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**Language planning  
in a plurilingual educational context**  
(African edition)

*Guidelines for language policy in schools*

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Translated from French by David R. Morris



**Centre International de Phonétique Appliquée - Mons**  
**Guide pratique Linguapax n°1**



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## FOREWORD

LINGUAPAX is a UNESCO project which is intended to promote the cultivation of peace through plurilingual education at all levels of schooling and through respect for language differences. The basic aim of the project is to find the appropriate linguistic solution to the problems raised by the search for peace, the defence of human rights and the development of a true education for democracy.

The means applied to the achievement of this aim are:

- a) Defining new education syllabuses for teaching foreign and mother languages based on tolerance, understanding and solidarity in respect of other nations, and
- b) Preparing courses which contain these objectives of international cooperation and solidarity in their very structures whilst eliminating all disparaging stereotypes and prejudices. Teacher-training and the writing of school text-books play a decisive role in this strategy.

*In the initial stages, **LINGUAPAX** will give priority to:*

- 1) **PREPARING**, at experimental level, new contents for language courses designed to provide pupils with an objective knowledge of the important elements in the daily life, culture, literature, folklore, customs and habits of the countries in which the languages concerned are spoken;
- 2) **HELPING** to integrate minority or secondary languages into plans for language planning within general guidelines appropriate to different situations existing in such member-states as have decided to take such steps;
- 3) **ENCOURAGING** the distribution of effective foreign and mother language courses which can reinforce peaceful cooperation between communities, peoples and nations,
- 4) **SECURING **LINGUAPAX**** in the cultivation of peace as part of UNESCO's efforts to develop a spirit of tolerance, defend human rights and educate for democracy;

- 5) PREPARING a linguistic map of the world for descriptive and functional purposes which would be kept up to date regularly and have as its purpose the maintenance and protection of living languages;
- 6) PROMOTING a multilingual culture by helping countries to review their language planning criteria and provide their educationists and teachers with the appropriate materials;
- 7) TAKING PART in the preparation of legal measures for language rights by changing the *Universal Declaration of Language Rights* (Barcelona Conference, 6th - 9th June 1996) into a reference text approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations;
- 8) INTERVENING as a priority in pre- and/or post-conflict situations;
- 9) TAKING INTO ACCOUNT the defence of minority or secondary languages in the context of foreign language planning;
- 10) HELPING teachers to exploit psycho-linguistic data to avoid having poor quality teaching leading to signs of rejection of the foreign language itself and then of the culture that it represents, which would be contrary to the spirit of **LINGUAPAX**;
- 11) TAKING INTO ACCOUNT language teaching theory, which postulates two specific teaching approaches depending on whether the methodology is to be applied to learning a foreign, or perfecting a mother, language;
- 12) EXTENDING the **LINGUAPAX** philosophy to the whole field of the social sciences in the education system;
- 13) LOOKING systematically for possible convergences and coordination at a theoretical and practical level in the teaching of a mother tongue and a foreign one, without violating the linguistic data of one or the other.

This *Guide\* to Language planning in a plurilingual educational context* is particularly intended to help with Actions N°s 2, 6 and 9, above. It summarises and reorganises the contents of an international seminar held at the University of Mons-Hainaut, Belgium, on the subject of "Problematics of the Introduction of National Languages in Primary Education in Africa". This seminar, chaired by the author of this booklet, was partly financed by UNESCO, by the A.C.C.T., the European Union and Confemen and brought together many representatives of African countries.

The Guide, on the basis of practical documentation tested by use and prepared by UNESCO, deals with linguistic regulation from a global perspective and reveals the elements of a linguistic solution to those conflicts that develop in the fertile soil of language and cultural intolerance. It specifies technical criteria which make it possible to give minority languages a total or partial status as teaching languages. It provides strategies by which teachers in charge of language teaching and the production of appropriate teaching material can be made aware of the problems and trained. Finally, it highlights the role of plurilingual teaching, which, at different levels of basic education and literacy training, can provide a driving force in favour of respect for human rights and children's rights, mutual understanding between peoples and the protection of specific cultures threatened with extinction or simply in a weak position in relation to the strongest ones.

Although it is particularly centred on Africa - which has a scarcely negligible experience in the field of language relationships - this Guide offers possibilities of transfer of methodology to other situations arising in different regions of the world where the question of the role played by native languages in formal education is becoming more and more important.

The "LINGUAPAX Practical Guides" series includes the following guides, the French versions of which are now being finalised. The English and Portuguese versions will follow as soon as possible:

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\* Translator's Note: The French-speaking world has adopted the expression "aménagement linguistique" which the author uses here to mean taking into consideration all the economic, social, administrative, legal, cultural, linguistic, educational and evaluation factors involved in applying a language policy. It is this concept which is here translated by "language planning".

1. *Guide to Language Regulation in a Plurilingual Educational Context.*
2. *Practical Guide to the Design and Production of School Text-books in Plurilingual Education Systems.*
3. *Practical Guide to the Teaching of Non-Mother Languages: a Psycho-Pedagogical Perspective Suitable for the Education Systems in Plurilingual African Countries.*
4. *Practical Guide for the Application of Convergent Theory for Teaching Mother and Non-Mother Languages.*
5. *Teacher's Guide to the Use of National African Languages in Bilingual School Systems.*

The last four guides mentioned are intended to be practical developments based on the first Guide on language planning.

All these books require a short explanatory and practical seminar with accompanying exercises for all agents and technicians concerned in order to be fully effective.

Particular thanks must be expressed to the A.C.C.T. for its moral and financial support for the publication of the series. It is thanks to this support that the "LINGUAPAX Practical Guides" can be published at the precise moment when LINGUAPAX, after its introduction in Europe, Australia, Asia and Latin America, is at last being introduced into Africa.

## **0. INTRODUCTION**

### ***0.1. Why use national languages?***

When an educationist seeks the right to use indigenous mother languages in primary school classes, his reasons are not necessarily political, ideological or even cultural. His choice is based on psycho-pedagogical requirements recently brought to the forefront by research into learning psychology.

There is no longer any doubt that the use of national languages will, over the next few years, be at the very heart of all the great educational reforms already planned nearly everywhere south of the Sahara. Once again, this near-unanimity is not a matter of chance, nor is it only due to a certain convergence of cultural policies; rather is it the result of a new pedagogical awareness brought about by the appearance of the new, scientific basis to educational theory and the clear influence of psychology as applied to education which has underlined the irreplaceable role played by mother languages in assuring continuity in the child's psychomotor, affective and cognitive development.

Furthermore, the use of indigenous languages is not necessarily to the detriment of languages which provide access to national or international cultures, and it is undeniable that African school systems are today heading towards institutionalised bilingualism in schools. "When a people reaches maturity", it has been said, "bilingualism is no longer seen as a defect. It is a step up on the ladder of values". Most African officials seem convinced of this truth, as can be seen by looking at the official instructions that are in force in the various countries that are open to linguistic reform.

It can indeed be easily upheld that what is good for the promotion of national languages in schools is good for the promotion of foreign languages. Psychologists have clearly shown that repressing the mother tongue in a child is extremely dangerous for the development of his cognitive faculties. Further normal development of his capacities of expression in the non-maternal language that he will have to learn later are hindered in this way. By denying the young African the possibility of using his own language in order to provide him with an instrument of communication which is still totally unusable at the beginning of his



school life, the school puts him in a situation in which he has no means of exteriorising his feelings or expressing his interests. By denying him his right to use his mother language, it neutralises him. Need we look any further for the reasons for the decline in the standard of French which teachers have noticed at all levels of education? This decline can no doubt be partly explained by the priority given to the ambitious aim of providing schooling for everyone, but is it not also due to more profound causes?

Is it not true that we have approached the teaching of the foreign language too soon, at a time when discrimination between concepts, which normally takes place with the support of the mother language, was being learnt? Can it not be said that the poor practical knowledge of French has been at the origin of a poor grasp of fundamentals thus representing a handicap to the development of mental operations? The child thinks, compares and evaluates, and he does it through his mother language because it represents his only possibility of actively verbalising. By imposing an inappropriate means of communication on him, have we not quite simply deprived him of the words and structures necessary for conceptualisation?

Of course, we know very well that verbal expression is not enough to provide the child with the corresponding concept because the structures defining the concept are rooted in activities and deeper sensori-motor mechanisms than language itself. Verbalisation is necessary, however, to complete these structures, and they consequently represent a necessary condition for any operational or logical abstract construction.

If we encourage the use of the mother language at school we will simultaneously satisfy that initial condition and offer the child the stabilising possibility of expressing his interests, needs and thoughts at all times. His thinking will thus become better defined, clearer and richer. The child will little by little learn to "get out of himself". His curiosity will be aroused for the different environments around him, he will shape and build himself up. It is in this context that the need for new means of expression and investigation, linked to the ever more specialised contents of the school syllabus, will be felt quickly and imperiously. Then the learning of a foreign language becomes appropriate, and because the necessity for it is felt, strong motivation will make it that much easier to learn with greater accuracy.

In this way, the mother language appears as a powerful ally, an excellent complement which may even speed up the learning of an international language of communication wherever functional bilingualism is installed in schools. This was indeed stated explicitly by the experts who met at the 9th. International Symposium on Second Languages (Tunis, 24th - 27th April 1967) when they expressed the wish that : "It should be recognised that, far from representing a brake, the study and understanding of African languages brings an irreplaceable positive contribution to the use of official languages".

Finally, in the pedagogical reality of the bilingual classroom, the teaching of mother languages acts as a springboard for the teaching of a foreign language. This interdependence in the teaching process - for in no way must the linguistic elements of either language be violated - naturally benefits the mother language which the pupils can read and write and it benefits the foreign language which is acquired more easily, more quickly and more completely; it also benefits the teacher who can teach more in less time and it benefits the pupil who is doubly enriched by being able to move without difficulty from one language to another.

### ***O.2. How to use the mother language at school***

Many education officials who are in favour of the use of national languages in schools, nevertheless hesitate to endorse the operation because they believe that it will get out of control, that it will suffer fatally from its very inception from the mistakes caused by improvisation and that it will be nothing more than a series of empirical actions of trial and error. This is quite untrue. Carrying out linguistic reform in primary education and in training institutions is already a well-known problem with guidelines that have been amply tried and tested in practice and analysis.

Practice has proved that, as a general rule, the more or less serious problems faced by officials whose task it is to prepare or apply a new language policy based on the use of national languages in a school context, are to be found in a certain number of actions to be undertaken which the national pedagogical institutes can coordinate and control on the technical level. Here, on the basis of data gathered from such experience in many African countries, are the outlines of an operational and flexible plan showing the precise tasks to be undertaken

if a country is about to start, or wishes to start, a programme of linguistic reform in schools.

The operational nature of this plan is to be found in the fact that it represents a means of intervening directly to set off, at the time and speed required, the different driving forces behind the reform. Its flexible nature comes from the fact that it is an adaptable working guide which can be periodically reviewed, e.g. at the end of each year, to take into account the constraints which may in particular be imposed by limited financial and human resources.

The main tasks and concrete measures to be carried out within such a reform process can be found around five principal axes:

1. The adoption and development of an experimental structure;
2. Action to sensitise officials and populations involved;
3. Steps to train reform officials;
4. Creation of structures for designing, producing, distributing and managing teaching aids;
5. Preparation of a legal, administrative, financial and technical framework.

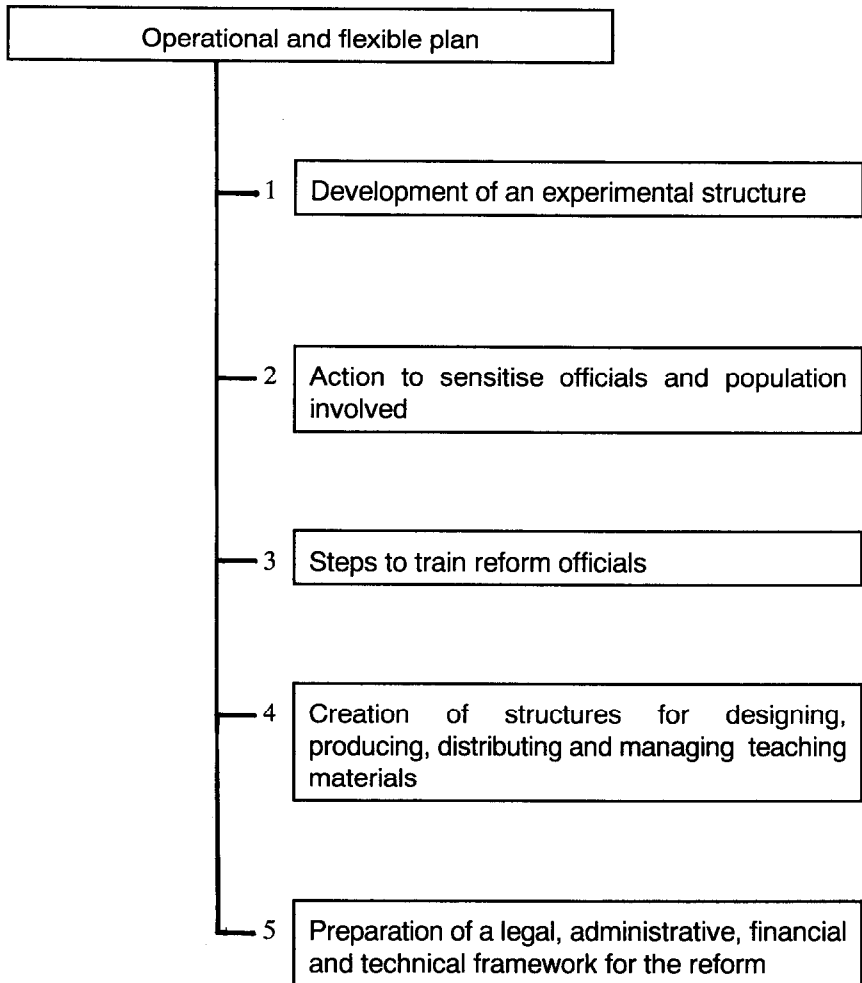
It should be recalled that these axes are not based on theory. They are the result of the lessons drawn from those failures and successes that have marked linguistic reform programmes carried out over more than forty years in Africa with the help of UNESCO.

We should like to stress the fact that there is no hierarchy, real or implied, in these tasks, since they are all essential and interdependent. The ideal solution would lie in their all being carried out and integrated progressively, but effectively, in the reform process. This requirement obviously raises the question of the control of the application of the process, which depends in particular on the number and quality of officials involved in each different task for its success.

The presentation of the methodology which lies behind the operational and flexible plan is necessarily a succinct one. Nevertheless, the reader will be able to find useful developments and extensions in the various pedagogical books and documents mentioned in the bibliography.

The existence of a credible set of guidelines is a powerful argument for obtaining the moral, political, financial and technical support which any linguistic reform needs, and when the deeper causes of failure in those few reforms which are now dead or dying are analysed in good faith, we inevitably find either that there was a total absence of a credible initial plan and a credible set of guidelines or that these were not respected. The capacity of national languages for use both as a vehicular language and as subject-matter is never in doubt.

***An operational and flexible plan for linguistic reform in schools.  
The main axes (the general outline)***



## 1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF GUIDELINES FOR THE EXPERIMENT

### ***A. General Presentation***

#### *Definition*

The guidelines for the experiment represent the scientific basis for any linguistic reform programme intended to introduce national languages into primary education. Such a programme carries its own conditions, procedures and postulates. The existence of a credible set of guidelines represents a real aid to the management and regulation of the reform undertaken.

#### *Objectives of the guidelines for the experiment*

- 1.1. To express clearly the initial linguistic and sociolinguistic hypotheses.
- 1.2. To identify parameters which depend on, or are independent of, the promoters of the programme and define the state of linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociological research.
- 1.3. To draw up a programme of actions which takes account of the different elements above. Actions in the programme should be:
  - a) Expressed in operational terms,
  - b) Tested,
  - c) Evaluated
  - d) Continually readjusted in the light of lessons drawn from testing and evaluation.

## ***B. The Guidelines for the Experiment: A General Outline***

1 1 Formulation of initial linguistic and sociolinguistic hypotheses	111	Clarification of <i>choice</i> of national languages of instruction
	112	Clarification of the <i>teaching status</i> of the national languages of instruction
1 2 Identification of parameters determined or not by the wishes of the planners	121	Clarification of the <i>pupil's</i> situation vis-à-vis the chosen languages of instruction
	122	Clarification of the <i>teacher's</i> situation
	123	Updating of applied <i>research</i>
1 3 Plan of action	131	Definition of the <i>methodological</i> framework for the experiment (choice of the experimental schools etc.)
	132	Definition of the <i>activities</i> to be carried out in this experiment (drawing up of experimental syllabi etc.)
	133	Finalisation of a <i>time-table</i> for the experiment
	134	Definition of the methodological framework for <i>evaluation</i>

### **C. Explanations concerning these different tasks**

#### *1.1. The formulation of initial linguistic and sociolinguistic hypotheses*

This means essentially defining:

- a) Which national language(s) will be chosen as language(s) of instruction (1.1.1.)
- b) The teaching status of this/these language(s) during the experimental phase (1.1.2.) In other words, which teaching functions will they be used for?

##### 1.1.1. The choice of national languages of instruction

In fact, it is always difficult to be categorical in this field. Only the experimental stage itself makes it possible to discover certain concrete data, and there have been many examples where the initial choices have been called into question, if not invalidated, as a result of new sociological, linguistic or pedagogical situations arising during the experimental phase. Finally, one can never eliminate the possibility of a change in orientation according to new political or ideological choices. It is indeed the expert's job to provide the authorities with technical elements with which to make the final choices because it is up to them to weigh up all the criteria, produce a value judgement and make the final choice, i.e. legislate on the subject.

The criteria of selection suggested by the technicians are based on the analysis of factors of which the most obvious ones are as follows:

##### \* Relative number of speakers of the language

The relative number of speakers and the international character of a particular language are, in principle, arguments in its favour. Taking these factors into account is to make the national language of instruction correspond to the mother language or most commonly used one of the school-age population. Now, it is precisely the language status of children of school age which must be the prime concern of educationists and officials who wish to consider the child - rather than the language itself - as the point of departure and of arrival for all operations.



\* Relatively few dialectal phenomena

Applied research into the usage of a new language of instruction must make a synchronic study of it as well as of all its dialectal variations. It is indeed necessary to identify and list the areas of common usage and intercomprehension (isoglossia) within the group concerned, so as to be able to codify a standard language, usable pedagogically. From this point of view, a language with many dialectal variations would appear to be handicapped compared with a more uniform language. It is indeed generally considered that the existence of a single dominant dialectal form is a favourable factor, on two conditions:

- a) That it be enriched by variations found in other recognised forms and
- b) That it be acceptable, sociologically, to the speakers of the minority dialects.

\* A degree of affinity with neighbouring languages

This means particularly linguistic affinities, of a structural, lexical, phonetic etc., nature. Secondly, it is important to take socio-cultural affinities into account. When languages with no family relationships between them are involved, sociological and cultural criteria of acceptability must be taken into account: it is essential that a population should feel able to accept to have its children educated in another language than their own. This is a reference to the concept of "language power", according to which all languages do not possess the same power of attraction for speakers of another language. Language power does not depend on intrinsic linguistic factors, but on the functions a language occupies and the status it claims within a national community from an economic, sociological and cultural point of view. Finally, pedagogical criteria should be taken into consideration; the fact of a language already being used as a language of instruction in a neighbouring country or as part of national literacy campaigns naturally represents a favourable factor and a considerable advantage.

\* Amount of resources available

Promoting a national language to the rank of language of instruction is an undertaking which requires considerable prior research and continuing research during the process itself. This is an interdisciplinary operation in which not only linguists but also historians, ethnologists, sociologists, educationists etc. must take part. Finally, it is necessary to take into account the availability of resources in terms of numbers of teachers and future teachers who speak the language concerned. When all these factors are seriously taken into account, they can facilitate enormously the passage from the research stage into the practical application of the reform in schools.

\* Size of the didactic coefficient.

This coefficient is measured in terms of the number of analyses and descriptions available to help in the preparation of teaching materials and in terms of the quality of teaching materials already in existence. The requirements and the scientific criteria of applied linguistic research must absolutely be reconciled with pedagogical ones. That is the essential condition to be able to produce appropriate teaching materials which can be used at once and exploited by the teachers. Often, however, the results of linguistic research are not formulated in such a way as to be immediately applicable in schools, because:

- 1°). The new language of instruction has not been studied scientifically;
- 2°). The new language has been studied more or less scientifically: this usually means old, empirical descriptions which, as they stand, cannot be used for the preparation of effective teaching material;
- 3°). The new language of instruction has been studied scientifically but incompletely: this is still the typical situation of a large number of African languages;
- 4°). The new language of instruction has been the subject of some more or less satisfactory research: this usually means University-type studies (dissertations, theses etc.) with little attention to psychopedagogical needs;
- 5°). The new language of instruction has been studied sufficiently scientifically for it to fulfill all the requirements of a totally functional language of instruction. This is the situation which is most favourable for the educationist, but unfortunately it is not the commonest one. Of course, all the intermediate stages are possible.

All these different factors must be taken into consideration together when making the final choice of a language of instruction. They will help the decision-makers and officials to organise the useful data to clarify the problems arising from the choice of a language of instruction. The practitioner can not go very far in making a preparatory analysis: it is up to the political authorities in the end to weigh up all the criteria that they find relevant and to make the final decision.

*1.2. Identification of the parameters determined or not determined by the wishes of the planners*

1.2.1. Elucidation of the pupil's language situation in regard to the teaching languages chosen.

It can be seen that in a certain number of situations, the national language of instruction offered to the child is not always the child's mother language or the one he uses most commonly. Hence the need to define the child's language situation in relation to that national teaching language. His situation is one of the parameters which are not directly controlled by, and are independent of the will of, those in charge of the reform process.

The child-language situation can be analysed easily in the following way:

- a) The mother language of the child, i.e. the one acquired first = M Lg;
- b) The national language of instruction = N Lg.

During the experimental stage of the reform, the following situations may arise:

I.  $N Lg = M Lg$ .

II.  $N Lg \neq M Lg$

- II.1.  $N Lg > M Lg$
- II.2.  $N Lg = M Lg$
- II.3.  $N Lg < M Lg$
- II.4.  $N Lg = O$

I. If the language of instruction is the child's mother language, this obviously represents the most favourable situation for the learner from the cognitive, affective and cultural points of view.

II. If the child's mother language is not the same as the language of instruction, then his teachers will be faced with one of four different teaching situations depending on the degree of knowledge and mastery of that language by the pupil.

II.1. The child has a closer relationship with the language of instruction than with his mother language: in general terms, this may be described as a relationship of total bilingualism.

II.2. The language of instruction and the mother language are used with equal spontaneity by the child: in general terms, this may be described as a relationship of complementary bilingualism.

II.3. The child has a very tenuous relationship with the language of instruction. He uses his mother language most of the time: in general terms, this may be described as a relationship of occasional bilingualism.

II.4. The national language of instruction is unknown to the pupil who only uses his mother language: in general terms, this may be described as a monolingual relationship.

All of these situations may be found within the same school and even within the same classroom, hence the need for a very precise awareness of the situation within the experimental schools of the language area considered - and even within traditional schools which will one day undergo reform - in order to work out and apply effective remedies to such pedagogically intolerable situations as may arise. Not to do so would mean accepting the idea that some pupils will be at a disadvantage compared with others, and would imply reinforcing inequality before knowledge rather than combating it.

#### 1.2.2. Elucidation of the teacher's situation.

The teacher's situation vis-à-vis the national language(s) of instruction is usually known, at least during the experimental phase, but this situation must be made clear at the national level to prepare for those problems which generalisation of the process is bound to throw up. As was the case for the pupils, this means on-the-field investigation.

Teacher-training institutions play a determining role in collecting information on this subject. Each year of entry into such establishments by future teachers shows very different language situations since they represent a sort of reflection of the national cultural and linguistic evolution.

The language situation of teachers and future teachers vis-à-vis the indigenous languages must be determined and taken into account by those responsible for initial training, to enable rational appointments to be made when the educational reform has been extended to cover the whole of the country.

1.2.3. Take stock of the state of linguistic research as applied to national languages from a teaching point of view.

The purpose here is to provide a national language of instruction as quickly as possible with a high usage coefficient in those cases, of course, where this coefficient is temporarily too low to fulfill with the greatest efficacy all the teaching functions it will eventually have to perform.

The first stage is to define the state of need each of the languages considered is in, so that, on the basis of objective data, it can be brought up to date or enriched and specific measures can be taken to progressively eliminate any gaps or shortfalls which have been noticed. The various typical situations which can be found have been briefly described in 1.1.1. above.

Finally, it is important to stress the role which teacher-training institutions can play in the following tasks:

- a) Collecting missing data concerning the new teaching language;
- b) Exploiting this data in order to identify and codify the teaching language;
- c) Adapting the language and modernising it so that it can be used as a sole language of instruction.

Of course, such technical tasks go beyond the normal scope of teacher-training institutions' activities. Hence the need to carry them out with the help of national linguistics institutions under the aegis of qualified experts.

### *1.3. The plan of action*

Based on the different elements mentioned above ([1.1.] and [1.2.]), the plan of action should offer an experimental process with a definition of each stage, its length and the means of evaluating its results. It must provide:

- 1.3.1. A definition of the methodological framework for the experiment (type, rate of expansion, field of experimentation, criteria for the choice of experimental schools etc.);

1.3.2. A definition of the activities which are implied by the application of this methodological framework (preparation of experimental syllabi, evaluation of the process etc.);

1.3.3. A time-table for the experiment and closing dates taking into account parameters which depend on, or are independent of, the will of the organisers of the reform;

1.3.4. A definition of the methodological framework for the evaluation (who has done what, why, how, when and with what result?).

In so far as the preparation of a plan of action at all times depends on concrete data inherent in each specific national situation, it would seem difficult to give systematic details for each of the different points we have raised. One, however, is always worthy of serious attention, and that is the choice of the schools for the experiment in the introduction of national languages into schools.

Let us now develop the above points:

1.3.1. The methodological framework for the experiment: criteria for the choice of experimental schools.

The choice of schools is a determining factor in the success of the experimental phase and, therefore, for the future of linguistic reform. The whole future of the reform can be put in jeopardy by an empirical choice or one left to chance and open to criticism by people involved. Some relevant and meaningful indications are always present and should be taken into account when the decision is taken.

The definition of criteria of selection of classes (or schools) for the experiment is based on an alternative of which the two poles are more or less mutually exclusive. Those responsible for the selection must nevertheless weigh up the different criteria, reconcile the apparently irreconcilable and offer a choice which incorporates the essential requirements:

a) The first pole of the alternative is to select schools on the basis of their enjoying optimal conditions, the choice of such schools being made deliberately and systematically to undertake the operation of language reform in the best conditions even if such favourable conditions are not to be found in the countries' schools as a whole.

- b) The second pole of the alternative is to choose the experimental classes in schools which are largely representative of the "average" with which the vast majority of the nation's schools can identify.

Here briefly are the criteria which determine each of these alternatives:

1.3.1.1. Selecting schools for the experiment because they seem to have the criteria for success; the relevant criteria are usually as follows:

*Sensitisation and participation of the people involved*

The experimental school is situated in an area whose population has been made aware of the problem and is in agreement with the project. A positive participatory attitude on the part of the population is fundamental to the success of the project. Without it, the experiment will rapidly degenerate and conflicts will become open hostility, making it impossible to go on with the experiment.

*Linguistic homogeneity*

The experimental school is situated in a homogenous language area. Naturally, the experiment itself offers enough difficulties without adding unnecessary variables thus rendering the task even more difficult.

If language heterogeneity is a predominant factor within a school administrative area, appropriate methodologies should be tested separately according to the different situations where  $N \text{ Lg} = M \text{ Lg}$  and  $N \text{ Lg} \neq M \text{ Lg}$ .

From a methodological point of view, mixing these two basic situations in a single experimental unit makes it impossible to get reliable results because the principle of equal chances for each pupil is not respected.

### *Favourable environment*

The experimental school must have playgrounds and a source of water and be near a dispensary.

The introduction of national languages into national education systems is almost always part of a broader reform aimed at making other innovations which often include the practice of productive work and making the link between education and productivity. If the experiment is kept separate from each of these components, it will upset the dynamics of the operation. The reform process as a whole must be applied to the same child, the same teacher and the same school system.

Agricultural work makes the proximity of a source of water indispensable. Productive work can lead to accidents, especially at primary level where children who are not yet used to handling tools have to use tools which are often designed for adults. The proximity of a dispensary in such circumstances represents a guarantee of safety for the pupils, the teachers and the parents.

### *A representative choice of schools from the country's network*

Experimental schools should be situated in each of the different types of sociological environment in the country: urban areas, semi-urban ones and in villages.

It is important, in order to stress the national, egalitarian nature of the reform, to spread pilot schools around so that all the socio-cultural strata of the country are directly involved in the process. No level of society, as is often the case in rural areas, should feel that they are "paying the price" of being experimented on while more favoured children from the urban classes escape.

### *Optimal number of pupils per class*

Experimental school classes should not be over-populated. There are so many (material and administrative) obstacles to the creation of new schools that it would seem more realistic to convert traditional schools already in existence and operational and not handicapped by over-populated classrooms.



Respect for restrictions on intake originally decided on by the organisers of the reform is essential. If numbers become too large, the results will become unreliable: even if the methodological approach is adapted and even if the national languages of instruction have achieved the best pedagogical coefficient, the conditions in which the method is applied will be such that many pupils will be left aside and will not be able to participate in classroom activities. And results will necessarily be affected. In addition, the teacher will have to face many new tasks in such classes which require extra work, since a new language of instruction is being introduced into the time-table: any discouragement or demotivation of the teacher must be avoided.

### *Easy accessibility of experimental schools*

Experimental schools must be easily accessible in all seasons if the experiment is to be followed closely, directed, modified where necessary and evaluated.

Other selection criteria have also been fixed for choosing experimental schools. For example, we may consider schools whose staff and headmaster are particularly well qualified professionally, those whose classrooms are particularly well-designed and in good condition, those which have a canteen, those which are in an area where there is a centre for nursery education or a national language literacy centre for adults etc. Respect for these different criteria are part of the desire to deliberately provide the experiment with optimal conditions and be sure from the start that it has every chance of success.

#### 1.3.1.2. A selection of experimental schools representative of the "average" ones

The other alternative lies in selecting schools for the experiment on the basis of a representative sample from the "national average". At first sight, this aspect may appear more pragmatic than that of systematically favouring experimental schools to the extent of turning them into the most privileged ones. This is not really the case. It is a different kind of pragmatism which accepts that an initial "boost" is necessary. The experience of many African countries has shown clearly that teachers lose their enthusiasm and progressively give up the effort

when faced with the multifarious difficulties that await them when they are affected to an experimental school.

If this second option is chosen, the average profile required has to be defined. A series of methodological principles must be respected to be sure of getting a representative sample. Have to be taken into account:

- a). The composition of the teaching staff and the proportion of men to women within it;
- b). The level of training of the teachers, according to the same principle;
- c). The age levels of the teachers (between 20 and 30, 30 and 40, etc.);
- d). The rural or urban nature of the site of the school;
- e). The proportion of over-populated classes to normal sized ones.

All these criteria must be taken into consideration when composing the sample, but other relevant factors may also be considered, depending on the situation in the country as a whole, e.g. material difficulties, sanitary conditions, etc. Calculations of proportion to national standards must be made for all of these parameters.

It is generally considered that 25 classes per year of schooling represent a credible sample, as long as they are really representative of the required average profile, of course. Experience tends to show that experimental classes should automatically be given the best possible conditions and that those chosen should start out with the best possible chances of success. Apart from the fact that the new schools have to suffer all the teething problems, the idea that it is experimental has to be accepted as well as the fact that, at that stage, which is always delicate and fragile, all dangers of failure or withdrawal must be reduced to a minimum.

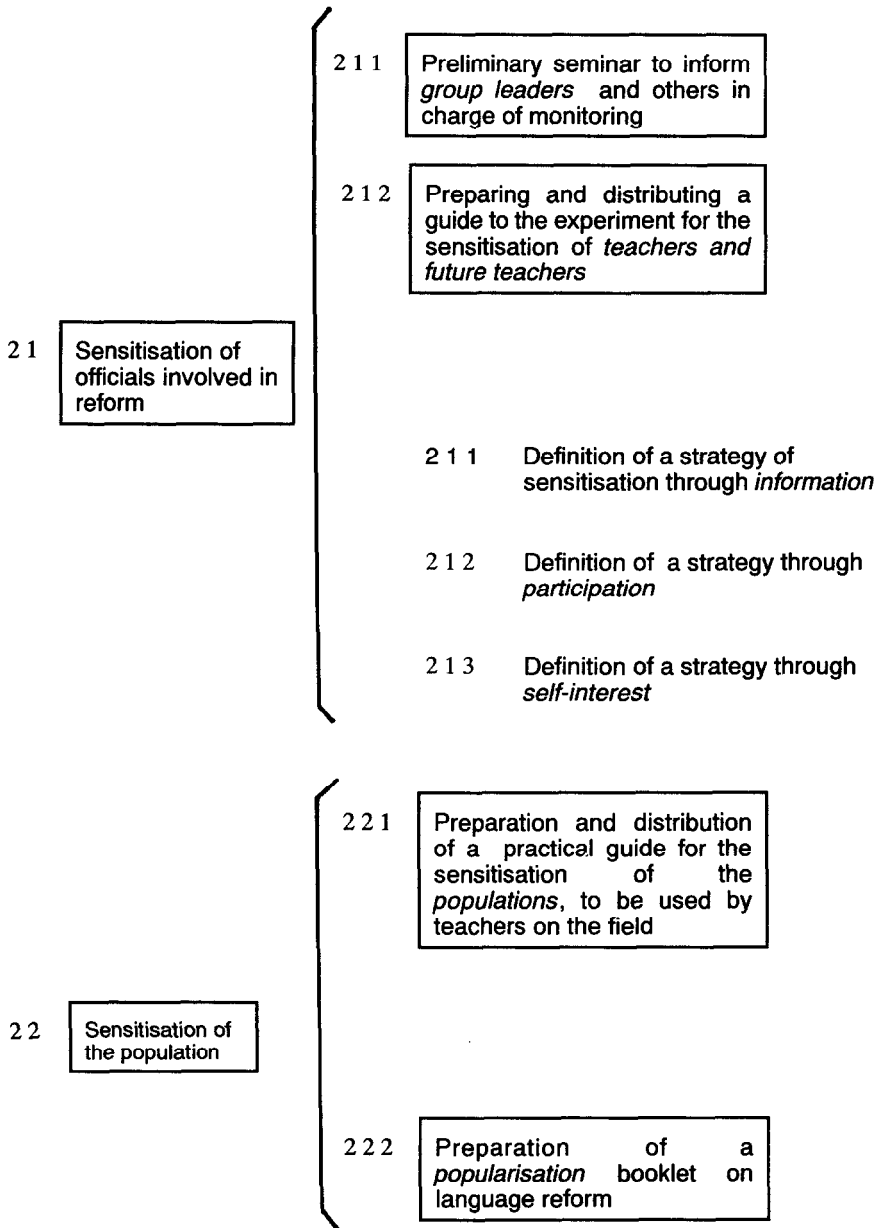
Many people are still sceptical as to whether national languages can be used effectively in the same way as Western languages. There is therefore a danger of compromising the use of national languages in a school context for many years to come if one tries to go too quickly without showing necessary caution.

## **2. THE SENSITISATION OF OFFICIALS AND POPULATIONS INVOLVED IN THE REFORM**

### ***A. General Outline***

Experience shows that no language reform programme - however great its own particular intrinsic value and consistency may be - can succeed without full participation and acceptance by the teachers, administrative and pedagogical bodies and the pupils' parents. Such reform is a process of national proportions on which the future and the development of the country depend. That is why it is essential for all levels of society to be informed about the aims of the reform and the effects that are expected of it in the process of national development as a whole. Insufficient, or even totally absent, initial and continuous sensitisation can almost always be found amongst the causes of failure noted in any analysis of a dead or dying language reform programme.

**B. The Sensitisation of Officials and Populations Involved: The General Outline**



## **C. Explanations concerning these different tasks**

### *2.1. The sensitisation of officials involved in the reform*

It is sometimes thought that the officials engaged in the reform are motivated by the simple fact of being teachers and that it is their de facto job to carry out the language aspects of that reform in the field. That is a mistake which has been demonstrated many times by experience: instructions can perfectly well be carried out mechanically and a job done without believing in it. It is also sometimes believed that training these officials technically can play the role of sensitisation. This is true to a certain extent, but only insofar as that training is designed to be an effective and responsible participation in the jobs of linguistic, psycho-pedagogical and didactic research then being undertaken. In any case, it is necessary to be honest and prudent enough to enquire objectively of the present and future teachers about the needs they feel concerning information and sensitisation. The results of such an enquiry often shakes up many fixed ideas and cannot leave officials indifferent: in every case, such enquiries show that everything related to teacher-sensitisation springs from a major, ever-present problem.

#### **2.1.1. A strategy for sensitisation**

A series of enquiries held amongst 800 teachers and trainee teachers shows that needs in the fields of information and training centre around five main axes<sup>1</sup>. The results of these enquiries are summarised below. They show how fundamental these "preliminary" questions are for teachers. The naïve, not to say elementary, nature of the questions raised will come as no surprise to anyone who has any experience of work in the field with the teachers.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Langues nationales et formation des maitres. Guide méthodologique pour la formation*, Guides N°S 2 and 3, "Études et Documents d'Éducation" (F and E).

1st Question	Why teach in our national languages?
2nd Question	Why use our national languages as subject-matter (grammar, vocabulary, diction etc.)?
3rd Question	Are our African languages sufficiently rich and effective to be used profitably as teaching languages and as subjects?
4th Question	Is it correct to speak of African languages rather than dialects?
5th Question	what exactly will be our role in the process of promoting national languages? (We are teachers, not linguists).

Such enquiries bring out many other questions which worry the teachers, including the problem of national unity: will ethnic divisions not be exacerbated if the country is divided into language areas? What will happen to minority languages, or what about the difficulties faced by a child whose education takes place in several different national languages because his parents are sent to work in different parts of the country, etc.?

Each of these questions must get as clear a reply as possible. It is well-known, however, that the best lectures have little impact if their content is not re-discussed and used in practical activities. Each theoretical argument must therefore be explained and made real through accompanying exercises suitable for the specific national situations.

A theoretical answer, for example, can be given to Question 4 above. It is indeed quite legitimate to speak of African languages rather than dialects for scientific, historical and practical reasons. However, it must be proved to teachers by concrete examples that African languages are richer, more precise, more "pedagogical" than foreign languages for expressing the reality of the African environment and exploiting them in the classroom. To do so, the teachers must be

involved in the research process, whilst still making sure that the results of the research are reinvested in the daily teaching experience.

On this subject, it is interesting to refer to an example borrowed from the Fulfulde language. In that language, the name given to cows and oxen depends on the different colours of each of these animals, giving rise to more than 4,000 expressions! The variety of cases noted, the rigour of the distinctions made and their precision are such that this theme used there makes it possible to provide convincing exploitations, in Fulfulde, in arithmetic, mathematics, vocabulary, the natural sciences, language, etc. It is easy to see that a lesson of observation on the theme of cattle-raising or herds given in English would seem particularly poor to Peul pupils!

Teachers should be asked to research into and develop teaching exploitations on the basis of situations similar to the example above. Subjects might include: handicraft techniques, family relationships, agricultural techniques etc. In each case, it will be possible to demonstrate that local languages are more suitable than foreign languages - be they European or African - to express the reality of the environment and exploit it efficiently in the classroom.

### 2.1.2. A strategy for sensitisation through participation.

It would not be reasonable to start or continue research into linguistics as applied to teaching without the moral and technical support provided by the users at the grass roots, the primary school teachers and educationists. Experience has shown that teachers and trainee teachers are perfectly capable of carrying out much useful research for developing the programme of linguistic reform, as long as they are supervised by specialised institutions and as long as such research has been fully integrated into the training programme set up for trainee teachers.

Participation by teachers and trainee teachers is essential in the following fields:

- a). Pedagogical: they guarantee priority is given to the educational objective of focusing research on the child in his relationships with the teacher and the language of instruction;

- b). Psycholinguistic: being bi- or multilingual the teacher has had personal experience of the problems of transfer from one language to another;
- c). Technical: familiarisation with research into languages of instruction is part of the professional training of teachers who have to exploit these languages in the classroom;
- d). Practical: teachers represent a network of informants and research-workers in all the language areas of the country.

Finally, many aspects of the participation of teachers have already been tried and tested by experience in the field. Here are a few examples:

- a). Psycho-pedagogical contribution: clarification of the situation of the African schoolchild with regard to languages of instruction;
- b). Linguistic contribution: research into the lexical basis inherent in the national language of instruction itself, its borrowed words, the revival of words which had ceased to be used etc.;
- c). Didactic contribution: compilation of an inventory of traditional ways of counting and numeracy (for arithmetic text-books), of children's stories and short stories etc. (for readers).

When such participation has been well prepared by the sensitisation campaigns and when it is really exploited and put to advantage in the syllabuses and text-books, it is rarely disappointing in the results it offers from a technical, professional and human point of view.

### 2.1.3. A strategy of sensitisation through interest.

It would be naïve to believe that some straightforward information discussed at symposia or distributed in the appropriate documents are enough to change behaviour and attitudes profoundly so that they are in favour of linguistic reform. In fact, teachers are only really motivated in favour of using national languages if it is in their own interest. The use of one of these languages in training programmes must be imposed as a professional requirement. The practice of an indigenous language must therefore be taken into account in the examinations and competitions for recruitment to the profession and for promotion. If this change is not brought about in the institutions and put



in the regulations, teachers will have no reason to make an effort in this direction. Necessity for doing this has been reaffirmed unanimously by the experts at several technical meetings and notably at the Kaduna Conference on "National Languages and Teacher-Training in Africa". Concrete measures which in part lead to an improvement in the professional status of teachers and which thereby represent a powerful motivating factor can only be recommended.

They must also be made to understand that the use of mother languages in nursery and primary education is a fundamental factor for stability and success amongst children who are literate in such languages. Teachers can therefore find not only a professional incentive but also a personal one in language reform, because they care about the future of the children entrusted to them and they themselves are often parents of schoolchildren.

Education in mother languages also represents a guarantee to both teachers and parents, who are thus enabled to supervise and continue the educative effort already begun outside school, in the village and in daily and family life. Parents can, in that way, participate in their children's education, notably by making sure that the most vital of traditional values are taken into account. The cleavage between school life and the family environment, between two radically different ways of thinking and of expression then ceases to exist, and at the same time the interferences which handicap the development of the child and his harmonious integration into his natural environment disappear.

In a socio-educational context in which European languages like English or French have a strong power of attraction, teachers must be led to discover that the mother language may appear as a choice stimulant and even as a means of accelerating the learning of a second language of an international character. Children will no longer be "penalised" if they learn to read or write in their mother language, quite the contrary! That indeed is what was observed explicitly by the experts meeting at the 9th International Conference on Second Languages (Tunis, 24th - 27th April, 1967) when they expressed the wish that: "It should be recognised that, far from representing a brake, the study and understanding of African languages bring an irreplaceable positive contribution to the use of official languages".

The sensitisation of teachers to this particular point is vital because the traditional view of national language versus foreign language in conflictual terms is not helpful pedagogically. It is more productive to highlight the possible transfers from one to the other to the benefit of the learner as well as of the languages concerned.

## *2.2. The sensitisation of the population*

The sensitisation of the population seems a more delicate matter than that of teachers and trainee teachers. The latter's needs seem more homogenous than those of the population, whose different social strata and classes often have very different, not to say contradictory, interests.

First of all, it must be remembered that activities to sensitise the population must be different according to whether they are taking place in a rural or an urban environment. Indeed, the problems are quite different between under-informed, partly illiterate village populations and urban ones, who are wide open to the influence of the media and include a majority of literate people, intellectuals, civil servants, schoolchildren etc. The village and the town are not governed by the same interests and are therefore not subject to the same motivations.

It is all a matter of common sense, experience and honesty. Common sense, because pupils' parents generally have much of it to spare; experience, because, more than in any other field, experience is profitable; intellectual honesty, finally, because it is necessary to have the courage to answer the questions the people ask themselves and not those that one asks for them. That is the reason why the method used for sensitisation is self-evident. It consists in:

- a). Identifying and making a list of the real needs for sensitisation by carrying out preliminary research in the target area;
- b). Analysing in order of importance the expectations and needs discovered;
- c). Meeting the needs by providing solutions to the problems raised.

A sensitisation campaign must be based on simple and effective principles, as is the case for any work of popularisation. Any expression redolent of intellectualism, sophistication or abstraction must be got rid

of. It is also necessary to try to present a decentralised strategy, close to the grass roots, away from the Capital's tendency to centralisation which is often poorly accepted by the provincial population.

When one goes out onto the field to listen to the questions raised by pupils' parents in tours of information and sensitisation, it is easy to discover which directions should be taken and which points should be developed to hit the target and give the campaign the impact it requires. That is why a preliminary enquiry is necessary amongst the people to pick up the main criticisms of the education system as it stands. The analysis of these criticisms indicates the community's worries and hopes for change in schools. The most common comments heard in the villages are:

- a). Education is a problem for experts; we know nothing about syllabuses or objectives;
- b). Our children never succeed at school; most of them become lazy and unproductive;
- c). Schoolchildren all want to be "Whites"; they have no respect for the illiterate or their values.
- d). School encourages the flight by young people to the towns, etc.

In answer to these worries, the sensitisation campaign in the villages could be based on the following ideas:

- a). The use of national languages gives the school back to the village and the community;
- b). The use of national languages will avoid children being behind, will decrease the failure rate caused by learning a foreign language too early and will maintain the child in the work environment;
- c). The use of national languages attributes their real value to the country's own culture and ancestral traditions;
- d). The use of national languages is a brake on rootlessness and the flight from the countryside.

Amongst others, these themes are relevant because they arise from the villagers' worries and, better still, have more or less consciously been expressed by them. However, they need to be enriched and specified because they are neither exhaustive nor universal: some comments are specific to the villages and do not concern the town. Finally, they must be organised in a coherent fashion and integrated into

an eminently realistic approach. This approach should be based on three fundamental motivations which ensure true sensitisation of the parents of schoolchildren as well as teachers: self-interest, information and participation.

### 2.2.1. Sensitisation through information

It is quite common to hear pupils' parents - farmers or peasants - stating that they will not send their children to the reformed school to learn their mother language that they know already. Hence the necessity to base sensitisation campaigns on the following themes:

- a). A mother language is only known completely when reading and writing are also mastered; the teaching in school of a language, even one which the children can already speak, is therefore entirely justified;
- b). The use of national languages is not at all to the detriment of the international language of communication used so far;
- c). The use of a mother language makes the learning of an international language of communication easier and faster;
- d). Language reform is in any case an irreversible process which can no longer be held back, as is shown by the development of language policies in a large majority of African countries and in the rest of the world.

### 2.2.2. Sensitisation through self-interest

The parents interests must not be confused with their childrens'.The preconceived idea that the knowledge of a foreign language leads automatically to a job and financial comfort is still widely held. That is why it is indispensable to show the parents that language reform is in the personal and professional interest of the children: it offers more opportunities to the child whilst reducing the number of teaching problems which are so often the cause of failure in the classical education system. The children benefit, for example, from the transfer of skills in one language to another in such skills as reading.

Reform is also in the parents' own personal interest. The cost of reformed education is less than that of the traditional system because

less children have to repeat a year and local teaching material can be used which is more suitable and cheaper than imported foreign material. The smaller budget which the state and the local authority have to devote to the costs of education should, normally, be reflected in lower local taxes.

Finally, language reform is in the interests of the family and the village insofar as use, at school, of the language used in the family, enables the family and the village to continue the education process which started in that environment, and to take part in instructing the child whilst ensuring that the most fertile traditional values are respected.

### 2.2.3. Sensitisation through participation

Participation by pupils' parents is a real guarantee of their acceptance of the process. Adults, the elderly, workers, craftsmen, peasants etc. possess a veritable linguistic and cultural treasure in the form of specialised vocabulary, stories, myths etc. Such a vast linguistic competence far exceeds that of any single teacher. That is why the mother language, once it is allowed into the schoolroom, can bring the whole village community in with it.

The teaching of History, for example, is particularly open to participation by adults. They may themselves have experienced certain events or they may have heard about them from a parent or a friend who was a witness to or a participant in those events.

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\* \*

The problems that we have discussed above are not necessarily all to be found everywhere. Obviously, however, most of them are common to many African communities. In any case, only frequent, direct and extended contact with village and urban populations can allow the officials in charge of language reform to get a precise idea of the themes that need to be discussed and developed during a national campaign of sensitisation and information.

### **3. THE TRAINING OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE REFORM PROCESS**

#### ***A. General Outline***

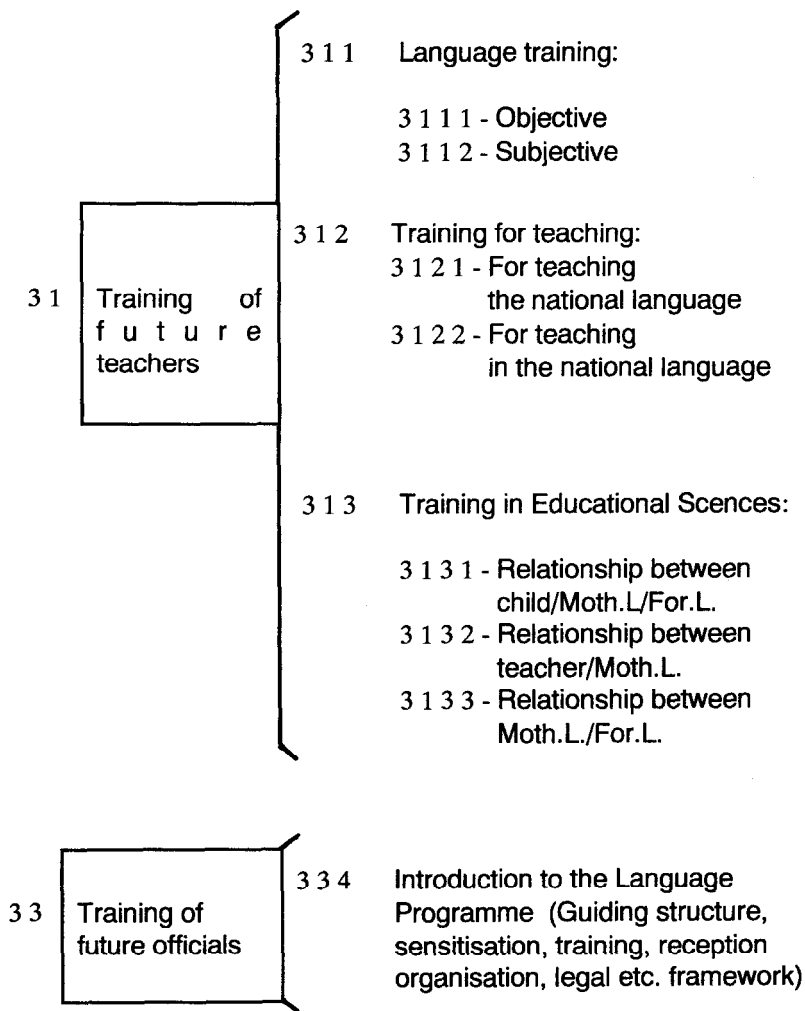
Professional training programmes for primary schools is generally intended for two categories of people, the nature of whose future jobs is very different from one to the other. These categories are:

- a). Teachers and future teachers who have direct responsibility for applying the language reform syllabus in primary schools.
- b). Officials and future officials concerned with training of a practical and theoretical nature and who are responsible for helping, supporting and checking the activities of teachers in their classrooms. This category includes inspectors, pedagogical advisers and headmasters.

The definition of training needs for officials and other actors in the reform process must be based on a thorough research programme held in advance; this is the only way of ensuring that all the objective information relevant to the target public's real needs has been collected. There is too often a tendency to reply only to one's own questions. It is therefore necessary to:

- a). Identify and list the real training needs based on prior research in the targeted area;
- b). Analyse these needs and list them in order of importance taking into account real needs not yet felt as such by the people to be trained;
- c). Meet these needs by supplying real answers to the problems raised.

**B. The training of language reform officials: the general outline**



## ***C. Explanations of the different tasks***

Although the practical details of the way in which trainee-teachers, in-service teachers or future reform programme officials are trained can never be identical for obvious reasons, the needs and content of the training programme are in most cases the same for everyone. After all, the aims are similar. This appears in the organisation chart, since many activities are to be found in the training course for trainee-teachers, in-service teachers and future reform programme officials.

### ***3.1. Training future teachers***

#### **3.1.1. Language training.**

##### **3.1.1.1. Studying the language as an object.**

It is necessary for staff on the reform to be given the means to study how the national language of instruction works and thus help them to "possess" it better. The passage from oral to written language requires a good objective knowledge of the language which can only be acquired through an explicit awareness of its linguistic functions. Preparing any written text also requires mastery of such important constraints as those imposed by morphology, syntax and spelling.

Knowing the language as an object undoubtedly gives greater personal control over it: speakers who have acquired such knowledge can rise above the average level of expression to progressively achieve a more individual, personal style. In this way, mastery of the language's standards becomes an irreplaceable factor in enabling a personal, literary style to be liberated and to blossom out. It makes it possible to judge the distance one can take from the language's norms to produce an original, personalised style.

This knowledge can be acquired, at least partly, by the research part of the programme and by supervised, personal initiative, which corresponds to the requirements of participation and involvement in the process of research applied to the language of instruction as detailed above (see 2.1.2.2.). In this matter, collaboration and cooperation between the - initial or extended - training structures and institutions of applied linguistics are particularly helpful.



It is nevertheless indispensable to provide for an administrative and financial framework which can institutionalise and realise such cooperation. In fact, experience shows that the belief that experts will spontaneously offer their capacities and the results of their research free of charge to educationists or others requesting it, is generally unfounded.

### 3.1.1.2. "Personal" language training.

Training in personal knowledge of the national language (improving the practical use of the language as well as oral and written comprehension especially in the fields in which it will have to be used for teaching purposes) should help in improving their performances as speakers. It is indeed hard to accept the idea that a teacher should teach a language (or in a language) that he does not master himself. Unfortunately, that is a more common occurrence than people are generally willing to admit.

The syllabus should concentrate on the availability and use of an effective and functional vocabulary, so that precise ideas and concepts linked to the contents of school syllabuses can be expressed clearly. The teacher should also be helped to improve his diction and pronunciation so that they do not represent a barrier to communication in teaching. Systematic and varied exercises in language laboratories can help to standardise the language production of teachers using the national language which may have strong dialectal variations from one region to another.

### 3.1.2. Training to teach. (See also 3.2.2. and 3.3.2.).

3.1.2.1. Training to teach will be based systematically on methodology and how to carry out specific classroom activities required by the official curriculum. For practical purposes, we will consider that the teaching of the language as a subject is concerned with speech, grammar (which is studied systematically only at the end of primary schooling), reading and writing.

3.1.2.2. The use of the language as a teaching language involves such different activities as arithmetic, early-learning games, ethics, environmental studies etc. Here, teaching in the national language, and

therefore implicitly using its grammar, produces a systematic impregnation which conditions the pupil to the language norms. It is therefore important (even though we are not speaking here of teaching the national language as a subject) that the teacher should express himself correctly from the point of view of phonetics, grammar and lexis. If he does not, how can his pupils consider him as a model and a reference for language purposes? Elementary language training is therefore essential in this situation too, if there is a lot of dialectal variation.

Training in educational theory should be centred on three main themes:

- a). Mother-language teaching, the methodological basis lying in the use of the child's experience, games, songs, nursery rhymes etc., which are inseparable from the child's culture and motivations;
- b). Foreign-language teaching, the methodological basis lying in taking into account the linguistic and socio-linguistic substrata of the learners. Many linguistic reform programmes concerning foreign language teaching in primary schools have ignored the national language which is after all a fundamental element;
- c). The cultural approach, which takes into account the particular values attached to each language used, according to the vision of the world that language represents.

### 3.1.3. Psycho-pedagogical training. (see also 3.2.3. and (3.3.3.)

#### 3.1.3.1. The relations between the child, the mother language and the language of instruction.

Experience has shown that teachers and trainee-teachers want to be trained to help to give concrete and effective answers to the following questions:

- a). Insofar as the national language of instruction is not the child's mother language, what classroom activities should be undertaken to overcome the handicaps this causes and to face the teaching difficulties linked to such a situation?

- b). Insofar as the verbal expression of basic intuitive ideas (about space, time, causes, consequences etc.) and the cognitive use of the language of instruction are the fundamental supports for technological thought, how can the acquisition, appropriation and complete mastery of this lexical and semantic field which is so vital to awakening the mind to a scientific way of thinking, be made easier pedagogically?

### 3.1.3.2. The relations between the teacher and the national language of instruction

The same variables as those which characterise the language status of the children very often also characterise that of the teachers and trainee-teachers in countries in which there is a rich diversity of languages. The result is often very complex concerning the status of teachers vis-à-vis the national languages that they have to teach. How can we reduce, if not eliminate, these major difficulties from the daily teaching experience?

How can the level of teachers' competence in comprehension and expression (oral and written) in the national language be evaluated objectively? This question is obviously relevant to the modalities of selection of teachers and their deployment on the field.

### 3.1.3.3. The relations between the teaching of the mother language and that of the second language

The training needs required by the reform programme are essentially based on the two following themes:

- a). How can the approach to teaching the national language and a second language be made complementary to each other and remain non-conflictual in the school context? In fact, the same teacher will teach the two languages to the same children in the same classroom with the same educational objectives etc.;
- b). How can transfers from one language be used to facilitate the learning of another language as much as possible, whilst correcting interference noticed in the fields of pronunciation, grammar and lexis?

To meet these different needs, the course in psychology as applied to education will obviously include the usual information about the problems related to language learning. Child development will of course be an important subject, as will the influence of the environment, the needs and interests at each stage of development, the principles and methods of functional education, the keeping and use of files on individual children, etc. Particular stress will be laid on the physiological and psychological aspects of learning to read and write as well as the pedagogical functions of a language of instruction. Furthermore, emphasis will be laid on the profound difference between the child's language needs and those of the adult: there is no question, for example, of using the same literacy text-books for young children as those used, even with great success, for adults.

In reality, training programmes must be adapted to each country's own situation and the pedagogical objectives it has chosen for the direction in which it wants to go. In any case, participation by all staff involved in linguistic research and the process of educational reform itself represents the best professional preparation possible for them for teaching, and teaching in, the African language concerned.

### *3.3. Training of future officials*

#### 3.3.4. Initiation to linguistic programming (regulating language use)

Apart from the need for training in linguistics, educational theory and teaching practices as described above, this particular group of officials have a particularly strong need which programmes for training future leaders all too rarely take into consideration. It concerns initiation to the working out of a programme of language reform in the national context.

Inspectors, teaching advisers and their immediate subordinates are (or should be) the best qualified people with regard to innovation in the classroom. They bear the responsibility for the application of language reform, but they should also bear most of the responsibility for defining the initial methodological orientations. They should be able to provide the education authority concerned with reasonable, well-documented advice on the conduct and content of the reform through their normal channels of communication with the Ministry.

Empiricism and individual trial and error are not enough for satisfactory language reform programmes. The stakes are too high. It is also the business of experts. Leading officials must therefore be taught to master the technical knowledge which is expressed by the design, preparation, application and evaluation of an operational programme for language reform understood in all its internal and external relationships with the other component parts of educational reform including, for example, productive labour.

The outline of the basis for language reform as set out here represents an operational and dynamic methodology, in our opinion, one of which it should be possible to fill in the details with future education officials with constant reference to the national socio-linguistic reality of each country concerned.

#### **4. THE SETTING UP OF DESIGN, PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES FOR TEACHING MATERIALS**

##### ***A. The general outline***

It is imperative, within a planned language reform programme, to provide both the pupils and the teachers with teaching materials that are satisfactory in quantities as well as in quality. The greatest temptation, and some institutions have given in to it, is to apply for outside help and solve the problem by sub-contracting out. This solution, however, can only be partial and temporary, since no account is taken of the real expectations and needs of the final users. Furthermore, it delays the process of awareness and of real involvement by national teams in a process of pedagogical production and creation.

The following few recommendations are made from a pragmatic point of view, that is to say that they are intended for authors who work in a still craftsman-like publishing system, as is often the case for many educational publishers.

Whatever the situation may be like at the start, a working-structure will have to be set up to plan the contents of text-books (i.e. the job of the author), one for the production of books (i.e. the job of the publisher), one for making the books (i.e. the job of the manufacturer) and one for distributing them (i.e. the job of managing stocks). Whatever

practical steps are taken to implement this, the main functions outlined here are all indispensable for success.

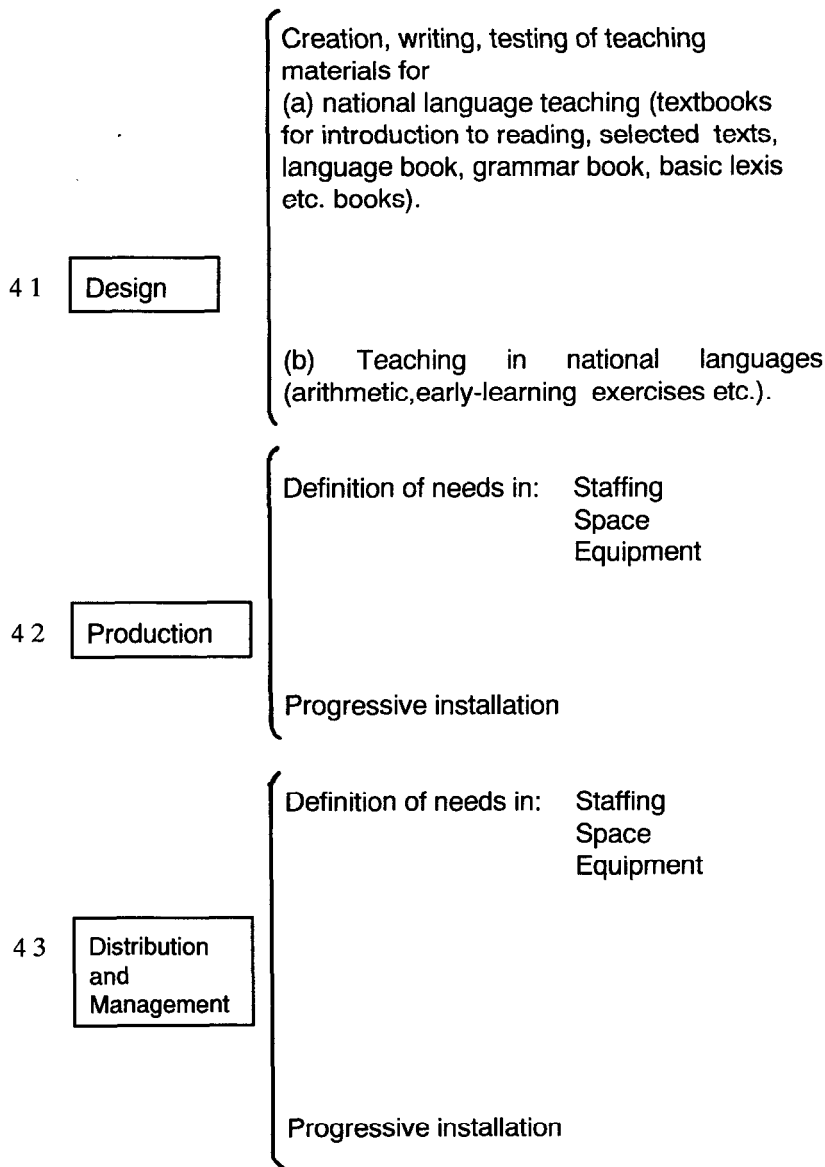
The classical text-book can, of course, be defined as a tool for learning and must take into account the different progressive steps on which all teaching is based. In general, it must supply:

- a). Information and the contents of a course;
- b). Explanatory comments, just as the teacher has to provide them in class;
- c). Summaries, syntheses, up-dates to aid memorisation;
- d). Tests to check how well the subject is being learnt;
- e). Pictures, bearing in mind that the users of text-books are above all children.

Finally, to bring out a good text-book, all the following stages must be respected:

- 1°) The planning stage;
- 2°) The writing stage;
- 3°) The experimental stage;
- 4°) The production stage;
- 5°) The publication, distribution and stock-management stage.

**B. The setting up of design, production, distribution and management structures for teaching materials: the general outline**



### ***C. Explanatory comments on these different tasks***

#### *4.1. Design and planning*

A good text-book with a teacher's manual are often a compromise between essentially didactic requirements, which include the internal organisation of the subject-matter and its dynamics, and the mainly psycho-pedagogical requirements, which include the learner's experience and psychology as well as the need to spread the learning process over certain stages. To accomplish all this, an author must:

- a). Respect the pedagogical requirements;
- b). Follow the technical specifications very closely;
- c). Avoid including any pejorative or discriminatory cultural stereotypes in his text.

#### *The pedagogical requirements*

Before starting to write, the author must ask a series of questions about the objectives he wishes to attain and the public he is aiming at. These are common sense questions concerning the rules of composition and the readability of his text. Any teacher should ask himself this sort of question instinctively before trying to transmit any oral or written message to his pupils.

#### *The technical specifications*

Normally, the publisher is responsible for these specifications in liaison with the manufacturer. Nevertheless, the author of a text-book concerning national languages should express any original point of view he may have concerning manufacturing requirements. Experience has shown, in fact, that pupils and their parents are very interested in the outside appearance of school books. In the context of an experiment in which African languages are being tried out, pupils' parents are often very reluctant to accept innovation because they are afraid that it might not last and that their children are just guinea-pigs. When they compare the "finished", professional appearance of books coming from abroad (hard-back books produced with a four-colour process) with provisional, often uncared-for books used in national language classes (no covers,



often just note-books stapled together with roneotyped rather than printed texts etc.), their distrust, not to say hostility, is often strengthened.

This is also true when the process is generalised and all the schools in the country start using African languages. The poor material quality of national language text-books and guides has an adverse effect on opinion about the teaching provided in those languages. That is why agreement about conformity of books to the rigorous requirements of a technical list of specifications can be a powerful motivating factor. In any case, whatever the subject concerned may be, the author must be aware that respect for the child depends on respect for the book he is going to be asked to learn from and, in teaching, good presentation is not a luxury. Experience has shown on many occasions that even with limited and modest means, it is always possible to produce clean, careful work.

### *Derogatory and discriminatory cultural stereotypes*

The author, preoccupied by the demands of methodological rigour in the way his course progresses, often fails to attach sufficient importance to the implicit cultural message which the text and pictures of his book inevitably convey. Lack of care with this can have serious consequences for the child. At school and outside it, the child undergoes a certain amount of passive impregnation from models more or less consciously offered by adults. These models are at the origin of particular types of behaviour and attitudes which are reflected in his personal relations with others.

Too many books reproduce sexist and even racist patterns, which makes them discriminate against certain categories of people. To avoid this trap, which - even unintentionally - helps to spread false ideas and prejudices, the author of a school text-book must, throughout his work, ask himself a certain number of questions such as the ones we suggest below:

- a). Do the texts and pictures in the book contain equal proportions of boys and girls?
- b). Are the young people, adults and the elderly who play active parts in the texts systematically presented according to the usual clichés (the young play, adults work and the elderly talk)?

- c). Are the boy/girl relationships in scenes in which they play together of a cordial nature or tainted with violence? Do they -even implicitly - indicate a sexist hierarchy?
- d). How are foreigners coming from other continents presented in the texts and pictures in relation to the stereotypes in which they are usually presented (physical appearance, clothing, features of their character etc.)?
- e). Are cultural, religious, ethnic and socio-professional minorities shown as playing a positive role in the texts of a book intended for use on a national scale?
- f). Do the pictures systematically belittle life in the countryside compared with the towns (according to stereotypes, the peasant's house is made of cob whilst the town house is always a solid construction despite the fact that there are solid houses in the countryside and examples of cob-walls in the towns)?
- g). Are the characteristic features by which members of an ethnic minority or a particular religion (clothing, hairstyle etc.) caricatures or belittling?
- h). Are household pets represented as loyal friends of Man or as "things" the children can use as toys (puppies, kittens etc.)?
- i). Do the children shown in the texts and illustrations treat non-domestic animals with respect or do they systematically chase or hunt them (chasing lizards, hunting birds, birds-nesting etc.)?

The national pedagogical institution should be able to provide writers of text-books with analytical documents enabling them to check that discriminatory and belittling stereotypes have been eradicated from texts and pictures intended for children. Apart from the pedagogical message itself, every text-book conveys its ethnic and cultural message. The author is responsible for ensuring that the child develops attitudes that are constructive towards his immediate and broader environment.

#### *4.2. Production (Publishing and manufacturing)*

The capacity of production of basic teaching materials has a direct impact on the expansion of language reform in schools. It is, of course, highly desirable that the Ministry of Education should itself take over responsibility not only for the design and writing of such materials but also for their production. To do so efficiently entails the following requirements:

- a). Staff.
- b). Space.
- c). Equipment.

a). *Staff*

Staffing requirements are naturally felt both in the field of writing and in that of audio-visual production. Text-books and guides may be produced in a national printing-works or abroad, which makes it possible to make substantial savings in staff. However, even in the still numerous cases where the Ministry publishes its own material with more or less sophisticated technical means (Roneotype machines, for example), draughtsmen, makers of dummies and paste-ups, graphic artists, Roneotypists, book-binders, shapers, guillotine-operators, supervisors etc. must be provided. Furthermore, audio-visual productions of satisfactory quality require sound engineers, sound and picture operators, cartoonists, cameramen etc. National or international scholarships should make it possible to solve at least partly problems of training such staff.

b). *Space*

The intensive production of printed material in any case requires buildings for reproduction containing, amongst others, rooms for specialised work (graphic design, drawing, montage, printing etc.) and a laboratory for developing films and plates. The production of audio-visual material requires an appropriate audio-visual store-room, preferably air-conditioned, a room for montage and viewing, a workshop for servicing the material, a recording studio and preferably a short-circuit television room. All these rooms should be properly arranged so as to protect the material and the products effectively from unfortunate climactic effects, such as heat and dust. They should also conform to safety regulations and be provided with fire extinguishers, warning notices etc. The electrical installations must be of sufficient amperage for it to be possible to use several machines at once.

### c). *Equipment*

The volume of production of text-books and teachers' guides must be carefully calculated. This depends not only on the number of teachers and pupils actually concerned at a particular moment, but must also depend on projections for the foreseeable future. Estimates should be based on the schooling rate it is hoped to achieve and on the population growth rate. The number of text-books and teachers' guides to be produced is determined by these figures and the answers to the following questions:

- a). How many text-books should be made available to the pupils (e.g. one book between two pupils)?
- b). What is the expectation of life of each text-book (e.g. each book can reasonably be expected to be replaced every three years)?
- c). What is the expectation of life of the teacher's guide (e.g. each guide might be replaced every four years)?
- d). What percentage of books and guides can be expected to be lost (e.g. 15 or 20%)?

The equipment needed to produce material used collectively in schools must not be forgotten either; this concerns particularly material for learning to read, for language and for early-learning activities. This requires varied material which may go as far as a real printing works able to produce documents in great quantities and of good quality quite rapidly. The use of Roneotype machines needs other equipment such as gathering machines, punches, folding machines, staplers, electronic engravers and titling machines. In all cases, appropriate furniture and stationery must also be made available to staff, including illuminated tables, revolving stools, desk-lamps, rolls of tracing-paper, disposable gloves, overalls etc. For audio-visual production, staff should also be given basic equipment: a recording studio, TV cameras, films, projectors, tape- and video-recorders, cassettes (audio and video) and perhaps even an audio visual 'bus etc. Naturally, all this material will not be reserved only for the national language programme; it will also be available for other aspects of educational reform and will easily prove its worth.

### *4.3. Distribution and management*

Experience has shown that distribution services are often forgotten in the general production scheme. They nevertheless represent an important link in the chain, an essential stage between the educational "product" produced by the team of writers/designers/publishers and effective application in the classroom.

#### *a). Staffing needs*

The distribution service is usually in charge of stocking, handling, transport, delivery and management. Stock management should usually be entrusted to a manager who is in charge of ordering and who keeps rigorous accounts of what comes in and what goes out. Below him, a distribution official centralises orders coming from different educational areas. He is also responsible for the picking up of parcels and making sure they reach their destination. This department should also have the services of packagers, handlers, drivers, a night-watchman, a secretary (for typing invoices for example) etc.

#### *b). Space needs*

The construction of new buildings or the renovation of old ones must make it possible to house prepared teaching material in complete safety. It is unnecessary to elaborate on the importance of warehousing in countries where the climate makes the regular distribution of documents to schools in areas that are accessible only with difficulty at the best of times impossible during the winter months. It is therefore important to provide ample storage space with the warehouse manager's office nearby. The dirty operations of handling and wrapping also require access to washrooms. Furthermore, a garage is needed for the distribution vehicle, lodgings for the guard and a comfortable loading area.

#### *c). Equipment needs*

To make the handling of parcels easier inside the warehouse, appropriate carts or hand trucks should be provided for the workers.

Documents should not be left in contact with a damp floor, so metallic bookshelves or raised shelving would be welcome. An autonomous means of transport - under the direct authority of the distribution manager - will take the teaching material to each education area concerned by the language reform programme. Inspectors and advisers will be expected to deliver guides and text-books to the schools which depend on their education area. If they do not have a reliable vehicle or are short of fuel, they can use private transport companies (traders, travelling employees of the state on visits, etc.), their help often being free of charge.

## **5. PREPARATION OF A LEGAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE REFORM**

### ***A. The general outline***

The need to fit the language reform programme into a clearly defined institutional framework may seem self-evident. However, experience has shown that many reforms have been started without a well-defined formal framework. This insecure foundation leads to many difficulties and represents a constant source of dispute and uncertainty for the achievements.

#### *The legal framework [5.1.]*

In fact, the absence of a legal framework is almost always felt by the various partners in the programme as a sign of more or less declared lack of interest on the part of the established authorities for the reform that has been planned. The result is naturally a lack of motivation on the part of the teachers and the population at large. It is therefore not too much to say that the existence of a legal framework is the very basis of a policy of sensitisation and national motivation for the planned reform.

#### *The administrative framework [5.2.]*

The stage which completes the preparation and adoption of a

legal framework is to situate the reform within purely administrative structures of a firm and consistent nature. Perfecting an administrative framework is a fairly complex matter because, apart from the impact on the administration itself, each choice has its financial, political, social, cultural etc. effects, which are difficult to estimate with mathematical precision but which it would be dangerous to ignore or neglect.

#### *The financial framework [5.3.]*

The preparation of a financial framework is of a highly specialised nature and too political for it to be possible to make recommendations within the space of this little booklet. Nevertheless, this sensitive subject will be tackled with some precise information.

#### *The technical framework [5.4.]*

Those in charge of a language reform programme have to translate the purpose, determined at the political level, into aims then specific objectives, and suggest a time scale and give technical directions to indicate the methods and means recommended for attaining these objectives with maximum efficiency and least expense. They must also, in general terms, be prepared to supply at any moment the technical details about the follow-up to language reform and in particular its experimental period, to make the taking of political decisions easier. That kind of responsibility naturally raises questions about the credibility of those in charge, their ability to mobilise the energies of their team and their capacity to rapidly and efficiently face up to the new and unexpected situations that inevitably arise during the course of any innovative operation of this kind, carried out on a country-wide scale.

**B. The preparation of a legal, administrative, financial and technical framework for the reform: the general outline**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 5 1 Preparation of a legal framework           | Initial study for the drawing up of a Bill, decree or Order to give a legal basis to language reform (and its experimentation). |
| 5 2 Preparation of an administrative framework | Initial study to prepare the necessary administrative texts for experimentation to begin.                                       |
| 5 3 Preparation of a financial framework       | Study the costs of experimentation (and of the reform).   |
| 5 4 Preparation of a technical framework       | Share out responsibilities (for co-ordination, discharge etc.) for all technical aspects of experimentation.                    |



## ***C. Explanations concerning these tasks***

### ***5.1. Preparation of a legal framework***

What is meant by a "legal framework"? In concrete terms, it is a set of laws and regulations which define the new language policy and provide it with indispensable institutional and legal guarantees. The main lines of this school language policy are determined, in principle, on the basis of the educational, cultural, social and economic needs of the nation. The reform programme will apply the choices made which it expresses in terms of objectives and syllabuses; it gives these choices concrete expression to illustrate the new profile of the ideal pupil for training to become the typical citizen of tomorrow.

The official texts published to launch the reform and its initial experimental period can be of different types: ministerial or presidential decrees or a basic law. However, no reform can be expected to succeed if it is the responsibility of a single minister, the Minister of Education. The introduction of indigenous national languages into the education system goes way beyond the limits of the school and affects all sectors of public and private life.

Of course, it would not be reasonable to try to define the constituent elements of a basic law on this subject in the absolute. Just as there is no single model for an education system, so there is no universal model for language reform. Nevertheless, although each country has its specificities, it is possible to make some useful recommendations to those education officials who will be in charge of presenting a plan for regulating the reform to their governing body.

First of all, a basic law or a decree concerning the language problem must be flexible and not rigid. After all, socio-linguistic situations are by their nature constantly changing and it is unlikely that all the variables can be taken into account within an official text. Moreover, the political, social, economic, cultural, ideological etc. facts of life are subject to sudden changes, and after a shorter or longer period of time, many countries have had to make serious amendments to their initial reform programme. This was the case for Guinea, for example, which reduced the eight national languages taught at first to six<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> They are Pulaar, Maninka, Kpélééwo, Soso, Lõghõma and Kisiei. Wamey and Oneyan were abandoned in primary schools long before the reform programme was suspended.

This was also the case in Burkina Faso, where - before the reform programme was suspended - a fourth national language was likely to be added to the three other languages used in schools<sup>3</sup>. Regulations should therefore be as flexible as possible. However, flexible does not mean vague or imprecise, and the language policy must be part of a clearly defined national education policy. In a multidisciplinary operation where the unexpected may easily arise, too precise deadlines would seem inappropriate. On the other hand, the order of activities must be planned and, in this context, a guiding programme should be established to take into account as far as possible future possible restrictions and resistance.

When preparing and formulating the articles defining how language reform should be carried out, the authors will take care not to make the reform programme into a separate institution but ensure that it is well integrated into existing national structures. This integration must be clear from the programme's position within the ministry responsible on the government organisation plan, from the type of links established with the other ministries and from the administrative status of the staff involved.

Finally, the law or decree will not neglect to designate clearly the officials and coordinators involved in the language reform programme and to state how teachers are to be trained, the status of private or religious educational systems in relation to the reformed syllabus and the new, recommended methodologies. The Statutory Order (by the Head of State), the Decrees (by the Minister) and Directives (by the Minister or his Heads of Department) will give details of the practical applications to be given later to the original Law.

## *5.2. Preparation of an administrative framework*

The stage which completes the preparation and adoption of a legal framework for the reform is that of placing it within uncontested administrative structures. In this field, proposals will have to take particular care of:

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<sup>3</sup>This was Gulimancema, spoken by the Gourmantchés who live in the east of the country. It is also spoken in western Niger and northern Bénin

- a). The kind of opposition the reform is likely to arouse at an administrative, professional, corporatist, cultural or other level;
- b). The political and financial implications that the decision to overcome such resistance might have for the government, and implications of the recruitment of teachers, movement of officials and, in general, on employment (excesses, unemployment, flight from the countryside etc.);
- c). The deeper aspirations of communities, local areas, the pupils' parents and teachers in the sociolinguistic field.

From a practical point of view, this means that the officials working on the plan for an administrative framework will have to give details in the texts about:

- a). The way the schools in the programme will work;
- b). The status of staff working on language reform, especially during the experimental period;
- c). The ways in which reformed classes will be integrated into the national education system;
- d). The ways in which the reform will be incorporated into the general dynamics of national development.

As far as this last point is concerned, the plan for the administrative framework must involve institutionally in the reform process, not only all the departments within the Ministry in charge of Education and its inspectors, but also the other Ministries and national organisations ( University, private education, Interior Ministry officials, Trade Unions, political parties etc.).

Particular attention should be paid to certain aspects of the application of the reform, the way in which the schools involved function being the first of these. In fact, the introduction of language reform represents a desire to democratise the national education system. Hence the need to increase the numbers of children able to go to school without weighing too heavily on the budget of the Ministry of Education. The major obstacle to democratisation remains that of the lack of space and of classrooms. There are several ways of meeting this problem, such as the "double holidays" or "double flow" system already in force in many African countries. Whatever the solution adopted, however, acceptance by teachers, educationists and Teachers' Unions is indispensable.

Secondly, the status of the staff in experimental schools must be clearly defined, without any doubts. The teachers involved in the experiment usually have a heavier time-table than their colleagues in traditional classes: they have to acquire new skills such as transcription into the national languages, continuous evaluation of the new text-books etc. They therefore often demand bonus payments, travelling allowances or extra pay for attending re-training courses etc. It is generally noticed that education authorities dislike the idea of giving teachers in pilot schools a different administrative status from that of their colleagues, but are often more willing to provide transport facilities to attend training or information seminars. It is in any case important that the administrative status of such teachers - detailing their particular rights and duties - and the way in which they are recruited should be carefully defined. Otherwise, there is a danger of coming across recruitment difficulties and a certain unsettledness amongst the most qualified staff.

Thirdly, particular attention should be paid to the way in which language reform is integrated into the education system as a whole. It is usually introduced first of all into primary schools, but in any case it must not be rejected like a foreign body by the other parts of the education system. To achieve this, a number of administrative measures are indispensable. From the very start, easy passage must be provided for between the experimental system and the traditional one. This requirement usually implies unusual measures as far as examinations or ways of access to other academic cycles are concerned. This is particularly important in countries where there are broad movements of population: parents must be reassured that their children will be able to change from a reformed school to a traditional one without discrimination or penalisation, whatever level of studies they may be up to.

It is also important to provide the future teachers with all possible means of improving their knowledge of their mother language or that of another national language which might be used for instruction. Teacher-training colleges and Universities have an essential role to play in this. It would indeed be desirable to institutionalise courses in the national language - perhaps as optional courses - in the early years of secondary schools. The research departments in linguistics and the educational sciences must work in close relationship with the institutions training teachers and education executives.

Fourthly, in order to succeed, language reform must be an integral part of the dynamics of national development. The success of the innovation does not depend on the education sector alone, since, in principle, it is part of the general desire for development of the nation. Hence the need to encourage coordination with all the agencies and organisations involved in the country's development programme. Coordination and concertation with the main Ministries, such as those of Finance and the Interior, are just as necessary. Similarly, since language reform is generally an integral part of a much broader educational reform which usually includes productive work at school, formal links must be forged with plans for rural and community development. In such cases, the Ministries of Agriculture and of Handicrafts are involved.

Finally, the more closely the reform is tied into existing dynamic structures, be they economic, religious, political, trade unionist or other, the more it will develop in harmony with the structural changes inherent in national development and the more the different officials will be willing to offer the support which is necessary for its success.

### *5.3. The preparation of a financial framework*

Each country has its own policies as far as cooperation and aid are concerned, and sources of finance such as the UNDP, the World Bank, AID, the main regional banks etc. offer different approaches and procedures for finding types and modes of finance for projects. Nevertheless, we should point out that the UNDP is frequently sought after because of the quality of its services, and UNESCO is usually the agency which carries out projects concerning the development of education financed by UNDP. When UNDP is involved, financial assistance is subject to acceptance by the parties concerned of a "Project document" which is the Agreement established on the basis of consensus between the government concerned, the source of finance and the agency in charge of carrying the project out.

The UNDP offers a "Guide for the Preparation of Projects for Technical Cooperation in Education" which can be used as a reference. This book provides a skeleton outline of the document which is indispensable for any financial agreement.

#### *5.4. The preparation of a technical framework*

Obviously, the Education Institute or a Faculty of Educational Sciences are the most appropriate technical organisations to support a language reform programme in primary schools. This kind of Institution assembles experts who are familiar with research into linguistics, psychology and teaching practices focused on the child, as well as experts in several disciplines with confirmed experience of contact with teachers and children. In addition, such Institutions contain Inspectors and educational advisers who usually work full-time with versatile teams including experienced teachers.

The technical framework it is suggested that such an Institution should set up generally looks after the following tasks:

- a). Lead and coordinate theoretical and applied educational research concerning language reform;
- b). Make a contribution to linguistic research applied to languages of instruction;
- c). Evaluate and regulate the teaching of the new system which is usually set up on an experimental basis;
- d). Organise the training, perfecting and retraining of teachers and educationists according to the language and education reform programme;
- e). Prepare syllabuses for the reform in liaison with the teachers and educationists involved;
- f). Look after the preparation, production and evaluation of text-books and teachers' guides according to the spirit of the language reform programme.

The department or section in charge of national languages usually needs considerable reinforcement at the early preparatory stage of the reform. This department will also need to maintain close working relations with the department(s) concerned with teaching non-mother languages such as English, French, Portuguese etc.

An efficient Department, able to accomplish all the technical tasks required of it by the Institution should be organised on the following lines:

- a). A coordination and orientation team with linguists and teaching practitioners and theoreticians;
- b). Working groups led by a member of the coordination team. Each working group would have a particular job to do in applied research, production, training and evaluation for each activity in the school syllabus (reading, writing, language, logics/mathematics education etc.).

Each working group would thus be expected to carry out all the research activities, the production of the relevant material, the training and the evaluation for the part of the programme for which it is responsible, the general cohesion being the responsibility of the coordinating team and the subject of frequent "inter-group" meetings. Obviously, the actual work for each group will increase from year to year as the reform programme advances, and this will entail the need for progressive reinforcement of the Department as a whole.

Of course, the organisations in charge of adult literacy, the advancement of the national culture etc. often have practical experience of language difficulties and they can save the Education Institutes a lot of expensive parallel research. It is therefore necessary, from the very beginning of the operation, to enlist the active, technical services of these research and training organisations which, in most cases, do not depend on the same Ministry. To paraphrase a famous saying, we could say that language reform is too serious a matter to be left in the hands of linguists alone.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

The programme developed in this booklet is the operational version of a possible methodological approach. Like any project, it is only a working hypothesis to start from and cannot be developed further until the initial steps have been approved. It is nevertheless important to remember that this approach is neither theoretical nor arbitrary. It is the result of already long experience in this field of activities. The fact that it is only a plan explains why the elements of the general framework are only outlined rapidly, without such justifications as may be considered useful. It is, of course, a purely temporary situation. Each part of the programme should be worked on exhaustively in each individual case,

according to the specificities of each of the countries which choose to adopt it.

Apart from this guide's main objective, which is to offer an operational methodological framework and thus get things going, another objective of some importance will be achieved if the organised nature of the programme as presented convinces the practician that improvisation is far from inevitable in language reform. If the teachers who take part in the experiment have had the feeling that empiricism and trial and error were sometimes accepted as method, it is a good thing to show them that rigour and transparency can also be the guiding lights of an experimental process. This awareness will undoubtedly provide fertile soil for a powerful motivation in favour of innovation.



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