, the development of patterns of themes, the beginning of a grounded theory?

The “bottom line” criterion is as one is applying the coding method(s) to the data, one needs to ask if one is making new discoveries, insights, and connections about the participants, their processes, or the phenomenon under investigation (Saldana, 2009: 50-51).

2.13 Labelling the data

After identifying initial themes and constructing a preliminary index (Appendices B and C), the next step I took was to apply the index manually to the transcripts of both personal interviews and focus group discussions. Furthermore, I ensured that specific numbered labels were assigned to each line or paragraph of the transcriptions of the personal interviews and focus group

discussions, reflexive notes which I had to read over and over again. The numbered labels were directly extracted from the main initial index (Appendix C) that was produced in order to identify the various themes which emerged from each line or paragraph of the transcriptions of the personal interviews, focus group discussions and reflective notes (Spencer et al., 2003). The numbered labels were written on the borders of the transcription of the interviews and field as well as reflexive notes. At the same time, I considered the fact that the same phrase, sentence or paragraph may be indexed more than once and with more than one numbered label simply because that particular phrase, sentence or paragraph may hold an information that may be pertinent to different themes (Ritchie et al., 2003). Applying the fine level of analysis to the data, the inductive coding and general perspective of each participant's interview provided me with the opportunity to identify other themes which were hitherto embedded in the data (Gale et al., 2013).

2. 14 Developing and applying a working analytical framework

After developing a list of codes generated from the data following coding and collating, the next step was to settle on the exact themes I wanted to elaborate on further (See Appendix D). This decision was taken to follow the suggestion that codes can be classified into categories (with the help of a diagram if it is helpful) which are then specified clearly. This then constitutes a working analytical framework (Gale et al., 2013: 4). This exercise involves grouping different codes into potential themes and collating all the extracts of the relevant data that have been coded in relation to identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I started analysing the potential codes that had been generated earlier and exploring how these different codes may be put together to form definite themes (See Appendix D), which would be further elaborated during the analysis of the data, and to establish the relationship between these codes and the themes.

I applied the analytical framework by indexing successive transcripts based on existing codes and categories (Gale et al., 2013: 5). Going strictly by the authors' suggestion, a number and/or abbreviation was assigned to each code that was generated. These numbers were written on the interviews transcripts to avoid writing down the full names of each code every time. Applying the analytical framework was instrumental in ensuring that the data were sorted and organised effectively so that it could be accessed easily and used later in the analysis (Gale et al, 2013: 5).

By the same token, applying thematic analysis to participants' knowledge, perspectives and experience was useful because thematic analysis is a realistic approach used to report lived experiences, meanings and the reality of participants. Again, it can be a constructionist approach to the extent that it examines the way events, realities, meanings and experiences are the products of a series of events taking place in society (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 9).

To this extent, the application of the Framework Method contributed to a systematic and complete analysis of the data while simultaneously establishing a nexus between themes that have been identified.

2.15 Analysis of participant observation

Unlike in-depth interviews and focus group discussions which can be tape recorded, a participant observation cannot. Therefore, a transcription of participant observation was not required in this particular context. However, I included the section on the analysis of participant observation in the data analysis process to be able to refer easily to the various observations made during the period of data collection.

The salient moments or observations made during the period of collection of the data, which were captured in the notes, were revisited to compare my fieldnotes with the data gathered during the study.

2.16 Analysis of documentary sources

Documents consulted were the two LPAAs of the OAU/AU, the Language Policy of the PAP, the soft as well as the hard copies of presentations at the PACC4, some of which were entitled: "From the Language Plan of Action for Africa To the Agenda 2063: Between Rhetoric, Policy and Practicalities" (Chimhundu, 2015), "Agenda 2063: Vehicular Cross-border Languages and Search for a Lingua Franca in Africa" (Batibo, 2015), "Agenda 2063: Cultural Diversity and African languages: The Role or urbanization and Globalization" (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015), The 4th Pan-African Cultural Congress (PACC4) Concept Note (2015), "Linguistic Diversity as an Asset for the Unification of Africa" (Campbell, 2015), The Popular version of Agenda 2063 of the AU, etc." These documents were very useful in providing another dimension to the study.

Document analysis is a means of data collection through the review of documents that already exist (Pacho, 2015: 50). These materials complemented the actual data gathered because "data in

the forms of quotes from documents, field notes, and participant interviews, excerpts from video-tapes, electronic communication, or a combination thereof are always included in support of the findings of the study" (Merriam, 2002: 5).

Reading all the documents mentioned above helped a great deal in generating new ideas, new insights and perspectives about the OAU/AU's language policy failure. I carried out the analysis of the documents based on their content, context, and particularly on their relevance to the topic of the study. I analysed the content of the documents in a qualitative manner. The two OAU/AU LPAAs were analysed to determine what they have in common or to what extent these are different. Most importantly, I analysed the content of Agenda 2063 of the AU to determine which of the specific areas target the development and promotion of indigenous African languages.

By analysing these documents, I was able to determine the substance of their contents as well as their relevance to the LPAAs in particular, and to language policies in African countries in general. Furthermore, in analysing the context of the documents, I had to be sure, for example, of the source of the documents, when these were produced, why these were produced, i.e., the purpose for which these were produced, who these were produced for (target audience).

It came to light during the analysis that there are many versions of the Agenda 2063 targeting different audiences. For example, there is one version meant for the leadership of the continent. However, I focused my analysis on the popular version of Agenda 2063 because I wanted to specifically examine the section(s) that are directly linked to the masses of Africans, that is, the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages. It was also necessary to ascertain the authenticity of the documents and archive data as well as the references used by the authors.

Finally, I had to determine whether the documents and archive data analysed were primary or secondary sources of data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). Therefore, the activities of consultation, reading and analysis were undertaken with the understanding that they were "not dependent upon the whims of human beings whose cooperation is essential for collecting data through interviews and observations" (Merriam, 2002: 13).

Some scholars have actually used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in analysing similar perspectives or discourses. CDA forms part of the various methods used in the context of social

analysis of discourse (Fairclough, 2012: 452). Discourses may therefore be referred to as different representations of social life (Fairclough, 2012: 457). Consequently, when an analysis is carried out at a higher level, part of the analysis that deals with the nexus between social fields, institutions and types of institution(s) is actually an analysis of the relationship between various levels of discourse, for example, orders of politics and the mass media (Fairclough, 2012: 456). In this context,an order of discourse is social stratification of difference in the use of signs and symbols as they are deeply rooted in interactions by linguistic groups across the world, and the way they make sense out of the world (Fairclough, 2012: 456).

However, there are a couple of reasons why the use of CDA will not be appropriate in the context of this study. First, the purpose of this study was to seek the lived personal experiences, views and opinions of linguists, language professionals, language policy makers and implementers, as well as politicians. Second, CDA has often been criticised for focusing on the theory formation process (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 1; Gouveia, 2003: 52; O'Connor, 2003: 223; Fairclough, 2012: 452), and highlighting the nature of its research which draws from two or more separate branches of learning since its inception (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; van Dijk, 1997; Wodak, 2001b, cited in Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 1). Third, "it is quite difficult to make consistent statements about the theoretical foundation of CDA. There is no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation determining CDA; in fact, there are several approaches" (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 6).

In this thesis, I therefore sought to focus more on language policy as implemented in African Union Institutions rather than laying emphasis on individual experiences.

2.17 Field research schedule

The field research began in earnest in September 2014, soon after the official permission was granted by the two institutions, i.e., the PAP and the ACALAN. As a result, I had to contact the language coordinator of the PAP who arranged for a meeting with the language professionals with whom I had an initial briefing during the October 2014 Session of the PAP. This was the last session of the parliament for 2014. The meeting was aimed at introducing myself to them and to provide a briefing on the intention and purpose of the study.

After this initial contact, I had to wait until the March 2015 Committee Meetings of the PAP to conduct a pilot project during which semi-structured questionnaires were sent out to language

professionals and the language coordinator. Based on the feedback received, personal interviews were planned with them, which were conducted until the end of the Committee Meetings.

As the language professionals were busy during committee meetings, our meetings were always scheduled on days and times that were most suitable and convenient for them. Some language professionals had to cancel interview appointments, sometimes at very short notice, depending on the workload on particular day and time during the PAP session. However, every effort was made to accommodate the schedules of the language professionals.

2.18 Methodological limitations of the study

2.18.1.Researcher's biases

In a qualitative study, the researcher's biases and shortcomings often have an influence on the way the study is conducted especially when they have particular interests in the phenomenon they are studying. One crucial thing which excites qualitative researchers is the way participants give meaning to their world and their lived experience (Yazan, 2015: 137). Therefore, qualitative research focuses on studying social life in natural environments (Punch, 2005). However, it is in the interest of researchers to identify and monitor such biases and shortcomings, particularly how these shape the processes of collection and interpretation of the data (Merriam, 2002: 5).

All preconceived ideas were put aside in this research and I went into the project with the full understanding that I was going to explore the topic of the study from as many angles as possible based on the various insights and perspectives of participants. This is because what qualitative researchers concern themselves with is their understanding of these interpretations in a specific context and at a particular point in time (Merriam, 2002).

2.18.2 Reliability and validity of the study

Questions related to reliability and validity in research have fuelled debate in the field of research methodology about whether qualitative research can stand the test of rigour, reliability and validity.

Just like quantitative research, "reliability and validity depend on the skills of the research methods which ensure that the data recorded is accurate and the interpretations of data are empirical, logical, and replicable. This is important for increasing reliability and validity in qualitative studies" (Franklin et al., 2010: 355). Therefore, issues pertaining to reliability and

validity are pertinent concepts for ensuring rigor in qualitative research (Morse and Barret et al., 2002: 13).

If it is indeed true that before any type of research is considered 'worthwhile', it must first have the attributes of "truth value", "applicability" "consistency" and "neutrality" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, cited in Morse and Barret et al., 2002: 13), it is equally true that the "nature of knowledge within the rationalistic (or quantitative) paradigm is different from the knowledge in naturalistic (qualitative) paradigm" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, cited in Morse and Barret, et al., 2002: 13). In other words, qualitative research methods by their very nature do not subject themselves to statistical calculations of validity. This does not however suggest that qualitative researchers do not accord a great deal of importance to the quality of the methods they use in collecting data (Brink, 2006: 13).

Validity can then be achieved through the following means: honesty, depth richness and scope of the data gathered, the participants as well as the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness of objectivity of the researcher (Cohen et al., 2007). To ensure validity, criteria such as "credibility", "fittingness", "auditability" and "confirmability" have been proposed (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, cited in Morse and Barret, et al., 2002: 15). Furthermore, other strategies such as negative cases, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement and persistent observation, audit trails and member checks, as well as the investigator's responsiveness and adaptability to changing circumstances, etc., as the requirements for a study - are to be considered worthy (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Although all these strategies have their own strengths, they have drawbacks as well. One of these is, for example, that member checks "may actually invalidate the work of the researcher and keep the level of analysis inappropriately close to the data" (Morse and Barret, et al., 2002: 16). Similarly, while strategies of trustworthiness may be useful in attempting to *evaluate* rigor, these do not in themselves *ensure* rigor (Morse and Barret, *et al*., 2002). By the same token, while using standards may be useful for the *evaluation* of relevance and utility, these do not in themselves guarantee the relevance and usefulness of the research (Morse and Barret, et al., 2002: 17).

Regarding the drawbacks in the strategies of Lincoln and Guba (1981, 1985), the purposes of which are to ensure 'trustworthiness' in research. After careful consideration, it can be seen that the strategies proposed by Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) aim at ensuring rigor in qualitative research are the most pertinent for this study for the following reasons.

Qualitative research must be as much iterative as possible (Morse et al., 2002: 17). Strategies aimed at ensuring rigor in qualitative research must therefore have in-built checks and balances designed to ensure rigor as the research progresses. These strategies "must be built into the qualitative research process per se" (Morse et al., 2002: 17).

It is worthwhile reconsidering the importance of the verification strategies employed in the research process to attain reliability and validity effectively instead of having these proclaimed by external examiners at the end of a study (Morse et al., 2002). Consequently, validity and reliability could be realised through triangulation (Pacho, 2015). Triangulation implies using more than one method or source of data in conducting a study aimed at exploring a social phenomenon so that its findings may be subject to scrutiny (Bryman, 2008). To this extent, triangulation is justified in this study because it "supports the strength of interpretations and conclusions in qualitative research. If different data sources and collection methods provide similar information, showing the same categories and linkages, then a greater confidence can be placed on the findings" (Pacho, 2015: 51). Consequently, the following strategies were chosen to ensure validity and reliability: investigator responsiveness, methodological coherence, theoretical sampling and sampling adequacy, an active analytical stance and saturation (Morse et al., 2002: 16). These strategies are practical, objective, appropriate and iterative rather than linear.

The strategies are designed in such a way that they allow flexibility because, ideally, a good researcher should be able to move in between research design and implementation in order "to ensure congruence among question formulation, literature, recruitment, data collection strategies and analysis" (Morse et al., 2002: 17). In other words, the data collected is checked in a systematic manner and "focus is maintained, and the fit for data and the conceptual work of analysis and interpretation are monitored, confirmed constantly" (Morse et al., 2002: 17). This should be the essence of research.

2.18.3. Investigator responsiveness

This strategy refers to the various ways in which the researcher applies creativity, sensitivity, flexibility and skill to ensure reliability and validity. These skills were applied to the letter from the onset as every research begins with the researcher's curiosity about a particular problem or phenomenon (Merriam, 2002: 12). Therefore, qualitative researchers are primarily interested in understanding the meaning constructed by participants about a particular phenomenon (Yazan, 2015: 137).

Consequently, this study was motivated by my interest in understanding the OAU/AU's language policy failure. This was later translated into the research question which can only be answered through a research project such as this (Merriam, 2002).

Initially, eight research questions were set but after applying the researcher's 'investigator's responsiveness' effectively, it became necessary and urgent for me to review the questions as often as possible to determine how pertinent they were to the study. On several occasions, I questioned the relevance of these questions, particularly if they could be reduced to become more focused. By applying the 'investigator's responsiveness' technique, I was able to reduce the number of questions to two that are concise and relevant to the study. I took this decision bearing in mind that the success of the study was dependent on the research questions and selecting the source(s) of data that will yield the best possible information capable of helping answer the research questions (Merriam, 2002: 12).

2.18.4. Methodological coherence

The methodological coherence aims to ensure consistency between the research questions and various aspects of the method (Morse et al., 2002: 18). I attempted to ensure that the two study questions matched with the methodology, including the data-collection approach, which was based on semi-structured individual interviews, focus group discussions, participant observations and document analysis. These instruments of data collection were chosen because of their suitability to the study.

2.19 Theoretical sampling and sampling adequacy

The purposive sampling employed was the most appropriate approach because it enabled me to select participants who best represented - or had insights/perspectives about - the topic under investigation.

During the interviews and focus group discussions with the participants both at the PAP and the PCC4, it was possible to gather sufficient data to cover all aspects of the study. The appropriateness of the sample strictly adhered to the necessity of the sample of participants selected helping to ensure efficient and effective saturation of categories or units of information identified during the data analysis (Morse et al., 2002: 18).

To this extent, there was coherence in the methodological approach because it followed the principle of interdependence of qualitative research that requires the research questions are consistent with the method used, which corroborates the data and the procedures followed in the analysis (Morse et al., 2002: 18).

2.20 Active analytic stance

The processes of data collection and data analysis are conducted simultaneously (Merriam, 2002: 12). In this study, collecting and analysing data simultaneously were carried out in order not to lose track of the main issues/themes discussed with participants during the data-collection process. The analysis of the data begins when researchers conduct their first interview, their first observation and their first assessment of a document in a study (Merriam, 2002).

Using this approach was instrumental as it provided me with the opportunity to be fully involved in the data. As a result, it was possible to determine the main areas of data which needed further investigation. For example, I went back to the PAP to follow up on the interviews and the focus group discussions in that institution. Further, I was able to contact participants at the PCC4 to seek further clarifications on certain pertinent issues related to the data.

As are result, “collecting and analyzing data concurrently forms a mutual interaction between what is known and what one needs to know” (Morse et al., 2002: 18). This “pacing and the iterative interaction between data and analysis is the essence of obtaining reliability and validity” (Morse et al., 2002 :18). Furthermore, methods used in analysing data should be systematic, follow a certain discipline, be regarded as transparent and be described (Punch, 2005: 195).

2.21 Thinking theoretically

I began to analyse the data at the early stages of the data-collection process. Doing so helped a great deal, because I could constantly be in touch with the data and conduct follow-up interviews whenever the need arose. Furthermore, I employed this approach as the simultaneous collection and analysis of the data helps researchers to make appropriate adjustments in the process, even to the extent of giving a new direction to the process of data collection (Merriam, 2002: 14).

During the process of data analysis, new themes emerged from each category and sub-category or unit of information. These were compared to other similar categories or sub-categories. The main purpose of this exercise was to ensure that the emerging themes were validated by the old data which had already been collected.

Using this strategy made the entire process of data analysis as iterative as possible and contributed substantially to the emergence of new themes, some of which the researcher could not think of prior to the analysis of the data. This process allows for the emergence of new ideas that should then be cross-checked against the data collected (Morse et al., 2002: 18). To the extent, rather than being 'linear' the process allowed for a constant 'checking and rechecking' of the data.

As a result, I often had to go back to the data to adjust when necessary, as suggested by Merriam (2002). This strategy has been useful to the extent that it helpedmedefine and structure the research project in the most appropriate manner (Morse et al., 2002: 18).

Conclusion

Chapter two discussed the research methodology used in gathering data for the study, which was primarily qualitativein nature. The core sources of data collection were interviews, focus group discussions, participants' observation, and documents analysis. The chapter therefore focused on the approach employed in this study which consisted of defining research parameters such as the research population, the sample, the sample size, the sampling process, the data collection methods, the data analysis techniques, the preparation of the data for transcription and analysis. It discussed issues pertaining to reliability, credibility and rigour in a qualitative study such as this.

Chapter Three: Language-planning and language policy (or LPLP)

This chapter provides a comprehensive perspective on the concept of LPLP, its history and evolution and the theoretical frameworks underpinning it. The chapter also explores various perspectives about language-planning, language policy, and language management. It further provides an overview of the LPLP in post-colonial Africa, which is characterised by the dominance of colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish to the detriment of widely spoken national languages. This state of affairs is reflected at the level of the OAU/AU, the working languages of which are all colonial languages.

The last section of the chapter deals with the theoretical framework of the study which is based on theories and frameworks borrowed from other disciplines in order to establish the relationship of dominance between colonial powers and former colonies characterised by imperialism, particularly linguistic imperialism which is part of the focus of this study. These theories provide the opportunity to analyse the issues of power and domination that have characterised the relationship between former colonial powers and Africa, which have developed through colonialism, which left a weak political, economic, social and cultural heritage resulting from a dependence of post-colonial nations and to highlight the main theoretical implication (s) of these theories for the study.

3.1 Basic concepts of LPLP

This section looks at the difference between language-planning and language policy. On the one hand, language policy is referred to as language-planning that is implied but not directly stated (implicit) and directly stated but does not leave any room for uncertainty (explicit) by governmental bodies: ministries of education, managers of workplaces or school administrators (Tollefson, 2011: 357). On the other hand, language policies are treated as guidelines or rules governing the use of language structure that have been elaborated and implemented within nation states or institutions such as institutions for educating people and places of work. These rules and guidelines may be directly and clearly stated without any ambiguity in official documents, for example, the constitution, or impliedly understood but not directly stated, or without any a written statement (Tollefson, 2011: 357).

Language-planning, according to Haugen, is "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community" (1959: 8, cited in Haugen, 1966: 52). Specifically, language-planning is the assessment of linguistic change. Broadly speaking, language-planning concerns itself with any decisions or actions affecting the use of language, namely, language shift, punctuation, or the choice of national or an international language (Sallabank, 2012: 119).

LPLP concerns itself with policies and the process of policymaking. These policies and process highlight the actions of language specialists, educators, political leaders, bureaucrats and other elites. Furthermore, LPLP is aimed at calculated efforts to change the forms, status and acquisition of language (Canagarajah, 2006: 153, cited in Tollefson, 2011: 371). Thus, the key phrase in the comment is 'deliberate efforts'. The issue arising is whether deliberate efforts are being made by the OAU/AU to 'change forms, status, and acquisition' of indigenous African languages. The question that arises is: are practical steps being taken by the OAU/AU to change the corpus planning and status planning of major indigenous African languages, except for kiSwahili? Corpus planning, Kloss (1969: 81) reminds us, "aims specifically at such structural changes as 'morphology, vocabulary, spelling, new endings, new gender, and so on, of a language". About status planning, "one busies oneself not with the structure and form of the language but with its standing alongside other languages or vis-à-vis a national government" (Kloss, 1969: 81).

3.2. Origins and evolution of LPLP

Language-planning is generally considered a branch of the broad field of social planning that encompasses an array of different public policies concerns such as housing, employment, immigration and policies pertaining to taxes (Tollefson, 2011). The concept of language-planning and language policy (or LPLP) has, according to Tollefson (2011), been used and interpreted from different perspectives. As Alisjahbana (1971: 179) remarks, our era is that of planning. Planning can easily be seen not only in the five or ten years comprehensive plans of totalitarian regimes but also in every commercial endeavour. To this extent, language-planning may be referred to as "efforts to deliberately affect the status, structure, or acquisition of languages" (Fishman, 1974, cited in Tollefson, 2011: 357).

The current enthusiasm enjoyed by LPLP has been largely attributable to the pioneering work of the linguist Einar Haugen, who used the term not only in his article (1966b) but also made a significant contribution to the study of language-planning in Norway (1966a) (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xiii). Language-planning essentially encompassed both corpus and status planning of languages, which were clearly defined by Kloss (1966) and Tollefson (2011: 358-359). Acquisition planning was added later. Though LPLP has been in existence for a sometime now, there is 'no dominant theory' in this field. Nonetheless, there exists various models, methods and approaches, most of which have fundamental assumptions underpinning them, which were held at various specific times in the evolution of LPLP (Tolllefson, 2011: 357).

3.3.Relevance of LPLP

A great deal of work has been published in the field of LPLP since the ground-breaking work of the renowned Norwegian linguist Einar Haugen (1966) and Rubin and Jernudd (1971). Of particular importance are the works of experts which deal with practical issues of language-planning. Some of these experts are Guxman (1960), Ray (1961 and 1963), Havránek (1963), Alisjahbana (1965), Tauli (1968), Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta (1968), and so on, (cited in Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xv). There exists today a wealth of literature dealing with various aspects of LPLP. Therefore, compared to the past years where LPLP pioneers created the new discipline, LPLP has become as an active as exciting discipline in its history (Tollefson, 2011: 373).

However, in Africa, the reality is not the same because language-planning is relatively new and growing discipline (Alexander, 2004: 115). Therefore, this new discipline needs to be nurtured, sustained and developed through the contributions of theorists, language policy makers and implementers, politicians and society at large in order that the current challenges associated with language policy-making and implementation should be addressed properly as a matter of urgency.

As LPLP concerns itself primarily with the way communication can be improved, it cannot be detached totally from the overall network of communication. As LPLP relies on other disciplines, it is also expected to make an equally significant contribution to their development (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xv). Consequently, many of the works in the area of LPLP are currently aimed at "a multidirectional effort to explore the connection between LPLP and a wide range of concerns,

including ideology, human rights, social theory, political theory, and postmodernism" (Tollefson, 2011: 373). The sections below present and discuss the different steps and stages of the evolution of LPLP from 1970s.

3.4. Early LPLP from 1960s through to the 1970s

During the 1960s and 1970s, LPLP was influenced by several publications from authors such as Charles Ferguson, Joshua Fishman, Einar Haugen, Björn Jernudd, and J. Das Guptas, who laid the foundation for what may currently be referred to as an academic discipline and a pragmatic field of policy-making (Tollefson, 2011: 358). The focus of these pioneers, according to Tollefson (2011), was on the myriad of social, economic and political challenges faced by newly independent countries, particularly those in Africa, south-east Asia and South Asia.

According to Jernudd and Das Guptas (1971: 195), many developing nations face challenges in planning adequately because theyare always involved in determining how best to use scarce national resources that can easily be monetised such as labour, buildings, machines, or natural resources reserves. However, on the social front - especially at national level - deliberate prioritisation of the major interdependent social sectors is a role that belongs exclusively to the government (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 196).

Consequently, factors pertaining to meta-planning - such as the social structure, cultural values, tradition of the community and other related factors - have a bearing on national planning. To this extent, in the planning process, language is therefore a resource that needs to be considered (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 196). With rich documentation, i.e., 'conceptual/theoretical publications', pioneers in the field of LPLP have succeeded in arguing that decisions regarding language were at the heart of the social, political, and economic challenges faced by newly independent countries (Tollefson, 2011: 358).

In Africa, issues pertaining to language have always been the missing link in the entire development process of the continent because the political elites have maintained the status quo regarding language policy and language-planning. As participant 12 remarked: "*Admittedly, the African elites do not have any issue with whether the rest of us speak colonial languages or not. They write, read, and speak the languages of their colonial masters"* (lines 257-261). This position was reinforced by participant 28 as follows: "*Really, how do you expect to implement a*

language policy which does not take on board the real needs of the majority of Africans?" (Lines 67-71).

Hence language-planning revolves mainly around colonial languages and is implemented in the languages in which the great majority of Africans are not proficient (Bamgbose, 2003; 2014).

In the 1960s and 1970s, although a comprehensive theory of LPLP could not be developed at this early stage one important factor that boosted this early phase in LPLP was the emergence of a conceptual framework that is descriptive in nature and generally accepted. This conceptual framework served as a foundation for the work of most pioneers in the field of LPLP (Tollefson, 2011). Essentially, this framework enriched itself with two important clearly defined concepts: corpus planning and status planning of a language, with the third concept of acquisition planning added to the list later (Cooper, 1989, cited in Tollefson, 2011: 358). Another important factor that boosted LPLP at this early stage was the significant contribution to the solution of the language challenges faced by most newly independent countries.

There is no doubt that – as far back to the 1960s and 1970s - pioneers of the LPLP had already laid the foundation for a successful formulation, implementation and evaluation of LPLP. However, it is difficult to explain why newly independent states did not make use of this opportunity in order to address, effectively, issues related to language policy implementation across the continent.

3.5. A period of critique and disillusionment with LPLP during the 1980s

Described as the neoclassical approach, the classical language-planning or the autonomous model (Street, 1993 cited in Tollefson, 2011: 360), focuses mainly on the various activities of the newly independent nations, namely, activities of education ministries tasked with running and managing educational institutions, which had previously been in the hands of colonising powers (Tollefson, 2011: 361). One of the dilemmas faced by language planners in newly independent nations - particularly those which are multilingual such as Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania - was the choice to be made between the varieties of national languages and the colonial language as a medium of instruction.

This period witnessed the emergence of two important concepts in nation-building enterprise: nationism and nationalism. Nationism refers to the establishment of political and administrative structures, while nationalism concerns itself with an integrative movement which aims at transcending the historic "ties to family and locality (which defined the affiliative horizon of the common man in pre-industrial and pre-urban times) and to forge wider bonds that can draw the rural, the urban, and the regional into a broader unity: the nationality" (Fishman, 1971: 3). In other words, nationalism means the development of socio-cultural identity in circumstances of ethnolinguistic diversity (Fishman, 1968, cited in Tollefson, 2011: 361). In its formative stage, nationalism focused primarily on the inherent unity of populations of a given country who have never been made aware of this unity before (Fishman, 1971: 3). Consequently, the expertise of LPLP scholars was needed as it was believed that they had an instrumental role to play in fostering national unity, reducing economic inequality, and opening avenues for education and job opportunities especially in circumstances where access of indigenous populations to education and job opportunities has not been facilitated by colonial structures (Tollefson, 2011). This is mainly because language-planning is often treated as yet another assignment in the development agenda of newly independent countries (Tollefson, 2011). Two main assumptions emerged during this period:

1. The nation state, particularly national education authorities, should be at the very core of LPLP activities, mainly for development and modernisation purposes;

2. Technical and pragmatic rather than political solutions to language challenges ought to be developed and suggested by LPLP experts, who were not historically part of the beneficiary populations targeted by the LPLP decisions (Tollefson, 2011: 361).

LPLP specialists are expected to make practical and objective decisions based on efficiency and cost-benefit analysis. The economic consideration of LPLP being referred to here is to be analysed from two perspectives: cost-benefit analysis at the level of the individual and at policy level. For example, an individual interested in language must consider the trade-off in terms of time and financial cost against a better-paid job resulting from acquiring new language skills (Tollefson, 2011: 362). At the policy level, this approach is helpful in determining, for example, the financial implications (cost and benefits) (Tollefson, 2011: 363) of particular LPLP plans or policies such as the training of trainers and ensuring the publication of textbooks, novels and

journals; organising meetings of experts in order to develop terminology, compile dictionaries and promote language courses; or standardise and modernise and entire language system (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971). To some extent, these economic considerations are used to encourage language planners to carry out their activities and to be in a better position to forecast the outcome of their respective plans and policies (Tollefson, 2011).

3.6. Revitalisation of LPLP from the early 1990s to date

Otherwise known as the revival of LPLP, the milestone of this approach could be traced as far back as the early 1990s. The primary focus of scholars and researchers alike was "on historical and structural forces that have a bearing on plans and policies, namely, economic class, gender, and race/ethnicity" (Tollefson, 2011: 366). Influenced largely by Post-Modernism, subsequent researchers in the field directed their efforts to the area of discourse following the birth of various movements witnessed then in the social sciences (Tollefson, 2011: 366). This period was mostly credited with the Historical Structural approach (Tollefson, 1991, cited in Tollefson, 2011: 366). This differs from the Historical-Structural Approach and the Neo-Classical Approach on the following grounds:

The unit of analysis: Unlike the Neoclassical Approach which focuses on the decision-making process of the individual as well as the actions of political authority, the Historical-Structural Approach - as its name suggests - aims at unravelling social and historical factors which impact the use of language, for example why some specific social groups have specific costs and benefits, and not others (Tollefson, 2011: 366-367). Logically, the Historical-Structural Approach treats the underlying reasons of a specific trend in costs and benefits that hinder the behaviour of the individual, rather than analysing the decisions of the individual from a cost-benefits perspective as the Neo-Classical Approach attempts to do (Tollefson, 2011).

It therefore follows that in the context of Africa, as Tollefson (2011) suggests, every effort should be made to identify all the social and historical factors which impinge on language use, particular indigenous African languages. This study is a step in the right direction in identifying such factors so that questions pertaining to language policy and language use could be moved to the next level.

The role of Historical-Structural Perspective: The Historical-Structural Approach is premised on the assumption that 'historical relationships are fundamental'. Consequently, research without a comprehensive assessment is quasi-impossible. The Neo-Classical Approach deals with the prevailing situation and treats the history of language groups as well as the types of relationships between them as valuable data for the purposes of policy-making (Tollefson, 2011: 367).

Even though both Historical-Structural Perspective and the Neo-Classical Approach are relevant to LPLP, while the former highlights the importance of assessment in research the latter is pertinent to this study, to the extent that it focuses on the history of language groups and the types of relationships that exist between them as a rich source of data for policy-making purposes (Tollefson, 2011). These are the issues language experts and language policy-makers need to address in ensuring an effective, practical and successful language policy-making, implementation and evaluation processes on the continent. However, certain criteria have been set in this regard, which are discussed below.

Criteria for evaluating plans and policies: The Historical-Structural Approach posits that language plans or programmes that are 'successfully implemented' will historically benefit the powerful groups. Consequently, the sole evaluation of that success story is of no interest. In other words, the focus should be geared towards evaluating how the successful implementation of the language programmes and policies impact the daily lives or circumstances of various social groups, how it is likely to undermine 'unequal power relationships, and finally how it affects social justice.

In this context, the Historical-Structural Approach would be the relevant and appropriate tool to assess whether the OAU/AU's LPAAs have been implemented successfully or otherwise. Most importantly, the success of the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs will be determined by the extent to which this implementation has direct positive impact on the lives of millions of African citizens, i.e., the people who are not proficient in the colonial languages currently used by the OAU/AU as its working languages. Since the Neoclassical Approach concerns itself directly with whether the assessments are implemented in a successful manner (Tollefson, 2011: 367), language policy-makers and implementers, both at national and continental levels, should make use of this approach in order to contribute effectively to the promotion of the language agenda of the OAU/AU.

3.7. Planning versus language-planning

Planning is generally defined as the use of resources in a deliberate and controlled manner (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 195). It therefore goes without saying that for planning to be translated into concrete actions, planners and people responsible for the execution of the plan must wield a certain amount of tangible power necessary to influence the behaviour of the people the planning is targeting. To this extent, the success of planning is dependent on certain prerequisites: psychological, social, as well as cultural (Alisjahbana, 1971: 179).

3.7.1. Language-planning versus language policy

The concept of social planning, which is regarded as an "example of decision-making behaviour normally attributed to intelligent individual action for problem-solving" (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 195), particularly for the benefit of society as a whole, must be put into perspective in relation to language-planning, which is itself the main mechanism used in organising, managing and manipulating language-related behaviours because it encompasses decisions that are made about languages and the way these are used within a society (Shohamy, 2006: 45). LP is the main mechanism through which some decisions are taken regarding the preferred languages that should be legitimised, used, learned and taught, namely, the place, the time and the contexts in which it should take place (Shohamy, 2006: 45). To this extent, the concepts of LPLP are generally used when language behaviour of communities or nations rather than that of individuals is considered (Ager, 2001: 5). Language-planning can therefore be treated from the strategic perspectives of disciplines such as sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, political science, and economics (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xiii).

3.7.2. Language-planning versus social planning

As a complex activity, social planning can be understood specifically in relation to "the empirical referent of such planning in actual behaviours and within the limits of political possibility" (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971). There exists a direct relationship between language-planning and social planning (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). Language-planning should be treated in a very restricted sense and with obviously a very specific aim in mind (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: 179).

3.8. Motivation in LPLP

The main issues to be explored in this section are the following: What are the goals considered by planners? What motivates their considerations of particular goals and their acceptance of certain goals? What kinds of language-planning would be useful under what circumstances for what kinds of people speaking what kinds of languages? (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xix, xxii). Other pertinent questions which need to be asked with respect to issues relating to motivation in language-planning and language policy are the following: Why should communities and governments intend to influence the language behaviour of their people? Is the language policy of the government a 'selfish pursuit of elitist advantage'? What are exactly the implicit or explicit motives planners and policy-makers have for undertaking language-related projects where the benefits, if indeed there are any, are likely to be long term? What do public policies and plans have in common? (Ager, 2001: 1-2).

One pertinent question sums up all the questions posed above: What is the actual motivation for LPLP? To answer this question, it should be stated that since language-planning is a highly political activity (Alexander, 2010; 2011; Vaara et al., 2005), therefore political authorities should consider the following issues when planning for various purposes:

- How should political elites establish and facilitate patterns of communication (both internally and internationally) that would help the established 'socio-economic' institutions of the state to perform in the most effective manner and in the most equitable manner to meet the life circumstances (needs and interests) of the target populations?

- How do political elites ensure that different ethnic groups within a given society with their divergent 'linguistic repertoires' ('for either ethnic or social class considerations') have equal access to the established system and opportunities to participate in it? (Kelman, 1971: 40).

3.9. Overview of the LPLP in Post-Colonial Africa: implications for the OAU/AU

Soon after *uhuru* (meaning independence) (Ochwada, 2005: 203) from colonial rule, one serious challenge faced by post-colonial élites in their pursuit of the herculean task of nation-building and or national development (Chumbow, 2005: 169) was the sensitive issue of how to develop

national languages and manage these alongside imposed colonial languages given the cultural and linguistic diversity of African countries. The official recognition and use of colonial languages by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which ironically opposed these languages from the onset, began as far back as its inception in 1963, i.e., after the attainment of independence by the majority of African countries from colonial rule. One thing that was odd and embarrassing at the meeting held in Addis Ababa, during which the OAU Charter was established, was that colonial languages - namely English, French and Portuguese - were being used at such an important gathering (ACALAN, 2008, cited in Batibo 2015: 1). It was at that time that "the realities of the linguistic diversity in Africa came to the attention of African leaders" (Batibo, 2015: 1). As participant 37 remarked: "*You see! The linguistic situation on the continent is so embarrassing because we are still dependent on colonial languages. What is even regrettable is that the vernacularization of indigenous African languages is still ongoing, irrespective of the fact that Africa has attained independence"* (lines- 81-86). Further, participant 9 stated that: "*Our leaders decided that within the next 20 years they should be able to use African languages. That was therefore the if possible. Within this time, African languages should be used. Therefore, the reality of the linguistic diversity in Africa was put to the table"* (lines 15-19).

Contrary to the expectations in many African countries that major political and economic difficulties faced by newly independent states were the only fundamental challenges these nation states would grapple with, in *The national language question: Linguistic problems of newly independent states*, Le Page (1964) notes that, in fact, cultural challenges are the fundamental challenges facing the continent. This state of affairs can be explained by the fact that the majority of newly independent states owe their national boundaries "to the old colonial regime which, for motives of their own - administrative convenience, or the geography of white exploration and settlement - gave a sometimes spurious unity to regions which had little otherwise to recommend them as national entities" (Le Page, 1964: 1).

One fundamental question worth asking nation states in particular and the AU in general is whether nation states exist as anything beyond artificial political entities (Le Page, 1964: 1). If indeed it is permissible to compare the circumstances leading to the birth of both the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the OAU/AU, there is a

great deal of sense in the statement of the Executive Secretary of CODESRIA that itwas established in Africa in a context of extreme political fragmentation because this partition of the continent into a myriad of small territories by colonial powers has resulted in the struggle of each of these territories to build themselves into nations that are truly cohesive and independent the circumstance that led to the establishment of CODESRIA in Africa (Sall, 2013: 4).

Extending this perspective to the field of social research, Sall (2013) notes that the promotion of scholarship and knowledge production in that field in a context such as this definitely implied dealing with a number of challenges that were not only disciplinary in nature but also linguistic since colonial powers had left behind their own languages as official languages in their former colonies, in addition to the myriad of African languages. There were other political, gender and generational challenges.

Consequently, in their pursuit of the development of national languages, Tollefson reminds us that élites in Post-Colonial Africa had, in one way or another, to struggle with the following dilemmas in the specific history of their respective countries:

- Should colonial languages continue to be used as media of instruction in schools?
- Should vernaculars undergo terminological development and standardisation processes to replace the colonial languages in official domains?
- In multilingual states, which varieties (if any) should be selected as lingua francas? (2011: 358).

In this regard, the issues that most newly independent countries were confronted with were: "How does one govern societies in which ethnic identities are strong and tend to glide easily into tribalism? And what state structure is appropriate for 'development'?" (Mkandawire, 2005: 15). In this regard, the dilemma faced by the African elite soon after independence was that during the time of decolonisation, the new political elites on the continent had to deal with pluralist political institutions that were newly envisioned and imported from the west, while at the same time these elites had had to be confronted with only values and institutions inherited from the colonial administration (Moe, 2012: 92).

As a result, in their bid to promote local or national sovereignty, several approaches were used by political elites in each newly independent country in Africa in dealing with the language dilemmas mentioned above, the implications of which have far-reaching consequences: political, socio-economic, educational, developmental, cultural and linguistic (Cronin, 2003: 54).

3.10. Colonial languages versus indigenous African languages

Several arguments have been martialled by the elites in charge ofmost post-colonial African countries to defend the continued use of colonial languages, which are referred to as 'neutral' or 'unifiers' (Chumbow, 2005; Phillipson, 1992, 2009; Mesthrie, 2011). In almost all African countries, these languages have been assigned major roles to the detriment of indigenous national languages. In other words, colonial languages are increasingly preferred to any local language as these constitute a relatively new choice (Mesthrie, 2011: 11-12). The continued use of colonial languages "is embedded in the historical legacy of racism that was at the core of colonial policy" (Shaw et al., 2012: 208). As participant 4 indicated**:** "*The elite in Africa have used colonial languages such as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese to the detriment of indigenous African languages"* (lines 405-408).

The political stance adopted by politicians and the arguments they use regarding language issues tend to promote the hegemony of colonial languages and to maintain the status quo regarding educational policies (Bamgbose, 1979: 20). In this respect, four main arguments have been used to explain and justify the continued use of what has been termed the European Colonial Powers Languages (Ansre, 1979: 10):

- The Cost Argument;
- The 'Shrinking' World Argument;
- The Detribalisation Argument; and
- The Technological Advancement Argument.

For the purpose of building a sound argument for this study, I will focus on the first and second arguments which are more appropriate and are discussed in detail in the sections below. Even though the detribalisation and technological advancement arguments are equally relevant to the study, the Cost and the Shrinking World arguments are more

relevant because they are the arguments mostly used by political authorities in order to justify their refusal to change the status quo or their failure to effectively promote non-colonial languages across the Continent. As Bamgbose notes:

> Colonial language policies had spawned an elite in most countries, and this elite, which continues to benefit from its monopoly of mastery of the official language, constitutes the vanguard of resistance to change, since any enhanced status for the hitherto downtrodden African languages means its loss of privilege and power. (1999: 13)

This study does not advocate for the use of all indigenous African languages by the OAU/AU because doing so would be unrealistic for several reasons, including financial, economic, and logistical factors. The use of colonial languages instead of indigenous African languages is further encouraged because in some political and educational circles on the continent, it is still believed that almost all African countries are poor and economically overburdened in their attempt to provide basic amenities of life (Ansre, 1979). Since colonial languages are already used in business and trade, education, administration, media politics and the business of public administration, etc., it is better to continue in this direction to conserve scarce financial resources. According to Ansre, proponents of this idea probably "suffer from some or all of the following conceptual deficiencies" (1979: 12), namely:

- They may be unconscious victims of Linguistic Imperialism.
- They may have a short-sighted and stilted sense of economy.
- They may have a superficial concept of national development and therefore of the educational requirements which will generate such a development (Ansre, 1979: 12).

As regards the 'Shrinking World Argument, because colonial languages have been imposed on Africans, and since for various reasons the African elites cannot ensure the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages, the former should then be encouraged and maintained because these languages are the means through which the majority of people across the globe communicate and acquire knowledge and skills (Ansre, 1979: 13).

In this regard, it has been suggested that colonial languages should be used as media of instruction in order that children should be fluent in those languages (Ansre, 1979: 13). While it is good to pursue such a laudable goal, it should, howeve,r be noted that "we are not saying that European languages should not be taught in African schools — far from it! They should be taught and taught well" (Ansre, 1979: 14). The fact, however, remains that, far from teaching children to become international personalities as the main purpose of first cycle education in any country, rather the objectives of the education system of a country should first focus on intra-national integration and not at inter-national relations (Ansre, 1979: 14). This argument is based on the fact that since language and development are intimately interrelated, it follows that the African child should, in the first place, be a confident citizen who is a member of a worthy society that has a respectable language which all members can use with a sense of pride. However, the teaching of children in languages which they do not have proficiency, because of internationalism, makes very little sense going by education principles (Ansre, 1979: 14).

The section below discusses the relevance of perceptions of language varieties and their implications for language policy as a whole.

3.11. Language varieties in Africa and implications for language planning

One phenomenon that is quite difficult to describe is 'language' (Lafon and Webb, 2010: 12) for a number of reasons. First, there are many varieties of languages spoken by various linguistic communities across the continent. Second, linguistic boundaries that exist between languages are often difficult to demarcate. For example, in Eastern Africa, where can the linguistic boundary of kiSwahili be said to start exactly between all the Eastern African countries, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and where does it end? Indeed, African languages were separated into capricious geographical units as a result of the artificial borders that were created following the partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 (Bamgbose, 2011: 2).

Consequently, languages that were once similar or shared common characteristics were divided, resulting in what came to be known as the phenomenon of cross-border languages, the majority of which are found across the African Continent. For example, Cameroon shares about 70 cross-border languages with its neighbours, namely Nigeria with which it shares about 45 languages (Chumbow and Tamanji, 2000 cited in Bamgbose, 2011: 2). By the same token, taking South

Africa as an example, where does the boundary between Zulu and Xhosa lie? (Lafon and Webb, 2010: 12).

In an effort to promote cross-border languages in Africa, a Synthesis Conference was organised by ACALAN, during which 12 vehicular cross-border languages that were identified as an initial group for which commissions have been created. For example, in West Africa, there is Hausa, Fulfude and Mandekan; in Central Africa there are Lingala and Beti-Fang. In Southern Africa, there exist Cinyanja/Chichewa and Setswana; whilst kiSwahili, Somali, and Malagasy are found in Eastern Africa, and Modern Standard Arabic and Berber in North Africa. Furthermore, there are other dominant limited cross-border languages (such as Yoruba or Shona) and dominant non-cross border languages languages (such as Zulu and Amharic) (Bamgbose, 2011: 11).

These linguistic boundaries obviously result from impositions from former colonial administrations (Makoni et al., 2007: 27). Furthermore, from a linguistic perspective, like in many other parts of Africa, in Southern Africa, the great majority of this geographic region was dominated by a language ecology that is characterised by widespread fusion of one or more languages over broad areas (Makoni et al., 2007: 27).

In light of the above, language is often considered a 'political issue' (Lafon & Webb, 2010:12). Furthermore, languages, in general, are never static but very dynamic. Generally, languages are regarded as collections of several varieties (Lafon and Webb, 2010:12). There exist also different styles, namely, formal and informal, different groups of varieties or dialects, etc. For example,in South Africa, the language 'Zulu' can be regarded as a collection of that language that is spoken both in rural and urban areas, or even during festivals, traditional customs and rituals or by the youth or the older generation, in the court of law, in the privacy of homes, and potentially by some gangs in urban areas (Lafon and Webb, 2010:12).

Regardless of the fact that there are many varieties of languages spoken across the breadth and length of the continent, these languages have, to some extent, some accepted standard varieties. However, they suffer from a broader acceptance by the various segments of the respective communities in which they are spoken, particularly in educational settings. Worse, some learners are not very proficient in these language varieties (Webb, 2010: 8).

From a practical perspective, this situation poses a great deal of challenges with respect to language management and language planning, since any development and promotion of language, including standardisation require, among other things, a thorough understanding of the (socio) linguistic realities of each language, the current status of a language, namely its linguistic capacity, the social meaning of this language for the speaking community of this language as well as speakers outside the said community (Webb, 2010: 9).

3.12. Towards a theory of LPLP?

Is a theory of LPLP possible? From a South African perspective, which, to some extent, applies to the rest of the continent, Alexander (2004: 115) notes that one could not talk about 'an explicit theory of language-planning' until the late 1980s. This is because language-planning is a relatively new and growing discipline. Thus, the following question may be asked: has the theory of language-planning been generally accepted in Africa and beyond? The theory of language-planning should only be accepted, if, in fact, it means a set of propositions that are logical, interrelated and can be tested empirically (Cooper, 1989: 41).

If a theory of LPLP is to be accepted in Africa, linguists and language experts would most probably have to transcend providing only descriptive frameworks for the study of language-planning (Cooper, 1989), and begin to make sound, logical, interdependent frameworks which are built on empirical grounds (Cooper, 1989). To this extent, should a theory of LPLP be accepted, this would help explain in a better way language-planning initiatives, the ways and means selected to realise its goals as well as the outcomes of its implementation (Cooper, 1989: 182). Furthermore, such a theory would help understand what actually motivates the setting of specific status, corpus and acquisition goals, and the choice of specific means and the reasons that explain why these means do or do not contribute to the realisation of such goal with a specific social context (Cooper, 1989: 182).

It should be pointed out that establishing a sound theory of LPLP may not be an easy exercise as language-planning is such a complex activity influenced by, economic, ideological and political factors. It is not because it is directed towards so many different status, corpus, and acquisition goals, but more fundamentally because it is a tool in the service of so many different latent goals such as economic modernisation; national integration; national liberation; imperial hegemony;

racial, sexual, and economic equality; the maintenance of elites, and their replacement by new elites (Cooper, 1989).

3.13. Can language be planned?

This is in fact the title of a book edited by Rubin and Jernudd (1971). It says a good deal about the complex nature of language-planning and language policy-making. This explains why the issue related to whether language can be planned or otherwise is not actually the concern of many people, particularly those who are formally educated, and who are not even willing to discuss it (Alexander, 2004: 113). In fact, many are those linguists who still argue that language is basically unplannable (Rubin, 1971: 308). There is another important issue worth considering because the way language-planning is treated currently does not seem to suggest that sufficient information has been provided about the complex nature of social reasons for language-planning in practice (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 197). What complicates the issue further isthe definition of language-planning, i.e., an assessment of linguistic change as too loose (Haugen, 1966: 52, cited in Jernudd & Das Gupta: 1971: 197).

This state of affairs may further be explained by the complex nature of language-planning, and especially by the fact that planning language implies planning society (Cooper, 1989). Therefore, when analysing the importance of language in society one realises that "language is the fundamental institution of society, not only because it is the first institution experienced by the individual but also because all other institutions are built upon its regulatory patterns" (Berger and Berger, 1976, cited in Cooper, 1989: 182).

Several other reasons may be used to explain the relative undefined nature of language-planning. One pertinent reason is that language-planning "has also been relatively restricted because of the minor role that some practitioners have accepted for themselves - practitioners who are either unwilling or unable to consider the full importance that their work might have for a developing society" (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971: xv). Regardless of these, there are other good reasons why "language-planning is possible because language is or can at least fruitfully be considered as, a resource, and as such it does get evaluated" (Rubin, 1971: 307). To this extent, the logic of language-planning is influenced by the fact that language has been recognised as a societal resource. The importance of this resource manifests itself in the communicational aspect and

identify values that have been attached to one or several languages by a given community (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 196).

To the extent that language has been identified as a societal resource, stakeholders and politicians are in a better position to determine specific areas of society that require planned and coordinated action pertaining to societal resource (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 196). There exists three main approaches to language policy, namely language as a right, a resource or a problem (Ager, 2001: 177). For example, the ability of an individual to access 'a particular variety or domain of language is interpreted as one of the 'fundamental human rights', which should be protected by those in authority.

Regarding language as a resource, the ability of person to acquire additional language skills in English, French or Portuguese gives him or her a competitive advantage over those who do not have the same linguistic skills. In this context, language is seen as 'an economic and competitive resource' (Rubin, 1971). Furthermore, to exploit language as a resource, it can be subjected to alternative goals and strategies (Rubin, 1971).

From the perspectives above, it may be fair to ask: What alternative goals and strategies are language policy-makers using at the OAU/AU to exploit indigenous African languages as resources? How is this precious resource planned and used at the OAU/AU?

The starting point is that those at the helm of affairs at the OAU/AU should recognise language-planning as a societal resource (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 176), that it draws its importance from the fact that members of particular speech community are able to communicate among themselves and with others and identify themselves with it (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971 : 176).

The issue whether language can be planned is seriously considered because in this context, it involves looking at the real areas of society that require proper planning as far as this resource is concerned (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 197). In other words, language as a 'societal resource' can be planned. Furthermore, to be successful this 'societal' undertaking requires the input of members of the society such as politicians, educationists, economists, and linguists (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971 : 197).

The third approach to language policy deals with language as a problem. Language is sometimes seen as the root cause of ethnic tensions, national disunity or – worse - civil war (Ager, 2001). Based on what Shohamy (2006: 20) calls an expanded view of language, people have the freedom to use languages and express themselves in any way and form they please. Consequently, people's 'ability to express themselves' should be seen in itself as a concretisation of freedom of speech. To this extent, people should be given the opportunity to choose how to make use of language as part of the manifestation of their unique identities, personal freedom and personal rights.

3.14. Goal of the theory of LPLP

3.14.1.What can possibly be the goal of the theory of LPLP?

> [t]he goal of a theory of language policy is to account for the choices made by individual speakers based on rule-governed patterns recognized by the speech community (or communities) of which they are members. Some of the choices are the result of management, reflecting conscious and explicit efforts by language managers to control the choices. (Spolsky, 2009: 1)

Regardless of the language(s), the mere fact that an individual decides to use it or them, depending on the case, is in itself a choice. In this regard, language policy concerns itself with choices. If a person is bilingual or plurilingual s/he has the possibility to choose to use a particular language. Even if s/he speaks one language, s/he has choices to make between dialects and styles (Spolsky, 2009). This issue is closely linked to the notion of language management.

The process of language management begins with the individual (and this is called simple management). However, organised language management can take place at a micro (family) and macro level (nation state). Organised language management manifests itself in a law that has been established by a nation state or an organ mandated to make laws which determine some aspect of how language is used officially (Neustupný, Jernudd, and Nekvapil, cited in Spolsky, 2009: 5). Spolsky (2004, 2009) further introduces some key concepts adapted from Fishman (1972) particularly the concept of domain (Fishman, 1972: 43-51) in relation to language policy and language management.

3.15. Concept of domain in LPLP revisited

The concept of domain mentioned earlier is used to refer to a social environment, including a home, family, school, neighbourhood, church, government, and so on (Fishman, 1972, cited in Spolsky, 2009: 3). Each of the domains operates according to its own established policies. As a result, the domain has three main features: participants, location, and topic (Spolsky, 2009: 3). In relation to this study, a domain represents the OAU/AU, its organs and institutions: the Assembly, the Executive Council, the Commission, the PAP, (the Legislative body) and the ACALAN. Three other important and interdependent components have been added to these three features of a domain referred to above, to make a language policy complete and more meaningful. They are: language practices, language related beliefs and language management (Spolsky, 2004: 5).

The three components of language policy are important as these are useful in explaining why particular choices of languages are made in a given domain (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). In particular, these help explain why the OAU/AU has decided not to use any indigenous African languages as part of its working languages, regardless of the fact that it was against the use of colonial languages soon after its establishment in 1963. This explains why there should be substantial reasons why a particular language policy is maintained during a givenperiod (Alexander, 2011: 7).

3.16.The four main stages in LPLP

In Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning, Haugen (1987) clearly identifies four main stages in language-planning: selection of norm, codification of norm, implementation, and elaboration. This 'four-fold model' was earlier arranged in a matrix form (Haugen, 1966). It has been presented in a table below for the purposes of simplicity, clarity and understanding.

	Norm	Function
Society	(1) Selection	(3) Implementation
Language	(2) Codification	(4) Elaboration

Table 4: Haugen's (1987) Model of Language Planning (relationship between the four main stages in language-planning)

Going by the model above, the selection of norm (1) and implementation (3) are the prerogatives of society while codification of norm (2) and elaboration (4) involve the work of linguists and writers (Haugen, 1987: 59). Selection of norm comes because of what is identified as a language problem (Neustupný, cited in Haugen, 1987). And "[m]ost problems can be identified as the presence of conflicting norms, whose relative status needs to be assigned" (Haugen, 1987: 59).

Selection of norm is initiated by members of society who act through their leaders (Haugen, 1987). Consequently, a selection of norm decision may be taken after "lengthy wrangling in public or private, and it may be arrived at by some kind of majority decision. But it may also be decreed by an omnipotent ruler" (Haugen, 1987: 59). Selection of norm "establishes that a given language norm, be it a single item or a whole, shall enjoy (or lose) a given status in a society" (Haugen, 1987: 60). In the context of the OAU/AU, a selection of norm decision could be, for example, the adoption of English as the sole official language of the OAU/AU instead of the current four or six languages depending on the institution. Such a decision will, no doubt, be detrimental to the promotion and development of indigenous African languages.

Codification of norm can be carried out by an individual who - more or less in an informal manner or deliberately - decides to provide explicit, usually written form to the norm s/he has chosen (Haugen, 1987: 60).

There are three main stages regarding codification: Graphization (Ferguson, 1968: 29, cited in Haugen, 1987: 60) is often a first step. In this regard, Haugen (1987: 60) writes that "[i]n areas where the concept of an alphabet, a syllabary, or a system of ideograms exists, a writing tradition can arise simply by the adaptation of a known system to the new language". The second step is grammatication (extraction and formulation of the rules of grammar) and finally lexication (selection of corresponding lexicon) (Haugen, 1987: 60). Implementation involves the activity of

a writer, an institution or a government regarding the adoption and the attempt to spread the language form that has been selected and codified (Haugen, 1987). Elaboration is "just a continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world" (Haugen, 1987: 61). Therefore, elaboration deals mainly with additional functions and new codes assigned to a language.

The new codes being referred to here may be used for several purposes and in areas such as science, medicine, technology, computers, popular music, international trade and commerce, and even diplomacy.

3.17. Choice of national languages

The choice of national languages used or spoken in a given country should be based on some underlying factors, six of which were suggested by Lepage (1964) and are discussed in the section below.

Factor No. 1: The Demography and sociology of the language or languages in question. This factor refers to all those individuals - including the number of native and other speakers - with age, occupation and class distributions.

Factor No. 2: The past history of the linguistic situation. The second factor concerns itself with the nature of past contacts between different language groups - indigenous and foreign – as well as the history of political, social and religious pressure groups in addition to the history of education and literacy in the country.

Factor No. 3: The structural nature of the languages involved as described scientifically by linguists. The third factor deals, among other things, with the languages the orthographies as well as the processes of change that are likely to arise in them because of their dialectical diversification, their contact with other languages, whether there are affinities or lack thereof between the languages involved which are easy or difficult to be learned by other language groups.

Factor No. 4: The political, social and economic situation of the country: The country's situation being referred to is dependent on whether the country will need foreign aid, how much of this aid will be needed, and the source of that aid. Other factors to be considered in this context

are the political, social, economic and educational situations of various indigenous languages of the country and how these are viewed by various indigenous language groups.

Factor No. 5: The organisation and structure of the education system. The fifth factor in the selection of a language deals with – for example - the linguistic features of the education system, its financial resources, the teaching materials, the teachers and training facilities.

Factor No. 6: The sixth factor refers to the other financial cost resulting in any change in the existing language situation other than the education costs, such as the administrative and commercial costs (Lepage, 1964: 78).

3.18. Language policy options

These options are: inclusive policy, partially inclusive policy, exclusive policy, hierarchical policy and adoption of the status quo (Batibo, 2013: 110-111).

3.18.1.Inclusive policy

This policy primarily focuses on the promotion of all indigenous African languages to a national level, so that they can be used as much as possible in all public functions. For example, Namibia has adopted this policy, where the official language is English and the other languages are national languages. Certainly, this policy has its own advantages in the sense that it promotes true democracy and equality of all languages; however, its main challenges are the 'costs for human and material resources in the development of teaching and learning materials in all the languages (Batibo, 2013: 110).

3.18.2. Partially inclusive policy

The partially inclusive policy allows for the promotion and use of only a selected number of indigenous languages, in most cases the major languages in education and other public functions. For example, South Africa has involved 11 official languages out of 23 languages, while Zambia has promoted the use of seven languages in education out of 38 languages in the country; Mozambique has involved six of its languages used in education, out of 33 languages; and Malawi has promoted three languages which are supposed to be used in education, out of 14 national languages. One of the drawbacks of this policy is mainly the decision to be made about which languages qualify for promotion and which ones do not. However, although the only

criterion may not necessarily be based on the number of speakers, the implementation phase of such a policy has tended to 'lag behind' (Batibo, 2013 :110).

3.18.3. Exclusive policy

The exclusive policy favours the selection of only one indigenous language, usually the most dominant in the country, as the national language which is used in all public functions. The four main examples to be cited with respect to this policy are: KiSwahili (Tanzania), Setswana (Botswana), Malagasy (Madagascar) and Chichewa (Malawi, especially during the time of President Kamuzu Banda).

One of the main advantages of this policy is that it enhances national unity and identity as well as reducing the costs for the preparations of teaching and learning materials. Its main disadvantage is the exclusion or marginalisation of speakers of other national languages from national affairs (Batibo, 2013: 110). The direct implication of the implementation of the exclusive policy is that, to some extent, "the majority of Africans are disenfranchised as they are excluded from participating in the national affairs of their countries" (Matsinhe, 2013: 24).

3.18.4. Hierarchical policy

The hierarchical policy promotes a graded hierarchical status of languages, notably from official, national, provincial, district and area. These languages are then localised. As a result, several functions are allocated to languages at each level in areas such as education, media, judiciary, local administration, trade and commerce or village meetings, with the higher functions being accorded to those languages found at the top of the hierarchy. This policy encourages the use of a selected local language, particularly where it is so much needed by the people and allocates the national-based functions to the languages that are dominant nationally. The merit of the hierarchical policy is that it empowers communities to use their languages in various public domains. However, it should be emphasised that the implementation of this policy may, at the same time, result in the denial to some speakers of the use of their languages in some key domains of society (Batibo, 2013: 111).

3.18.5 Adoption of status quo

The status quo policy has been adopted by some countries, especially countries which were former French or Portuguese colonies. This is the type of language policy which was inherited from the colonial era and adopted by former colonies. It promotes the use of the ex-colonial language not only as the official language but as the national medium as well for 'national mobilisation' as the modern language (which is advanced technologically) connecting the country with the rest of the world. The status quo policy serves the only interests of the minority elite, excluding, in the process, the majority (the masses) (Batibo, 2013).

3.19. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of the study is based on theories borrowed from other disciplines to show the relationship of dominance between colonial powers and former colonies, characterised by imperialism, namely, linguistic imperialism which is the main focus of this study (Phillipson, 1992, 2008; Nicholson, 2002). Imperialism (Galtung, 1971; Nicholson, 2002; Balàzs, 2009), World Theory System - especially Centre and Periphery (Galtung, 1971; Tollefson, 2011), Governmentality (Inda, 2005; Lemke, 2000; Tremain, 2005), Dependency Theory (Cooper, 1989), Colonialism (Scott, 2005), Ecology of Language (Cronin, 2003; Fill, 2001; Grin, 1994; Chiswick, 2008; Thompson 1991). The use of these theories provide the opportunity to analyse the issue of power and domination that have characterised the relationship between former colonial powers and Africa. This highlights the main theoretical constructs for the study. The dependency relationship has developed through colonialism, which left a weak political, economic, social and cultural heritage that resulted from a dependence of post-colonial nations.

The purpose and scope of the literature review, the purpose of a theoretical framework, particularly regarding this study, is not different because it is aimed at finding articles that would help describe the body of knowledge from various angles, contributing to a rich description of the phenomenon (Teräs, 2015). To this extent, literature about the politics and policy of language use at the OAU/AU was first gathered from sources and authorities in the field, and additional searches were later conducted to unearth literature that adds other dimensions to the description of the problem (Teräs, 2015: 2).

The main purpose of gathering such literature for this study does not intend making it an exhaustive one, but to ensure that it constitutes a sample that is representative of the study

(Randolph, 2009). Further, establishing a connection is central to the study because it provides a foundation for political, power and ideological implications of the language policy and language policy-making processes of the OAU/AU. In addition, this connection stimulates discussions regarding the current language policy contradictions of the OAU/AU in particular, and most African countries in general.

Indeed, examining the current tide in the LPLP of the OAU/AU and of its institutions seems to point to what the Ghanaian sociolinguist Gilbert Ansre calls linguistic imperialism which he describes as:

> … the phenomenon in which the mind and lives of speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, governments, the administration of justice, etc. […] Linguistic Imperialism has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes, and aspirations of even the most noble in a society and of preventing him from appreciating and realising the full potentialities of the indigenous languages. (1979: 12-13)

Therefore, linguistic imperialism, which is the primary focus of this study, results directly from the continued use of colonial languages over which most African countries have obviously no or very little control. This is despite all efforts and commitments made towards the development and promotion of effective use of non-colonial languages, particularly against the backdrop of the fact that Africa is the richest culturally and linguistically endowed continent in the world (Campbell, 2015; Batibo, 2015; Senkoro, 2015; Matsinhe, 2013). As illustrated by participant 8: *"... Africa as a whole was a multilingual continent long before colonisation; and a lot of languages are spoken in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, it is considered a linguistically complex area in the world. Colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish were introduced later"* (lines 40-47).

To a lesser extent, the political and socio-economic consequences also result from the type of imperialism indicated above since - regardless of the fact that most African countries are

independent - they are unable to manage their economies properly, necessitating the direct intervention of international institutions such as the IMF.

In this regard, it has been argued that "[t]he often weak and debt-ridden economies of many third world countries leave them vulnerable and dependent on economic forces and relations over which they have little, if any, control" (Held, 1998: 32, cited in Ong, 2005: 84). The discussion above helps to justify the state of imperialism, namely, political, socio-economic and cultural and linguistic dependency in which most African countries find themselves.

3.19.1. Dependency theory

Dependency theory is relevant to this study as it is considered a legacy of colonialism because it explains further the constant state of political, socio-economic (namely linguistic and cultural dependency) that the majority of African countries find themselves in more than five decades after the attainment of nationhood.

This theory has been explored from several angles, among which is the historical perspective. In other words, from a historical point of view, dependency theory concerns itself with the unequal power relations that have developed through colonialism. During the colonial era, colonial nations which became newly industrialised had to move into other new territories that were not claimed by other powers. Consequently, the natural resources of less developed nations had to be used to sustain colonial factories.[20]

The issue arising from the perspective above is whether dependency theory can be likened to language-planning. Cooper (1989: 181) wonders whether the insights given by dependency theory are relevant to language-planning.

In answering the question above, it should be taken into account that after independence newly independent nations were faced with several challenges, among which was the language issue (Cooper, 1989: 181). For example, the education system in most third world countries was critiqued a great deal because it has been argued that the use of colonial languages as a medium of instruction at the secondary and higher education levels binds together elites of the third world

[20] Available at: https://study.com/academy/lesson/dependency-theory-in-sociology-definition-examples.html[Accessed, 1 February 2018].

and the west. It causes disagreement between them and the masses who are not proficient in those languages (Cooper, 1989). This view is reinforced by participant 4 as follows*: "But have you realised that the majority of Africans do not even speak the so-called colonial languages?"* (lines 60-62).

In this regard, the use of metropolitan languages contributes to the devaluation of indigenous African languages, and at the same time it questions the legitimacy and the seriousness of purpose of African political elites. As Cooper notes, "when a newly-independent state uses the language of its former rulers to debate legislation, the gap between the real and the ideal may challenge the legitimacy of governmental authority" (1989: 102). This view is further illustrated by participant 4: *"Some of our leaders are so pro-Europe, I mean the so-called leaders who will not even want to accept the things we are doing here, i.e. Ibo, Fante, Ewe languages. Scholars in these languages. Let us see how it goes"* (Lines 71-75).

There are several versions of the World System (Center and Periphery) Approach to the division of labour. One of such versions makes a clear distinction between a dominant Centre made up of countries such as the United States of America, countries of western Europe, Japan and other powerful countries and interests, as well as what has come to be known as a dominated Periphery that consists of interests and countries which are weaker politically, economically and militarily (Tollefson, 2011: 368). It is important to establish a connection between division of labour and LPLP; and to determine the interest of language specialists in the division of labour.

LPLP experts are interested in the role played by the languages of the Centre (defined above), particularly English among elites of the Periphery, the majority of whom were educated in Centre countries or even in elite schools. In these schools, languages of the Centre are used as the medium of instruction (Tollefson, 2011). In *Structural Theory of Imperialism*, Galtung (1971) notes that, while the world is divided between Centre and Periphery nations, each nation then has its own centres and periphery. In this context, the Centre nations are Western powers, while the Periphery nations are those referred to in international relations circles as the 'less-developed countries' (LDCs) (Nicholson, 2002: 161). The Periphery nations are found mostly in Africa, Asia, and Central America.

The Dependency Theory being discussed is further illustrated by what is known as the Centre and Periphery Relationship which, in the context of Africa, results from colonisation. One important feature that has characterised the Centre and Periphery Relationship in the 19th and early 20th centuries was the manner in which many Western imperial countries - namely France, Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium - occupied large parts of the world (Nicholson, 2002: 68).

The centre-periphery relationship between western powers and their former colonies has always existed and has been perpetuated to date because colonialism has contributed to the partition of Africa into imperial dependencies. This is regardless of the fact that, with the exception of southern Africa, almost all African countries have been independent for more than half a century. However, the current dependency state in which the majority of independent states find themselves in points to the fact that they still remain colonies. To this extent, a colony is "a territory ruled directly by the imperial power and laws are laid down at the centre and administered by its agents in the colonial territory" (Nicholson, 2002: 69).

3.19.2. Imperialism

Imperialism is regarded as "a species in a genus of dominance and power relationship" (Galtung, 1971: 81). Based on the nature of relationship that binds both the Centre and Periphery five main types of imperialism have been distinguished: (1) economic, (2) political, (3) military, (4) communication and (5) cultural (Galtung, 1971). In light of the classification above, to what extent will the current state of domination of Africa continue? From a practical perspective, it does not look like this state of affairs will change any time soon. This is because the relations of dominance that exist between nations and other constituencies will neither be washed away with the disappearance of imperialism, nor will the death of one type of imperialism, for example, political or economic systematically guarantee the end to another type of imperialism, i.e., economic or cultural (Galtung, 1971: 81).

The triple theory of imperialism, post-imperialism and neo-imperialism is explored in relation to this study because the recent history of imperialism has left a mark on the current world which states that it is important an awareness is created to allow for present structures to be understood (Nicholson, 2002: 68). To this extent, the 'mark' of imperialism on Africa is worth understanding because without a proper grasp of the current structures of international relations, it will be

difficult to understand the full nature of the existing relationship between colonial powers and their former colonies.

The core features of imperialism are the unequal relationship that exists between imperial powers and their former colonies to the extent that imperial powers manipulate some aspects of the behaviour of their former colonies to their own advantage without any reciprocal influence on the part of former colonies (Nicholson, 2002: 69). Analysed critically, the relationship between former colonial powers and colonies can better be described from a top-down perspective. Currently, post-colonial Africa is more or less remotely controlled by western powers without it necessarily exerting any significant influence. Worse still, this control currently takes place in a subtle and sophisticated manner, albeit even in the face of a clear violation of Africa's own dignity and sovereignty. It has been argued, from an international relations perspective, that the control of former colonies by imperial powers is done in a much more subtle and cautious manner (Nicholson, 2002: 68).

This study explores the structural theory of imperialism which holds the view that there is an asymmetrical power and wealth distribution among people (Nicholson, 2002: 75). It is fair to argue that, for example, the gap that exists between a few who are rich, one the one hand, and the situations of the billions of the poor on the other hand is so huge that it is having adverse effects on human beings and on the world economy (Balázs, 2009; 1001).

The use of colonial languages perpetuates dependence on the former colony. In this regard, two main theories explain the spread of colonial languages, namely English: the Anglo-American Conspiracy Theory. The proponents of this theory are Phillipson (1992, 2001, 2006) and Pennycook (1998). The Grassroots Theory is promoted by scholars such as Fishman, Cornrad, and Rubal-Lopez (1996, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2003: 67).

The Conspiracy Theory is based on the following premises:

- The spread of prestigious languages, particularly English, was masterminded by "powerful British and American interests even after the removal of direct imperial control through systematic and of often semi-secret language-planning policies".

- The use of English in developing countries does more harm than good, for example, because it stymies efforts to develop local languages or prevents popular participation in public affairs.

- The English language is a corrosive influence on individual self-esteem and collective cultural identity because it conveys an "Anglo-Saxon", "Western", or "Judeo-Christian" world view alien to the societies and cultures to which English is spreading (Fishman, Cornrad, and Rubal-Lopez, 1996, cited in Kamwangamalu, 2003: 67).

3.19.3. Governmentality

The concept of governmentality is relevant to this study because it helps understand clearly the pertinent issue related to power and its ramifications, more importantly, the rationale behind the use of power as well as the calculated ways and means through which colonial powers were able to 'govern' their former colonies and are still doing so, albeit in a much more refined and subtle manner in the current context of the 21st century international relations. The term governmentality is an expression coined by Michel Foucault and is used purposely to analyse the relations between the means of dominations, the constitution of the subject and the state formation (Lemke, 2000: 2). In this regard, whether through 'writings, lectures, and public statements, Faucoult passionately called for "critical reflections on the current situation, and on the historical conditions that led to these formations and how they might be differently perceived" (Tremain, 2005: 1).

3.19.4. Colonialism

It is crucial to explore the concept of colonialism in this this study because it helps explain "a problem that turns very much on the question of what is distinctive about the political rationality of forms of power, on the one hand, and on the other, on those transformations effected by modern power" (Scott, 2005: 23). Therefore, colonialism provides the platform to explain how (colonialism) it, as a means of exercising power, aims to include or exclude the colonised (Scott, 2005: 24). The study draws on Scott's (2005) understanding of colonialism and its various manifestations and explores the insights and perspectives of a few other scholars on this issue.

This study unravels, to some extent, some of the plans and strategies used by colonists to dominate the colonised. It is worthwhile, on the one hand, finding meaning in "those historically

constituted complexes of knowledge/power that give shape to colonial projects of political sovereignty" (Scott, 2005: 25). On the other hand, the rationale behind colonisation and how this all complex and complicated system of power, domination and exploitation works because, "[a] colonial political rationality characterizes those ways in which colonial power is organized as an activity designed to produce effects of rule" (Scott, 2005: 25).

This study is a call to critical thinking about colonialism, more importantly, about what Scott (2005: 25) refers to as "the problem of the formation of historically heterogeneous rationalities through which the political sovereignties of colonial rules were constructed and operated". Embarking on such an exercise is important as it opens the avenue for a critical examination of how the practices, modalities and projects of colonialism were organised and structured, and the different forms of which were planted into the lives of the colonised (Scott, 2005).

This discussion leads to the final point of the theoretical framework, which linguistic ecology and its relevance to the study.

3.19.5. 'Linguistic ecology'

Linguistic ecology is pertinent to the study because, on the one hand, it helps to highlight the warning of Cronin (2003) which states that, with regard to the use of languages, that is, minority languages,the current trends suggest that the linguistic eco-system of the planet is alarming, fragile and that the rate of language loss is unprecedented.

Further, Cronin (2003: 5) laments the alarming rate at which the great majority of the "world's minority languages" are faced with "extinction" in recent times if proactive measures are not taken to address the root causes of the problem. To elaborate further on the concept of linguistic ecology, Tollefson draws the following analogy that just like environmentalists think the term diversity is a cardinal "value that should determine environmental policies, supporters of ecological models argue that linguistic diversity is a fundamental value that must be maintained" (2011: 369).

The linguistic fortunes of the world are held by Africa (Cronin, 2003; Campbell, 2015; Batibo, 2015; Senkoro, 2015; Metsinhe, 2013). Paradoxically, this linguistic and cultural diversity of the continent was undermined by colonists, who treated it as a worthless heritage. According to participant 16: *"Africa's linguistic diversity is a reality. Unfortunately, the colonial policies did*

not contribute to its promotion. So, by the time colonisation ended, indigenous African languages have lost the little and uncontested prestige they had before colonial languages were introduced" (lines 67-74).

In other words, the African Continent is linguistically endowed. For example, out of the 6,700 spoken across the world, about 2000, representing almost 30% of them are found in Africa. Further, an African language typology differentiates between three main types of languages, namely major, minority and endangered languages (Bamgbose, 2011: 2). Therefore, the major languages are, for example, Hausa, Yoruba, Zulu, etc., because they are spoken by lots of people, have higher status and an amount of political and economic power but rank lower than colonial languages. Investing in the development and promotion of these majority languages is economically viable (Bamgbose, 2011: 2). However, regardless of the fact that these languages are widely spoken across some regions of Africa, they do not enjoy the same privilege as colonial languages do, namely English because of its dominance internationally (Bamgbose, 2011: 3).

The use of these languages should be encouraged, developed and promoted, particularly in the context of globalisation which constitutes one of the greatest threats to the existence and survival of indigenous African languages. This is because the view held with respect to the language to be used should be a language spoken widely across the world, for example, English given that such a language can ease optimum access and participation in a globalised world (Bamgbose, 2011: 5). Worse, another view that is held is that a person's status, success and knowledge can be measured and determined by their level of competence and fluency in colonial langugages (Abebe, 2015).[21]

With respect to minority languages, as they are not spoken by large numbers of people, they suffer from power and and lower status problems. The lower prestige these minority languages enjoy can be explained by the fact that their development requires huge investments, therefore it is not economically viable to promote them (Bamgbose, 2011: 2). This notwithstanding, minority languages are assets that should be valued and preserved through, for example, language

[21] This quote is taken from Zemdena Zemzana Abebe's article in *the journalist* entitled: "Opinion: We Treat Our Languages as Inferior". Available at: http://www.thejournalist.org.za/spotlight/opinion-we-treat-our-languages-as-inferior. [Accessed 07 September 2018]. Currently, she is a volounteer for the Bamako-based African Academy of Languages (ACALAN).

documentation, which is in line with one of the recommemdations of the Workshop held in Bamako, in March 2006 (Batibo, 2007: 193).

Finally, endangerment of a language can be perceived as one of the consequences of the negative perceptions that people have about multilingualism. There are six main distinguinshing features of an endangered language:

1) Very few speakers remaining, most of them old;
2) No longuer used for any meaningful purpose in the community;
3) Not being transmitted to the young generation;
4) No orthography or written materials in it;
5) Language shift has taken place such that the language has been or is being replaced by another language;
6) On the verge of extinction (Bamgbose, 2011: 2).

In light of the above, the empowerment of African languages, regardless of whether they are majority, minority or endangered languages, is key to ensuring effective representation and participation of Africans in the political life of their respective countries. Indeed, this process of empowerment should aim at affording speakers the opportunity to appreciate better these languages, to build a stronger self-esteem, and to be ready and willing to transmit these languages to their younger generations (Batibo, 2009: 197). Furthermore, several conferences and meetings held on the language issue have highlithed the need for Africans to preserve African indigenous languages, especially the endangered ones, given that they are valuable resources for the Continent as a whole and for individual African countries (Batibo, 2009: 193).

It is against this background that the concept of ecology of language, or more specifically 'ecolinguistics', helps explain why and how the rich ecology of languages in Africa was violated, vilified and trampled upon by colonialism. More importantly, it helps advocate for ways and means of restoring Africa's lost glory so that it can be accepted and respected firstly on the continent and beyond.

The term ecolinguistics was introduced for the first time during deliberations on language and ecology held by a group of enthusiasts around Frans Verhagen (Fill, 2001: 60) and it is built around the following three fundamental principles of ecology, which have been espoused by the field of ecolinguistics:

- To recognise and defend diversity (the core principle);
- To recognise mutual interaction; and
- To perceive wholeness and unity rather than fragmentation (Fill, 2001). Thus, the formula 'diversity + interaction = wholeness and unity captures the substance of 'ecological thinking' succinctly (Fill, 2001).

In other words, language ecology may be referred to as the study of the various types of interactions that exist between a given language and its environment (Haugen, 1972, cited in Fill, 2001: 61). The extension of natural ecology and environment to languages by Einer Haugen provides the opportunity to explore a new way of approaching multilingualism and language diversity (Fill, 2001). This new branch of linguistics has other sub-topics ranging from linguistic diversity to establishing theories of language based on the principles of ecology (Door & Bang: 1996; Finke, 1996, cited in Fill, 2001). To this extent, the following three main sub-topics of ecolinguistics are relevant to this study:

- Linguistic diversity (its causes, forms, functions and consequences);
- The relationship between biological and linguistic/cultural diversity; and
- Threatened languages (the documentation and salvation of small and endangered languages) (Fill, 2001).

The analysis of these three sub-topics is as important as it brings to the fore the rich cultural and linguistic ecology of languages in Africa, which regrettably was treated with a lot of racism, contempt, and particularly as something worth not knowing (Phillipson, 1992). To some extent, the discussion on language ecology explains strategies of how Africa's rich linguistic and cultural diversity can be valued and cherished and, more importantly, respected both within and beyond the continent.

Finally, language economics is also pertinent to the theoretical framework adopted in this study as it highlights the importance of language as a resource in many respects. In this vein, languages have come to be known as economic and cultural resources in the real sense of the term (Alexander, 2004:). As a result, the economics of language is an investigation aimed at exploring the mutual effect between economics and language-related variables (Grin, 1994). In other words, "economics of language" is referred to as "the study of the determinants and consequences of language proficiency using the methodology and tools of economics" (Chiswick, 2008: 3).

Conclusion

This chapter provided a comprehensive perspective of the concept of LPLP, its history and evolution as well as the theoretical frameworks underpinning it. The chapter explores various perspectives about language-planning, language policy, and language management. It provides an overview of the LPLP in Post-Colonial Africa, which is still dominated, more than five decades after independence, by colonial languages, namely English, French, Portuguese and Spanish to the detriment of widely spoken national languages.

The theoretical framework of the study is based on theories and frameworks borrowed from other disciplines to show the relationship of dominance between colonial powers and former colonies, characterised by linguistic imperialism. These theories provided the opportunity to analyse the issue of power and domination that have characterised the relationship between former colonial powers and Africa, which have developed through colonialism and left a weak political, economic, social and cultural heritage, resulting from a dependence of post-colonial nations. In addition, these theories highlight their main theoretical implications for the study.

Chapter Four: Language Policy of the OAU/AU: Contradictions and Paradoxes

This chapter highlights the contradictions and paradoxes of the language policy of the OAU/AU. It explores the issue of globalisation and its implications for the development and promotion of indigenous African languages given the dominant role colonial languages play in the running of affairs in post-colonial countries in Africa. It stresses further that language, particularly language policy-making, has power, political and ideological underpinnings which are more often than not unquestioned, taken for granted and remain largely unexplored (Vaara et al., 2005). Finally, the chapter presents a comprehensive language map of the continent and laments the devaluation of the languages and culture of Africa which is a linguistically rich continent. The section below discusses and analyses the culture of political rhetoric and policy contradictions on the continent (Chimhundu, 2015).

4.1. The African Union and its culture of political rhetoric and policy contradictions

The subtitle above is borrowed from a paper presented by Professor Herbert Chimhundu at the PACC4, (Chimhundu, 2015: 1), as it resonates well with the substance of this study.

Since the establishment of the OAU in May 1963, there have been many initiatives at both national and continent levels to promote and develop indigenous African languages because African leaders have come to appreciate the linguistic diversity of Africa (Batibo, 2015). In this vein, participant 17 highlithed that, *"You know that in Africa now, we estimate that there are about 2200 languages, which is a lot of languages. How to deal with this number of languages. And therefore, a lot of initiatives were made, if you remember. I think many have mentioned here or in the earlier presentations, the AU, by UNESCO by other international organisations and even by regional organisations. And therefore looked into this matter"* (lines *202-208*).

Consequently, a lot of initiatives were taken because these leaders realised that a comprehensive national language policy was essential to ensuring the mobilisation of the masses, their optimal participation in national development efforts, and effective relations with the rest of the world (Batibo, 2013).

After this realisation, it was however not until 1966 that the OAU/AU decided to take a bold step towards the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages. Furthermore, it was in the same year that, through Resolution AH/DEC, 8, 1966, the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages (OAU-BIL) was established in Kampala (Uganda) (Matsinhe, 2013: 25).

To promote multilingualism, linguistic and cultural diversity among its member states, the OAU/AU opted for several working and official languages as stipulated in the founding Charter of the OAU, i.e., in Articles XXIV (2) and XXIX, respectively.

On the one hand, Article XXIV (2) states that "[t]he original instrument, done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States". On the other hand, Article XXIX stipulates that "[t]he working languages of the Organisation and all its institutions shall be, if possible African languages, English and French" (http://www.refworld.org).

Reference should further be made to Article 25 of the Constitutive Act of the AU, which was adopted during the AU Summit of Heads of States and Governments which took place on 11 July 2000 in Lome (Togo). During this Summit, it was once again stated that the working languages of the Union and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, Arabic, English, French and Portuguese (Matsinhe, 2013: 25). Thus, the keywords in Articles XXIV (2), XXIX and 25 of the Constitutive Act of the OAU/AU are 'if possible' and 'African languages'. These keywords are explored from every possible angle in this study in an attempt to explain why the 'if possible' agenda which was promoted by the OAU/AU had not materialised or been made 'possible' up to date. The use of the phrase 'if possible' is important in understanding some of the initiatives taken by the OAU/AU in promoting and developing indigenous African languages as well as the outcomes of such initiatives. To this extent, the sections below present the various stages and initiatives taken by the OAU/AU to make 'possible' the 'if possible agenda' it promoted.

4.2. From the 1986 and 2006 LPAAs to the establishment of the ACALAN

The continental body was known in the past for its anti-colonialist stance, particularly regarding the use of colonial languages. The OAU/AU was further known for its instrumental role in the liberation and independence of the continent from colonial rule. To this extent, the OAU/AU's platform was used to affirm clearly the continent's disengagement from its colonial masters (Mazrui, 2005). In what appeared to be a demonstration of its anti-colonialist posture, the OAU/AU's Charter stipulated in one of its articles that the official use of foreign languages, that is, colonial languages, would only be tolerated on a provisional basis (Phillipson, 1992: 27). This 'militant' posture was instrumental in the later establishment of the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages, the forerunner to the current ACALAN.

4.3. Establishment of the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages

The Resolution AH/DEC 8,1966, establishing the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages (OAU/BIL), was adopted by the Summit of the Heads of States of the OAU. It was primarily aimed at assisting individual member states and the continent at large to realise linguistic liberation and unity (Mateene, 1996: 240). The creation of the first African institution mandated to promote and develop indigenous African languages on the continent is a further attempt to make the 'if possible, possible'.

In this regard, policy and decision makers, development practitioners, educationists, linguists, sociologists and other stakeholders at both national and continental levels had to make several proposals (Matsinhe, 2013: 23). Furthermore, a great deal of initiatives were taken by the OAU/UNESCO, and several other international initiatives in order to develop, promote or even to empower indigenous African languages as languages that can be used for wider communication purposes, integration and development (Batibo, 2015: 1).

The goal of these proposals and initiatives was to ensure that "African languages should be accorded an equitable place and space in the efforts to integrate Africa and bring about sustainable development that would change the lives of Africans for the better" (Matsinhe, 2013: 23). Thus, the keyword in the two statements made above are 'integration and development'. To some extent, these two words suggest that development practitioners, educationists, linguists,

sociologists and, most importantly, politicians have realised the need to integrate and develop the continent. The main mandate of the OAU-BIL was to support and encourage a widespread use of indigenous African languages at all levels and for all purposes (Kaleman, 1985: 1).

Although the Bureau was established in 1966, it took some time for the leaders to see how to make it operational (Matsinhe, 2015). From 1966, it took almost six years before Kahombo Mateene, the first Director of the OAU-BIL, was invited in 1972 to open an Office in Kampala (Ouganda) (Mateene, 1996; Matsinhe, 2015). There was a six-year gap between the establishment of the OAU-BIL and its effective operationalisation in 1972. This state of affairs should be used to question further the seriousness and commitment of the leadership, particularly towards true development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages.

In fulfilment of the mandate, the OAU-BIL was charged with, by the OAU, several initiatives, mainly the organisation of its 'Office in Kampala, in July 1985. Therefore, there was a big meeting in Kampala in 1985 where some of the best linguists from all over Africa and the diaspora gathered to see how to continue to make the 'if possible, possible' (Matsinhe, 2015). The purpose of this meeting was to draft the Language Plan of Action for Africa (LAPAAF). (Mateene, 1996).

The OAU established the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages to support and encourage the use of indigenous African languages for educational, commercial and communication purposes, particularly at the national, regional and continental levels (Kalema, 1980: 1, cited in Phillipson, 1992). In addition, the "if possible" clause contained in both Articles referred to above had to be made "possible" (Matinshe, 2015).

Consequently, a first attempt was made to establish an African institution which would be responsible for the development and promotion of African languages at the Assembly of the Heads of States and Governments of 1966 (Matinshe, 2015). In 1973, the Government of Uganda asked the first Director of the OAU Inter-African Bureau of Languages to open an office in Kampala. The core function of the 'OAU BIL' was to undertake, finance and coordinate research and development of indigenous African languages as well as to support and encourage effective use of these languages in all domains of society (Matinshe, 2015). The phrase 'indigenous African languages' is deliberately used here in an attempt to set these languages apart from what

the OAU/AU had always considered to be the languages of the imperialists (Sohinzo, 2015). This initiative prepared the ground for the establishment, some years later, of what is known today as the ACALAN.

The former Director of the 'OAU BIL' is on record as having deliberately chosen to refer to English and French as foreign languages (Mateene, 1985, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 245). This deliberate and highly political statement was aimed at highlighting what Phillipson (1992) refers to as the "historical imposition and alien nature" of colonial languages. It constituted a calculated political strategy to limit the hegemony of the former colonial languages and to create a conducive environment for the development, growth and spread of indigenous African languages (Phillipson, 1992). African languages are not inferior to any other languages in the world; these are only different. Du Plessis (1992; 27) reinforces this position when she states that all languages are equal; none is lower than the other.

To this extent, if indeed all languages are equal, the dominance of colonial languages and the subsequent relegation of indigenous African languages to the background should be treated as a big paradox and contradiction because to date, except for kiSwahili, no African languages are used as official and working languages of the OAU/AU. In fact, according to Cronin (2003), the identity of languages is drawn from their difference from other languages regardless of the speech community they belong to. However, the fact remains that with a few "patchy exceptions in Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, most of the countries south or east of the Sahara have promoted and entrenched a neo-colonial policy in which English, French or Portuguese continue to dominate the commanding heights" (Alexander, 2004: 122).

In this respect, the language policy in most African countries has been described as a policy that speakers would adopt who already have the official language as part their linguistic competence. Those speakers who are fluent in only one local dialect would become part of a political and linguistic unit in which their traditional competence is subject to subordination and devaluation (Thompson, 1991: 6).

Reflecting on the language policy of OAU/AU, particularly the implementation of its LPPAs, "[t]he question forces itself on us: are the people who are driving this policy aware of its anti-democratic and class-exploitative implications?" (Alexander, 2004: 122). Furthermore, like most

other people, the political elites and even cultural leaders never gave a serious thought to the language question. They are rather preoccupied first with the immediate positive outcomes of the policies they are implementing (Alexander, 2004: 122).

Again, it is paradoxical that some Africans, particularly the elites and the educated, who are supposed to encourage and promote the use of non-colonial languages are simply not confident in these languages or that they could play high-level functions even though these languages are cherished by them and are committed to using them in such domains as the family, the community and the church (Alexander, 2004: 121). Worse, in policy environments such as the Bretton Woods Institutions, the focus of which is material development, it is believed that Africa should learn from Europe. The best manner through which Africa could do that is to embrace the ideation of the systems of the west and to abandon African languages and cultures (Campbell, 2015: 10). As illustrated by participant 1: *"So if you say we are liberating ourselves from all these colonial languages. We are still being recolonized, if we are using, if we are still using, if you are using colonial languages, then we have changed focus"* (lines 191- 194).

Additionally, from a practical perspective, the serious challenge post-colonial Africa has been confronted with the lack of confidence in its own rich cultural and linguistic diversity which Africans should be proud of so that the identity of this rich heritage can be projected positively and accepted both within and beyond the borders of continent. As Shohamy (2006: 46) notes, national languages serve yet not only as tools for manipulations in the nation state but to carve a special class for the nation state within the international community. The issue arises whether the current leadership of the continent is taking the appropriate measures across the continent to improve the linguistic fortunes of the continent.

However, for this idea to materialise, it requires a great deal of efforts and commitment because as Campbell (2015) argues, Amilcar Cabral has reminded Africans that the culture and knowledge of Africa are like seeds that are just waiting for the right conditions to germinate. The current leadership has a greater role to play regarding the promotion of the effective use of non-colonial languages because, currently on the continent, unfortunately what is seen every day is that many of the political elites of the continent are not able to create the necessary conditions for decent education in Africa (Campbell, 2015: 11). In this vein, participant 13 suggested the following: *"Now, what the political elite of the continent needs to do is to make a firm*

commitment towards the formulation of what we can call a counter hegemonic language policy with the purpose of gradually replacing the dominance of all colonial languages" (lines 73-78).

Therefore, according to Phillipson (1992: 241), the OAU's Inter-African Bureau of Languages, "sees the false emphasis in education on European values and languages as a major cause of the present crisis" in Post-Colonial Africa because proficiency in colonial languages has become the precondition to success in key spheres of life, if not all. If the OAU-BIL foresaw the current linguistic crisis, it is fair to ask what measures were then put in place to deal with it? Suffice to say that the OAU-BIL "championing of indigenous languages, following the spirit and letter of the OAU Charter, was a thorn in the flesh of political leaders whose destiny is viscerally linked to proficiency in the colonial languages" (Phillipson, 1992: 28).

Despite the enthusiasm and determination of the late Kahombo Mateene and his team to promote the language agenda effectively, i.e., the promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages on the continent, the OAU-BIL was faced with challenges and had to be closed. In this vein, Mateene indicated the following: "[t]hat Office started functioning in 1972, in Kampala, Uganda. I was its director until it was closed down in November 1986" (Mateene, 1996: 240). However, one year after the closing down of the OAU/BIL, the OAU General Secretariat ensured that the Language Plan of Action was adopted by the Heads of States and Government Summit in Addis Ababa, as per the Resolution CM/1123 (XLVI) (Mateene, 1996: 241).

It is very difficult to understand why the same institution which was created by the OAU/AU to promote its 'if possible agenda' should be allowed to be 'strangled' to financial death as a result of the politics of language and policy use. In fact, the OAU's Inter-African Bureau of Languages was closed in the late 1980s owing to financial challenges the OAU/AU was facing at the time. This has prepared the ground for the works of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) (Matsinhe, 2013: 25).

Therefore, "the closure of OAU-BIL was a major setback for the implementation of the Language Plan of Action for Africa and other resolutions aimed at developing African languages" (Matsinhe, 2013: 25). By the same token, the drive towards the effective use of indigenous African languages within the OAU/AU "as reported by Kabombo Mateene, and within individual African countries, as reported by Michel Nguessan, Joyce Sukumane and Sheila Mmusi, also

runs into a strong economic barrier and dangerous political territory" (Kibbee, 1996: xiii). The closure of the OAU-BIL led then to the creation by the OAU/AU of the ACALAN.

4.4. Establishment of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN)

The ACALAN came into being in an effort by the political elite in Africa to pursue the promotion of the 'language agenda' on the continent. The current successor of the OAU-BIL, the Mission for the African Academy of Languages (or ACALAN) as it was first known, was founded on 19 December 2000 (Alexander, 2010). This was further illustrated by participant 20 in the following terms: *"So there were a lot of initiatives. But the most important turning point came when there was this creation of ACALAN. That is the African Academy of Languages. The acronym is (ACALAN). This ACALAN was created at a meeting in Khartoum, Khartoum in 2004 because ACALAN started becoming active from 2006"* (lines 150-156). In effect, the former president of the Republic of Mali, Mr Alpha Omar Konare, 'acting in the spirit of the African Renaissance', established the mission and subsequently appointed his former Minister of Basic Education, Mr Adama Samassekou, as its Head on 26 January 2001 (Alexander, 2010: 55). Soon after his appointment, Mr Samassekou summed up his mandate in the foreword to the Special Bulletin of the ACALAN in January 2002 as follows:

> Four decades after the political 'independences' … the situation of African languages keeps on widening inequalities in the fields of science, technique, and technology. This imbalance between official languages, inherited from colonisation, and African languages, far from facilitating a better sharing of modern knowledge and practices, jeopardises any significant involvement of our populations in decision making on the one hand, and in the improvement of their living conditions on the other. Therefore, our commitment to the ideals of the OAU, the pressing call of our people for a quick and more involving access to writing and true democracy, the requirements of an everlasting sub-regional and regional stability, have imposed upon us the creation of an instrument for the development of our languages, likely to facilitate and reinforce linguistic co-operation between African states and, moreover, to promote the harmonisation and the actual implementation of language policies conform [sic] to the aspirations of our working populations. (Samassekou, cited in Alexander, 2010: 55)

A few months later, in a move to demonstrate his determination to make the OAU/AU language agenda work, and in direct consultation with the political elite of the continent, language professionals, etc., Mr Samassekou and his colleagues succeeded in obtaining the official approval of ACALAN by the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments, from 9 -11 July 2001, in Lusaka, in Zambia, (Alexander, 2010: 11). On assuming his official duties as the first President of the ACALAN, Samassekou - in the company of his colleagues - was urged by the former Malian President, Alphar Omar Konare, to challenge themselves in order to establish a pan-African institution that is capable of helping African States and their populations to elaborate and develop a language policy that is relevant and efficient enough to make, within the shortest possible time, a contribution to the Renaissance of the Unity of Africa (Omar Konare, cited in Alexander, 2010: 11).

However, the final official 'institutionalisation of ACALAN' as a special institution responsible for language policy of the OAU/AU took place at the Assembly of Heads of States and Governments, on 23-24 January 2006, in Kharthoum (Alexander, 2010).

ACALAN is currently based in Bamako, the capital city of the Republic of Mali (West Africa). Its core values, the mission, vision as well as its objectives are as follows:

Vision/Mission of ACALAN: Fostering Africa's integration and development through the development and promotion of the use of African languages in all domains of life in Africa.

Core Values of ACALAN: Respect for the cultural values of Africa, especially African languages on behalf of the African Union; integration of the African continent for an endogenous development, linguistic and cultural diversity as a factor of Africa's integration and the promotion of African values including an encouragement of mutuality and solidarity amongst Africans.

4.4.1. Objectives of ACALAN:

a) To promote African languages;

b) To promote cross-border languages;

c) To promote vehicular cross-border languages;

d) To strengthen cooperation between African States in the area of African languages;

e) To promote African languages in all educational sectors;

f) To promote African languages at international level;

g) To analyse language policies in Africa;

h) To promote a scientific and democratic culture based on the use of African languages;

i) To contribute to the harmonisation of the economic, social and cultural development of member states based on African languages, and in relation with partner languages;

j) To promote the use of African languages as factors of integration, solidarity, respect of values and mutual understanding to promote peace and prevent conflicts;

k) To promote African language organisations on the continent (Alexander 2008: 10); and

- -To empower African languages in general and Vehicular Cross-Border Languages in particular, in partnership with the languages inherited from colonisation;

    - To promote convivial and functional multilingualism at every level, especially in the education sector;

    - To ensure the development and promotion of African languages as factors of African integration and development, of respect for values and mutual understanding and peace.[22]

4.4.2. Relevance of ACALAN

In an effort to make ACALAN - the special office for the language policy of the African Union - a strong and dynamic institution, its statutes provide that it will, among other things, promote African languages, African language organisations on the continent, the use of African languages as factors of integration, solidarity, respect of values and mutual understanding in order to

[22] See http://www.acalan.org/eng/about_acalan/about_acalan.php.

promote peace and prevent conflicts (Alexander 2010: 56). The statutes further provided the following institutional organs with the view to ensuring that ACALAN fulfils its mandate.

4.4.3. Institutional organs of ACALAN:

- The AU Conference of Ministers of Culture, which is described as the "the supreme organ of the ACALAN";
- The Governing Board, the highest policy-making organ ;
- The Scientific and Technical Committee, an advisory body;
- The Assembly of the Academicians;
- The Executive Secretariat (Alexander 2010: 56).

4.4.5. Achievements of ACALAN

One the first assignments of ACALAN was to divide the continent into five main regions, namely, Northern, Western, Central, Eastern and Southern. Accordingly, ACALAN has been able to organise regional conferences in all the five regions of Africa, notably in West Africa (Bamako), Central Africa (Yaoundé), Southern Africa (Johannesburg), Eastern Africa (Dar-es-Salam) and Northern Africa (Algiers). The purpose of these gatherings was to identify the main vehicular cross-border languages in the above-mentioned five regions (ACALAN, 2005; Batibo, 2015).

Among the criteria set in identifying the vehicular cross-border languages, there are the number of regions and countries where a specific language was spoken; the use of language as a lingua franca; the level of development of that lingua franca; the vehicular status of that lingua franca and its use as a second language; and the range of domains of use (Batibo, 2015; 2). Furthermore, kiSwahili was adopted as one the working languages of the African Union and it was also to be adopted as a working language in the Summits of the Great Lakes Regions as well as in the East African Community (Senkoro, 2015: 8).

Again, one important event that marked the January 2006 Summit of Heads of States and Governments was that some African leaders ,namely, the Presidents of Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique - gave their speeches in kiSwahili (Batibo, 2015). As illustrated by participant 18:

"*What was gratifying was that at the Khartoum Summit, which was therefore held in 2004, four (4) leaders from Africa gave their speeches through kiSwahili. They used kiSwahili to give their speeches. These political gestures should be encouraged"* (lines 125-130). Furthermore, participant 11 stressed that: "*... The former President, Kikwete, gave his first speech in kiSwahili at the African Union, as President of Tanzania"* (lines 98-101).

ACALAN has taken further initiatives but for the purposes of the discussions, the most pertinent ones are mentioned: "Grassroots and quasi-governments initiatives geared to the improvement of the quality of education (especially at the level of pre-and primary schooling levels) and had been taken for many years in most countries on the continent" (Alexander, 2010: 56).

Other core initiatives aimed at implementing the LPAAs are:

- The Year of African Languages in 2006 to commemorate the 20th year of the formulation and adoption of the LPAA.
- The Joint Masters and Doctoral Programme, otherwise known as Panmapal, aimed at providing financial and academic support to students who will boost the corps of language professionals on the continent.
- The Terminology Development Programme which was to be coordinated centrally from the Institute of Kiswahili Research in Dar-es-Salaam. The purpose of this is to create useful databases and term banks for the languages of south-eastern Africa.
- The translation programme which is coordinated from the ACALAN (Bamako). This programme is yet to be implemented but the main idea behind it is behind it is that African and world literature should be made available to all citizens to create a documentation centre for easy referencing of all political and other documents and to train - for the next few decades - as many translators and interpreters as possible.
- The Stories Across Africa Programme (StAAf), the coordination of which is done from the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) (Cape Town). This is aimed at developing African languages in print, promoting multi-lingualism and mother tongue-based bilingual education (Alexander 2010: 57).

Other specific projects run directly by ACALAN in conjunction with relevant higher education institutions are:

- The Cyberspace project aimed, among other things, at using ICT in mass literacy campaigns.
- The Lexicography Project. Its focus is how to deal practically with issues pertaining to the compilation of dictionaries, etc.
- The Linguistic Atlas Project for Africa. The purpose of this project is to produce useful and useable linguistic maps continuously at national, regional and continental levels (Alexander, 2010: 57).

I should emphasise that in order to encourage ACALAN in its mandate which is to ensure the promotion and development of indigenous African languages across the continent, it has faced some challenges, as indicated by participant 32 in the following terms: *"There were many challenges that ACALAN was faced with, and even now, ACALAN is meeting a lot of challenges. We know that they have not succeeded much"*(*lines 287-292).* Therefore, it should be adequately equipped to execute this mandate. For example, it should be a fully-fledged and autonomous body, given the fact that the Department of Social Affairs of the African Union Commission houses its Executive Secretariat.[23]

Currently, the AU states - in Article 17 (Working Languages) of the Constitutive Act of the Pan-African Parliament (PAP) - that, "[t]he working languages of the Pan-African Parliament shall be, if possible, African languages, Arabic, English, French and Portuguese" (English ST in Appendix F: Protocol to the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan-African Parliament, p 9) (Tohouenou, 2013: 5).

Paradoxically, the language-use model of the PAP is such that out of the six official languages used by the PAP only four - Arabic, English, French and Portuguese - are used in committee meetings of the PAP. However, all the six languages are used at plenary sessions which are considered officially higher-profile than Committee Meetings. Meanwhile, in principle, the six

[23] See https://au.int/en/sa/about [Accessed 3 September 2018].

official languages of the AU – Arabic, English, French, kiSwahili, Spanish and Portuguese – are supposed to be equal. However, the linguistic reality is such that these languages are used in an imbalanced manner. The issue arises once again as to why kiSwahili is the only African language which has been made part of the OAU/AU's official languages. Fulfulde, Hausa and Madenka (http://www.acalan.org/) or Yoruba, Lingala, or any Bantu languages spoken in West, Central and southern Africa are not made either official or working languages of the OAU/AU.

In international institutions, equality regarding the use of official and working languages is, no doubt, an ideal to which member states aspire because in practical terms it is difficult to apply particularly when such member states are multilingual. As Du Plessis (1992: 25) notes, equality is a symbolic step which needs to manifest itself in actual practice. Why then does the PAP, which represents 55 countries through about 250 members of parliaments (MPs), conduct its business in colonial languages in which the masses of Africans are not proficient (Mkandawire, 2005: 171).

The linguistic paradox in post-colonial countries is so pronounced that newly independent states have become more dependent on their former colonial masters that they had been during colonial times (Ricento, 2000: 20, cited in Ricento, 2013: 526).

4.5. LPLP of the AU: Contradictions or paradoxes?

The current LPLP of the OAU/AU exposes some contradictions or paradoxes. It promotes and legitimises four colonial languages: English, French, Portuguese and/or Spanish, which are used in the running of the affairs of the continental organisation. As a result, this state of affairs relegates to the background widely spoken national languages in Africa which have assumed, in the process, second-class status. Paradoxically, the masses of the people of Africa do not have a command of colonial languages compared to African elites. Indeed, according to participant 27, *"We see that about eighty per cent of the population in Africa is not even knowledgeable in the colonial languages and are therefore completely cut off from all that is happening on the economic, political, social and cultural fronts"* (lines 241-243). Theferefore, the discrepancy between the number of speakers of colonial languages, namely English, and indigenous national languages is so evident that currently English has indeed become an official language in the former colonies where about 60% of the populations of Africa live. However, just as in several

other periphery countries only a thin proportion of these populations are proficient in English (Phillipson, 1992: 26).

This linguistic contradiction showed itself in Africa as far back as after 1884 when French, British, German, Italian or Portuguese memory came to cover the African landscape (Wa Thiong'o, 2005: 157). To this extent, in its conquest of the continent of Africa, the West further succeeded in planting its memory in the mind of the colonised. For example, in Africa, this imposition implied raising the status of European languages to extent that it becomes an ideal, the achievement of which is the culmination of knowledge (Wa Thiong'o, 2005).

4.6. Some possible implications of the current LPLP of OAU/AU

The imposition of colonial languages and the continuous use of such languages has an implication on the current language policy and the use of the African Union and of its organs and institutions. As a result, depending on the organs or institutions of the African Union, for example, the African Union Commission uses four working languages: Arabic, English, French and Portuguese while the PAP uses six languages: Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and Kiswahili. The latter is the only African language (PAP, 2013). Furthermore, the continuous use of colonial languages has over the years raised a lot of concerns among educationists and linguists alike. Currently, the linguistic reality across the continent is such that less than 30% of the adult population in the majority of African countries are proficient in English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic or any other language inherited from colonialism (Chumbow, 2005: 107).

To this extent, one important fact that cannot be denied by Africans is that language plays a fundamental role in education. It is only through the interactions between the teachers and learners on the one hand and the learners themselves on the other hand that there is production and acquisition of knowledge through the process of teaching-learning (Bunyi, 1999: 338).

Education of Africans in the languages they understand best is important to solving most of the challenges facing the continent. The introduction or the use of indigenous African languages will contribute to adding self-respect to Africa's languages and decolonising local culture (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-Jaja, 2014: 12). Furthermore, literacy suggests that a person becomes literate in one or several languages (Bunyi, 1999: 338). To this extent, if the masses of Africans,

especiallythe adult population, becomes knowledgeable in their own languages, it is “a good indicator of how broad a range of people can participate fully in the economic, social and political aspects of society; and wealth, of course, is wealth” (Nicholson, 2002: 6).

Again, integrating African languages in education will help them develop their ability to play meaningful roles as vehicles of modern thought, science and technology (Chumbow, 2005). Furthermore, the integration of indigenous African languages in education will eventually contribute to the better development of adult education as more people will be literate in their own languages (Chumbow, 2005).

However, reflecting closely on the OAU/AU’s LPLP - and if the argument that less than 30% of African adults can actually speak colonial languages is anything to go by - the current linguistic reality of the continent can better be described as a “language bomb” (Lord and T’Sou, 1985: 17, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 29), which has far-reaching consequences, some of which are political, economic and socio-cultural for individual member states and for the continent as a whole.

The implications of the LPLP can further be analysed from other different perspectives. From an economic standpoint, Africa’s economy is limited in terms of both human and financial capital because approximatively 70% of Africans (which constitutes the masses) are unable to contribute actively to the formal economic discourse since this 70% iseconomically disempowered because of their lack of proficiency in colonial languages. This percentage can contribute meaningfully to the growth of the economy through the informal sector.

Proficiency in non-indigenous languages - as a precondition to access the job market or to economic status in society as a whole - has serious implications on the socio-economic development of the majority of African in particular and on the continent as a whole. This is because proficiency in colonial languages is seen as the means through which Africans have a chance to get a better life, even though the majority of Africans finds it difficult to become proficient in these languages because these languages are not part of their immediate linguistic environment (Matsinhe, 2013). Therefore, there is no doubt that in some African countries, English has become a very powerful and prestigious tool (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-Jaja, 2014: 15).

The current LPLP contradicts not only the ideals and principles the OAU/AU stands for, i.e., a truly independent supranational organisation which intends not only playing a meaningful role in

the interests of the greater majority of Africans, but is also determined to develop and promote the effective use of indigenous African languages. The linguistic paradox is evident in that the same political elites who pursue language policies are ironically often sceptical about how these same policies will be implemented effectively and adopted by targeted populations (Shohamy, 2006: 51).

From a political point of view, the current LPLP suggests an actual situation of linguistic inequality and 'disenfranchisement' (Gingsburg & Weber, 2005). This is because if the masses of Africans are not given the opportunity to exercise their civic rights and to participate fully and freely in the political discourse ongoing in their respective countries, it therefore follows that "the pan-African ideal and how it could be used in the efforts of nation-building and to enhance social, political, and economic institutions in independent Africa" (Ochwada, 2005: 196) will remain an empty political rhetoric. Similarly, if the masses of the people of Africa in whose interests the OAU/AU is supposed to be working are not fully involved in the political discourse and the decision-making processes of the OAU/AU because they do not have a command of its working and official languages, the continued use of colonial languages makes very little sense of what the OAU/AU stands for. As Koskinen (2008: 64) notes, values such as transparency and democracy make little sense unless the people of Europe can easily access and understand administration in the languages they understand better.

To this extent, the current politics and language policies of the OAU/AU are in sharp contradiction with the spirit of Pan-Africanism, particularly the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist stance of the OAU spearheaded by pioneers and visionary thinkers and leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Augustinho Neto, Gamel Nasser and Julius Nyerere (Mazrui, 2005: 64). Furthermore, the current linguistic situation is indicative of the fact that the political elites of the continent are not confident that African languages have a crucial role to play in achieving sustainable development that will help change to better the lives of the majority of Africans (Matsinhe, 2013: 28).

Finally, from a linguistic and cultural perspective, the continued use of colonial languages suggests that these languages constitute a real threat to the vitality and survival of major African languages, some of which are spoken by millions of Africans across the continent. Consequently, a linguistic gap has been created, whether consciously or unconsciously, between the political

elites at the helm of affairs on the continent and Africans, the majority of whom would not understand the raison-d'être of the OAU/AU any longer.

Thus, the clear majority of Africans neither know what the OAU/AU and its institutions stand for, nor do they understand its policy decisions, programmes and projects, the way they are implemented and – particularly - how they affect their daily circumstances positively or otherwise. For example, at the Retreat of the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC) and the African Union Commission on Working Methods held in Cairo (Egypt) from the 9-15 December 2017, members of the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC) expressed a number of concerns about certain key issues, among which was the perception of the African Union as a 'Tourist Agency' (African Union, 2017: 3).

From the perspectives above, there should be no doubt that the language question is high on the agenda of post-colonial countries. To this extent, there needs to be a balance between the newly acquired independence and the new official role of indigenous languages and the role of colonial languages, whether it is English, Portuguese, Russian, or any language (Koskinen, 2008: 30).

Currently, the linguistic reality across the continent does not even suggest that non-colonial languages are playing any new official or meaningful roles.

4.7. Pan-Africanism and its relevance

When black luminaries developed the Pan-African concept of Negritude, i.e., a celebration of the African identity and its uniqueness (Mazrui, 2005: 57), it was purposely in pursuit of the specific dream about Africa. Furthermore, it was "a pan-African approach, out of conviction, given that it comes out of a long history of struggle for liberty that the global pan-African movement was part of, but also out of necessity" (Sall, 2013: 4).

The concept of Pan-Africanism was coined by the Martinique scholar Aimé Césaire and propagated by the writer, poet and culturist Léopold Sédar Senghor, the founder and former president of Senegal (Mazrui, 2005). As far as this study is concerned, since the OAU/AU continues to depend heavily on colonial languages, when relegating indigenous African languages to the background the ideals of pan-Africanism do not seem relevant any longer.

The current LPLP of Post-Colonial Africa - particularly with respect to the promotion of multilingualism, cultural and linguistic diversity by the OAU/AU - is no doubt a contradiction of its own ideals and objectives.

4.8. Specific contradictions in the current LPLP of the OAU/AU

The current LPLP of the OAU/AU exposes the following specific contradictions:

- A political and independent institution such the OAU/AU, given the militant posture it adopted since its inception in 1963, is still heavily dependent on colonial languages, which it consciously or unconsciously promotes and legitimates (Mazrui, 2005: 72).

- There is a discrepancy between the OAU/AU's political rhetoric which favours multilingualism, cultural and linguistic diversity and the linguistic reality on the ground. kiSwahili, the only African language to be used by the OAU/AU, does not operate on an equal footing with the official and working languages of the organisation. Currently, the LPLP of the OAU/AU does not guarantee equality and fair treatment of member states' national languages.

- There seems not to be aggressive language policies aimed at curbing the dominance of colonial languages, at least for now. This situation weakens and threatens at the same time the fragile position of national languages.

- There seems to be a lack of synchrony between LPLP, which should concern in the first place the "most important continent-wide organization" (Mazrui, 2005: 72) and the linguistic priorities of the individual 55 member states of the OAU/AU.

- There is a very thin line between LPLP being an imperative of the member states of the OAU/AU and language-planning as concern of the Continental Body. This state of affairs is a "*laissez faire* in the linguistic marketplace" (Phillipson, 2003, cited in Phillipson, 2009: 87).

The specific contradictions in the LPLP mentioned above are highlighted purposely to amplify the contradiction between the politically correct rhetoric (Mama, 2005) of the OAU/AU regarding multilingualism and the linguistic reality on the ground. Furthermore, this is because, taking into account the context of the Continent, highlighting contradictions between policy and

practice (Mama, 2005) is a reality Africa may have to cope with because, in Africa lip service is often paid to language policies by political authorities (Babaci-Wilhite & Geo-Jaja, 2014). This explains why working and official languages of the OAU/AU are non-indigenous African languages.

The continued use of non-indigenous African languages, which has been discussed in this thesis, can better be described as simply symptomatic of a linguistic paradox; a linguistic imperialism, linguistic dominance, linguistic dependence, or a linguistic oppression (Phillipson, 1992, 2008, 2009; Banda, 2009; Ansre, 1979). To this extent, the term linguistic dependence is nothing more than the "continued use of a European language in a former non-European colony" (Phillipson, 2009: 1).

One has to be concerned about the fact that if the majority of Africans continue to be deprived of the opportunity to appreciate the richness of their languages and cultures they will not be in a position to dialogue with the OAU/AU, or be involved in the political discourse of the continent because the best way to dialogue with an authority is in one's own language (Phillipson 2009).

From the overall communication standpoint of the African Union and of its institutions, particularly regarding the continued use of colonial languages, it is reasonable to argue that currently there is no such thing as a direct engagement or a dialogue between the OAU/AU and the masses of Africans. This is a result of the 'imposition' of colonial languages.

4.9. Language as a source of 'problems' in Africa

Since independence in Africa, language issues have been and continue to be a source of a great concern to language planners and politicians alike. This is not surprising because language experts themselves have always treated the language question as inherently problematic (Deumert, 2011: 261). Furthermore, generally, linguistic diversity has also been regarded as 'a problem' because of its supposed implications on national unity, particularly on multilingual societies. Opponents to the idea of the use of African languages in all spheres of national life expressed their concerns about the fact that the development and use of African languages in multilingual states will contribute to the polarisation of linguistic communities against each other, thus fuelling disunity (Chumbow, 2005: 174).

There have been occasions where the political elites in Africa have firmly believed that language is a means of ethnic division and discrimination and that their respective countries would achieve national unity using one national or official language (Kioko, 2013: 122). This state of affairs iscomplex and difficult when a national language is poorly planned and implemented as the current trends seems to be in most African countries. In the context of Africa, "language-planning practices (past and present) present an interesting case study of pervasive and ad hoc reactive planning, based more on self-interest and political whim ..." (Kayambazinthu, cited in Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004: 79). Since most African countries are unable to develop and promote effective use of indigenous African languages, there is other option left for them but to resort to the use of the languages of the former metropolitan European colonial power (Ansre, 1979: 10).

4.10. Colonial languages and the 'Neutrality' Theory

More than five decades after independence of most African countries and the subsequent declaration of the founders of the OAU/AU to free the continent from linguistic imperialism, it is paradoxical that the OAU/AU should continue to depend heavily on non-indigenous African languages, instead of ensuring true development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages. In this respect, several post-colonial prominent personalities are on record as having defended the continuous use colonial languages in post-colonial Africa. For example, in Kenya, the first Educational Commission established after the independence of the country made the following remarks: "[w]e see no case for assigning to them [the indigenous languages] a role for which they are ill adapted, namely, the role of educational medium in the critical early years of schooling" (Ominde, 1964, 60, cited in Bunyi, 1999: 341).

In the same vein, Zambia's first Education Minister went as far as declaring that: "even the most ardent nationalists of our time have accepted the inevitable fact that English - ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial masters - has definitely a unifying role in Zambia" (Mwanakatwe, Zambia's first Education Minister, 1968: 213, cited in Siachitema, 1992: 18). Some of the main arguments used in supporting the continued used of colonial languages are that it is in the interest of African countries to promote a neutral language, preferably a colonial language, as it was believed that promoting the language, customs and tradition of a particular ethnic group at the national level would be regarded as according that ethnic group an undue advantage over the others, resulting in disintegration (Siachitema, 1992: 20). These political

pronouncements have undermined the development and promotion of indigenous African languages.

The root causes of this are to be found in the colonial legacy because, for example, French colonies such as Senegal, Mali, and Gabon, and Portuguese colonies - such as Guinea Bissau - were completely relegated to the background (Bunyi, 1997). Furthermore:

> Granting that comprehension of sophisticated or highly technical material requires intelligence and that those who progress academically are appropriately intellectually endowed, in the African context this has led to the belief that intelligence could be correlated with the ability to speak English or other European languages. Admittedly, those who make academic progress do so in formal education that is conducted in those languages. As such, their proficiency in the European languages is construed as a mark of intelligence. Failure to master those languages shows lack of intelligence. (Mchombo, 2014: 29-30)

From a colonial perspective, the imposition of colonial languages - notably English, French, Portuguese and Spanish that are used as instruction mediums in linguistically diverse colonies - was often based not only on certain considerations such as efficiency and control but also on a supreme ethnocentric- self-confidence of colonialists (Cooper, 1989: 11).

Meanwhile, one reality about Africa is that multi-ethnicity and multilingualism are realities in pluralistic states and yet it has been possible to foster and develop nationalism regardless of the number of ethnic identities in these states (Chumbow, 2005). In practical terms, neither a LPLP nor a political theory can change the multilingual nature of African countries. In other words, neither a language policy nor a political decree can alter the linguistic reality of "quasi-monolingual countries like Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Lesotho and Swaziland" and the "highly linguistic multilingual and multi-ethnic countries" such as Nigeria and Sudan, which possess more than four hundred languages each (Batibo, 2001: 311).

To this extent, the 'neutrality theory' (Phillipson, 1992: 2009; Chumbow, 2005; Siachitema, 1992) advanced sometimes by post-colonial elites in defending the continued use of colonial languages can be refuted because it has no empirical foundation, regardless of the fact that at face value, the 'neutrality theory' sounds somewhat appealing and convincing. To a large extent, it is

because a focus on indigenous languages might result in division (Bunyi, 1999). The 'neutrality theory' is nothing but a narrow conception of the usefulness of indigenous African languages. Furthermore, it lacks empirical foundation because experience has shown that national unity "is not something that any language can guarantee, just as proclaiming a single official language cannot wish away a multilingual reality" (Phillipson, 1992: 283), particularly in the case of most African countries. The implication to be drawn from this perspective is that "a common language is not a necessary condition for a unified state and that one or more major language groups can coexist in a system with minimal conflict between them. Switzerland, of course, is the example *par excellence*" (Kelman, 1971: 34).

The 'neutrality theory' is a mere political excuse rather than a logical argument and must be rethought much more seriously. Beyond the so-called 'neutrality' of colonial languages, there are more concrete reasons as well as vested interests in their maintenance as mainstream languages in almost all former colonies. This is because the political elites have stuck to colonial languages as the lack of proficiency of the majority of the population in these languages procure for their users a hegemonic position in terms of prestige and influence in society. This is why widely used languages such as Wolof and kiSwahili would hardly open doors in high places (Phillipson, 2009: 254).

The 'neutrality theory' is used by some schools of thought for mere political reasons. However, regarding the majority of French-speaking countries, which have enjoyed a relative political stability, some classifications are provided below to shed more light on the linguistic situation in such countries where, for example, there is:

> Multilingualism with a single dominant language (France); multilingualism with minority dominant languages (Maghreb, with 'official' Arabic sharing cultural dominance with French and monopolizing socio-political dominance); multilingualism with a single minority language dominant (Francophone Africa); multilingualism with an alternative dominant language (creole countries in the Caribbean); and multilingualism with dominant regional languages (Switzerland, Belgian). (Calvet 1987, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 104)

The implications to be drawn from the perspectives above are that indigenous speech communities in several countries were marginalised by colonialism. Therefore, proficiency in colonial languages facilitates access to the education system, the colonial and the post-colonial economy, namely, the labour market (Deumert, 2011: 263).

Neither monolingualism nor multilingualism can then be taken to be a panacea for national unity (Phillipson, 1992, 2008, 2009), particularly in the context of African countries. With regard to the specific case of Zambia, it has been suggested that, however, Zambia should pursue unity in diversity, and that in that process the country's indigenous languages should be harnessed as much as possible (Kashoki, 1990, cited in Siachitema, 1992: 21). The issue therefore arises whether the political leadership in Zambia will be able to make this idea a new policy that would be able to be managed and effectively implemented (Batibo, 2001; 320). However, as far as the choice of a colonial language in Africa is concerned, it has its own disadvantages because while on a purely ethnic-linguistic basis, this choice may not necessarily create unequal advantages (for the elites), on a class basis, it exacerbates inequalities (Kelman, 1971; 44).

4.11. Role of language in national development

As mentioned earlier, languages play an important role in the development of any nation. As Bamgbose (1999: 24) notes, Africa's needs in terms of national development cannot be strictly restricted to economic development only, contrary to views held currently in several political circles. To this extent, language is very crucial for national development (Bamgbose, 1999; Bamgbose, 2014; Batibo, 2015; Metsinhe, 2015). This is because development does not concern itself with physical infrastructure only, but more importantly with people (Bamgbose, 1999: 24). This position is echoed by participant 28 as follows: *"The promotion of Africa's development is only possible through proper understanding by Africans of the dynamics of development. True development can only be achieved through effective use of indigenous languages"* (Lines 103-107).

Language is perceived as a uniquely powerful tool capable of unifying a population that is diverse and ensuring the involvement of individuals as well subgroups in the national systems (Kelman, 1971: 21). While in some circumstances language derives its unifying power from some features in other circumstances, the same features could be counterproductive to the extent

that they could be the root causes of disunity and internal instability within a specific national reality (Kelman, 1971).

Language plays other important roles in the life of nations since it provides:

> A continuity and scope without which a sense of overarching nationality could not be constructed; it provides concrete emotionally significant products that the individual received from previous generations and will pass on the future ones and that, in the present, link him to a widely dispersed population, most of whose members he does not, and never will, know personally (Kelman, 1971: 31).

Language is the heart of the culture but acts as an independent part of this culture. It is natural that language should reflect faithfully the problems, conflicts and differences in values of society (Gallagher, 1971: 175). It follows that the reality about language highlighted above ultimately has some explicit implications for language-planning policy (Kelman 1971: 21). This is because language is as much a highly sensitive issue as an indispensable ingredient in any nation-building project.

In this context, every country has had to deal with these issues in the process of nation-building (Mkandawire, 2005; 46). However, the national development project can only be achieved through a well-woven language policy at each level of education in a given country, because education is the bedrock of a meaningful development in any country.

The concept of *nationalism* is unique and regarded as a direct response to the problems and opportunities associated with modernity (Fishman, 1971). Analysed from a broader perspective, *nationalism* highlights the "weight of unified numbers and the dynamism of convictions of uniqueness upon the pursuit of organized cultural self-preservation, the attainment of political independence, the improvement of material circumstances, or the attainment of whatever other purpose" will advance the cause of 'nationality' (Fishman, 1971: 4).

For the nationality cause to be advanced, there should be in place a well-documented feature of the nationalism project which would propel the emergence of the nation state through the imposition of a national language through the educational systems and the various organs of the

state (Anderson, 1983, cited in Cronin, 2003: 166). By so doing, a country is sure to chart a course of true development.

From the perspective of most independent nations, development is a project that must be pursued or undertaken. True development is the process of eradicating the unimpressive triad of ignorance, poverty and disease (Mkandawire, 2005: 13). Development, from the perspective of the United Nations (or UN) agencies such as the UNDP, UNESCO, WHO, is itself considered 'redemptive' in nature to the extent that it highlights the social welfare of citizens or that of an entire nations, namely the minimum standard of living that includes health, housing, food security, life expectancy (reduction of infant mortality), education, employment, etc. (Chumbow, 2005: 67). However, setting national goals in order to achieve true and meaningful national development implies determining economic activities and expenditure within a certain framework, setting of objective and targets, identifying specific components and sectors that require transformational efforts, identifying stakeholders in the various processes, defining means and modality of implementation, and generally focusing on the most effective ways and means of achieving the stipulated objectives within the development process efforts (Bamgbose, 2014: 647).

In the context of Africa, the broader picture of development seems different because a critical look at development trends on the continent suggests that, in the last 40 years, there has been evidence of growth in the majority of African countries that shows visible signs of economic progress (resulting in a substantial population explosion). However, in most African countries, the situation cannot be described as one of growth that is not accompanied by development (Chumbow, 2005: 168). To this extent, in Africa, unsurprisingly, development has always been perceived in a narrow socio-economic sense to the detriment of the human factor (Bamgbose, 2014: 650).

Subscribing to the 'redemptive' logic of development from the perspective of the UN agencies, no African country can afford to absolve itself from the unavoidable equation of national languages and national development. Indigenous languages in Mozambique have a crucial role to play in the development of training programmes, the dissemination of information in areas such as rural sanitation, maternity and infant health, the improvement and perfection of agricultural production techniques and any other important area (Kunene, 1992: 15).

To this extent, indigenous African languages have a crucial role to play in the development of any nation because development is primarily about people. It is most essentially about the contribution the population is expected to make in terms of its participation in the development process, which will require a great deal of communication, dissemination of information, sharing of knowledge, feedback and acquisition of required skills. All of these can only be achieved through languages (Bamgbose, 2014: 650).

In the light of the perspectives above, all that is required to change the linguistic status quo across the continent is that there is an absolute need to accord indigenous African languages an equitable space in Africa's integration efforts and to cause sustainable development that would help change the lives of Africans for the better (Matsinhe, 2013: 23). Finally, the political African elites - particularly those at the helm of affairs - do not need to be told that in the case of Africa, for development to be meaningful, the language issue will have to be dealt with as a matter of urgency (Masuku, 1992: 44).

4.12. Power, political and ideological ramifications for supranational institutions

LPLP, no doubt, has power and political and ideological implications because ultimately it is inherently linked to power and serves the interests of some powerful groups such as the media (Mayr, 2008: 4). In most organisations or institutions, scholars have managed to examine the use of language in institutional processes and practices and have consequently succeeded in establishing links between culture, knowledge and power (Vaara et al., 2005: 597). Further, it has been established that language constitutes a key component in the selection of organisational processes in establishing institutional relationship and their power implication (Silverman & Jones, cited in Vaara et al., 2005: 597).

To this extent, language, through extension language policy-making, has substantial power implications that are often left unnoticed (Vaara, et al., 2005: 595). Language policy-making does not only have power implications but it is a highly political undertaking with ideological underpinnings (Phillipson, 1992; 2009; Koskinen, 2008; Chilton & Schaffner, 1997; Baldauf & Kaplan, 2004; Banda, 2009, Vaara et al. 2005). In this context, ideologies are types of meaning that are embedded in a language (Masuku, 1992: 38). Going by this logic, it may be argued that

politics and language are intertwined. Politics concerns itself with power. To this extent, power is communicated, negotiated and maintained through speeches, slogans and statements of political elites, hence through language. The language used purposely by politicians for political gains becomes a place where meanings are produced, sustained and even disagreed with (Patel, 2014).[24]

4.12.1. Political ramifications of LPLP

From the perspectives of language experts, sociolinguists and historical linguists, the evolution of language has been influenced by several factors among which are political. Linguistic evolution has been shaped by many forces, including political contingencies that do not follow egalitarian principles (Baugh, 2011: 19). This state of affairs is evidenced by the current LPLP of the OAU/AU, which is dominated by non-indigenous African languages. To this extent, "the language in which politics is conducted is modified by structural inequality" (Ager, 2001: 186). Paradoxically, in the context of the LPLP of the OAU/AU, inequality occurs regardless of the reality that the fundamental principle of linguistic science is that all languages and their dialect have the same linguistic value (Baugh, 2011: 19).

However, throughout history, owing to certain reasons, most of which are political, there are some languages and dialects which suffer from a lack of comparable or superior influence, and are dominated by other languages (Baugh, 2011). It follows that if a language is affected in one way or another by what would be referred to as political circumstances, which unfortunately, in most cases, are not equal, language policy remains mostly a political undertaking, especially in supranational institutions where the various ramifications of LPLP are engendered by the intrinsic institutional tensions that were produced by the myriad of cultures, nationalities, and languages (Vaara et al., 2005: 597). It is not surprising that language policy is a political activity over which the linguist has very little control and can only plan it (Masuku, 1992: 43). Therefore, in practical terms, all language-planning activities, even those that contradict them serve particular political purposes (Alexander, 2004: 113), for a couple of reasons.

First, the fact that colonists had the luxury of imposing their languages on their colonies would be interpreted as an exercise of power relations between them (colonists) and the colonised

[24] See www. ewn.co.za[Accessed 9 December 2015].

(Phillipson, 1992, 2009). To illustrate this better, the colonial powers, namely, the British, Americans and the French have all been determined to impose their linguistic norms across the world. This can be interpreted as the desire of these powers to control (Phillipson, 1992: 102). In former colonies, different approaches were used to back the imposition of language policies. For example, unlike the British, the French, for example, were obsessed about 'la mission civilisatrice'. In other words, the French were,

> … more single-minded in the prosecution of their language, more conscious of a 'civilizing mission', more intolerant of the use of indigenous languages at any stage in education, and more effective in educating black men (and far fewer women) to speak the metropolitan language beautifully (Phillipson, 1992: 111).

4.12.2. Ideological ramifications of LPLP

The concept of ideology may be classified into two broad categories: a relativist approach which views the concept as meaning systems of ideas, beliefs and practices, and 'a critical definition, allied with the Marxist theory', which views ideology as serving the interests of a social class and/or a cultural group (Mayr, 2008: 10). In a more politically correct term, ideology is regarded as meaning that works in the interests of power (Fairclough, cited in Mayer 2008: 11). Consequently, proponents of critical discourse analysis (CDA) treat ideologies as directed at working in the specific interest of some powerful social groups, making sure that events, practices and behaviours have come to be treated as legitimate and sound judgement. To some extent, ideologies can achieve this in a much subtler manner as these provide information on the way people give meaning to their world. This is hegemony (Mayr, 2008: 11).

To this extent, political ideology is used to mean the manifest expression of the dominant interest of specific social groups (Ager, 2001). For example, while the open expression of a 'right-wing' party is perceived as representative of the affluent or wealthy in society (for example, Republicans in the US), the ideology of the left is expressed from the perspective of the protection of the interests of workers or the less affluent in society (Democrats in the US) (Ager, 2001: 176). Political ideology is an essential component in the motivational structure of language policy (Ager, 2001: 184). For example, the British policy of indirect rule was to be implemented by ensuring the exclusive education of the elites through the English language (Phillipson, 1992: 111).

Language has an ideological hidden meaning since it is associated with aspirations such as unity, loyalty and solidarity, patriotism, and is used by people in authority to produce ideologies of uniformity, cohesion and control (Shohamy, 2006: 41). Therefore, the dominance of colonial languages is exemplified by the ideology colonial powers were eager to propagate about their languages. For example, the French were very confident that their language was inherently superior and the prescriptivism that this inevitably entails (Phillipson, 1992: 101). This approach of comparing one's own languages and cultures to those of others was nothing more than "a fundamentally racist ideology of superiority (elegance, clarity, the 'natural' order of its syntax) was propagated: those languages which did not have the same syntax as French were not 'logical' and were therefore inferior" (Calvet, 1987, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 104). The ultimate purpose of the propagation of such an ideology was to perpetuate an unequal power and resources distribution in favour of the dominant language (Phillipson, 1992: 104).

The concept of ideology has evolved over the years. For the purposes of this study, at least three important generic features of the ideology of the modern nation state are explored, namely:

1. The ultimate justification for maintaining, strengthening, or establishing a political system that has jurisdiction over a particular population - that is, an internationally recognised nation state - is that this system is most naturally and effectively representative of that population. In principle, the political entity corresponds with an ethnic, cultural, and historical entity with which at least the large portions of the population identify.

2. The nation state is the political unit in which paramount authority is vested and which is entitled to overrule both smaller and larger political units.

3. Establishing or maintaining the independence, integrity, and effective functioning of the nation state is an essential task to which all members of the system are expected to contribute (Kelman, 1971: 22).

The three most important ingredients of political ideology above constitute 'the basic sets of assumptions' underpinning the relationships among nation states in international relations, on the one hand, and the relationships between the political elite and the citizenry, from a national perspective, one the other hand. Therefore, acceptance of the ideology of the nation state by the

citizenry is an official validation or recognition by the latter of the authority and legitimacy of the former (Kelman, 1971: 22-23).

4.12.3. Power ramifications of LPLP

Language policy is a highly political undertaking and is the manifestation of political power (Ager, 2001: 5-6). Furthermore, languages confer power and within the current nation state, language has a number of important roles to play as certain groups in society use it as a tool in the battle for control, visibility and representation (Shohamy, 2006: 4041). As such, language is currently being used by political forces on the continent. To this extent, the language policy of political authorities is aimed at confirming social control (Ager, 2001: 186).

From a practical perspective, "[i]t would be hoping for too much from human nature to expect that policy-makers, themselves holders of power by definition and hence members of elites, will voluntarily and selflessly cede power to those without it" (Ager, 2001: 105) particularly in the context of international institutions such as the OAU/AU, for the simple reason that institutions are themselves considered as a socially legitimated expertise along with those who have been mandated to implement it (Agar, 1985: 164, cited in Mayr, 2008: 4).

The concept of power has been explored by several schools of thought, particularly from a social studies perspective (Vaara et al., 2005: 598). As a result, for one school of thought, for example, power is regarded as a manifestation of the importance of the relationships of power in the context of social analyses. The other school of thought treats power as signifying the multi-dimensional nature of societal, social or institutional power (Vaara et al., 2005). In an institutional setting, power is dealt with from three main dimensions: "concrete decision-making (first dimension) and non-decision-making (second dimension), the institutionalized power that is exercised to socially construct reality also becomes highlighted (third dimension)" (Vaara et al., 2005: 598).

Therefore, the imposition of colonial languages by colonial masters may be treated, to some extent, as a reflection of the societal power of the languages of the colonialists (Phillipson, 1992: 105). Differences in languages would be perceived as a reflection of power differences, i.e., domination by males or some ethnic groups that hold power in society, which makes sure that the language of the dominated group(s) suffers from a lack of prestige (Ager, 2001: 105).

From a political point of view, in South Africa, language policies were used, for example, by the architects of the apartheid regime to sow the seeds of division among the black population with the view of promoting and strengthening the position of Afrikaans, the language of white South Africans (Tollefson, 2011: 364). These policies of division were detrimental to the development and promotion of indigenous languages. Furthermore, these policies were used to support the tenets of racial segregation (the ideology) underpinning apartheid.

It should be stressed that the "power to use language corresponds directly to the official standing, or lack thereof, of the sender of the communicative event" (Baugh, 2011: 23). Using the same logic, across the world, in the clear majority of speech communities, those groups who possess the greatest wealth are those are in the position to determine indigenous standard linguistic norms (Baugh, 2011: 24). This state of affairs explains why in the majority of countries on the continent, the proclamation of indigenous African languages as official, national and non-official forces a power and status hierarchy not only among the languages, but also among those who speak these languages (Banda, 2009: 6).

Based on case studies from Southern Africa, it has been demonstrated that, across the continent, there is a great deal of politics in according an official or national status to languages (Banda, 2009). To illustrate this further, a few case studies will be taken from Southern Africa (Banda, 2009). For example, Luchazi, a language spoken by about 209 400 people scattered in Angola and Zambia respectively has not been accorded national language status in either country. Similarly, Chokwe, which is widely spoken by over half a million people in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Zambia has not been recognised as a 'major national language in these two countries either. Luvale, spoken by about 466 000 people in Angola, is another interesting example, because it is not a national language in Angola, but is recognised as a national language in Zambia, where it has only 205 000 speakers. Again, Tumbuka has over 1 million speakers in both Zambia and Malawi but was only recently recognised as a national language in Malawi. However, in Zambia, Luvale is still not accorded any official status (Banda, 2009: 8).

The case studies on the linguistic situation from some parts of Southern Africa depict, to a large extent, the hidden power underpinning language-planning and policy, which, in most cases, is overlooked. Therefore, the logic and arguments used by the Russian President Vladimir Putin to

support the annexation of Crimea, in March 2014, suggesting that he has a duty to protect Russian speakers (The Economist, 2014), thereby setting linguistic standards for the people of Crimea, is nothing more than a clear demonstration of Russia's power over the economically, politically and militarily weaker vessels in Eastern Europe. Worse, it is a highly political adventure, i.e., a selfish and uncontrollable appetite for territorial expansion in Eastern Europe.

Finally, the annexation of Crimea has a highly ideological undertone, i.e., a racist and ethnocentric belief that Russian is 'superior' to any other language in the region. With this brutal demonstration of forces, perspectives are brighter for the old colonial powers under Putin's administration (The Economist, 2014). If Mr Putin's logic regarding the annexation of Crimea is anything to go by, all former colonial powers will now owe themselves a duty to protect their languages in their respective former colonies. Portugal will have to reclaim Brazil, Spain most of the rest of Central and South America, and France most of West Africa. This would probably be fine with the populations in former colonies, since many of their current governments leave too much to be desired (The Economist, 2014).

4.13. Markets forces of globalisation: LPLP "game changers"?

The concept of globalisation has been explored from several possible angles. The different concepts of globalisation seem to influence the understanding of the citizenry of the state (Ong, 2005: 83). Globalisation is further regarded as the current trend of the majority of nation states to consider themselves as part of the world community, international relations and global markets and, most importantly, when national borders are increasingly becoming fluid and less rigid, and as nations get closer to one another across the globe, while at the same time the secure borders are becoming less and less marked out (Shohamy, 2006: 37). To this extent, "[i]n an age of mass media and telecommunications, images of local acts of resistance can be flashed across the world in an instant, turning them into events of global significance" (Devetak, 2009: 205). The advent of globalisation has therefore brought in its wake a lot of changes, the effects of which are felt in all spheres of life, particularly in the linguistic arena. For example, the almost absolute use of colonial languages as a medium of instruction in the administration in most African countries results in the exclusion of the vast majority of Africans, including their exclusion from the political and socio-economic streams, while at the same time the political elites in power and those who aspire to the middle class enjoy unfair advantage (Matsinhe, 2013: 27).

In the economic arena, for example, "economic globalization - in the relentless pursuit of market freedom - has brought about important changes in the state of 'stateness'" (Ong, 2005: 83). Owing to globalisation, international languages, i.e., colonial languages, in particular English, have become the mainstream languages on the international scene. This situation has further contributed to a completely increased role of English in the most countries across the world, and local languages do not play any meaningful roles beyond the determined territorial borders of the nation states while at the same time other languages are needed (Shohamy, 2006: 37). Currently, across the globe, there is an expansion of English and Chinese because of their association with globalisation (Batibo, 2015: 6).

What is paradoxical is that, in the current context of globalisation, while goods and services are provided in several languages for Europe and Asia by the majority of multinational corporations, the same multinationals do not do the same for Africa. While diversity is acknowledged and appreciated in other parts of the world, this reality is not the same for Africa. Multinationals serve Africa through colonial languages instead of African languages. Ironically, Africa is a huge market for these same multinationals (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015: 4).

The linguistic reality in Africa is such that none of its languages, with the exception of Arabic, offers any socio-economic incentives (Batibo, 2015: 6). As indicated by participant 13,*"... For African languages to expand, and to be used effectively, they must be supported by socio-economic incentives because you cannot have a language expanding or being used extensively because in Kiswahili we have a saying that "huwezi kuweka mayai tupu. Yai lazima iwe na kitu". That means you cannot lay an empty egg. The egg must contain something. Then you go for it"* (lines 234-236).

As colonial languages have much more appeal than indigenous African languages this state of affairs has gradually resulted in what has come to be known as 'language shift' (Kamwangamalu, 2003: 71) towards the so-called prestigious international languages.

In the light of the above, the real issue is to know what appropriate steps need to be taken to preserve indigenous African languages (Kamwangamalu, 2003). Furthermore, it would be interesting to explore how "[t]he shifting relations between market, state, and society have

resulted in an assemblage of governmental practices for treating populations in relation to global market forces" (Ong, 2005: 84).

One pertinent issue which should not be overlooked regarding the global forces is how long globalisation forces would determine the direction of language policy in post-colonial Africa. This issue is raised because of the concerns or lack thereof on the part of the leadership of the continent regarding the potential effects of globalisation on the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages in all domains of society. As a matter of political expediency, such an issue should be featuring high on the agenda of the political leadership of the continent so that indigenous African languages can finally be allowed to play meaningful roles both at national and international levels. Therefore, the leadership of the continent should no longer deny that the educational, economic, ecological and cultural benefits that will result from the restoration of indigenous African languages to their rightful place in the lives of Africans cannot be calculated (Alexander, 2008: 16).

The dominance of colonial languages on the international scene and the subsequent marginalisation of indigenous African languages, particularly in the current context of globalisation, should be a source of a great concern, given the fact that the masses of Africans are not proficient in these languages, and given that market forces remain clear and unambiguous about the dominant role colonial languages, particularly the role English is playing in that respect, since it has been established that there is nothing normal about the way English has become established. English usage should be seen as a strategy for survival that has been guided by economic and political pressures which fit together conveniently with imperialism (Phillipson, 2008: 9).

The implementation of language policies across the continent, most importantly the LPAA, is subject to the dictates of the reckless activity of market forces (Cronin, 2003: 56). It has therefore been argued that, "contemporary language policies are determined by the state of the market ('demand') and the force of argument (rational planning in the light of the available 'facts)" (Phillipson, 1992: 8). Furthermore, as the mass media and culture are becoming globalised, it is thus creating a world society (Albert & Cederman, 2010: 4). However, looking at the linguistic reality prevailing in the majority of African countries, there seems not to be adequate strategies, policies, mechanisms or structures in place to guarantee the survival of indigenous African

languages. This is because, for example, across the globe English has assumed a dominant role. The European Union uses 24 official languages including English.

English is also the official language of the Commonwealth of Nations, one of the official languages of the United Nations official languages and of the International Olympic Committee. These powerful organs have international influence on Africa. Even though it has not been stated clearly, there is no doubt that in practice western powers are eager to use English in their trade deals in Africa (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015: 4).

4.14. English: the most dominant language in a globalised world?

English is increasingly becoming the only dominant language on the international scene, particularly in international organisations. For example, currently, at the European Union, there are expectations that English will eventually become one of the sole working languages of the European Union's institutions, and some proposals have been put forward regarding the selection of English to this end. Furthermore, it has been suggested that English will, in the long term, be used as the sole official language for all international communication within Europe. Some of people are even of the view that English will replace all the national languages (Van Els, 2001: 341).

In the context of African institutions, one important issue the political elites should be concerned about is what will the world, particularly Africa, be should English become the international diplomatic lingua franca. In an attempt to provide an answer to that question, a brief historical background of some international languages would be useful.

Latin, which was the most influential language in Europe, became the main language of diplomacy. However, in the 18th century, French gained prominence, and later became the diplomatic lingua franca. French became so powerful and influential that even diplomatic correspondence between the Government of the USA and the British Foreign Office was done in French (Kappeler, 2001). Through the greatest part of Europe, French was considered the language of progress and of international emulation (Fishman, 2012: 51). To this extent, French was once used as the main medium of diplomacy in the 18^{th} and 19^{th} centuries. In the process, French relegated Latin to the background (Spolsky, 2009).

For a relatively short while, German outperformed French and became the universal language of science and technology throughout both Central and Eastern Europe. However, the serious humiliation of Germany following the two World Wars and the direct association of Germany with Nazism accounted for the sudden decline of German (Fishman, 2012: 52). The 20th century witnessed a decline of French and the rise of English. The dominance of French suffered a serious setback during 'the 1919 Paris Peace Conference'. As a result, both the US President Woodrow Wilson and British Prime Minister Lloyd George insisted on English becoming the second language of the Conference rather than French being the sole language of the negotiations (Baigorri-Jalon, 2000, cited in Spolsky, 2009).

The history of the sudden decline of French and the rise of English on the international scene is a relatively long one. In early modern Europe, French used to be the most central modern language. It was even more important than English or German (Heilbron, 2010). The rise of English probably began soon after the Second World War, at a time when the hegemony of the American English had procured it a competitive advantage over all other international languages (Heilbron, 2010: 310). English has since become the most important foreign language in most parts of the world (Sposlky, 2009).

To this extent, there is no doubt that English is used in several parts of the world, sometimes making life easy for some people and difficult for others. Across the globe, English is used as a medium of communication. It is a pluricentric language (Sharifian, 2012: 310).

Thus the tension and suspicion on the part of the French regarding the dominance of English can be traced as far back as 1853, as illustrated by the following poem by Viennet about the "French elitist rejection of 'Anglomania':

On n'entend que des mots à déchirer le fer,

Le railway, le tunnel, le ballast, le fender,

Express, trucks, wagons ; une bouche française

Semble broyer du verre ou mâcher de la braise …

Certes, de nos voisins, l'alliance m'enchante,

Mais leur langue, à vrai dire, est trop envahissante !

Faut-il pour cimenter un merveilleux accord

Changer l'arène en turf et le plaisir en sport,

Demander à des clubs l'aimable causerie,

Flétrir du nom de grooms not valets d'écurie,

Traiter nos cavaliers de gentleman-riders ?

Je maudis ces auteurs dont le vocabulaire

Nous encombre de mots dont nous n'avons que faire

(Viennet, cited in Fishman, 1971: 17).

The dominance of English across the globe has been a source of a great concern for French authorities, particularly as new concepts are introduced through scientific, technological and social change. Some politicians and other people expressed their concerns about the fact that linguistic changes could be detrimental to the French culture, the French lifestyle, the French science and even France as a whole (Ager, 2001: 77).

The role played by English on the international scene has become so important to the extent that, even in Ireland where there have been historical political and religious tensions and divisions regarding the support of the use of English and Irish officially, English is considered to be:

> … of inestimable value to an Irishman as a language of culture and of commerce and also as a means to earn his bread in the English-speaking world, which lies to the east and west of him. From this English-speaking world come his news, his books, his films, and a great proportion of his television and radio programs. (Macnamara, 1971: 85)

Furthermore, even at the United Nations (UN) there have been divergent views over the issue whether English should be the official language, with some for and others against the idea (Spolsky, 2009: 210). In the same vein, at the EU Commission, for example, France strongly

argued for the appointment of 'a francophone President', which will secure the domination of the French language. However, the fact however remains that the bureaucrat will be lost without English (Ager, 2001: 70).

It is clear that the use of English has become a global issue, and Africa's problematic situation with respect to development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in the context of globalisation is a concrete example. Consequently, across the continent and using South Africa as a specific example, there is an increasing number of African parents who are sending their wards to English-medium pre-primary schools, which are growing rapidly in towns and townships, and some parents even go to the extent of trying to make English the preferred language spoken at home (Lafon, 2010: 45). To some extent, these parents are bringing up little aliens in their own homes (Wa Thiongo, 2007, cited in Lafon, 2010: 45).

Furthermore, in most post-colonial African countries, particularly in South Africa, there is an increasing tendency to establish firmly that English is an undisputable gateway to social climbing, the legacy of Bantu Education which still depicts in a very negative way the use of African languages as languages of learning and teaching and to consider English to be equivalent to quality education. This is further strengthened by the current process of globalisation which gives prominence to the use of English in all domains of professions (Alexander 2000, cited in Lafon, 2010: 47). In this context, English poses the single greatest threat to indigenous African languages (Phillipson, 1999, cited in Makoni et al., 2007: 26). Other internal threats to these languages are, for example, the language shift factor that is ongoing in most post colonial African countries. In other words, indigenous languages and the ethnic identities they helped create are increasingly being supplanted, in Zimbabwe, like many other African urban cities, by the use of languages that do not necessarily imply ethnic or national affiliation any longer but urbanisation (Makoni et al., 2007: 25; Kadenge & Nkomo, 2011). Furthermore, the beliefs that people from Zimbabwe systematically, or even in the first place, get involved in maintaining ethnic affiliations through using and promoting language boundaries that define ethnicity do not take into account the sociolinguistic dynamic of languages (Makoni et al., 2007: 25).

From a pragmatic perspective, this issue of *linguistic citizenship* (Williams & Stroud, 2015) is a combination of several factors, including the narratives of divisiveness (Williams & Stroud, 2015: 407), the numerous challenges citizens are faced with on a daily basis, which include,

among other things, how to get along with neighbours, to manage diversity and differences, and to strike a good balance for themselves, which is a daily routine for the ordinary citizen (Williams & Stroud, 2015: 407).

In sum, becoming an urban dweller simply implies that each individual is able to carve a new urban identity through using urban vernaculars (Makoni et al., 2007: 44). Beyond this, there is an urgent need to revisit further the issue of true citizenship (Williams & Stroud, 2015: 407).

4.15. Factors accounting for the dominance of English internationally

Factors accounting for the dominance of English internationally can be analysed from different perspectives. For example, from a translation perspective, it may be noted that, since it is only one powerful language that dominates the international scene, it may be presumed that translations from other languages will reduce, leading to virtual situation of monopoly for translations from English (Heilbron, 2010: 313). The issue arises as to what strategy should be adopted in dealing with the hegemony of English. In this regard, two options may be considered: the first possible option could be to accept and live with the reality that English is the most dominant language. The second option could also be to try what can be referred to as a possible escape from the hegemony of English (Alexander, 2011: 10). However, the way this eventual escape will be made and managed is yet to be known.

The following views suggest that, regardless of the fact that English is the language of globalisation, the ability to speak other international languages procures some competitive advantage (Edwards, 2005: 164). The other perspective comes from Hobsbawm (2003: 125) who argues that the suggestion that English will one day become the sole language of international communication seems somehow utopian. It will not happen because, by its definition, multilingualism is an obstacle to globalisation.

The centrality of a particular language results from the strategic role it plays politically, economically, culturally, and so on, on the international scene (Matteucci, 2001: 26-32). Consequently, across the globe today, this role is being played strategically by English in all spheres of life, including diplomacy. This therefore explains why, for example:

> Diplomats speak English fluently, the modern international language. Most international negotiations are concluded in English. Very often, international treaties and other important documents are drafted in English. The majority of the operations of most international organisations are carried out in English. Ironically, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) conducts its business in English, not Malay or Chinese. Even French diplomats acknowledge in private that they have lost the battle for linguistic hegemony. (Matteucci, 2001: 44-45)

The linguistic supremacy of colonial languages, particularly English, is based on power. In the international arena, power virtually controls everything, and language is no exception to the rule. For example, the immediate consequence of the introduction of formal education was the impact it had on the choice of the language of instruction and the content of academic curriculum. The languages of the colonialists became invariably the languages of education and governance. Through English they acquired the aura of being languages that are repositories of knowledge and through which knowledge could also be transmitted. They therefore became the languages of power (Mchombo, 2014: 24).

To this extent, it is power that dictates the actual choice of the language in which diplomatic negotiations and agreements are concluded, while at the same time it is power that imposes the process of negotiations, and often its outcome (Matteucci, 2001: 28).

The so-called powerful nations determine the agenda in international diplomacy and finally succeed in imposing their will on the powerless. In other words, the stronger nations are always trying to turn negotiations to their own advantage by making use of power (Matteucci, 2001). To this extent, the dominance of one language or another in the area of diplomacy come as a result of the political, strategic, economic, cultural or other domination of one power or another in the context of international relations (Nick, 2001: 18).

It has been argued that in international diplomacy, the side that possesses power has the options and where options exist it is possible to disagree (Matteuci, 2001). To illustrate this better, the main types of power found in international diplomacy are presented below:

- Power to conquer and achieve: the Romans, and the British had it; the US wields it today;

- Power to obstruct or deny: circumstances can propel some groups or countries to power;
- Power to conquer: usually beats power to obstruct, but not always. The Greeks resorted to it at the Thermopiles. Switzerland had the power to deny transit through the Alps, once it was proven feasible (Matteucci, 2001).

Conclusion

Chapter four highlights the contradictions and paradoxes of the language policy of the OAU/AU. It therefore stressed that language, particularly language policy-making, has power, political and ideological underpinnings which are more often than not unquestioned, taken for granted and remain largely unexplored (Vaara et al., 2005). The chapter explored the role of language, particularly in the context of globalisation and its implications for the LPLP of the OAU/AU.

Chapter Five: Critical review of the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs and the Agenda 2063

This chapter critically examines the OAU/AU's 1986 and 2006 LPAAs and the AU's Agenda 2063, or Africa's new Vision for the next 50 years. The significance of this exercise is twofold. First, it is done specifically at a time the OAU/AU has embraced a new vision, i.e., *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want*, which is anchored in Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, and provides a robust framework in order to deal with past injustices and contribute to the realisation of the 21st Century as the African Century" (Agenda 2063 :1).[25] This chapter analyses the OAU/AU's new Agenda in order to determine its relevance and actual contribution to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages.

It provides the opportunity to "offer the reader a bird eye view on" (Kamwangamalu, 2002: 1) the LPAAs and Agenda 2063, to highlight the potential contributions of Agenda 2063 to the development and promotion of effective use of non-colonial languages and any policy contradictions or paradoxes therein, as well as to question the cycle of empty political rhetoric into which the continent seems to have been caught (Chimhundu, 2015).

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part critically reviews the OAU/AU's 1986 LPAA, which was adopted by the African Heads of States and Governments at the Khartoum Summit on 23-24 January 2006, and the OAU/AU's Agenda 2063. The LPAA's main objective is to promote and develop indigenous African languages. Since its adoption, the OAU/AU is still heavily dependent on colonial languages, namely, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish, which have, in the process, relegated indigenous African languages to the background.

The second part of the chapter provides various typologies both for language situations and for language policies in selected regions of Africa in an attempt to: (1) bring to the fore and interrogate further the paradoxes and contradictions between language policy statements and effective implementation on the ground; (2) to establish clearly the underlying factors accounting

[25] Agenda 2063: Popular version (Final version published in 2015)p: 1.

for the devaluation of African languages, the failure of the leadership of the continent to promote effective use of non-colonial languages in all domains of society.

5.1. The OAU/AU's 1986 LPAA and its relevance

At their Summit in Addis Ababa in 1986, the Heads of States and Governments of the OAU adopted the first Language Plan of Action in which it was stated, among others, that there is an imperative need for each member state of the OAU/AU to formulate within the shortest possible time a language policy that places at the heart of the process of its socio-economic development indigenous African languages or other languages that are spoken and actively in use (OAU/AU, cited in Prah, 2009: 155). As participant 30 stated: "*Each African State must endeavour to set out and follow a clear and comprehensive national language policy indicating the statuses that have been accorded to their indigenous languages as well as the functions of the languages in use and propose pragmatic measures to ensure the implementation of such a policy"* (lines 400-407).

On paper the OAU's 1986 LPAA is a comprehensive language policy document (Chimhundu, 2015; Matsinhe, 2013, 2015) because it makes all the necessary provisions to ensure the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages (Chimhundu, 2015). To this extent, this plan of action clearly provides the ideal framework for the formulation of an appropriate language policy (Wits Language Policy Survey, 2014: 13) for African countries. This view is further illustrated by participant 4 as follows: "*The Language Plan of Action was a sort of blueprint for the development and promotion of African languages in the Member states of the African Union"* (lines 70-72).

In fact, the LPAA underscores the importance of indigenous languages, particularly regarding the overall socio-economic development of Africa. This is because the cultural enlightenment of the peoples of Africa and the acceleration of their economic and social development can only be achieved through effectively harnessing indigenous African languages in the context of that advancement and development process.[26]

[26] See the Preamble OAU Language Plan of Action.

In addition, the LPAA encourages African countries to develop their own individual language policy. However, one important issue that was underscored in the LPAA was the recognition of the fact that a great deal of progress has not been achieved by individual countries in the area of development and promotion of indigenous African indigenous languages in order that they can ultimately play significant roles both at national and continental levels. However, since its adoption to date, the majority of member states of the OAU/AU have not taken the necessary measures in order to ensure that indigenous African languages play their rightful official roles as provided in the Cultural Charter for Africa, the Lagos Plan of Action and other pertinent resolutions of the Organization of African Unity (Appendix A: Language plan of action).[27]

Meanwhile, the LPAA is a comprehensive document because it was inspired and 'guided' by the following pertinent documents, namely:

- The Charter of the Organization of African Unity Charter (1963);
- The UNESCO Declaration on the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (1966);
- The Pan-African Cultural Manifesto of Algiers (1969);
- The Inter-Governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa, organised by UNESCO in Accra (1975), in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity;
- The OAU Cultural Charter for Africa (1976);
- The OAU Lagos Plan of Action (1980) for the Economic Development of Africa (1980);
- The Final Report (27 April 1982) of UNESCO's Meeting of Experts on the "Definition of a Strategy for Promotion of African Languages" The Declaration of the Cultural Aspects of the Lagos Plan of Action (1985) (Prah, 2009: 155; OAU's 1986 Language Plan of Action –see Appendix A).

[27] See Appendix A: Preamble of OAU Language Plan of Action 1986

A critical review of both LPAAs is necessary for two main reasons. First, because the-then leadership and, to some extent, the current leadership of the continent (Heads of States and Government) should be held accountable since it was the same leadership which stated that:

> … language is at the heart of a people's culture and further convinced that, in accordance with the provisions of the Cultural Charter for Africa, the cultural advancement of the African peoples and the acceleration of their economic and social development will not be possible without harnessing in a practical manner indigenous African languages in that advancement and development. (Preamble of the Language Plan of Action for Africa- Appendice A)

To this extent, it is fair to argue that if language is really at the heart of the culture of people, and cannot be dissociated from development, there is no reason why both LPAAs, which were inspired by all the pertinent documents listed above, should not contribute to the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages across the continent.

Reviewing both LPAAs is necessary in order to interrogate the unimpressive cycle of political rhetoric into which the continent seems to be trapped as both LPAAs "still provide the full rationale, guidelines and framework for the formulation and implementation of comprehensive national language policies in Africa, and for their alignment to achieve both social cohesion and regional integration" (Chimhundu, 2015: 2). Further, since Africa is a culturally and linguistically diverse continent, the LPAAs offer the appropriate guidelines for the effective management of cultural diversity and multilingualism across the continent (Chimhundu, 2015: 4).

However, the linguistic reality on the continent is such that after more than three decades following the adoption of the LPAAs, on a whole, very little success has been achieved regarding true development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages as envisaged by the founding Fathers of the OAU/AU. To this extent, if the implementation of these two pertinent and comprehensive documents is yet to yield the expected results, then something is wrong with the formulation and process of implementation itself and the implementation of policies, programmes and projects in Africa in general.

It is fair to ask the following question: "Why is it that what is regarded as good judgement in other parts of the world has always been an issue Africans should wrangle over and dissent

from?" (Prah, 2009: 144). This question is posed particularly against the background of the real intents of both LPAAs, the substance of which is to free Africa from linguistic imperialism (Matsinhe, 2013, 2015).

However, the real issue which needs to be addressed by the leadership of Africa is whether the continent has really been liberated from linguistic imperialism. If the answer to this question is "no", there should therefore be a need for a thorough examination of possible reasons why the status quo still persists regarding the development and promotion of effective use of non-colonial languages, which has led to the continent's overdependence on colonial languages.

Some of the reasons used in the colonial era to justify the so-called 'limited or temporary use' of indigenous African languages are still being used to date, namely:

- There are too many African languages for us to be able to justify rationally and economically their use.
- African languages have limited demographic and geographical significance, therefore it is wiser to use global languages.
- African languages have limited lexical capacity to deal with the realities of modern society, science and technology.
- African languages do not make for the so-called "societal unity" (Prah, 2009: 156).
- "Education involved literacy and the available literature was in the colonizers' languages. They were also the languages of power and civilization. The Africans had to adjust to that reality" (Mchombo, 2014: 26).
- "The racialized view is that African languages lack the grammatical complexity or the lexicon to express systems of knowledge that are central to education, especially so with respect to science, mathematics and philosophy" (Mchombo, 2014: 29).

These reasons were spread by African political elites who make hypercritical statements about the exceptional value of national languages for both education and development. The same politicians then go ahead to pursue policies that contradict their stated hopes and aspirations (Prah, 2009: 156).

Further, following the attainment of independence by the majority of African countries, many indigenous African languages have been given official recognition. However, the serious political commitment made by the leadership of the continent to develop and promote the effective use of indigenous African languages has hardly been backed by pragmatic actions because there has been little or serious commitment to give indigenous African languages the status of official languages. In the majority of constitutions across the continent, on paper these national languages are given towering status, almost the same status as colonial languages (Prah, 2015: 153).

5.2. The OAU/AU's 2006 LPAA and its relevance

The importance of developing and promoting African languages and making these available in all domains of society has been stressed during several meetings which were held across the continent as languages are vital tools for socio-economic development. These meetings were held in Algiers (1969); Yaoundé (1970); Cotonou (1975); Port Louis (1976); Niamey (1978); Ouagadougou (1978); Bamako (1979); Abidjan (1980); Bamako (1981); Nouakchott (1981); UNESCO (1982); Addis Ababa (1986); Accra (1996); Okahandja (1996); Harare (1997), Asmara (2000), Bamako (2000), Bamako (2001); Bamako (2002); Kinshasa (2003); Accra (2005); Windhoek (2005) and Accra (2006) (Prah, 2009).

There were far too many meetings for this subject and one has to wonder how many of them still need to be held before the debate on the importance of indigenous languages can be over (Prah, 2009). More than three decades after the adoption and revision of the OAU/AU's LPAA, the continent is yet to experience true development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages. These conferences were "no more than a recycling exercise, whether the conference participants were aware of this or not" (Bamgbose cited by Neville Alexander, UNESCO Report 2006: 10).

5.3. The Agenda 2063 of the OAU/AU, the New Vision for Africa, the Africa We Want

The new AU Agenda for Africa or Agenda 2063: *The Africa We Want*, drafted in 2013 was adopted at the 24th Ordinary Session of the Assembly or Summit of Heads of States and Governments of the African Union held in Addis Ababa in January 2015. It represents the entire

continent and sets out an inclusive vision and roadmap for the next 50 years (Agenda, 2063: 14).[28]

The New Vision was adopted as part of the celebration of half a century of independence from colonial rule by the majority of African countries (Agenda 2063; Chimhundu, 2015). Its core objective is to build a prosperous and united Africa guided by shared values and a collective destiny within the context of a rapidly changing world (Chimhundu, 2015; Agenda 2063).

Agenda 2063 is articulated around seven core ideals, otherwise known as **ASPIRATIONS**, which, from a practical point of view, are overly ambitious to be realised in a space of half a century considering the numerous challenges facing the continent in all spheres of life. The salient points are produced verbatim below:

ASPIRATION 1. A prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development

Under this Aspiration, the people of Africa aspire that by 2063, Africa shall be a prosperous continent, with the means and resources to drive its own development, with sustainable and long-term stewardship of its resources and where:

- African people have a high standard of living, and quality of life, sound health and well-being;
- Well educated and skilled citizens, underpinned by science, technology and innovation for a knowledge society is the norm and no child misses school due to poverty or any form of discrimination;
- Cities and other settlements are hubs of cultural and economic activities, with modernized infrastructure, and people have access to affordable and decent housing finance together with all the basic necessities of life such as, water, sanitation, energy, public transport and ICT;
- Economies are structurally transformed to create shared growth, decent jobs and economic opportunities for all;

[28] See Agenda 2063: 14.

- Modern agriculture for increased production, productivity and value addition contributes to farmer and national prosperity and Africa's collective food security; and
- Africa's unique natural endowments, its environment and ecosystems, including its wildlife and wild lands are healthy, valued and protected, with climate resilient economies and communities.

ASPIRATION 2. An integrated continent, politically united, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and the vision of Africa's Renaissance

It is expected here that by the year 2063, Africa shall:

- Be a United Continent;
- Have world-class, integrative infrastructure that criss-crosses the continent;
- Have dynamic and mutually beneficial links with her Diaspora; and
- Be a continent of seamless borders, and management of cross-border resources through dialogue.

ASPIRATION 3. An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law

Under this Aspiration, Africans aspire that by 2063, Africa shall:

- Be a continent where democratic values, culture, practices, universal principles of human rights, gender equality, justice and the rule of law are entrenched; and
- Have capable institutions and transformative leadership in place at all levels.

ASPIRATION 4. A peaceful and secure Africa

It is expected here that by the year 2063, Africa shall have:

- An entrenched and flourishing culture of human rights, democracy, gender equality, inclusion and peace;
- Prosperity, security and safety for all citizens; and

- Mechanisms to promote and defend the continent's collective security and interests.

ASPIRATION 5. An Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics

It is expected that by the year 2063:

- Pan-Africanism will be fully entrenched;
- The African Renaissance has reached its peak; and
- Our diversity in culture, heritage, languages and religion shall be a cause of strength, including the tangible and intangible heritage of Africa's island states.

ASPIRATION 6. An Africa whose development is people driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children

The expectations here are that by the year 2063, Africa:

- Is people-centred and caring;
- Puts children first;
- Has empowered women to play their rightful role in all spheres of life;
- Has full gender equality in all spheres of life; and
- Has engaged and empowered youth.

ASPIRATION 7. Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner

The aspirations here are that by the year 2063, Africa shall be:

- A major social, political and economic force in the world, with her rightful share of the global commons (lands, oceans and space);
- An active and equal participant in global affairs, multilateral institutions, and a driver for peaceful co-existence, tolerance and a sustainable and just world; and

- Fully capable and have the means to finance her development (Agenda 2063 : 2-10).[29]

The aspirations that deal directly with the practical promotion, development and use of indigenous African languages are **ASPIRATIONS 2 and 5** (Agenda 2063 : 2-10).[30] However, it is only **Aspiration 5** which refers specifically to culture. Before elaborating further on **Aspiration 5, item 14** of **Aspiration 1** must be commented on. This states that:

> Africa's human capital will be fully developed as its most precious resource, through sustained investments based on universal early childhood development and basic education, and sustained investments in higher education, science, technology, research and innovation, and the elimination of gender disparities at all levels of education. Access to post-graduate education will be expanded and strengthened to ensure world-class infrastructure for learning and research and support scientific reforms that underpin the transformation of the continent.[31]

The most pertinent part of **item 14** cited above is the acknowledgement of the fact that Africa does have a precious human capital that needs to be developed. Developing this precious human capital requires a great deal of sustained investments, namely in the areas of universal childhood development education, in higher education, science, technology, research and innovation, and in the elimination of gender disparities at all levels of education. However, **Aspiration 1** fails in that it does not explicitly state how it intends to practically deal with universal early child development.

In an attempt to evaluate policy initiatives aimed at contributing to improvements in terms of equity, quality and efficiency in the education sector, it is necessary to take into consideration those who spearhead the changes, what are the assumptions and value orientations (the ideologies), the clear vision of their desired trajectory and destination as well as what their

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[29] Source Agenda 2063: 2-10.

[30] Source Agenda 2063: 2-10.

[31] Source Agenda 2063: 3.

outcomes would be (Arnove, 2009). In addition, a quick glance at national schooling systems across the globe, and efforts aimed at improving the management, financing, content, processes, and outcomes of education show "that the most common pattern has been one dominated by what has been termed the neoliberal economic and education agendas of the major international financial agencies" (Arnove, 2009: 126).

To some extent, the economic and educational reforms that have been undertaken have contributed substantially to the reduction of the role of the government = in "[t]he economic and educational 'restructuring' that has occurred as an integral part of this agenda [and this] has led to a substantial diminution of the role of the state in public financing of education" (Arnove, 2009: 127).

Furthermore, **Aspiration 1** is very mute, vague, unclear and unspecific on whether the child who enters school for the first time will be taught in his/her mother tongue. It follows that the use of indigenous African languages should be given serious consideration if education on the continent is to contribute to the social, economic and political transformation that Africa needs so much (Bunyi, 1999: 337).

Consequently, several high-level meetings have been held with the aim of highlighting the importance of mother tongue education. A great deal of literature has been written on the subject by renowned scholars such as Bamgbose (1991), Bunyi (1999), Alexander (2010, 2011). Similarly, the topic has been the focus of discussion among policy makers, implementers and education authorities. Historically, colonial languages have, no doubt, occupied the most prominent position in formal education in Africa (Bunyi, 1999: 339).

This reality has been allowed by the political leadership on the continent despite the unambiguous views held by many in relation to education in indigenous African languages. These views were emphatically expressed during the 1951 UNESCO Experts Meeting (Bunyi, 1999). Indeed, participants at that meeting clearly reiterated that:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally,

> he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. (UNESCO, 1953: 11)

Despite this sound policy statement made in 1953, the reality however is that, to date, this ambitious statement is yet to be implemented in practical terms. Once again, this state of affairs suggests that African languages have become orphans of the education system in Africa. Further, what is striking is that the process of development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages, on a whole, has been very disappointing. What is even more disappointing is that, during several of these important meetings and the ensuing declarations made by Pan-African institutions, a great deal of sincere intentions and statements that are unlikely to be fulfilled have been made, highlighting the importance of African languages in the social transformation and development of the continent. However, these nationalist sentiments pertaining to language and language of instruction policies are yet to be translated into practical terms (Prah, 2009: 159).

Having analysed and discussed **Aspiration 1**, the next step is to examine **Aspiration 5** which places an emphasis on a robust cultural identity, common cultural heritage, values and ethics. To this extent, item 42 under **Aspiration 5** states that:

> Pan-African ideals will be fully embedded in all school curriculum and Pan-African cultural assets (heritage, folklore, languages, films, music, theatre, literature, festivals, religions and spirituality) will be enhanced. The African creative arts and industries will be celebrated throughout the continent, as well as, in the diaspora and contribute significantly to self-awareness, well-being and prosperity, and to world culture and heritage. African languages will be the basis for administration and integration. African values of family, community, hard work, merit, mutual respect and social cohesion will be firmly entrenched (Agenda 2063 : 7).[32]

[32] See Agenda 2063 p7.

Item 44 under the same **Aspiration 5** further states that "Culture, heritage and a common identity and destiny will be the centre of all our strategies to facilitate a Pan-African approach and the African Renaissance" (Agenda 2063 : 7).[33]

Even though both Items 42 and 44 refer, in broad terms, to 'cultural assets', culture, heritage and common identity', which obviously encompasslanguage, theydo not make specific reference to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in all domains of society as clearly stated in both 1986 and 2006 LPAA (See Appendix A).

Furthermore, **Item 42** under **Aspiration 5** specifically state that indigenous African languages will provide the basis for administration and integration. What it these provisions to not highlight are the steps that will be taken to realise this invaluable goal, since African languages cannot play this role overnight if they have not been assigned this role in the first place. As Nyati-Saleshando (2015) notes, the African Union Commission shares the same aspirations as the European Commission regarding the creation of a multilingual and multicultural continent. To this extent, policies and programmes such as Agenda 2063, the Language Plan of Action and policy guidelines for integration African cultures into the education system are, among other things, evidence of the commitment of the commission towards the realisation of this dream. However, the implementation of all these programmes and programmes remains problematic. The political elites of the continent should therefore decide on what they can do in practical terms, beyond mere political statements, to project a positive image about the effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains in society (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015: 7).

5.4. Linguistic landscape of Africa

It has been estimated that, in Africa, there are between 1250 and 2100 languages that are concentrated in an area between Senegal in the west and Ethiopia in the east around what is now known as the 'Fragmentation Belt'(UNESCO, 2006: 28).[34] A discussion of the linguistic landscape of Africa in this section is necessary for two main reasons. First, because it helps understandsome of the the reason(s) why some African countries were not eager to adopt

[33] Agenda 2063 p8.
[34] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p28.

comprehensive language policies while they adopted certain measures as policies which have been amended again and again (UNESCO, 2006: 20).[35] Second, the provision of the linguistic landscape is then justified and guided by the recognition of the Experts Meeting that:

> After managing multilingualism for centuries prior to the colonial era, the management of the linguistic landscape became a major problem which confronted the new leaders of the post-independence era, no doubt partly because of the artificial borders and different colonial languages that have been imposed over them mainly by the British, French and Portuguese as they carved out territories for themselves and established their own spheres of influence (UNESCO, 2006: 20).[36]

Furthermore, the Experts meeting clearly indicated that there exists in Africa different typologies both for language situations and for language policies. Regarding language situations, the typology is presented as follows:

(1) Nations with one African language spoken by the vast majority of the population: (a) as a mother tongue such as Somalia (language: Somali), Lesotho (Sesotho), Rwanda (Kinyarwanda), Swaziland (SiSwati), Burundi (Kirundi), Botswana (Setswana); or (b) as a lingua franca, such as Kenya and Tanzania (Kiswahili), the Central African Republic (Sango), Mali (Bambara), Senegal (Wolof), Sudan (Arabic) and Ethiopia (Amharic);

(2) Nations having a predominant African language, such as Ghana (Akan-Twi), Burkina Faso (More/Mosi), Niger (Hausa), Zimbabwe (Shona), Togo (Ewe), Benin (Ge) and Malawi (Chichewa);

(3) Nations with several dominant African languages in competition, such as Nigeria (Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo), Sierra Leone (Temne, Mende) and Zaire (Kikongo, Lingala, Chiluba, Kiswahili/Kingwana);

(4) Nations having no predominant African language, such as Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire and Mozambique.

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[35] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p20.

[36] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p20

In the light of the above, the typology of current language policies may be categorised as follows:

(1) Countries which consciously promote one language: (a) exoglossic, as in the case of Francophone countries (excluding Zaire); Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau (Portuguese); Liberia (English); and (b) endoglossic, as in the case of Tanzania (kiSwahili), Ethiopia (Amharic), Somalia (Somali) and the Central African Republic (Sango);

(2) (a) Countries having an exoglossic language but with developing endoglossic tendencies: Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Burundi, Rwanda, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and the Central African Republic (all except Uganda with one African language being promoted at national level); (b) countries having an exoglossic language with more than one African language being promoted: Nigeria, Guinea and Zaire;

(3) Countries with an exoglossic language policy but using indigenous languages in some areas (e.g. first years of primary education, limited local language press and the law courts): Zambia, Zimbabwe and Sierra Leone (UNESCO, 2006: 28-30).[37]

In addition to the different typologies both for language situations and language policies listed above, the latest issue of the *Ethnologue* (Banda, 2009) is provided to help understand the prevailing linguistic situation of some selected countries of Africa to: (1) highlight the linguistic paradox or contradiction, particularly regarding the implementation or lack thereof of the OAU/AU LPAAs, the purpose of which is to develop and promote effective use of indigenous African languages, and (2) to stress the unequal relationship between colonial and indigenous African languages, which, to some extent, has contributed to the poor implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs.

Therefore, the selected countries together with their listed national languages are as follows:

- **Angola**: One official language (Portuguese); seven national languages; 42 listed languages (41 living, one extinct).
- **Botswana**: Two national/official languages (English and Tswana); 28 listed languages.

[37] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p28-30.

- **Cameroon**: Two official languages (French and English); 230 or 286 listed languages/dialects.
- **Democratic Republic of Congo**: Five national/official languages (Koongo, Lingala, Luba-Kasai, Congo kiSwahili, French); 254 listed languages.
- **Kenya**: Two official languages (English and kiSwahili); 61 listed languages.
- **Malawi:** One official language (English); two national languages (Chichewa and Tumbuka); 14 listed languages.
- **Mozambique**: One official language (Portuguese); 43 listed languages.
- **Namibia:** One official language (English); 13 indigenous national languages; 28 listed languages.
- **Nigeria:** Ten national/official languages (English plus nine African languages); 521 listed languages (510 living, nine extinct; the status of the other two languages is not stated possibly because *Ethnologue* could not verify whether the languages are extinct or not).
- **South Africa**: Eleven official languages (English plus 10 African languages – or, if one does not regard Afrikaans as an African language - then English, Afrikaans and nine African languages); 31 listed languages (24 living, four extinct; the status of the other three languages is not stated, perhaps for the reason given above).
- **Tanzania**: Two national/official languages (kiSwahili and English); 128 listed languages (127 living, one extinct).
- **Zambia**: One official language (English); seven national languages; 72 listed languages/dialects.

The linguistic situation in southern Africa is added purposely to prove that there is a power relation at play regarding the unequal distribution of language in that part of the continent (Banda, 2009).

However, regardless of the different typologies both for language situations and for language policies, which are all based on specific linguistic contexts and situations, very little success, if

any, has been achieved with respect to the development and promotion of effective use of non-colonial languages. For example, in Tanzania, the language of the 'colonial power' "enabled a member of the educated elite to state his case in the international arena; kiSwahili restricted one to the local '*baraza*'; English symbolized power; kiSwahili connoted dependence" (Whiteley, 1971: 145).

5.5. Some factors contributing to the devaluation of Africa's cultural and linguistic wealth

Several factors have contributed to the devaluation of the continent's cultural and linguistic wealth. One of the main factors is the negative attitudes that Africans themselves have developed to their own indigenous languages (Bamgbose, 1999: 13). As indicated by participant 39: *"I believe that Africans are not confident in their own languages because of what colonialism made them believe about these languages. We need to change all this and also ensure that we empower our own languages. Then we can write our own narrative, we have to tell our story the way we know it"* (lines 88-96).

To some extent, these negative attitudes result from the fact that the political elites are not foreigners but sons and daughters of the land. It is surprising that these agents of modern African history, with the exception of a handful, are determined to maintain or perpetuate the *status quo ante* (UNESCO, 2006: 9).[38]

The second most important factor is what Bunyi (1999) calls the relentless efforts made at legitimising and overvaluing imperial languages, leading to the delegitimisation and devaluation of indigenous African languages (1999: 350).

To understand the underlying causes of the devaluation and suppression of the rich cultural heritage of Africa, it will be important to analyse these causes from three main perspectives, namely:

[38] See Introduction to UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p9.

- Self-exaltation on the part of the dominant group which creates an idealistic image of itself;
- The devaluation of the dominated group and the suppression of its culture, institutions, lifestyles and ideas; and
- Systematic rationalisation of the relationship between both groups, always favourable to the dominant group (Preiswerk, 1980, cited in Phillipson 1992: 38).

However, the most important of the three perspectives which fits the purposes of this study is the second approach. The choice of this perspective is dictated by the fact that it describes better the current devaluation and suppression of Africa's rich cultural and linguistic heritage.

The discussion of this perspective entails therefore focusing on two important concepts pertaining to the topic of the discussion, namely, "[t]wo of the central labels in colonialist cultural mythology", particularly "*tribe* and *dialect*" (Phillipson, 1992: 38). Both concepts were chosen because these are said to belong to an 'essentially racist ideology' and conceptualise therefore the manner in which the colonialist sets himself apart from the colonised (dominated group) and stigmatises them (Phillipson, 1992 :38).

Regarding the devaluation of indigenous African languages, the racist ideology would mean that colonialists constitute a 'nation' which possesses a language and a culture, while the others (colonised) are better described as tribes with dialects (Phillipson, 1992: 38). It can further be argued that the implied inferiority of indigenous African languages has contributed significantly to the racialised view about how suitable these languages are to education (Mchombo, 2014: 29). To this extent, the categorisation, i.e., tribe and dialect, was done without considering the rich cultural and linguistic diversity of Africa in general, and the various different typologies for language situations described above.

While it has been argued that "a dialect is never anything other than a defeated language, and a language is a dialect which has succeeded politically" (Calvet, 1974: 54, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 39), it was however not surprising that this categorisation engendered several reactions such as the following:

> One might further ask what a tribe is. There was a time when the word possessed scientific content, when it characterized social formations that did not possess a state structure — the communal, classless societies, as for example, the Germanic tribes. Today, however, every single ethnic group in Africa is referred to as a tribe regardless of the nature of its social development. Therefore, what is it that makes two million Norwegians a people and just as many Baganda a tribe? A few hundred Icelanders a people and fourteen million Hausa-Fulanis a tribe? There is only one explanation: racism. (Mamdani, 1976: 3, cited in Phillipson, 1992: 38-39)

The issue arises therefore whether serious considerations were given to the criteria used in the categorisation referred to above. Since languages, culture and most importantly the societies to which they belong are never static but dynamic, concepts can be resuscitated and redefined (Phillipson, 1992: 39).

It follows that the terms 'tribes and dialects' or 'tribes with dialects' may also have to be revisited and 'redefined'. For example, the "indigenous North Americans" who decided to break away from the racist tag 'Red Indians' and with its racist connotations, and now proudly refer to themselves as "native American peoples" (Phillipson, 1992: 39). Should the review and redefinition not be possible, for one reason or another and the use of the tag 'tribe' be continued, there would therefore be a need to purge it of all the myths and overtones it suggests (Philippson, 1992: 40).

5.6. Approaches to language by colonial powers

Former colonial powers, namely, the British, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards, used different approaches to language policies and language use in their former respective colonies. For example, the "British were interested in their country's (and their own) profits and advantages, and they realized that this was achieved best by dealing with and involving the local population – to a certain degree" (Schneider, 2011: 340-341). To this extent, the British policy clearly spelt out what has been termed "Lord Lugard's indirect rule" policy, which consisted of using indigenous power structures to serve the best interests of Britain.

For the British, "Anglicizing their colonies linguistically or culturally" was not the primary focus. Rather, the British focused on their 'superiority' over the indigenous populations and succeeded

in keeping a degree of 'social distance' between them and the indigenous elites in their former colonies" (Schneider, 2011: 340-341). Unlike the French and the Portuguese whose main preoccupation was to ensure the assimilation of a handful of Africans into French and Portuguese culture and therefore did not teach African languages, British colonialism implemented separatist policies (Bunyi, 1999: 341).

The British encouraged the teaching of and through indigenous African languages in their former colonies (Bamgbose, 1991; Spencer, 1974, cited in Bunyi, 1999: 341). In practical terms, the British approach was different from the approaches used by the French, the Portuguese and the Spaniards for many reasons, among which were the fact that the British settlers recognised that Africans represented a source of cheap manual labour, and as a result they were of the view that if Africans should be educated, then this education should be labour oriented using indigenous African languages (Bunyi, 1999: 341).

Furthermore, in Africa, the English tolerated native languages but were not willing to accept speakers as equals socially. Conversely, the French were eager to accept natives of all colours into the French community on condition that they abandoned their identity and learned the French language (Haugen, 1985: 11).

Concerning the Spaniards, their primary interest was exploitation coupled with a zeal for missionary work. For their part, the French did not exclude direct contact with the indigenous peoples as a means of achieving the widespread teaching of their language (Schneider, 2011: 340). Consequently, teaching in former French colonies was carried out solely in French with the primary aim of assimilation, but also with universalistic and humanistic goals (Leconte, 2010: 1). Furthermore, this policy of teaching exclusively in French was coupled with a policy aimed at devaluing indigenous African languages which are often referred to as dialects or *patois* (Leconte, 2010).

What really differentiated the British, German and Belgian colonial masters from their French counterparts was that the British allowed indigenous African languages to occupy a bigger space in the education systems in Africa (Leconte, 2010: 1) than the latter (French).

Other racially loaded concepts and words used in devaluing and undermining the rich cultural and linguistic legacy of the continent are, among others, *patois*, vernacular, lingua franca, some of which are defined below.

5.7. Dialects or patois

Regarding colonisation by the French, all Black languages had no value and had to be distinguished from the French language which was assigned a civilisation mission or assignment (*mission civilisatrice*) (Phillipson, 1992). The French pursued a policy that ensured the assimilation of the elites to the French language and its civilisation (Skattum, 2009: 173). From the French perspective, all African languages were labelled dialects or *patois* in the colonial discourse (Calvet, 1974: 51 and 1979: 127, cited in Phillipson 1992: 39). While a dialect is further referred to as "a language variety which differs from others in certain aspects, vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation dialects (of a given language) are often distinguished from separate languages on the basis that they are, unlike the latter, mutually intelligible" (Edwards, 1989: 75).

5.8. Vernacular

This term comes from Latin and is used to mean something that is homebred, homegrown or homemade, compared to what has been obtained through a formal exchange (Phillipson, 1992: 40). The term has evolved significantly and is being currently used in the technical sense of the term and in ordinary discourse (Phillipson, 1992: 40). A vernacular is therefore regarded as a non-standard language developed by a particular speech community compared to what is regarded as a supposed much more cultured and standard language such as English, French or German. From a colonial perspective, it is understandable why "[t]he vernaculars do not have the urgency that a national language demands in the affairs of a nation. Even now, after more than a decade of their use in the schools, their value is still being questioned in some quarters" (Sibayan, 1971: 124).

While UNESCO treats a vernacular as a language that represents the mother tongue of a group which is dominated socially and politically by another group of speakers of a different language a language of a minority in one country is not considered as a vernacular if is an official language used in another country (UNESCO, 1953: 46). It is however unclear, from the definition above, what criteria are used by UNESCO in the definition of the term vernacular. Nevertheless, it helps

to understand further why recognising the value of the local languages in the life of people takes a great deal of time to materialise (Sibayan, 1971: 124).

5.9. Indigenous languages

This term was developed and used by powerful and prestigious groups (mostly colonisers) in relation to those who are less powerful, namely the natives (Shohamy, 2006). The so-called powerful groups - labelled indigenous languages - were already in use in former colonies before the colonialists came into contact with the local populations through colonisation (Shohamy, 2006). The development and use of this term resulted from the unequal power relations existing between the colonial powers and the colonised as illustrated by the French colonisation in Africa:

> French is everywhere the so-called 'high' language, which means it has prestige and is used for formal functions (government, parliament, public service, education, the media, literature, and often religious service), while the African languages are the so-called 'low' languages with less or no prestige, used for informal, daily functions (family, friends, etc.) (Skattum, 2009: 173).

5.10. Lingua franca

The roots of the term *lingua franca* can be traced as far back as the Middle Ages where it was treated as a blend of features of different languages (Van Els, 2001: 343-344). The term was used by sailors at the time to interact with people who were not versed in the language they spoke.

Lingua franca is regarded as a medium of communication internationally (Van Els, 2001: 344). The former colonial languages such as English and French were at the top of the linguistic echelon, with *patois* or vernaculars at the bottom. Lingua franca was limited to dominant African languages (Phillipson, 1992: 41). A practical example of a '*lingua franca'* with an indigenous root is kiSwahili in Tanzania (Kelman, 1971: 43). The term has however evolved and is currently used to refer to dominant international languages, i.e., former colonial languages such as English which is considered as the lingua franca of international scientific communication (Phillipson, 1992: 41).

To this extent, *lingua franca* means an international language (Van Els, 2001: 344). This may explain why colonial languages, particularly English, seems to be the dominant language internationally and is gradually becoming the lingua franca of the international community to the

detriment of indigenous African languages. Today, English acts primarily as a lingua franca among people who are multilingual (Kirkpatrick, 2013: 13). This state of affairs suggests a new order starting even from among former colonial languages down to indigenous African languages.

The labelling of African languages as indigenous, vernaculars and *patois* was strategic and done for specific purposes, among which are power and - most importantly - political purposes, resulting from the devaluation of indigenous African languages. Political factors contributed to the categorisation of languages as 'dialects' or 'languages', and is, no doubt, because of the hegemonic power of groups to perpetuate and control their own varieties (Shohamy, 2006: 16).

Conclusion

Chapter five critically analysed the OAU/AU's LPAAs, particularly in relation to the Agenda 2063, the New Vision of the AU for Africa, which - even though it acknowledges the importance of language and culture (see **Aspiration 1 and Aspiration 5**) - remains very vague and unspecific about true development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. To this extent, it is unclear what Agenda 2063 is proposing in this regard.

The various typologies both for language situations and for language policies in selected regions of Africa provided in the second part of the chapter were aimed at: (1) highlighting the potential contributions of Agenda 2063 to the development and promotion of effective use of non-colonial languages as well as any policy contradictions or paradoxes therein; and (2) identifying clearly some of the underlying factors accounting for the devaluation of African languages and the failure of the leadership of the continent to promote the effective use of indigenous languages in all domains of society.

Chapter Six: Discussions of the main findings

Chapter six discusses the findings of the study, namely, the main themes which emerged during the process of data analysis, together with excerpts of the personal interviews and focus group discussions with participants. The discussion of the findings of the study is important so that meanings embedded in the themes that emerged during the process data of analysis could be unravelled.

The main themes and sub-themes (see Appendix C) with verbatim excerpts of interviews are used to illustrate them in order to make a story out of these findings, to establish similarities between the various themes, to suggest possible ways of addressing issues pertaining to language policy and language policy implementation across the continent in general, and in particular the reasons why the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs has not contributed to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages.

6.1. Discussions of the main findings

The analysis of the data gathered for this study generated several themes and sub-themes, which went through a process of refinement before these were finally selected (see Appendices C and D).

The key themes of the study are, among other things, understanding the general context and perspectives of the promotion and development of indigenous african languages; diversion from the original militant course; lack of proficiency of the masses of Africans in colonial languages; lack of political commitment on the part of the leadership of the continent; lack of coherent language policies at the national level; contradiction between policy statement and linguistic reality on the ground and disconnect between language and development.

These themes will be used to support my main argument that since the independence of most African countries about more than five decades ago, indigenous African languages have enjoyed a low status and privilege in major domains of society such as education, media, business, politics, etc., compared to colonial languages: English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Efforts have been made by successive governments across the continent to develop and promote the use of indigenous African languages in these domains. Among such initiatives, there have been a great deal of high level policy talks meetings organised both at national and continental levels,

during which policy makers and implementers, as Chimhundu remarks, have recycled the same issues but have achieved poor and unimpressive results in this regard (2015: 2; Bamgbose, 2011: 1). Further, the LPPA, which was adopted in 1986 and revised twenty years later, i.e., has not changed substantially the linguistic landscape in most African countries in particular, and at the continental level in general.

Against this background, the aim of the thesis is to investigate the following questions: 1) why the implementation of the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains of society and (2) what is Agenda 2063 and what isit proposing about the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages?

I decided to keep this number of themes inline withSaldana's (2009: 21) suggestion that in the context of a qualitative study, researchers should ensure that the final number of key themes or concepts are kept to a minimum in order to make the analysis of data as coherent as possible. However, there is no standardised way to achieve this.

In qualitative research, findings cannot be represented in an orderly series of graphs or statistics. Consequently, readers of the findings rely on researchers to make their stories well understood (White et al*.,* 2009). The main themes of this study are worth discussing in order that the rich experiences and perspectives shared by participants can be clearly understood in the discussions of these findings. Themes capture - in general - some important features of the data that are related to the study questions and often point, to some extent, to certain patterned responses or meaning that are embedded in the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 10).

What really does matter for the researcher with regard to themes in the context of analysis of particular data is that researchers should be able to determine what should be regarded as a pattern or a theme in the data or what amount or size of the data should be called a theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 10). What should represent a theme in the context of this study was mainly dependent on my value judgement about what I thought represented a theme across the entire data set. As Braun and Clarke (2006: 10) argue, the "keyness' of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures but in terms of whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question".

In the sections below, the themes and sub-themes are presented and discussed (see Appendix C) which are supported and illustrated with verbatim excerpts from the interviews and focus group discussions. The findings of the study are precise, concise and straight to the point since a great deal of literature has been written about the relevance and the crucial role indigenous African languages play in the development process of a nation. They further stress the need for African countries to formulate and implement comprehensive language policies.

6.1.2. Main theme 1: Understanding the general context and perspectives of the promotion and development of indigenous African languages

Understanding the general context and perspective of the promotion and development of indigenous African languages is important as it provides a precise and accurate background of the language policy of the African Union, particularly the continuous use and dominance of non-indigenous African languages. In other words, upon its inception in 1963, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now the African Union (AU), was originally meant to be a politically correct institution. The OAU opted for a number of working and official languages, as stipulated in Articles XXIV (2) and XXIX, respectively. In fact, Article XXIV (2) states that "the original instrument, done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States". On the other hand, Article XXIX stipulates that "the working languages of the Organisation and all its institutions shall be, if possible African languages, English and French".[39] Therefore, the key words in both articles, i.e., 'if possible' and 'African languages' are very important in understanding some of the concrete initiatives taken by the OAU/AU with respect to the actual development and promotion of indigenous African languages, including the adoption of the LPAA and later the establishment of ACALAN.

In this vein, from the onset, many participants pointed out the fact that as far back as 1963 and beyond several attempts were made by the founding Fathers of the OAU/AU to develop and promote the effective use of indigenous African languages in all domains of life in Africa. To

[39] See http://www.refworld.org

demonstrate their commitment, as illustrated by Participant 25: "*The Heads of State and Governments of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (or AU), also adopted the African Cultural Charter which required individual African countries to, among other things, elaborate a national cultural policy which will later be integrated into national cultural development plans into their overall socio- economic development programmes*" (lines 100-103).

There were further initiatives as indicated by Participant 30 as follows: "*There were initiatives such as the organisation of the three Pan-African Congresses, respectively in 2006, 2009 and 2012, as well as Conferences of Ministers of Culture which were held respectively in 2005, 2008, 2010 and 2012"* (lines 172-175). Among all the initiatives taken by the OAU/AU towards the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages, is the adoption of first LPAA in 1986, which was revised two decades later.

According to participants, both LPAAs are being referred to here, in an attempt to contribute to the understanding of the significance of what the OAU/AU has sought to achieve as far as the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages on the continent is concerned. The LPAAs are aimed, among other things, as indicated by Participant 16: *"To encourage each African Member State to elaborate a coherent and comprehensive language policy to effectively develop and promote indigenous African languages. This is a step in the right direction in ensuring that indigenous African languages finally play meaningful roles"* (lines 119-123). Participants further stressed the fact that the LPAAs were primarily aimed at, as Participant 5 put it, *"freeing the continent from domination and linguistic imperialism by promoting and developing indigenous African languages and by replacing the languages of colonial masters with African languages* (lines 200-202).

Participants were of the view that those in leadership positions on the continent should take the necessary measures to ensure that the majority of Africans who are not proficient in colonial languages finally rely on or use their own indigenous languages. It is against this background that the OAU/AU established the OAU-BIL which was later succeeded by the ACALAN, in order that the development and promotion of indigenous African languages should, as Participant 11 pointed out, "*be achieved as soon as possible*" (Lines 80-81). However, the issue arises as to whether this initiative has been effectively implemented.

This issue emerged during the analysis of the data and was underscored by participants who indicated the need for the leadership of the continent to adopt a new approach to the language question that will ensure the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in a very holistic manner in order that language policies and language policy talks can be translated into pragmatic and concrete actions on the ground. This is because there have been a great deal of policy talks, and it is high time that the ruling elites went beyond these mere policy talks in order that OAU/AU language agenda could be promoted and yield the desired results.

6.1.3. Main theme 2: Diversion from the original militant course

The successive political elites in Africa have diverted from the militant posture and course adopted by the forefathers of the OAU/AU who promoted the idea of a total liberation from linguistic imperialism through the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. This diversion is illustrated by the current LPLP of the OAU/AU which exposes some contradictions or paradoxes. In other words, it promotes and legitimates four colonial languages: English, French, Portuguese and Spanish, which are used in the running of the affairs of the continental organisation. This state of affairs undermines the widely spoken national languages in Africa which have largely assumed second-class status languages.

Accordingly, several participants expressed their reservation about the seriousness of purpose of the African Union, particularly its leadership with regard to the development and promotion of the effective use of African indigenous languages because as they noted, the OAU/AU made what Participant 22 referred to as: "*A dramatic shift from its original course it took since 1963"* (lines 180-181). Furthermore, as Participant 27 pointed out, "*The dramatic change occurred in 1997, at the Inter-Governmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, that is ten years after the adoption of the first LPAA*" (lines 45-46).

According to Participants, at the meeting which was held in Harare (Zimbabwe), language experts as well as linguistic experts from across the continent recommended to African ministers of culture and education that African countries should have to accommodate colonial languages within their linguistic space given the fact that these countries have no option but to depend on colonial languages. The Experts stated that colonial languages, in particular, which have been imposed by the colonial administration, have become an integral part of the linguistic landscape of most African countries. Managing this situation in an effective manner will help avoid

potential conflicts between these languages and indigenous African languages (UNESCO, 2006). Such a statement is disappointing and should not have been made first, given the militant posture the OAU/AU adopted in the early days of independence. It reinforces the fact that the implementation of language policies at the level of OAU/AU in particular and at individual country level is a purely political decision, which the ruling elites across the continent are not eager to make.

In this regard, the ACALAN had to review its position with regard to freeing the continent from linguistic imperialism, as exemplified by Participant 1: "*Now this brought a lot of problems because in terms of advocacy, we do not want to go around and say that they are colonial languages, even though we know it as a fact that some of us have written about these things, but the fact of the matter is that Portuguese, French, English, Spanish in Africa, now we call them our languages, that is, African languages*" (lines 62-66). As a result of this new development, some participants expressed their concerns about what they considered a lack of seriousness of purpose of the African Union and its leadership concerning the implementation of policies on the continent in general, and the implementation of the OAU/AU LPAAs.

However, four participants supported the shift in focus, citing a couple of reasons. First, according these participants, under the current circumstances, the OAU/AU has no option but to embrace - and even promote - the use of colonial languages given the fact that the majority of African countries have failed to develop their own languages. Secondly, most African countries have not formulated their own language policies. In most cases, these language policies exist on paper, are often inherited from the colonial administration, and therefore written in colonial languages, and remain on a whole unimplemented.

According to the participants, the importance and role of indigenous African languages have been enshrined in the national constitutions of most countries across the majority of African countries. Therefore, the implementation of language policies has always suffered from lack of strong political will and commitment. Finally, according to the participants, because the world is increasingly becoming a global village, indigenous African languages are currently not developed and adequately prepared to play any meaningful in the international marketplace. Further, colonial languages have become international lingua francas. Hence, they must be used until such

a time that indigenous African languages can effectively play major roles in high domains in society.

Participants then acknowledged the fact that although both LPAAs of the OAU/AU outline the right policies needed to ensure effective promotion of the OAU/AU's language agenda, their implementation has however been disappointing because the determination and enthusiasm demonstrated by the founding Fathers of the OAU/AU to free the continent from 'linguistic imperialism' has not been materialised.

In this vein, from the perspective of the ACALAN, the term partner languages is gradually being preferred to colonial languages because it is believed that indigenous African languages and former colonial languages are in some kind of partnership: they work together and ultimately are expected to share the same linguistic space. Therefore, ACALAN calls for linguistic equity and parity in the use of languages"[40].

It was not surprising that one of the salient points from the Session on the Language Plan of Action for Africa at the PACC4 stressed the fact that "Africa should strive for linguistic equity rather that liberation from linguistic imperialism in order to catalyse acceleration of indigenous languages that have remained on the periphery of the development agenda" (African Union, 2015:10).

Some participants in the study described the change in focus as a setback and indicated that it has resulted in the adoption of a softer stance by the OAU/AU, compared to the militant approach adopted by the Founding Fathers of the OAU/AU, at the inception of the OAU in 1963, and subsequently by the OAU-BIL.

It is important for the OAU/AU to promote its own language agenda and make this happen because it originally set aside indigenous African languages from the colonial languages, namely, English, French, Portuguese and Spanish, which were regarded as the languages of the colonial masters, or to be politically correct the language of imperialism. However, the OAU/AU's failure

[40] https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/C413%20Juba%20Publication_FINAL_WEB%20ONLY%20v3.pdf [Accessed 15 May 2017]: p27

to liberate the continent from linguistic imperialism has encouraged the expansion of colonial languages on the continent, relegating indigenous African languages to the background.

The shift from the main course by the OAU/AU has several implications. The first and most obvious implication, as Participant 3 indicated, is that *"The overdependence of Africa on the languages of the former colonial masters will sign the death certificate of indigenous African languages, some of which are already facing serious extinction and disappearance"* (Lines 16-17).

There are other implications which are political, economic and socio-cultural. For example, the possibility of the OAU/AU implementing its ambitious Language Plan of Action becomes quite elusive, at least for the meantime. Hence, African countries will perpetuate the use of colonial language. However, if the leadership of the continent intends to adopt a strategy to counteract the continued dependence of Africa on colonial languages, then the implementation of the ambitious proposal of the leadership of the ACALAN on the identification and promotion of a certain number of vehicular cross-border languages among the 2200 languages spoken across the continent, for the purposes of regional and continental integration (Batibo, 2015), would have to be accelerated.

If the political elites of the continent fail to adopt a coherent strategy to counteract the continued use of non-indigenous African languages, at the political level, for example, the majority of African citizens are excluded from the political discourse as they are unable to participate directly in the decision-making and implementation processes in their respective countries. In most cases, these citizens are only used by politicians to oil their electoral machinery to win votes. At the continental level (the OAU/AU level) where all decisions are taken and implemented by a handful of politicians in the working and official languages of the organisation - which are English, French, Spanish and Portuguese – decisions are taken without consulting the same African citizens in whose interests they are supposed to be working. Paradoxically, the ruling elites and language policy-makers and implementers as well languages experts have repeatedly underscored the crucial role of language in the development process of any country. They even go further to stress that, whether they themselves believe it or not that, Agenda 2063, the new Vision of the continent, *The Africa We Want!* promotes what they call a 'People-centred African Union' (see Agenda 2063).

The picture remains the same economically where again major economic decisions are taken without considering the economic circumstances or realities of the majority of African countries. In fact, major economic decisions taken by the ruling elites of the continent are essentially to please the international financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to achieve economic growth (macroeconomic indicators), rather than true development that is focused on people and that is delivered in the languages the people understand best. As a result, the majority of Africans are unable to play any meaningful roles in the mainstream economic activities of their respective countries but must engage in several activities in the informal sector of their national economies.

At the socio-cultural level, the linguistic shift to colonial languages has resulted in a lack of confidence of Africans themselves in their own languages and cultures to the extent that they despairingly referred to their own cultured as outmoded cultures or simply vernaculars. There is therefore a shift towards the western cultures and ways of life.

Furthermore, the OAU/AU's change in focus will, no doubt, lead to a gradual move towards what has been referred to by participants as the 'indigenization' of colonial languages. This will simply mean that Africans will have to adopt colonial languages while ensuring at the same time that these languages are blended with local content that truly takes into account the cultural diversity, circumstances or realities of the continent, just as Brazil has indigenised Portuguese, Haiti the French language and the USA the English language (Batibo, 2015).

6.1.4. Main theme no 3: Lack of proficiency of the masses of Africans in colonial languages

It is a well known fact that the masses of Africans lack of proficiency in colonial languages, making it impossible for the elites to communicate adequately with the greater majority of Africans. Paradoxically, the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs were drafted and being implemented in the language of the colonial master in which the greater majority of Africans have no command of. This, with no doubt, has far-reaching consequences, some of which are political, economic and socio-cultural for individual Member States in particular, and for the continent as a whole.

In this respect, participants were concerned about the fact that the masses of the people of Africa, which form about 80% of the population in Africa, are not literate in the colonial languages, as illustrated by Participant 16 as follows: "*You know that most of us do not speak such languages. We do not even love or cry in those languages"* (lines 201-202). It has been estimated that about 20% or less of the total population of the continent is proficient in colonial languages. The way the language question is handled by policy makers, language practitioners, language experts as well as politicians is not significant, especially because they pretend to be unaware of the linguistic reality highlighted above. Furthermore, these same politicians seem to be ignoring the fact that the use of African languages is a prerequisite for the political and socio-economic development of individual countries as well as the survival of cultures at each individual country level in general and at the continental level.

Participants indicated that, across the continent, the implementation of coherent language policies, especially the OAU/AU's LPAA has not changed the linguistic reality of the continent a great deal. This state of affairs was further exemplified by participants who indicated that owing to their lack of proficiency in colonial languages, the majority of Africans are not given the opportunity to be fully associated with the formulation and implementation of the LPAA, and, to a large extent, in the development programmes and projects carried out across the continent. Those at the helm of affairs at the OAU/AU do acknowledge the fact that development and culture are intertwined and can therefore not be separated from each other (African Union, 2015).

If African countries resort to the almost exclusive use of former colonial languages as a medium of instruction and for running their national affairs, majority of Africans will be excluded from the main political, socio-economic and cultural mainstream activities.

Many participants pointed out that politicians are deliberately choosing not to demonstrate any strong political commitment towards effective development and the use of indigenous languages. For example, in many countries, in the run-up to elections, most politicians campaign in local languages for what Participant 1 called "*Political expediency" (line 3*). In this regard, according to Participant 30, "*Most politicians would insist on coming to address you in your local language. After you have given them your vote, they abandon you and that is it*" (lines 21-23). Participant 31 went further to indicate that in Africa, "*Language implementation has not been made a voting*

issue in Africa, that is why politicians have always come out with these policies, but they do not implement them" (lines 31-33).

Even if the language question is or has been made a voting issue in Africa, it is unsure whether the linguistic reality will have been different across the continent. This is because across the continent pertinent issues pertaining to development, namely health, education, or even basic amenities such as potable water, housing and electricity have been paid lip service to and are not receiving the necessary attention. Therefore, to what extent will politicians have accorded more seriousness to issues pertaining to language policy-making and implementation if they are not even focusing much of their attention on high-priority development issues such as the ones mentioned above?

6.1.5. Main theme no 4: Lack of genuine political will on the part of the OAU/AU

Across the Continent, policy makers and implementers and the political elites talk a great deal about how important and pertinent policies are but achieve very little on the ground when it comes to implementation. This explains why most policies, no matter how pertinent they are, cannot be implemented because of the issue of lack of political will on the part of the political elite. Deliberate action and sometimes political will is what is need to prioritise language policy issues (Bamgbose, 2011: 6). Political courage and will are what most of the political elites on the continentlack, unfortunately. To some extent, this state of affairs has contributed to the slow space of development of the continent as a whole.

One of the major issues confronting the continent, according to participants, is what they refer to as lack of a strong political will that the continent needs to advance the implementation of not only language policies in general, but also other policies. As Participant 5 indicated, "*We have very good policies on paper but most of them are not implemented simply because our politicians are not serious*" (lines 45-47). Participant 16 wondered, *"Why did we have to work so hard to produce a language policy which is now left somewhere?"* (lines-87-88); and Participant 1 indicated that "*The lack of political will is really a big issue. It is therefore a setback for the implementation of the language plan of action*" (lines 112-114).

From the perspective of Participant 3, "*Language policy implementation has never been an issue of linguists or language professionals. It has been and will always be a problem of politicians*"

(lines 104-105). Participant 14 emphasised that "*We then need genuine political will, which I think can never be overemphasised, I mean genuine political will*" (lines 223-224), and Participant 2 added that: "*We can just say that politicians are comfortable with the status quo they have maintained"* (lines 79-80).

The issue arising from the various perspectives is how to make the ruling elites of African states demonstrate a strong political will and commitment towards effective development and implementation of language policies across the continent. In this context, a linguistic and cultural revolution should be launched to raise more awareness or sensitise political authorities to the need for indigenous African languages to be developed and used to replace colonial languages in major domains of society. However, even if this cultural revolution is launched, it is difficult to anticipate how effective it will be or the extent of its impact, given the fact that language implementation issues are not currently high on the political agenda of Continent.

6.1.6. Main theme no 5: Lack of coherent language policies at national level

Proper language planning must aim at ensuring that all languages in Africa, without an exception, are accorded a recognised status and are allowed to play given roles in major domains. Ironically, in Africa, the process of planning in general, particularly processes of language planning are flawed. Hence there are so many defective language policies (Bamgbose, 2011: 6) in most African countries. This is also reflected at the level of the continental body.

Consequently, the implementation of the language policy of the OAU/AU or lack thereof is, according to participants, faced with a lot of challenges, because as Participant 29 indicated, "*Very few countries in Africa have clearly defined language policies, so that was noticed*" (lines 80-81). To this extent, Participant 9 indicated emphatically that, "*We have to be realistic: how can you implement a language policy at the continental level if we do not have one at the national level*?" (lines 31-33).

The issue of a lack of coherent language policy at the national level was further exemplified by Participant 18 as follows: "*African leaders must ensure that the major languages are empowered through the formulation and implementation of coherent policies nationally, and that their citizens are literate in them, then we can talk of empowering them at the continental level, else we will not get anywhere*" (lines 233-236).

Africa is, no doubt, a highly multilingual continent with complex linguistic realities. Therefore, the choice of specific languages to be accorded a status of national, working or official languages from this rich and diverse linguistic repertoire becomes quite a challenging task to language policy makers and implementers, politicians, language experts. However, regardless of this complexity, adequate measures should be put in place to manage these complex linguistic realities of individual African countries more effectively. This calls not only for the formulation of clearly spelt-out language policies that take care of the complex linguistic realities of each individual country, but are also implemented in the language the majority of Africans understand. By so doing, this will ensure their full participation in the development process of their countries, and in world affairs at large.

It is quite difficult to understand why the ruling political elites want 'to reinvent the wheel' whereas there are several policy options, among which are the five main language policy options available to African countries in managing adequately the great number of indigenous languages across the continent (see pp 78-80).

6.1.7. Main theme no 6: Lack of implementation of coherent language policies at national level

The inexistence or lack of proper language policies in most African countries is the direct result of a lack of commitment to language planning. As a result,in Africa, there are lots of policy failures, across the board, particularly with respect to language due to lack of implementation of coherent policies at the national level. Yet the political elites have acknowledged the essential role indigenous African languages play in the lives of Africans.

Concerning this critical issue of implementation of language policies, participants indicated that in Africa, there has always been a sharp contradiction between policy statement and linguistic reality on the ground. As Participant 12 indicated, "*This situation has persisted for far too long, and it needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency*" (lines 14-15), while Participant 21 stated that "*What is happening precisely is that in Africa, politicians talk a lot, and do achieve very little*" (lines 70-71). According to Participant 16, "*These politicians will never do what they promise to do. They will never do that, they do not do it anyway because they do not want to*" (lines 81-82). These perspectives are reinforced by Participant 9 as follows: "*You see, people will stand there and will promise everything in all areas and once they are in power they will not*

fulfil their promises, it is mere politics" (lines 234-235); and by Participant 29 who indicated that "*That is how politicians think about themselves*" (lines 60).

One issue that comes out clearly from the perspectives shared by participants is that, at this point, Africa does not need further policy talks and recommendations, but instead practical actions aimed at responding to the linguistic needs of the majority of Africans. In practical terms, language policy makers and implementers as well as the political elites should ensure that the language agenda of the OAU/AU is promoted effectively since it makes very little sense when language policies, development programmes and projects are pursued or implemented in languages that the beneficiary populations do not even have a mastery of. As indicated by participants, Africa does not want to rely on empty political rhetoric any longer. What counts for the continent now is for the ruling elites to make responsible statements that are backed by pragmatic actions on the ground.

6.1.8. Main theme no 7: Disconnect between language and development

There seems to be a real disconnect between language, namely language policy implementation and development in Africa. Yet, in Africa, most governments recognise, whether officially or otherwise, the important role that indigenous African languages play in the life of African nations. In this vein, most leaders have made various statements and signed declarations to demonstrate how committed they are to true development and promotion of indigenous African languages (Mtenje, 2009: 24). However, the reality on the ground is that the political elites have actually turned a blind eye on this pertinent nexus between language and development.

In this respect, some participants were of the view that one major issue which constitutes a major obstacle to the development of the continent is that the concept of development is based on economic growth, not on people. As illustrated by Participant 39, "*Development must be people-centred otherwise the continent will not get anywhere. This is only achievable if development is carried out in languages that the African people understand best* " (line 118). In this regard, Participant 8 asked the following question: "*So what are the prospects as far as the development of the continent is concerned? What are our prospects of developing indigenous African continent?* (lines 30-32). According to Participant 13, "*Agenda 2063 offers the Continent the opportunity to turn the situation around because it calls for a new approach to the development*

of the continent, an approach which is people-centred. The question is whether things will really change on the ground" (lines 127-129). Participant 13 further indicated that "*The language question has always been excluded from the development discourse on the continent. Paradoxically, politicians are fully aware that there cannot be a meaningful development if we do not make the empowerment of indigenous African languages our priority, because we cannot continue to use colonial in which the majority of our people are not proficient*" (lines 201-204).

The political elites in Africa, particularly those at the helm of affairs at the African Union, acknowledge the crucial role that languages play in the development process of any nation. However, what is unacceptable and paradoxical is that these same political elites are unwilling and reluctant to take bold decisions towards effective promotion of the language agenda of the OAU/AU. They seem to forget the fact that the continent cannot achieve true development if it does not commit to develop its local languages, because their growth is dependent on the overall development of individual countries in general and that of the Continent at large. Unless there is a total paradigm shift, the promotion of indigenous African languages is not going to materialise soon, at least in the next foreseeable future.

6.1.9. Main theme no 8: Major issues pertaining to language policy implementation on the continent

Upon the inception of the OAU/AU in 1963, there have been several initiatives aimed at empowering indigenous African languages in major domains of society. Regardless all these initiatives, colonial languages still dominate the linguistic landscape of the majority of African countries. It is fair to ask why there has been a status quo since then and why all these initiatives and efforts have not actually contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages? Several reasons account for this situation, namely historical, linguistic, economic and socio-political (Bamgbose, 2011: 1).

According to participants, a great deal of policy statements has been made and there is rich literature about the implementation or lack thereof of the OAU/AU's LPAA. Of particular interest, are the various policy statements and commitments made by the leadership of the continent towards the development and promotion of the effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains of society on the continent.

However, in the view of participants, regardless of the various commitments and policy statements made so far, progress is being made in this regard at a snail pace, as illustrated by Participant 22: "*One of the major problems encountered in the implementation of the language policy of the African Union is simply that most of our leaders are unfortunately so pro-West*" (lines 183-185). Participant 2 further reinforced this view and indicated that "*African leaders are the only people who do not want to support the promotion of their own languages*" (Line 100-101). According to Participant 38, "*We have also realised that there is a lack of political will, so how can we possibly develop or promote indigenous African languages in such circumstances?* (Lines 191-193). From the perspective of Participant 20, "*We are talking about formulating policies to develop and promote our indigenous languages, but how do we make all these things possible, if Africans themselves are not even confident in their own languages*?" (lines 216-219).

Furthermore, participants expressed the views that, regardless of the enthusiasm which greeted the adoption of the OAU/AU's LPAA and the subsequent establishment of the ACALAN, it was anticipated that the implementation process of the LPAA and the effective functioning of the institution will be faced with a lot of challenges, just as it happened in the case of the OAU-BIL. According to Participant 21, "*Africa needs a language policy that is relevant to the lives of the masses of Africans whom we know do not have proficiency in these colonial languages"* (lines 30-32). Participant 7 further noted that "*One of the failures of the leadership of the continent is its inability to develop and promote effective use of indigenous African languages. Paradoxically, it is these same languages that were used to reach out to the masses during the struggle for the liberation of Africa*" (lines 100-105).

The various perspectives shared by participants above were reinforced by Participant 28 as follows: "*The political elite is not demonstrating strong political will. You know, not much progress has been made with respect to the implementation of the Language Plan of action. It is quite disappointing to note that today we still talk about Francophone, Anglophone and Lusophone Africa when we have more than 80 per cent of the population which has no mastery of the language of the colonial languages*" (lines 230-37).

Participant 11 was of the view that "*The colonial system which was inherited by Africa has remained the same several years after the independence of the continent. The medium of education still remains the colonial languages. What is more disturbing is that our children are*

more fluent in these languages than in their own mother tongues" (lines 310-314). For Participant 32: "*Really, this state of affairs is largely due to a lack of strong political will on the part of the leadership of the continent regarding the language question*" (lines 220-221). As Participant 3 put it: "*It is high time we looked back and asked ourselves pertinent questions. It has been established that indigenous languages are indispensable in the development process of Africa. This is because Africans think, love and dream in their own local languages*" (lines 250-255).

Several factors account for the lack of implementation of language policies in Africa. First, most African elites serve the interests of western powers. For example, most of these elites were educated in the west and are ready and willing to perpetuate western policies in their respective countries. Secondly, these political elites themselves do not show any great deal of confidence in their own indigenous languages, even though they can conveniently speak them at political meetings and rallies with the sole intention of winning votes. The third reason arising from the second is that the lack of confidence by African leaders in local languages obviously affects the confidence of the citizenry who, in turn, do not feel proud of their languages either. That is why in some schools including tertiary institutions, students who are studying local languages are looked down upon. Unless those at the political elites demonstrate enough confidence in local languages, the status quo will remain. Fourth, if most African countries do not have their own language policies, they cannot be expected to promote their own local languages. Fifth, indigenous African languages do not have any substantial economic incentives associated with them such as jobs, prestige or clout. Unless economic incentives are added to local languages they will remain largely unattractive.

6.10.Main theme no 9: Treatment of indigenous African languages like dialects

Regardless of the fact that several initiatives and efforts have been made to empower indigenous African languages, and that the political elites on the Continent have acknowledged that indigenous African languages plays a crucial role in the development process of their respective countries, the status of indigenous African languages has not changed a great deal as most of these languages are still treated as mere dialects, and paradoxically non indigenous African languages enjoy high prestige and are used in almost all official domains of society. One of the

reasons that explain this state of affairs is that indigenous African languages are not adequately codified or described.

In this vein, according to Participant 27, "*The inability of the majority of African countries to promote their own local languages has rather raised the status and prestige of colonial languages, i.e., English, French, Spanish and Portuguese* (lines 209-211). Participant 16 indicated that: "*We know how important and crucial indigenous African languages are, especially for interaction among Africans and for the promotion of integration. So why are we still using other peoples' languages?"* (lines 27-30). Participant 36 pointed out the fact that: "*Very little can be said about when the political elites on the continent will truly make a commitment towards the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains* " (lines- 197-199).

The political elites on the continent have acknowledged that indigenous African languages play a crucial role in the development process of any nation. However, it is very disappointing that, to date, indigenous Afrifcan languages are still relegated to the background and treated as mere dialects, while colonial languages play major roles in all areas of life, particularly administration, media, politics and business. This state of affairs has persisted for a long time and has been, to a great extent, a stumbling block to the socio-economic development of the continent because development programmes and projects require the participation of all citizens.

However, to ensure the full participation of the citizenry, they need to be educated adequately, and this education should be done in languages they understand best. If these same languages are belittled, chances are that they may not even be used as media of education of the masses. Therefore, the process of development will not be inclusive or participatory if the majority of Africans are excluded from the same process.

6.10.1.Main theme no 10: Language, education and development are intertwined

It is a well known fact that across the globe there exists a nexus between language, education and development. In fact, empirical evidence has shown that language and development are intertwined. For example, in 1953, the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) showed that there are advantages a child can derive from acquiring knowledge in her/his mother tongue or home language when it is used as a medium of education. It follows

that, for any development process to be meaningful it must carried out in the language the beneficiaries understand best. Unfortunately, the political elites have failed to understand this relationship and to apply it appropriately, which is quite disturbing and disappointing.

In addition, there has been a debate in Post-Colonial Africa among linguists, politicians and educationists about the intrinsic link between language, development and education, which is based on empirical research. Subsequently, policy recommendations were made in this regard. As Participant 19 noted, "*When we look critically at the development process in Africa, we see that about eighty per cent of the population of Africa has been excluded from the process due to their lack of proficiency in colonial languages*" (lines 91-94). In this regard, Participant 6 wondered: "*Why are we all still talking of developing Africa, when it is a well-known fact that only between 15-20 percent of the population in Africa has a mastery of official languages inherited from the former colonial powers*" (lines 40-44). According to Participant 1, "*The language question and its links with education and development have been discussed at several high-level meetings. However, we all know that the masses of Africans, who have very little or no mastery at all of colonial languages, have been participating in the political as well as the development discourse*" (lines 300-305). Therefore, in the view of Participant 13: "*The real question we should ask ourselves as Africans, is whether we truly believe that there is a connection between language and education, and whether they are factors of development because we are not doing the right thing*" (lines 70- 72).

There is no doubt that there exists a nexus between language, education and development. For example, in 1953, the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) showed that there are advantages a child can derive from acquiring knowledge in her/his mother tongue or home language when it is used as a medium of education. This contributes to his academic progress (UNESCO 1953). There is almost a consensus among educationalists about the fact that children learn to read and write better at traditional primary-school age and in later life when they are taught in their mother tongues or in languages in which they are very fluent.[41] Regardless of

41 https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/sites/teacheng/files/C413%20Juba%20Publication_FINAL_WEB%20ONLY%20v3.pdf [Accessed 15 May 2017]: p71

the availability of this evidence-based information, the political leadership on the continent is wasting precious time and resources on how to find new means and ways of promoting the language agenda of the OAU/AU.

I have provided the model below to explain better why the nexus between language, education and development is sometimes ignored by policy makers, implementers and politicians.

Model of Development Communication regarding Language(s) and Education by Ekkehard Wolff

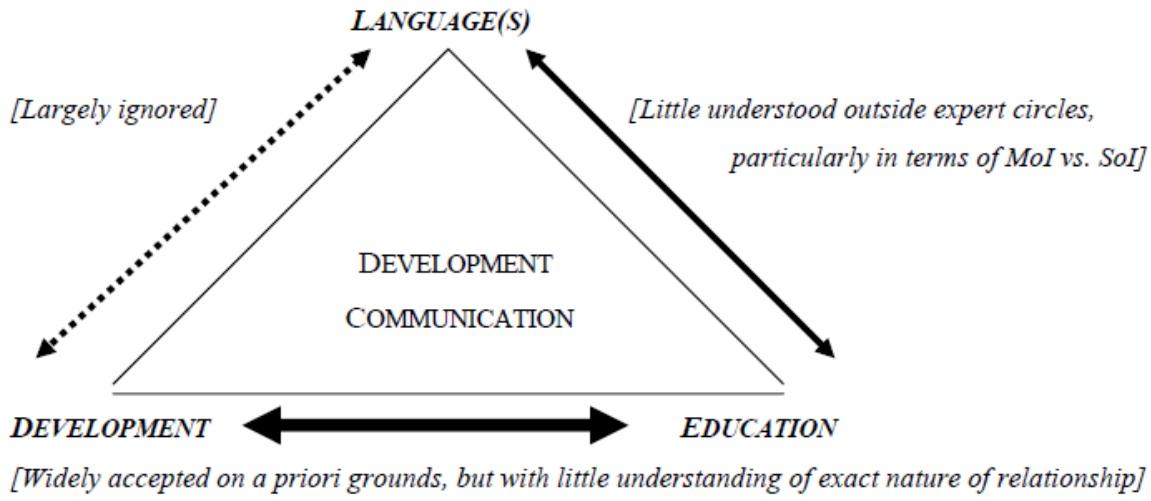

Fig. 2: Model of Development Communication regarding Language (s) and Education by E. Wolff[42]

It is unacceptable that the language question has been neglected for such a long time, and that the political elites did not deem it necessary to make it an integral part of the development process because colonial languages have been allowed to continue to enjoy an enviable status, to the extent that they are used in all spheres of life. It is high time policy makers and implementers, language experts, and most importantly the political elites acknowledged the fact that the continent cannot achieve any meaningful socio-economic development without the full and

[42] http://www.adeanet.org/adea/downloadcenter/Ouga/B3_1_MTBLE_en.pdf [Accessed 28 August 2017].

effective participation of all Africans. Rather than deliberately ignoring the nexus between language, education and development, the political elites should address the issue in a more responsible manner if they want to promote the OAU/AU language agenda effectively, which will help them approach development in a humane and more realistic manner. This is because those holding leadership positions are all aware that using indigenous African languages in all domains of society as indicated in both LPAAs, in the education sector, has a lot of advantages. For example, promoting effective use of indigenous African languages will help preserve local cultures, make education at primary level a little easier, and help prevent the linguistic and cultural alienation of the younger generation, among others (Lepage, 1964).

6.10.2. Main theme no 11: Cultural renaissance in Africa: A myth or a reality?

The continued use and dominance of colonial languages constitute one of the greatest threats to the existence and survival of indigenous African languages. Futhermore, the promotion of an exclusive English language policy would sign the death of indigenous African languages, and halt current efforts being made by some African governments to protect as many African languages as possible (Nyati-Saleshando, 2015:7). This situation is quite unfortunate given the fact that Africa is one of the most linguistically endowed continents. However, only through an actual cultural renaissance can Africa value, develop, promote effective use of indigenous African languages across the continent.

In this vein, from participants's perspectives, with more than 2000 languages, Africa is one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse continents. If harnessed properly, this diversity should be seen as an asset rather than an obstacle to its development. In this regard, according to Participant 35, "*Cultural Renaissance can only be possible if individual African countries attempt to identify the specific language policies, and how they would be implemented so that they would contribute to a meaningful realisation of the new Vision for Africa,*" (lines 38-42). Participant 8 further indicated that: "*African leaders, particularly those at the African Union must ask themselves what they can do to make the Cultural Renaissance a reality. And at the same time, each country must ensure that local languages are promoted effectively"* (lines 210-214). To this extent, Participant 12 noted that, "*The Cultural Renaissance of the continent is important because it will ensure the promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. This is the surest*

*way to encourage active participation of the majority of African in the development process of the continen*t" (lines 88-92).

The African Cultural Renaissance offers the continent a great deal of opportunity to rebrand its languages and cultures and accord them their rightful place. However, before this is translated into pragmatic actions, politicians should show some degree of commitment, seriousness of purpose and above all a strong political will, otherwise the cultural renaissance will become yet another empty political rhetoric.

6.10.3. Main theme no 12: Language and culture are powerful instruments for unity

There is no doubt that Africa's cultural and linguistic diversity is an asset rather than a problem. Unfortunately, this diversity is not being harnessed properly in order to be used as a powerful instrument for unity because for a number of reasons, language and culture have not been accorded their rightful places in the process of development of many African nations. This is because the political elites have again failed to acknowledge or seem to be forgetting the fact that language and culture play a central role in fostering unity among African citizens. What Africa needs therefore is to focus on what unites and makes her proud. Furthermore, culture is regarded as an essential tool of human heritage that has the potential and power to strengthen social cohesion (African Union, 2015: 6).

Consequently, from the perspectives of participants, language and culture are powerful tools for unity. They also play a central role in the development of nations. However, for various reasons, they have not been accorded their rightful places in the development process of most African countries. As Participant 11 indicated: "*African nations must endeavour to promote and support their national languages and cultures instead of foreign ones, if we want this continent to achieve true development*" (lines 255-257), while Participant 26 pointed out that, "*Language and culture are directly linked to every aspect of development. We need to ensure that they are empowered so that the majority of Africans can participate meaningfully to the development process of the continent*" (lines 101-104). In the view of Participant 31, "*... It is important for African Governments to implement coherent policies that promote our national cultures and languages. By so doing, we will therefore be dealing effectively with the invasion of Western cultures*" (lines 189-191). According to Participant 16, "*One of the biggest challenges facing the continent, as far*

its development is concerned, is its inability to effectively develop and promote indigenous African languages (lines-11-13). However, like other participants, participant 25 specifically expressed doubt and reservation about the seriousness and commitment of African leaders towards the development and promotion of African cultures and languages, as follows: "*I really think that the development and promotion of effective use of African languages is overdue. Why are we not promoting our languages and cultures? We cannot deny the fact that it is really through our cultures and languages that our national identity and values can be promoted*" (lines 87-92).

The AU Agenda 2063 promotes a united, integrated and peaceful Africa, while the leadership of the continent goes to the extent of indicating that the cultural diversity of the continent, its languages and religions will be a cause of strength (African Union, 2015). However, the political elites are unaware that before this unity is achieved across the continent, there is the need for indigenous African languages and cultures to be accorded their rightful places so that they can play meaningful roles since both languages and cultures have immense relevance to the political, socio-economic and cultural development of the continent.

6.10.4. Main theme no 13: A top-down approach used in the formulation and production of LPAA

A top-down approach was used in the formulation, production and implementation of the OAU/AU LPAAs. This approach is one of the main reasons why the implementation of the LPAAs has not contributed a great deal to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in major domains of society, namely education, media, politics, business. Actually, the drafters and implementers of the LPAAs ignored the linguistic needs of the masses of African. In this context, there is a pertinent reason for the political elites of the continent to develop and promote effective use of indigenous African languages in order to ensure effective participation of all Africans in the development process of their respective countries.

Participants expressed the fact that one of the biggest challenges to the successful implementation of the OAU/AU's Language Plan of Action was, according to Participant 25, that "*It was produced without engaging the majority of Africans at the grassroots level*" (line 94). Furthermore, Participant 31 pointed out that "*We are here asking ourselves what went wrong with*

the implementation of the language plan of action. But we cannot deny the fact that language policies which do not consider the needs of the masses of the people will certainly fail" (lines 15-18). For Participant 10, "*The Language plan of action was simply not accessible to the African masses because it was produced in a language in which these masses have no or very little proficiency*" (lines 118-121). Similarly, Participant 8 indicated that "*Things are not happening simply because this document is written in the language of the former colonial rulers*" (lines 76-77). Participant 32 added that: "*We have to realise the fact that democratising African societies literally means empowering African languages because for democracy to thrive on the continent, African States should promote the various local languages which are spoken by their respective populations to ensure their full participation during the democratic process*" (lines 158-162).

The top-down approach used in the formulation and implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs is one of the main reasons for the language policy failure of the Union. This is because those who drafted and were tasked with its implementation did not consider the linguistic needs of the masses of the people of Africa. Ideally, what they should have done was to consult Africans or their various constituencies in the process of formulation and implementation processes. Furthermore, follow-up activities as well as monitoring mechanisms should be put in place to ensure that the potential inputs of the masses of the people are considered in the implementation process. Unless the OAU/AU adopts a holistic approach to policy formulation and implementation that is people-centred, including the use of a bottom-up approach that is much more participatory, it will always obtain disappointing results.

6.10.5. Main theme no 14: Empowering indigenous African languages as a means of liberating Africa from linguistic imperialism

Indigenous African languages are one of the continent's most precious assets that need to be preserved. Paradoxically, in most African countries, colonial languages are still used as the main media of instruction, relegating indigenous African languages to the background. Therefore, the need to empower these languages becomes important in order to give Africans, particularly the majority that does have proficiency in colonial languages, the opportunity to be fully included in the development process of their individual countries in particular, and Africa in general.

Further, this issue of development and promotion of indigenous African languages has, for a while, generated passionate debates among politicians, linguists, language specialists and researchers. Subsequently, African countries have been encouraged to endeavour to develop and promote their languages because in the words of Participant 15: "*If African countries implement well-thought-out language policies, it will not only help create our unique national identities, but also deepen our sense of belonging and patriotism*" (lines 30-32). This position was further reinforced by Participant 29 who indicated that: "*Indigenous African languages are the vehicles through which we affirm our African identity. I think we should be very proud of them and ensure that they are promoted effectively"* (lines 70-72). Participant 3 expressed however the view that "*The continuous use the languages of the colonial masters amounts to cultural imperialism. We should not promote foreign languages to the detriment of our own languages"* (lines 71-73). According to Participant 37, it is high time Africans owned their languages and cultures: "*Let me tell you: If the leadership of the African Union is decisive about this matter, within the next decade or two, we shall be there. And I promise you that a lot of things will change on the continent*" (lines 193-196). Participant 13 further reinforced this point by noting that: "*The liberation of Africa from linguistic imperialism will be a reality only when our leaders show the way. It is actually a political issue, and unless they show the needed political commitment, it will remain an empty rhetoric*" (lines 21-24).

The total liberation of the continent from linguistic imperialism will, no doubt, contribute to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages across Africa. This will be the best way through which the political elites of the continent will ensure the full and active participation of the majority of Africans in a meaningful development process of their respective countries on the one hand, and the development of the continent at large. This is because a meaningful development of Africa is all about Africans, not only the minority political elites but the majority of African citizens interacting, communicating, sharing lived experiences and perspectives how their own individual circumstances can be changed to the better.

The attention of the minority political elites of the continent needs to be drawn to the fact that one of the requirements for the participation of the masses is that they are reached in the language or languages that they understand best (Bamgbose, 2014). Furthermore, the political elites, particularly those holding various leadership positions at the African Union, should be reminded

of their own statement about sustainable development which, according to them, should be people-centred and should be realised through professionalising African culture which should also be linked with the human component development (Africa Union, 2015: 9).

Conclusion

Chapter six discussed the findings of the study, particularly the main themes that emerged during the process of data analysis, together with excerpts of the personal interviews and focus group discussions with participants. The discussions of the findings of the study is central to the study. Thus chapter six is a key driver of this study as it helped unravel various meanings embedded in the themes which emerged during the process of analysis.

This chapter made use of the main themes and sub-themes (see Appendix C) together with verbatim excerpts of the interviews to back up the story being made out of the findings of the study, to establish a link between the various themes which emerged during the process of data analysis, to answer the two research questions posed in chapter one, and to suggest possible ways of dealing with the issue of policy talks, in particular language policy talks which are hardly backed by pragmatic actions, as well as to suggest possible ways of addressing issues pertaining to language policies across the continent in general. The discussions were concise since a great deal of literature has been written on the relevance of indigenous African languages and the crucial role these play in the development of nations.

The findings of the study revealed that even though the OAU/AU was fully committed to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages on the continent, in its attempt to realise this pertinent objective, the OAU/AU diverted from its original militant stance, i.e. ‘to free the continent from linguistic imperialism’, to adopt much softer approach calling for linguistic equity and partnership between colonial languages and indigenous African languages (Matsinhe, 2013, 2015; Batibo, 2015). Therefore, the implementation of the LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. The ACALAN, the successor of the OAU-BIL, has made substantial progress regarding the accomplishment of its core mandates even though it had to face a lot of challenges in this regard.

Finally, the findings of the study highlighted the need for the leadership of the continent to approach the language question in a much more holistic manner so that language policies and language policy talks are translated into effective and pragmatic actions.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and implications for future research

A great deal of talks, initiatives, conferences and meetings have been held with regard to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages with the aim of making them available in 'major domains of society such as media, education, administration, etc (Seronko, 2015; Batibo, 2015; Campbell, 2015; Matsinhe, 2013, 2015; African Union, 2015; Nyati-Saleshando, 2015, Chimhundu, 2015). Furthermore, in a bid to show its commitment in this regard, the OAU drafted one of the most comprehensive LPAAs (Chimhundu, 2015) which was adopted in 1986 and revised two decades later.

The main argument of this thesis is that since the independence of most African countries about more than five decades ago, indigenous African languages have enjoyed a low status and privilege in major domains of society such as education, media, business, politics, etc., compared to colonial languages, namely, English, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Efforts have been made by successive governments across the continent to develop and promote the use of indigenous African languages in the domains. Among such initiatives, there have been a great deal of high level policy talks meetings organised both at national and continental levels, during which policy makers and implementers, as Chimhundu (2015: 2) remarks, have recycled the same issues but have achieved poor and unimpressive results in this regard(see Bamgbose, 2011: 1). Further, the LPPA, which was adopted in 1986 and revised twenty years later, i.e., has not helped changed substantially the linguistic landscape in most African countries in particular, and at the continental level in general.

In this vein, this thesis sought to address the following issues:

1) Why the implementation of the OAU/AU's LPAAs (1986 & 2006) has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in Africa?

2) What is Agenda 2063, the OAU/AU's new Vision for Africa, proposing with respect to true development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages?

In addressing these pertinent questions, qualitative methods such as purposive sampling, convenience sampling as well as snowballing sampling strategies were used in gathering views and experiences of language experts, language policy makers and implementers, politicians as

well as linguistic experts. It is worth highlighting that some of the participants have contributed to the drafting of the LPAAs. In all twenty semi-structured individual interviews and two group interviews were conducted. Furthermore, each of these groups was made up of 11 and eight participants, i.e., n=19 participants, making a total of 39 participants. The interviews were all conducted in English and theye were transcribed directly without being translated from and into any other language. Finallly, a thematic analysis was then applied to the transcripts using the Framework Method, from which the following main theme emerged, namely, Diversion from the original militant course by the OAU/AU; Lack of proficiency of the masses of Africans in colonial languages; Lack of genuine political will on the part of the leadership of the OAU/AU; Lack of coherent language policies at the national level; Lack of implementation of coherent language policies at the national level; Disconnect between language and development; Major issues pertaining to language policy implementation on the continent; Treatment of indigenous African languages like dialects; Lack of proper understanding about the nexus between language, education and development; Underutilisation of language and culture as powerful instruments for unity; Use of a top-down approach in the formulation and production of the OAU/AU LPAAs.

With respect to the Diversion from the militant course by the OAU/AU, it must be noted that the political elites have diverted from the militant posture adopted by the founding fathers of the OAU, who promoted the idea of a total liberation from linguistic imperialism through the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. Unfortunately, more than half a century after independence, African countries are still heavily dependent on colonial languages.In fact, they are being called partner languages by ACALAN, the same institution established by the OAU/AU to promote and develop indigenous African languages.

Concerning the lack of proficiency of masses of Africans in colonial languages, I should stress that it is paradoxical that the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs were drafted and being implemented in the language of the colonial master in which the greater majority of Africans have no proficiency.

About the lack of genuine political will, Africa has the reputation to be the Continent where there are lots of policy talks with very few pragmatic actions on the ground. One of the main reasons why most policies are not implemented on the Continent is because of lack of political will on the

part of the political elite. To some extent, this state of affairs has contributed to the slow space of development of the Continent as a whole.

On the issue of lack of coherent policies at the national level, it should be noted that in Africa, process of planning in general, particularly processes of language planning are flawed. Hence there are so many defective language policies (Bamgbose, 2011: 6), resulting in the lack of implementation of coherent policies at the national level.

With respect to the treatment of indigenous African languages as dialects, the status of indigenous African languages has not changed a great deal because most of these languages are still treated as mere dialects, regardless of the fact that the political elites on the Continent have acknowledged that indigenous African languages plays a crucial role in the development process of any nation.

The issue of the lack of proper understanding about the nexus between language, education and development is quite disturbing and disappointing because empirical evidence has shown that language and development are intertwined. For example, in 1953, the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) showed that there are advantages a child can derive from acquiring knowledge in her/his mother tongue or home language when it is used as a medium of education. It follows therefore that, for any development process to be meaningful it must carried out in the language the beneficiaries understand best. Unfortunately, the political elites have failed to understand this relationship and to apply it appropriately.

With respect to the theme on the underutilisation of language and culture as powerful instruments for unity, the political elites have again failed to acknowledge the fact that language and culture play a central role in the development of nations. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, language and culture have not been accorded their rightful places in the process of development of many African nations.

Finally, the use of a top-down approach in the formulation and production of the OAU/AU LPAAs has been cited therefore as one of the main reasons that account for the language policy formulation and implementation of the OAU/AU. This is because the drafters and implementers of the LPAAs ignored whether deliberately or not the linguistic needs of the masses of Africans.

Concerning Agenda 2063, the new Vision for Africa, it is articulated around seven core ideals otherwise known as ASPIRATIONS, all of which from a practical point of view are too ambitious to be realised in a space of a half a century. Out of these seven Aspirations only of two, namely **Aspirations 2 and 5** deal directly with practical promotion, development and use of indigenous African languages. However, analysing both Aspirations critically, it is to be realised that it is only Aspiration 5 which refers specifically to culture. For example, **Item 42 under Aspiration 5** state specifically that indigenous African languages will, among other things, provide the basis for administration and integration. **Aspiration 5** fails however to indicate in clear and specific terms how this will be achieved in concrete terms, given that African languages cannot play this role meaningfull overnight if they have been assigned this particular role in the first place. Concerning the issue of mother tongue education, other Aspirations, namely **Aspiration 1** is very mute, vague and unclear and unspecific about whether the child who enters school for the first time will be taught in his/her mother tongue.

The reasons provided above in addition to participants' insights show beyond reasonable doubt that the implementation of the OUA/AU's 1986 & 2006 LPAAs has not contributed significantly to the development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages in Africa; and that Agenda 2063, Africa's new vision, is not proposing any better, original or innovative ideas than the LPAAs in terms of true development and promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages. In fact, it remains mute, vague, unclear and unspecific about pertinent issues such as using the mother tongue as a language for teaching and learning (see **Aspiration** 1).

In a nutshell, for several reasons that were discussed at length in previous chapters, particularly in chapter 6, these two policy documents, i.e., the OAU/AU's 1986 & 2006 could not be implemented successfully.

In the light of the discussions above, the study ends with the following reminder: Africa needs to adopt a much broader approach to language that will see them play a very meaningful role in every Member State of the African Union in general, and at the level of the continental body in particular in order that sustainable development can effectively take place across the continent (Matsinhe, 2013), because the effective use of indigenous African languages is a precondition to the political and socio-economic development of the continent as well as to the survival of the individual countries cultures. The study ends on call to the political elites of the continent for

responsible and pragmatic actions to be taken in the area of development and promotion of indigenous African languages. This is because a great deal of literature has already been written about the need to develop and promote these languages so that they can be made accessible to all citizens of Africa, the majority of whom (about 80%) are not knowledgeable in the former colonial languages: English, French, Portuguese and Spanish; and about all the main factors that have contributed to the low status accorded to African languages, and the limited roles they have played over the years in major domains of society, namely education, media, business, politics, etc. These factors are the colonial legacy, negative perception of multilingualism, language development status, national integration, modernization and economic development, globalization, negative language attitudes, and defective language planning (Bamgbose, 2011: 1).

What the ruling elites of the continent need to be told is that, with regard to language policy and planning in Africa, the time has actually come to resuscitate the old 1986/2006s OAU/AU, run it alongside the Harare Declaration and Plan of Action, and re-package a comprehensive updated version as a blueprint for ensuring true development and promotion of indigenous African languages within the context of the new Vision for Africa, i.e., Agenda 2063 (Chimhundu, 2015).

Finally, ACALAN should be a fully-fledged autonomous and independent body (see page 109), equipped with all the necessary human and financial resources (namely an adequate budget), and given all the needed political support in order to help it deliver on its mandate because the political elites are wasting precious time and resources on new ways of developing and promoting effective use of indigenous African languages, whilst the OAU/AU's LPAAs are a reference in achieving this goal (Chimhundu, 2015). For example, over the years, many proposals and policy recommendations have been made regarding the promotion of the language agenda of the continent. The most pertinent among these were those that were made during the Experts Meeting held in Harare (Zimbabwe) from 17 - 21 March 1997, which, among others, highlighted that:

- No language is intrinsically developed: it is through usage that development occurs and that a language extends its technical scope.
- A language that performs several functions inevitably acquires prestige and, once possessed of growing prestige, it gains access to new functions.

- Creativity has no limits and therefore technicalisation and terminological development have no limits.
- Limited access and restricted roles and functions in the education field adversely affect the development of African languages and their transformation into national languages.
- Even in the most radical analysis by economists, there is growing recognition of the fact that economic and technological efficiency cannot be dissociated from the cultural context.
- The shortage of staff and material in mother-tongue teaching, learning and promotion is the result of long-standing discrimination, which can be eliminated.
- Negative attitudes which downgrade African mother tongues while at the same time favouring imported languages are based on obvious and superficial rationalisations in an attempt to justify imbalances born of injustices rooted in historical circumstances (UNESCO, 2006: 30).[43]

Therefore, realising the potential that their languages have, Africans would therefore win back pride in their own indigenous languages and in the values embedded in them. Only will they start reducing gradually their opposition to the use of these languages and avoid their excessive dependence on English as the only language through which academic excellence can be achieved. By so doing, Africans will be promoting and developing its rich and cultural diversity. This is because reclaiming Africa's indigenous languages is high on the agenda of the African Renaissance (Lafon, 2010: 56).

7.1. Implications for future research

The two comprehensive OAU/AU's LPAAs (1986 & 2006) and the subsequent myriad of meetings, conferences and consultations that have been held to discuss the promotion and development of indigenous African languages in Africa (see the Introduction of this thesis) have

[43] See UNESCO 2006 Report on The Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa, held in Harare from 17-21 March 1997 p.30.

not helped a great deal in ensuring the true development and promotion of non-colonial languages in Africa. To this extent, much of the linguistic paradox pertaining to the lack of effective implementation of the LPAAs and the various decisions and recommendations from meetings results from lack of strong political will and commitment on the part of the OAU/AU and, most importantly, from the empty political rhetoric syndrome that the continent seems to be trapped in (Chimhundu, 2015).

When language policies are formulated and implemented using a top-down approach, i.e., without considering the linguistic needs of the majority of Africans who have no command of colonial languages, they will miss the people they are intended for. This is worth stressing as the implementation of the LPAAs has not produced the much-expected results. They ended up, in the process, marginalising and disenfranchising the majority of Africans (Matsinhe, 2013).

Across the world several language policies have not been adequately formulated as they are distorted most of the time by well-intended but misguided by linguistic stereotypes and loyalties (Baugh, 2011). What complicates matters in Africa is that, choosing a medium of instruction in multilingual states across the continent has always been one of the most important aspects of language policy formulation. Very often, when choices are made, they are based more on political, economic and ideological reasons than educational ones, and conflict with issues such as how feasible they are, popular aspirations, cultural identities, globalisation and development. These issues are discussed at length during meetings, even though they often tend to cause policy to move toward different directions (Ferguson, 2013).

This Thesis comes therefore to complement the rich literature on language policy formulation and implementation in Africa written by authorities in the field such as Alexander, Bamgbose, Batibo, Chimhundu, Senkoro, Nyati-Saleshando, Campbell, Mtenje, etc.

One of the main contributions of this study is that it highlightd the need for the political elite to understand that policy talks regarding the implementation of language policies aimed at developing and promoting effective use of indigenous African languages in all domains of life in Africa are not the solution. Responsible and pragmatic implementation is.

Future studies on language policy formulation and implementation will have to suggest, recommend and take inspiration from pragmatic and practical approaches to language policies,

experiences and circumstances of countries such as in China, Japan and South Korea. In other words, "[t]he economic miracle achieved by countries such as Japan was not based on widespread dissemination of English, rather it is the result of the indigenization of such technology into terms that the ordinary factory hand can understand" (Bamgbose, 1991:51, cited in Bamgbose, 2014). If in other parts of the world political, economic, socio-economic and cultural development has been achieved using national languages, Africa cannot be an exception. Therefore, the importance of indigenous African languages should be appreciated, particularly in the education sector so that children can be adequately prepared to play a meaningful role internationally using a language they are proficient in (Babaci-Wilhite, 2014).

Furthermore, one important issue worth investigating by future studies is the specific timeframe and means as well as the appropriate mechanisms through which the implementation of the LPAAs can be carried out. This is important because it seems that now, there is no clear direction as to how to ensure development and effective promotion of the use of indigenous African languages. To this extent, there is the need for the political elites to be more responsible, focused, specific and committed to ensuring that indigenous African languages are accorded all the prestige they lost over centuries because of colonisation.

Again, there is need for a language revolution which will have to come from the African political elites and academics as they serve the interests of the Western powers in countries in the South (Brock-Utne, 2014). However, this language revolution will be more meaningful if it comes from the majority of Africans themselves. Then the political elites and academics will have no other option but to back it as it is unsure whether these same political elites will be able and willing to start such a revolution.

Finally, a special emphasis should be placed on the fact that "[t]he development and use of every language by the nation state through MT-based MLE reinforces a sense of belonging to the nation state by members of all ethno-linguistic communities leading to greater participation in national development initiatives and endeavours" (Chumbow, 2014).

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Appendices:

Appendix A: The 1986 Language Plan of Action

ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY/ORGANISATION DE L'UNITE AFRICAINE

General Secretariat

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Addis Ababa

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

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THE LANGUAGE PLAN OF ACTION FOR AFRICA

PREAMBLE

We, Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in our 22nd Ordinary Session, in Addis Ababa, from 28 to 30 July 1986.

GUIDED

By the Organization of African Unity Charter,

By the Pan-African Cultural Manifesto of Algiers (1969),

By the Inter-Governmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa, organised by UNESCO in Accra (1975), in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity,

By the Cultural Charter for Africa, with special reference to Part I Article 1 (a) and (b), Article 2 (a), Part III Article 6.1(a), 2(b) and Part V Articles 17-19,

By the Lagos Plan of Action (1980) for the Economic Development of Africa,

By the Final Report (27th April, 1982) of UNESCO's Meeting of Experts on the "Definition of a Strategy for Promotion of African Languages":

CONVINCED

That language is at the heart of a people's culture and further convinced that, in accordance with the provisions of the Cultural Charter for Africa, the cultural advancement of the African peoples and the acceleration of their economic and social development will not be possible without harnessing in a practical manner indigenous African languages in that advancement and development;

CONVINCED

That, as in other spheres of her national life, Africa needs to assert her independence and identity in the field of language;

AWARE

That, up to the present, the majority of member states have not taken the necessary practical steps to accord their indigenous languages their rightful official role as provided for by the Cultural Charter for Africa, the Lagos Plan of Action and other related resolutions of the Organization of African Unity;

RECOGNISING

That each sovereign state has the right to devise a language policy that reflects the cultural and socio-economic realities of its country, which is consonant or in close harmony with the needs and aspirations of its people;

CONVINCED

That the adoption and practical promotion of African languages as the official languages of the state is dependent primarily, and as matter of absolute imperative, on the political will and determination of each sovereign state;

CONVINCED

That the adoption and practical promotion of African languages as the official languages of the state are certain to have great advantages over the use of non-indigenous languages in democratising the process of formal education and involvement of the African populations in the political, cultural and economic affairs of their country;

AWARE

That illiteracy is an obstacle to the economic, cultural and social development of African countries and that mass literacy campaigns cannot succeed without the use of indigenous African languages;

AWARE

That, in recognition of the ever-growing interdependence and interaction at all levels of human endeavour and brotherhood of man, communication with the outside world beyond the boundaries of the African continent is inevitable and ought to be provided for or reflected in the language policies to be devised and implemented by each sovereign state;

CONVINCED

That the promotion of African languages, especially those which transcend national frontiers, is a vital factor in the cause of African Unity;

RECOGNISING

That, within Africa itself, the existence side by side in almost all African countries of several languages is a major fact of life and the knowledge that, because of this, multilingualism (i.e. the mastery and use of several languages by individuals for purpose of daily communication) is an equally dominant social feature of life in these countries, should induce member states to make

the promotion of multilingualism in their countries a prime consideration in the evolution of an appropriate language policy;

AGREE

To adopt the Language Plan of Action for Africa, as set out below:

PART I

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

The aims and objectives of this Plan of Action are as follows:

a. To encourage each and every Member State to have a clearly defined language policy;

b. To ensure that all languages within the boundaries of member states are recognised and accepted as a source of mutual enrichment;

c. To liberate the African peoples from undue reliance on the utilisation of non-indigenous languages as the dominant, official languages of the state in favour of the gradual take-over of appropriate and carefully selected indigenous African languages in this domain;

d. To ensure that African languages, by appropriate legal provision and practical promotion, assume their rightful role as the means of official communication in the public affairs of each Member State, in replacement of European languages, which have hitherto played this role;

e. To encourage the increased use African languages as vehicles of instruction at all educational levels;

f. To ensure that all the sectors of the political and socio-economic systems of each Member State is mobilised in such a manner that they play their due part in ensuring that the African language(s) prescribed as official language(s) assume their intended role in the shortest time possible;

g. To foster and promote national, regional and continental linguistic unity in Africa, in the context of the multilingualism prevailing in most African countries.

PART II

PRIORITIES

a. Policy Formulation:

Whether at the national, regional or continental levels, the selection and prescription without undue delay of certain viable national, regional or continental indigenous African languages as the official languages to be used for the formal official functions of the State, regional groupings or the OAU.

b. Implementation and Promotion:

The subsequent implementation of the language policy adopted and the incorporation of the official African languages in the political, educational, social, cultural and economic lives of the people.

c. Modernisation:

The modernisation as necessary and by any means required of the indigenous African languages selected and prescribed as official languages.

d. Mobilisation of Resources:

The mobilisation of financial, human and other resources, and all relevant public and private institutions, in the practical promotion of the chosen official languages.

PART Ill

PROGRAMME OF ACTION (METHODS AND MEANS)

In order to fulfil the objectives set out in Part I, the African States solemnly subscribe to the following programme of action:

a. At continental level and as a concrete expression and demonstration of the OAU's seriousness of purpose, the adoption without undue delay by the Organization of African Unity and the regional associations, organizations or institutions affiliated to it of viable indigenous African languages as working languages;

b. To encourage regional associations, organizations or institutions already accorded or those applying for observer status to the OAU to adopt indigenous African languages as their working languages;

c. At regional level, the adoption by regional groupings of viable, regional indigenous African languages as official or working languages;

d. At national level, the imperative need for each OAU Member State to consider it necessary and primary that it formulates with the minimum of delay a language policy that places an indigenous African language or language spoken and in active use by its peoples at the centre of its socio-economic development;

e. In order to fulfil the objectives in (d), the need by each Member State to establish a national language council, where none exists, or to strengthen it, where one already exists, as a national sounding board for the formulation of an appropriate national language policy;

f. The absolute necessity that each Member State, as a matter of supreme practical importance, follows up the formulation of an appropriate national language policy with an adequate and sustained allocation of the necessary financial and material resources, to ensure that the language or languages prescribed as official language(s) achieve(s) a level of modernisation that meets the needs of administering a modern State;

g. In recognition of the negative estimation in which indigenous African languages are generally held in Africa, by the general public, the necessity for each Member State, as part of its national programme of promoting those African languages duly prescribed as official languages, to mount a sustained campaign of educating or re-educating the national population about the inherent or potential practical utility of African languages to counter the present widespread negative attitudes in Africa towards these languages;

h. In recognition that the formal national education system plays a key role in the practical use of any language, the need for each Member State to ensure that all the sectors (i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary) of the national education system, are pressed as appropriate in the service of the practical promotion of the indigenous language(s) selected and prescribed as (an) official language(s);

i. Aware that African universities, research institutes and other institutions concerned with the study and promotion of African languages have a unique role to play in strengthening the role these languages play in the daily lives of the African peoples, the need for these institutions to strike a proper balance in future between the scientific study of the African languages and their actual use and practical promotion;

j. In connection with (i) above, the need for each Member State to render its national universities and other research and related institutions a primary instrument for the practical promotion of African languages, as regards such critical promotional activities, as the compilation of technical and general dictionaries, the writing of textbooks on useful subjects, the training of teachers of language, translators, interpreters, broadcasters and journalists, the production of useful books and other types of literature, relevant to the lives of contemporary Africans and the up-dating of vocabulary in African languages;

k. In recognition of the fact that to impart formal or other types of knowledge, the vehicle of instruction or communication should be a language familiar to the learner, the absolute necessity that each Member State should, as an essential part of its educational policy, prescribe as media or vehicles of instruction those indigenous African languages, that best and most effectively facilitate the learning process;

l. In recognition of the singularly strategic role widespread literacy among the national population plays, in the socio-economic development of a country, and recognising further that literacy education will be greatly facilitated and speeded up, if languages familiar to the national population are employed, the advisability of using indigenous African languages as media of instruction in national literacy campaigns mounted by member states.

Source: http://www.bisharat.net/Documents/OAU-LPA-86.htm [Accessed on April 20, 2015].

Text source: Annexure 2 of "Towards a National Language Plan for South Africa: Final Report of the Language Plan Task Group," 8 August 1996. http://www.dac.gov.za/reports/langtag_report/langtag_report.htm.

APPENDIX B: Identification of initial themes

The following are the initial theme which were identified:

Going back to the history of the OAU/AU

Exploring Act 29 of the founding Chapter of the OAU/AU

How to make the if possible, possible

Factors leading to the creation of the Organisation of African Unity Bureau of Languages (OAU-BIL)

The continuous use of colonial languages is an oddity

African linguistic diversity ought to be recognised

Liberating the continent from linguistic Imperialism

Promoting indigenous African languages in all domains of society

Adoption of the first Language Plan of Action (LPAA)

LPAA as the blueprint for the development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Domestication of colonial languages

Challenges to an effective development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Indigenous African languages are kept on the periphery of development

The majority of Africans are not fluent in indigenous African languages

A top-down approach used in producing the LPAA

Most AU member states do not have comprehensive language policies

Revision of the first LPAA due to lack of effective implementation

Partnership between indigenous African languages and colonial languages

Africans must go back to indigenous languages

The language policy of the OAU/AU is faulty

Africa is still colonised through the continuous use of indigenous African languages

Africa is not independent until it we make good use of our indigenous African languages

Effective language policy implementation is important

Policy formulation in Africa has always been top-down biased

Africans are not participating meaningfully to the political discourse

Most of the leadership on the continent is so pro-Europe

The leadership on the continent does not value indigenous African languages

The turning point for making the if possible, possible is the creation of ACALAN

Socio-economic incentives key to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Political commitment and effective actions key to true development and promotion of indigenous languages

African's rich cultural and linguistic heritage

Lip service paid to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Making teaching and learning of indigenous African languages compulsory at primary level

Implement programmes for the training of translators and interpreters at continental level

Rectification of top-down approach in language policy formulation

Lack of confidence of African leaders in indigenous languages

Indigenous African languages sources of integration, communication and development of African

Development and promotion of indigenous African languages not a problem of linguist but that of politicians

Dramatic shift from development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Promotion of indigenous African languages versus indigenisation of colonial languages

Long term plan for the development and promotion of indigenous African languages

There is a need for a genuine political will

Genuine political backed by concrete actions on the grounds

Language policy formulation must not leave the masses of the people behind

A top-down approach to language policy formulation and implementation leads to failure

Language policy implementation needs the total support all Africans themselves

Well-tailored language policy implementation strategies required

Empowerment of indigenous African languages by the African Union Agenda 2063

Making indigenous African languages accessible to all Africans

Development and promotion of indigenous African languages as tools for Africa's integration and development

Intrinsic link between development and indigenous African languages

Development is impossible without the language factor

Language as the missing link in the development agenda

Promotion of indigenous African languages is key to effective development

Effective harnessing of Africa's linguistic diversity must be a priority

Indigenous African languages are vehicles of integration, communication and development of Africa

Indigenous African languages convey Africa's identity, culture and values

Continuous use of colonial languages threatens the vitality of indigenous African language

The language question is a thorn in the flesh of the leadership of the continent

Indigenous African languages are carriers of Africa's consciousness

Lack of socio-economic incentives in the promotion of indigenous African languages

Promotion of indigenous African languages is desirable for African identity

A people-led development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Exclusion of indigenous African languages from the development discourse

A people-led development and promotion of indigenous African languages: a priority

Needed political will and change of mind-sets of Africans leaders with respect to development and promotion of indigenous African languages

Development and promotion of indigenous African languages comes at cost

Development and promotion of indigenous African languages through the medium of education

Development and promotion of indigenous African languages begins with a bold step

A holistic approach to Africa's political and socio-economic development

Appendix C: Construction of the initial index

1. Understanding the general context and perspectives of the promotion and development of indigenous African languages

1.1 Political declaration of the founding fathers to develop and promote indigenous African languages in all domains of society

1.2 Commitment of the founding fathers to free the continent from linguistic imperialism

1.3 Founding chapters of the OAU/AU states that Proposal of the founding fathers state that the working languages English, French, Arabic and Portuguese, and if possible, African languages

1.4 Steps taken to make the "if possible" possible

1.5 Point of departure for the initiatives aimed at developing and promoting indigenous African languages

1.6 Creation of the Inter-African Bureau of Languages in (OAU/AU BIL) in 1966

1.7 Adoption of the first version of the LPAA in 1986

1.8 Revision of the LPAA in 2006

1.9 Creation of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) in 200

1.1.0 Inability to implement the officially adopted policy

2. Diversion from the original militant course

2. 1 Colonial languages still dominate the linguistic landscape of the continent

2.2 Colonial languages have enjoyed privilege and high status

2.3 Colonial languages used in all official domains: education, media, administration, etc

2.4 Some Indigenous African languages accorded official status

2.5 Most Indigenous African languages used for lower assignments

2.6 Softening of the original militant course

2.7 Colonial languages as partner languages

2.8 Indigenisation of colonial languages rather than liberation from linguistic imperialism

3. **Lack of proficiency of the masses of Africans in colonial languages**

3.1 About 80 percent of Africans are not proficient in colonial languages

3.2 Overall language policy formulation and implementation done through colonial languages

3.4 African elites aware of the crucial role of indigenous African languages in development

3.5 Sustainable political and socio-economic development cannot be achieved without the full participation of the masses

3.6 Indigenous African languages should be moved to the centre, not left in the periphery of development

3.7 A holistic people-centre approach to language policy formulation and implementation

4. Lack of genuine political will on the part of the AU

4.1 African leaders are lacking the needed confidence and courage in tackling the issue of

development and promotion of indigenous African languages

4.2 The leadership of the continent is responsible for the low status enjoyed by indigenous African languages for decades

4.3 African languages will be truly valued if leaders on the continent begin to address

their nations in these languages

4.4 The continuous use of colonial languages in government, media, education, business,

etc. will fast track the disappearance of African languages

4.5 Successive African leaders are rather convinced that the continent cannot develop

without colonial languages

4.6 It is the business of African leaders to state boldly their take on the development and effective promotion of indigenous African languages.

5. Lack of coherent languages policies at the national level

5.1 The first version of the LPAA states clearly goals to be achieved by individual countries regarding the development and promotion of African languages

5.2 The LPAA is a blueprint for effective development and promotion of indigenous African languages

5.3 Commitments made by the majority of AU member states towards the promotion of African languages

5.4 Most African State have no official language policies despite the commitments in this regard

5.6 African language practices show a snail pace

5.7 African language practices are based on political declarations

6. Contradiction between policy statement and linguistic reality on the ground

6.1 Africa's linguistic diversity is acknowledged in political circles

6.2 Commitments made by governments to ensure the promotion of African languages

6.3 Several official policy statements made in this regard

6.4 Language policy statements often mere political declarations or rhetoric

6.5 Official language policy statements and declarations are not followed by implementation

6.6 Language policy statements and declaration at variance with linguistic reality on the ground

6.7 There is a linguistic paradox

7. **Disconnect between language and development**

7.1 Indigenous Africans languages have been left on the periphery of development in Africa

7.2 No meaningful development can ever take place through foreign languages

7.3 The language question has been short of each development objective in Africa

7.4 Successive leaders in Africa have paid lip service to the language development agenda

7.5 Breaking the cycle of policy rhetoric is important

7.6 Implementing development programmes in indigenous languages has always shown very little progress

7.7 Development is being achieved on the continent through colonial languages

7.8 Africa's linguistic and cultural diversity is an asset

7.9 The founding fathers of the OAU/AU were convinced that Africa cannot develop using the languages of the imperialists

8. **Major issues pertaining to language policy implementation on the continent**

8.1 The challenges have identified for several decades now

8.2 It is high time practical solutions are sought through the adoption of practical actions which demonstrate true commitment

8.3 Bold steps must be taken with respect to the development and promotion of indigenous African languages

8.4 There is a need for a change of mindset

8.5 African leaders have perpetuated the status quo inherited from independence

8.6 The leadership on the continent is pro-Europe

9. Treatment of indigenous African languages like dialects

9.1 Indigenous African languages still restricted to non-formal domains in most African countries

9.2 Western forces continue to maintain their cultural presence in Africa

9.3 Western forces support the continuous use of their languages through financial aid

9.4 Continuous use of languages supported through academic achievement and excellence

9.5 Globalisation used as an argument to support the continuous use of colonial languages

9.6 Colonial languages as languages of work and opportunity

9.7 Local attitudes towards education and language of instruction

10. Language, education and development are intertwined

10.1 Politicians and academics know the nexus between language, education and development

10.2 Most Africans cannot learn effectively in languages they are not proficient in

10.3 No meaningful development can take place in Africa if about 80 per cent of Africans are excluded from the process

10.4 Colonial languages still enjoy higher status and privilege than indigenous African languages

10.5 Indigenous African languages are confined to unofficial domains

10.6 No country has ever developed using foreign languages in which only members of the elite are proficient

10.7 Indigenous African languages must become languages of instruction

10.8 A complete change of mind-set of parents and politicians and parents regarding languages of instruction

11. Cultural Renaissance: A myth or a reality?

11.1 Africa's political unity and economic integration should be truly based on cultural and linguistic unity

11.2 Africa's linguistic and cultural diversity is an asset worth harnessing

11.3 Linguistic and cultural diversity as a means of knowledge sharing among all Africans

11.4 Africans must concentrate on what brings them together

11.5 African languages must be promoted through their use in government communication

11.6 Linguistic and cultural diversity as a source of pride to all Africans proud

11.7 Linguistic and cultural diversity is Africa's true identity

11.8 A commitment on the part of the leadership of the continent to use more African languages during AU Summit

12. Language and culture are powerful instruments for unity

12.1 Language and culture give Africans their true sense of identity and dignity

12.2 Language and culture are not well valued

12.3 Development of language and culture policies as a priority

12.4 Integration of language and culture policies in national development plans

12.5 Bridging the gap between language and culture

12.6 Language and culture as vehicles for the promotion of political and socio-economic development

12.7 Language and culture as powerful of unity

13. **A top-down approach in the formulation, production and implementation of LPAA**

13.1 African elites are responsible for the top-down approach to LPAA implementation

13.2 African intellectuals are part of the problem

13.3 The masses of Africans are not proficient in colonial languages used in the formulation, production and implementation of LPAA

13.4 There is a big linguistic paradox

13.5 A total paradigm shift with respect to the formulation and implementation of LPAA is key

13.6 A genuine political commitment and willingness by the African elite and Academics

is paramount in addressing this issue

13.7 An alternative approach to language formulation and implementation is important in Africa

13.4 Africa needs an all-inclusive people-centred language policy

13.5 African elite and academics must change Africans' negative attitudes towards indigenous African languages

13.6 A top-down Approach is the alienation of the masses of Africans from the political and development discourses

14. **Empowering indigenous African languages as a means of liberating Africa from linguistic imperialism**

14.1 Devaluation of indigenous African languages by colonialists

14.2 Recovery of the full potentials of Africa's massive linguistic capital

14.3 Indigenous African languages as the point of definition of Africans identity and dignity

14.4 Launching of a counter-hegemonic revolution to promote indigenous African languages

14.5 Empowering indigenous Africans means empowering the masses of Africans

14.6 Empowering indigenous African languages will counter the dominance of colonial languages

14.7 Promoting indigenous African languages is key to building a democratic culture

14.8 A democratic society accords its languages their rightful places

14. 9 Promotion of indigenous African languages is crucial to Africa's political and socio-economic development.

Main theme 1

General context, understanding and perspectives on the promotion and development of indigenous African languages	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P3:"We remember that when the OAU was formed or established in 1963. We remember when the leaders met. Remember that at this meeting there was a talk about ... One disturbing oddity was noticed. The oddity was that they were using four languages: English, French, Portuguese and Arabic. So they found that something was odd in all that. So they were African leaders and they were not using African languages". Lines 8-14. **P9:** "Our leaders decided that within the next 20 years they should be able to use African languages. That was therefore the if possible. Within this time, African languages should be used. Therefore, the reality of the linguistic diversity in Africa was put to the table". Lines 15-19. **P7:** "In the history of the Organisation of the African Unity, we find the Article called 29 of the founding chapter, which says the working languages of the Organisation and of all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, English, French, Arabic and Portuguese. Now, this, if possible, is the one

	which has led us to do whatever we did for the development of African languages. So here, we have the attempt to make the if possible, possible". Lines 1-5 **P 2:** " ... there are two major reference points on language policies in Africa. The first one is the Language Plan of Action, which was originally adopted by the Organization of African Unity in 1986 and was subsequently revised in 2006 by the African Union but remained basically the same in content". The second is the Harare Declaration and Plan of Action from the 1997 Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa (IGCLPA)". Lines – 33-39.
	P1: "So they decided that within the next 20 years, we should be able to use African languages. And that was therefore the meaning of the "if possible". Within this time, African languages should be used. Therefore, the reality of the linguistic diversity in Africa was put to their table". Lines 13-16.
	P4: "The Language Plan of Action was a sort of blueprint for the development and promotion of African languages in the Member states of the African Union". Lines 70-72.

	P10: "Both language action plans were based on the principle of accepting and managing cultural diversity and multilingualism, which together are recognised as a rich resource rather an obstacle to development". Lines - 101- 103.
	P1: "This was the first attempt to make the if possible, possible. Because really, what has brought all this debate, discussion about African languages was how to make the if possible, possible. How to get all African languages in all domains of society, how to develop them, how to promote them". Lines 53- 56.
	P5: "There was a big meeting in, Kampala, in 1985. Some of the best linguists from all over Africa and the Diaspora descended in Kampala to see how to continue to make the if possible, possible. Now, that is where the first version of the Language Plan of Action for Africa was produced at that meeting of experts". Lines 70-74
	P11: "So this is what has to put that qualifying it indigenous African languages, so that they are set aside from Portuguese, French or English which are perceived as the language of coloniser, the languages of imperialism". Lines 38-40.

	P 17: "You know that in Africa now, we estimate that there are about 2200 languages, which is a lot of languages. How to deal with this number of languages. And therefore, a lot of initiatives were made, if you remember. I think many have mentioned here or in the earlier presentations, the AU, by UNESCO by other international organisations and even by regional organisations. And therefore looked into this matter" Lines 202-208. **P 20:** "So there were a lot of initiatives. But the most important turning point came when there was this creation of ACALAN. That is the African Academy of Languages. The acronym is (ACALAN). This ACALAN was created at a meeting in Khartoum, Khartoum in 2004 because ACALAN started becoming active from 2006". Lines 150-156.

Main theme 2:

Diversion from the original militant course	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P:3 "So there is a need to move away from this militant, if you can say it, slogan freeing Africa from linguistic imperialism". Lines 57-59.
	P7: "... if you look at what we are saying today at ACALAN, we talk about partnership of

	language, we talk about linguistic equity whereby the former colonial languages together with the African languages they work together; they are in some kind of partnership; they share the same space" Lines 98- 104.
	P 10: "The leadership of the continent have allowed the continuous use of English, French, Portuguese and Spanish, and you still want to fight linguistic imperialism? So, you see another aspect of this is that when they say you are following the British, you are following the French, it is because we are still using their languages in everything we do" Lines- 200-2008.
	P29: "And I can tell you we are still colonised: mentally, physically, and otherwise, if we are still using other people's languages, because you want to know the best in those languages, and it means knowing the best of the culture of those people to the detriment of yours" Lines-310-315.
	P36: "And again, when we are talking about our indigenous policy formulation, government policies and all, and you want to use those policies in French or Portuguese. You suddenly come across Portuguese and French programmes rather than African, Ghanaian, ehh Nigerian and all those things" Lines 20-25.

	P 25: "So we should take a stand and possibly I will tell them today during my presentation that since all these policies have allowed French, English, Portuguese and we are still promoting colonialism". Lines 50-53.
	P 11: "If you look at the declaration of the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity that the colonial languages are languages of the imperialism. It was from there that the idea came to liberate ourselves from linguistic imperialism. The question is have really freed ourselves from it? Lines 30-35
	P1: "So if you say we are liberating ourselves from all these colonial languages. We are still being recolonized, if we are using, if we are still using, if you are using colonial languages, then we have changed focus". Lines 191- 194.
	P13: "So it was becoming more problematic to talk about the liberation of the continent from linguistic imperialism because we are still using the colonial languages" Lines 51-53.
	P4: "We have to be realistic and continue using the ex-colonial languages" Lines 171-172.
	P2: "Colonial languages have now become our partner languages, and then we don't look at them as colonialists' languages although politically they are called colonialists, but

	ACALAN calls them partner languages" Lines 200-2004.

Main theme 3

Lack of proficiency of the masses of the people of Africa in colonial languages	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P18:"Do you see that all we know is English, French, and so on. So you see another aspect of this is that when they say that you are following the British, you are following the French, it is because they use their language in the development of technology, in the development of other things". Lines 205-209.
	P3: "Because we have been talking about this issue for quite a long time now. It is not difficult. Interestingly enough, we have PhDs in Ibo language, we have PhDs in Yoruba language, and we have PhDs in kiSwahili language". Lines 80-84.
	P25: "We can speak as much English as we want**,** as much French we want, as much Portuguese or Spanish we want, we will not be British, French, Portuguese or Spanish**.** We will not be anything else. We have to be ourselves, truly Africans". Lines 40-44.
	P4: "But have you realised that the majority of Africans do not even speak the so-called

	colonial languages?" Lines 60-62.
	P27: "We see that about eighty per cent of the population in Africa is not even knowledgeable in the colonial languages and are therefore completely cut off from all that is happening on the economic, political, social and cultural fronts". Lines 241-243.
	P 13: "Now, what the political elite of the continent needs to do is to make a firm commitment towards the formulation of what we can call a counter hegemonic language policy with the purpose of gradually replacing the dominance of all colonial languages"**.** Lines 73-78.

Main theme 4:

Subthemes associated with lack of genuine political will on the part of the AU and its leadership	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P17: "You cannot find member states that have got full-fledged language policies". Lines- 61-62.
	P2: "You see, the best thing the AU should do is to insist on coming back to our indigenous African languages, and whether you like it or not, it can be done, and it is possible". Lines 380-383.

	P14: "As soon as we say we speak Ashanti language, Fanti language, Ibo, Haussa, Yorouba, eeh and this kiSwahili. By the time you say, well, if you do not learn these African languages very well, you cannot participate effectively in the African Union. All of us will be compelled, no matter how old we are, to start learning all these languages overnight." Lines 401-407.
	P7: "So, the language policy of the African Union, eh, is faulty. It is faulty because if you do not say I am, nobody will say you are". Lines 353-355. **P12:** "... there is a proverb which says that if you do not know your past your future will be confusing. Therefore, Africans must know their past". Lines 67-69.
	P4: "Some of our leaders are so pro-Europe, I mean the so-called leaders who will not even want to accept the things we are doing here, i.e. Ibo, Fante, Ewe languages. Scholars in these languages. Let us see how it goes". Lines 71-75.

Main theme 5:

Lack of coherent languages policies at the national level	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes

	P 1 "We try to count at ACALAN and I gave up because I don't really find member states that have full language policies, even if they have them, they are (policies) are sitting somewhere" Lines- 86-88.
	P9: "What I am saying is that our institutions and our governments are not doing what they are supposed to do with respect to the formulation of coherent language policies and their effective implementation at the national level" Lines 29-30.
	P 30: "Each African State must endeavour to set out and follow a clear and comprehensive national language policy indicating the statuses that have been accorded to their indigenous languages as well as the functions of the languages in use and propose pragmatic measures to ensure the implementation of such a policy" Lines 400-407.
	P15: "You see, it is important since such a policy will at the national level would have to be specific coherent and realistic, its formulation would have to be preceded by research". Lines 213-216.
	P 26: "So, my brother, your research on the Language Policy of the African Union may possibly help resuscitate the idea of coming back to the issue of development and

	promotion of effective use of indigenous African languages". Lines 61-66.
	P 28 "We are trying to change the situation for the better but the fact of the matter is that, the majority of African countries do not even have a coherent language policy" Lines 215-218.
	P2: "There is no doubt that, if African countries implement coherent policies at the national level, this will change the atmosphere for the better and probably we stand a better chance to implement the Language policy of the African Union" Lines-303-306.

Main theme 6:

Contradiction between policy statement and linguistic reality on the ground	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P16: "So there are so many documents which spoke about the role of African languages, but the atmosphere is not conducive for the implementation of the language plan of action on the continent". Lines 208-301.
	P8: "They are very good policies, but unfortunately they are on paper. They look very fine, yeah, but on the ground not much

	is happening, that is precisely what I am talking about"**.** Lines 1-5.
	P17: "Eh, that is why this man, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, noted novelist all over the world, is now writing in Kiswahili, he refused to write in English any longer". Lines 14-17.
	P12: "Let me tell you clearly that the situation we find ourselves in now was predictable. Let us be very clear about that. Actually, it is really not just about language policy implementation on the continent, it is about so many other things, especially the political forces" Lines 76- 81.
	P24:"Yeah, the truth about all that we have been saying all these years is that language policy implementation in Africa is, has been and will always be a political issue, yeah it is a political issue. Let us face it now". Lines 301-304.
	P 20: "So, until and unless people, ordinary people realise that the right policies and their full implementation empower them at all levels, and start demanding that those at various leadership positions give account, then we are not getting anywhere". Lines 166-1.

Main theme 7:

Disconnect between language and development	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P1: "We said it yesterday that one of the challenges we have is that African languages have always been on the periphery of the development discourse". Lines 171-174.
	P 15: "Development is about human beings talking to one another to see how they can change their lives for the better". Lines – 108-111.
	P34: "And the truth about this issue is that people talk and understand each other in languages they know and understand best". Lines- 300-303.
	P13: "But for various reasons, some of which my colleagues may have mentioned to you already, indigenous African languages were kept on the periphery of development discourse. In fact, this has really been one of the main challenges". Lines 105- 110.
	P 20: "So you realise that there are so many documents which refer to the important role of African languages, but the reality as you

	know is that these languages were kept on the periphery of the development process of the continent". Lines 158-163.
	P 16: "What I think we should do as a continent is to take a bold step to bring culture, particularly our own indigenous African languages much closer to the centre of development planning in order to provide a firm basis for sustainable development". Lines 49- 54. **P21:** "... a necessary precondition for the achievement of development goals in Africa is the issue of raising the profile of indigenous African languages, specifically the development, promotion and wider use of indigenous African languages in all major spheres of life as a way of empowering speakers of those languages, because without doing that, development on the continent will simply be a mere political rhetoric". Lines 71-80.
	P 12: "The issue really for me is that colonial languages have been imposed on Africans for centuries**,** but ironically most of us in Africa, I mean the majority of Africans, cannot even speak these languages, we do not dream in these languages, we do not express our feelings in these languages, for example, we do not

	love in these languages". Lines31-40.
	P 18: "There was really no attempt to include indigenous African languages in the process of development on the continent. For me, that is where we should trace the causes of the issue that really jeopardised the possibility of seeing indigenous African languages play a major role in the development of the continent". Lines-91-99.
	P 14: "Hmmm, this issue is really a setback for the implementation of the Language policy of the African Union because for most of those at various leadership positions on the continent, development is mainly based on economic growth". Lines 193-197.
	P 18: "I always wonder why we continue to talk about true development in an environment such as ours where we continue to use colonial languages, which the majority of Africans do not even speak or understand". Lines 208-214.
	P 25: "As Africans, there is a need for us to convince ourselves that we cannot get true development if we continue using languages that we do not speak". Lines 105-108.
	P6: "What is interesting is that we are always told that our economies grow by double digit. And when we look around, we

	ask ourselves if what they are saying is not simply economic growth instead of true development?" Lines- 319-322.

Main theme 8:

Major issues pertaining to language policy implementation on the continent	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P 26: "African leaders must now take the necessary steps for breaking out this cycle of rhetoric and getting down to the practicalities of best practices by linking language policy and planning to development goals". Lines 20-26.
	P 38: "One of the pertinent issues which need to be dealt with now is whether language is actually seen as a factor for development in Africa by the Africans themselves, particularly the political elite". Lines 73-77.
	P 21: "What I think should be done as a matter of urgency is to bring culture much closer to the centre of the process of development of the continent"**.** Lines 201-204.
	P7: "The other issue we have to look at seriously is that, as Africans we need to

	change our mind-sets, and the Agenda 2063 of the African Union offers us all a great opportunity to do that". Lines 134-136.
	P39: "I believe that Africans are not confident in their own languages because of what colonialism made them believe about these languages. We need to change all this and also ensure that we empower our own languages. Then we can write our own narrative, we have to tell our story the way we know it". Lines 88-96.
	P31: "We know that as I said earlier, the Language plan of action for Africa is a kind of blueprint for the member states of the African Union to use as their roadmap with respect to how to go about the promotion and development and effective use of African indigenous languages in all domains. But as you know, like all the documents that I have listed there, it was not really implemented". Lines 267- 274.
	P13: "Lack of political will is a stumbling block to the implementation of policies, the objectives of which are to develop and promote the use of indigenous African languages". Lines 301-306.
	P32: "There were many challenges that ACALAN was faced with, and even now, ACALAN is meeting a lot of challenges.

	We know that they have not succeeded much". Lines 287-292.
	P4: "And you know that ACALAN does not call them ex-colonial languages or colonial languages. ACALAN call them partner languages. These have become our partners". Lines 199-204.
	P15: "They have thrived much, ACALAN, but there has not been much success, because there is no strong political will and commitment. Even now, they do not look at them as colonial languages although they have been called colonial languages. And that is the reason why they are partner languages". Lines 305-312.

Main theme 9:

Treatment of indigenous African languages like dialects	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P37: "You see! The linguistic situation on the continent is so embarrassing because we are still dependent on colonial languages. What is even regrettable is that the vernacularization of indigenous African languages is still ongoing, irrespective of the fact that Africa has attained independence". Lines- 81-86.

	P 30: "Even in post-colonial Africa, we still see that Africa's rich linguistic diversity, which is worth celebrating, is unfortunately devalued and delegitimized in so many ways, mainly in the areas of education and politics" Lines 159- 164.
	P 20: "... Actually, what most of us, particularly the political elite does not understand is that Africa's linguistic wealth offers us the ideal platform to appreciate how different and diverse our languages are, and how they can be harnessed as potential resource for the development of the continent". Lines 301-306. **P1: "**You know that in Africa, we now estimate that there are about 2200 languages; unfortunately, they are not playing any meaningful roles because of the supposed important roles colonial languages are playing in this era of globalisation". Lines 103-107.
	P 11: "Our leaders have pledged to develop and promote indigenous African languages, but you can see for yourself that colonial languages are still accorded a high status because Western forces are pushing forward their own linguistic agenda". Lines 38- 43. **P 9:** "Colonialism has ended officially in Africa for a long time, but you realised that in former colonies Western forces have used various means, somehow subtle to sustain their presence on the continent". Lines 63-67. **P 13: "**Ironically, instead of African leaders to develop and promote our indigenous languages, it is rather colonial languages that have enjoyed pride and prestige in all

	spheres of life because of the doors of opportunities they are supposed to open". Lines 290-294.
	P 2: "... But we also have to face the fact that there are not any socio-economic incentives associated with indigenous African languages. That is why some Africans, mostly the Youth are convinced that the only way forward is the continuous use of colonial languages". Lines 59-64. **P25:** "Indigenous African languages should be developed and promoted so that they would be used in high level meetings on the continent such as the Annual Summit of African Heads of State and Government". Lines 135-139.
	P 4: "The elite in Africa have used colonial languages such as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese to the detriment of indigenous African languages". Lines 405-408.

Main theme 10:

Main theme: There is a link between language, education and development	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P 29: "The development process in Africa should be ultimately linked to the improvement of lives of the Africans, i.e., socially, culturally, economically and politically." Lines 49-54.
	P 37: "As Africans, we need to identify what other policies or measures are needed in order to support the promotion and

	development of indigenous African languages, so that the masses of the people of Africa can meaningfully contribute to the development process of the continent". Lines 496-504.
	P 13: "I do not understand why in Africa we are still not coming to terms with the fact that the UNESCO has already indicated that there is a link between education, language and development, and therefore that we need to develop and promote indigenous African languages in order to ensure a meaningful development of the continent". Lines 267-275. **P 17**: "... I really think that, in Africa, we are trying to reinvent the wheel. Let us be serious for once! We do know that, there is a relationship between language, education and development and we are still refusing to follow such a simple logic". Lines 211-216. **P22:** "... And we are still refusing to develop and to encourage the use of indigenous African languages as medium of instruction at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels across the continent". Lines 64-68.
	P 8: "... It is a fact that children understand better when they are taught in their mother

	tongues. And this reality cannot be overemphasised. Therefore, what I am saying is that, we should make the use of indigenous African languages a priority and invest in it to ensure a meaningful development in Africa. Lines 411-118. **P4:** "Many linguistic experts and political elites on the continent hold the unequivocal views that development cannot be possible without literacy in indigenous languages. Paradoxically very little is done to make this happen". Lines 57-62.

Main theme 11:

Cultural Renaissance in Africa: A myth or a reality?	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes and subthemes
	P22: "If you have a look at the Concept note of this 4th Cultural Pan African Congress, it is stated somewhere that the African Cultural Renaissance has been acknowledged as the core driver of the realisation of Agenda 20163, the new Vision of Africa, 'The Africa We Want!'" Lines 350- 357. **P 10**: "For Africa's cultural renaissance to be a reality, it is of the greatest importance to encourage the use of local and national languages in official functions as well as in

	decision-making processes". Lines 290-294.
	P28: "The promotion of Africa's development is only possible through proper understanding by Africans of the dynamics of development. True development can only be achieved through effective use of indigenous languages". Lines 103-107.
	P5: "The political elite, as a matter of urgency, must promote effective development and promotion of indigenous African languages as a contribution to the realisation of the African Cultural Renaissance, in line with Agenda 2063, the New Vision for Africa". Lines 96-102.
	P27: "African countries will have to cooperate among themselves, particularly in mobilising the necessary human, technical and financial resources regarding the formulation and promotion of effective language policies in order to contribute to the development of the continent". Lines 67-70.
	P12: "When Achebe spoke in Ibo, you will see that a lot of the message would have been lost in the translation to English language. The message is heavily loaded in several Ibo proverbs. So you see how relevant indigenous African languages are to the lives of Africans". Lines 104-110.

	P 29: "... For the African Renaissance to become a reality there is a need for indigenous African languages to be developed and used effectively. You know that in Africa now, we estimate that there are about 2200 languages, which are powerful assets". Lines 193-199.
	P35: "The African Renaissance will simply have to start from the preservation of the various cultures, languages and identities within a united continent of Africa". Lines 231-235. **P6:** "... When we finally succeed in maximising our cultural and linguistic diversity for effective development of our continent, then we can truly talk of Renaissance". Lines 488-503.
	P23: "... I think the African Renaissance initiative should also be guided by the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural expressions, which recognizes that cultural diversity forms a common heritage of humanity and should be cherished and preserved for the benefit of all". Lines 116-122.
	P16: "Africa's linguistic diversity is a reality. Unfortunately, the colonial policies did not contribute to its promotion. So, by the time

	colonisation ended, indigenous African languages have lost the little and uncontested prestige they had before colonial languages were introduced". Lines 67-74.
	P8: "... Africa as a whole was a multilingual continent long before colonisation; and a lot of languages are spoken in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, it is considered a linguistically complex area in the world. Colonial languages such as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish were introduced later". Lines 40-47.
	P30:"I really believe that the Renaissance we are all talking about should offer every citizen of Africa the opportunity to freely participate in the cultural life of her or his community. Lines 178-182.
	P4: "The political elite must ensure the formulation of pragmatic and realistic language policies which take into account the input of the masses of Africans and also contribute to a meaningful development on the continent. And this can be possible if Africans participate in this process by using languages they understand best". Lines 56-64.

Main theme 12:

Language and culture are powerful instruments for unity	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P29: "You know, the negation of every form of cultural expression in our African societies during the colonial era contributed to the promotion of colonial ideas and cultural practices**".** Lines 401-405.
	P 6: "... The philosophy of 'divide and rule' introduced by colonial masters led to a poor management of cultural diversity in African societies. But we can turn things around through the Cultural Renaissance"**.** Lines 60-65.
	P 10: "The elite in Africa should be aware that there is a need to bring our 'fragmented' cultures together, thus bridging the gap between various cultures across the continent". Lines 66-71.
	P21: "It is when we are together that we are united. So our diverse cultures and languages offer us the opportunity to come together because they are driving forces for unity, social cohesion, peace and stability". Lines 86-91.
	P17: "We must not lose sight of the fact that languages are very important in our lives, because they are the means through which

	we express and explain ourselves". Lines 211-215.
	P31: "Indigenous languages are very important in our lives because actually, we think, we dream, we love, we cry in our own languages and express ourselves in those languages". Lines 267-271.
	P 28: "The development and effective promotion of the use of indigenous African languages is a very important step in the right direction in ensuring the socio-political and economic development of the continent". Lines 49-55.
	P 32: "I think the time has come for all Africans to accept the fact that indigenous languages are assets which need to be preserved if we want to push the development agenda forward". Lines 511-515.

Main theme 13:

A top down approach used in the formulation and production of the LPAAs	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P21: "The issue of policy formulation is top-down approach and it does not matter to the political leadership whether the people they

	lead really understand what they are doing or not" Lines 301-305.
	P1: "The Language Plan of Action is a very good document, but it remained there because its implementation was mainly through a top down approach. It was produced by academics like us, with no attempt to consult the base". Lines 66-73.
	P 3: "... This document is really a comprehensive document, from all respects. However, its implementation was faced with some challenges". Lines 198-201.
	P 28: "Really, how do you expect to implement a language policy which does not take on board the real needs of the majority of Africans?" Lines 67-71.
	P12: "Admittedly, the African elites do not have any issue with whether the rest of us speak colonial languages or not. They write, read, and speak the languages of their colonial masters". Lines 257-261.
	P 27: "... The elites in Africa do have only oral command over their own indigenous languages. Ironically, colonial languages enjoy prestige,

	even though these languages are not spoken by the masses of the people of Africa". Lines 320-326.
	P2: "The leadership across the continent is only concerned with the protection of their interests, including contributing to the hegemony of colonial languages". Lines 47-51.
	P26: "It is actually a very beautiful document but sort of top down without any attempt to consult the people at the grassroots level. And that really jeopardise the possibility of seeing the Language Plan of Action being implemented". Lines 111-116.
	P 31: "...This was a very comprehensive document; it has a big section on culture, education and the content of our curriculum, but it remained there because it was mainly a document produced using a top down approach. Lines 357-362.
	P19: "... But we need to rectify this situation. I think it is one of the solutions to the problem?" Lines 47-49.
	P13: "It does not mean anything to African leaders if the majority of Africans understand what is going on or not. They know that the

	majority is excluded from the political discourse". Lines 278-284.
	P4: "What I think we should do is that our leaders must start from below, from the bottom. If they start from the top it will not work". Lines 87-91.
	P20: "We must admit the fact that, more often than not, national language policies decisions are made by politicians, not by linguistics experts". Lines-

Main theme 14:

Empowering indigenous African languages as a means of liberating Africa from linguistic imperialism	Excerpts from participants interviews supporting the main themes/sub-themes
	P36 "The development and promotion of language we are talking about should be high on the agenda of the political leadership of the continent. We already have scholars in these languages. It is only a government policy and that is all". Lines 278-284.
	P3: "For instance in Nigeria, the Osho Government in Western Nigeria had made it compulsory that every primary school child in that State must be taught Yoruba. And so it is

	compulsory for every primary school pupil in Osho State to learn Yoruba. So if you do not pass Yoruba you cannot go to Secondary School. It was very compulsory". Lines 87-95.
	P31: "So, if you promote more Ghanaian languages or more Nigerian languages, then you are empowering these languages". Lines 56-59.
	P 26: "... If indigenous African languages are empowered and made languages of instruction, before you know, during the next 10 to 20 years, the first graduates will have been produced in those languages. Lines 306-309.
	P 18: "What was gratifying was that at the Khartoum Summit, which was therefore held in 2004, four (4) leaders from Africa gave their speeches through kiSwahili. They used kiSwahili to give their speeches. These political gestures should be encouraged". Lines 125-130.
	P6: "Former President of Mozambique, Joachim Chissano, was applauded when he addressed the Summit of African Heads of States and Governments in Kiswahili". Lines 59-63.
	P11: "... The Former President, Kikwete,

	gave his first speech in Kiswahili at the African Union, as President of Tanzania. Lines 98-101.
	P13: "... For African languages to expand, and to be used effectively, they must be supported by socio-economic incentives because you cannot have a language expanding or being used extensively because in kiSwahili we have a saying that "*huwezi kuweka mayai tupu. Yai lazima iwe na kitu"*. That means you cannot lay an empty egg. The egg must contain something. Then you go for it". Lines 234-236.
	P18: "... Before indigenous African languages are empowered, there must be certain convincing statements from African leaders. Lines 156-159.
	P 35: "You came at one of the best forum to conduct your research. If technocrats, professional Administrators of the African Union are able to convince the Heads of States; and if they able to buy the idea we are trying to suggest to them, the Heads of States will say, hah! Am I the only person who does not want to support and encourage the promotion of my own indigenous languages?" Lines 300-307.
	P 12: "... And then there is a need for a genuine political will; and this has been

	emphasised by all the previous speakers. Genuine political will". Lines 60-64.
	P19: "We really have to make sure that we empower all these languages and make them accessible to the peoples of Africa so that they can become Africa lingua francas". Lines 310-314.

Appendix D: Sorting the data by theme (A specimen)

Language as the missing link in the development agenda in Africa

Participant number	Index									
	Index 1.1 Indigenous African languages have been left in the periphery of development	Index 1.2 No meaningful development can take place through foreign languages	Index 1.3 The language question has fallen short of each development objective in Africa	Index 1.4 Successive leaders in Africa have paid lip service to the language development and promotion agenda	Index 1.5 Breaking the cycle of policy rhetoric is important	Index 1.6 Implementing development programmes in indigenous languages has always shown very little progress	Index 1.7 Development is being achieved on the continent through colonial languages	Index 1.8 Africa's linguistic diversity is an asset	Index 1.9 The founding fathers of the OAU/AU were convinced that Africa cannot develop by using the languages of the imperiali	Index 1.10

									sts	
Participant 1	**1.1** Indigenous African languages are kept in the periphery of development discourse	**1.2** Development is about human beings talking to one another in languages they understand best to see how they can change their lives for the better	1.3 "One the main challenges regarding the effective implementation of the LPAAs is that this document was produced using a top-down approach"	1.4 "I will start by reminding you of what the brilliant Minister said yesterday. The brilliant Minister said: "Use a foreign language to speak, you will be	1.5 The best way to ensure development in Africa is to cut off and come back to our own indigenous African languages"	**1.6** "The African Union must insist on returning to indigenous African languages"	**1.7** "But most of us in Africa, we do not speak these languages, we do not dream in these languages, we do not cry in these languages, we do not love in these languages" "You see the	1.8 "Africa's political unity, socio-economic development can be achieved if this linguistic diversity is properly harnessed"	1.9 "Look! What about the Asian Tigers that use their language, scientific language to develop"	There were so many documents which spoke about the role of African languages, but the fact remains though that indigenous African languages were left out in the developm

				speaking with your mind. But use an indigenous language, you will be using your heart" "			another aspect of this is that when they say that you are following the British or the French or the Portuguese, it is because they use their language in the development of technology, in the			ent process"

							development of other things.			

Appendix E: Descriptive accounts of the data (A specimen)

Participant number	Descriptive account of the data **1.5:** Breaking the cycle of policy rhetoric is important
P 2	"There must be certain statements from the leadership of the continent with respect to true development and promotion of indigenous African languages, something that attracts a language to expand". Lines 10-1.2
P16	"We should have a long-term plan where we try to develop and strategise to develop and promote effective use of indigenous African languages" Lines 75-77
P 33	"And then but there is a need for a genuine political will and this has been emphasised by all my colleagues". Lines 34-35.
P 29	"Genuine political will. And indeed our leaders must start from below, the bottom, because if they start from the top it will not work". Lines 90-91.
P 5	"And there must be well-tailored strategic plans that can ensure an effective implementation of the language policy in Africa" Lines 52-53.
P 10	"African leaders must ensure that all indigenous African languages are empowered and made accessible to Africans so that they can become African lingua francas" Lines 101-102
P1	**"**True development and promotion of indigenous African languages can only be achieved through concrete actions, not empty political rhetoric, and must be guided by clarity of purpose and action**"** Lines 125-127.
P 12	**"**It is quite disappointing that more policy talks are still ongoing more than fifty decades after the political independence of the majority of African countries, African languages are still relegated to the background; they are mostly reserved for informal domains, while colonial languages still enjoy a prestigious status as they are being in education, media, administration, etc." Lines 170-174.

APPENDIX F: HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Tohouenou

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H14/02/17**
PROJECT TITLE	Language in the conduct of international diplomacy at the African Union Commission
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr CR Tohouenou
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Literature, Language and Media
DATE CONSIDERED	21 February 2014
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	20/02/2016

DATE 21/02/2014 **CHAIRPERSON** _____ (Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Prof J Inggs; Dr A Niang

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES