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Augusto, Antonio Filipe

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School of Literature and Language Studies

Department of linguistics

Assessing the Introduction of Angolan Indigenous Languages in the Educational System in Luanda: A Language Policy Perspective

António Filipe Augusto

Research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics

Supervisor: Professor Tommaso M. Milani

Johannesburg, January 2012

Declaration

I, António Filipe Augusto, declare that this is my original work. It has never been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university. I am submitting it for the degree of Masters of Arts in Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

António Filipe Augusto

(Name of the candidate)

25 day of October 2011

Dedication

In the memory of

Zeferina Lídia Costa

and

Isabel Fernandes de Sá

You decided to leave this world while I was away from home. We were not able to say goodbye. You should have known how I miss you. You will always be in my mind. May your souls rest in the peace of the Lord.

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to find out the agenda behind language policy in Angola, and in particular it assesses the introduction of the Angolan indigenous languages in the Angolan educational system in Luanda and why the chosen languages and not others, as well as providing my contribution as a teacher and researcher in the matters of educational language policy. To do so, it analysed two most relevant policy documents that provides legal support to the policy and three newspaper articles that reacted to this issue. A broad review of literature on the impact of colonial and post-colonial language ideologies in the country, including the historicity of the policy makers was done. Qualitative research tools were used to gather and analyse the data. Fifteen interviews and questionnaires were conducted to gather the views of grassroots and the policy implementers. This research was the first study in this field in Angola. The study found that Kimbundu is being also being used as a medium of instruction in Luanda where children have Portuguese as their first language which is the opposite of what the policy UNESCO's persuasive campaign for mother-tongue education and the government claims was happening. Furthermore, the research established that there is a parallel between the Angolan colonial and post-colonial language policies. Therefore, I conclude that by doing the inverse there is a government hidden agenda behind the policy which is to preserve Portuguese colonial language ideology and maintain social discrimination on the basis of language. Hence, I recommended that the government reviewed the whole set of strategies applied to implement the policy by using more inclusive practices.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The sub-Saharan subcontinent is characterized by a great deal of multilingualism that derives in part from the artificial process of nation creation during colonialism. During the colonial epoch, mainly after Berlin Conference (November 1884-February 1885), multilingualism was regarded by the colonial powers as 'messy' (Irvine & Gal, 2000, pp. 63; 75). As a result, the colonial powers imposed their home languages as the dominant languages in their colonies. With the advent of independence, the postcolonial African states crystallised into three distinct blocks with regard to language policies and practices, which constitutes a three typology model of postcolonial language policies: Firstly, there were the countries that had completely abandoned the master colonial language policy and proclaimed an indigenous language as official language. Secondly, countries which, besides preserving their former colonial power language policies, adopted indigenous languages; and thirdly, countries that completely preserved their master colonial language policy without any changes. This third type includes, *inter alia*, all of the former Portuguese colonies including Angola, while countries like Tanzania, Ethiopia and Somalia fall within the first type. Senegal, South Africa and Namibia among others adopted second model (Kamwangamalu, 2009).

In a sense, one could say that postcolonial Angola has inherited the colonial language ideology. In fact, to date, Angola is a country where the indigenous languages have no clear official status. Nonetheless, state authorities acknowledge the role of indigenous languages in the preservation of culture and development of the country. This acknowledgement, however, is no more than political rhetoric. Even the highest political officials in the country still do not seem to have the terms to apply to address these languages. No one knows whether they are "National Languages" (Conselho de Ministros, 1987; Assembleia Nacional, 2001; Cruz e Silva, 2010) or "African Languages spoken in Angola" (dos Santos, 2006), or "additional languages of Angola" (constitution) or something else. As Ricento (2006, p. 5) observes, the absence of a clear status for indigenous languages reflects the unclear perception that policymakers have with regard to these languages.

It is important to point out that the Angolan post-colonial elite have invested in the promotion of the colonial language, to the detriment of indigenous languages. This, however, has met disapproval from some quarters such as linguists and a new generation of politicians in the country. The opposing voices have argued for change of the language

policy for a long time, since a few years after the independence of the country. These public debates about the language of instruction in schools have been a top priority in the absence of an explicit language policy in Angola. The reasons for this debate can be seen from the quotation below, which I collected during my two first years of teaching, (1982 and 1983)*:

> *"Kikwenda kwame kulonguka ko. Nlongi kakuvovanga nding'etu ko. Yetu mpe katuwanga nding'andi ko".*
>
> "I'm not going to school. The teacher doesn't speak our language. Neither do we understand his language" - (Primary school pupils Maquela do Zombo, 1982-3).

The above quotation translated from *Kizombo* (a variety of Kikongo spoken in the municipality of Maquela do Zombo, in the Angolan northern province of Uíge) reveals that there is a need for a multilingual educational system. Moreover, "a more democratic educational system in Angola" (dos Santos, 2006) has been longed for, even by young primary school children for a long time now. The quotation demonstrates the reason behind the refusal of young primary school children to go to school in early 1980s was mainly linguistic. In particular, primary school children boycotted school because teachers were not members of their linguistic community, and did not speak local language(s). Nor did the pupils understand the teachers' language in this case, the dominant official Portuguese language. Moreover, it is also important to note that for a long time, teachers were banned from speaking languages other than Portuguese and risked disciplinary cases for violating this official language policy in schools. Maquela do Zombo was not a unique situation, but was the norm in other remote areas of Angola. What occurs here is the transformation of language into a covert barrier. More precisely, Portuguese, became an instrument applied implicitly to deny the right of the autonomous indigenous population from school instruction in their own language.

This is a covert kind of "linguistic atrocity" (Wodak, 2001, p. 21; Marley, 1981) and denotes a very clearly covered manner of social exclusion (Wodak, 2001, p. 73). The

*Over these years, Portuguese was the only medium of instruction in the country, including primary school, regardless the children first languages. As a result, many school children boycotted school due to the lack of Portuguese in their linguistic repertoire, as their teachers were not allowed to speak their first languages in school, even if they knew them.

paradoxes of this scenario are clear. The medium of instruction in primary school was and still is a language that is not used in the community. Neither parents nor children spoke the language of instruction. Parents and/or guardians expected their children to go to school to learn the language. One can only imagine how difficult it must have been for teachers to cope with learners who did not speak their language, and how could school children learn from a teacher who did not speak/understand the children's language.

Usually, whatever happens in Luanda is applicable nationwide as well. The decision on the use of Portuguese as the sole language of instruction in formal education was made reflecting the interest of the ruling social stratum. However, it continues to have a harmful effect on those who do not speak or have low proficiency of Portuguese. I share Mata Mourisca's (Catholic Bishop emeritus in the Diocese of Uíge) warning to Angolan policymakers to stop thinking that what happened in Luanda is representative of the whole of Angola, i.e. "Angola was reduced to Luanda and Mutamba (Central government centre) was the capital". Angola is not circumscribed to Luanda. The policymakers should be aware that there are areas in the country where the colonial governance had minimal jurisdiction/authority and Maquela do Zombo district is one amongst many.

However, it was not until 2001 that the Angolan parliament passed the Law number 13/01 that allowed the introduction of indigenous languages into the formal educational system as a medium of instruction. Hence, this study looks at the processes and implementation of the Angolan government's political decision taken in 2001 to introduce Angolan indigenous languages into the compulsory educational system in Luanda. This was a particularly important political event considering that the Angolan post-colonial formal education system, just like in many other post-colonial countries, has for many years remained oblivious of the multilingual and multicultural components of the country. Since independence from the Portuguese colonial rule, the new Angolan political elite continued to enforce the use of Portuguese as the official language of the country, even though the official Portuguese proficiency statistics showed that most of the Angolans, especially in non-urban areas, did not speak nor understand the language of the former ruler. More specifically, the statistics revealed that, in rural areas, 59 % of the indigenous population never spoke the language, and only 31 % rarely did; the remaining 10 % did with some frequency (Bender, 2004). Currently, it is estimated that only 36 % of Angolans speak Portuguese (INE – Instituto Nacional de Estatística). In adopting Portuguese as the only

official language, Portuguese has thus been for a long time the only language of instruction in schools nationally.

The 2001 Law number 13/01, *inter alia*, endorsed the continued use of Portuguese as the language of instruction in educational system and identified six "National Languages" (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Cokwe, Umbundu, Mbunda, and Oxikwanyama) and made them mediums of instruction in the "compulsory subsystem of education". Through this law, the Angolan government, also committed itself to promoting and guaranteeing all necessary conditions, including human, scientific, material and financial resources to expand and generalize the use of the "National Languages" in the educational system.

1. 1. Identification of the Problem and Research Question

With the legal backing of Law number 13/01, the Angolan Ministry of Education, decided to introduce these languages in primary schools in 2006 through the Educational Reform Programme. The piloting of this project was to be done in Luanda, rather than in the localities where these languages are widely spoken as first languages. Nonetheless, this project spread to other provinces at the time of implementation. This implementation strategy was controversial considering that an overwhelming majority of the population in Luanda speaks Portuguese. Although there was no official data about number of speakers, very few people in Luanda speak indigenous languages due to the years of oppression as a result of the colonial language policy, and its legacy is still evident today. Thus, the purpose of this study is to assess the introduction the indigenous languages in the educational system and implementation of this project on the basis of language policy, to investigate whether, and if so, how this policy would be accepted by the population of Luanda.

Since its rollout, very little has been said about the results of the pilot implementation of the project, as there has been no status planning, corpus planning is still to be completed, and no teachers are being trained to undertake the task. In fact, the results of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the Angolan Educational System seem to be far from the expectations, which were to use indigenous languages as medium of instruction to increase the achievement rates in schools, and to expand the use of the languages. These factors, *inter alia*, lead to the following research questions:

- Why did the government decide to introduce the indigenous languages in the educational system?
- What was the specific agenda in choosing some languages over others?
- What are Luandans' perceptions of this policy?
- Are indigenous languages used as a media of instruction or a school subject?

1. 2. Rationale

The ways in which educational policies are designed, and in this case, language in education policies, and implemented in Angola seem to be so covert processes that even those who Shohamy (2006, p. 80) calls "agents of big government policies" are not taken into account in their "shaping and delivery". Although language teachers were the ones to implement the policy, they were not consulted, since the policy followed a top-down means of operation. Furthermore, as Shohamy (2006, p. 1) holds:

> "language is commonly viewed by policy makers as a closed and finite system, as it is often used as a symbolic tool for manipulation of political, social, educational and economic agendas, especially in the context of political entities such as nation-states".

Shohamy (2006, p. 79) further argues that "...most of decisions regarding LEP are made at the political level with no teachers involved". As a consequence, the results were far from the expectations.

Since I am a professional in the field of education, the introduction of indigenous languages in the compulsory education system has considerable interest to me as a researcher. My main interest here is to try to discern the government's specific agenda with respect to the chosen languages, and why the policy is being piloted in Luanda, while overlooking the regions where these languages are widely used as first languages. Moreover, it is worth highlighting that in terms language policy matters, this is a first of its kind as there has never been a similar research done on Angolan language policy in general, and language in education policy, in particular. Therefore, being a pioneering research, this study explores the gap that exists in Language Policy and Planning in Angola and promotes the ideological debates about language that need to happen in the country.

1. 3. The relevance of the study

The sociolinguistic realities of Angola in the post-colonial and 'post-communist' eras seem to have imposed new demands on both language policy and language educational policy makers. After independence, where the country inherited the colonial language ideology in which the hegemonic language was Portuguese, while local languages were considered as "dialects" or even "dog's languages" (Bender, 2004) and their users were marginalized and regarded as 'low class citizens'. A revision of this perception and the process of language policy designing in general, and language education policy designing particularly, is needed to challenge the current situation of the hegemonic control/power of Portuguese as the only language of instruction sanctioned by the government to all children irrespective of their first languages. Thus, this study hypothesises that a monolingual policy of instruction is not compatible with the multicultural reality of the country. This study agrees with Pattanayak's (1988) argument that "the dominant models of LPP [language policy and planning] assume monolingual norms typical of Western societies" (cited in Canagarajah, 2006, p. 155). He goes on further to argue that: "postcolonial communities have to deviate from such models to consider radically polylingual norms as viable alternatives" (ibid).

The Angolan government's decision to introduce indigenous languages as medium of instruction reflects the idea that monolingual instruction does not seem to be compatible with the reality of the country. Instead, there seems to be a political thrust from some emerging politicians and linguists towards a more inclusive language ideology that recognizes the multicultural and multilingual mosaics of the population. Whether this is really the case or just a "symbolic policy" (Taylor, 1999) with little or no actual implementation is also a matter for investigation in this study.

The relevance of this research is to reveal the government's agenda in the policy as well as to provide an ethnographically grounded (Canagarajah, 2006) understanding of people's attitudes towards the implementation of the policy. The Angolan authorities' claim to value the indigenous languages, mainly their introduction in the compulsory educational subsystem needs to be grasped if changes are to occur. To do so, government policies and agendas need to undergo rigorous analysis in order to make things clear, as well as collecting and understanding people's reactions towards the policy needs to be heard.

With regards to my study, borrowing from ethnographic research method, I believe that I fulfil the three pre-conditions established by Agar (1995, cited in Milani & Johnson, 2008, pp. 375-6). The first pre-condition is that the researcher *needs to be there*. I am one of the Angolans who have lived through each of the three 'critical' eras of the country, i.e. the 'colonial era', and the 'post-colonial' two distinct eras: the 'communist' era and the so-called 'democratic era'. Also, I have been a teacher since 1982 and my teaching experience ranges from primary school to higher education, both, in rural and urban areas in Angola. Currently, I am a language teacher-trainer and I have an insider's insight with regard to the Angolan educational system.

The second pre-condition is the identification of 'rich points'. There were several clashes between my expectations and the reality on the ground during my research. I was able to identify the points of these "breakdowns" and make some changes and adapt my plan to the new reality. This is an instance of a rich point. As for the last pre-condition, of 'coherence', I was able to reflect on whatever constituted a clash in my study and tried understand it better. I have been able to identify and repair emerging instances of misunderstanding during my research and I have taken my research participants, whatever their background and understanding of the theme is, into consideration.

1. 4. Research report outline

This research report has five chapters. The first chapter introduces the study. This chapter also identifies the study problem, research question and the rationale of the study. The second chapter deals with the review of the literature, looking at what other researchers have done in the field and how their findings relate to the study. Moreover, it provides a historical background of the Angolan sociolinguistic reality, looking at the notions of historicity and temporality (Blommaert, 1999) to provide a broader understanding of the situation to the readers. The third chapter is concerned with the data gathering approach and instruments. The study applies a hybrid of research methods, looking at the policy in analysis both top-down and bottom-up. It analyses the policy makers' perspective, in shaping "the linguistic behaviour of the community according to the imperatives of the policy makers", as well as it approaches the community understanding of the policy (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 153). The

fourth chapter presents the data and analyzes the findings and chapter five discusses the findings in relation to the literature review and makes conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2 - Language policy in Angola: a review of literature

Introduction:

This chapter addresses the issue of the language policy in Angola. It provides some historical background of the origin of multilingualism in Angola (pre-colonial era), as well as the colonial and post-colonial language policies as a foundation to the language policy. It also provides a brief history of the process of decolonization of the country, where the incoming elite who were principally the *assimilados* did not seem to be particularly interested in promoting the Angolan languages. Consequently very little was done by them to develop indigenous languages. Nevertheless, prior to dealing with language policy in Angola, it is important to have an overview of language policies in Africa. This is necessary because of the lack of literature/research on language policy and planning in Angola as this study is a pioneering research on language policy in Angola.

Angola, by virtue of being a part of Africa, was an active and influential member of the former Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as today's African Union (AU), and member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The continental and regional language policies and planning contexts may provide useful insights for Angola. Specifically, this chapter is a review of the literature on the former Organization of African Unity (AOU) Cultural Charter and some relevant publications in post-colonial African language policies in Africa (Blommaert, 1999; Stroud, 1999 and others). The chapter is organized in two distinct broad sections. The first section deals with the post-colonial African language policies and planning, looking at the language policies that different African countries adopted after their independence. Specifically, the section provides details as to whether the post-colonial Africa abandoned or continued with the colonial policies and how successful they were with their post-colonial policies (see Kamwangamalu, 2009; Blammaert, 1999).

The second section deals specifically with language policy in Angola and is comprised of three sub-sections. The first one looks at the pre-colonial linguistic situation of the territory that makes up what is nowadays called Angola. The second sub-section is an analysis of language policy in the colonial Angola and provides some historical context in the development of the policy, such as how the colonising Portuguese created a social stratum to help them continue to implement their policy. The last part provides the post-colonial

Angola language policy and planning, and reveals how the colonial policy was continued by the (still) powerful post-colonial elites and the social implications this has brought to the country. The specific task here will be to examine the relevance of the continental language policies and literature, as there are no publications on Angola. Moreover, the literature on Angolan history makes part of the reviewed literature to help explain the historical specificities of the different periods.

2. 1. Language Policy in Africa

The history of sub-Saharan Africa is characterised by three main phases: (1) *pre-colonial era*, (2) *colonial era*, starting roughly in the fifteenth century with the arrival of the Portuguese in Kongo Kingdom, one of the first sub-Saharan African kingdoms to accommodate Europeans and establish diplomatic relations with a European Kingdom – Kingdom of Portugal (Wheeler & Pélissier (1971, pp. 28-9) and (3) *post-colonial period*, when African countries proclaimed their independence (UDI). It lies beyond the scope of this study to provide details about pre-colonial Africa. As for the colonial period, one can say that sub-Saharan Africa was under control of four main European countries: England, France, Portugal and Belgium, with Spain colonising only Equatorial Guinea. Germany and Italy were disposed of their colonies after the First World War. This to say, the current language delineation of African countries, except some minor changes, is a result of Berlin Conference (November 1884-February 1885) that partitioned Africa among these powers.

Post-colonial African states converged under the then Organization of African Unity (OAU), the precursor to today's African Union (AU), passed Resolution CM/Res. 371 (XXIII) in 1974 and subsequently the Cultural Charter for Africa in 1976 that helped member countries to design a language policy: 'The Cultural Charter' for Africa. In first chapter – *Basic Principles governing a National Cultural Policy* – set out the priorities and methods for its members to utilise in the development of their own cultural and language policy. Article 6 of the Cultural Charter defended, *inter alia*, "the transaction, teaching and development of national languages with a view to using them for the dissemination and development of science and technology" and "the adaptation of educational curricula to development needs and to National and African cultural and social realities".

As an active and new member of the OAU, and mainly as an inexperienced newly independent state, Angola could have taken advantage of the Cultural Charter for Africa to design a language policy. Indeed, the Charter language plan for the continent addressed very important language issues that would have helped the country to come up with a post-colonial language policy. Admittedly, Agostinho Neto, the former and first president of Angola, in one of his speeches delivered in 1978, acknowledged the needs for the change in the language policy, in the light of the OAU language Charter. In that speech he said that: "The exclusive use of Portuguese as official language and vehicle currently used in our literature will not solve our problems" (*União dos Escritores Angolanos*, 1978). However, after his death in September 1979, this acknowledgement dissolved into empty political rhetoric.

Article 6.2 on methods and needs, argued for among other things, "the introduction of African culture into all national educational system" and "the introduction and intensification of the teaching in national languages in order to accelerate the economic, social, political and cultural development in our states." The Cultural Charter further stated that: "the African states recognize the imperative need to develop African languages which will ensure their culture advances and accelerate their economic and social development and to this end, will endeavour to formulate a national policy in regard to languages" (article 17). The article further called on all "African states [to] prepare and implement the reforms necessary for the introduction of African languages into education". Article 18 provided a freedom of choice in terms of the number of languages. Article 19 urged for "the introduction of African languages at all levels of education should go hand-in-hand with literacy work among people at large".

Hence, based on the principles stated in the guidelines, many post-colonial African states have adopted multilingual education policies. An overview of decolonisation of African countries over nearly 50 years reveals that attempts to implement the designed policies resulted in failure for most of the countries (Kamwangamalu, 2009). Most of post-colonial sub-Saharan African countries embraced multiple languages in their constitutions. However, the actual practice showed to be a "mere political lip-service". As Kamwangamalu (2009) puts it:

> The evidence gleaned supports the argument that language policies in most African countries have succeeded only in creating space, on paper at least, for the promotion of the indigenous languages in higher

> domains. However, they failed to implement the policies and sever ties with inherited colonial language policies (p. 133).

Kamwangamalu goes further to point out two contrasting sets of ideologies and "the legacy of inherited colonial language policies" as the main reason behind the failure of these language policies. The evoked pairs of ideologies are "the ideology of development vs. the ideology of decolonization, the ideology of globalization vs. the ideology of localisation". Lack of political will from the leadership of these countries is also added to the list of causes for failure. According to Kamwangamalu (ibid, p. 134), the adopted policies did not simply seek to grant African indigenous languages the "status of official languages" like the languages of the former colonizers, but sought to elevate them into educational domains as well.

An overwhelming majority of sub-Saharan African countries applied the policies along the lines that Tariq Rahman (2001) terms "a symbolic move in the power game" (cited in Kamwangamalu (2009, p. 140). The post-colonial language policies elevated indigenous languages to the status of official languages. However, this was a simple political decision, as in practice, these languages did not approach the dimensions of use of colonial masters' languages. Countries such as Tanzania, Ethiopia and Somalia are points of reference of a successful implementation of language policies of their own, rather than the ones from ex-colonial powers. "Political will" is highlighted as the motivator for the successful implementation in these countries (ibid, p. 137). Moreover, Kamwangamalu identifies a common feature in the leaders who successfully implemented policies that valued and promoted African indigenous languages: the three leaders "adopted socialist ideologies". Principally, socialism claimed to defend the interests of majority of the working masses, therefore, the majority interests, rather than interests of the minority ruling stratum. According to the author, political will of the leadership of these countries and the post-colonial socialist regime are the key factors for success (ibid, p. 137).

Nonetheless, the Angolan political elite, though tightly linked with socialism continued with Portuguese colonial language policy (type 3). This was despite Angola having been one of the African countries with very tight connections with socialist political ideology (dos Santos 2006). Drawing from Kamwangamalu (2009), it would be argued that the absence of political will from the Angolan ruling elite is what hindered the implementation of the dictates of the African Charter on Culture language policy.

Although, the 1986 Organization of African Unity manifesto on the language question, which aimed at reducing the excessive dependence of Africans on ex-colonial languages as official languages is no longer tenable, the counter-hegemonic struggle still persists. Hence, the 1997 Inter-Governmental Conference on language Policy in Africa urged the ministers of culture and education to create conditions that lead to avoid the conflict between the ex-colonial languages and African indigenous languages, since they can both coexist peacefully (Alexander, 2009, p.118).

In this conference, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, the leadership of Africa Academy of Languages (ACALAN) and language experts in general tried to persuade the participants to look at issue of expansion of the domains of use of African indigenous languages with extreme importance, as well as the role that children's first language in education plays for their success (ibid, 117-8).

The concerns about the issues of language policies of African countries led to an existence of an official institution to deal with language issues within the African Union. The African Academy of Languages set 11 objectives, which include, *inter alia*:

> "promoting of African languages in all education sectors; analysing language policies in Africa; promoting scientific and democratic culture based on the use of African languages" (ibid, 124).

Besides the continental efforts to improve the language policies of African countries, regional organizations are also concerned with the matter. Thus, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) protocol on education and training (Kamwendo, 2009, p. 5) is a case in point. This protocol is concerned with the issue of language policies of the SADC member countries. SADC is made up of 15 countries comprising an estimated number of 72 African languages (ibid). This estimate seems inaccurate. There are many more languages spoken in the region. The estimate number of languages in SADC region is of 622 languages as shown in the below table:

Nr	Name of the country	Number of indigenous languages
01	Angola	41
02	Botswana	25
03	Democratic Republic of Congo	215
04	Lesotho	05
05	Madagascar	17
06	Malawi	16
07	Mauritius	06
08	Mozambique	43
09	Namibia	28
10	Seychelles	03
11	South Africa	24
12	Swaziland	05
13	United Republic of Tanzania	128
14	Zambia	43
15	Zimbabwe	19
Total	Total	**622**

Table1. SADC estimated number of languages - Extract from Table 7. Linguistic diversity of countries Adapted from: Ethnologue Statistical Summaries-Linguistic diversity of countries Table 7. Accessed 16.03.2011.

As seen in the table above, there are 622 indigenous languages in the region. However, these countries are grouped along with the ex-colonial languages. That is to say, African Portuguese speaking countries are known as Lusophones, English speakers as Anglophones and French speakers as Francophones (Kamwendo, 2009, pp. 5-7; wa Thiong'o, 2003, p.5).

It is interesting to observe that the dominant languages in this regional block (SADC) are the ex-colonial, although majority of people in the region do "speak the official (exoglossic) languages", the indigenous official languages are not given the same power as their counterpart ex-colonial ones. For instance, South Africa has 11 official languages, of which English and Afrikaans are the ex-colonial languages. However, English still enjoys hegemony (Kamwendo, 2009, p.7) over the other languages. The Republic of Botswana has 2 official languages, i.e. English and Setswana, with English enjoying a more prestigious status. Moreover, even monolingual countries like Swaziland still do not value their indigenous languages to the point of expanding their domain of use (Kamwangamalu, 2009, p.136).

It is clearly seen here that even countries in which language policies attribute official status to African indigenous languages tend to provide them to very limited domains of use, and exclude these languages from the educational domain. Only in some cases are these languages used for school instruction. However, the indigenous languages are only used in the first two or three years of education as the case of Botswana attests (Molosiwa, 2009; Kamwendo, 2009, p.10).

Associated to the effort of the continental organizations and some individual countries language policies, UNESCO's appeal on the importance of mother-tongue education, in its 2005 declaration seems to have triggered new responses on the issue. Hence, there are new commitments in a number of countries, such as Botswana, to doing so. Nonetheless, some countries like Angola, still lag behind in their responses. Others like Botswana have been serious in educational reform with commitments to do so by 2016 so as to address the challenges of education for sustainable development (Molowisa, 2009, pp. 80-91).

In fact, the change of the situation of the indigenous language in the continent is possible and inevitable. The routes to success in the implementation of language policies that value and promote African indigenous languages reside in integrating the issue of language planning with the global plans of states (Kamwendo, 2009, p. 10) and regarding the languages as a market product (Kamwangamalu, 2009, pp.136-7), expanding the domains of use of the languages including their insertion into all levels of education and developing them, making them become mediums of transmission of scientific and technological information. As Kamwangamalu (2009, p 139) puts it: "in Africa, two of the four conditions proposed by Cooper, R. L. (1989) for successful language marketing, namely the *product*

and the *place*, can readily be met," therefore, all they need is *promotion* and *price*. i.e., the languages (product) are already spoken in certain geographic localities (place). However, they lack official status (promotion) and expansion of the domains of use in the society (price).

To sum up, the overwhelming majority of African countries have failed to implement language policies in the post-colonial era that take cognizance of the indigenous languages and continue to grant prestigious status to their ex-colonial languages. However, both the organizations in the continent and individual countries are committed in improving the situation of African indigenous languages, mainly after the appeal of UNESCO on the importance of mother-tongue education for sustainable education and its roles in children's school achievement. Therefore, it is now mostly the responsibility of individual governments' to show their "political will" and look into their internal language policies, in the light of the guidelines provided by both continental and regional organizations.

Having provided an overview of the continental post-colonial language policies, this discussion moves to look at the Angolan language policy.

2. 2. Language Policy in Angola

Similar to most other sub-Saharan African countries, Angola is a country of many languages. It is estimated that 41 African languages are spoken, 33 of which are Bantu and 8 non-Bantu (Khoi San) (Fernandes & Ntondo, 2002). However, the post-colonial ruling elite declared Portuguese as the only official language to the detriment of the indigenous languages and the multilingual reality of the country. This was a verbal type of declaration, since there was nothing written to provide legal support to the declaration. The elite also neglected the fact that at the time of independence, very few Angolans could claim Portuguese in their linguistic repertoire.

It is noteworthy that until the first constitution was approved in 2010, the set of basic laws and principles that the country was governed by, including the constitutional law, omitted any language related issues. The *República Popular de Angola* (People's Republic of Angola) was administrated under a process of reproduction and reshaping of inherited Portuguese colonial constitution with the inclusion of some socialism regime principals. i.e.

the country did not have its own official constitution until the publication of the *Lei Constitucional* (constitutional law). Actually, the *lei constitucional* was an amendment to the compilation of extracts from colonial constitution and some socialism system principles produced in late 1990. Prior to the amendment, the compilation was not a document of public consumption. This amendment was made in 1991, and it constitutes the first official constitutional law in the postcolonial Angola. The "solely urgent and partial revision" (Diário da República, 1992, p. 486) included inter alia, items that aimed at allowing the change to pluralist political ideology, the introduction of market economic system and allow the first the elections to occur 1992. However, the document did not include any article concerning languages matters (see the *Lei Constitutional* for details). Therefore, any issue in this regard was legislated through resolutions. Most of the resolutions on language issues were verbal, with few exceptions such as in educational matters. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note how the recently approved constitution (2010) positions indigenous languages at the same level of foreign languages (Art. 19 – Línguas): 1. "*A Língua Oficial da República de Angola é o Português"* (The official language of the Republic of Angola is Portuguese). 2. *"O Estado valoriza e promove o estudo, o ensino e a utilização das demais línguas de Angola, bem como das principais línguas de comunicação international"* (The state values and promotes the study, the teaching and the use of other additional languages of Angola, as well as the main languages of international communication).

As mentioned above, the overwhelming majority of the population have indigenous languages as their mother-tongue. This situation is still the reality of Angolans today. The statistics below from Bender (2004, p. 221), provide evidence of the proficiency of Portuguese in the rural areas, a year before independence:

The level of proficiency in Portuguese in the rural areas:

(a) Perfectly fluent	1%
(b) Relatively fluent	4%
(c) Reasonably fluent	16%
(d) Few rudimentary ideas	24%
(e) No knowledge	53%

- How much Portuguese is used by Africans in the rural areas:

  (a) Regularly 1%

  (b) Some frequently 8%

  (c) Very rarely 31%

  (d) Never 59%

These figures have changed in the post-colonial Angola. In fact, there is an increase of Portuguese speakers in the country. There seem to be two important reasons that have made the number of Portuguese speakers to rise: (1) the prevalence and continuity of colonial language ideology which gave Portuguese a uniquely hegemonic status as the official language and (2) the effect of civil war that broke up two weeks after the proclamation of independence, forcing rural people to look for shelter in urban areas. This led to an increase of speakers of indigenous languages in urban areas, and consequently, an increase of people acquiring Portuguese.

A research carried out in 1996 showed that there were nearly 20% of Angolans that had Portuguese as their first language (Hodges, 2002, p.46). Nowadays, available statistics estimate that 30 % of Angolans have Portuguese as their first language. However, the data reveal that the largest proportion - 60 % of people who have acquired Portuguese as their first language is concentrated in Luanda (INE, 2006) representing a 10% growth in a period of 10 years. The national average of the number of Portuguese speakers grows 1% a year.

In his opening speech of the 3 rd Symposium on National Culture, José Eduardo dos Santos, the Angolan president assumed that "Portuguese, adopted as the official language of the country since our independence is currently the mother tongue of more than one third of Angolans citizens..." (dos Santos, 2006). The president's figures are clearly divergent from the previous official data, in the very same year. It is not clear what he means by "one third of Angolan citizens" in a country where the number of population is unknown, though Hodges' data are questionable as well.

Nevertheless, all the figures, though questionable, make no mention of how many Angolans speak Portuguese in the country. Furthermore, an attentive observer will question the origin and the reliability of these data, since there has been no single census of the population in the post-colonial Angola, possibly due the post-independence civil war reality. The civil war

frustrated the attempts to conduct census, and especially in the rural areas. Even then, there has never even been a census in Luanda where the war was not a reality, except in sporadic once off instances. Whatever the reality is, the fact remains that indigenous languages are still the most spoken languages in the country and the mother-tongues of the overwhelming majority in rural areas (Hodges, 2002, p.46; INE, 2006).

Although the actual estimate number of languages is questionable, the ethnographic division shown in the map below provides an important background to any study in the matter of languages in Angola.

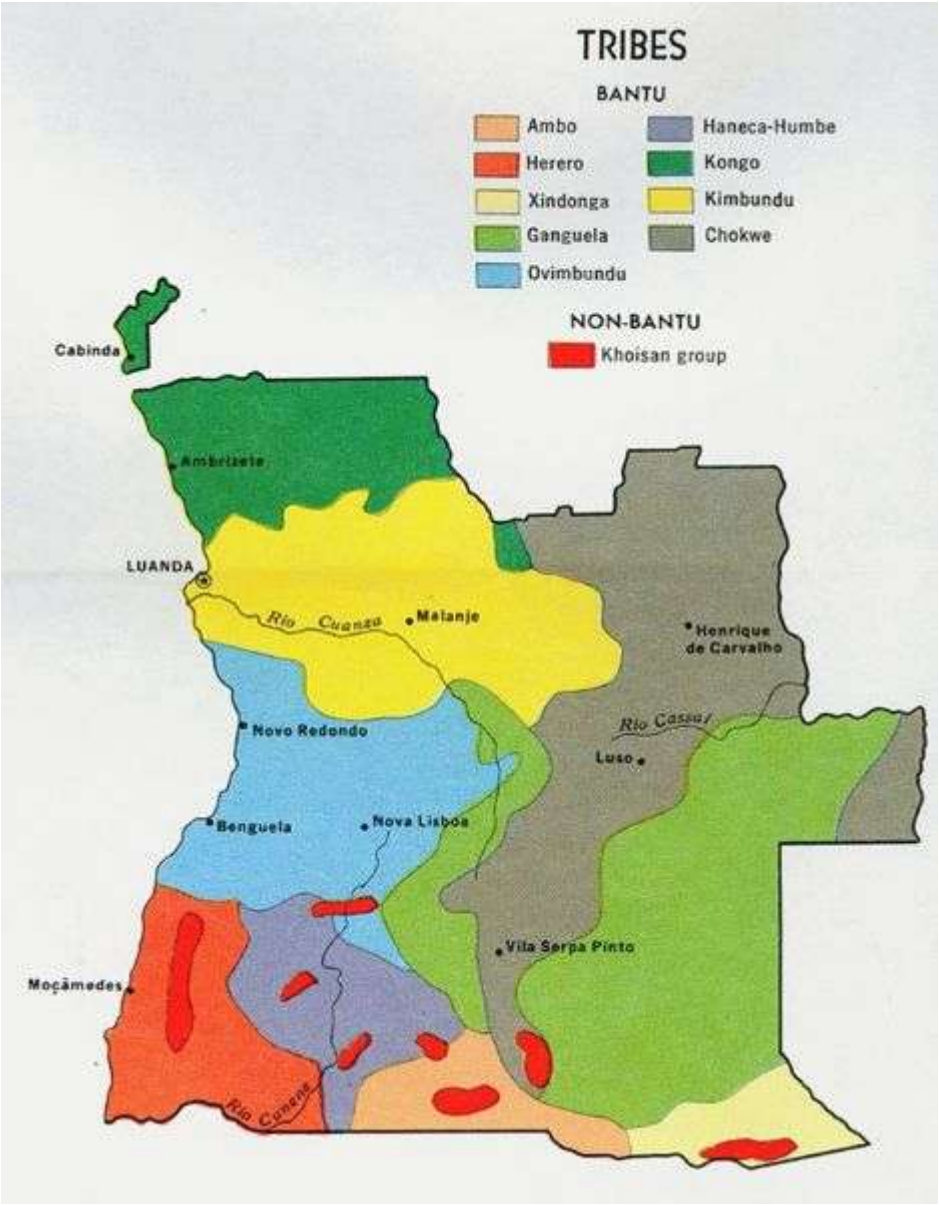


Figure 1: Ethnic groups of Angola (adapted from www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/demographics).

Figure 2 above shows the distribution of ethnic groups in Angola. Among the Bantu languages, Umbundu, Kikongo, Kimbundu and Cokwe are the most widely spoken. Nevertheless, all these languages have no official status. Terms like "*línguas nacionais*" (national languages) (Assembleia Nacional, 2001; Conselho de Ministros, 1987; Cruz e Santos, 2010), "*línguas africanas faladas em Angola*" (African languages spoken in Angola) (dos Santos, 2006), other additional languages of Angola, and others, are used to refer to them.

In fact, to fully understand the situation of indigenous languages in Angola one needs to apply Blommaert's (1999) notions of historicity, temporality and materialism. Hence, to better understand the language policy in Angola, it is worth looking at the history of language policy in the country in three different phases of its history: pre-colonial, the colonial and the post-colonial eras.

2. 2. 1. Pre-colonial era

The multilingual complexity of Angola is a consequence of colonization (Bender, 2004; Henderson, 1979). Prior to the colonial period, the territory nowadays called Angola used to accommodate several independent kingdoms with their own independent languages. Hence, Kikongo was a language of the Kongo Kingdom; Oxikwanyama was the language of Kwanyama kingdom, Umbundu was the language of Bailundu Kingdom, Cokwe was the language of Cokwe Kingdom, and Ngangela was the language of Ngangela Kingdom. Kimbundu language was shared in three kingdoms, i.e. Ndongo, Matamba and Kassanje kingdoms (Henderson, 1979).

Prior to colonial administration, there was no internal multi-lingualism within the kingdoms that comprise the territory denominated as Angola today. With the exception of Kimbundu that was a language shared by three distinct Kingdoms, the sociolinguistic reality of the territory was of 'one kingdom one language'. It is worth pointing out that the kingdoms of Kongo, Kwanyama and Cokwe were sub-divided during the 1884-5 Berlin Conference, and assigned to different neighbouring countries. Hence, three parts of Kongo Kingdom were assigned to what today are called the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo and Gabon, leaving the fourth with Angola. A part of Kwanyama kingdom was assigned to Namibia and leaving the second with Angola whereas two parts of the Cokwe Kingdom

were assigned to the Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia, leaving the third with Angola. As a consequence, these languages underwent the same division, with Kikongo being spoken in Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Republic of Congo and Gabon. Cokwe is spoken in Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Zambia. Ngangela is spoken in Angola and Zambia, and Kwanyama is spoken in Angola and Namibia.

2. 2. 2. Colonial era

After the division of the African kingdoms in small chunks of territories (Kamwendo, 2009, p. 7; Irvine and Gal, 2000, p. 50) and the creation of the new 'national' realities that comprise the current African countries (Berlin conference November 1884 – February1885), Portuguese were granted the territory that in the present days constitutes Angola. As wa Thiongh'o (1986, p. 4) asserts, contention started immediately after "the capitalist powers of Europe sat in Berlin and carved an entire continent with a multiplicity of peoples, cultures, and languages into different colonies".

With colonization, the Portuguese, in line with other colonising powers pushed a language policy that regarded the multilingualism of their colony as messy. Moreover, they viewed the languages of their so-called "overseas province" as "dialects" (Fernandes and Ntondo, 2002). The term "dialect" was used in a pejorative manner aiming at diminishing the value of these languages. In this way, they would also ensure the hegemony of the Portuguese language. If one concurs with Weinreich that, "languages are dialects with an army and a navy" (cited in Shohamy, 2006, p. 14), language became a crucial weapon of discrimination against the autochthonous population. This is insofar as one language variety (i.e. Portuguese) was elevated to the status of "language" whereas all other linguistic codes (autochthonous languages) were considered to be "dialects", and these were imbued with low status. Indigenous languages were deliberately devalued and used as an identifier through which to discriminate the speakers of these languages.

The Portuguese deliberately applied a "divide and rule" philosophy in the linguistic conquest of the autochthonous languages and their people. They created a favoured social class of black people: the so-called "*assimilados*" ("assimilated") who were regarded to be of a higher social status above the rest of the African populations as they could speak Portuguese. In a study of another Portuguese ex-colony, Mozambique, Stroud (1999) has

observed that the "colonial language legislation in Mozambique constructed social, residential and occupational space in such a way that employment and access to urban areas and facilities – including housing and education – were the sole prerogative of those who mastered Portuguese" (p. 347). In this regard, the Angolan reality was similar to Mozambique (Bender, 2004, pp. 137-55; 219-24). In sum, the Portuguese created what Shohamy (2006, p. 1) calls 'artificial categories' based on proficiency in the colonial master's language through which they could better dominate the colonized people.

It is important to highlight here, that assimilated parents or guardians were subjected to "covert" system of surveillance which made sure that they could never teach their children the so-called "dogs' languages" and were constantly under the threat of being punished if found to have infringed this rule. The Portuguese regarded any African language spoken in Angola as "dogs' or monkeys' language" and considered it a mental aberration to learn these languages (Matta, 1970, cited in Bender, 2004, p. 217). Evidence of this is documented in a study by Bender (2004) who asked an Ovimbundu lady (from the Umbundu ethnic group) married to a white Portuguese soldier whether her husband spoke Umbundu. The lady simply replied that even though her husband knew Umbundu, "he said he would never speak the language of dogs" (p. 218). Further evidence of such linguistic abhorrence can be adduced by my personal experience. As a child of African *assimilados*, I was never allowed to learn the native language of my fore-fathers (Kikongo).

This assimilationist policy reached its peak in the colonial Angola with the publication of the infamous decree number 77, also known as "*Decreto de Norton de Matos*" (Norton de Matos' decree), of 1927, in the official gazette of the province of Angola. José Mendes Ribeiro Norton the Matos, was then the Portuguese High Commissioner of the overseas province of Angola. This decree officially prohibited the use of indigenous languages in official settings (for more details see the full decree as an appendix to this research report). These so-called official settings included, *inter alia*, schools and churches. The more explicit Articles were the 2nd and the 3rd. Article 2 of this decree specifically stated that "it is not allowed to teach indigenous languages in any missionary school." Article 3 stated that "the use of indigenous languages is only permissible in speech, in the teaching of catechism, at elementary level, as a support of Portuguese". This contradiction of disallowing the use of the indigenous languages in schools but at the same time allowing them in catechism could be translated as a way to make more people assimilated.

It is interesting to note that while other colonial administrations allowed mother-tongue instruction and showed a kind of hostility to the idea of colonized people learning their language (see the British in Kenya, from 1900-40, for example) (wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 59), in relatively the same period, Portuguese were hostile to indigenous languages (Boletim Oficial, 1921).

The intention of the Portuguese authorities in publishing this decree was not just to prevent the use of indigenous languages but also mainly to acculturate Angolans and eradicate the autochthonous cultural mosaic (for more details, see Bender, 2004 and Henderson). Portuguese ideology towards indigenous languages amounted to what wa Thiong'o (1997) calls a planned "linguistic and cultural genocide". This policy also aimed at preparing indigenous African people to carry on the Portuguese cultural ideology. This policy helped to grant the status of *assimilado* to non-Angolans (such as Cape Verdean) and introduce them as members of the communities. As seen in Bender (2004, p. 225) "The conviction that poor, unskilled and uneducated peasants represented Portugal's best racial integrators stemmed from same fallacious reasoning which held that Cape Verdean and Angolan *mestiços* (individuals whose one of the parents are from different skin colour) were the best racial intermediaries in the colony". These people had their minds controlled by Portuguese culture and would resist any process of mental decolonization (wa Thiong'o, 1997, pp. 8-9).

Assimilados constitute the social stratum to which Angola was handed over on 11 November 1975 by the departing colonialists. And many Angolans from assimilated family origins are still unable to speak any of the Angolan indigenous languages today. They even criticize those who try to do so. For in this social stratum, their ignorance of their own languages has turned into pride (Thiong'o, 1997, pp. 53).

In sum, for Portuguese colonial administration language policy, the devaluation of indigenous languages and the consequent promotion of their own language was the fulcrum of the colonial cultural ideology. Hence, Portuguese was promoted to the expense of indigenous languages. Similar to the British in India and Kenya, through indigenous languages and cultures devaluation and promotion of Portuguese language and culture, colonial administration created "Angolans who were Angolans in colour but Portuguese in everything else" (wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 59).

2. 2. 3. Post-colonial Angola

It goes without saying that the situation in Angola after independence, as in many other African countries, was explosive in terms of linguistic issues. Portuguese was adopted as the only official language of the newly independent nation-state. As mentioned earlier, the reason for this choice lies in the fact that the majority of the indigenous elite who had taken over the running of the country lacked indigenous languages in their linguistic repertoire. Portuguese was also proclaimed *"lingua veicular"*, that is, the language used as a "vehicle of Angolan culture" (Neto, 1978). This was of course a controversial choice in a heterogeneous socio-cultural mosaic and such a complex sociolinguistic reality, where the majority of the rural population had languages other than Portuguese as their first language (see the statistics below). In addition, the denomination "*língua veicular*" also substituted "Portuguese" as the name of its corresponding school subject.

The post-colonial nation-building process constituted a great challenge for the country's new and inexperienced leadership, particularly in a context of the civil war that broke out within two weeks after the proclamation of independence (Anderson, (1979). The conflict was underpinned by ethno-linguistic motives. As a result, those who were "a creation of the Portuguese" and therefore inherited the Portuguese language ideology (Henderson, 1979; Bender, 2004) regarded the diverse multicultural and multilingualism aspects as a threat to their stability (Blommaert, 1999, p. 25; Recinto, 2006, p. 5).

With the intensification of the civil war, many indigenous languages became politically linked to the belligerent contenders, i.e. MPLA, FNLA and UNITA. Angola became "divided" into three main different linguistic areas, controlled by the three main political movements. Kikongo was linked to National Front of Liberation of Angola (FNLA) the rebel movement in the north; Umbundo was connected to National Union for a Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) the rebel movement in central and southern parts of the country; whereas Kimbundu was associated with Popular Movement of Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the group in power, controlling mostly part of the north (including Luanda) and the east. In addition, there was a fourth movement calling for independence of the northern province of Cabinda: Front for Liberation of Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC), which was connected with Fioti (a variety of Kikongo spoken in Cabinda).

It is in an attempt to counter these centrifugal forces in the civil war and create a unified Angolan nation that the once colonial language, besides being adopted as the official

language, was granted the status of a "language of national unity" (dos Santos, 2006). However, one could argue that this was mere political rhetoric. For example, people were being discriminated against (and they still are) on the basis of their accent when speaking Portuguese. Pejorative terms such as "*bailundo*" or UNITA (Angolans from Umbundu ethnic group or anyone from the south of Angola), "*mukongo"* or FNLA (Angolans from Kikongo ethnic group), "*zairense"* (ex-refugee returned from former Zaire), were applied to attribute language-based categories to people.

Here, the term "bailundo" is attributed to everyone who produces pre-nasalized /d/, /m/, /n/ and /p/ and tends not to be able to differentiate the phoneme /d/ from /t/ whereas "mukongo" is those who present in their Portuguese very peculiar elements of Kikongo, such as being unable to differentiate /ʒ / from /z/. "Zairense" is applicable to Angolans ex-refugees in the former Zaire who tend to use French accent in Portuguese, with a very trilled /r/. To this, one should add the pejorative term "*atrasado*" which means "late to catch up", which is applied to label working class people in Luanda. These tend not to be able to produce the post-vocalic /l/ whenever followed by a consonant, and produce a flap /r/, instead.

The negative association of languages with political movements owes to the fact that the majority of the leaders and supporters of these movements were primarily seen as having descended from each of the three ethnic groups (Henderson, 1979, p. 8). As a consequence, four pogroms resulted from this association. The first two occurred in the early 1975, before the independence of the country, and later two in the early 1990s, after the first general elections in the history of Angola.

It is instructive to notice that while Portuguese was the hegemonic language in the areas under the government's control, the two "rebel movements" tended to promote indigenous languages in areas they controlled, showing a kind of hostility to Portuguese. As a consequence, many people were killed in the areas controlled by the rebels due to their lack of local language skills. Conversely, in the areas under control of the MPLA-led government, a good proficiency of Portuguese (close to the one spoken in Portugal) or at least with some Kimbundu influence was required. Those who presented some influence of Kikongo or French where seen as FNLA's partisans; whereas, those with Umbundu accent where regarded as UNITA partisans. The two 1992 post-electoral pogroms testify to this last fact. The first was against those considered UNITA partisans and the second against those with influence of Kikongo or French.

Furthermore, although there was not any explicit prohibition against speaking local languages, as in Mozambique, where Bantu languages were explicitly forbidden in public places (Stroud, 1999, p. 365), in Angola, the use of indigenous languages in the public arena, including schools, was covertly deemed illegal, as well as regarded as a symbol of tribalism. Correspondingly, their speakers were considered to be low-class citizens.

To summarize what has been explored so far, the Angolan context from colonization until independence has been characterized by a chain of three interrelated steps with regard to language policy. Firstly, there was a colonial language ideology that treated indigenous languages in a pejorative manner, an ideology which had led to the creation of political elite without a repertoire of local languages (Bender, 2004; Henderson, 1979; Fernandes and Ntondo, 2002; Irvine and Gal, 2000). This led to the second step, namely, the adoption of colonial language as the only official language and the only language of instruction in education after independence (Shohamy, 2006; Stroud, 1999; Blommaert, 1999; Ricento, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). This monolingual instruction reproduced linguistic discrimination, since indigenous languages were seen as obstacles to school performance (Ouane and Glanz, 2010; Sridhar, 2007; Shohamy, 2006; Hornberger, 2007; Canagarajah, 2006; Wiley, 2007). The third and possibly most violent step pertains to the association between indigenous languages and political movements (Henderson, 1979), which resulted in full-blown pogroms.

In the late 1978, however, Portuguese lost its status of "*língua veicular*" but remained as the official language. This means that it continued to be the language of instruction in schools nationwide, even in communities where the children's first language was not Portuguese. From 1975, the history of language policy in the post-colonial Angola has been characterized as shown in the below the chronological table of elements:

Nr	Year/Period	Event	Policy document	OBS
01	1975	Portuguese as official language & *língua veicular*	None (verbal)	
02	1978	Loss of the status of *língua veicular*	None (verbal)	
03	1980's	Claim to valorise indigenous languages & elevate to status of national languages	None (verbal)	
04	1980's	Radio & TV programmes in 14 indigenous languages	None (verbal)	
05	1987	Approval of alphabet of 6 "national languages"	Resolução n^{o} 3/87	
06	1987	Introduction of "national languages" in adults' educational system	None	Based on Resolução n^{o} 3/87
07	2001	Portuguese as the only medium of instruction & Approval of introduction of "national languages" in educational system particularly in adults' system	Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação (Lei n^{o} 13/01)	Not vey especific
08	2006	Rejection of the status of "national languages"	None (verbal) (see Jornal de Angola – 13/09/2006)	President's Public speech
09	2010	Reaffirmation of Portuguese as official language & lack of status to indigenous languages	Constitution	

Table 2 - Chronological table of language policy events in the post-colonial Angola

As seen in the above table that summarises the chronological occurrences in the matter of language policy events in the post-colonial Angola, in the late 1980s, the government claimed to start a policy of valorising indigenous languages, and thus, elevated them to the status of "national languages". However, no official legal document was produced and

today, the term is retained by many people but rejected by those who introduced it in the political arena. News broadcasting programmes in 14 "national languages" including Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Ngangela, Cokwe, Fioti, Oxikwanyama, Nyaneka Umbe, Luvale, Lunda, Helelo, Bângala, Ngoya and Songo were introduced in the Angolan National Radio (RNA) and Television (TPA). Having said that, there have been complaints from journalists broadcasting in indigenous languages saying that they were treated differently from their colleagues who worked for Portuguese-speaking channels.

My personal experience as a language teacher, working with journalists, clearly testifies to this. In class discussions, journalists working for "national languages" channels revealed that they felt inferior, in comparison to their colleagues working for Portuguese channels because they were differently treated. This fact was recently confirmed publically by a group of journalists, victims of the discrimination. Issanzo, Nzila & Miguel's 2010 joint-paper presented at the conference journalists working for "*Radio Ngola Yetu*", the current name of the former channel broadcasting in "national languages" in *Radio Nacional de Angola (RNA)* confirm the fact and reveals that in 1991, a whole managing board of *RNA* was dismissed, as a result of a manifestation of discontentment by discriminated journalists that culminated into a strike by the workers on 15 May 1991.

In the field of education, even in the absence of official data, there have been complaints from educational authorities and teachers in general that the low proficiency in Portuguese is a main cause of lack of success in school. Shohamy (2006, p. 81) points out that:

> 'As was the view at the beginning of this century, children who spoke a number of languages were perceived as having serious mental problem. Such approaches are still in evidence today as students who are not using languages in the "pure" way but rather in fluid and hybrid ways are considered as not really mastering the power languages and are viewed as having lower intelligence and lacking in academic skills.'

In the same vein, Ouane and Glanz (2010) show how contentious the issue of language in education has been in the post-colonial era, and address the prejudice and confusion about African languages, exposed to a covert process of discrediting other languages as being an obstacle to school achievement (Sridhar, 2007).

Following the shift towards the official acknowledgement of indigenous languages the Angolan government came up with several resolutions. Of these, the Resolution Number 3/87 of 23 May 1987 of the Council of Ministers is perhaps the most significant for this study. This resolution established the orthographical rules of six indigenous languages, Kikongo, Kimbundu, Cokwe, Umbundu, Mbunda, and Oxikwanyama – aiming at improving literacy. Interestingly, this then became the basis on which the so-called "national languages" were introduced into the adults' educational system.

The experiment with the introduction of indigenous languages in adult educational subsystem has been viewed as the main success of the "anti-illiteracy campaign" (Assembleia Nacional, 2001). Later, with the educational reform, the government took a political decision to introduce the same selected languages in the compulsory education subsystem (*Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação*, 2001). These two key policy documents, i.e. the *Resolution Number 3/87 of 23 May 1987* and *the Lei de Bases do Sistema de de Educação, 2001* constitute the core policy documents of our study, since these are used as legal foundation of the policy. This policy is being piloted in Luanda, where the overwhelming majority of children have Portuguese as their first, and perhaps their only language.

What emerges here is a situation in which linguistic emancipation co-exists with a subtle form of discrimination (Hornberger, 2007) in the context of the complex and diverse sociolinguistic reality of Angola. This fact supports Makoni's view that "protests against the fixed categories of language and the fact that most language policies are organized according to discrete and defined boundaries such as number of languages and order of importance in hermetically sealed units" (cited in Shohamy, 2006, p. 10). This leads to the questions of why were certain languages selected over others (see Wiley, 2007, for language choice in education). And how has this policy been received by speakers of languages who have been left out until now? What are the attitudes of such people towards learning other indigenous languages? It is precisely these aspects of (1) the language choice in Angolan language policy, and (2) the attitudes to the policy that this study brings to the spotlight.

It is interesting to notice that the number of indigenous languages in the media broadcast programmes (14) doubles the ones in the educational system (7 now with the inclusion of Ngangela). No one has ever claimed that the broadcasting in these languages in the RNA and TPA programmes will lead to tribalism or regionalism. On the contrary, there are claims

that the inclusion of indigenous languages in the educational system will engender tribalism and regionalism (Feijó, 2010). It would appear that there is nearly no state investment in this process of implementation of indigenous languages in educational system. This fact leads to questions such as: who is promoting these opponent forces to the policy? How much is the government committed to the implementation of the policy? Why is the government not marketing the policy as it happens with other policies? Why are the ministries of education and of culture "divorced" when they should both work tightly connected in the process? The answers to all these questions reveal how much political commitment the governing regime allocates to the issue of indigenous languages.

In fact, the agenda behind the introduction of the indigenous languages in the media is not to add value them, as it is claimed in various political speeches (dos Santos, 2006; Cruz e Silva, 2010). The quick spreading of the political message nationwide has motivated the creation of the programme. This was a strategy applied to respond to the rebel movements at time, who, similar to *RENAMO* in Mozambique (Stroud, 1999, p 360), the rebel movements in Angola tended to use indigenous languages more than Portuguese to show their connection with the people, whereas the elites in power valued Portuguese uniquely as the hegemonic language. As Wodak (2001, p. 64) puts it, politicians act like "seismographs that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes..." This explains the dubious practices of the elite: the introduction of the indigenous languages in the media, both state owned radio and television, aiming at a rapid spread of their political discourse was an issue of political consensus within the ruling party. Conversely, the introduction of the same languages, in a lesser proportion, in the educational system constitutes an issue of political disagreement within the same ruling elite, and therefore, the manifestation of reactions against the policy.

Indeed, it sounds hard to understand the claim of the minister of culture, in October 2010; nearly 10 years after the *Lei de Bases* had been passed, still defending the introduction instead of presenting the results of the implementation of the approved law. It is also significant to notice from the minister's speech, - "*mantê-las fora do sistema educativo é planificar de maneira certa a sua morte* (Keeping them out of the educational system is planning their death in a certain manner) - that the minister was not aware that the piloting of the policy had started in 2010.

To sum up, unlike multilingualism in many other countries in the world, which is the consequence of migrant communities, the Angolan multilingualism is the result of colonialism. The overview above has shown how the Portuguese deliberately created elite to carry on with their ideology in the post-colonial Angola. This elite was comprised by people who have no interest in indigenous languages, i.e. "*assimilados* and *mestiços*" (from Luanda), and Cape Verdeans. Within this context, it has become an imperative to pay attention to the period that political decisions are made in the country, their levels of implementations and what the political actors involved are. Just as an example, the use of indigenous languages in the media aimed at spreading political message, during civil war and was immediately implemented. The introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system was publicly announced at the electoral campaign "eve", in 2001, but the state of its implementation remains unclear, and this is what this thesis will chart.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter explains the processes utilised in conducting this research. The chapter deals with the study site, participants, and instruments applied to gather data, the approaches used in the collection of the data, and the analytical procedures. Bearing in mind the involvement of human participants, the chapter also incorporates a section on ethics. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section describes the research site. The second deals with participants. The third section looks at the data collection instruments, whereas the fourth deals with the procedures applied to analyse and interpret the gathered data. The last section is concerned with ethical issues.

3. 1. Research Site



Figure 2. Luanda, the capital city of Angola (A view from the bridge to the island)

This study was carried out in Luanda, the capital city of Angola. The choice of Luanda as the study site was based on a personal curiosity on why Luanda was chosen by the policy makers for the implementation of the policy under review in this study. Specifically, when a decision to introduce indigenous languages in the educational system was made, Luanda was the only province chosen to pilot its implementation. Later, at the implementation stage, a decision was made on to include four more provinces, namely Zaire, Kwanza Norte,

Huambo, Lunda Sul. Naturally, I was curious as to the reasons why this policy had to be implemented in Luanda where children have Portuguese as their first language, unlike other provinces where the chosen languages are spoken as children's mother-tongue.

Founded in 1575 by a Portuguese explorer Paulo Dias de Novais, Luanda is located in the northwest of the Republic of Angola, in the Atlantic coast. As many other capital cities in the world, besides being cosmopolitan, Luanda is a city where most of the ethnic groups (if not all) of the country can be found. Though there are many languages, both Angolan and foreign, spoken in different settings, Portuguese is the official language and the first language of many of the children born in Luanda. It is worth mentioning that Luanda is both the name of the city and the province. Currently, the city is estimated to have a population of more than five million inhabitants, representing one third of the population of Angola. Originally, the city was conceived to gather not more than one million people. However, due to the long-lasting post-independence civil war, its population grew very fast over this period, because of people from rural areas fleeing into the city to look for shelter. As a result, the city grew very fast. In the post-civil war era, Angolan authorities are trying hard to upgrade the anarchically grown neighbourhoods. Therefore, at the moment, city is under an intensive reconstruction process.

Ethno-linguistically speaking, the province of Luanda is geographically located in a Kimbundu speaking region. However, the Kimbundu spoken by a very little minority in the rural areas adjacent to the city is a hybrid, very different variety from the ones spoken in other Kimbundu provinces. This is due to its very high degree of borrowing from Portuguese. Moreover, it is interesting to note that even the ordinary people who come from Kimbundu ethnic group in Luanda do not speak Kimbundu. Even those who are able to, they prefer to use Portuguese as they fear to be seen as uncivilized. As such, although there are many distinct ethnic communities in the city, Portuguese is still the dominant language in Luanda.

It is also worth mentioning that Luanda is a multiracial city. Nevertheless, people are not racially segregated in terms of residences. People tend to gather together according to their economic realities, no matter what their ethnic group is.

Within this highly complex site, educational institutions and their potential clients - the community - was the target population of my research.

Hence, my sample included both educational institutions and individual members of the community. As for educational institutions, five were chosen: (a) the Ministry of Education, and specifically, the National Institute for Research and Development of Education (INIDE – *Instituto Nacional para Investigação e Desenvolvimento da Educação*), hereafter INIDE, responsible for designing the educational policy and elaboration of educational programmes; (b) the Provincial Directorate of Education (*Direcção Provincial da Educação de Luanda*), responsible for monitoring the implementation of educational policies was the other main target. (c) the *Instituto Superior de Instituto Superior de Ciências da Educação*, henceforth ISCED (Tertiary Education Teacher Training Institute) and (d) two of the four selected schools where the policy under study would be piloted. The beneficiary of the policy, i.e. the community members constituted the individual sampling. Thus, in order to answer the research questions, the investigation was carried out in many different educational institutions and other public institutions throughout the study site, since the individual participants, i.e. parents and/or guardians were reached at many different public places in the town.

My initial plan was to visit the two of the four schools selected to pilot the policy. These schools were to be visited before any other sampled institutions. Then I was planning to go to INIDE. The Directorate of Education in Luanda would be approached after visiting INIDE. The Department of African Languages and Literature Studies at ISCED would be the last sampled institution to be interviewed.

However, due to unexpected changes encountered on the ground, I needed to make some modifications to the initial design of the data gathering. The changes included the imposition of Kimbundu as the only indigenous language to be taught in Luanda, leaving out the five others languages. Secondly, I soon realized that INIDE was the only institution responsible for the piloting of the policy instead of the Provincial Directorate of Education. Thirdly, it became clear that the piloting of the policy was conducted in five different provinces rather than only in Luanda, as initially planned. These modifications led to a reversal of the scheduled order of collecting data from the sampled institutions. Moreover, the modifications helped gather some data that led to identify some contradiction among the policymakers themselves, concerning the implementation.

With the above mentioned alteration in accessing targeted institutions, data was initially collected at the *Direcção Provincial da Educação*. This institution was strategically targeted

to be the first. The reason behind this was to find out whether this institution was involved at all in the process of the implementation of the policy, as it is the one that officially holds the authority over the educational issues in Luanda. This was due to the information I had concerning INIDE monopolizing the process. Furthermore, I wanted to ascertain why there was a lack of participation of any other institution in the piloting of the policy under investigation. Hence, I interviewed the people responsible for primary education.

In addition, the inversion of the order of reaching the sampled institutions provided a new element that I had not expected: the school principals where the policy is being piloted are not actively involved in the implementation process. This fact has led to a partial elimination of two primary schools initially planned in the project and the inclusion of two teacher training schools. I eliminated the visit to two of the four schools where the policy was being piloted, due to the lack of involvement of the school leadership in the process, as said above. Therefore, instead of interviewing the principals, I approached the teachers who were the actual implementers of the policy.

My second cluster of interviews occurred at the Department of African Literature and Language studies of *Instituto Superior de Ciências da Educação*, henceforth ISCED. The two teacher training schools, i.e. *Escola de Formação de Professores – Garcia Neto* and *Magistério Primário*, albeit not initially sampled in the study, were the next stage of my research. These institutions were integrated as a result of the first findings, in which, the first interviewees accused INIDE of neglecting other educational institutions. Therefore, *Escola de Formação de Professores* and *Magistério Primário* were included in order to ascertain whether these very important schools were taken into account in the training of teachers and whether they were the ones that provided teachers for the piloting of the policy

After gathering all the data from the institution that hold responsibility of monitoring and those in charge of the implementation of educational policies in Luanda, I went on to interview INIDE officers. INIDE is the only institution that designs educational policies and programmes in the country.

As soon as I completed my visits to educational institutions, I scheduled the spontaneous interviews with parents and/or guardians throughout the city. Places like fuel stations, car parks, bus stations, pubs, were the main interview venues. I selected these venues because I wanted to conduct research that would include people for almost all social classes. The sample encompassed, *inter alia*, educated and non-educated people, civil servants and self-

employed individuals, Angolans and foreigners, as well as public figures (see participants profile in table 2 for details).

In sum, five educational institutions and several public places in Luanda are what make up my research site. The goal was to involve as many participants as possible to collect a large diversity of opinions.

3. 2. Research participants

As stated in the introductory chapter, this study aims at discerning, *inter alia*, the government agenda behind the introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system, the specific agenda in the choice of some languages over others and the perceptions that Luandans have of the policy. Moreover, the aim was to find out whether the policy was already being implemented and if so, how effectively. This is because it was unclear whether indigenous languages were employed as media of instruction or instead were taught as school subjects. Hence, my key target population comprised senior educational officers, parents and/or guardians. That is to say, my participant sampling includes both educational institutions officials and individual participants.

3. 2. 1. Institutional Participants

My research participants were the Head of the National Languages Department at INIDE, one of INIDE's officer and the Head of Primary Education Affairs at the *Direcção Provincial da Educação,* as there is no a specific department responding for national languages. Moreover, my sample included the Head of the Department of the Studies of African Languages and Literature of the Teacher Training Institute at tertiary level (ISCED) and one of the teacher trainers of the department, as well as some students from this department.

Owing to the lack of the involvement of the schools principals, the vice-principals for pedagogic areas of the selected primary schools were left out. Instead, they were replaced by two vice-principals for pedagogic affairs of teacher training schools. The primary school teachers implementing the policy were maintained, though as individual participants.

The Head of the National Languages Department at INIDE provided the information about their involvement in the design of the project, training programmes and preparation of their specific areas, as well as the reasons why Luanda was the priority. Whilst I did not expect any objections, due to my professional status, as a higher education teacher trainer, I have to admit that the receptiveness was beyond my expectations. I was even invited to visit the office whenever I needed to, because as the Head of the National languages Department at INIDE said, there were are not many people interested in the issue of the so-called "national languages".

The Head of Primary Education Affairs at the *Direcção Provincial da Educação* was targeted because it is the most responsible person, since there is not a specific corresponding institutional department that is responsible for indigenous languages in the Direcção Provincial.

The head of the Department of Studies of African Languages and Literature at ISCED and one of the teacher trainers were targeted to provide data concerning the contribution of this department in the design of the project, training programmes and how trainees are involved in the process of teaching indigenous languages. Tertiary education teacher trainees (in the field) were targeted in order to collect their own views about this process. This was one of the most interesting visits, since the head of this department responded 'under two umbrellas'. He used to be the Director of the Angolan Institute of National Languages at the time that the Government passed a law on the introduction of indigenous languages in educational system. Therefore, besides being responding as the head of the department, he gave new insight as an active participant/pioneer of the emergence of the policy. It is worth mentioning that at ISCED there was the participation of 5 students ("national languages" teacher trainees) as well.

While at ISCED, it was surprising to notice how all the students who heard about the study volunteered to participate. However, for the sake of keeping within manageable limits, I could not interview all of them. I only included the five students in their final year, leaving out the others for the next stage of the research, as I intend to carry on with the study.

The vice-principals for pedagogic affairs of the teacher training secondary schools were targeted to find out whether their instructions were taken into consideration in training teachers to supply the project and how much collaboration the institutions had with INIDE within the policy in study.

3. 2. 2. Participants

As mentioned earlier, my sampling included individual participants who were, *inter alia*, parents and/or guardians and two of the teachers implementing the policy. Involving parents and/or guardians was aimed at finding out their attitudes towards the policy, not least because it is important to understand how society at large accepts and follows the policy (Spolsky, 2004, p. 6). The two teachers were set in the category of individual participants due to the above cited "partial exclusion" of the schools where the policy is being implemented. However, the choice of the teachers is motivated by the fact that they are the grassroots implementers of the policy.

Among the parents and/or guardians, I intentionally decided to include some foreign people who live in Luanda, not least because I thought of comparing their attitudes to those of the people from foreign origin in the central government. Individual participants were the last to be met in different places throughout the town.

In sum, 29 research participants took part in the study. These were nine senior educational officers (two at INIDE, one at *Direcção Provincial da Educação de Luanda*, two at ISCED, one at *Escola de Formação de Professores*, one at *Majistério Primário* and two teachers implementing the project), 17 male and female parents and/or guardians (of which five are foreign but resident in Luanda) and 5 teacher trainees from ISCED.

Although school children are the direct objects of the language policy, they are not involved at this stage of the study. I have decided leave them out because their inclusion is beyond the scope of this study.

3. 3. Methods of Data Collection

Research in language policy is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary. Therefore, research methods and tools from other disciplines are applied in this research as necessary (Ricento, 2006, p. 9; Wodak, 2006, p. 171). However, research in the field of language policy tends generally to be carried out at the macro level (Ricento, 2006, p. 10; Canagarajah, 2006, p. 153). This study is not simply limited to the macro level. It goes further beyond this, reaching the micro level as it assesses the implementation of one specific policy, something that seldom occurs in the field (Ricento, 2006, p. 18). That is to say, ethnographic research

tools were used in this study to help gather the data. As Canagarajah (2006, 153) observes, the adoption of ethnographic research methods provides language planning and policy with considerable benefits. Such an ethnographic approach to language policy resonates well with Creswell's (1994, p. 22) proposition that:" "if a concept or phenomenon needs to be understood because little research has been done on it, then it merits a qualitative approach". This was particularly true of the topic under investigation in the present study. It is for this reason that a qualitative approach research method was applied in the data gathering process, using open–ended questions, although I also used some closed-ended questions whenever necessary.

The study utilised the following data sources:

- two relevant policy documents (i.e. the Resolution number 3/87 and *Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação* – the political decision taken in 2001);
- 3 newspaper articles reacting to the issue;
- open-ended interviews (the interviews were recorded with the interviewees' consent).
- open-ended questionnaires (as alternative to interviews do to the reality of the site).

As for the interviews, different sets of questions were designed and applied, depending on the participants' social status (whether public servants or parents/guardians). Below I explain in details what each of them entailed.

3. 3. 1. Textual/document analysis

This study looks at one of the '*four headings*' suggested by Haugen (1966b) in the field of language policy which is 'implementation of a language policy' (cited in Spolsky, 2004. pp. 5-6). This has to do with 'making sure that a policy is accepted and followed by the target population' (ibid). For this purpose, different research instruments were utilized. More specifically, I applied three different research instruments in the process, employing triangulation as a way of gathering more accurate and reliable data and to avoid potential biases (Wodak, 2001, p. 65; 2006, p. 174; Ricento, 2006, p. 10; Canagarajah, 2006, p. 156).

That is to say, to gather the research data I conducted a textual analysis of the relevant policy documents that provide legal support to the project (i.e. the Resolution number 3/87 and *Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação*- the political decision taken in 2001), together with 3 newspaper articles *(Twa sanguluka...Ngana Benedictu" published on 25 March 2009, "Uma palavra sobre as línguas nacionais", published on 3 February 2010 and Ministra defende línguas nacionais na escola", published on 19 October 2010)* reacting on the issue. The articles were selected from a collection of over 20 newspaper articles on language in education.

The choice of these documents was motivated by the following reasons. To begin with, the relevant policy documents provide the textual description of the policy under investigation. Moreover, the reason for including media texts is that the three newspaper articles can provide us with a "public" micro context in which people express very different attitudes towards the policy. Of the three articles, two represent the opposite extremes of language ideological positions in Angola; the third one is minister's public speech which represents a typical example of the government's power game between the ideologies. All of the articles were published in *"Jornal de Angola",* the only official newspaper in the country. Although the two articles express people's attitudes, there appears to be a covert element in the way that the article opposing the policy reacts, as we will see in the chapter on analysis. Surprisingly, this article expressing hostility to the policy was published in the official public newspaper. And this is something very unusual in the history of the post-colonial Angola, as shown in the analytical chapter.

The other interesting fact is that no article would be granted publication in the daily state-owned newspaper, unless it was written in formal or current Portuguese. Interestingly, however, the pro-policy article was written in a hybrid vernacular variety of Portuguese, nearly not understandable to those who are not familiar to Kimbundu. I believe this /register played an important role for its publication.

The reason for analysing the minister's speech is that it represents the position of the Angolan executive between two antagonistic language ideological extremes on the issue of indigenous languages. In fact, the minister's speech reveals the discrepancy between the political public discourse and the actual practice and brings in an overview of how much has been done since the *Lei de Bases* was approved. It also reveals the lack of collaboration between the central government institutions that deal with the implementation of the policy

under investigation, as well as the government's hidden agenda and what was published for public consumption.

3. 3. 2. Interviews

I utilized interviews in order to understand people's perceptions and reactions towards the policy under investigation, as well as the educational policy makers and implementers' views. Open-ended questions and open-ended interviews were favourable because the expected data are 'non-numeric'; this allowed important information to emerge from the participants, which is something that would not occur if closed-ended questions were used (ibid; Dörnyei, 2007).

With participants' permission, the interviews were tape-recorded. Nevertheless, some of my respondents required total anonymity. Hence, they did not allow the interviews to be recorded. That said, they were extremely patient and allowed me to stop them as much as possible to avoid losing any of the details they provided me with.

3. 3. 3. Questionnaire

In addition to the interviews, open-ended questionnaires were utilised as alternative to those people who did not want to be interviewed but preferred to answer the questionnaire, instead.

One will wonder what the reasons were that make the researcher include questionnaires and interviews in the study, both with very similar questions. In fact, an interview per se would suffice for this research. However, the criteria I applied for selecting my research tools were carefully considered so as to account for the reality of the country where the study is being carried out. Every researcher who wants to be successful in their investigation in Angola needs to be very flexible in handling the research instruments available. Many Angolans do not want to have their voices recorded, not even talk to the media, for example. This is because of two main reasons: (1) the 27 May 1977 occurrences in which thousands of people were killed, some because their voices were recorded and (2) the insertion of secret intelligence agents in most of public offices and public places. Intelligence agents, in case of public offices, can provide you with the information you need as far as they understand that

the study does not harm the security of the state. However, they were neither willing to consent to providing a recorded interview, nor sign any paper as they suspect that they will leave their finger prints or expose their identity

The third possible reason is somehow connected to the first. Members of the governing political party have restrictions at several levels. Therefore, they fear to break their "party discipline". A strong communist principle existed in government institutions. On the other hand, the respondent can also suspect the researcher as a secret intelligence agent trying to identify people who will reveal state secrets within the public offices or places, or gather some kind of information from them. All these constraints obstructed the opportunities of carrying out a research in Angola, particularly in governmental institutions.

Being aware of all the constraints that the reality of the country imposes on researchers, I decided to design a questionnaire which is very similar the interview questions, as an alternative to interviews, bearing in mind that they were both aimed at the same goal, to help me act accordingly and please my respondents' desires. This strategy was extremely helpful in the process.

I handed out eight questionnaires and interviewed 23 people. The strategy applied was that everyone who feared to have their voices recorded was given a questionnaire. All the questionnaires were returned in less than 48 hours. In fact, my respondents were very happy to participate in the study. It was surprising to note that even those people who were who did know me brought the questionnaire to my office, something that is not common in Luanda. They all found the study very interesting.

3. 4. Methods of data analysis and interpretation

Drawing upon Johnstone (2000, pp. 135-6), I analysed all the gathered data according to the questions they are related to, i.e. thematically, and the social status of the respondents, i.e. whether the respondent was a parent/guardian, a language teacher or any other category. Textual analysis and thematic content analysis (TCA) (Dörnyei 2007; Seidman, 2006) were the mechanisms applied to analyse and interpret the data gathered in this study.

As the collected data are non-numeric, I applied a content-based analytical process. As Dörnyei (2007, p. 246) observes, this is "an interpretive analysis of the underlying deeper

meaning of data". Moreover, I used "iterative" procedures in the analytical and interpretative processes of the data moving back and forth to enable emerge of new insights. In other words, unlike quantitative approaches, this is not a linear process. As I needed some more data, while analysing the collected data, I had to move backward from the analytical process stage to gather some more data, as the situation demanded so (ibid).

I applied a balanced approach between "subjective intuition" and "formalized analytical procedures" in case of any hidden concept or item to allow flexibility throughout the process of data analysis. That is, there was a balance between my 'subjective and reflexive' participation in the analytical process and the 'formalized analytical procedures' to reveal whatever is covered within the study (ibid, pp. 244-5).

All the recorded interview materials were transcribed before interpreting them. To do so, these materials underwent several editing processes to attain "clarity, completeness and conciseness". As such, unnecessary items were skipped. These included the interviewer's (my own) questions and comments, as well as false starts, interjections, and so forth. As Atkinson (1998, p. 54) argues, "the transcription process consists essentially of leaving out your questions, using standard spelling, creating sentences and paragraph structure, leaving out extra things, adding missing things, and possibly reorganizing certain sections to keep common subject matter together". However, wherever this operation was carried out, I inserted footnotes to report the occurrence. Nevertheless, this operation does affect the originality of the contents of the interviews. The "voices" of the interviewees are remained intact to maintain the sense of their "presence", and the transcripts are used as appendices (Atkinson, 1998, pp. 54-7). As the language of the interviewees is other than English, I translated the final version of the transcript into English and attached the Portuguese version in the appendix.

Since I did not intend to conduct a conversational analysis study, I did not transcribe the whole interviews in details. 'Partial transcription' or simple 'tape analysis' was applied. As Dörnyei (2007, p. 249) points out, not all studies demand the transcription of the whole interview recordings on the tape. Depending on what is targeted, a balance between the aims of the research and material available to the researcher needs to be found (Atkinson, 1998, p. 54). As the focus of the research is on the content rather than on linguistic features, a qualitative content analysis was applied, once the qualitative categories applied in the

analysis derived through induction while the process occurred, rather than predetermined, as in quantitative approach.

Hence, as a content-based analysis, all my collected data underwent a multi-level coding system to allow the analytical process to occur efficiently. *Pre-coding* was the first stage. At this level, I had to read the transcript derived from the interviews several times, and I reflected on its relevance for the study and gathered the key elements (Dörnyei, 2007). The end of this stage led me to the *coding process*, in which I organized my data, selected and labelled them according to the questions they are related to and the respondents' categories, to facilitate the interpretive phase. In other words, I had to break the raw data into analyzable themes noting what was relevant, labelled and set it into an appropriate file (Seidman, 2006, p. 125). These themes were then be horizontally analysed to help me to find out the main themes that would lead to the interpretative stage. While coding the marked passages with terms related to their categories, I also labelled them with codes that designated their original transcript. I allowed the process to run inductively, without addressing the materials with my own hypothesis or any theory from a different context (Seidman, 2006, p. 117).

Furthermore, I produced memos, vignettes and interviews profiles throughout the analytical process to help the next phase, i.e. interpretation, run smoothly (Seidman, 2006, p. 128). Hence, my interview data were interpreted according to the group of participants first, and then across the groups, as mentioned earlier. This is to say, the process occurred in two distinct phases. The first step comprised vertical analysis, i.e. I analysed the data by groups of participants. The horizontal analysis constituted my second phase of analysis, in which, I compared the data from different groups. In this stage, I applied some more instruments to strengthen the ideas and convert them into 'main interpretable theme(s) of study' (ibid, p. 125; Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 245-55).

Finally, albeit interpretation occurs throughout the whole analytical process, i.e. while coding, producing memos, vignettes and interview profiles, the real interpretation stage, the one after the analytical phase, is the most crucial stage, since it is at this precise point that conclusions are made, grounded on the salient points (Seidman, 2006, p 128; Dörnyei, 2007, p. 257). At this stage, I both let the main themes from the analytical phase speak by themselves and posed myself questions about what I had learnt from the interviews, while studying my transcripts, coding them and producing profiles. Furthermore, I had to find out

what was common with the interviewees, and how to understand and explain what they have in common. I also had to see whether there is something new that I did not know before interviewing, whether there was anything surprising or which confirmed my previous instinct, as well as how consistent the interviews were (Seidman, 2006, pp. 128-9). At the end of the analyses of each of the themes I produced a summary (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 257).

Thus, I gathered the most important parts of the interpretation of the three instruments (the analysis of the relevant policy documents and the newspaper articles, questionnaire and interviews) together to draw my final conclusions (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 257).

3. 5. Ethical Appraisal

With the participation of humans in the research, the researcher is expected to observe the ethical principles according to the regulations of the university. Hence, I submitted my research proposal to the ethics committee of the university to be issued the clearance certificate for non-medical human research. Ethics clearance was awarded (Protocol number H1001113). For this purpose, I had to make it clear that the participants in my study would be invited to participate by providing them with explicit information about the purpose of the study. They also needed to be assured that their participation in the study would be voluntary and would not result in any danger for them and all their contributions would be kept anonymous and identities would under no circumstances be revealed.

Hence, my respondents were previously provided with the "Participation Information sheet" for detailed information. After their consent to participate in the research, they were given a consent form that would be signed at the end of the interview or when the questionnaire was completed.

It is important to mention that some of my respondents did not accept to fill the consent form, as said earlier, though they were very happy to participate in the study. This is due to the reasons pointed above that have to do with the reality of the research site.

Chapter 4 - Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

This chapter presents the gathered data and the analysis of the data. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents the analysis of the data from the relevant policy documents. The second section deals with the presentation and analysis of the newspaper articles. The third part presents and analyses data from the interviews with educational officers and teacher trainees. The last section presents and analyses Luandans' attitudes towards the policy.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the data for this study was collected from two key policy documents: (1) *Resolução nº 3/ 87 de 23 de Maio* (Resolution nr 3/87, 23rd May), henceforth known as *Resolução nº 3/ 87*, which is the official policy document that marked the change of the government's ideology towards indigenous minority languages and sanctioned the introduction of these languages into the adults' educational system (anti-illiteracy campaign). This policy document brought in the reform of six indigenous languages alphabets to improve literacy, as said earlier; and (2) *Lei de Bases do Sistema de Educação* (The Law of Basis of Educational System) hereafter *Lei de Bases*, which is the legal support of the educational system in the country. Furthermore, three newspaper article were analysed. Moreover, formal interviews and questionnaires were utilised to gather the general perception and attitudes towards the policy.

The table below shows the participants without revealing their actual identity. The table presents a summary of all categories of the research participants' sociological profiles. The codification is derived from the abbreviation of the participants' categories:

Nr	Name	Gender	Occupation	Category	Age	OBS
01	PMME1	Male	Public servant	Policy maker	50	Public figure
02	PMME2	Male	Public servant	Policy maker	52	
03	PMDPEL	Female	Public servant	Policy maker	42	
04	DALLSTT1	Male	Public servant	Teacher trainer	55	Public figure
05	DALLSTT2	Male	Public servant	Teacher trainer	51	
06	TTSISD1	Female	Public servant	Trainee teacher	39	
07	TTSISD2	Male	Public servant	Trainee teacher	52	

08	PIT1	Male	Public servant	P. implementer	52	
09	PIT2	Male	Public servant	P. implementer	49	
10	DALLSET1	Male	Public servant	Trainee teacher	50	
11	DALLSET2	Female	Public servant	Trainee teacher	32	
12	DALLSET3	Male	Public servant	Trainee teacher	44	
13	DALLSET4	Male	Public servant	Trainee teacher	38	
14	DALLSET5	Female	Public servant	Trainee teacher	40	
15	P/G01	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	27	
16	P/G02	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	35	
17	P/G03	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	31	
18	P/G04	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	28	
19	P/G05	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	54	
20	P/G06	Male	Public servant	Parent/guardian	50	Public figure
21	P/G07	Male	Public servant	Parent/guardian	52	Public figure
22	P/G08	Male	Public servant	Parent/guardian	54	Public figure
23	P/G09	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	-----	Unknown age
24	P/G10	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	41	
25	P/G11	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	45	
26	P/G12	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	----	Unknown age
27	P/G13	Female	Public servant	Parent/guardian	34	
28	P/G14	Female	Housewife	Parent/guardian	45	
29	P/G15	Female	Self-empl	Parent/guardian	49	

Table 3 - Participants' sociological profiles

4. 1. Presentation and Analysis of the Relevant Policy Documents

The reason for choosing the two documents under investigation here (the *Resolução n^{o} 3/87* and *Lei de Bases*) lies in the fact that these provide legal basis to the policy and are therefore of critical important for the policy under study. This is because *Resolução n^{o} 3/87* is the legal instrument that introduced indigenous languages in the educational system whereas *Lei de Bases* is the legal instrument for the Angolan educational system. Interestingly, in Angola, the policy implementers expect the documents to present clear steps of what the

policy is about, *where* it is to be implemented, *how* it is to be implemented, *who* the beneficiary population is and *what* the expected outcomes are. Furthermore, these policy documents are typically accompanied by other complementary policy documents providing general and specific guidelines with detailed items to help turn the policy into real action. Crucially, however, the two policy documents under investigation here have no mention concerning the insertion of "national languages" in primary education. As I will show below, these absences and contradictions are not irrelevant but are actual manifestations of a hidden agenda behind the policy, an agenda which aims at the obstructing rather than promoting multilingual education in Angola.

The textual analysis below does not embrace the whole documents but relevant extracts. For *Resolução nº 3/ 87* only Article 1 is selected, while Articles 6 and 9 are selected for *Lei de Bases*. This choice is informed by the fact that these Articles speak to the core of the issue of our interest to this project. The first analysed relevant policy document is the *Resolução No 3/ 87*. For contextual purposes, it is important to draw attention to the fact that although the *Resolução nº 3/ 87* is being strategically used to provide legal support to the introduction of the indigenous languages in primary education, the document was originally conceived as legal basis to the languages' orthographical reform to improve *adult* literacy. As one of the interviewees DALLSTT1 puts it, "the approval of the orthographical system precipitated the introduction of the languages in the anti-illiteracy campaign. That is, indigenous languages could only be used in the *adults'* education system" (emphasis added). Therefore, it is not really a legal support for the introduction of the same languages in the primary education system. However, it has been being strategically used for that purpose.

4. 1. 1. Relevant Policy Documents: Resolução nº 3/ 87 de 23 de Maio and Lei de Bases

4. 1. 1. 1. Resolução nº 3/ 87 de 23 de Maio

Extract 1

Art. 1.*"São aprovados a título experimental os Alfabetos das Línguas: <<Kikoongo>>, <<Kimbundú>>, <<Cokwé>>. <<Umbundú>>, <<Mbunda>>, e <<Oxikwanyama>> e as respectivas regras de transcrição, em anexo que fazem parte do presente diploma".*

> "The alphabetical systems of the languages: <<Kikongo>>, <<Kimbundú>>, <<Cokwé>>. <<Umbundú>>, <<Mbunda>>, e <<Oxikwanyama>> and their respective transcription regulations, attached to this diploma, are approved on an experimental basis".

The introduction of the alphabetical systems of the above languages was buttressed by the following three arguments:

(1) *"Considerando que as Línguas Nacionais" suporte e veículo das heranças culturais, exigem um tratamento privilegiado,pois que constituem um dos fundamentos importantes da Identidade Cultural do Povo Angolano"*

("Considering that national languages are the support and vehicle of cultural heritage, therefore, they deserve a privileged treatment because they are important bases of the Angolan people cultural identity;

(2) *"Tornando-se necessário dar continuidade ao estudo científico das Línguas Nacionais, base para o seu desenvolvimento e garantia para sua preservação e promoção"*

("As it has become necessary to carry on with the scientific study of the national languages, and form the basis of their development and to guarantee their promotion;

(3) *"Considerando a necessidade de uniformização da escrita em Línguas Nacionais"*

(Bearing in mind that it is necessary to harmonize the orthography of the national languages).

Looking carefully into the article 1 of the first policy document in analysis, the first concern pertains to the choice of the languages. The ethnolinguistic statistic figures show that there are 41 indigenous languages spoken in the country, as mentioned earlier, 8 of which being non-Bantu (Fernandes and Ntondo, 2002). Questions arise then on why only these six languages out of 41 were chosen. Why Mbunda and instead of Ngangela, if the former is regarded as a variety of the latter? What were the criteria used for selection? Why only Bantu languages were chosen and none of among the non-Bantu was included? Are the ones left out not "national languages" or of less importance?

This is in my view a clear example of linguistic discrimination (Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Recinto, 2006; Hornberger, 2007; Canagarajah, 2006) mentioned in the literature review chapter. As the findings from the interviews will reveal, the selection was based on the *number of the speakers* and the existence of orthographic system. To this, one could add that the select languages are linked to different degrees of political influence on the part of different ethnic groups. In this respect, the chosen languages are connected to the more powerful political individuals in the country, and most of the those that were left out, if not all, are spoken in the least developed areas of Angola.

4. 1. 1. 2. Lei de Bases

> **Extract 2**
>
> **Art. 6** - *A educação tem carácter democrático pelo que, sem qualquer distinção, todos os cidadãos angolanos têm iguais direitos no acesso e na frequência aos diversos níveis e de participação na resolução dos seus problemas*.
>
> "The (Angolan) education has a democratic character. Therefore, without any distinction, all Angolan citizens have equal rights to access and frequent its different levels and to participate in the resolution of its (education) problems".
>
> **Extract 3**
>
> **Art. 9** – (1) *O ensino nas escolas é ministrado em língua portuguesa.*
>
> "Portuguese is the language of instruction in schools".

Looking at extract 2, one might wonder where the "democratic character" of the educational system resides. In fact, there is an overt imposition of one language of education – Portuguese - (as extract 3 shows). And people have no alternatives. Moreover, it is open to question what it is meant by equal rights to access and frequent its different levels and to participate in the resolution of its (education) problems. Ideologically, I share Ngũgĩ's (1997, p. 80) view that "the right to a language is the next most important condition for freedom of expression". Accordingly, I believe that mother-tongue primary instruction

could provide all the citizens with choice of language of instruction, which in turn is the basis for freedom of expression.

Interestingly, with the implementation of the policy in this study, Kimbundu has become a second language imposed on every child who lives in Luanda and takes part in the implementation of the policy. The scenario has become even more complicated. Therefore, we could ask: how can those children whose first languages is not Kimbundu and do not speak Portuguese participate in the democratic system of education? Perhaps, until the indigenous languages are democratically introduced in the educational system and people have choice of languages for their instruction in schools, the minority rights are acknowledged, we cannot talk about a "democratic educational system" in the country. Children who speak neither Portuguese nor Kimbundu are excluded from the educational system as their first languages are left out. The exclusion of the five other indigenous languages in Luanda, previously in the piloting plan, is a strategy leading to a covert social exclusion and linguistic discrimination (Wodak, 2001, pp. 73-4).

Extract 4

(3) *O estado promove e assegura as condições humanas, científico-técnicas, materiais e financeiras para a expansão e generalização da utilização e ensino de línguas nacionais.*

"The state promotes and guarantees to provide all the necessary conditions, i.e. human, technical-scientific, material and financial resources to expand and generalize the use and the teaching of the national languages".

Ten years after the approval of *Lei de Bases*, it is not yet clear which conditions the government has provided to sustain the policy, as claimed in above extract. To elaborate on this point, this law was approved before both the African Basketball and Football Confederations attributed to Angola the hosting of their Cups of Nations. Within less than six years, around 10 huge sporting infrastructures (stadiums) were built, involving billions of US dollars from state budget. These events and the investments made were marketed on the media frequently. Huge projects were implemented for the training of the personnel. For instance, a Foreign Languages Teacher Training Department was asked to design foreign languages projects (English and French) and Social Sciences Studies Department was in charge a project of African History for the police officers who were to protect visitors.

For the project in the study, instead, everything seems to be done in a confidential manner. No accompanying supportive projects seem to be implemented. It is not clear whether implementation plans have already been designed. As far as my research findings are concerned, there has been no significant investment in the policy from Angolan authorities, so far. The document used as legal support of the policy under our study was approved in 2001 but it only started being piloted in 2010. Throughout the "waiting period", one would have expected the necessary conditions for the implementation of the policy to be provided. However, the reality on the ground reveals that nearly nothing relevant was done during this period. There has been no status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning (Spolsky, 2004, pp. 5-6; Recinto, 2009) were not completely through throughout the nine waiting years. I embrace Kamwangamalu's (2009, p.135) proposal of a "market-oriented approach to status planning for African languages". I share his view that language planning

> involves (a) the formulation of goals to be achieved; (b) the codification of strategies which would allow for the goals to be achieved; (c) the elaboration of the policy to determine whether the choices made are the best to achieve the proposed goals; (d) the assessment of, commitment to, and allocation of valuable resources for the implementation of the policy to answer that the desired outcomes or goals are achieved; and (e) the evaluation of the policy to determine success or failure (ibid, p. 135).

None of these steps were taken. As the data reveals, there is an absence of accompanying policy documents to support the project. There is even an absence of political orientation to the teacher training institutions (as we shall see later) with regard to the training of teachers to support implementation of the policy and maintain its continuity. Furthermore, there is a claim of lack of financial resources from the government to sustain the materialization of the intentions in the policy document and the financial resources in use are from non-governmental institutions donations (as PMME1 claims).

The above elements show a contradiction in terms of principles. This is not, in fact, the habitual procedure used to apply for approval and implementation of policies in this country. The standard procedure is that before a new policy is approved and implemented, the project is first approved by the "*Conselho de Ministro*", the organ that congregates all the ministers and the president as the head. After the approval of this organ, the project is submitted to the parliament for its analysis and approval. Then it goes back to the parliament

for the final approval. After the parliament, the project of the policy goes to the president's office for ratification, and then it is published in the *Diário da República* (the national gazette). Only after all these steps are completed the government takes all the other necessary steps related to the process of implementation, to make sure that process will be secure. These steps involve, *inter alia*, the marketing of the policy, the training of the people responsible for implementing the allocation of appropriate budget, and so forth.

However, the way that the policy under our study was being implemented took a different route. It was noticed that none of the secondary teacher training schools is currently training teachers to undertake their duty in line with what Article 10 of Lei de Bases states. There is simply no orientation as to what to do. This leaves school managements in a state of permanent anticipation and anxiety as they awaiting the orientation that is not forthcoming (TTSISD1 & TTS2SD2). What is more, this policy was not published in the *Diário da República*, except the Resolução n^{o} 3/87.

In addition, there is no marketing of the project in the media. Most of the social actors appear to show their disproval of the policy (PMME1 interview). It is interesting to notice that there are, very often, language debates related to "*Portuguese Orthographic Accord*" on the state owned media. However, there are hardly ever language debates on the policy under our study. This was shown by the some of the research participants' responses in opposition.

In fact, concerning the policy under study there were two opposing forces, that is, the government not willing to have multilingual education in the country and UNESCO's power of persuading for the relevance of mother-tongue education. The Portuguese masters were caught between the two forces. As the government and UNESCO have power, they decided to create an office to implement the policy.

Extract 5

Sem prejuízo do N° 1 do presente artigo, particularmente no subsistema de ensino de adultos, o ensino pode ser ministrado em línguas nacionais.

"Without prejudice to Nr. 1 of the present article, particularly in the adults' education subsystem, the teaching can occur in national languages".

What Extract 5 shows is a clearly paradoxical facet of the policy. Here by paradoxical I mean the fact that indigenous languages (with lower status) are allowed to be used as media

of instruction only provided that they do not encroach on the hegemony of Portuguese (with higher status) in the education context.

The question to ask at this point is how can some (indigenous) languages be regarded as prejudicial to their (hegemonic) counterpart in a multilingual education system? Are the policy makers trying to protect Portuguese from what they consider to be the lethal effects of the indigenous languages in the educational process? This is an instance of contradiction between the *Resolução N° 3/ 87,* claiming for "privileged treatment and promotion" of these languages and the *"Lei de Bases".* i.e. two policy documents contradicting each other. The paradox that emerges here is between advocating multilingualism, on the one hand, and implicitly arguing that the promotion of multilingualism can only be possible provided that these languages do not prejudice Portuguese, on the other. One wonders what the policymakers mean by indigenous languages being prejudicial to Portuguese. The reality, as stated by the participants, shows that it is Portuguese that has always been prejudicial to the development of the indigenous languages.

In fact, the paradox above cannot be well understood unless we consider the contextual specificities of Angolan policy making. There has always been a kind of covert division within the governing power. The "Portuguese created elite" has the monopoly of the decision making over the "emerging class of voiceless politicians". What is true about Angola is that projects are immediately put into practice when the suggestions derive from the hegemonic group, no matter whether it is consensual or not. Accompanying policies and policy documents are immediately designed and approved. Otherwise, even after a project is "approved", it remains simply as an intention. And this seems to be the case of the policy document in study. The proposal is most likely to have come from the less powerful side (the emerging class of politicians within the ruling power), due to their connection to the indigenous language and to the linguistically marginalized social strata and reinforced by UNESCO's persuasion (as we shall see from DALLSTT1's interview). Hence, the resolution was unwillingly "approved" under persuasive pressure. Therefore, though being piloted, in fact, it remains as "declaration of intentions" for the government (no support provided, as already mentioned) and Portuguese ideology is still dominant in Angola (Shohamy, 2006, p. 71).

To sum up, the relevant policy documents clearly reveal that the introduction of Angolan indigenous languages in the educational system, both, in adults' instruction and in primary

education actually have no juridical basis. In fact, the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* does not state that the indigenous languages should be introduced in the anti-illiteracy campaign. It simply approves the alphabetical systems of the languages in this case. It is also interesting to notice that the *Lei de Base* makes no mention of the introduction of indigenous languages in the primary education system, but in the adults', with a recommendation that only when these languages are not prejudicial to Portuguese. Furthermore, this same policy document makes no mention of mother tongue instruction, but to promote the use and the teaching of the "national languages". These pointed items show the legal weaknesses of the policy documents. Most notably, however, these are the policy documents that have been strategically used to provide legal support to the policy.

4. 2. Newspaper articles: Uma Palavra sobre as Línguas Angolanas (A words conserning Angolan languages)*; Twa sanguluka... Ngana Benedictu: Menu de entrada* (We are happy... Sir Benedictu: Starter) *and Ministra defende línguas nacionais nas escolas* (Minister defends nacional languages in schools).

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this section presents and analyses three of the newspaper articles, of which two are reactions to the policy under investigation here, and one is a public speech a minister on the issue of indigenous languages. Of the two reactions, one is against and the other one is favourable to the policy.

IV. 2. 1. Article 1: *Uma Palavra sobre as Línguas Angolanas (Jornal de Angola 3/02/2010)*

The choice of this article, among the many against the policy lies in the fact that this is not only against the introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system, but also against the promotion of these languages and it represents one of the extremes in the language ideological fights in Angola.

Prior to presentation and analytical process of the selected extracts, I would like to present a picture which accompanies the article in question. The picture portrays a man holding a microphone and giving a speech to an audience of apparently happy women. In this context,

it is worth noting that public discourses in rural areas, where people can hardly speak Portuguese, are delivered in a very formal variety of the colonial language – a clear instance of ensuring the continuity of Portuguese policy. The participants clap their hands during the event without understanding what the discourse is about. No indigenous language is used in public political speech, no matter how proficient the audience is in Portuguese.

Since the picture is positioned next to an article on indigenous languages, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the image is taken from a campaign of mobilization of the population towards the insertion of indigenous languages in the educational system. However, a more careful observation will reveal that this is a portrait of a public meeting with members of a female organization in a rural area. The relation between the below semiotic resource and the contents of the article represents a clear instance of manipulative discourse. This is insofar as the newspaper here is discursively representing a form of political mobilization about indigenous language. But this is something that to the best of my knowledge actually never occurred.



Figure 3. Semiotic resource (Adapted from the article)

Extract 6

"Por razões históricas, nomeadamente a fixação de povos de vários reinos no território que se denominou Angola e a própria colonização portuguesa, falamos hoje várias línguas..."

"Logo após a independência nacional o governo angolano definiu como língua oficial do Estado o português. Esta medida continua a parecer-nos acertada, porquanto nas nossas condições multilinguísticas seria muito difícil optar por mais uma língua oficial".

"Due to historical reasons, namely the settlement of people of different kingdoms in the territory that is called Angola and the Portuguese colonization itself, we speak various languages today ..."

"Right after the national independence Angolan the government chose Portuguese as official language of the state. This decision seems to us still to be the right one, once in our multilingual conditions it would be very difficult to opt for one more official language".

The author (Ângelo Feijó) acknowledges the reasons for multilingualism. However, he rejects the adoption of more than one official language (indigenous in this case), sustaining the maintenance of colonial language, spoken by a minority, to the detriment of the indigenous languages. This is a clear instance of "preservative or justificatory strategy" (Wodak, 2001, p.71) and linguistic discrimination as a minority language has been imposed on an overwhelming majority. The historical background provided in the literature can help us to infer that the author of the article does not feel himself represented by any of the indigenous languages he is opponent to. It is not clear whether the use of *"nos"* (us) in the second paragraph is inclusive or exclusive here. However, it is likely to encompass Portuguese language ideology inheritors.

Extract 7

"Por exemplo, se se adoptasse duas ou mais línguas oficiais seria obrigatório introduzi-las nas escolas, na função pública, nas forças armadas e noutros sectores da vida social. Daí se imagine o caos na comunicação que aquela decisão provocaria".

> "For example, if two or more official languages were adopted, it would have been obligatory to be introduced in the education system, in the public sector, in the army and other sectors of social life. One can imagine the chaos that such a decision would provoke".

Here, the author expresses a well-known ideology which holds that multilingualism is problematic because it threatens social cohesion and ultimately leads to anarchy. Interestingly, this is reminiscent of what several other researchers have found in different other contexts (see e.g. Blackledge 2005; Milani 2008), namely that multilingualism is viewed as a centrifugal, negative and disruptive force whereas monolingualism is invoked as a positive, centripetal force that will solve societal problems (see also Shohamy 2006). There are many countries over the world with more than one official language and there have never been communicative chaos. As an example, in the South African context different official languages co-exist in both private and public spaces and speakers easily shift codes. It is not clear why Angola would be an exception.

Extract 8

> *"A língua portuguesa, além de ser oficial é, quanto a nós, também língua nacional. Afirmamos isso, porque de facto ela é falada e escrita em todo país a mais de quinhentos anos... Ela é a língua que nos une".*

> "Besides being official language, to us, Portuguese is also a national language. We affirm this because it is spoken and written all over the country more than five hundred years... It is the language that unifies us".

This is a clear example of a nationalist discourse which draws upon a topos of colonial history to legitimize itself. By saying that Portuguese has been spoken in Angola for more than 500 years Ângelo Feijó is trying to legitimise Portuguese as the language of the Angolan nation on the basis of colonial history. However, affirming that "Portuguese is spoken and written all over the country more than five hundred years and is the languages that unifies us" in this extract, the author enters in contradiction with the last part of the article where the he claims for "statistic analysis" of how many Angolans speak Portuguese. Moreover, the writer seems to ignore that, when Diogo Cão arrived in Kongo Kingdom in

1482 (the mark of the first contact), no one spoke Portuguese there. The independent Kingdom of Kongo had diplomatic relation with the Kingdom of Portugal. It is not until after Berlin conference in (Nov 1884 - Feb 1885) that the Portuguese were attributed the territory that makes up what Angola is today. However, the Portuguese did not reach the hinterland until the twentieth century. For instance, the provinces of Lunda, Moxico and Kunene, just to mention some, were not colonized until the first quarter of the 1900s and still with some resistance. Kwanyama people continued their resistance by rejecting the colonial language. In fact, only a minority in the littoral was in contact with the language. However, this was years after the creation of Luanda in 1575 by Paulo Dias de Novais.

It is true that geographically Portuguese is spoken all over the 18 provinces. However, in statistical terms, it is a minority language, and 60 per cent of the speakers are confined in the capital. Hence, arguing that the decision to maintain the colonizers' language as the unique hegemonic one is a pure linguistic discrimination. Angola is a multilingual society and just a minority of its population in urban areas is identified with Portuguese. This is made clear even in the constitution (see p. 17 & table 2, p. 27) though giving privilege to Portuguese, it is careful in not attributing it the status of *"Língua Nacional"*. Portuguese is not a symbol of national identity, which is the reason why it lost its status of *"língua veicular*" (See Neto, 1978). The author is strategically attributing both status of official and national language to Portuguese as a strategy through which to legitimize his support to colonial language. In his view, Portuguese is not simply legitimate as an official language because it is ratified by law; it is also a national language because of the history of Angola, i.e. it is spoken nationwide and thus "unifies" the nation. This claim entails a coexistence of two discourses: a colonial discourse encoded in the legal topos, and a discourse of nationalism based on the topos of colonial history are clearly intertwined and cannot be easily unrevealed.

Furthermore, it is not yet clear who the *deictic pronoun* "we" and "us" applied by the author refers to. Does it refer to all those who are opponents to the promotion of indigenous languages and their inclusion in the educational system or it applies to all Angolans? The deictics "we" and "us" seems to be referring a specific social category in the Angolan context. In this respect, I share Blommaert's (1999, p. 7) view when he asserts that

> The social formations need to be identified ethnographically, specifying the practices they use, when they use them, where they come from and so on. If

> language is used by real people and not by abstract social categories, then these real people must have names, faces, ages, occupations, and so on.

Against this backdrop, I would argue that Ângelo Feijó applies "we" and "us" to refer to those who inherited Portuguese language ideology and are struggling for its maintenance. Therefore, they are unwilling to change the status quo.

Extract 9

> *"E sobre estas, importa interrogar-nos sobre qual o seu papel nos nossos dias e no futuro? Existem muitas pessoas que defendem a sua valorização e promoção, e a ponto de se iniciarem projectos para a sua introdução no sistema do ensino primário".*

> "And about these (languages), it is important to ask ourselves what their role is in our days and in the future. There are many people who defend their valuation and promotion, coming to a point of starting projects for their introduction in primary school education system".

At this point, the author seems to make it clear what he means by "*nós*" (we) and *"nos"* (us). It is not an inclusive "nos", but exclusive. There is no sense of "*pro bono* public", but *"pro bono nobis*" (Wodak, 2001, p. 74). "Nós" is being used as "we who do not have connection with those languages and see no advantages for us to value and promote them" as those who defend the value of indigenous languages and their promotion. As Wodak (2001, p. 73) sustains, '...the discursive construction of '"us' and 'them"' has the basic fundaments of discourses identity and difference'.

It seems clear that both the author and the deixis "*nós*" he evokes have no connection to the any of the "African languages spoken in the country". Therefore, the *nós* are fighting against their promotion. One's language is one's identity. Autochthonous people are proud of their languages. As Anzaldúa (1987) holds,

> So, if you really want to hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language. Until I can take pride of my language, I cannot take pride in myself' (cited in McGroarty, 2007, p. 3).

It leads to the conclusion that the author and the ones included in his *"nós"* are not proud of the promotion of the languages and their insertion in the educational system because they do not identify with these languages. As we shall see in the interview, many autochthonous speakers are proud to see their children learn their languages and they still regard Portuguese as an "imposed language of colonizers".

Extract 10

"... o ensino oficial das línguas regionais suscita-nos muitas dúvidas... que utilidade prática, científica e tecnológica terá a aprendizagem das línguas regionais?"

"... the official teaching of regional languages brings about many doubts... which practical, scientific and technological utility does the learning of regional languages have?"

Extract 11

*"... cremos que no ensino primário, fase escolar muito importante, devem ser bem consolidados os conhecimentos de gramática portuguesa como base para aprendizagem de qualquer outra língua e de outros conhecimento*s *científicos"*.

"... we believe that in primary school, a very important phase of schooling, the knowledge of Portuguese Grammar must be strengthened as the bases for learning any other language and other scientific knowledge".

Read together, Extracts 10 and 11 clearly exemplify the language ideologies underpinning the author's pronouncements about Portuguese vs. indigenous languages. In this respect, May's (2003) trope of immobility together with Irvine and Gal's (2000) notion of fractal recursivity may help us to better understand this point.

May (2003) explains that the trope of immobility consists of a seemingly logical set of arguments which rests on the idea that proficiency in a most powerful language *necessarily* empowers individuals with social mobility while acquisition or maintenance of minority and less powerful languages only contributes to marginalization. Such view is perhaps most

clearly expressed in the rhetorical question in extract 10 through which the author expresses his doubts about the practical value of the teaching of indigenous languages. Portuguese on the contrary is seen as *sine qua non* for an individual to "learn any other language and acquire scientific knowledge". What emerges here is also an example of fractal recursivity, which is the 'projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level.' (Irvine and Gal, 2000). In fact, not only is Portuguese pitted against indigenous languages, but such dichotomy at a linguistic level recurs on epistemological, social, economic, and cognitive level. Whereas proficiency in Portuguese is viewed as the key to access to education, public services, including the job market, learning indigenous languages will preclude the ability to learn any other language and gain scientific knowledge. Needless to say, research in the field of mother tongue instruction has proved the opposite to be the case.

Conversely, one could argue that Portuguese cannot be regarded as *sine qua non* means to acquire any other knowledge. In this regard, I share wa Thiong'o's (1997, p. 54) disproval of this sort of mentality, when he argues that "Japanese and Chinese languages have produced any degree of sophistication among their leaders and followers without English being the medium of instruction. Why this assumption that African languages would necessarily arrest the mental development of Africans?" Indigenous languages can serve as basis to sustain the 'acquisition of any other languages and scientific knowledge. The writer's assumption validates Shohamy's (2006, p. 81) view that those learners who use hybrid forms of language are seen as less intelligent.

Extract 12

"O vocabulário das línguas regionais parece-nos ser muito pobre e não condizente com as necessidades comunicativas da ciência e tecnologia".

"The vocabulary of regional languages seems to us to be very poor and not convincing for communicative needs of science and technology".

This extract gathers all the vocabularies of the indigenous languages as one single entity, no matter how different they might be in terms of "development". By oversimplifying the complexity of different types of lexicons, the author is denying indigenous languages the capability to generate new lexis to keep up with technological development.

The author does not seem to be aware that the hegemonic language, which he defends, is also the result of processes of standardisation and elaboration through which it is kept on a par with technological developments. Just as an example, the Portuguese words *"clicar",* "*internet*", "*software*" and "*hardware*" have borrowed from English and there is nothing wrong with indigenous language using the same process.

Extract 13

"É preciso evitar que as nossas línguas regionais se transformem em factores propiciadores de tribalismo e regionalismo"

"It is necessary to avoid transforming our regional languages into propitious factors for tribalism and regionalism".

At the beginning of the article, the writer recognizes the multilingual situation of Angola and its origin. Various tribes and ethnic groups make up this complex reality. And of course, these tribes and ethnic groups are located in different regions of the territory and are linked to these distinct languages. The question that arises is whether speaking one's language is tribalism or regionalism. Why is this claim addressed to the insertion of the languages in the education system and not to radio and television programmes broadcast in indigenous languages? Why does the writer not propose the extinction of "Rádio Ngola Yeto" which only broadcast in the so called *"línguas nacionais"*? As already mentioned, in the media, these languages were used as a way to rapidly spread political propaganda, whereas in education, these play a role against the intended policy.

It is an undeniable fact that Angola is made up of a complex multilingual mosaic. Hence, labelling indigenous languages as "factors to engender tribalism and regionalism" is an instance of a topos of danger. In this extract, the author is transforming the languages into a threat to the national unity and social cohesion. According to him, this simply means that everyone has to speak Portuguese because it is the language that "unifies us". In fact, what remains unsaid is that this "us" refers to Portuguese creation and not the autochthonous population. Portuguese, i.e. features of spoken Portuguese, is used as labels to identify the ethnic groups and regional origin of autochthonous, and therefore discriminate them, not indigenous languages. Moreover, these labels (such as *bailundo, mukongo,* etc) are applied for social segregation and exclusion.

This extract can be analysed in two different perspectives: Either the author is using it as a strategic way to persuade people not to adhere the process of introduction of the languages in the educational system or, once more the author makes it clear that his discursive acts are preservationist. The author seems to be re-promoting, in the postcolonial Angola, the colonial linguistic antagonism created by the Portuguese that led to serious ethnic violence, which has disappeared among the autochthonous in our days. Similar to the case of Flemish missionaries in "Congo theory of natural" (Blommaert, 1999, pp. 28-9) – God created humans divided in different "natural linguistic-cultural groups", therefore, different ethnics should never be gathered together in a community. Portuguese created such kind of mentality that people from different ethnic groups could never live together. Pejorative denominations were attributed to different ethnic groups, leading to a very serious antagonism. This antagonism reached a point of preventing inter-ethnic marriages. Currently, people from different ethnic groups marry each other, even those who were seriously antagonistic groups. In the light of this contextual background, the author seems to be afraid of the possibility of a backlash of ethnic hatred fuelled by the promotion of different indigenous languages.

Extract 14

"Quando se aborda a questão língua, é preciso não perder de vista o facto, comprovado ao longo da evolução da humanidade, de que elas evoluem (não são estáticas), fundem-se, influenciam-se e extinguem-se".

When dealing with language issues, it is necessary to have in mind the fact, proved throughout the evolution of the humanity, that they develop (they are not static), they get mixed up, they influence each other and they extinguish'.

Wodak (2001, p. 65) calls our attention to the discursive self-contradictions. In this extract the author acknowledges that languages can "develop (they are not static), they get mixed up, they influence each other ...", whereas, in the extract 10 above he rejects the development of indigenous languages. It is a clear instance of a self-contradiction. On the other hand, he recognizes the historical processes languages have undergone throughout the human existence, and then he criticizes the indigenous languages lexicons as incompatible

to “the needs of science and technology”. Of course, one could counter-argue that we can develop them by borrowing new items.

There seems to be no doubts that the author has intentions of proposing language death for the Angolan indigenous languages instead of the promotion of indigenous languages. This does not only enter into contradiction with the statements in extract 11, but it also shows how violent and discriminatory the author’s discourse is against the “African languages spoken in Angola”, as they are now denominated. This seems a clear instance of reproduction of Portuguese language policy that planned the linguistic and cultural genocide of autochthonous languages.

It is interesting to see that even being aware that languages can ‘develop, get mixed up, influence each other’ the author does not propose a way forward that can lead Angolan indigenous languages to develop. One can clearly notice that the writer of the article is not only against a multilingual educational system but both the promotion of the indigenous languages and a multilingual education system.

The socio-political reality of Angola may suggest that the author can only be identified as a member of the ruling power and one among those well-known individuals (the famous “*bajuladores” –*“flatterer”, as they are called) who are used to play the game (as we shall see in the questionnaire with parents) when the Portuguese created elite cannot reveal their identity publicly due to political reasons. Moreover, the Angolan experience shows that no member of the governing party can use the public media to deprecate the decisions of the party, under the risk of invoking “*a dicsiplina partidária”* (the discipline of the party) and the threat of being sanctioned, since the public media would never allow this kind of discourse that brings the party or government policy into disrepute. This leads to a risk of the editor’s employment being sacrificed. Hence, the view that a special kind of “ideology brokers” are set into the market, which is a frequent practice in the country, to act against the policy and promote the “hidden agenda”, as politicians against the policy are not able to publically show their disproval.

4. 2. 2. Article 2: *Twa sanguluka... Ngana Benedictu: Menu de entrada (Jornal de Angola, 25/03/2009)*

My motivation to analyse this article derived not only from it being a purely autochthonous' view towards indigenous languages but also from the linguistic style that the author (Chico Adão) uses to convey this message, a style that would not normally be considered worth publication in the state owned newspaper. As Wodak (2006, p.172) observes, in some policy texts, specific rhetorical tropes and figures are preferred. In fact, the author uses a strongly vernacular and hybrid variety of Portuguese that makes the article to appear non-serious in the eye of an uncritical reader. The text contains some Kimbundu lexicon introduced within a Portugues matrix and some Kimbundu spelling of some words and/or expression. Interestingly, the title does not tell the reader that the text deals with indigenous language-related matters [*Twa sanguluka... Ngana Benedictu*] means "we're happy... Sir Benedictu" and [*Menu de entrada*] means "starter menu". It seems to be connected to the Pope Benedictus XVI's visit to Angola, which occurred exactly at the time when the article was published. However, it is also interesting to see how the author introduces some academic terms and data in the article. He starts by challenging with the title in Kimbundu. Most interesting, and this the main motivation that led to the selection of the article, this represents one of the two extremes of language ideological debates in Angola, opposed to the previous.

Extracts from article 2:

Extract 15

"Se calhar... muitos haverá puraí. A ciumarpáka. E a rogar-nos pragas. Porque fomos buscar língua nacional Kimbundu. Para titular este mambu. Tamu-nos nas tintas para esses detractores".

"I believe... there are many elsewhere who might be feeling jealous and insulting us because we have picked up a national language Kimbundu to entitle this article. We are writing in response to these detractors".

From this, it appears clear that the writer has deliberately given this article a title in Kimbundu as a provocative way of identifying himself with an indigenous language. He also explicitly states that he is aware that there are those who are criticizing indigenous

languages. The use of deixis "*nós*" (we) and "*nos*" (us) by Chico Adão in this extract is not inclusive. Those who are not identified by indigenous languages are excluded. The quotation "many elsewhere who might be jealous" confirms the existence of another extreme perspective, the one encoded in the first article analysed above.

Extract 16

"A Lei Constitutional estatui que Angola é uma Nação una e indivísivel. Uma Nação que aglutina várias Naçoes Ancestrais (Bakongo, Mbundu, Ovimbundu, Lunda, Cokwe, Luvale, Muhimbi, Kwañyama, Lutxaz, Lwena, Handa, Muhimbi, Mundimba, Kwysi, Kuvale, Ñyaneka, Ñkumbi, Ngambwe, Vátwa, Koisan, Helelo, etc, etc.) Cada Nação Ancestral com os povos que usam signos linguísticos comuns. Ou seja. Os povos de cada Nação Ancestral angolense têm a sua língua bilenar, que é aquela usada pelas comunidades desde que Deus colocou tal povo em tal Nação Ancestral. Não brinquemos nem balalizemos as línguas bilenares de cada Nação Ancestral que conforma a Nação Angolana prevista na Lei Constitucional".

"The constitutional Law states that Angola is a single and indivisible nation. A nation that gathers together various ancestral nations (Bakongo, Mbundu, Ovimbundu, Lunda, Cokwe, Luvale, Muhimbi, Kwañyama, Lutxaz, Lwena, Handa, Muhimbi, Mundimba, Kwysi, Kuvale, Ñyaneka, Ñkumbi, Ngambwe, Vátwa, Koisan, Helelo, etc, etc.), each is an ancestral nation with peoples sharing common linguistic signs. Or, better, the people of each Angolan ancestral nation have their own language, which is the one used by the communities since God put these people in this land of their ancestors. We can neither play games nor look at the languages of these ancestral nations that make up the Angolan nation as the constitutional law previous as banal entities".

One can clearly notice how the writer calls attention to respect the Angolan indigenous languages. The heterolingual reality of Angola is not a mere casualty or the result of migrant communities (cf. Blackedge & Creese, 2010). The writer provides a brief historical background to show why these languages should not be regarded as "a banal entity" by anyone coming to the country. Here, the writer implicitly claims that equal consideration of all the languages and their speakers, in the light of constitutional law stipulations is due. Moreover, it is interesting to observe how this is analogous to the previous author; Chico

Adão who relies on a topos of history. However, the reasons underpinning the two topoi are different. Whereas Ângelo Feijó relies on a colonial history to justify his support for Portuguese, Chico Adão invokes pre-colonial history to buttress his stance in favour of indigenous languages.

Extract 17

"Sendo línguas de povos das Nações Ancestrais que se pretende conformem um só povo...uma só Nação... Angola... essas línguas são... têm forçosamente de ser... LÍNGUAS NACIONAIS e não a porcaria de "línguas africanas de Angola" como alguns que se dizem puros e calunáveis mwangoléés, nascidos, criados e vividos long time em Lisboa, não linguístas nem semióticos de formação universitária pretendem impigir-nos para defender a neo-colonização linguística a que a Áfrika negra ainda se sujeita ..."

"As languages of the peoples of the ancestral nations that are intended to build up one single people... one single nation... Angola... these languages are... they have to forcefully be... NATIONAL LANGUAGES and not that bullshit of "African languages of Angola" as those who boast to be genuine and first class Angolans, but who were born, grew up and lived in Lisbon for very long yet they did not graduate in linguistics nor in semiotics and now they intend to impose upon us how to defend the linguistic neo-colonization that is a common struggle of black Africa.".

This extract leads us back to the issue of Portuguese created elite that is mentioned in the literature review and their descendents mentioned in the previous article. It also shows who the decision makers are in fact in the ruling force, as pointed earlier. Moreover, it takes us back to the issue of historicity and the reasons I have already pointed out that make the Angolan indigenous languages be neglected. And instead of the author of article questioning the label "African languages of Angola", he proposes what he sees a more positively valued term for them, namely that of national languages. In fact, the designation "African languages of Angola" was recently introduced into the Angolan political machine by

"Angolans" who suddenly appeared in the political arena of the country, whose true origins are unknown; and therefore, being now publically questioned by the citizens.

At this point, the two antagonistic extremes of the Angolan reality in the language ideological terms can be seen: on the one hand, the Portuguese-created elite and their descendents, wanting to reproduce and reshape the inherited colonial language policy, and, on the other hand, the autochthonous population, wanting to abandon colonial master's monolingual language policy. While the writer of the first article applies "regional languages" as the denominator for the indigenous languages (extract 12) and the expression: "those willing to value and promote them" seems to refer to the ones who claim for the promotion of the indigenous languages (extract 9), the author of the second article, claiming for their promotion, in this extract, demands respect and elevation of these languages to the status of "national languages" and rebukes criticisms of those who diminish their value and act against their promotion. In fact, this is where the problem of valuing the Angolan indigenous languages lies: the fight between the autochthonous population with no political and economic power and Portuguese creation who holds both political and economic power.

Extract 18

" PURKYÉ só Angola, cujos povos e suas línguas bilenares que estão no mundo antes mesmo de Roma colonizar Portugal, não pode usar suas línguas como línguas nacionais, oficial e de trabalho, só porque a ex-potência colonial agora inventou serem línguas africanas em Angola para mantê-las escravizadas e subordinadas à língua que nós fizemos o favor de constitucionalizarmos como língua oficial?"

"Why only Angola, whose people and languages have in the world even before Rome colonized Portugal, cannot use its languages as national, official and in administration, just because the ex-colonial potency has now transformed them in African languages in Angola to maintain them as slaves and subordinated them to the language that we did them a favour of turning it into official language constitutionally?"

This extract can be seen as a reaction to extracts 10, 11 and 12 from the first article in which the writer sees incompatibility of using indigenous languages in education, science and technology, and even regarding their use in education as a way to engender tribalism and

regionalism. Many post-colonial countries have either completely abandoned the colonial languages or maintained them but also use their native languages and elevated them to the status of national and official languages. Once more, the extract takes us back to what I called in the literature review, the "Portuguese perpetuation". The authors goes back to the issue of how Portuguese prepared people (Cape Verdeans and *mestiços*) to hand over Angola and reveals how the government continues to obey Portuguese practices and orientations and therefore, it is reproducing the past colonial ideology, under the guise of neo-colonialism.

Extract 19

"Uma língua só desaparece pela via de extinção física do seu povo bilenar; Ou da subordinação forçada de uma língua alheia, até que,... se chega ao momento de todos falarem a língua imposta pela colonização, por esquecimento completo e definitivo da língua ancestral por povos que mantêm a mesma coloração da pele... mas sem Norte linguístico. É o que acontece hoje com os índios, donos dos territórios antropossemióticos de todo continent amaricano... Não podemos desejar que esse fenómeno se repita na Áfrika negra. de jeito nenhum!"

"A language can only disappear through the physical extinction of the people who speak it; or through an imposed subordination to others' language, until... one day everyone starts speaking the imposed colonial language, therefore, they forget their ancestral language completely and definitively, and become people with the same skin colour, but, with no linguistic identity. This is the truth of Indians today. Owners of the whole American anthropo-semiotic continent... We can never wish that this phenomenon occurs in Black Africa, at any cost!"

Once again, one can see here the topos of danger related to linguistic genocide. However, the author clearly links the linguistic issues to the cultural issues. The fear of the author here is that the imposition of a colonial language will result in loss of identity. The author is aware that unless our languages are promoted we cannot talk about the promotion of our culture. They both go hand-in-hand and build up our cultural identity. This is a clear instance of identity positioning. As Africans and the safeguard of notion of Africanism, we should not allow our languages and culture to be destroyed like what happened to the

autochthonous American-Indians were in the American continent. Therefore, we have to struggle so that African identity cannot be diluted with the imposition of colonial languages.

Extract 20

"*Não temos nada contra a língua de Sttau Monteiro que os portugueses trouxeram a Angola e nos impuseram como colonizados durante a noite colonial. Aderimos patrióticamente às Lutas Política e Armada da libertação Nacional,... somos soldados fiéis e da linha da frente para a Luta Linguística da LibertaçãoNacional, custa o que custar, doa a quem doer, fique mal quem quiser...*"

"We have nothing against the language of Sttau Monteiro that the Portuguese brought to Angola and imposed upon us as colonized during the colonial night. We adhered to the political and armed struggles of national liberation patriotically ... At any cost, no matter whom it hurt, no matter who does not like it, we are now the front- line soldiers for national struggle for linguistic liberation with fidelity".

This last extract from the second article reveals the seriousness of the battle between the two extremes of language ideological debate in Angola. Here, the author draws upon a well-established 'revolutionary' genre to justify the promotion of indigenous languages, claiming for their introduction in the educational system at all levels, as well as their elevation to the status of "national languages". He really makes it clear that the promotion of indigenous languages does not necessarily imply the rejection of Portuguese. The writer is juggling between two ideological positions. He seems to be taking a stance against the Article 9. 3 of *Lei de Bases* that states that "without prejudice to point 1 of the present article (see Extract 5) particularly in the adult's educational subsystem, teaching can occur in national languages". He makes it clear that he does not reject Portuguese. However, according to his view, both Portuguese and indigenous languages can co-exist peacefully.

In conclusion, one can see how controversial the language issue is in Angola. There are two antagonistic extremes at play. On the one side, there are the powerful influential decision makers who do not identify with these languages, and therefore, do not show interest in or value for the indigenous languages. Instead, they prefer to preserve their inherited colonial language policy. On the other side, we have the emerging less powerful politicians from

among the autochthonous population struggling to promote their languages. Such scenario becomes more significant after the next article and the findings from the interviews.

4. 2. 3. Article 3: *Ministra defende línguas nacionais nas escolas (Jornal de Angola, 19/10/2010)*

The choice of this article was motivated by existence of the controversial elements in the Angolan minister of culture's speech, starting from the title: "Minister defends national languages in schools". Here, the minister's public speech reveals disparities between the public political discourse and the actual practices. It also reveals how much has been done since the announcement of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system until now. Indeed, the minister's speech seems to bring out the government's position with regard to the introduction of indigenous languages in educational system.

It is noteworthy to point out that the analysed extracts are quotations from the minister's public speech, published in the only daily state owned newspaper, which have become the text for analysis here. The speech was delivered in the Northern Angolan province of Uíge, during the opening ceremony of the *IV Encontro sobre as Línguas Nacionais* (4th Meeting on National Languages). According to some of the journalists I approached and some colleagues of mine who participated in the meeting as contributors, the event gathered, *inter alia*, members of parliament, members of Uíge local government, priests, national and provincial directors of culture from all over the country, traditional authorities, university lecturers (as contributors), students and members of the civil society. Significantly, no officials of the ministry of education are reported to have attended this meeting. And this was confirmed by the list of the participants in the meeting. In addition to the extracts from the speech, some extracts of the final resolutions from the meeting are used to sustain the claims concerning the continuity of Portuguese language ideology in the postcolonial Angola.

Extract 21

"Ministra defende línguas nacionais nas escolas".

"Minister defends national languages in schools".

Angola has a new constitution recently approved in February 2010, eight months prior to the minister's speech. The constitution does not have any regulations with regard to indigenous languages except "*demais línguas de Angola*" (additional languages of Angola) (see the article 19 of the constitution). I would argue that the applied terminology *"demais línguas de Angola"* is discriminatory because it sets these languages as being of lesser importance to Portuguese. Interestingly, however, the minister does not use the official term and instead resorts to the more positively laden term "national languages". This linguistic slip could be taken as a manifestation of a rhetoric strategy through which the minister tried to persuade the audience of the "good intentions" on the part of the government to protect indigenous languages, without giving away any ground.

As Wodak (2006, p. 172) puts it, while constitutions contain legal language and policy documents declarative forms, politicians' speeches contain "persuasive rhetoric to convince the audience..." Accordingly, it is perhaps unsurprising that there are ambiguities and discrepancies between persuasive political discourses and the actual practices. The title of the article represents a topos of contradiction. The minister is defending the beginning of implementation of a policy that is already being implemented by another ministry.

Furthermore, the phrase: "the minister defends national languages in schools" can raise at least two main concerns: firstly, for how long will politicians defend the introduction of these languages into educational system. Let us have a brief glance at the history of "valuing indigenous languages and their introduction in the educational system": in 1978, as already mentioned in this work, Agostinho Neto defended the valorisation and introduction of these languages in the educational system until secondary school. In 1987, the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* approved the orthographical systems of six languages (under autochthonous language experts and UNESCO's pressure, as my findings revealed) and no official documents emanated to legalize the introduction of these languages in the system. In 2001, the *Lei de bases* was approved and makes mention of the introduction of these languages in the educational system but the education reform guide omits this information. In 2006, President dos Santos publically announced the introduction of "*diversas línguas do nosso país*" (various languages of our country) in the education system. Now, 2010 (the articles under this analysis) the minister still defends the instruction, and interestingly, in an opening ceremony of a similar event as President dos Santos' announcement.

Secondly, in addition to all these announcements, it is interesting to note that there is what I can term "divorce" between the ministry of education and the ministry of culture, as my findings and the documents in my possession reveal, and the discourse in analysis confirms: while the ministry of education is implementing the policy, the ministry of culture is still launching appeals to create conditions to implement this policy. The issue of introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system is a double-edged sword: with the cultural facet on the one hand and the educational on the other. However, the implementation is entirely the responsibility of the ministry of education, and the process is currently running. How can there be a "divorce" between the two ministries that should be working in consonance? As shown above, the attendance at the event where the speech was delivered does not report any representativeness of the ministry of education. The minister's appeal shows that either the minister of culture is not aware of the implementation process that is being run by the ministry of education or the executive does not acknowledge the implementation process that is currently running. This shows that the political process is anomalous to the habitual practices. The ethnographic observation of the procedures to design and implement policies in Angola shows that whenever a policy is multifaceted, a joint committee is created and publically presented. This cabinet is responsible to create all the necessary conditions and ensure that everything is being done. This cabinet ceases to operate only when the process is completed.

Extract 22

"Não queremos a morte das línguas nacionais, porque isso seria queremos a nossa própria morte, a melhor maneira de se valorizar as línguas nacionais é a sua inserção no sistema do ensino, onde a diversidade linguística não deve ser motivo de receios, seja por que motivo for".

"We do not want the death of national languages to happen, because this would be to want our own death. The best manner to value national languages is to insert them in the educational system, where the linguistic diversity must not be, by any means, reasons for fear".

Besides all the already mentioned ambiguities, this extracts falls between the Extracts 8, 9, 12 and 13 of the first article, questioning the value of these languages and their insertion in schools, and their death and the Extracts 18 and 19 of the second, and questions why Angolans cannot use their languages as official and in administration, as well as fighting against their death. The speech seems to support the second article. Nevertheless, the absence of political will Kamwangamalu (2009, p.137) as demonstrated in the first extract and my personal awareness of the reality on the ground lead me to infer of the existence of a "hidden agenda" – their political agenda is the opposite of what the political discourses say - unless this death can be avoided by political discourses. The maintenance of the Portuguese colonial ideology can provide proof of this: for instance, names in indigenous languages are still illegal in the post-colonial Angola, thirty-six years after independence – this constitutes a covert type of cultural death. Moreover, it is paradoxical for current reality to appeal for the creation of conditions, both human and materialistic, to introduce the national languages in the educational system as soon as possible (*Recomendação XII*), while the ministry of education is implementing the policy and is being accused of not involving any other institutions, as well as rejecting people who are trained in the field by the institution that holds responsibility to train teachers (see *Comunicado Final* of the meeting for *Recomendações*).

Furthermore, this extract contradicts Extract 4 (*Lei de Bases*) "Without prejudice to Nr. 1 of the present article, particularly in the adults' education subsystem, the teaching can occur in national languages". While the *Lei de bases* fears the "lethal effect" of indigenous languages to Portuguese, the minister sustains that "the linguistic diversity must not be, by any means, reasons for fear". This shows another incongruity between policy documents and political speech.

Extract 23

"O estudo e a promoção das línguas nacionais preocupam o Executivo, não só pelo facto delas representarem o substracto da nossa identidade, mas também por constituirem um importante meio de ensino, um veículo da cultura para o desenvolvimento".

"The study and promotion of national languages are a concern for the executive, not only because they represent a substratum of our identity, but because they also

constitute an important means for instruction, a vehicle of culture for development".

It can clearly be seen that this extract draws upon a topos of contradiction. The extract is a contradiction with the constitution that gathers indigenous languages together with foreign languages and leaves them without status, as seen above. Moreover, it is not clear what the minister means by "a concern for the executive" in such a situation, once it was the very same executive she (the minister) claims to be concerned that designed and approved the constitution that leaves the indigenous languages without status and relegates them to the less important role by setting them in the same category with foreign languages. This is another topos of contradiction What is more; one has to question what she means by "our identity". Is it truly inclusive? Whose identity and culture is she referring to is another issue to be questioned, since as seen above; there is still a kind of persistence of reproducing colonial identity (see the case of rejection of names in indigenous languages) and culture. Thirty-six years of "planning" to value the languages that they do not even know the estimate number, as mentioned earlier. It does not seem to be feasible to plan something that one does not possess tangible information.

Extract 24

"Hoje não restam dúvidas que o desenvolvimento da África, em geral, e de Angola, em particular passa pelo desenvolvimento das suas línguas. As perspectivas de desenvolvimento do país são boas e animadoras".

"There no more doubts today that the development of Africa, in general, and of Angola, in particular, is through the development of their languages. The perspectives for the development of the country are good and promising".

The minister has acknowledged the role of the indigenous languages in the development of Africa in general, and of Angola in particular. Needless to say that we are still facing the same type of demagogic political speech: impressing people but meaning nothing. However, this acknowledgement, in the Angolan domestic policy seems to be a controversial issue and can represent a topos of incongruity. As already observed in several occasions, generally,

post-colonial experiences, public political discourses tend to enter into contradictions with the actual practices and with what the legal and policy documents of the state.

In sum, the three articles come to clarify the reality of Angola in the matter of indigenous languages. The two first articles have clearly shown us the attitudes of two antagonistic groups. On the one hand, the article by Ângelo Feijó identifies those who regard indigenous languages as a threat, and therefore, they cannot be promoted. On the other hand, the article by Chico Adão identifies the powerless autochthonous intellectuals willing to see their "ancestral languages" promoted. That said, this division resides within the Angolan executive. The third article shows how the executive plays the game in the middle of the fight. However, these intentions are mere declaration of intentions. In fact, there is a coexistence of two discourses. The colonial discourse is encoded in the policy documents and the discourse(s) of diversity in public political speeches and some legal documents are deeply intertwined. For instance, it has been shown that while the *Lei de Bases* regards indigenous languages as prejudicial to Portuguese; public speeches regard them as languages of national and cultural identity

4. 3. Interviews

As mentioned in the research methods chapter, the interview was one of the methodological tools applied in this study. Hence, this section presents and analyses that data gathered through the interviews. The interviewed population can be distinguished in four categories: (1) people who hold responsibility in designing educational policies and elaborating education programmes, and those who monitor the implementation of the policies and programmes, (2) teacher trainers, (3) tertiary education teacher trainees and (4) parents and/or guardians. However, teacher trainers were subdivided into two subcategories: secondary education teacher trainers and tertiary education teacher trainers. It was previously stated that from each category of respondents the interview aimed at finding specific information (see the previous chapter). Therefore, the collected data will be presented and analysed horizontally first, i.e. according to the category of respondents, and then vertically, which means cross categories. It is worth pointing out that, as mentioned in the data collection section of the earlier chapter, all the interviews were transcribed and translated from Portuguese into English and are attached as appendix at the end of the text.

4. 3. 1. Education Policies and Programme designers and Implementation Monitors

The interviews of the 3 educational senior officers were set to find out, to discern what motivated the state to introduce the indigenous languages into the educational system and what the specific agenda of the government on the chosen languages over the others were. The transcripts of these interviews are, as said above, part of the appendix (see appendixes P, Q and R).

The first question aimed to find out the state's motivation in designing a policy to introduce the "national languages" in the compulsory educational subsystem. The respondents PMME1 and PMME2 replied that this policy is not a genuine initiative of the Angolan government (state). PMME2 said:

> "It is to respond to UNESCO's campaign that has been carried out, in persuading the governments of multilingual countries to adopt a multilingual educational system. It was on this basis that a project was conceived, taking into account the multilingual situation of our country"

On the contrary, PMDPEL, though a senior educational officer as well, had no idea why this decision was taken. She said:

> "I was simply taken by surprise for not even being notified about the implementation of the policy in primary schools in Luanda, though she is the head of primary school education. She was surprised finding out about the implementation in her regular visits to schools".

The respondent added that:

> "I was neither involved in preparation nor in implementation stages, therefore, I was not aware of what motivated the design of the policy".

The answer to this question leads to two analytical observations:

(1) the state has no specific agenda with the insertion of indigenous languages in the educational system. And this is proved by the absence of legal documentation, as earlier indicated. The motivation to introduce the "national languages" in the educational system that led to the inclusion of this policy in the "*Lei de Bases*" approved in 2001, though not

clear, was to satisfy UNESCO as an active member of the United Nations and as a UNESCO member as well.

(2) although the Angolan government approved a policy in 2001 to introduce the "national languages" in the educational system, what is being piloted now is not the project emanating from the Angolan government's policy, but UNESCO's. Therefore, it can be assumed that since the claim to add value the indigenous languages, the government has done very little to put the intentions into action, as the minister of culture's speech confirmed. Hence, this correlates with the literature review that the Angolan post-colonial elite have no interest to develop indigenous languages.

The study also attempted to find out the criteria applied to select the languages. None of the participants was able to point out the criteria applied. However, for PMME1 and PMME2, all they knew was that:

> "the most spoken languages were the ones that were "selected".

PMME1 also presumed that "the most spoken languages were the ones "selected" but, in fact, they started by introducing in the educational system, those languages that had been given an orthographic system, even though they faced many difficulties with graphic representation of some sounds, such as [**tʃ**] that is graphically represented as "**c**" in Cokwe". He further added that:

> "the most spoken languages were the priority",

though he was not very sure for not having participated in the design of the project. PMME1 concluded that:

> "I only had a quick training to start the implementation"

The two appointed elements that served as basis to select the introduced languages are (1) the orthographic system, (which refers to the *Resolução n° 3/ 87*) and (2) the number of speakers. What calls the major attention is the difficulties they faced with graphic representation of some sounds. This seems to be a result of lack of involvement of specialists in Bantu languages, especially those who worked in the orthographical systems approved in the *Resolução n° 3/ 87.* Furthermore, it made it clear and confirmed the claims that the people implementing the policy are not trained in the field, while the people trained in this field were rejected.

Since I knew the scientific fields that PMM2 completed his BA at *Instituto Superior Ciências da Educação* where I teach and PMME1 and PMDPEL are still being trained there, I did not want to explicitly ask them why they were involved in what they were not trained for. Nevertheless, I implicitly asked them how they got involved in indigenous languages matters and who decided on which languages to include. PMME2 said that:

> "though I was graduated in the teaching of history; he was always interested in "national languages". "Soon as I heard about this project, as an officer at INIDE, I simply changed from my department to the current one".

As for the next part of the question, PMME2 presumed that PMME1 participated in the decision and was aware. In his turn, PMME1, still being trained at ISCED as Portuguese teacher, said that:

> "we were simply selected by a Portuguese citizen that used to work with us in a Portuguese teaching project. This Portuguese citizen was given the responsibility to select personnel to work for "national languages" project. He thought of selecting me and other Portuguese language teachers. It was by the choice of the Portuguese citizen that I am leading the implementation of the project, as I had been rejected when I was appointed. I was only accepted through the Portuguese citizen insistence. By the time I joined the project, the technical team had already decided on everything. All we had was a quick training in South Africa to start working".

As with the second question, the third participant was exempted to this, as well, due to the same reasons.

In sum, one can conclude that the people involved in the process were not trained in the field. ISCED as the institution that holds responsibility to train teachers in different areas (see Lei de Bases, Art. 10. 3) is training teacher trainers in the field of indigenous languages. The programme of training teachers in this field was conceived to support the implementation of the policy under study. Secondly, although there are people specialized in the field of Bantu languages in the country (some of them were the one that worked on the *Resolução n° 3/ 87*), the responsibility was given to a Portuguese citizen who came to Angola to work on a Portuguese language teaching project. Third, albeit the Portuguese citizen was trusted to conduct the process (no matter whoever did) there was no involvement of people trained in the field. This could be taken as to support the idea that "Africans are

dependent on Europeans," and resonates with wa Thiong'o's (1997, p.64) claim that "... no foreigner, however willing and able, can really develop our languages ..." This raises the question of how much this Portuguese citizen knows about multi-lingual education, mainly in the African context and how much he know about Bantu languages.

The fourth question was concerning the destiny of the many other indigenous languages left out. This question was restricted to PMME1 because they were the one coordinating the implementation. According to PMME1:

> "the country was divided into distinct linguistic regions, i.e. each language is limited to the regions where it is spoken. Hence, there was Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Kwanyama, Cokwe and Ngangela regions However, there was already a plan of inclusion of some of the languages left out, such as some of the non-Bantu. Although he did not want to provide details, as only Bantu languages were included, so far. Nevertheless, the greatest barrier to carry out with the plan was the financial constraints we are facing".

He complained about lack of funding from the government:

> "All the financial resources were from UN agencies such as UNESCO and UNDP".

In addition to the absence of funding, there was what PMME1 called "upper class" individuals of high influence (though he said the names, I have kept them confidential) who thought that the inclusion of "national languages" in the educational system was troublesome, and therefore, the cabinet created to implement the policy was regarded as if they were doing nothing. Hence, they were depending on financial resources to include some more languages.

At this point, whatever the reality is, there is an element of contradiction. There is a gap between the *Resolução n^{o} 3/87* and the implementation. It is not clear how they would include some of the languages left out that do not have orthographical system if one of the criteria for the inclusion is the orthographical system. There is an exclusion of those who prepared the alphabetical system of the languages in use and the process stopped soon as the *Resolução n^{o} 3/87* was approved, as seen earlier. It does not seem possible to introduce unwritten languages in educational system. However, the answer to this question takes us back to the one concerning the government's agenda in the policy. This point seems to confirm that the policy is means to satisfy the UNESCO committee. What is said concerning

certain “upper class” individuals of high influence can confirm the role of those against the development of indigenous languages and it makes it somehow clear that not much can be expected from the ministry of education.

Then I wanted to know whether they had any technical support from Angolan linguists to design the policy and produce the course books for use, as experts in Bantu languages such as DALLSTT1 and 2 claimed:

> “I am talking about the work that led to the approval of that orthographical system to allow the introduction of “national languages in educational system” - PMME1 sustained, “but honestly speaking, there was no other institutions involved, neither any Angolan expert. We worked with UNESCO’s foreign experts. As you can see, all the materials in use were produced in South Africa”. “As for the existence of mistakes, it is very true, though I cannot be precise, we could not use the first printed materials because this. Serious mistakes exist in the books”.

Despite having no participation in any of the previous stages, both PMME1 and 2 said that they were simply helping the implementation. PMDPEL was limited to saying that though she knew nothing about the preparation for the implementation of the policy, she heard rumours about the existence of mistakes. However, due to her lack of knowledge of any of the indigenous languages, she could not precisely tell what they were like, whether grammatical or spelling, for example.

This issue takes us back to the second (on criteria applied to select the languages) and third (who decided on language selecting language) questions. Though the participants assume the existence of mistakes, they cannot be precise, there is a mention of difficulties encountered in the response of the second question concerning graphic representation of some sounds was problematic to them. Once more we fall into the trust of foreign citizens over nationals. This takes us back to wa Thiong’o’s (1997, p.64) view and comes to increase the lack of seriousness that the issue of Indigenous languages is being dealt with. Whoever is running the implementation, it is first of all the government responsibility to ensure the quality assurance of what is being done. It cannot be admitted that course books with mistakes are being used to teach children, when Angolan experts that should deal or at least participate to avoid these mistakes are left out, as said by PMME1 and confirmed by DALLSTT1 and 2, as well as all the trainee teachers.

The sixth question tried to discern why Luanda was seen as priority for piloting the implementation at the expense of the provinces where indigenous languages are spoken as children's mother tongue. PMDPEL said that she was not very sure, but she said:

> "believed that it was because Luanda was the capital, and where INIDE was located, therefore, it would facilitate INIDE officers to monitor the process".

This same view was shared by PMME2. In turn, PMME1 introduced a new element, he said:

> "there were now five provinces piloting the policy, not only Luanda. The initial plan had been changed",

It was at this point that PMME1 started implicitly trying to avoid talking about the implementation in Luanda.

> "We are now piloting the project in the provinces of Zaire, Kwanza Norte, Huambo and Lunda Sul. Luanda is no longer our priority",

This is one of the questions that the study originally set out to address. However, following PMME1's answer, there is a change of the situation.

However, this question seems to reveal certain lack of coordination among the ones in the process of implementation of the policy. What appears is that, as they said themselves, the officers monitoring the process know little about the design of the policy. They were given a task to carry out without being given the needed details. And this lack of details seems to be the fulcrum of the contradictions. In addition to the lack of necessary details, the staff was not trained in the field. It was interesting to observe that PMME1 did not even try to answer the question about Luanda. He was not able to say the reason Luanda was seen as priority, though there was a change later. All he tried hard is not to provide details about Luanda, converse to my purpose. In fact, the coordinator of the project seemed very embarrassed to talk about Luanda, as he did not want to assume that the implementation of the policy had begun in Luanda and Kimbundu was used as a medium of instruction.

What was also interesting to observe after the introduction of the new element was the shortage of staff to respond for the whole country. A important process such as a national language policy would have surely have required more resources than two trained people to

respond for the whole country. Angola is a huge country with 18 provinces and serious problems to reach some of the provinces due to the quality of the roads and airports.

In my attempt to know whether they thought they had enough preparation and if they were (al)ready piloting the policy, PMME2 acknowledged that:

> "there were not yet in conditions but they had to start the implementation. We started in Luanda with four groups of children of grade 1, in four distinct schools, two in the municipality of Viana, one in Cazenga and one in Rangel. These groups are "special" and had all the subjects were taught in Kimbundu, as the only "national language" in Luanda".

I wanted to know whether these children had Kimbundu as their first language and the criteria applied to select them; PMME2 replied that they had Portuguese as first language and there were no criteria. PMDPEL abdicated all the responsibility to the designers of the policy. She was not in conditions to say whether they were or not ready. However, she said that although she was not involved:

> "I came across this situation during one of my regular visits to schools. From what I know, INIDE is carrying out all the process alone. The directorate of Luanda was limited to indicate the schools and nothing more".

Moreover, although she did not want to reveal the names of the schools, PMDPEL confirmed the data details provided by PMME2.

Like the PMME2 and PMDPEL, PMME1 agreed with the details. However, he refused to accept that the piloting had already started in Luanda and that Kimbundu was a medium of instruction. Unlike the two first interviewees, he said that:

> "there was a restriction in Luanda where only Kimbundu would be used as a school subject and not as a medium of instruction, no matter what the child's ethnic origin was. As far as they lived in Luanda, they would have to learn Kimbundu".

Even after my insistence in saying that I was given the information that Luanda had started piloting and that Kimbundu was a medium of instruction in four schools, three different municipalities, PMME1 still denied, saying that:

> "I had been given wrong information".

At this point it can be seen that the implementation of the policy was a kind of precipitation. As assumed by the respondents, the conditions needed to implement the policy had not been provided. "Nearly nothing was ready to start", they all said. It is interesting to note that there seems to be a sort of total freedom for the office to act, no matter what the conditions are. This comes back to question four, where PMME1 said they nearly had no one's attention. They seem to have no one's guidance or coordination. The contradicting answers about the situation in Luanda seem to be originating from some kind of mistake in the way the policy is being implemented with some kind of precipitation. Multilingual education defended by UNESCO gives priority to mother tongue education. Kimbundu is not a mother tongue of children in Luanda, but Portuguese. Therefore, although Luanda is in Kimbundu region, according to their division:

> "it should not be used as a medium of instruction but as a school subject".

This view is shared by nearly all the respondents. They might have come aware of the mistake after starting and now trying to correct, reason why PMME1 is denying the piloting in Luanda. Although there is a kind of disparity, it was proved by PMME2 and PMDPEL that Kimbundu is being used as a medium of instruction. This comes to answer one of the concerns addressed in the study, whether indigenous languages would be used as school subject or medium of instruction.

In the attempt to find out where the teachers where trained, as no teacher training institutions were involved, PMDPEL said that:

> "INIDE was training the teachers to fulfil the task and this was out of the responsibility of the directory of education".

While at INIDE, Both PMME 1 and 2 assumed that they trained teachers on the basis of the teaching materials under the piloting process, and the "short training" they had in South Africa, without being specific who the trainers were. PMME1 said:

> "We select Portuguese language teachers from the schools and we gave them a quick preparation to deal with the process".

This shows a serious lack of institutional responsibility. Firstly, there are no Portuguese language teachers in primary schools. At this level, teachers are trained to deal with all the subjects. I was a primary school teacher and I am familiar with the system. Therefore, this

does not correspond with the truth. Second, INIDE has no experts to train teachers. Moreover, it is not part of INIDE's attribution to train teachers, reason why the country has *"Escolas de Formação de Professores"* (Schools of Teacher Training) at secondary level and *"Institutos Superiores de Ciências da Educação"* (Higher Pedagogic Institutes) at university level. By training teachers, INIDEis a contradiction with the article 10, line 3 of Lei de Bases that states that "the training of teachers is under the entire responsibility of teacher training institutions". Why were these teacher training institutions neglected? These are the only institutions in the country that can ensure that the teachers trained are able to teach. This is not the responsibility of INIDE. Furthermore, teachers' low proficiency in Kimbundu does not allow them to teach. This is acknowledged in the final document of a Ministry of education-UNESCO consultation joint meeting (19-24 April 2004). The monitors had a "short training" in South Africa, as one said. They have no enough English, if at all, to grasp the training contents, as both PMME1 and 2 acknowledged. This short training and language problems do not equip them to become trainers. My ethnographic observation as a teacher trainer shows that it takes years to train trainers. It is interesting to notice that what is being done shows exactly what it is trying to be avoided. It is just another way around. i.e. mother tongue education is to avoid that children are taught in a language that they do not have mastery of. It is not really clear why that INIDE officers were trained in a language that they do not have mastery of and the process of come to become teacher trainers.

The ninth question was related to documentation to support the functionality of the policy. These included legal and academic documents. PMME1 assumed that there were various constraint related to the issue. The first item that he pointed out was language problems. As they work with some people who could only speak English, translation was a big issue; even in the design of the materials. PMME1 said:

> "The contents in the books were translated from English into Portuguese, then from Portuguese into the target languages and had some dictionaries and grammar books, though not enough".

With legal support PMM1 pointed out "the *Lei de Bases* and the *Resolução n° 3/ 87"*. However, he acknowledged that:

> "the languages were not standardized. The absence of guidelines that could help carry out our tasks efficiently was another problem"

PMM2 shared the same view and admitted that:

> "some of the mistakes in the books were not simply the result of lack of experts in those languages but the way they were produces: they were adopted from South African books and had to suffer double translation".

This a clear instance of "planning to fail" (Kamwangamalu, 2009) as mentioned in the literature review chapter. On the one hand, the people who are conducting the implementation process are not trained in the field of indigenous language teaching. On the other hand, there is a considerable absence of supportive documents, as claimed by several participants. Moreover, the existing materials are full of problems, as the participants acknowledge, due to the lack of involvement of Angolan experts in the matters of indigenous languages, and the process under which these materials were produced, with "double translation" that the book underwent.

The last question in the interview sought to know how much has been divulged concerning the policy and whether the parents and/guardians of the children were informed in advance. This question was restricted to INIDE officers, since they are the ones hold the monopoly of the process. PMME2 said this question was beyond his reach, so he could not answer it. For PMME1 "they had scarce resources to do so, including financial". Therefore, they "were unable to use the media, as they could not afford to pay them". Besides this constraint, he once again pointed out some names of "influential personalities" (not the ones pointed before), that were seen as great obstacles even in the other provinces. He said, once again, that people do not consider what they are doing as relevant. He gave the example of some books sent to one of the provinces being kept in the local stores in these provinces by certain authorities, just as a way of obstructing their work. There was no answer as to whether parents and/or guardians were informed in advance. The answer to this question comes to show that very few people know about the policy, and many parents have their children being taught in a language that they did not know before. Moreover, although our interest is in Luanda, once more information of obstructions in the process by "influential personalities" was forthcoming from PMME1.

In sum, the interview with the above participants revealed that the policy under the study is not a genuine initiative of the Angolan state, but a response to UNESCO's campaign to persuade on the use mother tongue in education. Moreover, it shows that the ministry of education, through INIDE has unilaterally conceived and developed elaborate programmes

and the teaching materials without any participation of other educational institutions The ministry has also taken the responsibility of training teachers and is now implementing the process without informing the Angolan people that the piloting of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system has begun. This contradicts the regular practices in the country and with the article of the *Lei de Bases* cited above. The ministry of education does not train teachers nor directly implements any policies without delegating the responsibilities to provincial directorates. Moreover, no educational policy is run under the procedures that are being applied with the policy under our study in the country. What is surprising is that policymakers seem to be aware that the policy was not ready for implementation; they acknowledge the existence of serious errors in the teaching materials and lack of sufficiently trained teachers to carry out the task. And despite these shortcomings, they want to implement the policy.

It is very interesting to observe the ambiguity between what the article 9.3 of the Lei de Bases in language says: "without prejudice to nr 1 of the present article, particularly in adults' subsystem of education, the teaching can occur in national languages; and nr 1 states that the teaching in schools is ministered in Portuguese." and what is being done. Children whose first language is Portuguese are being taught in Kimbundu, the language which they do not speak at school or at home. This enters in contradiction not only with the article but with the purpose of mother tongue education, as well. The other ambiguity is the label "national languages", which is rejected by those who introduced it in political arena but still in use in some policy documents, when no official status is attributed to these languages. There is no status of "national languages" attributed in the constitution for additional languages of Angola, such as Kimbundu.

4. 3. 2. Teacher trainers and trainee teachers

This section presents and analyses the results of the interview with three teacher trainers, five trainee teachers and two teachers implementing the policy. It is worth recalling that two of the respondents in this category (TTSISD1 AND TTSISD2) are vice-directors for pedagogic affairs in secondary level, DALLST1 is the head of African languages and Literature Studies at tertiary level (ISCED), and he is the person who introduced the programme of training teachers for indigenous languages to provide trained teacher to support the implementation of the policy under our study, and DALLST2 is an indigenous

languages teacher trainer at tertiary level, in other words, the two last are from the same department at ISCED. The other respondents DALLSET1, DALLSET2, DALLSET3, DALLSET4 and DALLSET5 are students (trainee teachers at ISCED and PIT1 and PIT2 are both teachers implementing the policy.

The first question for the teacher trainers was aimed at collecting their opinions concerning the introduction of indigenous languages. The ten participants shared the same opinion:

> "it was somehow later but it was really important, since it came to fill the gap that has been existing for so long. This policy would provide considerable help, mainly in the countryside where many children have to make double effort of learning the language and simultaneously learning the contents. This would allow children to have instructions in their mother tongues".

TTSISD1 added that

> "one of the most relevant aspects of the policy was the inclusion of those children who are left out of the school system because of they lack the so-called official language in their linguistic repertoire".

DALLSTT1, the expert in Bantu languages, went further, looking at the promotional side:

> "this will help to promote indigenous languages as well, since any language promotion is better make in education",

Nevertheless, DALLSTT2 complained concerning the:

> "timid way that the process is being driven and the lack of legal documents to support the policy".

This last view was also shared by DALLST1:

> "this is a verbal policy".

DALLST4 complained about the way the preparation of the implementation of policy is being conducted.

It can be seen that all of the respondents were aware of the role that mother tongue instruction is for primary education children and they have been waiting for the introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system for a long time to fill the "existing gap"

and help c reduce effort for children in their learning process. In particular, they are conscious that being instructed in the language that they have not mastered reduces their performance, as it requires double the effort to learning the language and leaning the contents simultaneously. There seems to be awareness amongst the trainees that the issue of official language is harmful to many children, since they are excluded from school due to the lack of Portuguese in their linguistic repertoire, as pointed out in the literature review. Moreover, the promotion of indigenous languages can lead one to think that there is a concern about the ways languages that are being treated.

Next, I wanted to know whether the participants, except the ones implementing, knew that the policy was already being piloted in Luanda and how much their institutions contributed in the process. None of them was aware of the piloting process in Luanda. TTSISD1 knew that INIDE was about to start the implementation in primary school. Concerning their institutions, all the trainers said that they were never approached by INIDE and never had any orientation from INIDE; therefore, they "did not know how to contribute". In addition, they said, they "try to approach INIDE but without success". Trainees provided the same response but they were all surprised with the information about the implementation. TTSISD1 said:

> "We visit INIDE frequently but we have never been told about Luanda. We know about Mbanza Kongo (Zaire), Huambo, Lunda Sul and Ndalatandu (Kwanza Norte)".

DALLSET2 and DALLSET5 challenged me to tell them how I obtained this information. They could not believe that the head of INIDE office, who is their friend and school fellow could hide them this information from them. Trainees were even more surprised when they heard from me that Kimbundu was being used as a medium of instruction in Luanda. DALLSET2, who is Kimbundu speaker and lived in one of the municipality where two of the schools are located, totally disagreed with Kimbundu as a medium of instruction. She found it:

> "paradoxical because the ministry of education is doing what they say to try to avoid".

In addition, all the students were aware that their programme was created to support the policy. However, their initiatives were rejected. DALLSET3 and DALLSET5. DALLSET1 said:

> "We frequently talk to the head of the office at INIDE about our availability to contribute in whatever way possible; however, he did not take up this offer to participate/facilitates. All he says to us is that they have experts" –went further saying that:

DALLSET4 said that:

> "we know that he is being trained in the teaching of Portuguese and not of the national languages". "How can we give our contributions? We are friends and we only talk as friends. He is not open to our contributions".

The answer to this question confirms the information that there was no involvement of any other institution; INIDE is doing all the work on its own. The interviewees' reaction confirms what we already know from the trainers from different institution and from INIDE officers themselves. No participation of anyone else in the implementation of the policy. Moreover, it seems very strange why the information about the implementation of the policy in Luanda was being kept secret even from friends and university colleagues who visit the office. It is now time to ask who will sustain the continuity of the policy, if the issue of multilingual education is really being taken seriously.

In my attempt to find out who provided teachers to INIDE to start the implementation, the two secondary school vice-directors of schools that train teachers for primary education replied that they had never been oriented to train teachers, therefore they did not know whether they would train teachers to deal with the languages as languages of instruction or as a second language issue. Therefore, they did not provide any teachers and they were surprised to hear from me about the implementation of the policy, since they had been expecting INIDE to tell them what to do. In fact, when I entered TTSISD2's office, he was struggling to telephone the coordinator of the process at INIDE and he showed me his telephone record of his trials just as evidence of what he told me about lack of openness of INIDE.

The two tertiary education trainers shared the information from the two first participants and explain this in more detail. They started training trainers to help INIDE to implement the

policy, though they had no orientations. They took the initiative bearing in mind the responsibility of their institution in the matter of teacher training and teacher's provision. Therefore, they did not want to be surprised by the policymakers. Nevertheless, their initiative was rejected. They tried hard to contact INIDE to be included in the process but they did not have any success. Some of the trainees went directly to INIDE and were rejected. The trainers do not know what to do with their trainees.

The four interviewees had the same question in common. They asked me where INIDE had found teachers if their institutions did not provide them with any and the ones from the ISCED were rejected. As for trainees, DALLSET1 and DALLSET4 did not know exactly, though they presumed that INIDE was carrying out the training. However, DALLSET2, DALLSET3 and DALLSET5 assumed that they knew that:

> "INIDE was recruiting teachers from the schools where they were piloting the policy to be adopted for the piloting of the policy"

DALLSET3 went further saying that he had evidence that INIDE gave short training to teachers to be adopted to implement the policy. He was curious when his friends came from Lunda Sul to attend a training session at *Casa da Juventude* (House of the Youth - a house run by the ruling party in the municipality of Viana, in Luanda) and he integrated the group and attended the training to see what was being done.

What is noteworthy here is the role that INIDE is playing in the process of introduction of indigenous languages in educational system. INIDE is acting beyond its scope. It has even taken over the responsibility of the institutions that are empowered to train teachers and has rejected the participation of these institutions in the process. As far as I know, INIDE has responsibilities over the design of the policies and programmes. The training of the personnel and the implementation of any educational programme is not part of their jurisdiction, as already mentioned. One needs to understand why an institution without trained personnel can reject the contributions of trained people, as shown above by the participants. Furthermore, it is clear that by training teachers to implement the policy INIDE officers are playing the role of "blind guide". A layman cannot train anyone; since he can never impart the expertise he does not possess himself. However, as said above, there is something that needs to be uncovered.

In my efforts to obtain their opinion as to whether they thought Kimbundu would be the only indigenous language introduced in educational system in Luanda and as a medium of instruction, the four teacher trainers disagreed. With the exception of DALLSTT2 who said there was no problem, as it sustains the division of the country into linguistic regions. The three other shared the same view that they did not expect to find a child born in Luanda whose first language was Kimbundu. The language should be introduced as a school subject and not as a medium of instruction, and they were surprised to know this information from me. Two of them went further asking whether by doing so the situation would not be the same to what was trying to be avoided, teaching children in a language they do not know. As for having only one language, there was a disagreement amongst the three of them. Firstly, because not everyone in Luanda is from the same ethnic group, and second, how parents whose languages are other than Kimbundu would help their children with homework or with any other problem their encountered. One of them added that this would imply that all parents in Luanda had to learn Kimbundu before their children started learning it. Similar to trainers, the five trainees also rejected the idea of Kimbundu being used as a medium of instruction in Luanda. They all corroborated that they "would accept it as a school subject, in the way English and French are taught". It was interesting to see that even the two teachers implementing the policy disagree with Kimbundu as a medium of instruction in Luanda. PIT2 said:

> "I was expecting Kimbundu to be introduced as a school subject"

He commented: "Children would have learnt some if it were". He went further by complaining that his own performance as teacher had decreased and did not want to think about what happened to the children.

The two following questions were restricted to the head of Department of African Languages as one of the prominent experts in the Bantu languages matters in the country. First, I wanted to know from him whether he had any idea about what motivated the introduction of these languages in the educational system and how much Angolan experts in the matter of indigenous languages had contributed, as he was the director of the National Institute of National Languages at the time the policy was conceived, therefore he was one of the pioneers. This participant started by saying that the project of this policy started in the National Institute of National Languages, under the leadership of UNESCO and UNDP, but executed by Angolan linguists. It was not the initiative of the Angolan state. The project

designed basic guidelines for bilingual teaching materials and some grammar books. As DALLST1 puts it:

> "the harmonization of orthographical systems of six languages left the government without any argument except to apply a policy of introduction of indigenous languages in education. Hence, government was pressured by the new reality, which led to the approval of the *Resolução n^{o} 3/87*. However, the *Resolução n^{o} 3/87* precipitated of the introduction of the six languages in the adult's education system. The six languages led us to divide the country into six different linguistic regions. This is the contribution of Angolan linguists in the policy".

This confirmed, once again, that the statements made by the other participants in the study, namely that the introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system is not a policy that was originally designed under the Angolan state initiative but under UNESCO and UNDP control. The initial project was begun by Angolan linguists, who have now been excluded by INIDE that has monopolized the process.

The second question was seeking to find out whether there was participation of expert from the ministry of education, mainly from INIDE that cares for the development of education, and of this policy in particular. The answer to this question was that there was no participation of anyone from the ministry of education at the stage and presumably, and this is perhaps the reason why the teaching material produced is full of mistakes. He was surprised to see the material that was elaborated by INIDE. According to my respondent, INIDE elaborated a programme based on what the National Institute of National Languages elaborated without involving experts, as INIDE does not have experts in the field.

In trying to find out how long PIT1 and 2 have been teachers, what subjects taught and whether they were still doing the same thing. PIT2 said that:

> "I have been a teacher for ten years, and as a primary school teacher I dealt with all the school subjects, not with a specific one. I am still doing the same thing but, no longer in Portuguese. I was selected to teach in Kimbundu".

PIT1 said:

> "I have been a teacher for nearly twenty years, first as a primary school teacher, then as a secondary school teacher."

However, PIT is now a part time teacher, as he works for the ministry of education. He heard about the indigenous languages teaching project, so he volunteered to help.

The two participants I talked to had already been teachers for long. However, they were not trained to perform the newly assigned task. One was trained and he worked with primary school children, teaching general subjects in Portuguese and the other, used to teach but at the moment he decided to join the piloting of the policy he was doing administration in the ministry of education. None of them was trained specifically to work with primary children in indigenous languages.

I tried to find out whether the five trainee participants and the two teachers piloting the policy spoke any of the indigenous languages and their level of proficiency. As for the trainees, I also wanted to know the languages they used in their teaching practice. Among the five trainees, two, i.e. DALLSET1 and DALLSET3 speak Kikongo, DALLSET2 speaks Kimbundu, DALLSET4 speaks Umbundu, and DALLSET5 speaks Cokwe and they all did their teaching practice in the indigenous language they spoke. They all said that:

> "they were native speakers of the languages they were dealing with, they spoke the languages fluently and all they did in their course was to learn technical components to perform the teaching job".

This shows that trainees are really being prepared to teach in the languages in which they are proficient, which means that they are in better condition to help with the implementation of the policy. However, they are being ignored or even rejected by INIDE.

The two teachers said they were from Kimbundu ethnic group. However, while PIT1 said he was a very fluent Kimbundu speaker, PIT2 admitted that he could speak the language but with a slight deficiency. What was common about the two participants was their proficiency of written language. They both admitted that they acquired Kimbundu in their families. Like many speakers of indigenous languages in the country, what they acquired was just the spoken varieties. Their written Kimbundu showed some Portuguese influence, as they did not learn how to write Kimbundu at school. Nevertheless, they felt that it was enough to enable them teach at primary education.

A serious problem started to emerge at this point. Although both stated that they were native speakers of Kimbundu, it is not clear how proficient they are and whether their proficiency qualifies them to be teachers. The greater issue lies with regard to their written language

proficiency. They acknowledged their own low proficiency of written language; it has become evident that they should not be allowed to teach. Unfortunately, many people think as they do: one does no need to be very skilful to teach primary school children. They forgot that this is where the responsibility of teaching well is higher, since it is at this level that the foundations of language (reading and writing) are prepared.

I asked how the two teachers regarded the change they had made from teaching in Portuguese to teaching in Kimbundu which was not part of their training. They both found the change difficult. PIT1 said any change was difficult to face, however, he did not expect to find all the problems he encountered. He acknowledged that although they had the training, there were many difficulties, pointing out what he thought were the main reasons:

> (1) "no single child seemed to understand the language, so, I was dealing with a non-speaker of the language";
>
> (2) "this meant I was teaching them both the language and the contents at the same time – there were times that we all got stuck looking at each other"
>
> (3) "they face difficulties even being taught in Portuguese that they can speak, imagine in the language they do not know";
>
> (4) "I also have to recognize that I did not have the same proficiency of the language as when I teach in Portuguese. It was very serious".

The other interviewee said that he had a different view of the process when he thought of helping. He just thought that he would be filling a gap that existed in the past and value our languages. However, with what he experienced, he changed his view and he now asks himself "why teach children in a language they do not know and not teach them the language". He hopes that the obtained results from the process might help to re-think and change things. There were too many complaints". They both share the same view at the end as to whether it was relevant to continue with the process.

This makes it obvious that there are too many problems and, in fact, it is not easy. If one looks at what the first teacher pointed out as the origin of the problem they faced, it really demands change from planning to implementation. It is clear that the problems are not only with children who do not speak the language, but with the teachers as well, who have low proficiency in the language that they are supposed to be teaching. Moreover, they are not

trained to undertake the task. Above all, the problem seems to begin with the ministry of education. The focus here lies in the choice of using Kimbundu as a medium of formal instruction in schools with children whose first language is not Kimbundu.

In the attempt to find out how much PIT1 and 2 expected the children to benefit from the process, they both said that the question had basically been answered while dealing the previous. Children benefited very little, if at all. There was more harm than benefit. PIT1 went further saying that it had been his worst year throughout his teaching career and he did not find it relevant to continue. I wonder whether what I was told was put in the final reports of their activities, as well. Experience shows that the ones piloting the process will keep quiet as no one wants to be the first to criticise.

Next, my curiosity lead me to find out whether they, as teachers, were able to identify the mistakes that experts in the language claimed wherein the books in use. While PIT2 said he did not even think that there would be mistakes in the books, PIT1 said that he had been told about the existence of mistakes in the books by DALLSTT1, though not of what kind, but honestly speaking, that he was not able to identify any mistakes.

I then asked about the parents and/or guardians reactions when they understood that their children were being taught in Kimbundu, and without their consent. PIT1 said:

> "You have touched the other side of the trouble; I seemed to be guilty for the change". The parents and/or guardians reacted strongly and he had to face them alone as the school management was not involved in the piloting process. There were those whose children never came back again"

PIT2 also said that:

> "parents and/or guardians were discontent and in fact some took their children and never came again, whereas others complained and suggested that children should be taught in Portuguese and learn their own languages as a school subject and not Kimbundu".

Parents and/or guardians' attitudes of criticism were expected to happen. First, it is because they were taken by surprise. It was not what they had expected to happen. Second, it was not of their consent and third, not everyone in Luanda is part of Kimbundu ethnic group, as said earlier. The question here is whether those who took their children away were able to find

other schools for them and whether they addressed their complaints to the authorities for a change.

My last question, and this was the last question to all the above categories, was to find out whether, as parents and/or guardian, they would allow their own children to participate in a such a piloting process. It was interesting to find out that no one said they would, even those who are directly involved in the process. Though they diverge in the choice of languages, owing to their ethnic group origins, they all share the view that they would accept indigenous languages as a second language or basic school subject, as their children do not have them as their first languages.

This shows that people are aware of what is happening with regard to the implementation of indigenous language. For those who are conducting the implementation of the policy the question is why to involve others' children in a process that they do not accept to involve their own. The ones conducting the process are conscious that they are not doing the right thing; therefore, they protect their children.

In sum, the interview with the above categories provided a broad overview about the total exclusion and/or rejection of institutions and people who have responsibility in the matters of indigenous languages and in the training of teachers. However, being the policy undesired, which reveals the absence of interest of the governing power to implement a multilingual educational system in the country and therefore, highlighted that their primary interest was to maintain their inherited Portuguese colonial language policy, as the literature review showed earlier. As I said earlier, INIDE officers could not act freely. They could never isolate the teacher training schools, reject experts and trained personnel if they were not allowed to do so, since this would mean disobeying the actual practices of public services in the country. The ethnographic observation of the Angolan reality shows that if this practice were a unilateral act of the officers, they would have been severely punished by now. It is interesting to note that INIDE produced their own teaching programmes and books without participation of any experts in the Angolan indigenous languages to ensure the quality of what had been produced. The INIDE officers are being used to implement a hidden agenda that they might not be aware of.

However, what is significant is that, in general terms, there is a very good attitude from most of participants to the policy. So far, everyone involved in the field, INIDE officers and teachers, including trainees, show a positive attitude to the introduction of these languages

and recognize the relevance of these languages in educational system. On the other hand, everyone involved in the process presented complaints about lack of supporting documentations and the ways the policy is being applied. This shows a kind of awareness of what they need.

4. 3. 5. Parents and/or guardians

The interviews and questionnaire with parents and/or guardians were set up to discern Luandans' perceptions of the policy and their attitudes towards the introduction of indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system. The interviews were recorded with the interviewees' consent, as mentioned in the introductory part of this section, and transformed into a transcript that can be found in the appendix (B9-H1). As mentioned in the methodology section, questionnaires were applied as a strategic alternative to those who were not willing to be interviewed and have their voices recorded. For the sake of space, questionnaires were more simplified than the interviews and contained both, open and closed-ended questions. My respondents were free not to respond to the questions they did not feel comfortable to. Hence, throughout the process of data collection, I handed out eight questionnaires and they were all returned to me.

Hence, the first thing I wanted to know from them was whether they knew about the introduction of the indigenous languages in the compulsory educational subsystem and where they got the information from. Among the seven interviewees, only one (P/G09) did not have the information. Among the remaining six, four, i.e. P/G10, P/G12, P/G14 and P/G15 heard the information from a Kimbundu radio programme "*Balumuka*" (a Kimbundu word that means "get up") on *"Radio Angola Yeto"* (broadcasting on indigenous and foreign languages) whereas P/G13 and P/G11 heard from talks at their working places.

As for the eight respondents of the questionnaires, P/G08 saw the information in a newspaper. The remaining seven commented that they never heard about this in the media. P/G03, P/G05, P/G06 and P/G07 got the information from friends. P/G02, P/G04 and P/G01 got the information from their participation in the study. They did not know about the process before.

Though this question sounds irrelevant, it reveals a very important element of the policy: "marketing of a new product in the market". The answers to this question come to reveal the

absence of divulging of information of the policy under our study. Many Angolans still have no information about the multilingual education in the country. This is owing to the silence that most of the media channels are involved in concerning the issue. Crucially, it is worth pointing out that the majority of the interviewees who knew about the policy are all speakers of Kimbundu and heard the information from a specific Kimbundu radio programme in which the broadcaster tends to encourage parents to teach their children Kimbundu. What about those who are not Kimbundu speakers or do not follow the programme as it is broadcast by 4 am?

Then, I wanted to know whether the participants spoke any indigenous languages, and in which domains they used the language(s). As expected, not all of them had indigenous languages in their linguistic repertoire. Ten respondents, i.e. P/G02, P/G03, P/G05, P/G06, P/G08, P/G10, P/G11, P/G12, P/G14, and P/G15 spoke indigenous languages. Of these, only P/G10 and P/G14 said that their children did not speak the language but they could understand some. All the others said that their children did not speak nor understand an indigenous language. The respondents P/G01, P/G04, P/G07, P/G09 and P/G 13 did not speak any of the indigenous languages, neither did their children. Those who speak, rarely use it, and generally at home or in informal settings, with close relatives and friends with whom they knew they could share the language with.

Although there seemed to be more people who speak indigenous languages in Luanda, they do not use them regularly in public and official domains. This is justified by the composition of the current habitants of Luanda that seems to be comprised by a majority of people who fled to town to look for shelter during war time and others from who came for academic purposes and never went back to their provinces of origin, though there are no statistics about the latter. Furthermore, this is a good clue that can help to predict about what children's first language in Luanda is and whether indigenous languages are means of communication in the families in Luanda.

In the attempt to find out their opinion about the introduction of indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system, though in different ways, even those who do not speak any of the languages, fourteen respondents were unanimous saying they were happy to see that their children would start learning their languages. Though she does not speak any of the indigenous languages, P/G13 went further saying that it was not only fine, but there had been a need for this long ago, since the new generation did not speak the languages.

However, she was more careful saying that on the other side, there was a need to look at the constraints that this process can bring before its implementation. Only P/G07 was sceptical and did not say whether he was in favour or not.

What can be learnt from this question is that the population welcome the policy. It is interesting to notice that even those people who do not speak any of the Angolan indigenous languages, including foreign residents, feel that the indigenous languages should have been introduced in the educational system long ago, and not only now. This is a positive remark. This shows the receptivity of the policy by Luandans and their attitudes towards the indigenous languages. It also demonstrates that there are people who felt that converse to the current hegemony of Portuguese as the only language of instruction, there should be a multilingual education in the country, but it needs to be carefully planned.

When asked about whether they agreed with the use of Kimbundu in schools in Luanda as the only indigenous language in educational system, as a medium of instruction and whether they thought that their children who did not speak Kimbundu would not have problems to have all their lessons in the language they did not know, participants split the into different small groups in terms of opinion: P/G08, P/G06 and P/G04 said "children should learn the language before they were taught in Kimbundu", while P/G03, PG/11, PG14 and PG15 said:

> "though it would be difficult, they would help their children with the language at home because Portuguese is a colonizer's language and not our language".

P/G01, P/G10 and P/G13 disagreed with Kimbundu as a medium of instruction in Luanda whereas, P/G09, P/G1 and P/G02 who are from different ethnic groups commented that though it was not a very serious problem, they would prefer that their children learnt their own languages first:

> "because it would be impossible for them to help their children at home with a language they did not speak themselves".

P/G05 said:

> "as a government plan he would not mind. However, not as a medium of instruction, since it would make it difficult for children to understand and grasp the contents."

From these answers, it can be seen how controversial the issue is. Though there is some agreement among the parents, there were different opinions about (1) whether indigenous languages should be medium of instruction or a school subject, and (2) whether it should be the language of the linguistic region or parents' ethnic origin language. It is also important to note how some people think that Portuguese is colonial and not Angolans' language. This clearly contrasts the discourse of "nationalism" in the analysed newspaper article that attributes Portuguese the status of not only official language but of "national language" as well. This can be taken as grassroots evidence that the "we" invoked by the writer is not inclusive. This shows the other extreme: the "they". This comes to reinforce the view of coexistence of two discourses mentioned above: the colonial and the nationalistic discourses.

There was a restricted question to P/G01, P/G10 and P/G13 who disagreed with Kimbundu as a medium of instruction in Luanda. The question was whether they "would allow their children to be taught in Kimbundu. They said: "absolutely they never". However, they would feel happy for their children to learn the language without any objection". Nevertheless, as P/G13 said:

> "the children did not have Kimbundu as their first language; she would not allow them to have lessons in Kimbundu. If this happened, she would take them to different schools". P/G13 went further, asking "what would happen to those who live in Luanda and are not from Kimbundu origin".

In fact the imposition of Kimbundu as the only language and its use as a medium of instruction in Luanda is a very complicated issue to deal with, bearing in mind that Luanda, being the capital of the country, it gathers all the ethnic groups of the territory and expatriates. Hence, people should be given opportunities for choice and Kimbundu should not be introduced as a medium of instruction in Luanda.

The following question was closed-ended. All I wanted to know from the participants was whether they thought these languages were relevant for the development of their children. Only P/G07 said "no". All the respondents admitted that the languages were relevant for the development of their children. Then, I wanted to know whether they would encourage their children to learn the languages. Again, with exception of P/G07 who said "never", all the others said "they would". P/G01, P/G04, P/G10 and P/G13 said they "not only would encourage their children but take the opportunity to learn themselves, as well".

Once more, the Luandans' attitudes not only to the policy under our study, but to indigenous languages can be observed from this answer. It shows the urban Luandan's change of attitudes towards indigenous languages. Claiming that "they would not only encourage their children but take the opportunity to learn themselves, as well" shows that people even feel the lack a very important component in their lives and they need to acquire it, though in their adulthood. As expected, the only "never" just confirms what has just been said concerning Portuguese creation attitudes. All other respondents, including foreigners who are residents, are receptive to the policy, though they disagree with the use of Kimbundu as a medium of instruction. It is interesting to notice that even those who are from other ethnic groups than Kimbundu did not object that their children learn Kimbundu, though they would prefer that they learnt their own languages prior to Kimbundu. This demonstrates that the multi-lingualism that characterizes the nation is in the mind of people, and perhaps a reaction to the hegemony of Portuguese. No mention of tribalism or regionalism made by the respondents, as the first article suggests would happen.

The last question was whether they wanted to comment on something that they felt relevant and wanted to mention. There were five different reactions. P/G09 recommended that:

> "the media should expand this information so that everyone is aware of the policy and even promote debates that were inclusive, to hear from people".

She even went further questioning the intention of keeping this so valorous project secret. P/G06 complained, wanting to understand "what made the implementation of this policy to be postponed if it had been in the mouth of politicians since independence". P/G05 acknowledged the relevance of the policy. However, she recommended for "the needs of trained human resources and the availability of non-human resources such books, school programmes, etc". The last positive comment was from P/G08 suggested that:

> "there should be two different ways of application: throughout the country, people could learn the languages of the regions where they were located". "However, this principle is not feasible in Luanda where nearly all ethnic groups are gathered. People should have a choice".

There was a negative comment from P/G07:

> "the teaching and learning of dialects (and not national languages) is not relevant. Therefore, it must obey two main principles: the needs/utility and voluntarism".

This respondent is evidence and showed an example of Portuguese colonial policy heritage. After thirty-six years of "independence", he still continuous to view indigenous languages as "dialects".

To sum up, the overall evaluation of the questionnaires shows that Luandans welcomed the policy and presented very good attitudes towards the introduction of the indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system. This is something that was beyond my expectations as a researcher. There seems to be a change of attitudes towards indigenous languages in Luanda, not only by Angolans but foreign residents as well. The negative attitudes, as expected, were manifested by a participant who wanted to preserve the Portuguese language ideology, as mentioned in the literature review, which represented the other extreme of language debate in Luanda.

As mentioned in the data analysis section of the methodology chapter, after vertical analysis, i.e. the analysis of data by groups of participants; the horizontal analysis follows, which is the comparison of data across categories and the sources of the data. It is worth pointing out that my analysis is not simply based on the 'meta-data', but on the ethnolinguistic "story and historical facts" about language "atrocities" of the policy makers in the country (Wodak, 2001, p. 21).

The findings from the interview with INIDE officers revealed that the introduction of the indigenous languages is legally supported by the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* and the *Lei de Base.* However, the analysis of these two relevant policy documents demonstrates that they are not the legal support of the policy. The *Resolução n° 3/ 87* and the *Lei de Base* are being used as legal support of the introduction the indigenous languages in the educational compulsory subsystem. They have been strategically used as support. The introduction of Angolan indigenous languages in the educational system, both, in adults' instruction and in primary education has two different incoherent discourses: while the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* simply approves the orthographic systems of the six indigenous languages mentioned earlier, it does not state that the indigenous languages should be introduced in the anti-illiteracy campaign; neither does it state that they should be inserted in the primary educational system. Furthermore, albeit the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* does not provide legal support to the policy, it is clearly noticeable, from the analysis carried out, the discursive ambiguities between the two relevant policy documents that are strategically used as legal support to the insertion of indigenous languages in the educational system.

Moreover, it is also interesting to note that the *Lei de Base* makes no mention about the introduction of indigenous languages in the primary education system, except in adult education system, but with a recommendation that only when these languages are not prejudicial to the official language. In addition to this, in the *Lei bases* there is no mention of mother tongue instruction, but on promotion and use and the teaching of the "national languages". This lack of legal documentation was also one of the complaints presented by some teacher trainers and trainees in the interviews.

While the analysis of the two relevant policy documents reveals their strategic use as legal support for the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system, the three analysed newspaper articles characterize and synthesize the reality of the Angolan language ideology, i.e. the perceptions Angolans have of their languages. Hence, the two first articles represent what people think about their languages, i.e. the first article "*Uma Palavra sobre as Línguas Angolanas"* represents one stratum of the society that inherited Portuguese colonial language policy, in defence of the continuity of this policy and is not interested in the promotion of indigenous languages, and as consequence, multilingual education is rejected because it is fosters tribalism and regionalism; whereas, the second article *"Twa sanguluka... Ngana Benedictu"* represents the other, comprised by autochthonous intellectuals, defending the change of the policy, and therefore the promotion of the indigenous languages, which implies the attribution of all the indigenous languages the status of national languages and their insertion in the educational system. The third article, *"Ministra defende línguas nacionais nas escolas"* demonstrates how the Angolan executive is positioned within this opposing perspective, delivering their manipulative political discourses, and manifesting their permanent declarations of intentions that, as the interview data show, are nearly never materialized. Furthermore, the third article confirms the hidden power in the executive. The appeal of the minister of culture to create conditions to introduce of the "national languages" in the educational system while the policy is already being piloted not only comes to prove the fragility of the "verbal policy" being piloted, but confirms the discursive incoherence and the hidden division in the Angolan executive, as well, as we shall see in the chapter on discussion of findings.

The interview with INIDE officers reveals that the piloting process was precipitated. There was nearly no preparation to start the process of implementation. Among the failures, the crucial issues were about the insufficient planning, I mean, no status planning, though there was a limited planning on the body of the project/policy and acquisition planning, there

were not completely thorough, as seen in the reviewed literature. And this shows the lack of political will evoked in the literature review. It is interesting to notice that the symbiosis of data from INIDE officers and DALLSTT1 lead to finding out that this undesired policy is not only the result of the UNESCO's persuasion campaign but from the pressure of the emerging autochthonous politicians and linguists (see DALLST1, pp. 94-5) over the Portuguese created elite. Moreover, teachers have not been trained to carry out the task and the teacher training institutions have no direction to train teachers. Moreover, INIDE is rejecting people trained by ISCED initiative, within its responsibilities, aiming at supporting the policy technically, as well as any other trained people. Instead, INIDE is training their own teachers, which contradicts *Lei de Bases*, the legal support of the policy.

It was also found out that there are gaps in the teaching materials owing to the mechanisms applied in their production. Regardless of lack of nearly all the conditions required to introduce a language in the educational system, it was also discovered that Kimbundu is the only indigenous language introduced in Luanda, and as a medium of education of children who do not have Kimbundu as their first language, with untrained teachers, a fact that led to the discontentment of many parents. And above all, the whole process is being conducted by people who are not trained in the area. The interviews with trainers and trainees confirmed INIDE's rejection of any type of contributions, making it clear that all the process of introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system is being monopolized by INIDE. From the design to the implementation, everything is being done by INIDE officers, who are not trained in the area of indigenous languages. INIDE took the responsibility to train teachers, no one knows under which principles; they produced their own teaching materials. These procedures do not seem to be appropriate to sustain the continuity of the policy, if we really want to make a move to more inclusive educational system.

The last cluster of data came from parents and/or guardians. In fact, the findings revealed that Luandans present very good attitudes to the policy. The use of Kimbundu as the only language to be introduced in the system of education in Luanda, where not everyone is speaker of Kimbundu, and its use as the medium of instruction was questioned. There were feelings of rejection, but not of the policy

In sum, after the analysis of the data from the various sources and research instruments applied, it has become evident how the findings correlated with the reviewed literature. As can be seen the most important findings are *inter alia*, the strategic use of the *Resolução n^{o}*

3/87 and *Lei de Base* as the legal support of the policy. This shows the lack of interest in the change of the language policy and of specific agenda of the Angolan executive to promote indigenous languages, by retaining their inherited colonial language policy. This sets the Angolan in the third typology of the model of post-colonial language policies in Africa – status quo – evoked in the literature review.

The other interesting finding is the existence of two antagonistic groups in the Angolan language ideology and the way the executive act in between. Moreover, the lack of preparation to start the implementation of the policy, therefore, it is being implemented without any planning. And the people who are responsible for implementation are rejecting anyone who is trained in the field. Hence it is evident that Angola is neither following the guidelines of the Cultural Charter for Africa, nor is the country following the SADC protocol mentioned in the literature review.

Moreover, the research reveals that Kimbundu is being used as a medium of instruction with children who do not have it as their first language. It was also find that Luandans welcome the policy, albeit the policy was not promoted and many people are being taken by surprise. This is the response to one of the question addressed by the study, as well as the reason for the inclusion of the question that asked where the parents and/or guardians found the information about the policy.

The other relevant finding, previously mentioned in the literature review is the emerging insight of absence of seriousness that the executive shows in the policy, i.e. the "divorce" between ministries of education and of culture in relation to their separate implementation of the policy. Moreover, the presence of the hidden Portuguese citizen in the command of the ones implementing the policy is simply to confirm the lack of connection of Angola with other African countries and its tight link with ex-colonial power

Chapter 5 - Discussion of the Findings

Introduction

The presentation and analytical processes of the data gathered in this study have brought up a wide range of relevant findings. This chapter discusses the most important findings that resulted from the analysis of the data. The findings are distributed according to the category of the respondents. Dealing with the issue of language education policy implies the involvement in the whole process of language policy in the country. Hence, Blommaert's (1999, pp. 6-7) notions of historicity and temporality, as well as of materialism, i.e. a clear identification of who the social actors are, will help understand the whole issue of language ideology in Angola. Drawing from Shohamy (2006) will shed a light on the language education policy, and in particular, of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system.

Moreover, borrowing from Wodak (2001) will help to deconstruct what is unsaid and identify all the preservative strategies, manipulative and discriminatory discourses, whereas Irvine and Gal (2000) semiotic processes will help to better understand the process of shaping and reshaping (Blommaert, 1999, p. 10) to reconstruct the Portuguese colonialist language ideology and the current state of language policy in Angola. This will be done by establishing further analogies between the Portuguese colonial language policy and the postcolonial Angola language policy to show how the semiotic processes (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p.37) used by the Portuguese is reproduced in the post-colonial Angola, or how Portuguese colonial language ideology is reproduced (Blommaert, 1999, p. 7) in a postcolonial Angola. And, in turn, this analogy will help understand the actual reality of the policy under investigation. As it can be observed from the introductory section, this is a quadri-pillar discussion, in other words, the discussion is based on (1) a clear identification of the social actors, (2) language ideological debate in Luanda, (3) deconstruction of discourses and (4) how Portuguese language ideology is reconstructed in the postcolonial Angola.

The crucial element that this study sets to look into, as the title demonstrates is the language policy perspective of the process of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system, ten years, so far, after the law, i.e. *lei de bases*, used as legal support of the policy, was approved. The three major concerns addressed here are the

motivation that led the government to decide to introduce indigenous languages in the educational system, what the specific agenda in the chosen languages over the others is and the perceptions Luandans had of the policy. Each of the mentioned elements of concern that build up the study has brought up some findings. Clustering these findings has resulted in the bellow main themes:

5. 1. Preservation of monolingual colonial inherited educational language policy

Addressing the first concern, I found out that the ruling elite still favours monolingual educational system. They do not seem to be interested in promoting indigenous languages. This is supported by the overview of the history of political rhetoric on promotion of "national languages" over the 36 years of independence and the actual practices, as well as their official devaluation in the constitution. It was not surprising to find out that there was not a real intention of the government to invest in the mother-tongue education. There are two main instruments in the continent that would be of help to create conditions for the success of a language policy. These are the Cultural Charter for Africa and the SADC protocol guidelines. Angola is a member of the two organizations. Therefore, the lack of interest of the ruling elite to promote the indigenous languages can be seen as the basis for the neglect of these guidelines to address the issue.

The issue of Angolan indigenous languages is a conundrum. Although every politician's public speech related to the issue talks about add valuing all of the languages to avoid alienating voters, there is a hidden discourse within the ruling elite. The already mentioned division between the "Portuguese creation discourse" and the emerging politically weak politicians can be seen here in the defence of different language ideological perspectives. The former claiming unwillingly to add value the languages just as a political persuasive discourse (Wodak, p. 65) whereas, the latter really willing to, however, have no power to act on their own. This is where Blommaert's (1999) notion of materialism applies: we really need to identify who the key political actors are, what their origins are, what their actual practices are, and when they apply them (p. 7). One could hardly expect that the policy under study would be genuinely an Angolan state initiative. This can be observed from the

government involvement throughout the whole process of the policy, including the implementation procedures.

A brief glance at the policy makers' history can help offer some awareness of the process. As said in the literature review chapter, Portuguese created elite –"Portuguese creation"- to carry on with their ideology in the postcolonial Angola. This elite was comprised by people who have no connection with indigenous languages, i.e. "*assimilados* and *mestiços"* (from Luanda), and Cape Verdeans (Henderson, 1979, p.164). It is within this social stratum, being the ones who have "free access" to the state owned media that the anti-policy reactions derive from.

Actually, this finding is derived from the question in the interview that revealed that it always seemed that the governing elite, after inheriting the colonial language policy, had never actually been interested in the multilingual system of education in the country. As seen in the introductory chapter, it has been a long time since postcolonial Angola started demanding for a change of the policy. However, the continuity of the master colonial language policy has always been privileged by the colonial language policy inheritors. So, it would be surprising for a sudden change of the policy to happen. As said elsewhere in the literature review, multilingualism is regarded as a threat to stability of the Portuguese creation discourse that inherited colonial policy and tends to preserve it to exert domination on the basis of language. Therefore, the promotion of indigenous languages does not seem to be in the political agenda of the ruling elite, even if it is always present in their rhetoric discourse.

Shohamy (2006, p. 76) suggested a list of items to account for prior to introduction of what she calls "home languages" in the educational system. The items include, *inter alia*, deciding on the choice of language(s), when these languages should be inserted (learners' age), the length that the languages should be thought, who the teachers should be, and how they should be taught. This study revealed that these items were either simply neglected or dealt with by non-experts. Any expert and/or trained teachers' participation has been rejected throughout the whole process. This leads to the conclusion that the governing elite are not really interested in change.

This lack of political will results in this messy situation of lack specific status or denomination for indigenous languages (Kamwangamalu, 2009) mentioned in the literature review. Furthermore, it comes to show that the findings by the author that socialism,

associated to political will was what made Tanzania, Ethiopia and Somalia succeed in the change of post-colonial language policy seem to be needing a complement. As pointed out in the literature review the Angolan postcolonial elite were tightly linked to socialism, perhaps the most tightly linked in Africa. However, they were unable to operate changes in their inherited colonial master's language policy. Therefore, "socialism and goodwill" *per se* cannot be seen as the only determining factors that helped these countries to a successful implementation of the policy: Angola can prove to this. The historicity of who the postcolonial leadership is, whether autochthonous or former colonial master's creation, is also a crucial factor to consider. As said earlier, Angola was handed over to the "Portuguese created elite", among others, Cape Verdeans, *mestiços* and *assimilados* who have almost no connection with the indigenous languages. Their nation is chosen to identify itself with Portuguese. Drawing from Blommaert's (1999) materialism theory, who the social actors are and where they come from and what they want are important factors that can help to whether the changes to occur.

The introduction of the indigenous languages into the educational system is a historical phenomenon in the history of language ideology in Angola. Looking back into the historicity of the political talks about the needs to insert these languages in the school system, this lack of progress to multilingualism is not surprising. This was an expected data. The history of the elite who took over the country from the colonial power shows how the governing is still committed to the former colonial power. They still favour a monolingual educational system in a multilingual society. Therefore, this leads to Blommaert's (1999, p. 6) notion of historicity. As he points out, "...the historical dimension should be intrinsic to every synchronic and diachronic observation made in and about language. Every language fact is intrinsically historical". This is a reality that can only be understood from the intrinsic historical facts. It was mentioned in the literature review that the Portuguese created a ruling elite with no indigenous languages repertoire to carry out their monolingual language policy and this can be observed in one of the two antagonistic extremes in the articles that were analysed

In sum, the reproduction of Portuguese colonial language policy, as mentioned in the literature review chapter, is the elite hidden agenda and whatever is said in respect to promoting indigenous languages and their insertion in educational system it all appears to be what Shohamy (2006) terms a mere "declaration of intentions". Thus, the maintenance of monolingual education preserves Portuguese as an instrument of social discrimination,

leading to exclusion of many people to access school. Moreover, this preservation of monolingual education defends a dictatorial model of education, which contrasts the democratic model of multilingualism as seen in the analysed article 6 of the *Lei de Bases*. Imposing a monolingual education system is "violation, invasion and intrusion of personal rights" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 20) since this leads to social and cultural and educational exclusion. This exclusion in turn will help to maintain or even increase the rate of illiteracy in the country. Hence, it will enable the governing elite to use the language to exert domination.

5. 2. Strategic legal support of the policy ten year later

The second revelation of this study is the strategic support of the policy under study by *Resolução n° 3/ 87* and *Lei de bases*. The analysis of the two relevant policy documents and the interviews with teacher trainers and trainees produced this important finding. Surprisingly, it has been made clear that the two phases of the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system, i.e. in the anti-illiteracy campaign (adults' education, where the process was claimed to be successful, as mentioned earlier) and the policy under our investigation, the ministry of education has been acting with strategic legal support. No specific law has been approved to sustain the process, so far. This suggests that the ruling elite's interest in maintaining the *status quo* of monolingual educational system.

The analysis demonstrated that *Resolução n° 3/ 87* is a political decision that approved the orthographical systems of the six indigenous languages mentioned earlier. This decision should have been followed by another that should approve the introduction of these languages in the adults' education system. This did not occur, as DLLASTT1 said, "the *Resolução n° 3/ 87* precipitated the introduction of indigenous languages in illiteracy campaign".

Conversely, this does not fit with the way the policies are formulated and implemented in the country, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. For example, this legal document does not state that the indigenous languages should be introduced in the anti-illiteracy campaign. However, this same document is being strategically used, as already mentioned, to support the introduction of these same languages in compulsory education system, turning it into another strategic use in another process. There is no explicit language policy in the country.

Instead, what occurs is what Shohamy (2006, p.77) terms as a policy "hidden from the public eye". As said earlier, Angola is a country member of African Union and SADC. There are principles that are stated in the already cited guidelines as to how to act in order to apply indigenous languages in the educational system. One of the objectives of African Academy of languages is the "promotion of African languages in all education sectors", as mentioned in the literature review. A clear legislation on the promotion of indigenous languages should be produced, as it is the regular practice in the country, if the governing elite were interested in promoting these languages and work for the good of the whole country.

Similar to the *Resolução n° 3/ 87,* the *Lei Bases* does neither constitute a juridical support of the policy. As with the previous policy document, the analysis of the *Lei de Base* makes no mention about the introduction of indigenous languages in the primary education system. Furthermore, albeit it makes mention of it in adult education, there is a very specific recommendation: "only when these languages are not prejudicial to the hegemonic one". And in addition, this same policy document makes no mention of mother tongue instruction, but to promote the use and the teaching of the "national languages". It says the teaching *of "national languages"* and not *in "national languages"*. In addition of the two documents used to support the policy not being really the legal support, these policy documents contradict each one other in this matter, as said earlier: while the first acknowledges the importance of indigenous languages and claims to promote them, the latter protects Portuguese from what the "lethal effects of the indigenous languages". This is a clear instance of political discriminatory and preservative discourse (Wodak, 2000, pp. 71-73). On the one hand, the discourse discriminates indigenous languages, whereas, on the other hand, it preserves the hegemonic language both as official and from lethal effects. Furthermore, these two documents contradict the constitution. As said earlier, Angola has no national languages but "other Angolan languages", which shows the other instance of discrimination and even of legitimizing exclusion (ibid).

However, what is interesting to note is that, from their answers, the people conducting the process do not seem to be aware of the occurrence, i.e. the strategic legal support of the policy, which can be translated in their lack of training in the field. Conversely, the people being rejected are aware of the occurrence. The former pointed out the two documents as legal support. This fact shows how naive in the field of indigenous languages the ones leading the process are. Nevertheless, this does not appear to be a mere casualty. Whoever

desires good outcomes from any kind of project will need experts' advice and participation and apply legal instruments.

5. 3. The ministry of education is implementing an undesired policy

The title of the third analysed article is "Minister defends national languages in school". As mentioned elsewhere in this study, this public political speech was delivered in the opening ceremony of the fourth meeting on national languages, in October 2010, a similar circumstance in which President dos Santos pronounced a similar a press release in 2006. However, this last announcement was done in the same year that the ministry of education started piloting the implementation of the very same languages in the educational system. Therefore, by urging to "create conditions to introduce national languages in the educational system" the minister of culture was either invalidating the process that the ministry of education was carrying out, or was not aware of the process.

Unless the "national languages" refers to in the minister's discourse are different from the ones that are being implemented by the ministry of education. As the country seems to be full of policy incongruities, one needs to understand what motivated this when the ministry of education is already implementing the policy. Another aspect that captured my attention is that the meeting where this discourse was delivered produced a report in which there are some resolutions, three of which I quoted earlier. One of the quoted resolutions says "to create conditions both material and human to, as soon as possible, to introduce national languages in the educational system". This is an example of contradiction. This is a clear demonstration of what Wodak (2001, p. 65) calls "self-contradicting". The state enters into an instance of contracting its own institutions. This seems to be a very serious conflict of interests between the two ministries.

However, we need to read behind the minister of culture's speech. The current minister of education who should announce the introduction hardly talks about indigenous languages in education. Furthermore, the two ministries are divorced in this matter when they should have a shared act. The hidden agenda behind this fact needs to be uncovered: the colonial language ideology inheritors are not interest in a multilingual educational system. Preserving colonial ideology would help them to maintain social exclusion the indigenous population on the basis of language.

My interviews with some linguists and journalists who participated in the meeting that produced those recommendations revealed that this is one more among those manipulative political discourses that Angolans are used to. The document was produced in the office before the meeting and taken to the closing ceremony as recommendations. Unless, the ministry of culture wants to take over the responsibility of training indigenous language teachers, as INIDE is doing and take control of schools, as well**.** This takes us back to the issue of powerful Portuguese created elite of politicians (the minister of culture) and the emerging powerless politicians (the minister of education). This abuse of power never occurred with the former minister of education, who unlike the current minister was a powerful decision maker. This seems to be a clear demonstration of power differences and the division within the ruling regime, as said earlier. "Language is not simply a medium but at the same time the object of discourses through which the social order is produced, reproduced, or contested (Milani, 2008, p. 33). This seems to be a clear act of contesting what is being implemented. I share Milani's (2008, p. 50) view that:

> "... we need to see the three interrelated factors that enable the emergence and development of a language ideological debate: (i) the specific interest of the social actors involved in the debate, (ii) the discursive conditions about what is allowed to be said or not at a specific historical moment, and (iii) the discursive resources available at that very moment (Millani, 2008, p. 50; Blommaert, 1999, p. 10).

In fact, as said earlier, the minister of culture is one among the powerful decision makers (social actor) dealing with a large heterogeneous audience from all the provinces, including traditional authorities who are used to mobilize the populations (discursive conditions) and with the entire media arsenal (resources available). The minister's speech does not only seem to present "manipulative character of discursive practices" (Wodak, 2001, p. 65), but an instance of an "intricate process of social and political manoeuvring and engineering" (Blommaert, 1999, p. 7).

As Milani, (2008) puts it, '...if we want to understand how domination is (re)produced in modern societies, we need to investigate and deconstruct those discourses that are most likely to affect public opinion' (Millani, 2008, p. 35). The minister of culture's appeal to insert "national languages" in the educational system, instead of supporting what is already being implemented by the ministry of education is "a smart way to delay" the process and continue to perpetrate social exclusion on the basis of languages by maintaining the

inherited colonial monolingual education system. The ministry of education is implementing a policy within its jurisdiction. The ministry of culture does not have the task to train teachers in its job description, neither of controlling schools. The planning of education is not part of minister of culture's job description, but the responsibility of the ministry of education. Therefore, it is contradictory to observe that the ministry of education, who is responsible for educational affairs in the country, started the implementation of the policy; the ministry of culture interferes with the appeal to implement the same policy.

While the ministry of education is piloting the elite's undesired policy with UN agencies funding, to disprove the functionality of multilingual educational system in Angola (being implemented by the "them"), the minister of culture comes up with a manipulative discourse to introduce the "national languages" in educational system (to be implemented by "we"). This is simply meant to implicitly declare publically the invalidity of the policy that is being implemented by "them" and to persuade the audience that "we" are the ones who will implement a valid policy, as seen in the recommendations of the final report of the meeting where the analysed speech was delivered:

> *"crear as condições materiais humanas para, o mais rapidamente possível , se proceder a inserção das Línguas Nacionais no sistema de Ensino*"
>
> create material and human conditions in order to, as quick as possible, carry out the insertion of national languages in the educational system.

It is even interesting to observe that the ministry of education is not included. This seems to shed a light on the division mentioned earlier between the "we" and the "they". The practice above seems to reflect the language ideological debate reality. The two first articles can show the ideological division within the ruling power and the existence the two antagonistic extremes, whereas, the third article comes to reveal how the executive act in between. The first article overtly titled (representing the "we"), whereas the second covertly titled (representing the "they") and the third seems to support the ideas presented in the second article. However, in reality, the actions show that it supports the first article that represents the Portuguese creation and not the second.

The minister of culture's appeal for the insertion of "national languages" in the educational system without referring to the ministry of education, when the latter had already started implementing the same policy is controversial. However, every attentive insider knows who

the minister of education is and who the minister of culture is, as shown above. It is a reality of the Angolan society. This makes clear the use of *"WE* and *US"* in the analysed articles.

This is the reality that the policy faces. There seems to be an overt acceptance of the policy by Portuguese Ideology inheritors. However, the reality is that the apparent acceptance is a kind of hypocrisy. It is a way of trying to please the autochthonous, to avoid reactions against, as the latter are "a numerical majority". The process of implementation of the policy being conducted by the ministry of education seemed to be undermined soon as the "Portuguese agent" was introduced to promote "blind guides" to discredit the process.

However, there is a second crucial point one needs to bear in mind to understand the lethargy of the process. And this leads us to Blommaert's (1999) notion of temporality mentioned earlier. On the one hand, the year of 2001, i.e. when the law (*Lei de Bases*) was approved, was within a period when politicians were struggling to attract the electorate for the second general elections. It was within a historical socio-political moment - the country first multiparty parliament. The discourse of nationalism would help to gain more credibility. In 2006 when dos Santos publically announced the implementation of the policy, the country was in the similar electoral environment. Currently, Angola is preparing for elections in 2012. Once again, I share Wodak's (2001) view when she refers to politicians as being "best seen both as shapers of specific public opinions and interests and as seismographs, that reflect and react to the atmospheric anticipation of changes in public opinion..." (p. 64). The minister's discourse seems to me to be an example of persuasive political rhetoric (Wodak, 2001, 65) to gather the electorate to keep them in power.

To sum up, while the ministry of education is piloting the undesired and undermined policy with UN agencies' funding represents the autochthonous, the minister of culture reproducing the manipulative discourse of introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational represents the powerful hidden agenda, which is the obstructing the process. Since, it is very unusual that the ministry responsible to execute all the education operations started piloting the policy, a few months later, another ministry which is part of the process, as we are dealing with indigenous languages, but not responsible to implement educational policies comes to claim for creation of conditions to start the implementation. This is a clear instance of contradiction since the ministry of education is carrying a task that is within its responsibility. Moreover, two governmental ministries cannot be in such kind of disagreement. In fact, there seem to be special agents introduced to undermine the whole

process to disprove the functionality of multilingual education in Angola, as said before. This can be justified by the use of untrained people and the rejection of experts and/or trained people and the introduction of Portuguese agents, who is not an expert in multilingual education, in the process. In addition, the way the course books were produced and whole process is being implemented testified to this.

5. 4. Kimbundu as the only indigenous language in Luanda and medium of instruction

With some changes encountered in the ground, such as the implementation of the policy in more provinces, rather than Luanda only and the suppression of other languages, leading to an "imposition" of Kimbundu as the only language in Luanda, led to change the scope of some questions. Hence, albeit there was no longer a need to discern why the policy was only being piloted in Luanda, there was still a need to find out whether Kimbundu was introduced as a medium of instruction or a basic school subject.

The research showed that what is being piloted is not a mother-tongue instruction but a second-language educational system. This assumption is supported by the fact that children in Luanda do not have Kimbundu as their first language. They have Portuguese as their first language and are being taught in Kimbundu, which many of them are not even of ethnic origin and probably never heard a single word before. This contradicts the principle that underlies the UNESCO's appeal to uphold multilingual education (Molosiwa, 2009, p. 82). As stated in the literature review, the principle is aimed at allowing children start their school instruction in a language of their domain, i.e. their mother-tongues. This in turn would help to avoid the current situation in which children have to learn a language simultaneously with the scientific contents in the school subjects, with all the well-known implications. Furthermore, Kimbundu as language of instruction of children who do not only have Kimbundu as their mother-tongue, but are not of this ethnic origin either, as mentioned earlier, has imposed some cultural implications on them (Shohamy, 2006, p. 77; Molosiwa, 2009, p. 82) as manifested by some parents and/or guardians in the research.

In addition to all these controversial issues, there is the absence of technical conditions, which is acknowledged by the ones conducting the process. This process is flawed because it begins by being conducted by non-experts, as already mentioned, and the rejection of

trained personnel. There are language problems not only with the learners but teachers themselves, as the interviews revealed, and with the teaching materials produced. Moreover, there are some specific language technical problems that only those experts relegated to the last plan can solve.

The implementation of this (verbal) policy appears to be demanding for more commitment from the educational authorities. This sounds so because, besides the whole set of controversies above, there is a violation of children's rights to education. Once more, this contradicts the "democratic education system" advocated in the *Lei de Bases*, as well as wa Thiong'o's advocacy that: "the right to language is the next most condition for the freedom of expression" (1997, p. 20). These children are being deprived from having education in their mother-tongue. This is a discrete way of manipulating language to perpetrate an implicit social exclusion (Shohamy, 2006), as said earlier, and, once more, it is an "intricate process of social and political manoeuvring and engineering" (Blommaert, 1999, p. 7). This can be supported by the fact that there are no policymaker children in the process, and all educational officials in the study said they that would not allow their children in such process.

5. 5. Luandans' positive perception of the policy and positive attitudes

As said earlier, the change of the situation in the site led to change of the scopes of some questions. Hence, the imposition of Kimbundu as the only language in Luanda, led to a slight change of the focus of questions concerning attitude. Albeit there was still a need to perceive Luandans' attitudes, the need to know the reaction of those whose languages had been left out, had been transformed into finding out the reaction of the parents and/or guardians whose children are being taught in Kimbundu, whether being their ethnic language or not.

At the conception stage of the study, there was a perception that there would not be great deal of receptivity of the policy under the study by Luandans. This was because there seemed to be a sense of awareness that attitudes of Luanda residents towards these languages were negative due to the colonial inherited language policy and low status attributed to the languages until now. Nevertheless, these attitudes could have changed if the

policy was widely marketed and many "ideology brokers" (Blommaert, 1999, p. 11) were put into action in favour of the promotion of the indigenous languages.

Surprisingly, the study reveals the contrary. Although there is nearly no marketing of the policy, as mentioned earlier, it was found out that there is a sense of change in attitudes towards the indigenous languages. This is in accord with Shohamy's (2006, p. 9) view that:

> "attitudes to specific languages and their uses also change and evolve over people's lifetimes, especially in multilingual societies".

The Luandans' perception of the policy and their attitude towards the indigenous languages were unexpectedly positive, and showed the presence of consciousness of the multilingualism issues of their society. In fact, the findings reveal that Luandans welcomed the policy and presented very positive attitude to the learning of indigenous languages. As the results of the questionnaires and interviews demonstrate, Luandans are not only willing to encourage their children to learn the languages but, those who do not have indigenous languages repertoire are also willing to learn themselves.

Moreover, the positive attitude can be felt in the people's complaints because of the absence of marketing of the policy in the media. Many people did not hear about the policy before participating in the study but they still reacted positively and recommended the authorities to divulge the process so that many more people would be informed.

However, although the policy was welcomed and the attitude to the languages is positive, there were feelings of rejection of Kimbundu as medium of instruction, as people show awareness that it would hinder children's success in school and some even aware that this is against the principle under which multilingual educational system is needed. Moreover, there some criticisms concerning the use of Kimbundu as the only language to be introduced in the system of education in Luanda, where not everyone is speaker of Kimbundu, and its use as the medium of instruction was questioned.

In sum, Luandans welcome the policy and their attitudes to indigenous languages has improved, as many recognize that these are our languages and still regard Portuguese as the dominant colonial language.

5. 6. Reproduction of Portuguese colonial language ideology in the postcolonial Angola

In fact, all the political discourses related to the indigenous languages in Angola refer to their add value and promotion. One of the ways that is appointed to promote these languages is by their insertion in the educational system. However, for any attentive citizen, the reality proves the opposite. As the historicity of indigenous languages reveals, it has been thirty-six years now since the Angolans started listening to these manipulative political rhetoric concerning the issue; they have all been a pile of persuasive discourses. Moreover, we have been through many distinct policy statements: from national languages to African languages spoken in Angola, and later on to African languages of Angola and now, the devaluation of the languages in the constitution is constructed with pejorative expression: "the other languages of Angola".

Thus, as Blommaert, (1999, p. 8) asserts, "a study of language which aims at dealing adequately with power has to rely on the precise identification of conditions, actors, structures and patterns over time and resulting in intertextualities for power and power effects", this research looks into details of what the reality of what the country has been through in this regards to come up with these considerations. Indeed, a careful observation of the situation will lead one can establish analogies and pointed out features revealing the continuity of Portuguese colonial language policy in the postcolonial Angola.

Since the independence of Angola on 11 November 1975 until currently, the country, multilingual as it is, it has never had any different a counter hegemonic policy of multilingualism. Even the recently approved constitution still states that Portuguese is the only official language in the country and the indigenous languages are constitutionally left without any status and treated as "the other languages of Angola". As Shohamy (2006, p. 63) puts it, by pointing to Portuguese as the only official language in a completely multilingual country, the state has rejected other languages. All languages have been agglutinated and reduced to one single "status-less" entity, which, like colonial masters did, a pure instance of erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38; Milani, 2008, p. 37). The constitution discriminatory discourse sets Portuguese as the hegemonic language and therefore a gateway to social welfare. Hence, being Portuguese the only official language in a multilingual country like ours, as said already, it is not an instrument of unification as they claim but of social exclusion or at least, of social inclusion of the "Portuguese creations"

and exclusion of the autochthonous. In addition, as Shohamy (2006, p. 30) observes it, "it is by imposing the language requirement that the nation-state showed a definite preference towards some individuals on the basis of language".

In addition, one can clearly identify the three semiotic process of linguistic discrimination under the hegemony of Portuguese over other languages. The labels attributed to autochthonous who have of low proficiency of Portuguese or the hybrid varieties associated to them, here many of which with pre-nasalized [b] and [d] for example as *bailundu*, the trilled [r] as *mukongo* or *zairense* and flap [r] instead of medial [l] as *kamundongo* or *malanjinho*, as pointed out earlier, is a clear instance of iconization (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 37; Milani, 2008, p. 36). Moreover, the term non-civilized (*matumbo; sanzaleiro or não civilizado*) used to address autochthonous with the above features in their spoken Portuguese which serves as a common denominator is another instance of erasure (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38; Milani, 2008, p. 37). Further, the absence of Portuguese leads to restriction of social spheres of the society. For example, lack of Portuguese is luckily block access to a doctor or administrative services, because they do not speak indigenous language, access to school, training and to a job. This is a clear instance of fractal recursivity (Irvine & Gal, 2000, p. 38; Milani, 2008, p. 40).

The above analogy helps to dramatise the continuity of Portuguese colonial language policy in the postcolonial Angola. For instance, the semiotic processes for linguistic discrimination are present in both colonial and postcolonial Angola.

Similarly, the postcolonial Angola has never attributed a dignifying status to indigenous languages. The recently approved constitution has come to devalue the languages, as mentioned earlier, by denominating them in a pejorative manner as "the other languages of Angola" which in the language of origin *"demais línguas de Angola"* sounds offensive. Like Portuguese policy, this is an instance of erasure. Moreover, the Portuguese used the terms "indigenous; *sanzaleiro* and *não civilizado*" as iconic representation of autochthonous who were not *assimilados* (using a hybrid variety of Portuguese or with no Portuguese proficiency at all), so are they used in the postcolonial era. On the same basis, terms such as *bailundu, mukongo, zairense, malanjinho, kamundongo*, as said before, are used as iconic representation of autochthonous who present certain features in their spoken Portuguese. The Portuguese assimilationist policy created restriction to certain social sphere to "*non-assimilados*". Similarly, lack of Portuguese proficiency creates barriers to autochthonous to

access certain social spheres such as hospital, administration, schools, training and so on, since one will not expect the use of "other languages of Angola" but the hegemonic one. This is an example of fractal recursivity.

In sum, the above presented picture of the reality can demonstrate how the postcolonial Angola language policy is in a manner, a "shaping" and "reshaping" of colonial ideology to be turned into a reproduction of the master colonial language policy (Blommaert, 1999, p.10), albeit the policy makers tend to hide this reality by add valuing and promotion discourses which are not intended to be turned into action.

5. 7. Conclusion

In summary, the study analysed the language educational policy in Angola, precisely the controversial, but critical issue of introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system in Luanda.

However, this study constituted the first research in the matter of language policy in Angola, and therefore there is no bibliographical support to sustain the study. Thus, a brief historical background of language policy in the postcolonial Africa was used as a support. Moreover, a brief insight of the situation of languages in the territory that constitutes Angola nowadays in the pre-colonial era and both colonial and postcolonial language ideologies and policies is provided in the literature review. This shows how Portuguese colonial ideology treated the indigenous languages and how artificial boundaries were created through the use of language, leading to linguistic discrimination. Further, there is a broad view of how the postcolonial Angola inherited the colonial ideology, i.e. maintaining Portuguese as the unique hegemonic language and the unique language of education.

The idea behind this research was to try to reveal the government's hidden agenda in the policy in the study. This is because government's claim to value the indigenous languages, mainly their introduction in the compulsory educational subsystem needs to be well grasped if changes are to occur in the educational level. To do so, government policies and agendas need to undergo studies and analysis in order to make things transparent. Hence, the sources of the data were the two relevant policy documents used as legal support of the policy under investigation, three newspaper article related to the policy and senior educational officers, as

well as parents and/or guardians, as the study is targeted to uncover what is unsaid, since, it appears dubious designing a policy, on the one hand, and bringing in influential social actors as "ideology brokers" (Blommaert, 1999) to deprecate the designed policy, on the other hand.

The analysis of the relevant policy documents reveals that these documents present some dubious tendencies. Although they seem to acknowledge the relevance of indigenous languages, they also seem to contradict by attributing a privileged status to Portuguese. Moreover, I found out that the policy being piloted has no legal sustainability as none of the analysed policy documents refers to the introduction of indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system, neither to indigenous languages as medium of instruction for children at this level. The newspaper articles demonstrate the reality of Angola in the matters of language ideology, revealing the two antagonistic extremes of the society and how the policy makers play between the extremes. Moreover, there is a revelation of how the master colonial Portuguese language policy is reshaped and reproduced in the postcolonial Angola and the tendency of the government to maintain the monolingual educational system, as the conflicting reality of the policy under investigation shows that there is a tendency to transform the policy in what Shohamy (2006) calls "declaration of intentions".

Concerning the origin of the policy, the study reveals that the policy under study is not an intentional state policy but the result of UNESCO's persuasion and autochthonous emerging politicians and linguists' pressure over the inherited language ideology to change the "status quo". It was also found out that the implementation of the policy began in school year 2010 and it is not only being implemented in Luanda but in four more provinces. However, Kimbundu is the only indigenous language introduced in Luanda and is being used as a medium of instruction with children who do not have it as their first language. Furthermore, the study revealed that albeit there was no much information to the population, Luandans have welcomed the introduction of the indigenous languages in the educational system and present positive attitudes towards these languages. However, they disagree with the use of Kimbundu as a medium of instruction and those who are not from Kimbundu ethnic origin disagree with the imposition of Kimbundu as the unique language in a multilingual city like Luanda, where not everyone is from Kimbundu ethnic group.

To conclude, the research demonstrates the relations between the colonial language policy and the postcolonial language policy based on Irvine & Gal's (2000) the three semiotic processes of linguistic discrimination.

In short, the analysis targeted and uncovered the hidden agenda of the policy, which is to maintain Portuguese inherited language ideology and perpetrate social exclusion on the base of language. However, there seems to be a covert side of the policy that remains hidden (Millani, 2008, p. 31) in the policy makers' secret agenda.

In fact, Angola needs to move towards a more inclusive language ideology, bearing in mind the multicultural and multilingual mosaic of the population. This implies a revision in the process of language policy making, mainly in the language educational policy designing, to avoid the current imposition of Portuguese as the sole hegemonic language of education to children whose first languages are others than the official language. There is a need for a more inclusive educational policy and the abandonment of the exclusion on the basis of language.

5. 8. Recommendations

In the light of the this research, considering the findings encountered, if the Angolan government really wants to change the *status quo* and allow a more democratic and more inclusive educational system to occur, as claimed in the *Lei de Bases*, it is necessary that the authorities:

- Turn into actions the various "declarations of intension" concerning add valuing the indigenous languages by promoting them and providing them with a more dignifying status;
- Take into consideration the multilingual reality of the country and change the current state of Portuguese as the only hegemonic language by elevating some indigenous languages to the status of official languages, and therefore, expand their domains of use;
- Regard the policy of the introduction of the indigenous languages in educational system as a critical issue;

- Review the processes of status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning and allocate the responsibility of training teachers and material design to appropriate credited institutions in the country; especially the departments of education only.
- Review the current procedures applied to implement the policy in Luanda and invest in mother-tongue education;
- Dissociate the roles of policymakers from the ones of policy implementers by employing trained and appropriate personnel to carry out the distinct tasks inherent to the process rather than turning it to the policy maker and monitoring institutions' monopoly;
- Carry out needs analysis to find out whether there are children who really need instruction in indigenous languages in Luanda.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Participation Information sheet

Good day

My name is António Filipe Augusto and I am a postgraduate student registered for Masters in Linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting a research study on Language Education Policy, assessing the introduction of indigenous languages in the Angolan compulsory education subsystem.

I therefore wish to invite you to participate in my study. Your participation is entirely voluntary and refusal to participate will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to take part, I shall arrange to interview you at a time and a place that is suitable for you. The interview will last approximately an hour. You may withdraw from the study at any time and you may refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. No one other than myself and my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview schedules will be kept for two years following any publications or for five years if no publication emanates from the study. Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report unless you wish otherwise.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the study. I shall answer them to the best of my ability. I may be contacted on 912 920 202 or 912 588 073. You can also contact my supervisor Dr Tommaso M. Milani (Tommaso.milani@wits.ac.az). Should you wish to receive any summary of the results of the study; a copy of the research will be made available on request.

Thank you for taking the time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

António Filipe Augusto

Apendix A: Informação acerca de Participação

Saudações,

Eu sou António Filipe Augusto, estudante do curso de pós-graduação matriculado em mestrado em Linguística na Universidade de Witwatersrand, Johanesburgo. Como parte dos requisitos para graduação, estou a levar a cabo uma pesquisa em Política Linguística Educacional em Angola, avaliando o 'projecto da Introdução das "Línguas Nacionais" no Subsistema Escolar Obrigatório'.

Por este facto, desejaria convidá-lo(a) a participar no meu estudo. A sua pariticipação é completamente voluntária e a recusa não levará a implicação contra si. Caso concorde, programarei uma entrevista consigo, no local e hora que lhe sejam compatíveis, e que terá cerca de uma hora de duração. Há liberdade de desistência da participação e de não responder à qualquer questão que achar deselegante responder.

Se permitir, a entrevista será gravada. Entretanto, o acesso ao registo será vedado a toda gente, excepto eu próprio e o meu orientador. As gravações e o programa das entrevistas serão conservados por um período de (2) dois anos, caso haja alguma publicação do estudo, ou (5) cinco anos caso não ocorra nenhuma.

O seu nome e todos os detalhes pessoais tendentes a revelar a sua identidade serão mantidos confidenciais e, ao menos que queira; nenhuma informação passível a sua identificação será publicada no final da pesquisa.

Por favor, sinta-se livre de colocar qualquer que seja a questão acerca do estudo. Responder-lhe-ei com as melhores das minhas habilidades. Os meus contactos são 912 920 202/ 912 588 073. Caso necessidades poderá também contactar o meu orientador, Dr. Tommaso M. Milani (Tommaso.milani@wits.ac.az).

Caso queira que lhe seja concedido (a) uma cópia do resumo do estudo, fá-lo-ei à seu pedido.

Queira, desde já, aceitar os meus mais sinceros antecipados agradecimentos pelo seu precioso tempo disponibilizado para o estudo.

Subscrevo-me

António Filipe Augusto

Appendix B: CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

I.....hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Name of the Participant: _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Apendix B: FORMULÁRIO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO NO ESTUDO

Eu,.....consinto participar no projecto de pesquisa. O propósito e os procedimentos do estudo foram-me explicados. Entendo que a minha participação é voluntária e que posso me recusar a responder à qualquer questão ou desistir do estudo a qualquer instante que assim o entender sem quaisquer consequências. Entendo também que as minhas respostas serão mantidas confidenciais.

Nome do (a) Participante: _____

Data _____

Sinatura _____

Appendix C: CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I.....hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or five years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of the Participant: _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Apendix C: FORMULÁRIO DE CONSENTIMENTO A INTREVISTA GRAVADA

Eu,.....consinto que a entrevista concedida seja gravada.Entendo que a minha confidencialidade manter-se-á para sempre e que a gravação será destruída dois (2) anos após a publicação do estudo ou cinco (5) caso não haja nenhuma.

Name of the Participant: _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Appendix D: Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49/1 Augusto

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE **PROTOCOL NUMBER H1001113**

PROJECT Assessing the introduction of indigenous languages into the Angolan educational system: A language policy perspective

INVESTIGATORS Mr AF Augusto

DEPARTMENT Linguistics

DATE CONSIDERED 12.11.2010

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE* Approved Unconditionally

NOTE:

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE 25.11.2010 **CHAIRPERSON** .....
(Professor R Thornton)

cc: Supervisor : Dr T Milani

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 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 a completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature 01-02-2011

This ethical clearance is valid for two years from date of approval.
PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix E: Lei de Norton



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São avisados os srs. assinantes do *Boletim Oficial* de que devem renovar as suas assinaturas, para o ano de 1922, até 31 de Dezembro do corrente ano, a fim de não sofrerem interrupção na sua remessa. As assinaturas depois da referida data ficam sujeitas ao pagamento, em separado, dos números que hajam sido publicados.

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Direcção da Imprensa Nacional, em Loanda, 9 de Novembro de 1921. — O Director, *José F. Ferreira Marfins*.

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Portaria Provincial n.º 134, aprovando a transferência duma verba destinada a obras de arte nas estradas do distrito da Huila.

Portaria Provincial n.º 135, aprovando a distribuição da verba de 60:000$00, destinada à execução do serviço das brigadas sanitárias, nos distritos fora de Loanda.

Portaria Provincial n.º 136, aprovando o Regulamento da Repartição Superior de Portos e Caminhos de Ferro.

Despachos: aprovando a distribuição de fundos e a lista das obras a executar no distrito de Cuanza-Norte, no ano económico de 1920-1921.

—Distribuição de verbas destinadas aos distritos de Cuanza-Norte e Cubango.

Alto Comissariado da República

Decreto n.º 77

Considerando que, estando pela Constituição Política da República Portuguesa garantida a liberdade de todos os cultos, compete todavia ao Govêrno da Província, como direito de soberania, regulamentar e fiscalizar a acção das missões de propaganda religiosa, de forma a velar pela segurança e ordem pública e a garantir a manutenção dos preceitos do direito constitucional português;

Incumbindo ao Govêrno Geral promover o melhoramento das condições materiais da vida dos indígenas, o aperfeiçoamento das suas aptidões e faculdades naturais e, duma maneira geral, a sua instrução e progresso;

Tendo ouvido o Conselho Executivo; e,

Usando das faculdades que me são conferidas pelas leis n.ºs 1:005 e 1:022, respectivamente, de 7 e 20 de Agosto de 1920;

Hei por bem decretar o seguinte:

Artigo 1.º Nenhuma missão de ensino e propaganda religiosa poderá estabelecer-se na Província de Angola sem prévia licença do Governador Geral, requerida com indicação do local onde pretende instalar-se, e obrigando-se:

1.º A provar que os seus membros são ministros da religião que professam ou auxiliares da missão;

2.º A submeter à aprovação do Governador Geral o programa civilizador que se propõe executar;

3.º A ensinar a língua portuguesa;

4.º A não ensinar qualquer língua estrangeira;

5.º A ministrar aos indígenas o ensino profissional ou agrícola em harmonia com a legislação em vigor na Província;

6.º A auxiliar a assistência indígena sob o ponto de vista da higiene e tratamento de doenças;

7.º A não exercer, directa ou indirectamente, o comércio, não se entendendo como tal a venda ou disposição dos produtos do trabalho da missão;

8.º Enviar anualmente ao Governador do distrito um relatório sôbre o movimento das escolas e oficinas e das enfermarias da missão, quando as houver, trabalhos realizados e seus resultados e benefícios colhidos da acção da missão.

Art. 2.º Não é permitido ensinar nas escolas das missões línguas indígenas.

Art. 3.º O uso da língua indígena só é permitido em linguagem falada na catequese e, como auxiliar, no período do ensino elementar da língua portuguesa.

§ 1.º É vedado na catequese das missões, nas suas escolas e em quaisquer relações com os indígenas, o em-

Appendix F: Resolução No 3/87



Sábado, 23 de Maio de 1987 — I SÉRIE — N.º 41

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Aprova a título experimental, os Alfabetos de 6 Línguas Nacionais.

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Decreto n.º 5/87:

Aprova o Estatuto Orgânico do Centro de Investigação Penalária do Ministério das Finanças anexo ao presente decreto e dele fazendo parte integrante. — Revoga tudo o que contrarie o presente decreto.

CONSELHO DE MINISTROS

Resolução n.º 3/87
de 23 de Maio

Considerando que as Línguas Nacionais, suporte e veículo das heranças culturais, exigem um tratamento privilegiado, pois que constituem um dos fundamentos importantes da Identidade Cultural do Povo Angolano;

Tornando-se necessário dar continuidade ao estudo científico das Línguas Nacionais, base para o seu desenvolvimento e garantia para a sua preservação e promoção;

Considerando a necessidade da uniformização da escrita em Línguas Nacionais;

Considerando que os alfabetos propostos pelo Instituto de Línguas Nacionais, resultantes de investigações efectuadas sobre os sistemas fonológicos das respectivas Línguas, assentando essencialmente sobre a equivalência: um símbolo gráfico para cada fonema, correspondem mais fielmente às realidades fonológicas das mesmas;

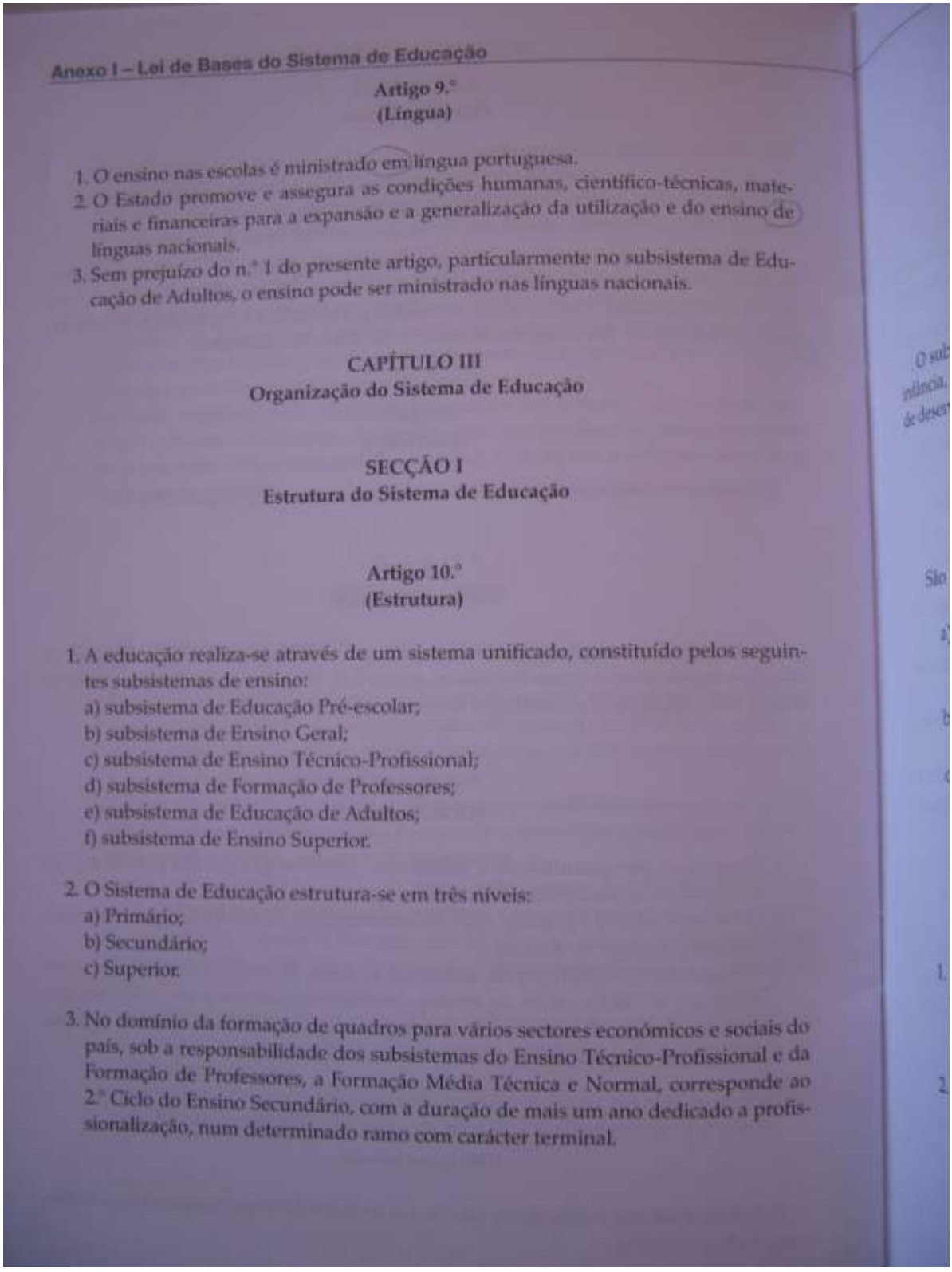
Considerando que pelas razões acima expostas, os referidos Alfabetos, possuindo um carácter prático, sem muitas regras de transcrição, possibilitarão aos falantes das Línguas em questão, um domínio mais rápido e eficaz das técnicas da escrita e leitura;

Considerando que o projecto experimental de Alfabetização em Línguas Nacionais está em vias de concretização;

Nos termos da alínea b) do artigo 58.º da Lei Constitucional e no uso da faculdade que me é conferida pela alínea f) do artigo 53.º da mesma lei, o Conselho de Ministros decreta e eu assino e faço publicar o seguinte:

Artigo 1.º — São aprovados a título experimental os Alfabetos das Línguas: «Kikongo», «Kimbundo», «Cokwe», «Umbundo», «Mbunda», e «Oshikwanyama» e as respectivas Regras de Transcrição, em anexo que fazem parte do presente diploma.

Appendix G: Lei de Bases do Sistema do Ensino



Artigo 9.º
(Língua)

1. O ensino nas escolas é ministrado em língua portuguesa.
2. O Estado promove e assegura as condições humanas, científico-técnicas, materiais e financeiras para a expansão e a generalização da utilização e do ensino de línguas nacionais.
3. Sem prejuízo do n.º 1 do presente artigo, particularmente no subsistema de Educação de Adultos, o ensino pode ser ministrado nas línguas nacionais.

CAPÍTULO III
Organização do Sistema de Educação

SECÇÃO I
Estrutura do Sistema de Educação

Artigo 10.º
(Estrutura)

1. A educação realiza-se através de um sistema unificado, constituído pelos seguintes subsistemas de ensino:
   a) subsistema de Educação Pré-escolar;
   b) subsistema de Ensino Geral;
   c) subsistema de Ensino Técnico-Profissional;
   d) subsistema de Formação de Professores;
   e) subsistema de Educação de Adultos;
   f) subsistema de Ensino Superior.

2. O Sistema de Educação estrutura-se em três níveis:
   a) Primário;
   b) Secundário;
   c) Superior.

3. No domínio da formação de quadros para vários sectores económicos e sociais do país, sob a responsabilidade dos subsistemas do Ensino Técnico-Profissional e da Formação de Professores, a Formação Média Técnica e Normal, corresponde ao 2.º Ciclo do Ensino Secundário, com a duração de mais um ano dedicado a profissionalização, num determinado ramo com carácter terminal.

Appendix H: Newspaper article 1



JORNAL DE ANGOLA • Quinta-feira, 3 de Fevereiro de 2010 OPINIÃO | 7

Uma palavra sobre as línguas angolanas

A aprendizagem da língua nacional tem merecido reflexões diversas

Construções de betão e aço despontam com ousadia

Appendix I: Newspaper article 2



Twa sanguluka... Ngana Benedictu

Quarta-feira 25/03/2009

Mona do Entrudo

Torna-se ingente a elevação constitucional a línguas oficiais todas as línguas de cada povo de Nação Ancestral que a Lei Constitucional pretende conformem UM SÓ POVO, UMA SÓ NAÇÃO

JORNAL DE ANGOLA • Quarta feira, 25 de Março de 2009

Appendix J: Newspaper article 3



ENCONTRO SOBRE LÍNGUAS ARRANCA NO UÍGE

Ministra defende línguas nacionais nas escolas

Rosa Cruz e Silva realça que diversidade linguística nunca pode ser motivo de receios

A ministra da Cultura, Rosa Cruz e Silva, defendeu ontem, no Uíge, a introdução das nossas línguas nacionais no sistema normal de ensino, justificando que "manter-las fora do sistema educativo é plantiar de maneira certa a sua morte".

"Não queremos a morte das línguas nacionais, porque isso seria contribuir a nossa própria morte", disse a ministra, salientando que a "melhor maneira de se valorizar as línguas nacionais é a sua inserção no sistema de ensino, onde a diversidade linguística não deve ser motivo de receios, seja por que motivo for".

Falando na abertura do IV Encontro sobre as Línguas nacionais, que decorre até sexta-feira, Rosa Cruz e Silva afirmou que o estudo e a promoção das línguas nacionais promovem a harmonia, "não só pelo facto delas representarem a referência da nossa identidade, mas também por constituirem um importante meio de ensino, um veículo da cultura para o desenvolvimento".

Para a ministra, a língua nacional de dois em dois que constituem os diversos grupos etnolinguísticos de Angola, constitui um "fantástico instrumento de partilha e troca de ideias, e que somou o universo linguístico e material nosso comum também deve ser assim".

"Hoje não restam dúvidas que o desenvolvimento de África, em geral, e de Angola, em particular, passa pelo desenvolvimento das suas línguas", disse a ministra, sublinhando que "os perspectivas de desenvolvimento, para o país, são boas e animadoras". Rosa Cruz e Silva sublinhou que, perante o quadro novo e promissor de estabilização e de livre circulação das populações, que se faça tudo para dignificar a memória dos antepassados, defendendo e valorizando as línguas nacionais através da sua utilização.

Quanto ao tema geral do encontro, "Situação Linguística de Angola", Rosa Cruz e Silva disse que é importante [illegible] de línguas existentes em Angola.

A realização do encontro sobre línguas nacionais, segundo a ministra, constitui uma oportunidade para os especialistas das suas diversas disciplinas, responsáveis da cultura e comunidades de falantes seminarem juntos para o estudo e a valorização dos valores próximos que se colocam sobre as línguas nacionais.

"Há que recorrer-se ao método de investigação pluridisciplinar para uma maior abrangência, compreensão e solução deste assunto", frisou a ministra, apelando ao Instituto Nacional de Línguas Nacionais, no âmbito das suas obrigações, em parceria com outros investigadores, nacionais e estrangeiros, a bem fazer no sentido da normalização, o mais urgente possível, do estudo e desenvolvimento das línguas nacionais de Angola.

Sob o lema "Unidade na Diversidade", o encontro decorre até sexta-feira e conta com a participação de representantes de todas as províncias do país, entre directores nacionais e provinciais da cultura, professores e estudantes universitários, autoridades tradicionais, entre outros membros da sociedade civil. O encontro é promovido pelo Ministério da Cultura.

Especialistas do Ministério da Cultura e membros da sociedade civil avaliam a problemática que se coloca às línguas nacionais

PARA VALORIZAR A CULTURA

Lei do Mecenato vai à consulta pública

Documento é publicado em caderno especial no *Jornal de Angola*

O Ministério da Cultura vai a realizar uma consulta pública sobre o ante-projecto de Lei do Mecenato. A consulta abrange a solicitação de pareceres das entidades públicas e privadas, sobretudo aquelas que financiam actividades sociais, culturais e filantrópicas. "O ante-projecto de Lei deve ainda ser objecto de discussão, antes da sua remessão à Comissão para a Política Social, órgão auxiliar do Conselho de Ministros", lê-se numa nota distribuída à comunicação social.

O ante-projecto de Lei do Mecenato estabelece o regime jurídico de incentivos fiscais a apoios do Estado no âmbito do Mecenato, visando fomentar, valorizar, cultivar e promover o desenvolvimento dos sectores social, cultural, desportivo, educacional, juvenil, tecnológico, bem como da saúde e da sociedade de informação.

São beneficiários do ante-projecto, as entidades e instituições particulares de solidariedade social ou equiparadas e as pessoas colectivas de utilidade pública, o Estado, as autarquias locais, estabelecimentos ou organismos, as Associações de Municípios, as fundações ou agrupamentos locais que participem no processo inicial. O ante-projecto de Lei do Mecenato vai ser publicado em caderno especial para uma melhor [illegible] de Angola.

Questions sample for the interviews and questionnaires

All the questions will be translated in Portuguese, the official language of the country where the research will be carried out, bearing in mind that the participants have very little or no proficiency at all in English.

During the interviews and questionnaires, some data will be allowed to emerge.

Appendix K - Interview (Head of Indigenous Languages Department at INIDE and the Head of Primary Education Provincial Directorate of Education in Luanda).

1- What made the government introduce the indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system?

2- What criteria were applied to select the languages?

3- How much technical support was collected to design the project and who decided on the choice of the languages?

4- Why are so many languages left behind and what is the expectation for these languages in the future?

5- What is the level of preparation for the implementation of the project terms of training of the personnel, teaching programmes and materials to accompany the policy?

6- Why is the project to be piloted in Luanda, rather than in the localities where most children have these languages as their first languages?

7- The resolution that gives a legal support to the policy says that the indigenous languages could go hand-in-hand with Portuguese, however, without harming the latter. Are the languages to be taught as school subjects or used as the medium of education in Luanda?

8- How much has the project been marketed? And which means have been used to do so?

9- Any further comments are welcome.

Appendix L - Interview (head of Department of African Languages and Literature)

1- As the Head of the Department of African Languages and Literature Studies, what do you think about the introduction of Angolan indigenous languages in the compulsory education subsystem?

2- How much technical contribution did you provide during the design of the policy, being an expert in the matter of Bantu languages?

3- Language educational policy is based on the general language policy. How much technical support did Angolan linguists, if at all, provide in the design the language policy?

4- How much support is the department providing in the implementation of the policy, being a teacher training institution? How are trainees involved in the process?

5- Any further comments are welcome.

Appendix M – Interview with the Vice-directors for Pedagogic Affairs of the secondary teacher training schools.

1- What do you think about the introduction of the so called national languages in the education system?

2- Do you think national languages can be introduced as media of instruction or as simple school subjects?

3- As a teacher training school, how much have you contributed in the project of the introduction of national languages in educational system?

4- What is your relation with INIDE in this regards? Who provides teachers to INIDE to implement the policy?

5- Where does INIDE find teachers if you as teacher training institution are not training teachers?

Appendix N - Questionnaire (language teacher trainees)

1- How do you regard the idea of introducing indigenous languages in the educational system?

2- Why did you choose to do this course and the particular language you are doing?

3- How much have you contributed to the process as a teacher trainee? And much do you think you will contribute after your training?

If there is anything you want to comment about that is not addressed in the questionnaire, please, feel free.

Appendix O – Interview with teachers implementing the policy

1- How long have you been a teacher?

2- What school subject do you teach?

3- What do you think about the introduction of indigenous languages in the educational system?

4- How do you feel this shift as a teacher in indigenous language? Do you speak Kimbundu?

5- How do your learners cope with learning in the language they do not know?

6- How do parents/guardians react to the fact that their children are to be taght in a language they do not know?

7- If there is anything you want to comment about that is not addressed in the questionnaire, please, feel free.

Appendix P – Interview/Questionnaire with parents/guardians

1- Do you speak any indigenous languages? Which and where do you use it (them)?

2- What do you think about the introduction of indigenous languages in the compulsory educational system?

3- How much do you know about the project? And where did you get the information from (radio, television, newspaper, at school, friends...)?

4- How relevant do you think these languages can be for children's development?

5- If you think they are relevant, will you encourage your children to learn your own language or let them choose whatever they would prefer?

6- If there is anything you want to comment about that is not addressed in the questionnaire, please, feel free.

Appendix Q – Entrevista com PMDPEL

A Direção Provincial da Educação de Luanda tem apenas de velar pelo o cumprimento das orientações vindas do ministério da educação. E como tal, ela tem a finalidade de indicar as escolas e fazer cumprir aquilo que está traçado pelo ministério da educação. Então, Luanda indicou algumas escolas, para a implementação do projecto de línguas nacionais.

Bom eu não posso visar as escolas, mas posso indicar os municípios. Por exemplo, temos o município do Rangel, Cazenga e Viana. São os três municípios que nós trabalhamos com línguas nacionais. Nestes municípios nas escolas, é a língua Kimbundu. Só, uma língua: Kimbundu.

A documentação que estas escolas têm; primeiro, os professores foram formados pelos técnicos do INIDE. Há um manual para os professores e manual para alunos que estavam a experimentar. Têm manuais nas escolas. As escolas têm estes manuais e trimestralmente têm tido formação os professores para apresentação dos resultados em cada trimestre daquilo que é conteúdo, dificuldades, em fim, que eles (vão) foram tendo ao longo do trimestre.

Eu acho que Luanda foi escolhida porque Luanda é o centro e sendo uma província que tem uma língua diferente, que é Kimbundu, e está mais próximo, porque os órgãos centrais também funcionam aqui, facilita os membros do INIDE, porque o INIDE que elabora o material para acompanhar o projecto.

Eu acho que é importante conhecer todas as línguas. Independentemente Luanda ser cidade ou uma província que a língua nacional é Kimbundu e porque sabe que muitos de nós eu principalmente, por exemplo, sou Kimbundu e não falo Kimbundu, infelizmente nem! Mas a verdade é essa, primeiro começar com a língua nacional que é a língua da terra, para depois então expandir para as outras línguas. Há também outras línguas também a serem...como estamos a experimentar vamos ainda só experimentar a língua da terra que é a língua Kimbundu. Agora, (com) em relação às outras línguas nacionais, eu não acompanhei direitamente o projecto nas escolas, não acompanhei. Por isso não posso lhe dizer do concreto qual é o impacto dos próprios pais, dos alunos na recepção da língua Kimbundu uma vez que não seja a língua materna. Mas a meu ver, eu posso lhe dizer que é bom aprender qualquer das línguas e, sobretudo se vermos os umbundos, os umbundos falam. É língua materna, desde criança todos falam. E então se já fala a língua nacional Umbundu,

nunca é demais aprender uma outra língua, por isso é que de certeza os pais devem gostar. Não são todas as escolas são algumas turmas só. Por escola talvez umas duas turmas só que estão a dar a língua. Mas não são todas as escolas. Não sei, mas sei que Rangel é uma escola só. Uma Cazenga e duas do Viana. Talvez.

Eu também para dizer com sinceridade, não sei. Eu também ouvi porque visito muito as escolas e ouvi numa das escolas. Não, não fui envolvida nesta área mais tarde é que me envolveram,... e então vi o material aí, curiosa, pude me aperceber que realmente existiam línguas nacionais. Fui para o INIDE para poder me interar, então pude me apercebi que existiam línguas nacionais nas escolas de Luanda.

Não, não. Não tenho informação nenhuma. Não tenho esta informação. Não tenho essa informação.

Olha eu não lhe posso dizer nada. Eu não entendo o Kimbundu. Lá está tudo em Kimbundu. Eu primeiro tenho que ser formada e fazer a leitura e compreender e perceber. Lá está o Kimbundu e eu não entendo Kimbundu. Não posso lhe dizer se tem erros ou não porque não domino a língua. Eu vi os livros. Se bem que têm português. Mas os erros (é são) para serem corrigidos. Por isso é que estamos na fase de experimentação para poder então ser avaliado e corrigido.

Meios do ensino. Língua portuguesa, sobretudo a língua portuguesa, na aula de leitura de língua portuguesa, na 1ª classe só. Depois vamos passar para 2ª classe em 2011.

Interview with – PMDPEL

The duty of the Provincial Directorate of Education in Luanda is to monitor the implementation of the policies from the ministry of education. Hence, in regard with the introduction of the national languages in the educational system, we did not have any direct participation. We simply the provided the schools for the ministry of education to implement the policy. I cannot point out what the school are but I can simply tell you the municipalities. We have, for example Rangel, Cazenga and Viana. They are three municipalities where the national languages were introduced. In these schools Kimbundu is the only language that was introduced.

As for the documentation that the schools have, first, teachers were trained by INIDE's technicians. There a teacher's manual and for book for learners that are being experimented. The schools had these materials and teachers attended training sessions every three months to check their performance and the difficulties encountered throughout the trimester. I believe that the reasons for choosing Luanda is because of being the centre (capital) and the province where Kimbundu is spoken and it facilitates INIDE's officers to monitor the piloting process.

I think it is important to know all the languages. Although Luanda is a city or a province where Kimbundu is spoken, unfortunately, many of us, like me personally, do not speak the language. So, first we start we the language spoken in the region and then we expand to other languages. However, I cannot say much about other languages as I did not participate directly in the process at the schools. I cannot talk about the impact in parents, and how pupils' acceptability since Kimbundu is not their mother tongue. The language is not being introduced in all schools. In some schools only and it is only in some classes. There may be two classes in each of the schools. I am not very sure, but I know is that there is one school in Rangel, one school in Cazenga and two schools in Viana, maybe.

Honestly speaking, I only heard about the implementation of the policy because I visit schools regularly. I came across the information in one of my visits at one of the schools. Then, I went to INIDE because I was curious to know more the process of introduction of national languages in schools in Luanda.

This transcript has been edited to help better elaborate some concept and information provided, as the interviewee seemed to be mixing some of the information provided, probably due to her lack of direct involvement in the process. However, the originality of the information provided has been maintained.

Appendix R - Entrevita com PMME1

De facto este projecto não foi concebido de uma forma original pelo governo, mas sim, surge para responder a campanha que a UNESCO tem estado a levar a cabo em persuadir os governos dos países multilíngues a adoptar o sistema do ensino multilíngue. Foi nesta base que o projecto foi surgiu, tendo em conta a situação do nosso país.

Não sei se posso realmente falar em critérios de selecção. Nós começamos por introduzir no sistema do ensino as línguas que têm a ortografia, apesar de mesmo assim enfrentarmos muitas dificuldades com a representação gráfica de certos sons, tal como /tʃ / na língua Cokwe que é representado por /c/. Não acho haver mais algum critério a acrescer. Alias, acredito que foi mais na base das línguas com maior número de falantes no país. Mas como também não participei no processo inicial, não posso precisar se houve mais algum critério por além dos dois elementos que mencionei.

Como sabe, eu sou formado como professor de língua portuguesa. Fomos seleccionados por um cidadão português que trabalhou conosco num projecto da língua portuguesa. Foi-lhe dado a missão de seleccionar o pessoal para se trabalhar nas línguas nacionais e ele pensou em nós. Eu mais alguns professores de língua portuguesa. Inclusive, havia certa rejeicção, mas ele achou mesmo que eu tinha que estar em frente do projecto. Tive uma pequena formação e comecei a trabalhar.

Nós estamos a trabalhar para a inclusão de mais línguas. Dividimos o país em regiões linguísticas. Entretanto, só as línguas do grupo Bantu estão contempladas de momento, apesar de já existir projectos para as línguas não Bantu. O grande problema que enfrentamos é a escassez dos recursos financeiros para fazer as coisas funcionar. Trabalhamos com dinheiro da UNESCO e UNDP. Não há quase nenhum financiamento do ministério. Acrescido a isto, existem também indivíduos, incluindo políticos de muita influência, mesmo aqui dentro que acham que a inclusão de línguas nacionais no ensino é uma confusão. Mesmo nós aqui, somos tidos como se não estivéssemos a fazer nada. Logo, se não recebermos apoios destas organizações, nada podemos fazer.

Como disse antes, eu estou somente a levar a cabo a implementação de algo já encontrado. Mas de qualquer modo, posso dizer que nós aproveitamos o trabalho que os nossos linguistas fizeram, muitos deles funcionários do Instituto de Línguas Nacionais, que levou a

uniformização e a aprovação de alfabeto das línguas nacionais pela Assembleia Nacional para decidir a introdução dessas mesmas línguas no sistema do ensino. Mas, honestamente falando, nós não tivemos participação direita de outras instituições, nem de técnicos angolanos. Trabalhamos com os técnicos da UNESCO e estrangeiros, tanto que o nosso material é produzido na África do Sul. Não vou descartar a possibilidade dos peritos nesta matéria identificarem erros de qualquer tipo neste material. Tanto que os primeiros livros não foram utilizados por esta razão. Como vês, estão todos aí armazenados. Por isso, dizer-te que não há erros, estaria eu a mentir. O nível de erros é que não posso precisar.

As escolas de formação de professores não têm nenhuma colaboração connosco neste âmbito. Tanto gostaríamos, mas não depende de nós. Nós aproveitamos alguns professores da língua portuguesa das escolas onde se está a implementar o projecto e demos uma formação básica para a sua adaptação. De facto, foi uma formação não muito especializada. Simplesmente deu para transmissão de algumas técnicas adaptadas de ensino de português para as línguas nacionais.

Neste âmbito, existem vários constrangimentos. Apesar de termos alguns manuais, tal como disse antes, enfrentamos sérios problemas. Vamos começar com os documentos existentes. Já o disse que nós trabalhamos com o pessoal da UNESCO e técnicos estrangeiros. Isto tem uma implicação: tradução e adaptação. Os nossos documentos existentes, incluindo os livros, sofreram uma tradução dupla. Foram primeiro traduzidos de inglês para português, e só depois disso é que são traduzidos em línguas nacionais. Existem documentos legais que sustentam o projecto. Entretanto, as línguas apenas conheceram a uniformização do alfabeto. Não foram padronizadas e nem sequer tenho linhas mestres para suportar o desenvolvimento das tarefas. Podemos também falar da existência de alguns dicionários e gramáticas em algumas línguas, mas ainda muito insuficiente.

Não acho que existem razões específicas. Luanda foi escolhida simplesmente por ser a capital do país, e onde encontramos concentradas todas as etnias do país. Neste momento já incluímos algumas províncias, apesar de grandes dificuldades que enfrentamos em certas. A implementação do projecto está a ser bem recebida pela população, mas dificultada por determinadas figuras políticas de alto nível, como já disse. Deixa-me dizer que existe uma restrição em Luanda. Somente Kimbundu vai ser a língua a ser ensinada em Luanda. Isto justifica-se por Kimbundu ser a língua desta região. O país está dividido em regiões

linguísticas. Cada uma corresponde a uma língua. E o Kimbundu em Luanda será utilizada como disciplina escolar e não como língua de instrução.

Não. Vamos utilizar o Kimbundu como uma disciplina escolar simplesmente, mas não como língua de instrução e ainda não começamos. Pensamos começar brevemente. Estamos ainda a preparar o material didáctico.

Nós não temos muitos meios para divulgar o projecto. Temos escassez de meios, incluindo meios financeiros. Tal como disse antes, o ministério não tem disponibilizado verbas para os nossos programas. Trabalhamos mais com o financiamento que as agências das Nações Unidas concedem. Por outro lado, existem entraves por parte de certas entidades influentes da vida política do país. Como já disse o próprio nosso ... e outros que não acho ser do seu conhecimento e que não vale à pena citar, acham que ensinar estas línguas é perder o tempo. Tudo isto leva-nos a grandes constrangimentos. Mesmos para conseguir um espaço nas medias estatais não tem sido fácil. Repare que em certas províncias, como no Zaire, por exemplo, até os materiais lá enviados foram guardados por certas autoridades. Mesmo aqui dentro onde nos encontramos certas individualidades não consideram o nosso trabalho. Olham para o nosso trabalho com pouca consideração. Fico muito satisfeito e inclusive surpreendido em saber que existem entidades singulares interessados em levar a cabo estudos nesta matéria duma forma voluntária. Espero que nos venha visitar mais vezes e que nos traga as suas contribuições para juntos levarmos adiante este processo.

Interview with PMME1

In fact, this project wasn't originally conceived by the government but it appears as a response to UNESCO's campaign in persuading the governments of multilingual countries to adopt a multilingual educational system. It is on this basis that this project appeared bearing in mind the multilingual situation of our country. As for the criteria for selection, we started by introducing in the educational system the languages with orthography, though we're still facing many difficulties with the graphic representation of some sounds such as /tʃ / in Cokwe, which represented as c. The selection was also based on the most spoken languages in the country.

As you Know, I was trained as a Portuguese language teacher. We were selected by a Portuguese citizen who worked with us in a Portuguese language project. He was given the mission of selecting people to work in the project of national languages and he thought of selecting some Portuguese languages teachers and me. At first I was rejected to join the project but he insisted I had to be the one to lead the project. I was given a short training and I started working.

We're now working to include more languages. We've divided the country in linguistic regions. However, only Bantu languages are part of the process, though there are some projects for the inclusion of non-Bantu languages. Our big problem is lack of sufficient financial resources to make the process operational. We work with the money from UNESCO and UNDP. There's nearly no funding from the ministry of education. Moreover, there are individuals, including some with high political influence, who think that the inclusion of national languages in education is troublesome. Even here, we're seen as if we were doing nothing. Therefore, if we receive no support from these organisations, we can't do anything.

As I said earlier, I'm simply implementing something that I already found. Anyway, I can say that we're using what our linguists, many of which workers of "*Instituto de Línguas Nacionais*" produced. The alphabetical system of national languages approved by the "Assembleia Nacional" that led to the introduction of these languages in the educational system is what we're using. However, honestly speaking, there wasn't any direct participation of any other institution or any Angolan experts. We work with UNESCO foreign experts. Even our materials are produced in South Africa. We couldn't even use the first production because it was full of mistakes. So, there is a possibility for experts to find some mistakes in the material in use, though I can't precise the type of mistakes.

There's no collaboration with any of the teacher training institutions in this regard. Though we'd like to, it doesn't depend on us. The project is being implemented by some Portuguese language teachers that we trained. They were given a short training, though not a specialization, to adapt them. They were simply given some techniques to adapt the teaching of Portuguese into the teaching of national languages.

There are several constraints. Though we have some books, as I said earlier, we face serious problems. To start with the existing documentation, I already mentioned that we're working with UNESCO's foreign experts. This has an implication: translation and adaptation. Our

existing documents, including books, underwent a double translation process. First from English to Portuguese and only then that they were translated into national languages. There are legal documents sustaining the project. However, there was only harmonization of the alphabet. There wasn't any standardization and there aren't any guidelines to support the implementation. We can mention the existence of some dictionaries and grammar books, though still very insufficient.

I don't think there are specific reasons why Luanda was chosen for implementation. It's just because it's the capital of the country and where we can find nearly all the ethnic groups gathered together. However, we've included some other provinces, though with some difficulties in some of them. The implementation of the project is being welcomed by the population but some political individuals at a higher level are obstructing the process, as I said before. Let me say that there's a restriction in Luanda. Only Kimbundu will be taught in Luanda. This is because Kimbundu is the language of this region. Kimbundu will be used as a school subject and not as a medium of instruction. We haven't started yet, but we won't use Kimbundu as a medium of instruction, only as a school subject. We'll be starting soon. We're still preparing the teaching materials.

We very few ways to divulge the project and this include financial resources shortage. I've already talked about the source of our funding and the how some influential political in figures act as constraints to the policy. In addition to this, we have no easy access to the media. In some provinces even the books we provide are hidden and our work is underestimated. I'm very happy and even surprised to know that there are people interested in carrying out studies in this matter. I hope you'll visit us more often and bring us your contributions so that we can take the process ahead together.

This transcript has been slightly edited to eliminate unnecessary details. However, there have been no changes of the originality of the data.

Appendix S – Entrevista com PMME2

Bem, o processo de introdução das línguas nacionais no ensino primário é uma resposta que o governo decidiu dar aos apelos da UNESCO. UNESCO tem vindo a sensibilizar os países que falam muitas línguas a começar o ensino primário com as línguas que as crianças dominam melhor. O governo cedeu e orientou a sua introdução no ensino.

Pelo que saiba, optou-se pelas as línguas mais faladas. Se houver mais outros critérios, talvez, somente aqueles que decidiram na escolha de que línguas a introduzir devem saber. É possível que tenha uma resposta correcta quanto a esta pergunta se conversar com o meu chefe. Deve estar melhor informado nesta matéria que eu.

Sinceramente não sei dizer quem. Como sabes, a minha área de formação é história. Entrei neste projecto simplesmente porque me interessei nas línguas nacionais. Como já era funcionário do INIDE, foi fácil a mudança de área. Acredito que nem o meu chefe participou na decisão, se bem que ele possa estar informado.

A minha adaptação foi graças a uma formação que tivemos na África do Sul, se bem que era curta. Como já falava o Kimbundu, mesmo não tão bem, isto ajudou bastante.

Em condições como tal não digo, mas Luanda já começou com a implementação do ensino das línguas nacionais. Temos quatro escolas com quatro uma turma de 1ª classe cada. Portanto temos uma escola no município de Rangel, uma em Cazenga e duas em Viana. Nestas turmas especiais, as aulas são todas dadas em Kimbundu. Todas as disciplinas são ensinadas nesta língua e o professor não deve falar o português. Portanto, tal como disse, o Kimbundu é a língua de instrução para estas crianças, independentemente da sua origem. Desde que esteja em Luanda deve aprender o Kimbundu. Quanto à selecção, não acho que houve. Apenas pegou-se umas turmas de 1ª classe para se começar a pilotar o projecto.

Como se podia esperar numa primeira fase, as reacções são diversas. Os alunos reclamam não entender o que o professor diz porque não falam a língua. Quanto aos pais e encarregados as reacções são mais diversas. Uns não concordam que os seus filhos sejam ensinados numa língua que não falam e que nem é a sua língua se quer. Outros dizem que apesar de o Kimbundu ser a sua língua, eles próprios não a falam e se a falam, fazem-no mal, por isso, preferiam que os seus filhos aprendessem a língua mas não ser ensinado nesta língua. Até porque nem têm como os ajudar a fazer as suas tarefas em casa. Mas de reacções não é só isto. Também os professores te as suas reclamações. Dizem ser muito trabalhoso

ensinar numa língua que os alunos não conhecem e também eles dominam mal. Têm que ensinar a língua e a matéria simultaneamente. Isto não é fácil. E posso dizer que existem muito mais, só ouvindo os próprios. De qualquer modo, são decisões do governo, só nos cabe cumprir.

Inicialmente não havia definição em como introduzir as línguas no ensino. Decidiu-se dividir o país em regiões linguísticas. Em cada região deve-se aprender a língua local. Luanda está localizada na região Kimbundu. Logo, quem aqui vive deve aprender a língua local. Vamos ver se as reacções no terreno vão produzir alguma mudança no futuro. Mas por enquanto, não há escolha.

Meu amigo, para lhe ser honesto, só sei dizer que foi apenas recolhido o trabalho que se fez na uniformização de alfabeto de línguas nacionais na altura que se introduziram estas línguas na alfabetização. Como se adquiriu não sei. Mas quanto ao pessoal técnico angolano que trabalha nesta área, acho que não foi sequer tido em conta.

Conforme já disse no princípio, a nossa formação foi feita na África do Sul. Foi uma curta preparação. Não se envolveu, pelo menos até ao momento que estamos a conversar, alguma outra instituição nacional, para não falarmos somente de escolas que perguntou. Não sei como será, mas tudo esta ainda ser feito por INIDE e os técnicos estrangeiros. Os professores até aqui recrutados eram professores de língua portuguesa das referidas escolas.

É um pouco difícil falar-se disto. Sabe que eu não sou linguista. Mas também é verdade que ainda temos muita coisa por se fazer. Nós não temos programas específicos. Simplesmente adoptamos o modelo de livro que se usa na África do Sul e traduzimos. Falar do padrão da língua, o meu amigo está em melhores condições de me esclarecer. Se os livros contêm erros, não vou duvidar. Admito que os mais entendidos na matéria de línguas nacionais tenham encontrado erros, dada a forma como os livros foram produzidos. Foram primeiro traduzidos de inglês para o português e só daí é que foram traduzidos em línguas nacionais. É obvio que haja mesmo erros.

Esta pergunta é uma rasteira. Mas como amigo, te vou ser honesto. Não iria ficar satisfeito. Ainda que tivesse que tirar-lhe para outra escola, fá-lo-ia. De facto, pessoalmente, como professor, compreendo o tipo de problemas que se pode criar se não formos cuidadosos ao aplicarmos certas medidas. Mas às vezes, a nossa voz não é ouvida. O que fazer?!

Interview with PMME2

Well, the process of introduction of national languages in primary education is a government response to UNESCO's appeals. UNESCO has been persuading countries where many languages are spoken to start primary education with the languages that know better. The government ceded and allowed the introduction of the language in education. As far as I know, the most spoken languages were prioritized. If there are any other criteria, only those who decided on the choice of the languages may know them. You may have a correct answer when you talk to my boss. He may be better informed in this matter than I am.

Honestly speaking, I do not know who were the ones who decided on the choice of languages. As you know, I was trained as a history teacher. I joined this project simply because I was interested in national languages. As INIDE officer, it was easy for me to shift to this area. I do believe that even my boss did not take part in the decision making, though he might know more than I do.

My adaptation has been possible thanks to the training that we were submitted in South Africa, though it was short. As a Kimbundu speaker, though not very fluent, it was helpful. I cannot say that there are all the necessary conditions. However, the process of implementation of the introduction of national languages in schools in Luanda has already started. There are four classes of grade 1 in four schools. We have one school in the municipality of Rangel, one in Cazenga and two in Viana. In these especial classes, Kimbundu is the language of instruction. All the subjects are taught in Kimbundu and the teacher is not expected to speak Portuguese. This is, regardless the ethnic origin of the pupils. As far as they live in Luanda they have to learn Kimbundu. I do not think that there was any criterion to select pupils. The classes were simply appointed to start with the piloting of the project.

As it would be expected at the first phase, reactions are diverse. Pupils claim not to understand what their teachers say because they do not speak the language. Parents and/or guardians reactions are more diverse. Some disagree that their children should be taught in a language that they do not know, and it is not even their language. Others, though from Kimbundu ethnic group, they do not speak the language, and those who do, are not very proficient. Therefore, they would prefer that their children to learn the language but not as a

medium of instruction. They cannot even help they children do their homework. There are complaints from teachers themselves. They find it very hard to teach pupils in a language they do not know. They have to teach them the language and the contents simultaneously. There many more complaints. However, it is a government decision; all we can do is to obey.

Initially, there was not any definition as how to introduce these languages in the educational system. Then, the decision was taken to divide the country into linguistic regions. The local language of the region is the one that should be taught. As Luanda is located in the Kimbundu region, whoever lives in this region should learn Kimbundu. Let us see whether the reactions will lead to any changes, but for now there is no choice.

To be honest, I can only say that they are using the unified alphabet of national languages that led to the introduction of these languages into the anti-illiteracy campaign. I cannot tell how they got access to this information. No single Angolan expert in the area was taken into account.

As I said earlier, we had a short training in South Africa. So far, there is no involvement of any Angolan institution, not even the teacher training schools that you have asked about. I do not know what will the future be like, but for now, INIDE is doing everything with expatriate technicians. The recruited teachers are the former Portuguese language teachers of the same schools.

As you know, I am not a linguist. However, I have to admit that we still have so much to do. We have no specific programmes. We simply adopted the books used in South Africa and translated them. I cannot even talk about standardization of the languages, as you are in a better position to talk about this issue. Bearing in mind the way the materials were produced, I have to admit that experts will find mistakes in them. It is obvious that there are mistakes as they were translated from English to Portuguese first, only then they were translated in the national languages.

This is a trap. However, honestly speaking, I would not allow my children to be part of this process. I would not be happy. I would even take them out of this school if possible. As a teacher, I understand the kind of problems that this process may generate if we are not carefully. However, sometimes our voices are not heard. What should we do?

This transcript has been slightly edited to eliminate unnecessary details. However, there have been no changes of the originality of the data.

Appendix T - Entrevista com DALLSTT1

Eu tenho três pontos de vista. Três pontos de vista. O primeiro é que a introdução das línguas nacionais no ensino irá permitir a continuidade do conhecimento do ensino e aprendizagem da língua portuguesa entre a casa e a escola para que não haja uma rotura no processo do ensino e aprendizagem. Segundo, vai também permitir que as pessoas tenham conhecimento da estrutura das duas línguas e que este conhecimento permita evitar a transferência de estrutura de uma língua para outra. Terceiro é um ponto de vista promocional. A introdução das línguas nacionais no ensino vai permitir que as línguas conheçam uma promoção e desenvolvimento. Conforme sabe, toda língua desenvolve-se no ensino. Também a sua promoção faz-se a partir do ensino e a sua utilização. Este é o meu ponto de vista.

Posso dizer que nós impulsionamos a elaboração desta política na medida em que elaboramos o material que iria permitir a adopção dessa política. Sabe que não existe uma política linguística. Nós começamos primeiro por elaborar o material. Essa elaboração fez com que os dirigentes tivessem perante um facto já consumado e estiveram obrigados a utilizar uma política para a implementação das línguas nacionais no ensino. É a partir do material que nós elaboramos que pensaram elaborar uma política da introdução de línguas nacionais no ensino.

Posso dizer que no quadro do Instituto de Língua Nacionais nós trabalhamos com base de um projecto, projecto que fora liderado pela UNESCO com a contribuição do PNUD. Este projecto fez com que o instituto pudesse preparar já o material de base léxico bilíngue temático, também as gramáticas. Esta foi a contribuição que posso dizer que a instituição que trata das línguas nacionais preparou para que se implemente a política educacional. Esse mesmo material fez com que o Instituto de Línguas Nacionais precipitasse já a implementação de alfabetização em línguas nacionais nas províncias. Foi um sucesso, mas foi suspenso devido à guerra. São seis línguas que foram contempladas e são seis regiões que foram também contempladas, regiões onde são utilizadas estas línguas. E infelizmente este trabalho foi interrompido pela extensão da guerra.

Posso dizer que eu não conheço até aqui a participação dos técnicos, mas ultimamente eu recebi um material que o INIDE elaborou, material sobre a introdução do ensino das línguas. Mas não houve nenhuma colaboração estreita entre o Instituto de Línguas e o INIDE, mas encontramos apenas o material que o INIDE elaborou e também na base de um

projecto que o próprio INIDE fez e começou já implementar as línguas nacionais no ensino de base.

O material didáctico que eles fizeram penso eu que o material que eles elaboraram basearam-se nos trabalhos elaborados pelo instituto mas quando recebi os livros encontrei muitos erros. A duplicação das nasais, por exemplo, isto não se faz. Há um sistema muito simples quando se tem nasal + nasal, é preciso eliminar uma nasal e pôr uma apóstrofe para mostra que aqui havia um elemento que foi eliminado. Há muitos problemas do ponto de vista ortográfico que devem ser solucionado, mas com o apoio de todos linguistas é que se pode fazer este trabalho.

Não existe nenhuma relação entre o INIDE e o Instituto de Línguas Nacionais também com o Departamento de língua Nacionais que nós criamos aqui, nunca houve este estreitamento, esta relacção ou este relacionamento nunca houve. Mas nós tentamos fazer sempre o possível para contactar o pessoal do INIDE que trata das línguas para que possamos trocar as opiniões aí relativamente à questão das línguas nacionais, a questão de elaboração do material, a questão de elaboração de programas, mas nunca houve esse contacto.

Este é o problema que nós temos aqui. Nós podemos fornecer professores ao INIDE se o INIDE nos contactar. Mas eu não sei donde é que o INIDE encontra estes professores. O material que ele elaborou não tem aquele perfil educativo, o perfil programático que mostra que seria o mais adequado no ensino das línguas nacionais. Eu acho que quanto ao estreitamento posso dizer que o INIDE é culpado, no sentido que ele trabalha com o que posso dizer alfabetizadores, em vez de trabalhar com professores que têm já um nível avançado também há outra coisa que eu queria dizer, aqui nós formamos formador de formadores. Não é possível que estes formadores fossem lá trabalhar no ensino primário, é um problema que está aí. O INIDE preparou o seu programa para introdução de línguas nacionais no ensino primário. Nós aqui formamos professores que podem ensinar no ensino médio. Aí há um fosso. Se houvesse uma escola de formação de professores no ensino médio como o Magistério Primário. O INE não tem uma especialidade em línguas africanas, este é o problema.

Não, não pode haver sucesso na medida em que não há uma ligação ou um relacionamento entre as diversas estruturas que tratam de línguas nacionais.

Interview with DALLSTT1

I have three points of view. The first is that the introduction of national languages in the educational system will allow the continuity of teaching and learning of Portuguese between the home and the school and avoid the gap in the process. Second, this will people to know the structures of both languages and this knowledge will help to avoid the transfer of the structure of one language into another. The third point is promotional. The introduction of national languages into the educational system will allow the promotion and the development of the languages. As you know, all languages develop in the educational system. The promotion of languages is also done in the educational system through their teaching and utilization.

I can say that we triggered the design of this policy in a way that we produced the material that allowed the adoption of this policy. You know that there is no (an explicit) language policy (in Angola). We first started with producing this material. This process left the leadership with no choice and was obliged to introduce a policy that would allow the introduction of national languages into the educational system. The material that Angolan linguists produced led to a policy of the introduction of the national languages into the educational system. Let me say that in the National Institute of National languages we worked on the basis of a project under UNESCO and UNPD leadership. This project led the institute to prepare the material on the bilingual lexical thematic and grammatical basis. This was the contribution that the institution that deals with the issues of national languages could provide to the policy of introduction of national languages in educational system. This material led the national Institute of national languages to precipitate the introduction of national languages into the anti-illiteracy campaign in the provinces. It was successful but it had to be stopped because of the war. They were six languages and were used in six regions were these languages are spoken. Unfortunately, this process had to be interrupted due to the extension of the war.

I can say that I do know about the participation of any Angolan expert in the process, so far. However, I received some materials produced by INIDE concerning the introduction of the national languages in the educational system. There was no any collaboration between the institute and INIDE. All we found out was that INIDE produced the material on the basis of a project that was designed by INIDE itself and they started implementing the introduction of the national languages in primary school.

I do believe that the teaching material they produced is based on what the National institute of national languages linguists produced. However, I found out many mistakes in the materials. The duplication of nasals, for example, is not allowed. There is a very simple system that allows the elimination of one of the nasals when we have nasal + nasal, by using an apostrophe to show that something has been eliminated. There are many problems in terms of orthography that could only be solved with the support all linguists.

There is not any relation between INIDE and the National Institute of National languages, not even with the Department of African Languages and Literature at ISCED. We try to contact those who are involved in the matter of National languages INIDE in order to establish a relation so that we can provide our contribution and share some views concerning the production of teaching materials and programmes but there have never been success. We are able to provide INIDE with teachers. However, INIDE has never contacted us and I do not know where they found their teachers. The material elaborated by INIDE does not have an educational profile. There is nothing to show that there programmes are adequate for the teaching of national languages. INIDE is to blame for this absence of collaboration as they prefer working with non-trained people to the detriment of trained teachers.

This policy cannot be successful when there is no interrelation among all the institutions that deal with the issue of national languages.

This transcript has been slightly edited to leave out items that are irrelevant to the study. However, this operation has no effect in its originality.

Appendix U - Entrevista com DALLSTT2

Exactamente, falando das línguas nacionais no sistema do ensino requer nos lavar a um problema que há muito se vinha discutindo, porque partindo mesmo do presidente Agostinho Neto, ele havia dito que "será nos difícil resolver os nossos problemas com as nossas línguas com as nossas línguas nacionais, se continuarmos a pensar com as outras línguas". É assim que cada sistema tem a sua origem. Nós não podemos aprender as línguas dos outros se mal conhecemos as nossas próprias línguas. Essa é uma necessidade que existe no país desde 1978, cuja implementação só entrou nos anos (no ano) 2002 e está numa fase de implementação, mas implementação que eu diria muito tímido porque se partirmos de aplicação de 2004, hoje faz seis anos, o nível de actuação ainda esta muito a quem de desejar. Até aqui é isso que posso dizer.

O que motiva o governo a introduzir essas línguas no sistema do ensino, a necessidade data de há muito tempo. Mas a dinâmica em si de aplicação é um bocado difícil de saber qual é a origem porque se assim fosse deveria ser aplicado ser há muito tempo. Mas eu acredito que os linguístas, primeiro, sempre manifestaram essa necessidade e também parece que os serviços da educação em si, o INIDE, as áreas da educação sentiam essa falta e como cada situação espera a oportunidade de momento para ser aplicada, então foi se esperando até que a necessidade encontrou uma abertura para entrar. Agora dizer de concreto o que é que motivou é um bocado difícil. É uma situação que já existia e que encontrou abertura.

Fontes fidedignas não tenho, mas eu sei que a UNESCO é uma instituição que vela em parte da educação, como se diz, dos pauses membros e acredito que Angola faz parte, então pode vir a ser uma pressão, também como pode vir a ser uma outra, não digo pressão, reclamação de elementos adjudicadas ao próprio sistema do ensino, já falei dos linguístas, já falei dos serviços mesmo da educação ligados ao sistema do ensino. Então, de concreto não digo que assim. Mas acho que pode vir a ser também uma das situações.

O INIDE elaborou o material. Mas o material que foi elaborado pelo INIDE em princípio virada para escola primária 1ª, 2ª, acho que até 3ª. Mas um material também que não é adequado ao ensino das línguas nacionais, porque contém primeiro muitos erros: erros gramaticais, erros de ortografia, enfim. Isto porque, na altura da tradução porque são livros que vieram parece que da África do Sul, e eles tiveram que fazer a tradução e na tradução que eles fizeram, é uma tradução que não foi feita por técnicos de línguas nacionais que

conhecem o funcionamento, enfim, das línguas nacionais, então aquilo foi uma tradução em línguas nacionais, mas a cheiro de português.

Geralmente Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu e Cokwe. A tradução partiu da língua inglesa. Soa documentos que vieram em inglês e depois traduziram em línguas nacionais Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu e Cokwe, etc. Então as pessoas que fizeram a tradução, porque há uma outra tradução do inglês para língua nacional pode se fazer mas então tem que merecer o tratamento de um linguísta africanista que conhece o funcionamento, como se escreve a língua nacional. Essa parte não fizeram, é assim que você encontra palavras, onde deve estar o m eles põem o n, e enfim, erros do gênero. E não se pode trabalhar com documentos deste tipo. Isso é um. O segundo, nós fomos compulsar os documentos no INIDE, não encontramos nem programas nem material, nada para o ensino das línguas nacionais a nível médio ou superior, logo, nós tivemos que trabalhar com o nosso próprio suporte encontrado. O professor procura textos ou que ele próprio vai aplicar na escola.

Exactamente. Bom não digo que sem contar com as instituições que implementam políticas mas, eles deveriam contactar pelo menos os técnicos porque eles não podem elaborar o programa sem que haja anuência da área política, não é, porque eles não podem, ...recebem uma orientação também administrativa e metodológica superior. Mas então o problema está na área técnica onde eles fazem a tradução de texto, não sei que tanta coisa, a gramática, não sei que, eles fazem com elementos, não digo da sua conveniência, mas que eles acham que eles é que devem trabalhar. E nós quando chegamos lá, entramos em contacto com o material encontramos uma série de erros, de formas que encontramos pilhas de livros lá que são inutilizados por causa de mesmo dessa situação.

O INIDE não pode trabalhar de forma isolada, nós temos a faculdade de Letras onde estão as línguas nacionais, o ISCED está aqui como instituição virada para o ensino das línguas nacionais, pelo menos quando têm trabalho do gênero, que contactem estas instituições, vão encontrar elementos que trabalham nessas áreas e fazem o trabalho em conjunto.

Não estamos a formar professores para trabalhar em línguas nacionais, mas para ter conhecimento de algumas línguas nacionais porque é um instrumento que lhe é necessário no exercício das suas funções.

Bom, eu digo as crianças de Bom, o que primeiro prevalece é que tem que se ensinar as línguas nacionais. Isso é um. Agora situação de Luanda no sistema do ensino eu acredito

que devemos deixar de parte as outras línguas e considerar a língua da região. Isso também facilitaria de um lado, a forma de administrar os conhecimentos. Porque se nós dissermos que em cada escola devemos ensinar as quatro ou cinco línguas seria também complicar a existência. Agora que se abrem centro de línguas nos bairros ou não sei que, isso seria outra coisa. Mas no sistema do ensino parece-me que deveriam optar por sistema para se simplificar também o sistema do trabalho.

Luanda têm português como primeira língua, mas isso por mim abre mais um outro precedente. Porque não acredito bem que a criança de Luanda tem como língua materna português. Se uma pequena porção tem português como língua materna a realidade não é para todos. Porque se nós sairmos fora na periferia de Luanda vamos encontrar uma outra realidade. Logo, se a criança do centro vai aprender o Kimbundu como uma novidade, a da periferia não acredito que a situação seja a mesma. Porque na periferia já funcionam as línguas nacionais, entre aspas.

Interview with DALLSTT2

Talking about National languages in educational system implies going back to has been being discussed for so long, even since President Agostinho Neto's era. As he said, we cannot learn other people's languages if we do not know our own languages. This need (of introducing national languages in educational system) has existed since 1978, the implementation of which only occurred in 2002. The policy is in its implementation phase, but I can say that it is a very timid implementation if we bear in mind that from 2004, it has been six years so far, what has been done is far from the expectations.

It is difficult to say what motivated to introduce national languages in educational system. However, I believe that linguists showed this need first and then, educational services felt that there was a need to introduce these languages in educational system. As everything needs to be done in its exact time, this is the opportunity they find to start the implementation. I do not have credible sources but I can say that UNESCO as an institution that cares for education has a part to play in the process.

INIDE designed materials. These materials are for grades 1, 2 and 3. However, these materials are not adequate for the teaching of national languages. First because they contain

many mistakes: grammatical mistakes, spelling mistakes, and so on. This is because of translation, as the books came from South Africa and they were translated without any participation of experts in national languages. Therefore, it was a Portuguese-like translation. We cannot work with this type of documents. Second, we went to INIDE to see whether we could find any documents but we did not find any programme or material that could be used for national languages in secondary or tertiary level (education). As a consequence, we had to design our own materials. The teacher (trainee) has to find their own texts to use at school.

In fact, I cannot say that they did not take into account the institutions that implement the policies. However, INIDE should at least contact experts to help design programmes as they are unable to do so. But they cannot do it without any superior administrative and methodological guidance. They had a political authorization to do what they have done. They included whoever they felt could work with them. The consequence is that what they produced is full of mistakes. We found piles of books that cannot be used because of mistakes.

INIDE cannot work in isolation. We have a faculty where national languages are included, and ISCED as an institution responsible for training teachers has an area that deals with national languages. They should contact these institutions, whenever they have something related to these languages, to work together.

Looking at Kimbundu as the only language in Luanda, the idea is that children should be taught national languages. The reality of educational system in Luanda, I believe we should leave other languages aside and consider the language of the region. This would help to facilitate the process. If we think of introducing four or five languages in each school it will be complicated. Portuguese is the first language in Luanda but I do not believe that all the children in Luanda have Portuguese as their mother-tongue. Therefore, if Kimbundu is something new for children in the centre, in the periphery it is not.

This transcript has been slightly edited to eliminate irrelevant information to the study. However, this operation has no effect in its originality.

Appendix V - Entrevista com TTSISD1

Eu já sei que a inserção das línguas nacionais está a ser feita, neste momento está a ser feita ainda à nível do ensino primário. Nós ainda não temos na nossa instituição, portanto somos formadores de professores, mas ainda não inserimos línguas nacionais no nosso currículo. Ainda não foi inserido pelo INIDE no nosso currículo. Não é, é bom, porque vai de alguma forma inserir, portanto, quando estamos a inserir as línguas nacionais, não estamos só a inserir as línguas. Estamos, talvez, a inserir mais estudantes no ensino, porque hoje em dia aqui em Luanda vemos que os estudantes, muita gente tem dificuldades em se expressar em português. Então nós dizemos que o português é língua oficial, mas quando um estudante se consegue expressar, perceber ou interpretar alguma coisa na sua língua materna, ele tem mais facilidade - portanto digo isso estudante a nível primário: aluno- ele tem mais facilidades em perceber, aprender e interpretar o que lhe é dito. Agora, em termos de aprendizagem e facilidade de aprendizagem isto é bom nesse sentido.

Como é que seriam introduzidas as línguas? Como é que deviam ser será que todos os professores mesmo na questão de formação de professores, como é que se vai formar professores que vão dar turmas únicas na primaria, como se vai formar esses professores para se expressarem nas diversas línguas nacionais?

Eu penso que devem ser introduzidos realmente no currículo, mas não como língua de instrução. Portanto é uma língua que o estudante vai aprender. Tem que aprender, mas ele não vai utilizar a língua nacional para aprender as disciplinas. Vai aprender o português, se expressa em português, vai aprender as disciplinas em português e também vai aprender as línguas nacionais. Eu penso que deve ser mais nesse sentido. Mas tem que aprender não tem que vai como opção ele escolher.... a língua tem que estar e ele escolhe a língua que lhe mais convier

Não temos ainda nada feita, alias não fomos orientados. Não há nenhuma orientação para a escola de formação de professores do segundo ciclo para a formação de professores em línguas nacionais. Ainda não há nenhuma orientação e então nós estamos practicamente de braços cruzados ainda.

Eu penso os estudantes do Magistério partem com essa formação. Portanto quem sai do Magistério já sai com formação em línguas nacionais. A Escola de Formação de Professores ainda não tem esta vertente.

Interview with TTSISD1

I know that the insertion of the national languages is being done at primary school level. We are teacher trainers but our institution has not started training teachers yet for national languages yet. INIDE has not introduced this in our curriculum yet. However, the introduction of national languages in educational system is not only inserting the languages in the school system but this will allow the insertion of more learners in school, as there are many people who have difficulties to speak Portuguese. We say that Portuguese is our official language but there are learners who cannot express themselves in Portuguese. When a learner can express themselves, perceive or interpret something in their mother-tongue, they have more facility for perceiving, learning and interpreting what is being said. And this facilitates learning.

I think that these languages should really be introduced in school curricula, but not as the language of instruction. The pupils will learn the language as a school subject and have all the subjects in Portuguese. They should learn the language that interests them.

We have not done anything yet in this regard. There is still no guidance for the teacher training schools to train teachers to teach in national languages. We are waiting that we are told what to do. There is nothing we can do at the moment. I believe that trainees at Majistério already have the component of national languages included in their training programme. There is nothing in this regard at this school.

This transcript has undergone slight editing to leave out whatever sounds irrelevant to the study. However, its originality has been preserved.

Appendix W - Entrevista com TTSISD2

O meu ponto de vista sobre a inserção das línguas nacionais no sistema do ensino veio colmatar o vazio que existia. É um pouco tarde, mas chegou e vale à pena. Havia um grande fosso, sobretudo no interior do país, onde a criança tinha que aprender numa língua que não dominava. Isto levava as crianças a fazer um esforço duplo: aprender a língua e aprender a matéria, provocando desta feita uma dispersão de atenção e de esforços. O resultado disto tudo era o atraso na aprendizagem. Por isso, acho bem-vindo o projecto.

Para lhe ser franco, nós não temos participação nenhuma neste processo, apesar do nosso interesse para o envolvimento. Em primeiro lugar, não temos nenhum documento oficial que nos envolva ou orienta nesta matéria. Fomos pura e simplesmente ignorados ou talvez marginalizados seja o melhor termo. Por várias vezes contactamos o INIDE. Segundo, temos manifestado interesse para que sejamos incluídos neste processo, dada a missão da instituição, mas em vão. Mesmo instantes antes de teres chegado, estava a evidenciar esforços para contactar o senhor António Muhongo que é responsável desta área no INIDE, mas não foi possível.

Nós nem sequer sabemos onde INIDE vai encontrar professores para implementar este projecto. De qualquer modo, nós temos nos prevenido. Já nos nossos programas de formação de professores constam as línguas nacionais. Trabalhamos em estreita colaboração com o ISCED.

Tal como disse, não existe nenhuma orientação que regula a nossa participação no processo. Logo, apesar de sermos uma instituição responsável na formação de professores primários, nada nos orienta se podemos formar professores e tão pouco como formá-los. Somente para acrescentar, nós aproveitamos a iniciativa que o ISCED teve para treinar formadores na nossa instituição, a qual teve muita aderência, para solicitar a autorização a Direcção Provincial da Educação no sentido de enquadrarmos os formadores que aqui estão a ser treinados. São três línguas: o Kimbundu, o Kikongo e o Umbundu. Apesar de o director provincial ter dito que só se pode ensinar Kimbundu em Luanda, resposta foi negativa.

Se for verdade, está a me concede uma informação em primeira mão. E se for o caso, não sei com que bases, mas não acho certo por várias razões. Tal como disse, as crianças em Luanda não têm o Kimbundu como primeira língua e cada uma tem a sua origem étnica.

Algumas até têm já certo conhecimento das línguas faladas nas regiões donde os seus progenitores são originários e outros, por outro lado, vieram para Luanda com já falando as suas línguas locais como primeira língua. Acredito que isto somente vai perturbar cada vez mais a sua aprendizagem.

Tão pouco. Ficaria muito satisfeito ver o meu filho aprender qualquer das línguas nacionais, com prioridade a minha própria, mas não aceitaria que se usasse como meio de ensino uma língua que não é do domínio dos meus filhos. Isto os levaria a fazer um esforço duplo. Aprender a língua e procurar assimilar a matéria ensinada numa língua por elas desconhecida. Isto até pode levar a frustração. A criança deve ser ensinada na sua primeira língua. Por isso, em minha opinião, qualquer língua nacional em Luanda deveria ser ensina como uma disciplina escolar e não ser usada como meio para transmissão de conhecimentos. Tal como já disse a principio.

Interview with TTSISD2

My point of view concerning, the insertion of national languages in the educational system has filled a gap that has existed for long. It is somehow later but it still fine. There used to be a huge gap, mainly in the hinterland, where children had to learn in a language they do not have a domain of. This led these children to make double effort: learn the language and learn the contents. This in turn led to a dispersion of attention and effort. As a result, there was a learning delay. Therefore, I think this project is welcome.

Frankly speaking, we have not had any participation in this process, though we have been making effort to be involved. First, we do not have any official document that involves or guides our institution in this matter. We have simply been ignored or may be marginalized is the better term. We try to contact INIDE for several times. Second, we have been showing the interest to be included in the process, given the mission of our institution, but it has all been in vain. Even before you came in, I was trying to call Mr Antonio Muhongo who is the responsible for this area at INIDE but it was not possible. We do not even know where INIDE finds teachers to implement this project. Anyway, we have been preparing ourselves. We have included national languages in our teacher training programmes. We are working in a tight collaboration with ISCED.

However, although we are a primary education teacher training institution, there is nothing that allows us to train teachers in this field, therefore, neither how to train them. We took the opportunity to use ISCED's initiative. They came to train trainers in our institution (teaching practice in Kimbundu, Kikongo and Umbundu), which had good adherence. We took the opportunity to ask for authorization to hire some trainers from ISCED's trainees. However, the Provincial Director of Education rejected our initiative and said that only Kimbundu could be taught in Luanda.

You are providing me with first hand information. If it is true that Kimbundu is a language of instruction in Luanda, I do not understand on which basis. As you said, children in Luanda do not have Kimbundu as their first language and they are not all from the same ethnic group. Some of them possess some knowledge of the languages of where their parents come from. On the other hand, there those who came to Luanda with a domain of their local languages as their first languages. I believe that this will hinder their learning even more.

I would be happy to see my child learn any of the national languages, with priority to my own. However, I would not accept that my children have as a medium of instruction a language they do not have a domain of. A child must be taught in their first language. So, in my view, any national language should be taught in Luanda as a school subject and not as a medium of instruction, as I said earlier.

This transcript has been slightly edited to leave out some repeated items and whatever seemed to be irrelevant to the study. However, its originality has been preserved.

Appendix X – Entrista com DALLSET1

Na minha opinião, a inserção das línguas nacionais no sistema do ensino é bem-vinda porque a língua nacional é um patrimônio cultural. Sendo patrimônio cultural, todo cidadão deve dominar a sua língua. Infelizmente, até ao momento, por parte do estado ainda não temos nenhuma luz verde, isto é um documento jurídico que determina a inserção das línguas nacionais no sistema do ensino.

A nível de Luanda só temos uma escola, duas escolas. No ano passado tivemos prácticas numa instituição privada. Não estatal, "Kuntwala" – é o centro de alfabetização Kuntwala, situa-se no município de Maianga, foi o primeiro centro que implementou as línguas nacionais na alfabetização, antes do governo. E este ano fizemos as prácticas na escola de Magistério Primário onde encontramos três línguas: nomeadamente o Kikongo, o Kimbundu e o Umbundu.

Este projecto se for uma realidade, nós como formadores de formadores temos uma missão nobre na formação da nossa juventude porque a nossa juventude aqui em Angola a nossa juventude só tem uma língua. A língua materna para nossa juventude é a língua portuguesa. Então, na aprendizagem das línguas nacionais, a juventude irá aprender as línguas nacionais como segunda língua.

Claro, até ao momento não temos conhecimento se o projecto está sendo pilotado, porque não temos ate ao momento nenhuma informação.

Por acaso não tenho nenhuma informação acerca disto. Que eu saiba, é só a escola de Magistério Primário, que duma forma experimental, começou a leccionar estas línguas nacionais dando aulas de línguas nacionais aos professores. Como uma cadeira, mas não é como professores destas línguas.

Até ao momento nunca tivemos contacto directo com o INIDE. Simplesmente, foi ano passado que eu como delegado da turma indiquei alguns elementos no sentido de contactar os elementos do INIDE, mas não tivemos nenhum resultado. Porque eu não sei até aqui.

Sobre esta informação, ultimamente, no final do ano acadêmico, nos foi informado pelo director da escola do Magistério Primário que segundo a informação do Director Provincial da Educação, a província de Luanda teria só uma língua, que é a língua Kimbundu porque a província de Luanda só se fala uma língua que é o Kimbundu. Mas no meu ponto de vista,

não acho isso claro porque a província de Luanda é capital. Os que residem aqui não são todos natos de Luanda. São elementos provenientes de várias províncias. Das 18 províncias do país. Para mim, considero errada essa ideia. Seriam todas as línguas nacionais porque Luanda não é só para os Kimbundu. Luanda é para todos os angolanos.

Eu não acho justo. Seria as línguas nacionais como língua de opção. Cada um escolheria a sua língua porque há alunos que os seus pais são provenientes doutras províncias, falam outras línguas, não falam o Kimbundu. Incutir (Impôr) um aluno a aprender a língua Kimbundu será muito difícil será muito difícil a sua aprendizagem.

Para mim seria o contrario. Mas como o estado é que determina tudo, só temos que aceitar. Mas fica difícil, eu como encarregado da educação, os meus filhos têm o português como primeira língua e os meus filhos irem aprender o Kimbundu e eu como pai nem sei falar o Kimbundu, fica muito difícil o meu filho aprender esta língua e dominar devidamente a língua Kimbundu ali o nível de aprendizagem não será assim óptimo. Haverá sempre problemas. O filho tem o português como a língua materna. Então aprender a língua (matéria) em Kimbundu, que nunca ouviu falar o Kimbundu, nem sabe como pronunciar a língua Kimbundu, ele vai aprendendo na escola, ao chegar em casa vai solicitar os pais: papá, eu aprendi esta palavra, o que significa esta palavra? O pai não entende a língua que o filho está a aprender. Fica muito difícil.

Interview with DALLSET1

In my view the insertion of national languages in the educational system is welcome because a national language is our cultural patrimony. Being cultural patrimony, every citizen should have a domain of their language. Unfortunately, there is not any green light from the state so far, I mean, no legal documents that allow the insertion of national languages in the educational system.

In Luanda we only have two schools. Last year we had our teaching practice in a private institution – "*Kuntwala*", which is an anti-illiteracy centre in the municipality of Maianga. This was the first institution to introduce the national languages in the anti-illeteracy campaign, even before the government. This year we are doing the teaching practice at Magistério Primário, in three languages, namely, Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu.

However, if this project is a reality, as trainers, we have a noble mission of training our youths. Angolan youths have only one language and their mother-tongue is Portuguese. Therefore, by learning national languages, they will have them as their second language.

We do not know whether the project (policy) is being piloted because we do not have any information, so far. What I only know is that Majistério Primário, in an experimental way, has introduced national languages classes as subjects for teachers, but not for them to teach these languages.

We have never had any contact with INIDE, so far. Last year, as class representative, I sent some students to contact INIDE's officers but we were not successful. Until now, I do not know why. In fact, last year, we were told by the director of Majistério Primário that according to the Provincial Director of Education, Kimbundu was the only language to be introduced in educational system in Luanda because of being the only language of the province. In my point of view I think this is not right. Luanda is the capital. Not every Luanda inhabitant is a native of Luanda. They come from 18 different provinces. Therefore, this is a wrong idea. It should be all the national languages because Luanda is not only for the Kimbundu but for all Angolans.

I do not think it is fair. National languages should be optional. Everyone should have a choice because there are pupils whose parents are from other provinces and speak other languages, and not Kimbundu. Imposing a language to a learner will make the learning difficult. For me it should be the contrary, but as it is the determination of the state, we only have to accept it. As a guardian, my children have Portuguese as their first language, and I do not speak Kimbundu as their father. It will make it difficult for my children to go to school and have Kimbundu as a medium of instruction. There will always be problems. The child will have to learn in a language he has never heard before and the father does not understand the language. It is very difficult.

This transcript has undergone slight editing to leave out what seem irrelevant to the study and avoid some repetitions. However, this process has not affected the originality of the interview.

Appendix Y– intrevista com DALLSET2

Acerca da inserção das línguas nacionais no sistema do ensino eu sou de opinião que isso faça sentido porque as línguas são nossas. Como é que se valorizam as outras línguas e as nossas não. Então elas devem ser mesmo inseridas. Não só no ensino médio, mas eu sou de opinião, por exemplo, no ensino primário, as crianças conheçam os elementos de base. O ISCED só formou ainda formadores, os formadores que iremos dar aulas nos INEs (Escolas de Formação de Professores). Mas até não temos muitos INEs aqui. Se inserirem nos INEs, muitos ainda vão ficar sem lugar.

Posso assim dizer, não temos dado tanta contribuição, não é por falta de vontade do nosso lado, mas que o estado não nos tem aproveitado como devia aproveitar. No ano passado alguns colegas nossos começaram a dar aulas no magistério Primário.

Não tenho ideia de nada porque não vejo nada. Como é que posso dizer, documentos há que dizem que o projecto está sendo implementado. Documentos! E na práctica?

Não. Porque se eles não conhecem o Kimbundu como é que todas as disciplinas serão ministradas em Kimbundu? Professor que dá aulas nestas escolas? Os nomes das escolas e estão mesmo a ser inseridas (dadas) as aulas. Todas as disciplinas ministradas em Kimbundu? (Kimbundu como língua de instrução não como língua a aprender. Não sei. Eu dou aulas no município do Rangel e vou tentar investigar.

Até concordo. Mas numa primeira fase acho que é impossível porque o povo de Luanda, as nossas crianças principalmente não conhecem o Kimbundu.

Eu acho que não é problema nenhum porque .., espera ai...eles,... dá-se aulas de todas as disciplinas em Kimbundu, mas não tendo em conta origem étnica. Mas é uma obrigatoriedade ou voluntariedade dos alunos. Das línguas de origem dos pais. Acho qu não é problema.

Prontos, constou-me, os meus dados não são tão reais porque eu não ouvi dele, ou não ouvi do André Soma, ouvi dum colega que dá aulas no Magistério Primário que segundo o Director do Magistério Primário, ele quis enquadrar já no sistema do ensino os professores, porque são professores que apenas colaboram nos privados, mas segundo me constou que André Soma dizia que havia de enquadrar somente os de Kimbundu porque estamos em

Luanda. Os de Umbundu na parte sul. Mas eu acho absurdo porque Angola é de Cabinda ao Cunene. Então eu acho absurdo e eu acho que há falta de vontade dos nossos dirigentes porque se já há professores como colaboradores e há necessidades da inserção das línguas nacionais no ensino, então o momento era oportuno.

Eles podem saber, mas é aquilo que eu disse, saber vagamente, ouvem dizer uma vez a outra. Sabem vagamente. Mas que se a publicação fosse constante e que mostrassem ao povo a importância, acredito que o povo teria interesse.

Muito obrigado pela sua contribuição!

Interview with DALLEST2

Concerning the insertion of national languages in the educational system, I think it makes sense because they languages are ours. How can we valorise others' languages and not our own languages? They must be inserted not only in secondary school. In my view, for example, in primary school children should know the basic elements. ISCED has only trained trainers, so far. We are expected to teach at teacher training schools, but until now there is no insertion at these schools.

We are not contributing in the process not because we are not willing to but because the state is not applying us as they should. Last year some of my colleagues went to teach at Majistério. However, I have no idea because I do not see anything. There are documents saying that the project (policy) is being implemented, and in practice?

How can children have all the subjects in Kimbundu if they do not speak Kimbundu? I do not know the name of the schools where Kimbundu is a language of instruction but as I am a teacher in Rangel I will try to find out. I would agree, but at the starting phase I think it is impossible because people in Luanda, mainly children, do not know Kimbundu. I think there is no problem because, ...hold on, they teach all the subject in Kimbundu but they do not take the ethnic origin into account, is it an obligation or pupils' will? What about their parents' origin languages? I think it is not a problem.

Though i do not have a credible source because I did not here from him (André Soma), I was told the Director of Majistério wanted to employ some teachers (trainees from ISCED) but André Soma (Provincial Director of Education in Luanda) said they could only employ those who speak Kimbundu because we were in Luanda. Those who speak Umbundu should go to the south (of the country). But I think this is absurd because Angola is form Cabinda to Cunene. Therefore, this is absurd because I think there is a lack of will of our leaders. If these people are already part-time teachers and there is a need to introduce the national languages in educational system, this was an opportune moment.

People may know vaguely about the policy. They may hear about it but not very often. If the information was widespread and people were shown the importance of the policy, I believe that they would be interested.

This transcript has been edited to leave out what seems irrelevant to the study. However, the originality of the information has been preserved.

Appendix Z - Entrevista – DALLSET3

Portanto é muito importante sermos professor de línguas e literaturas africanas porque isto vai permitir no futuro dar o nosso contributo no ensino das nossas línguas maternas, que é um problema antigo que até agora não tem sido resolvido, até ao momento que vamos tentar com a nossa ajuda e do governo ver qual a solução que podemos dar a esta questão.

Não, aqui em Luanda não tenho conhecimento. Não tenho conhecimento, mas sim, tenho conhecimento de algumas províncias. Por exemplo, a província do Huambo, província da Lunda sul, no Mbanza Kongo, e algumas províncias e Ndalatando, mas aqui em Luanda ainda não.

Consegui esta informação através do INIDE. Está a implementar o programa de experimentação das línguas nacionais que a generalização seria ano passado mas não foi possível, mas está em experimentação nestas províncias. É estranho sim porque também não tenho conhecimento aqui em Luanda. Se for assim ele não passou também esta informação a nós se passasse eu também teria o conhecimento que aqui também em Luanda está se implementar.

Ali já é um problema porque tem que se falar a língua nacional. A língua que a criança domina é que ele (é com que ela) deve iniciar a estudar. E deve aprender. Não pode ser o contrário, senão é um contraste.

É o contrário porque a princípio nós sabemos que a criança deve iniciar o seu estudo com a língua que ela domina. Pode ser a língua portuguesa ou pode ser uma das línguas nacionais. Não pode ser o contrário porque vai ser aquele processo que os nossos pais já tiveram, sair das casas sabiam falar a sua língua materna e chega na escola é só língua portuguesa, o professor só está a falar a língua portuguesa que ele não entende, mando-o ao quadro não consegue resolver nada e tratado como matumbo e burro, etc., etc. é o que vai acontecer nessas escolas também.

Deveria ser o seguinte, porque tem que fazer uma selecção e se saber que língua que a criança domina. As crianças que dominam as línguas maternas, as nossas línguas nacionais, então essas podem começar com as línguas nacionais. Aquelas que não dominam tem que ser o contrário, tem que iniciar com a língua portuguesa e posteriormente ela pode vir a aprender a língua nacional. Aprender na escola. Já ali é um processo como uma disciplina escolar.

Acho que a nossa contribuição ainda não é assim tanto, não é vista porque nós não temos sido contactados ainda a nenhuma instância que está nesse processo para podermos dar a nossa contribuição. Nem as escolas onde estão a dar as aulas, nem as direções ou instituições onde está a se trabalhar ou elaborar o material didáctico não estão a nos contactar para darmos a nossa contribuição e aqui a falta de um departamento concreto que poderia fazer ligação com essa instituição para poder resolver estes problemas.

Eu não sei onde é que eles foram buscar os professores. Eu penso que eles seleccionaram alguns professores das escolas primárias que são falantes, mas não têm o domínio da escrita das línguas maternas.

Eu practicamente não fiz as prácticas no Magistério, mas no Kuntwala. No Kuntwala que é aí no Prenda, onde tem duas turmas de línguas nacionais, uma de Kikongo e uma de Cokwe.

Interview with DALLSET3

It is very important to be a teacher of African languages and literature because this will allow to us to contribute in the teaching of our mother-tongues in the future, which is a very old problem that until now is not being solved. I know that the introduction of national languages has already begun in some provinces, for example Huambo, Lunda Sul, Mbanza Kongo and Ndalatando, but I do not know about Luanda. I got this information at INIDE. They are implementing the programme, experimenting the national languages, which should be generalized last year but it was not possible. However, it is being experimented in these provinces. It is really strange that I do not know about Luanda. If it is the case, he did not give me this information, if he had, I would have known about the implementation in Luanda, as well.

A child should be taught in a language that they have a domain of. This is the language for primary education. This language can be Portuguese or one of the national languages. It cannot be the contrary because this is the process that our parents have been through. They spoke their mother-tongues at home and they could only be taught in Portuguese at school. Teachers were speaking a language that pupils did not know. As a consequence, they were treated as non-civilized and stupid, etc. This is what will happen in these schools as well.

They should at least select and see which language the child speaks. Those who have a domain of our national languages as their mother-tongue are the ones who should start with national languages. Those who speak Portuguese, on the contrary, should start with Portuguese and learn a national language latter. This language should be taught as a school subject.

I do not think we are contributing that much. Our contribution is not seen because we have not been contacted by any institution where we could provide our contribution, so far. Neither at the schools where the languages are being used, nor the institutions that are designing the teaching materials have contacted us for our contribution. There is a lack of department at ISCED that should be connected to these institutions to solve these problems. I do not know where INIDE found the teachers. I think they selected some teachers who speak the languages from the schools, but they do not have a domain of writing in national languages.

This transcript has been edited to leave out whatever seemed irrelevant to the study and some possible repetitions. However, this process has preserved the originality of the interview.

Appendix A1 – Entrevista com DALLSET4

Temos informações que algumas línguas estão a ser ensinadas em algumas escolas, mas acho que o INIDE ou então o ministério da educação podiam rever, criar mecanismos suficientes para a inserção do ensino das línguas nacionais. Acho que era o momento de criar regulamentos, alguns documentos orientadores que pudessem guiar os professores na elaboração do material para o ensino das línguas nacionais.

Acretido que sim (não) porque nunca tivemos nenhum documento, eu pessoalmente por variadíssimas vezes já estive no INIDE, nunca recebi nenhum documento que orienta o ensino das mesmas línguas. O ensino das línguas é só falado, mas não temos dosificações, não temos nenhum material para ensinar as línguas nacionais.

Exactamente. Não temos programas, não temos conteúdos, não temos dosificações, não orientações. Só se fala de inserção. Há livros, mas para que o professor use esse livro, tinha que ter um guia, tinha que ter algo que lhe oriente. Isto tem acontecido com os professores de Língua Portuguesa, para além de materiais que é (são) os manuais, também têm guias orientadores que os possibilita ensinar o português.

O nosso curso de facto foi criado com este objectivo. Por isto é que antes já disse que estive no INIDE variadíssimas vezes falas com o senhor Chamuhongo, porque é o responsável desta inserção das línguas nacionais no ensino é porque nós temos trabalhado para auxiliar o governo, sobretudo o INIDE na criação destes documentos orientadores para a inserção desse ensino. Agora o nosso curso precisa também de alguma abertura. Porque nós muitas vezes queremos dar algum contributo, o próprio INIDE não dá assim facilidade para criação deste material. Eles dizem que já têm técnicos, mas estes técnicos, sabemos nós que estão formados apenas em língua portuguesa, não é na área do ensino das línguas nacionais.

Bom, até aqui não há nenhuma articulação. Nós é que temos procurado formas de poder nos enquadrar nestes departamentos, seja na Direcção Provincial da Educação como na Direcção Nacional do ensino, que é o INIDE. Mas, até aqui ainda não temos nenhuma correspondência, pese embora temos alguma aproximação, alguma afinidadezinha com os indivíduos que dirigem estas áreas, mas até aqui ainda não temos nenhum documento que nos facilita a penetração nestas direcções. Como amigos, não em termos laborais, com certeza.

Acho que o INIDE tem enquadrado ou retirado os mesmos professores que dão aulas na educação em algumas escolas, então eles adoptam estes professores, não é, com alguns seminários, isto aconteceu na Casa da Juventude, eu até assisti com os professores da Lunda Sul. São já professores que dão aulas, uns de matemática e outros em fim, então eles adoptam estes professores para esse sistema, não é porque o INIDE formou os professores para este efeito, não. Bom não sei se talvez este dado nunca me foi passado, mas acredito que isto não aconteceu.

Não. Nós fizemos prácticas no... aqui mesmo no Magistério. O Magistério dizia que há um documento que diz inserção do ensino, mas até aqui eles ainda não têm mecanismos suficientes de enquadrar os professores. Aqui no Magistério tem cadeira de língua Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, mas dizem que não têm orientação de poder enquadrar os professores.

Formar professores para dar aulas nas línguas nacionais. Sim. Porque o magistério também forma professores então, nós por meio de alguns conhecimento nesta área, transmitimos para que eles possam ser professores do ensino de línguas nacionais.

Agora se existem, bom acho que ele é que não nos informou. Mas nós estivemos no Magistério Primário, há informações de ser implementado ou ensinado a língua Kimbundu, nós temos um colega, Carvalho, está mesmo alí, mas está alí porque o instituto, ou seja o Departamento de Línguas e Literaturas do ISCED pediu para estar aí.

Bom, por enquanto não tenho informações do ensino primário. Não sei se existe alguma escola aqui em Luanda. Por isto é que eu disse não sei. Até o próprio Chamuhongo, em muitas vezes temos tido conversas, nunca nos informou destas quatro escolas, com a excepção de Centro Kuntwala não sabemos se estas quatro escolas em que áreas é que se localizam. São dados novos para nós e acredito que vamos procurar rapidamente nos informarmos junto ao (do) INIDE para ver como anda nessas escolas o ensino de línguas nacionais.

Não porque Luanda é um centro. Luanda onde estão os Cokwe, nasceram aqui, também têm os seus filhos, tem aqui os bakongo, tem aqui os umbumdu, então, inserção de Kimbundu em Luanda, estamos a cometer. O Kimbundu em via de experimentação se calhar seria no Kwanza Norte, ou então aqui no Bengo, não é, porque em Luanda, as crianças aqui não falam. O ensino de língua tem sido implementado para facilitar a transmissão, não é, para que este aluno não encontra dificuldade na assimilação que o professor esteja a ensinar, para

não levar duas tarefas: uma de aprender a língua, outra de ensinar (aprender) o conteúdo. Por esta razão o ministério da educação se calhar pensou na inserção de línguas nacionais para facilitar a transmissão de conhecimentos.

Agora, eu não vejo porque ensinarmos Kimbundu em Luanda já que essa criança tem como a língua materna portuguesa. Eu não sei porquê!. Porque vai encontrar dificuldades. Primeiro é que ele não vai saber o que é que o professor está a dizer. Segundo é que não vai compreender nada. Estas são dificuldades que o próprio ministério da educação esta a quere acabar nas áreas onde o português é falado com dificuldades ou mesmo deficiência. Agora, implementar essas línguas em Luanda, estaríamos a cometer erros. Os próprios professores encontrarão dificuldades. O INIDE precisa de algum conselho, se calhar. Essa língua como meio de instrução, no meu ponto de vista seria naquelas área, por exemplo no Kalumbu se calhar ou mesmo naquelas áreas mais próximas do Bengo, onde o Kimbundu é visto ou é falado no dia à dia. Em Viana, eu vivo em Viana. E não há nenhuma criança em Viana a falar Kimbundu. Como pegar esta criança e como meio de transmissão na escola a língua Kimbundu. Seria bom que governo pensasse melhor nessa implementação ou nessa inserção. Nas áreas onde se precisa inserção, isto sim. Nós precisamos, com certeza. Existem localidades que esse ensino, precisa e é urgente. Mas em Luanda, não vejo como e porque.

Aprender podiam bem aprender, mas não, primeiro aprendê-lo em casa, não é, porque as línguas, ou a inserção não tem sido para a aprendizagem da língua, mas sim para facilitar a transmissão de conhecimento. Agora, elas podem aprender falar língua, com certeza, porque nós somos africanos e como angolanos tem as línguas que caracteriza s nossa cultura. Elas devem aprender a língua, mas, não como língua, como a escola, por exemplo, isso vai ser como ensinar inglês como língua estrangeira, essas crianças se calhar estão a aprender Kimbundu como língua estrangeira.

Mas não na 1ª classe. Alí, Alí está se procurar dificultar o processo. A primeira classe, ou seja, para ensinar a língua Kimbundu em alguém, primeiro deve saber ler e escrever, não é, se é o caso de ensinar como segunda língua. Mas o processo, por isso é que eu disse precisa que o INIDE aclare o processo para saber se é ensino como segunda língua ou então como língua materna. Então, ensiná-lo na 1ª, esse aluno estará a aprendê-lo como uma língua estrangeira porque nunca ouviu falar e a língua materna deste é o português, então, ele deve começar a estudar o português.

Os meus filhos não falam Kimbundu. Eu nasci em Malanje, mas os meus filhos, ninguém, nenhuma delas fala Kimbundu. Então, os meus filhos vão para aprender, não é, o conhecimento. Não para aprender se calhar falar língua. Então, no meu ponto de vista, não estaria de acordo que os meus filhos estivessem nessa escola. O meu objectivo é ver o meu filho formado. Agora se começar com essa deficiência, primeiro fica atrapalhado a falar língua, depois para saber 1 + 1 então, se calhar estria eu o pai a mutilar o meu filho.

Interview with DALLSET4

We have been informed that some languages have been introduced in the educational system, but I think INIDE or the ministry of education should create the necessary mechanism to introduce the national languages in educational system. I think this was the moment that they should produce some regulations and guiding documents that should guide teacher to prepare their teaching materials. I believe there are not any guidelines. I have, personally, been to INIDE for several times but I have never received any document as guideline of how to teach these languages. They only talk about the teaching of languages, but there no dosage (of the contents), there is nothing concerning the teaching of national languages. There teachers books but before a teacher uses these books, they need something to guide them. For example, for Portuguese teachers, besides the books, they have guidelines that enable them to teach Portuguese.

In fact, our course was conceived with this objective (to support the implementation of the policy). Reason why, for several times, I have been to INIDE to talk to Mr Munhongo, who is the responsible for the introduction of national languages in the educational system, because we have been working to help the government, INIDE above all, to create the guidelines for the introduction of these languages in school system. What we need is to find the door open for us. What happens is that INIDE does not facilitate the process. They always say that they have already had their experts, but these experts, are know that they were trained to teach Portuguese only, not in the field of teaching national languages.

Well, so far there is no single articulation between the Provincial Directorate of Education, INIDE and our Department. We have been trying hard to establish a link with them but it has been in vain, although we have some kind of relationship with some of the individuals

in the leadership positions in these areas but they do not facilitate. Our relations are limited as friends, not in terms of work.

I think INIDE has been recruiting the teachers who teach in some schools and then adopt them after some seminars (training), as what happened at "Casa da Juventude". I attended this seminar with teachers from Lunda Sul. They were teachers of different subjects, like mathematics and others that were adopted. INIDE is not training teachers as specialized. We are doing our teaching practice at Majistério, not at these schools. We were told at Majistério that there is a document concerning the introduction of the languages in school system but there are not enough mechanisms (they are not allowed) to apply teachers, so far. There are three languages as subjects (Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu) in Majistério, but they say that they have not been permitted to hire teachers yet. However, we are training teachers to teach in national languages. Majistério is a teacher training school, so, on the basis of our knowledge in this field, we impart knowledge to enable them to teach in national languages.

Well, I do not have any information about primary schools. I do not know whether there are any schools implementing the policy in Luanda. I have talked to Muhongo himself for several times but he never told me about four schools in Luanda, except the "Centro Kuntwala". We do not know about these schools, neither where they are located. This is new data for us and we will try to contact INIDE rapidly to hear from them how the teaching of national languages is running in these schools.

I do not agree with Kimbundu as the only language in Luanda because Luanda is the centre (capital) where you can find the Cokwe, Bakongo, Umbundu who were born here and they have also have their children who were born here. Hence, by inserting Kimbundu only we are committing a mistake. Kimbundu should be experimented in Kwanza Norte or Bengo, not in Luanda, as children do not speak Kimbundu here. The teaching of languages is implemented to facilitate the transmission, so that the learner finds no difficulties to assimilate what the teacher is teaching, to avoid two simultaneous tasks: learning the language and learning the contents. This is why, I believe, the ministry of education thought of introducing the national languages in educational system. I do not understand the reasons why children who have Portuguese as their first language are to be taught in Kimbundu. This is what the ministry of education is trying to avoid: teaching children in a language they do not know. I think the government needs to reflect well on the implementation of this

policy. There are localities where mother-tongue instruction is urgently needed, not in Luanda. Pupils in Luanda should learn these languages as they learn foreign languages in schools.

In fact, there is a need for INIDE to clarify this process. They need to determine whether these languages are to be introduced as means of instruction or simple school subjects.

This transcript has been edited to leave out some details that seem to be irrelevant to the study. However, the originality of the information has been preserved.

Appendix B1 - Entrevista com DALLSET5

Acho bom porque acho que um governo tem que valorizar sempre a sua cultura e a cultura passa pelas línguas. Valorizando as línguas porque sem valor das línguas a cultura também é vazia, por mim, porque as línguas transportam consigo vários valores e que fazem com que também o desenvolvimento do próprio país passe por isso.

O nosso contributo consiste em incentivar principalmente os que criaram este departamento, incentivar e lidar pelos conselhos que eles têm nos dados para amanhã como professores, amanhã darmos a nossa força também para que os nossos valores não morrem por aí.

A nossa instituição qual é contributo que tem dado no INIDE ou no..., olha, tem dado duma forma assim tímida. Tem dado qualquer coisa poraquê o ano passado já o INE Marista já solicitou o ISCED para desse alguns professores para irem dar já aulas no INE. Então este é já uma das contribuições que nós vemos que afinal temos um princípio.

Esta ligação, não estou muito dentro disso acho que ultrapassei minhas capacidades.

Eu falo sim. Umbundu.

Em Kimbundu?! No ensino primário, há sim. Acho muito bom e olha não tenho informação disso. No ensino primário, não sabia. Mas acho muito bom, este um bom princípio porque eu acho que nós mesmo nas casas como encarregada da educação, a minha filha por exemplo tem perguntado quando vem família a gente conversa, ela diz mamã aquele tio estava aqui falaram inglês e eu disse não, não é inglês é a nossa língua.

Que não falam Kimbundu, as crianças são capazes. Não acho que alí não terá sucesso porque tinha que ir por parte. Primeiro a criança tinha que aprender a língua para depois então, depois de aprender a língua, assimilar bem a língua, pode aprender outra coisas nesta língua, porque assim acho que é impossível.

Não, não acho. Não acho. Porque não acho. Na minha opinião não, não acho. Luanda, Angola é um país de várias línguas, não acho justo tirar as crianças de casa para irem aprender só Kimbundu. Acho que devia haver uma opção de cada um, de cada encarregado da educação, neste caso.

Primeiro tem que aprender a minha. Olha senão ele vai esquecer a cultura da origem da família dele. Não concordo. É minha opinião. Isto é grave até. Então quer dizer que nós aqui as crianças todas vão aprender o Kimbundu e eu acho que isso é grave para o futuro. Da própria cultura porque isto é um mosaico cultural. São muitas línguas, são várias culturas e nós vamos aqui intoxicar todas as crianças com o Kimbundu? Não. Essa justificação é infundada. Deveria se incentivar todas e cada um escolhesse como se faz com no inglês e francês.

Interview with DALLSET5

I think it is a good idea to introduce our languages in the educational system because the government has to always valorise our culture and this implies our languages. This is because if languages do not have any value, so will the culture because languages transmit several values that lead to the development of the country.

The contribution that ISCED provides INIDE with can be considered as being in a timid way. However, something is being done. For example, last year, *INE Marista* (confused *Majistério Primário* with *INE Marista*) addressed a request to provide them with some teachers. This is the kind of contribution that tells us that we are making a good start.

I speak Umbundu, but I do not think that it is a good idea to teach children in Kimbundu that they do not speak. I do not think that they will not be successful. Hey should follow some stages. Children should learn the language first. Only after learning the language that they would be able to learn something in this language, otherwise it is impossible.

I do not think it is fair. In my view, it is not fair to teach children in Kimbundu only in Luanda. Angola is a multilingual country. I think there should be a choice. My child should learn my language first; otherwise he will forget the culture of my family origin. I do not accept. This is very serious for the future. In a cultural mosaic with many languages, why do we have to intoxicate all the children with Kimbundu? There is no justification. There should be incentivised to make a choice as they do with French and English.

This transcript has been slightly edited to leave out some details that are viewed as irrelevant to the study. However, the originality of the information provided by the interviewee has been preserved.

Appendix C1 – Entreviste com P/G13

Já, já ouvi falar.

No meu meio do trabalho porque eu trabalho como professora numa instituição do ensino superior, que inclusive tem um curso que abriu há pouco tempo, talvez três ou quatro anos sobre o ensino das línguas nacionais.

Eu acho que é um projecto ambicioso, é algo que já fazia falta tendo em conta que são as línguas nacionais, chamadas nacionais, que não são necessariamente nacionais, mas que são as línguas locais, e que se estão a perder porque as novas gerações não as sabem falar, mas que exige, tem uma série de constrangimentos que têm que ser resolvidos antes de serem implementados.

Eu acho que ele faz sentido em todo país. O problema é saber elaborar o projecto em condições, saber primeiro que línguas é que se vão ensinar, ter uma série de decisões e depois também preparar as pessoas para fazer isso, portanto, se nós queremos ter aulas duma certa língua, primeiro temos que formar os professores para tal, portanto é algo bastante ambicioso, faz falta mas te que ser muito bem pensado.

Não, eu não acho que faça sentido como meio de instrução porque feliz ou infelizmente a língua oficial é o português. Portanto parte-se de princípio que, pelo menos em Luanda, seja também já a língua primeira. Primeira língua, senão a língua materna dessas novas gerações. Portanto eu não acho que faça sentido que exista um sistema do ensino nessa língua nacional. Eu acho há muitas coisas que têm que ser vistas primeiro, que têm que ser decididas. Primeiro tem que se fazer um levantamento daquilo que é realmente necessário para depois conseguir se construir algo com cabeça, tronco e membros, o que não estar a ser feito. Até porque quem é que formou os professores que estão a dar essa cadeira, por exemplo, não é, além de que a política linguística é muito complexa? Que língua é que vamos dar?Se disser que vamos dar por regiões, talvez seja uma situação. Talvez, sendo em Luanda, talvez fosse ministrado o Kimbundu. Mas também ao mesmo tempo as outras pessoas que têm outra língua como materna que estão a ser obrigadas a aprender o Kimbundu. Eu acho que há muitas coisas que têm que ser revistas.

Eu acho que numa primeira fase elas teriam que ser introduzidas assim como estão introduzidas as línguas estrangeiras: o francês e o inglês. Não sendo línguas estrangeiras, mas para essas gerações especialmente em Luanda a língua materna delas é o português. É a

primeira língua e a língua que eles usam todos os dias. Portanto acho que a solução seria tê-las como, talvez com um estatuto mais privilegiado, mas com estatuto que têm as línguas estrangeiras e como elas são ministradas.

Com certeza que não estaria nesta escola. Estaria numa escola onde o meio de instrução é língua portuguesa e essa língua estaria assim como está o francês ou o inglês, por exemplo.

Interview with P/G13

I have heard about the introduction of national languages into the educational system at my working place, where a course has recently started to train teachers to teach in national languages. I think it is an ambitious project, something that has been lacking for long, bearing in mind that these are national languages, though not really, they are local languages, but are not being spoken by the new generations. However, this imposes several constraints that need to taken into consideration before the implementation.

I think this project makes sense all over the country. The problem lies in designing an appropriate project, to know which languages are to be taught, make a series of decisions and train people to carry out the task. If we need to teach a language we need to train teachers first. So, it is something ambitious but it needs to be well thought.

I do not think that it makes sense to have Kimbundu as a medium of instruction in Luanda because fortunately or unfortunately, the official language is Portuguese. The first view is that, at least in Luanda, the first language is Portuguese as well. It is the first language, and maybe the mother-tongue of new generations. Therefore, I do not see the sense of Kimbundu as the language of instruction. I think there are many decisions to be made. First, they should analyse and find out what it is really needed, and then come up with a well designed project. This is not what is being done. For example, who trained the teacher to deal with the subject? Besides this, language policy is a very complex issue. Which languages to teach? If they decide to do it in regions, which may be the case, Kimbundu could be taught in Luanda. But at the same time, there are other people whose mother-tongues are other languages being obliged to learn Kimbundu. I think they have to review many things.

I think at the first stage they should introduce the languages the way foreign languages (French and English) are introduced. Though not being foreign languages, for these generations, especially in Luanda, their mother-tongue is Portuguese. This is their first language and their everyday language. Therefore, I think the solution should be, perhaps with a more privileged status, but with the status that foreign languages have and teach them in the same way.

I would not allow my child to have classes in Kimbundu. She should study in a school where Portuguese is a language is instruction and these languages be taught as they do with French and English.

This transcript has been slightly edited to leave out some details that are viewed as irrelevant to the study. However, the originality of the information provided by the interviewee has been preserved.

Appendix D1 - Entrevista com P/G10

Já, já, já escutei isso. Na rádio e na televisão. Há três meses para cá que eu escutei na rádio e na televisão. Sim falo Kimbundu. Acho melhor. Vai, vai ter problemas porque não sabe falar bem o Kimbundu. Acho bom. Acho que é melhor ter uma... como é que eu posso dizer isto? (Aprender a língua primeiro? – o pesquisador) – sim aprender (então devia primeiro aprender a língua para depois ser ensinado? – o pesquisador) – sim, é isso.

Interview with P/G 10

I have heard about it on the radio and television. Ha heard it three months ago. I speak Kimbundu. I think it is good to teach our children in our language. He will have problems because he does not speak Kimbundu well, but I think it is good. But I think it is better to learn the language first.

This transcript has been edited to make sense of the information, due to the low Portuguese proficiency of the respondent. However, the originality of the information has been preserved.

Appendix E1 – Entrevista com P/G11

Não, não escutei nada. Não, isso já ouvi. Já ouvi. Ouvi mesmo aqui ontem no ISCED. Tinha uns moços estavam a falar ontem. Não, na televisão não ouvi nada. Eu acho que é boa coisa. É boa coisa para ele aprender mais coisas também. Ele se for um filho que coiso eu vou começar já lhe instruir em casa. Não. A menina, sim, mas o rapaz, não. Kimbundu mesmo. O nosso Kimbundu. Sim, sinto satisfeito. Quer dizer, ele um bocadinho vai dificultar porque ele não está habituado. Nunca falou. Nunca mostraram interesse para mim lhes ensinar. Pelo menos as duas meninas elas concordam a falar Kimbundu porque as vezes converso com elas assim no Kimbundu,mas o rapaz não me dá interesse. Estou, sim. Tou, tou.

Interview with P/G 11

I heard about it yesterday here at ISCED from two young people who were talking about it. I never heard this on television. I think it is a good idea. It is good for my sin to learn more things as well. I will be teaching my son at home. The boy does not speak Kimbundu but the girl does. I feel happy for our children to be taught in our language. It will be a little difficult because he is not used to. He never spoke. They never show interest to learn. But at least the two girls do not mind speaking Kimbundu because sometimes I talk with them, but not the boy.

This transcript has been edited to make sense of the information, due to the low Portuguese proficiency of the respondent. However, the originality of the information has been preserved.

Appendix F1 - Entrevista com P/G12

Não. Não, já se tenho ouvisto isso. Tenho ouvisto às vezes na rádio quando ficam assim os programa do Kimbundu quando ficam a falar, assim "Bulumuka", assim o Mário Fonseca quando fica muito a contar essas estórias para nos dizer que vai houver agora já várias palavras de Kimbundu. Falo. Kimbundu. Sinto satisfeito. Sinto-me satisfeita. Os meus filhos entendem o Kimbundu, mas falam muito pouco. Às vezes comigo como mãe. Eles lá quando vem aqui comigo perguntam: tia Mariana, eles ficam assim a escrever, tia Mariana essa palavra assim no Kimbundu falam como? Ele fala e eu traduzo e eles apontam. Sim. Devem mesmo.

Interview with P/G 12

I have already heard about it. I sometimes hear from a Kimbundu radio programme "*Balumuka*", when Mario Fonseca (the presenter) tells stories to tell us that there will be many words (lessons) in Kimbundu. I speak Kimbundu. I feel happy. My children understand Kimbundu but only speak a little. Sometimes they will learn with me as the mother. After school, If they ask me the meaning of a word in Kimbundu, I will translate for them and they note it down. They have to learn.

This transcript has been edited to make sense of the information, due to the low Portuguese proficiency of the respondent. However, the originality of the information has been preserved.

Appendix G1 – Entrevista com P/G14

Sim, sei. Eu mesmo própria mãe como eu mãe. Mas como eu sempre falos com ele no Kimbundu, depois, quando estou mandar uma coisa no Kimbundu, eles sabem entendem, mas para falar está lhes custar um bocadinho. Não falam. Mas quando mando no Kimbundu eles entendem. Não falam. Depois vou ter paciência de começar lhes ensinar. Ainda não falam. Mas entender, entendem. Não vão ter dificuldades porque já entendem um bocadidinho. Agora o falar é que está lhes custar bocadidinho. Eu acho para esse pergunta o professor, como eles já entendem, falar é que lhes custa, professor é que tem mais dar a experiência para ele. Sim fico porque aquele é nossa língua nacional. Português é mbora dos português. Só os colono vieram aqui nos ensinar esse a língua dele porque parece não entendiam nosso Kimbundu pronto começaram nos ensinar também língua português.

Interview with P/G 14

Yes, I know. Me as the mother, I talk to them in Kimbundu. When I ask then to do something in Kimbundu they understand, but speaking is difficult for them. They do not speak. I will be patient to teach them. They do not speak but they can understand. They will not have difficulties at school because they can understand a little. I think as they understand but they have problems in speaking, the teacher is the one to give them more experience. I am very happy because that is our language. Portuguese is a Portuguese language. Colonizers came to teach us their language because it seems like they did not understand our Kimbundu. So, they started teaching us Portuguese.

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Appendix H1 - Entrevista com P/G15

Sim, já, já, já ouvi. Pelo menos na rádio. Sim, por acaso fico. Eu como a mãe sei um pouco e então quero também que os filhos aprendem. Sim, nem, tenho como tenho três, tenho só um que entende outros os dois não entendem. Sim ....na meio com os outros ou acredito se já, como já acredito que o estado estabeleceu uma escola então se estiverem a estudar eu acredito, consoante o tempo vai aprendendo porque também nos lá em casa somos muito difícil falar com eles Kimbundu. Sim eu acredito que vai ser não vai ser difícil porque se for aula em Kimbundu então professor podem traduzir. Escrevendo em Kimbundu pode saber que essa letra é assim. Amanha, até quando terminarem as aulas, se for seis meses durante algum tempo ele pode vir a aprender e dizer que esta palavra em Kimbundu é assim. Porque nós também saímos assim. Aprendemos assim com os nossos avôs. Eu acredito que fica ainda um pouco complicado, mas enquanto o tempo vai aprendendo. Sim estou muito satisfeito. Se for assim estou muito grato.

Interview with P/G 15

I have heard on the radio, at least. Yes, in fact I feel happy. As their mother I know a little, so I want my children to learn also. I have three children. Only one understands Kimbundu the other two do not. I do believe that the state has prepared a school, they will learn with others as they study. They will be learning throughout the time, I believe, as it is difficult for us to speak Kimbundu with them at home. I believe it will be difficult because if the lesson is in Kimbundu the teacher can translate. They will start to understand the letters when write in Kimbundu. After some days, when the lessons finish, after six months they can learn and say some words in Kimbundu. We also came through the same process. We learnt with our grandparents. I believe that it is somehow complicated but they will learn throughout the time. I am very happy. I am grateful if it is so.

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Appendix I1 - Entrevista com P/G16

Sim, tenho entendido. Tenho ouvido Mário Fonseca diz sempre para ensinar os nossos filhos falar o Kimbundu. Sim. Sim, fico a gostar sim senhor. Para eles saberem falar dialectos dos nossos avôs e das mães deles. Para que não pode aprender português? Porque tem que aprender português e Kimbundu. E aqueles que não sabem? Vai ser, mas professor vai ensinando. Os meus filhos não falam Kimbundu. Eu falo Kimbundu, mas é assim arranhão. Não sei falar bem Kimbundu. Não. Vão aprender através do...quando assim tem uma mais velha a falar ou também talvez pode tiver alguém em casa a falar Kimbundu. É pa, vamos aprendendo devagar e bem. É pa, eu também em casa vão ensinando também bocadinho. Lhe fala também vai buscar prato no Kimbundu, vai buscar caneca no Kimbundu, vão aprendendo bocadinho bocadinho. É pa, eu não sei. Sim, sim, sim. Fico a gostar. Tem que aprender que é a nossa língua nacional.

Interview with P/G 16

I have heard Mário Fonseca (the Kimbundu radio programme presenter) saying that we should teach our children Kimbundu. I like it, in fact. This is for them to learn to speak their grandparents and their mothers' dialects. They have to learn Portuguese and Kimbundu. It will be difficult but the teacher will teach them. My children do not speak Kimbundu. I can speak, but not efficiently. They will learn when there is an old person talking or maybe someone speaking Kimbundu at home. We will be learning step by step. Even me at home I will be teaching them a little. I will tell them to bring a plate or a mug in Kimbundu, and they will be learning step by step. I like it. They have to learn our national language.

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Appendix J1 – Entrevista com PIT1

Sou professor há mais de dez anos e sempre leccionei disciplinas gerais. Os professores do ensino primário, como deve saber, lidam com todas as disciplinas.

Com certeza. Sou da origem Kimbundu e falo a língua razoavelmente. Não tenho grande domínio da língua como tal, mas já da para ensinar.

Aprendi no meio familiar. Os meus pais falavam e nos ensinavam a falar. Perdi aquela fluência que tinha por não pouco usar a língua, mas ainda falo. Quanto à escrita, estou a tentar melhorar agora que estou a trabalhar com a língua. Anteriormente era só falar. Como é de conhecimento, as nossas línguas são mais faladas que escritas.

A mudança é sempre algo difícil. Apesar da formação que tivemos, não tem sido fácil lidar com esta mudança. Existem várias razões. Vamos começar por olhar a situação dos nossos alunos. Quase que ninguém conhece a língua. Quer dizer, estou a lidar com os não falantes, mas não estou somente a lhes ensinar a língua. Eles aprendem a língua conforme vou lhes ensinando a matéria. São grandes dificuldades que às vezes ficamos todos parados. Se já com a língua que falam há grandes dificuldades, imagine como deve ser com esta que não conhecem. Mesmo eu como professor, não tenho aquele domínio como a que tenho do português. Apesar de existirem livros, mesmo já ao prepara as aulas, é um caso sério.

A minha experiência neste primeiro ano demonstra que não é fácil ensinar o aluno numa língua que ele não fala. Existem como disse antes, graves problemas tanto para ele como para o professor. Não sei se vale à pena continuar com isto. É extremamente difícil.

Muito pouco. Já terminamos o ano. Não tenho receio de dizer que em termo de aproveitamento escolar, este é o pior ano da minha vida como professor. Não foi grande coisa.

Sem receio digo que sim. Digo isto porque mesmo o nível de transmissão de conhecimento como professor baixou. Não é o mesmo que me é habitual quando trabalho com o português, não obstante existirem sempre problemas.

Sim. Talvez as crianças teriam aprendido mais se lhes fosse ensinado o Kimbundu como língua. Sinceramente, como língua de instrução é muito complicado. Até porque tinham também que criar gosto pela língua primeiro. É uma experiência muito dura tanto para nos

como para com os alunos. Espero que se mude este quadro e que se opte por ensinar a língua.

Não consegui detectar nenhum, por acaso. Para ser honesto. Entretanto, já antes fui abordado por alguém acerca disto. Não vou dizer quem é. E também não me disse de que tipo de erros se tratava. Tentei identificar no livro com que trabalhei mas não encontrei nenhum.

Foi tocar num outro lado do problema. Parecia eu ser culpado desta política quando tive que enfrentar os encarregados da educação sozinho porque a direcção da escola não está envolvida na implementação do projecto. O trabalho é coordenado pelo INIDE. A escola somente concedeu a turma para se pilotar o projecto. Entretanto, quando os encarregados aparecem a reclamar, é um caso sério. Há quem pergunta se quem autorizou que o seu filho tinha que ter aulas em língua que não é dele. Outros foram mais longe, questionando que futuro teriam os seus educandos a ter aulas nesta língua. Houve inclusive quem tirou o seu filho desta escola. Houve também quem pediu que o seu filho aprendesse o Kimbundu como língua. Isto estaria de acordo mas não ser ensinado em Kimbundu porque, primeiro, não é a sua língua. Logo, não lhe conseguia ajudar a fazer o seu trabalho de casa. Segundo, o filho só iria reprovar porque estava insatisfeito e não queria continuar a estudar porque não entendia nada na escola. Enfim, muita coisa foi reclamada.

Com toda minha sinceridade digo que reagiria conforme reagiram muitos dos encarregados. Não deixaria os meus filhos nesta condição. Muito mais agora que tenho a experiência própria da situação real. Acho muito bom que os nossos filhos tenham conhecimento de alguma língua falada no país. Muito melhor ainda se for a língua da sua origem. Mas ter serem ensinados em línguas, nacionais, e conforme estamos a fazer cá em Luanda, não aceito. Nem me queria colocar na pele dos encarregados que reclamaram não serem capazes de ajudar os filhos a fazer a tarefa por não falarem a língua com que os filhos estão a ser ensinados. É mesmo grave.

Interview with PIT1

I have been a teacher for more than ten years and I have always taught general subjects. Teachers in primary school, as you may know, deal with all the subjects. In fact I am from Kimbundu ethnic group and I can speak the language reasonably. I do not have a great domain as such, but enough to be a teacher. I learnt Kimbundu in the family environment. My parents used to speak and they taught us to speak. I lost the fluency I had because of not using the language, but I can still speak. Concerning writing, I am trying to improve now as I am working with the language. Before, it was just speaking. As you know, our languages are more spoken than written.

Change is always difficult. Though we had training, it has not been easy to deal with this change. There are several reasons. We can start looking at the situation of our pupils. Nearly no one knows the language. This means I am dealing with non-speakers but I am not only teaching the language. They learn the language while I am teaching them the contents of the subjects. The difficulties are really big that sometimes we all get stuck. I there are big difficulties with the language that they speak, imagine how it can be with the one they do not know. Even me as the teacher, I do not have the abilities that I have with teaching in Portuguese. Although there are books, it is a serious problem even while planning the lessons.

My experience in this first year shows that it is not easy to teach a pupil in a language that he does not speak. As I said, there are serious problems for both the pupil and the teacher. I do not know whether it is worth continuing with this. It is extremely difficult. I am not afraid to say that in terms of school achievement, this has been my worst year as a teacher. Very low and we have already ended the (school) year. It has not been a big deal. I am not afraid of saying that even my performance as a teacher has lowered. It is not the same as when I work with Portuguese, though there are always problems. I think the children would learn more if they were taught Kimbundu as a language. Honestly, as a medium of instruction is very complicated. They should even start liking the language first. It is a very tough experience for us as for the pupils. I hope they can change this reality and opt for teaching the language.

In fact, I could not detect any mistakes, to be honest. However, someone told me about this before. I do not want to say who it was. He did not tell me the kind of mistakes. I tried to identify in the book I used but I could not find any.

Parents' reactions are the other face of the problem. I seemed to be guilty for the policy as I had to face guardians alone because the school management is not involved in the implementation of the project. The work is coordinated by INIDE. The school only provided the class to pilot the project. When the guardians came to complain, it was a serious problem. There were those who asked who allowed they children to be taught in a language which is not their own, while others went further questioning the future their children being taught in this language would have. There were even those whose children stopped coming to this school. There were also those who said that they would agree if their children were taught Kimbundu as a language but not Kimbundu as a medium of instruction, because it was not their language. Therefore, they would never be able to help with their homework. Moreover, the child would fail simply because he was unhappy and did not want to continue studying because he could not understand anything at school. There were so many complaints.

Honestly speaking, as parent I would react in the way that many of the guardians reacted. I would not let my children in this condition. Much more now that I personally have the experience of the real situation. I think it is very for our children to know one of the languages spoken in the country. Much better if the language is of our own origin. But being taught in national languages the way we are doing in Luanda, I disagree. I did not even want to put myself in the position of those who complained that they were not able to help their children do their homework because they could not speak the language in which the children were being taught. This is really serious.

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Appendix K1: Entrevista com PIT2

Eu trabalho Já há bons anos. Qualquer coisa aproximada há 20 anos ou mais. Primeiro como professor primário, depois para o ensino do segundo e terceiro níveis, e agora volto para o ensino primário, mas como colaboração. Já que estou no ministério. Criei um interesse com o ensino de línguas nacionais e integrei-me no processo.

Tu sabes bem que eu sou Kimbundu. Nunca me viste a falar, mas eu falo. Posso mesmo dizer que falo bem. A nossa doença foi sempre a escrita. Nós não aprendemos a língua na escola. Os nossos pais somente falam. Nem eles sabem escrever. Diria que escrevo um Kimbundu um tanto quanto aportuguesado.

Não queria pensar nisto. Esta mudança me parece uma aventura. Há momentos que me pergunta em que situação me meti. Mas como profissional da educação, tenho sempre como ultrapassar as dificuldades.

A principio tive uma visão muito boa com a introdução das nossas línguas no sistema do ensino. Concebia a ideia como se as línguas fossem a ser ensinadas como se faz com as línguas estrangeiras no ensino secundário. Pensava dentro de mim que se iria cobrir uma lacuna e valorizar as nossas línguas. Quando iniciamos com a implementação, com toda experiência que vou adquiri no primeiro ano, criei uma imagem diferente. Não é isto que eu pessoalmente esperava. E até hoje continuo a questionar-me do porque darmos aulas em Kimbundu a crianças que não têm o Kimbundu com sua primeira língua. Espero que se repense nisto com os resultados obtidos. Não são nada muito animadores. Muitas reclamações.

Penso que esta pergunta foi já parcialmente respondida pela anterior. Muito pouco beneficio, meu amigo. Insisto em dizer que haveria bons benefícios no futuro destas crianças se aprendessem as nossas línguas como uma segunda língua. Como língua de ensino, não vamos longe.

Perfeitamente de acordo. É isto que acabei de assumir anteriormente e é isto que se esperava, pelo menos em Luanda.

Meu amigo, não me fala em dificuldades que eu quase desistia no meio do percurso. Havia todo tipo de dificuldades. Dentro e fora da sala de aulas. Prefiro não comentar sobre as dificuldades, apesar de ter já apontado várias.

Com toda sinceridade, não vou duvidar. Mas também não me ocorreu na cabeça a idéia de que haveria erros.

Existem reacções de descontentamento por parte de certos encarregados. Eles acham que apesar de estarem a viver em Luanda, os seus educandos deveriam primeiro aprender as suas próprias línguas, e não o Kimbundu. Talvez se um dia quisessem aumentar mais uma língua e pensassem em aprender o Kimbundu à escolha pessoal, mas não agora por imposição. Mas o pior de tudo é que as crianças não estão a aprender a língua. Estão a aprender em Kimbundu. Muitos pensam em tirar os seus filhos desta escola por discordarem com a situação.

Vestiria a camisola que outros encarregados vestiram. Isto sem dúvida.

Interview with PIT2

I have been working for many years, approximately 20 years or more. First, as a primary school teacher, then in junior secondary school, and I am now back to primary education, but as part-time, as I work for the ministry (of education). I created an interest in teaching in national languages and I integrated myself into the process. You know that I am Kimbundu. You never see me speaking but I do. I can even say that I speak well. Our sickness has always been writing. We did not learn the language at school. Our parents can only speak. They cannot write. I could say that my written Kimbundu is Portuguese-like.

I would not like to think about the change. It was like an adventure. There are times that I ask myself in which situation I have put myself through. However, as a professional in education, I always have how to overcome difficulties. At first I had a very good view of the introduction of our languages in the school system. I had the idea that the languages would be taught as foreign languages are taught in secondary education. I thought inside myself that we would fill in a gap and valorise our languages. When we started the implementation, with all the experience I acquired in the first year, I have created a different picture. It is not what I personally expected. Until now, I keep on asking myself why to teach children whose first language is not Kimbundu in Kimbundu. I hope the obtained results will help to rethink about the situation. They are not promising, too many complaints.

As I said earlier, it has not been beneficial. I insist saying that it would really be beneficial for the children's future if they had learnt our languages as second language. As a medium of instruction, we will not go further. Do not tell me about difficulties that I was nearly giving up before the end of the year. There were all types of difficulties, inside and outside the classroom. I would rather not comment on them, though I have already mentioned some. I will not doubt about the existence of mistakes, honestly speaking. However, i had no idea that they would be any.

There are reactions of discontentment from certain guardians. They think that although they live in Luanda, they children would first learn their own languages and not Kimbundu. Maybe one day they would want to learn one more language and they would think of learning Kimbundu, as a personal choice, but not as an imposition. But, the worst of all is that children are not learning the language. They are being taught in Kimbundu. Many of them have thought of taking their children to other schools because of disagreeing with what is happening.

As a guardian, I would have the same reactions, without any doubt.

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