

LINGUISTIC LANDSHAPES

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A comparison of official and non-official language
management in Rwanda and Uganda, focusing on the
position of African languages

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For Christer, Malin and Patrik

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ABSTRACT

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A comparison of official and non-official language management in Rwanda and Uganda, focusing on the position of African languages

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This thesis is a macro-sociolinguistic study and comparison of language status and use in Rwanda and Uganda. The data was collected in fieldwork. The study covers the main formal domains in society, both official and non-official. A model for analysis, inspired by Chaudenson, was created. Termed the Multilingual Management Model (MMM), it uses a quantitative method to investigate specific domains and units of analysis in the two African countries. The analysis provides a percentage measurement of the position of languages or language groups vis-à-vis other languages within the linguistic space of each domain, i.e. the analyses reveal how languages are stipulated to be used as well as the extent to which they actually are used within the specified domains of society. The MMM, which is also influenced by the work of Bourdieu, among others, is based on the assumption that languages compete on a linguistic market. The MMM can be used for similar work in other countries.

The investigated domains are dichotomised into official multilingual management and non-official multilingual management. The MMM contrasts official language policy, institutionalised language use within official institutions, languages in education, and language use in state media, on the one hand, with language use in the domain of trade and commerce, language use on private shop signs and billboards, language use in the domain of religion, and language use in private media, on the other.

The results of the study largely confirm the proposed working hypotheses. Simultaneously, trends contradictory to the expected results and hypotheses were identified.

The national language Rwanda was found to be widely used in formal domains. However, such use was less significant in official settings compared with non-official ones. Rwanda is also not used to its full potential as a medium of communication in all domains, except in typically oral domains.

Ugandan languages are stronger than expected in some domains, e.g. on private radio stations, at markets, and in state newspapers. This demonstrates the communicative value of African languages which, sadly, is not reflected in official language policy in either country. The allocation of status to European languages through legal stipulations and the prestige attributed to them have negatively influenced the use of African languages in both countries.

KEYWORDS: Rwanda, Uganda, African languages, multilingualism, language competition, linguistic market, macro-sociolinguistic, Multilingual Management Model (MMM), quantitative analysis, official multilingual management, non-official multilingual management, Chaudenson, Bourdieu, country comparison, embedded diglossia

Preface and acknowledgements

My interest in Africa and, later on, in language-policy-related issues started about a decade ago when I worked as a trainer of trainers in projects with cooperative organisations in southern Africa. Before this I guess I was as ignorant as most other Westerners are about the sociolinguistic situation in Africa. But the more I studied the language situation in Africa, the more I realised that language policy and language planning are crucial in any planning for development and democracy.

As Europeans, we take for granted that we can use our mother tongue in every situation in society. This is far from the African reality, where multilingualism is the norm.

Most African countries use former colonial languages as official languages and media of instruction in education. The same applies to most formal domains in society, especially official domains. Combined with a lack of resources, this language policy leads to elitist societies where the majority of the population is marginalised without the possibility of participating. In my opinion, the fact that only a small percentage of the population masters these official languages hampers democracy and economic and social development.

Naturally, there are other factors which are important for development. However, language policy and language management are widely neglected in political and social science research focusing on Africa. My sincere hope is that this and other sociolinguistic research will contribute to a better awareness of the sociolinguistic situation in African countries. Furthermore, research and publications about African languages will hopefully fuel the slow process towards democracy and sustainable development.

My research has been a challenging but positive voyage of discovery, both physically and mentally. Already during my initial fieldwork in Rwanda in May 2005, the idea of language competition struck me. The official languages in Rwanda – Rwanda (*Ikinyarwanda*), French and English – seemed to fight for linguistic space within society. This gave me the idea to study private shop signs and billboards to see how these languages were used. This subsequently led me to becoming familiar with a new field within applied linguistics, namely that of linguistic landscape. I have entitled my thesis *Linguistic landshapes*, which is not a misspelling of the term landscape, but a heuristic concept I have coined to cover linguistic, man-created environments in a social and political system, as opposed to the term landscape which refers to a physical part of land or in its

specific sense (linguistic landscape) limits the reference to messages and signs in urban settings.

The relationship between the three official languages in Rwanda seemed to me to be in a constantly changing competitive situation, not only on signs but also in other domains in society. Later developments have confirmed this situation. For instance, in Rwanda, English was promoted at the expense of the other official languages in 2008/2009. In Uganda, Swahili was introduced as a second official language in September 2005.

My later discovery of theoretical work by Bourdieu, for example, which conformed to my initial ideas, led to another journey of discovery – in a metaphorical sense.

I would never have had the opportunity to fulfil my PhD without the support, feedback and all manner of assistance from colleagues, family and friends.

First of all I would like to express my deeply felt gratitude to Professor Karsten Legère, my supervisor, responsible for African Languages at the then Department of Oriental and African Languages, now the Department of Languages and Literatures, at the University of Gothenburg. I would like to thank Prof. Legère for giving me the opportunity to pursue my ideas for the dissertation in a field which is unfortunately often neglected, both in African and in Western research. To be able to work in this field of sociolinguistics I was forced to leave the well-known tracks to seek new paths and to develop new methods to describe and compare language policy and language use. Prof. Legère's trust in my potential to shoulder research on two countries and his full support of this work have been invaluable. As my supervisor, Prof. Legère's comments and input have been both stimulating and challenging.

Along my exciting journey, Associate Professor Christina Thornell, my second supervisor, gave me much-needed and invaluable feedback. Indeed, she has helped me ever since my first academic steps within language research in Cameroon. I would also like to thank all my other colleagues and the staff at the University of Gothenburg for their stimulating discussions during seminars and, of course, coffee breaks!

My research has, as stated above, been a long and interesting expedition, physically as well as mentally – to use a metaphor that reminds one of the African continent's colonial past. The fieldwork implied considerable walking and talking: walking along new paths in both urban and rural areas, and talking

to all kinds of people, from ministers to market salesmen. Additionally, as stated above, it implied treading new paths in developing my own research model and methods. Stumbling along these unknown avenues of research has been both frightening and fantastic.

Furthermore, the data collection process in Rwanda and Uganda gave me many friends, whom I hereby also would like to thank. I am especially grateful to Faustin Kabanza, presently in Paris, and Evariste Ntakirutimana of the National University of Rwanda, NUR, in Rwanda. I met them on my first field trip to Rwanda, and both proved to be of valuable assistance to me ever since. I would also like to express my gratitude to all the ministers and employees at state bodies who gave me some of their valuable time. In this regard my special thanks go to Professor Laurent Nkusi, the former Minister of Information in Rwanda.

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List of abbreviations

A/a	Arabic
Ach/ach	Acholi
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMS	Church Mission Society
DLB	District Language Board
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
E/e	English
EMIS	Educational Management Information System
EPRC	Education Policy Review Commission
F/f	French
G/g	Ganda
GOU	Government of Uganda
GWP	Government White Paper
ID	identity document
IPS(s)	Integrated Production Skill(s)
IUIU	Islamic University in Uganda
K/k	Konjo
KIE	Kigali Institute of Education
KIST	Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management
KIU	Kampala International University
L/l	Lwo
L1	first language
L2	language learnt as a second language
LAS	language as a subject
LOI	language of instruction (see MOI)
LPP	language policy and planning
LWC	language of wider communication
LWD	language of wider distribution
MINALOC	Ministry of Local Development
MINEDUC	Ministry of Education
MINIJUST	Ministry of Justice
MMM	Multilingual Management Model

MoES	Ministry of Education and Sports
MOI	medium of instruction
MUK	Makerere University
N/n	Nyankore
Na/na	Nyakitara
NACC	National AIDS Control Commission
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Centre
NGO	non-governmental organisation
No/no	Nyoro
NTC	National Teachers' College
NUR	National University of Rwanda
OAL(s)/oal(s)	other African language(s)
OL(s)/ol(s)	other language(s)
ORINFOR	Office Rwandais d'information (the National Information Office of Rwanda)
P1	Primary education, Grade 1
P1–P3	Primary (school) Grades 1–3
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
R/r	Rwanda (language)
S/s	Swahili
S1–S6	Secondary (school), Grades 1–6
Sa/sa	Saamia
SIL	SIL International
So/so	Soga
T/t	Tooro
UAAC	Université Adventiste de l'Afrique Centrale
UBC	Uganda Broadcasting Corporation
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UCU	Uganda Christian University
ULK	Université Libre de Kigali
UN	United Nations
UNEB	Uganda National Examination Board
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UTV	Ugandan Television
VOA	Voice of America

Map of Uganda and Rwanda



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PART I. INTRODUCTION AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC
BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim and scope of the study

This work is a macro-sociolinguistic study of language status and language use in Rwanda and Uganda. It covers the main formal domains in society, both official and non-official. By creating a model for analysis and using a quantitative method developed for this study, it became possible to compare the same domains and units of analysis in the two African countries. The model and method provide a measurement of the position of languages or language groups vis-à-vis other languages within each domain, i.e. they analyse how languages are stipulated to be used or the extent to which they actually are used within the formal domains of society. In this way it is possible to identify trends, showing either similar or divergent status or use. Additionally, the model contrasts the position of languages in the realms of official and non-official management.

The present study deals with language policy, but also with language management, both by authorities and citizens outside the official management. Language policy, which is about status allocation through language choices, and language management issues have been widely discussed in earlier studies; but given the multitude of problems that exist in sub-Saharan Africa, a number of aspects were not addressed. In particular, the relationship between official policy and its implementation needs more attention. Moreover, as discussed in section 1.4.5, there are few macro-sociolinguistic studies covering several domains of a state either in Africa or the rest of the world. The few earlier studies of the sociolinguistic situation in Rwanda and Uganda respectively are mainly restricted to one specific domain or research area. The facts obtained from sociolinguistic studies in the two countries investigated are, thus, fragmentary and at times outdated. A comprehensive and systematic description of the present situation was, therefore, necessary.

Furthermore, an extensive comparative macro-sociolinguistic study of two African countries is, as far as I know, unique. Thus, this thesis is a specific

contribution to the field of sociolinguistic studies, as it approaches the linguistic situation from a particular methodological perspective. To this end, therefore, I have developed a model, henceforth called the *Multilingual Management Model* (MMM), described in section 1.5, to show and contrast what I label *official* and *non-official multilingual management*. This model makes a theoretical and practical comparison of the language situation in Rwanda and Uganda possible. The proposed model may be used for future macro-sociolinguistic research, even for studies of how languages are valued and employed within an individual country.

Africa is a multilingual continent with between 1,500 and 2,000 languages, which amounts to about one third of the languages of the world (Maho 2004:290). Only a handful of African nations have a linguistic situation where more than 90 per cent of the population master the same language (UNESCO 1996:3). The remaining multilingual countries either have one predominant African language alongside less dominant African languages, several dominant African languages, or no dominant African language.

Countries may be classified according to the characteristics of the language policy chosen for these multilingual situations. Three main classifications or typologies of language policy are found in Africa (Heine 1979; Cobarrubias 1983). Firstly, there are countries with an endoglossic policy that promotes an African language. Secondly, there are nations with an exoglossic policy that gives primacy to a non-African language, frequently a former colonial language. Thirdly, there are countries that basically have a bilingual or multilingual policy, i.e. a mixed policy, promoting both African languages and foreign languages at the same time.

At first sight, Rwanda and Uganda seem to be different, both as regards the language situation and the language policy typology into which the countries may be classified. Rwanda (called *Ikinyarwanda* in Rwanda, see 1.6.3.1), which is both a national and an official language in Rwanda, is spoken by 99.4 per cent of the population. Uganda's situation is more typical of sub-Saharan Africa with its multitude of languages, but no single language is acquired as an L1 by more than 17.3 per cent of the nation.² However, a closer study reveals typological similarities between the two. Formally, Rwanda's policy is a mixed policy that promotes, as official languages, i.e. languages with

² A full overview of the sociolinguistic situation of both countries is described in detail in Chapter 2, Sociolinguistic background.

legal status, both the African language Rwanda, French – the language of the former Belgian administration, and English. The language policy of Uganda has, since Independence, been exoglossic, with English as the official language; in September 2005, Swahili was added as the second official language, and the policy formally changed to a mixed one. Rwanda and Uganda were found interesting to compare both due to this typological similarity and the divergent sociolinguistic situation of the countries, combined with their geographical proximity.

1.2 Working hypotheses

A set of preliminary ideas about the situation in Rwanda and Uganda, which I here call *working hypotheses*, are listed below. These hypotheses are based on a number of *underlying ideas* about the relationship between languages. These underlying ideas, which are presented in section 1.5.1, have been instrumental both in formulating the hypotheses presented below and the analysis model (see section 1.5).

My overall aim is both to describe the language situation (status and use) in each country, and to compare the two countries in terms of that situation. The general assumption of this study is that both the special sociolinguistic characteristics and the respective policies of Rwanda and Uganda, as accounted for above, influence the way languages are used in all formal domains – official as well as non-official. Both similarities and differences in status and use were expected to be found. *Status* (see 1.4.1) is defined as the prestige or position given to one or more languages, relative to that of other languages, mainly through the allocation of official roles or function and attributed prestige. The working hypotheses which this study highlights are listed below.

1. The official languages which are stipulated in the Constitution to be used (Rwanda, French and English in the Republic of Rwanda, and English and Swahili in the Republic of Uganda) were not expected to be employed to the same extent within the domains of official language management, despite the equal official status allocated these languages.
2. In state administration (official domains), in education and in state media, Rwanda was expected to be used more than Ganda and other Ugandan languages, as Rwanda is allocated an official status and Ugandan languages are not. When using the term *Ugandan languages* I

include all Ugandan languages but not Swahili, since it is not commonly used as a first language (L1).

3. In the domains of non-official language management, Rwanda, the national and official language of the Republic of Rwanda, was expected to be used more than Ganda, which is numerically the largest L1 among the languages spoken in Uganda. As Rwanda is known by practically all Rwandans and, therefore, is the medium which reaches all Rwandans, this should be reflected in use even if Ganda is additionally a language of wider distribution (LWD) and, thus, is also used as a second language (L2), see 1.4.1.
4. The total use of Ganda and all other L1s in Uganda was expected to be less than the use of Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda in non-official domains, attributable to Rwanda's rather unique potential as a language of wide outreach.
5. In non-official domains such as *Trade and commerce, Religion and Private media* in the Republic of Rwanda, Rwanda was expected to be used less in comparison to its nearly 100 per cent distribution, since status also is assigned the co-official languages French and English. Status allocation is believed to influence attitudes about languages and, thus, use. In contrast, due to its function as an LWD, the use of Ganda in Uganda was assumed to be greater than its proportional use as an L1, in spite of its lack of official recognition.
6. The use of languages of European origin in non-official formal domains was expected to show similarities in Rwanda and Uganda because of the prestige with which non-African official languages are generally endowed in Africa. In spite of the low number of speakers of these languages, the use of the non-African languages English and French was expected to be enhanced and at a similar level, even in non-official domains.
7. Swahili was expected to be used to approximately the same degree in Rwanda and Uganda both in official and non-official domains, partly because the language is frequently used as a lingua franca in East Africa, and partly because it is commonly considered to be the language of communication in the army and the police in both countries. The recent

introduction of Swahili as a co-official language alongside English in Uganda was not expected to have had any significant impact on language practice.

8. African languages were believed to be used extensively in settings which are typically 'oral', like radio broadcasts (both state-controlled and private), religious sermons and market and shop interactions, thus more in the domains of non-official multilingual management than in official multilingual management.
9. When official and non-official language management are separately analysed and contrasted, the strength of languages is revealed.

These working hypotheses are examined, where possible, in the comparative section of each Chapter as a part of the study of the relationship between languages or language groups.

1.3 Structure of thesis

Although this study primarily deals with the present situation and recent developments, it is imperative to look at the language situation diachronically to understand the present state. Therefore, a short historical overview is included in most areas of the study.

Following this section, the theoretical framework of the study is presented, followed by an overview of historical, demographic and linguistic factors which are relevant for the understanding of the study.

The thesis has three main parts in addition to the introductory section which has already presented the main aim and background of the study. Part I continues with a presentation of the theoretical framework, including ideas and concepts which are central to this work. Here, among other things, well-known sociolinguistic concepts such as *bilingualism*, *diglossia* and *language policy* are discussed in relation to ideas about *language competition on a linguistic market*. The model that has been developed to conduct the study reported here is subsequently described and is presented in detail, including methods for data collection, methodological difficulties and data presentation. As an overview of the linguistic situation in Rwanda and Uganda, the sociolinguistic background is described in Chapter 2.

This presentation is followed by Part II, which presents all the domains belonging to the category *Official multilingual management* (Chapters 3 to 5), and subsequently by Part III, the *Non-official multilingual management* category (Chapters 6 to 8).

The data presented in Parts II and III are followed up in Part IV through a summarised account of the results and a discussion of the implications of the results.

1.4 *Theoretical framework*

1.4.1 *Terminological issues*

Terminology pertaining to languages can be problematic, as scholars and authorities use terms for key concepts with different implications. In Africa, for example, both the terms *official* and *national* characterise the status of languages. An *official language* is defined by the United Nations as a language “that has legal status in a ... political entity such as a state or part of a state, and that serves as a language of administration” (UN 2002:153). Thus, an official language has been stipulated for use in official domains and major state functions through the Constitution or laws. The term *national language* has four different meanings (Brann 1994; Legère 2008): territorial (as e.g. in Cameroon), regional (as in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo/DRC or Nigeria, which has four regional languages called *national languages*), countrywide (as in Tanzania) and, finally, *official*. The term *national* is most commonly understood as all languages spoken in a country (territorial) or one language spread and used all over the country by more than 50 per cent of the population countrywide, as classified by Heine (1979:17). In Rwanda, it has the latter implication. In Uganda, no language has a countrywide distribution and a strong social basis, even if there have earlier been discussions about the role of Ganda as a national language, as accounted for below.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, many African states chose to define their heritage or ancestral languages as *national*, granting them status whether or not these were spoken by everyone in the country (Brann 1994:130). The term *national language* has also been in focus in the Swahili/Ganda debate in the Republic of Uganda. When discussed in the Ugandan context, the term *national* seems to refer to a language for official use (ibid.:133) or, possibly,

having symbolic value, which is often the implication which national languages carry (Coulmas 2005:189). See sections 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.2.1 for further discussions of the use of the terms *national* and *official*. In this study, the term *national language* is used to define a language spoken all over the country, while an *official language*, as stated above, is a languages stipulated by the state to be used in official domains.

Status is thus central in this work. *Status* is here seen as the position of a language in society vis-à-vis other languages. Status allocation of one or more languages to official or functional domains, which is close to the use of the term *status planning*, is the most important aspect of status attribution. However, an official allocation alone cannot account for a language's status. Status may be obtained through factors such as statutory or institutionalised function, as suggested by Stewart (1968), for example, who includes language origin, degree of standardisation and vitality as major factors which determine language status. In this thesis, I use the term *status* with the inclusion of institutionalised use in formal domains of society.

In everyday life, people, including some researchers, often use the term *mother tongue* to denote the language which is the first language a person acquires in early childhood. The use of the term may be understood in this sense as the language learnt from the mother,³ but also as the language used most in the household or the language a person knows best. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) in addition to origin discusses identification (self-identification and identification by others), competence (the language one knows best) and function (the language used most) as definitions of mother tongue. These are all more or less problematic. The ambiguity of the term and the personalised reference to the individual speaker makes it unsuitable in a macro-sociolinguistic analysis, however (Brann 1994:127). Instead, the term *first language* (L1) is used here to denote one or more languages acquired in early childhood (Idris 2007:38). *Second language* (L2), thus, is a language learnt after the first language has been acquired, either in the community where it is spoken or through formal education.

The use of the terms L1 and L2 may be problematic in an African context where multilingualism is widespread. The first language that is acquired is often replaced in childhood by a language spoken in the area, which technically is the

³ In some cultures it may even be the languages learnt from the father, e.g. in mixed marriages where male partners impose their language onto females.

L2, but which functions as the L1 in the sense that it is the language which the person knows best and which is preferred in daily communication. The languages which are learnt later are thus additional L2s. In spite of this slight ambiguity as to terminology, I have chosen to use *L1* and *L2* throughout the thesis to denote, respectively, the language(s) acquired in early childhood and languages learnt at a later stage. Language competence is not considered in this or any other definition regarding language use. Clearly, in quotations, the original terminology is kept.

Languages which are used for communication across and within communities not speaking the same language are frequently called languages of *wider communication* (LWCs). In this thesis, the term *language of wider distribution* (LWD) is used instead, with the same implications as a *lingua franca*, defined by Crystal (2008:282) as an auxiliary language used by groups of people who speak different L1s. The term *area language* is occasionally used in official texts, e.g. in the Ugandan Government's White Paper on Education (see section 4.2.3) to describe the main language in the area. In this thesis, the term *area language* is used, especially in the Linguistic landscape section, to denote the language used predominantly as an LWD within a defined geographical area.

Language policy is another concept and term whose use and definition vary among scholars. The development of language policy as a field and the varying use of the term are discussed in more detail in section 1.4.4. *Language policy* is, generally speaking, concerned with the relationship between, on the one hand, languages that are given official functions in a society, and society itself on the other. Thus, language policy deals with the allocation of status within the formal domains of society and the management of these language choices. The term *multilingual management* in my model is chosen to describe the choice and use of languages in a multilingual society, a society where more than two languages coexist. This management includes both official state-controlled domains, i.e. *official multilingual management*, and domains outside government control, *non-official multilingual management*. The restriction to 'formal domains of society' limits the activities to areas beyond the strictly private sphere, outside family life.

The term *domain* was introduced by Fishman in 1972 (Spolsky 2009:3) and is defined by Crystal (2008:155) as referring to "a group of institutionalised social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules". A *domain* is, thus, "a social space such as home or family, school, neighbourhood, church (or synagogue or mosque), workplace, public media or governmental

level (city, state, nation)” (Spolsky 2009:3). Hence, the concept includes interactions within a particular setting, in accordance with Fishman’s ideas (Fishman 1972). I have chosen to use the term *domain* with this implication and because it is well established within sociolinguistic research, and not *field*, which is used by Bourdieu. I have nonetheless adopted his metaphorical economic terms to describe power relations (see section 1.4.3).

This dissertation is a macro-sociolinguistic study in the sense discussed by Coulmas (1996) and Trudgill (2006:1) as opposed to micro-sociolinguistic research. Crystal (2008:293) states that “some sociolinguists (e.g. Joshua Fishman) distinguish between the broad concerns of macro-sociolinguistics (e.g. multilingualism, language planning) and the detailed investigation of micro-sociolinguistics (e.g. speech events, conversation)”. The approach may more specifically be classified as belonging to the sociology of language, as it deals with language and sociological factors from this broad perspective (Spolsky 1998:124).

Macro-sociolinguistic studies are primarily concerned with societal organisation and not individual or micro-level interactions. The focus of such a study is on large groups of speakers within a specific geographical area, frequently a country. A macro-sociolinguistic approach is, among other things, preoccupied with legal or institutionalised stipulations. In this study, the functions of languages within vital domains of society are analysed. Even the strength of languages on the linguistic market (see 1.4.3) is investigated. This strength is not only confined by the language’s official and legal status as expressed by the executive, legislative and judicial state institutions, but also by the linguistic culture, the belief systems, attitudes and myths of a society (Schiffman 1996, 2006). Thus, the status of the language(s) of a nation is partly dependent on the recognition given to it in the constitution and other official documents, and partly by institutionalised use, i.e. practices that have become part of a well-established system, but which are not necessarily formally stated in documents. Thus, institutionalised language use is manifest in all domains, even within the official domains, as described in section 3.2 of this thesis.

In the following sections, sections 1.4.2 to 1.4.6, major themes which have been vital in sociolinguistic research are discussed. The review starts with *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* in relation to the concept of *diglossia*, and subsequently includes aspects such as power asymmetry and the idea of language competition in societies displaying diglossic situations.

In addition, this section gives an overview of the principal works that have been developed in the field of language policy and language planning. The first period of earlier research was influenced by structuralism and the idea that it was possible to solve problems pertaining to language through planning at the macro level. These early works were followed by those said to belong to *critical sociolinguistics* (Ricento 2000:10-16). The current phase of language policy and planning research is, according to Ricento, epistemologically post-modernistic, with a focus on linguistic human rights.

In this study, when investigating language policy and planning, the focus has naturally been on models and typologies – an avenue of research that has seen few recent works. The work of Chaudenson (1988, 1999, 2000) is an exception and has been instrumental in the development of my model. His work is therefore discussed in more detail.

1.4.2 *Bilingualism, multilingualism and diglossia*

Bilingualism in a restricted sense is used referring to native speakers of two languages (Bloomfield 1933) or in a wider sense referring to individuals having minimal competence either in understanding, in speaking or in writing in a language which is not their L1 (McNamara 1967). Neither of these definitions covers the concept of *collective* or *societal* bilingualism, which is a major area of my analysis. The term *multilingualism*, as used by Clyne (1997:301) about both individual competence and “the language situation in an entire nation or society”, is more useful when describing the situation within a multilingual society or setting, which is the case for most African countries. *Multilingualism* refers to “a situation where several languages are used side by side within one society” (Coulmas 2005:234). Crystal (2008:318) contrasts multilingualism – both societal and individual multilingualism (plurilingualism) – with monolingualism and bilingualism. Mackey (2006:1304), in *The handbook Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik*, defines *multilingualism* as the use of “four, and more, or an indeterminate number [of languages]”. In the present study, the use of two languages is labelled *bilingualism* while *multilingualism* refers to the use of three or more languages within a society. These languages are not necessarily used to the same extent or on an equal basis, but are given or take different functions or positions in society. In a multilingual society, the languages are frequently used in a diglossic situation.

The phenomenon of diglossia was introduced by Ferguson in 1959 and further elaborated by Fishman (1967; 1970) From the original description of

coexisting high and low varieties of a language having complementary functional roles, one variety used in formal situations and the other in non-formal situations, Fishman extended the concept to include bilingualism (Coulmas 2005:133). Fishman makes a distinction between *bilingualism*, which he defines as the individual ability to use two languages, and *diglossia*, defined as a social situation where two or more languages coexist with different status, see TABLE 1 below. In Ferguson’s model, these languages are genetically related, whereas, in Fishman’s analysis, this is not necessarily the case: the function of the high variety may be carried out by a language unrelated to the low variety. The mainstream position within sociolinguistics agrees with Fishman that “diglossia is one kind of societal bilingualism, not vice versa” (ibid.:133). Fishman proposed a theoretical model of the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia, ranging from diglossia with individual bilingualism; through diglossia without bilingualism; bilingualism without diglossia; and finally, to situations with neither diglossia nor bilingualism. Fishman’s reformulation of *diglossia* is often exemplified as a table showing the four possible combinations of diglossia and bilingualism. TABLE 1 gives some suggested scenarios of societies with the four possible combinations.

TABLE 1. *Fishman’s proposed types of bilingual societies*

Bilingualism	Diglossia	
	+	-
+	Everyone in a society speaks both languages.	Bilingualism among immigrants and their children.
-	The elite use a prestigious language different from the one spoken by the masses.	Linguistically egalitarian society with no language variation.

Fishman’s theoretical combinations exhibit that, in societies where there is diglossia but no bilingualism, i.e. a society with a number of monolingual entities under the same governance or where the masses do not speak the language of the elite, there is obviously an unequal distribution of power. Disempowerment through languages will be discussed further in 1.4.6. Even in situations with bilingualism without diglossia, there is an unstable situation where the more prestigious language evolves.

The concept of *diglossia* as described by Fishman is useful for describing multilingual situations. *Diglossia* includes what could be called tri- or multiglossia in multilingual countries. Diglossia, in this work, is defined as a situation where two or more languages coexist in society with different status and/or functions. Diglossia, thus, denotes language asymmetry involving several languages.

Diglossia is often attributed to differences in formality and in domains, where each language has a strictly defined role in society. This study focuses on formal domains. As defined above, *formal* domains are those which are beyond the strictly private sphere, e.g. family life and leisure. A distinction between *state-controlled formal domains* and *formal domains outside state control* is considered necessary. Additionally, it is deemed vital to introduce a distinction between the *formal* and *informal use* of languages within formal public domains to capture the relationship between the languages. These delimitations are discussed more thoroughly in 1.5.

The language asymmetry which is implied in Fishman's *diglossia* concept is evident in all sub-Saharan countries, where nationwide prestigious languages, mostly official languages, dominate over languages with low status. Both the terms *prestige* and *status* refer to a position of high standing in relation to other languages. These official languages – in Africa, almost exclusively former colonial languages of European origin – do not coexist in a stable and functionally complementary diglossic situation. Rather, the diglossic situation is a dynamic and conflictual one, assuming that a conflict, whether latent or actual, exists when two languages – of which one is politically dominant and the other politically dominated – are confronted with each other. To view language and culture or intercultural contact as conflictual is not new. For instance, Pütz (1994) sees language contact and language conflict as interrelated, without analysing the relationship. This aspect was also discussed in the South African context, for instance (Malan and Walker 1991).

Fishman's definition of *diglossia* is not always useful in an analysis of African countries, where there may be hierarchical sub-conflicts between African languages. An example of this is the relationship between the Ganda language and other African languages in Uganda. A wider definition of *diglossia*, including these potential sub-conflicts, may contribute to an understanding of the relationship between the languages within a society. Calvet (1987:47) introduces the concept *diglossie enchassée* ("embedded diglossia") to describe diglossia in former colonial countries. This diglossic

situation is termed *double overlapping diglossia* by Fasold (1984:45). In Tanzania, for example, a diglossic situation exists between English and Swahili, but also between Swahili and the African languages which are the first languages of the majority of the population, as shown by Wedin (2004) and Maral-Hanak (2008). Hence, the diglossia is layered.

The term *diglossia* as used by Fishman (1970) in many respects aptly describes the relationship between languages in both Rwanda and Uganda, even if it is not specific enough for the present analysis. Seen from a Rwandan and Ugandan perspective, the diglossia there is not a stable linguistic situation: it exhibits tensions between various linguistic functions which reflect power relations between groups. Accordingly, I consider diglossia in both these countries as dynamic, because changes in the official management have recently taken place (see e.g. sections 3.1.1.2, 3.1.2.2 and 4.1.3). These changes lead to alterations in language function and use and, thus, language competition on the linguistic market, which is the social arena where languages are employed.⁴

1.4.3 Languages and the linguistic market

The economic term *market* and others such as *competition*, *value*, *power*, *dominance* and *strength* in this thesis are basically used metaphorically. I consider languages as coexisting in a linguistic market, like goods, to be governed by a supply-and-demand mechanism that can be modified by the official management, but also by other forces in a society. As opposed to the views expressed in the ideas of linguistic imperialism (Ricento 2006:6), I do not see the state as the sole agent controlling language policy and planning. Other forces, both internal and external, both socio-economic and cultural, are believed to influence and constrain the decisions made by the state. Even if the economic term *market* is used to describe competitive processes, the underlying idea is that the linguistic market exposes severe market failures, as described by Grin (2006:84), which justify and necessitate state intervention, e.g. to maintain language diversity.

The idea that there is a language competition in many ways reflects Bourdieu's approach that language is not only a means of communication, but

⁴ I have profited from Bourdieu's (1991) concept *linguistic market*, where society is seen as consisting of a range of overlapping and interrelated markets. This model is also useful for discussing power relations.

also a medium of power through which individuals work for their aims and show their practical competence. The language which is used in communicative situations is designated by the speaker or user's relational position in a social space or field (Bourdieu 1991). To describe these interactions, Bourdieu discusses language in relation to social constructs using economic terms as metaphors. Linguistic competence (*linguistic capital*) functions as capital on markets that form the *linguistic market*. The nature of these markets imbues them with a certain value. In Bourdieu's work, *economic practices* in the narrow sense is a sub-category of practices pertaining to the specific field "the market economy". In his theory, practice is the linguistic expression which can be seen as a product of the relation between the linguistic *habitus* – a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in a specific way – and a linguistic market (ibid.:17). Furthermore, there are structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as "a system of specific sanctions and censorships" (ibid.:37). These restrictions seem to be equivalent to what Spolsky (2009) calls *internal forces*.⁵

In considering relations between languages, an anthropological perspective is used, following the definition given by Fardon and Furniss (1994:6). This focus on relations implies an objectification and distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' languages. The use of the terms *strong* and *weak* does not imply that I see languages in themselves as having different qualities or possibilities. All languages have the same capacity to be used. It is actually the functions these languages are given through their employment in society which should be described in these terms. *Strong* languages are spoken by the strong, i.e. speakers of globally distributed European languages or languages which "express knowledge desired by the strong" (ibid.:7-8). This objectification may also include spatial (genealogical and quantitative properties) or functional factors. The use of one or more languages in various sectors of society, whether or not this is an official or an institutionalised distribution, strengthens the language(s) concerned. The more domains in which a language is used and the higher the institution where a language is prescribed or used, the stronger the language is considered to be. Using Bourdieu's theory, this functional allocation of a language empowers its speakers. Power is about control over resources that are limited, i.e. which are not equally available – in this case, prestigious languages.

⁵ Spolsky (2009) proposes a model about language choices where these choices are determined both by internal forces (language practices, beliefs and management within the domain) and external forces (forces outside the domain).

I have used Bourdieu's argumentation and terms as a basis for model development. Bourdieu's work has, among other things, inspired the development of a quantitative method of analysis that enables the position of languages to be measured – a position which is believed to result from ongoing language competition in the linguistic market, and which reveals the strength of these languages.

1.4.4 *Language policy, planning and management*

The macro-sociolinguistic approach of this thesis intrinsically involves an analysis of the linguistic situation and language policy of a country. In the West, the study of language policy as a field within linguistics developed in the early 1970s, parallel to the field of sociolinguistics, mainly through the work of Fishman (1970), following the pioneering work of Haugen (1959; 1966) on language planning. It is less known that work on language policy and especially language planning started as far back as the 1920s in the Soviet Union, to cope with its multilingual situation (Isayev 1977).

As introduced in section 1.4.1, *language policy* is concerned with the relationship between languages that are given functions in a society and society itself. Spolsky (2004:9) has described language policy as “all the language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community or polity”. Spolsky and other researchers, e.g. Legère (2008), include all initiatives. I consider this definition to be too wide. For this study, language policy is understood as the total of language choices either formally stated in documents or reflected in institutionalised language use within formal domains. Language policy, thus, affects the status of languages in a polity.

The definition excludes measures taken by informal groups and individuals. The latter initiatives are incorporated into what I call *language management*. Applying this definition of *language policy* does not imply that I ignore the close relationship between what Tollefson (1991:16) calls *public* and *private*, and which he claims reflects an “uncritical social theory perspective”. On the contrary: I consider this relationship essential for the comparative country analysis. In my analysis, I separate official status and pragmatic official use from non-official language use: they interact. See section 1.5, which describes the model and the underlying ideas on this position.

I also distinguish *language policy* from *language planning*, even if the field often is referred to as *language policy and planning* (LPP) today, e.g. by Hornberger (2006). The concept of *language planning* is widely accepted as the

practical implementation of a language policy or deliberate efforts to change linguistic behaviour (Cooper 1989; Calvet 1996). In the West, language planning developed in the late 1950s as a field within linguistics, with descriptions and taxonomies of multilingual linguistic situations, partly as a result of the decolonisation in Africa and Asia and “the language decision-making process for the newly independent states” (Spolsky and Shohamy 1997:1). Planning was seen as a solution to social, economic and political problems after the Second World War and this is also reflected in the language-related work of this period (Spolsky 2008).

Attempts have been made to describe and analyse the major factors of language planning. A pioneer in sociolinguistic research, Charles Ferguson aimed at constructing theories parallel to descriptions and taxonomies in order to compare various country situations. His profile formulas of “major languages” and “minor languages”, with criteria developed for each category, were an important step forward in the work on describing language situations (Ferguson 1962). In this way, Ferguson offered a useful tool for describing the linguistic situation in a multilingual setting by introducing the uses of languages as a new parameter. In this typology, percentages of use were linked to the circumstances in which the languages were used. To determine the profile, a dichotomy was first made between minor and major languages. A multilingual country might have one or more major languages. It is possible to characterise these languages by using three indicators: numerical superiority (spoken by more than 50 per cent of the population), learning by speakers of other languages, and their official uses in societal domains. These indicators, in addition to the number of languages, the use of LWDs, the written use of major languages, and the standardisation of languages, formed the profile of a country.

Ferguson later elaborated this three-category functional analysis into a five-category and seven-function analysis, built on a typology first proposed by Stewart in 1962 (Ferguson 1966). In 1968, Stewart developed his 1962 typology further to also account for four characteristics or attributes: *standardisation*, *autonomy*, *historicity* and *vitality*. Three new functions were also included, in addition to the seven proposed by Ferguson (Stewart 1968).

Fasold (1984), in his work *The sociolinguistics of society*, continued the work on typologies and suggested a formulaic system where the function of a planned language may be predicted, given the “(near)universal language functions and the sociolinguistic attributes required of a language in order to fulfil them” (ibid.:82).

1.4.5 Status versus use – The work of Chaudenson

Three to four decades after the first period of research focusing on language planning in developing nations, a new wave of language policy research evolved that concerned itself with topics such as the linguistic consequences of colonialism (Calvet 1987), social planning (Cooper 1989), and language policy planning and agency, mainly seen from a macro perspective (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997).

When it comes to macro-sociolinguistic work, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language (IJSL)* has published sporadic articles on macro-sociolinguistic topics since its launch in 1974 (Janicki 2006:70). Reports on sociolinguistic research pertaining to specific countries has been frequent in the IJSL since 1985, with reports on Brazil, Bulgaria, France, India, Japan, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia (ibid.).

In the African context, projects in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have described language policy and the linguistic situation in African states (Sow 1977; UNESCO 1996). In addition, a series of language surveys have been conducted in some African countries, e.g. Uganda (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972), Kenya (Whiteley 1974), Zambia (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978), and Tanzania (Polomé and Hill 1980). These mainly focused on the linguistic situation, with particular reference to languages in education. Despite the considerable number of sociolinguistically oriented language surveys, there are few studies with a macro-sociolinguistic approach in Africa. However, studies pertaining to specific domains or settings have been conducted, e.g. by Legère (2001) on advertisements and language requirements in the Namibian context, by Reh (2002) on literacy and multilingualism in Uganda, and by Reh (2004) on stationary multilingual signs and texts in Lira in northern Uganda.

In Rwanda, the few earlier studies of the linguistic situation are mainly restricted to one specific research area. The most recent work, a sociolinguistic analysis of multilingualism in Rwanda conducted by Munyankesha (2004), had a broader perspective. To date, this is the only comprehensive work on the post-1994 situation in Rwanda. In this doctoral dissertation, Munyankesha focuses on attitudes towards the three official languages as well as towards non-official Swahili, and suggests necessary language planning initiatives to accompany the trilingual language policy. His discussion of languages and formal domains is, however, rather limited. Earlier research studies (mainly in the form of MA theses) have dealt with selected domains such as the use of English and French

in education (Niyitanga 2003), the use of and attitudes towards English in Rwandan society (Bucyana 1996) and the languages in administration and politics after 1994 (Rutayisire 2001). However, no academic contribution apart from Munyankesha's (2004) deals with language use in Rwandan society in several formal domains. In Uganda, no comprehensive work has been conducted since the above-mentioned country study *Language in Uganda*.

Hence, comprehensive macro-sociolinguistic country studies of African contexts which include a number of vital domains are rare, with the exception of the country studies mentioned above, and the academic papers that by nature only cover selected domains and issues. Furthermore, language policy issues are not sufficiently covered, given the multitude of problems which exist in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, macro-sociolinguistic studies of two countries are uncommon. To my knowledge, only the French linguist Chaudenson has approached language policy and its implementation in a comparative way and developed an instrument to measure and discuss the relationship between a country's languages' *status (statut)* and use, called *corpus* in his model (Chaudenson 1988, 1989, 2000). Chaudenson's primary concern has been the use and function of French as a language in the states that are members of Francophonie.⁶ Chaudenson's model involves nine areas of investigation. The status areas are *Officialité*, *Usages institutionnels*, *Éducation*, *Moyens de communication de masse* and *Représentation*, while the corpus areas are *Appropriation linguistique*, *Vernacularisation versus véhicularisation*, *Compétence*, and *Production et consommation langagières*.

Officialité evaluates constitutional recognition; *Usages institutionnels* assesses language status in official texts, administrative texts on national level, local administration, jurisdiction and religion; *Éducation* deals with the status of languages in primary secondary and tertiary education; *Moyens de communication de masse* includes languages used in the press, radio, television, commercial cinema, and publishing. The last status category, *Représentation*, comprises status in the private sector.

Chaudenson's corpus category *Appropriation linguistique* first studies language acquisition and second language learning; *Vernacularisation versus véhicularisation* deals with language dynamics and evaluates, among other things, the use of a non-African language having replaced the L1; *Compétence*

⁶ Francophonie is a political and socio-cultural movement, established in 1970, grouping 55 states on 5 continents. The basis of the cooperation is the use of French either as unique official language or as one of more official languages (OIF 2007).

involves the degree of competence in L1 and L2; and *Production et consommation langagières* targets how a language is used for communication in the community, both in terms of active language production and passive consumption, i.e. exposure to languages. The status categories are finally contrasted to the corpus categories to show the position of French in francophone countries. This model is discussed in more detail below.

It is possible to use a similar model to investigate languages in relation to a country, as suggested by Calvet (1996:36). Based on a simplification of Chaudenson's work, Calvet sketches a potential model with the factors *level of use*, *level of acknowledgement* and *level of functionality*, but ends up with six priorities which an analysis model should address (Calvet 1996:41-42). His suggestions include quantitative data (number of languages and their speakers), judicial facts (status of languages, use in domains), functional data (languages of wider distribution, transnational languages, rural languages, languages used in religion), diachronic data (expansion, general transmission of languages), symbolic value (prestige of languages, strategies of communication) and language competition, *données conflictuelles* (relationships between languages, i.e. competition or complementarity of languages).

The first four factors are more easily collected and analysed than the latter two – symbolic value and language competition. However, none of the language planning typology models referred to in the previous overview account for all six. On the one hand, the theoretical contributions by Ferguson, Fasold and Stewart are synchronic: they do not deal with the diachronic dimension. Still, Fasold, for example, to some extent includes symbolic value in addition to the functional aspect (Calvet 1996:42). Chaudenson, on the other hand, does not take into account language competition or symbolic values, but includes diachronic data as he considers languages of foreign origin becoming L1 – a dominant trend in urban areas in francophone countries, e.g. in Cameroon (Bitjaa Kody 2001; Rosendal 2008). This phenomenon is not found in Rwanda and the trend is not documented in Uganda. The intergenerational language loss described by Bitjaa Kody may exist even in Uganda. Nevertheless, I think that this process is given too much attention in a more general analysis; hence, it is not included in my model. Instead, new areas such as linguistic landscapes, which offer linguistic evidence in terms of signs and written announcements in particular, and which are present in public spaces, are considered important in a country analysis model. Thus, they are introduced as a new formal setting in my model.

To include *linguistic landscape* in a macro-sociolinguistic analysis is new. For a more detailed definition of linguistic landscape, see section 6.2.

Chaudenson has been a major source of inspiration for the present analysis. His interesting and innovative contribution to macro-sociolinguistic country analysis has been a most useful input for my model development.

The model of analysis, referred to above, created by Chaudenson (2000) and described in his work *Grille d'analyse des situations linguistiques* uses the classical dichotomy *status* and *corpus*, used substantially by Kloss (1969), but with quite divergent contents, especially in respect of *corpus*. In Chaudenson's analysis, *status* entails the status and functions of languages, while *corpus* does not denote the classical definition referring to a collection of texts or linguistic data, the internal features of a language or language standardisation, but to language use. *Corpus*, in Chaudenson's analysis, is only concerned with language acquisition, communicative competence, and the degree of bilingualism.

Some of the domains analysed by Chaudenson are found in the MMM as *official status*, *institutionalised language use*, *education* and *mass communication*, which in the MMM are referred to as *media*. Additionally, the idea of quantifying the status and use of languages originates in Chaudenson's work.

The MMM differs from Chaudenson's model, both regarding its point of departure and its units of analysis. In addition, a different method of calculating the quantitative results has been developed (see 1.6.3.2).

The MMM has two main parts which are contrasted: the *official* and the *non-official* multilingual management. The *official multilingual management* is defined as all the conscious and institutionalised interventions in society by the state or by state-controlled institutions. *Non-official multilingual management* is defined as the way people living in a multilingual environment manage their communication in formal contexts, independent of or influenced by the official management.

The MMM and the motives for contrasting official and other formal domains will be thoroughly presented in 1.5.

1.4.6 Empowerment and disempowerment through languages

The major difference in approach and perspective between Chaudenson's *grille* and the MMM is about the status choice related to the issue of empowerment

or disempowerment through languages. This dichotomy is described by Bamgbose (2000). The language of the elite, often the official language which commonly is a former colonial language, is used and taught through the educational system. This language is strengthened through legalisation and stipulation of its use in official and formal domains (Legère 2008). When one or more languages are strengthened, they equip the users with an ability which gives them power, while speakers of other languages are disempowered (Bamgbose 2000:17). Knowledge of a major, official or global language which accumulates benefits to speakers of these languages may be called *cultural capital*. Swarz (1996:76), cited in Nic Craith (2007:2), suggests that this cultural capital “can be transmitted intergenerationally”. Thus, social and cultural reproduction is preserved through the educational system – an idea which follows Bourdieu’s analysis of mechanisms of reproduction of social classes (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). In Bourdieu’s theory, linguistic interactions tend to reproduce the structures of the social field and determine who has the right to be listened to, to lecture, to interrupt, etc. A Bourdieuan field is always a site of struggle where individuals either seek to preserve the status quo or alter it – a conflict which involves an agreement between or complicity by those who participate in the struggle (Bourdieu 1991). The languages which are used through a symbolic domination process are only superficially the results of the “linguistic policy of the state and even the overt interventions of pressure groups” (ibid.:50). “All symbolic domination presupposes on the part of those who submit to it, a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraints nor a free adherence to values. It is inscribed, through a long and slow process of acquisition, by the sanctions of the linguistic market” (ibid.:51). In this way, the established language hierarchies display symbolic power or symbolic violence. This symbolic power is tacitly acknowledged by lower class individuals, representing a kind of active complicity which involves a belief in its legitimacy.

Participation and exclusion is another vital issue linked to power. In *Language and the Nation*, Bamgbose (1991) focuses on language policy, multilingualism and national integration. Bamgbose concludes that the use of non-African languages is an obstacle to vertical communication, i.e. communication between different levels in society, and integration of the masses (ibid.:27). The grass roots are openly excluded, for instance, through formal requirements of certain levels of education to run for Parliament, or are covertly disfavoured because of a lack of adequate competence in the official language. Both these open and covert mechanisms are effective tools for

excluding the masses from power, reducing these people “to silent objects of development”, according to Coleman (2007:5), citing Idris, Legère and Rosendal (2007).

The citizens in multilingual countries may be categorised as either *included* or *excluded* through three mechanisms: lack of competence in the official language, illiteracy, and lack of a shared medium of communication (Bamgbose 2000:2). Coulmas (2005:138) describes societies with bi- or multilingualism experience as having a “power differential between language groups”. This differential is defined by demographic strength, but also by status and function – “what is possible to do with a language” and “what people actually do with it” (Coulmas 2005:137), citing Mackey (1989:7).

It is taken for granted that, in countries displaying diglossia, there is a relationship between modes of communication corresponding to power. This study aims at describing this relationship by using an analysis model where language status and use in the domains of official and non-official formal language management is compared.

1.5 Model

In the following, the Multilingual Management Model (MMM) is presented. The presentation begins with a chain of ideas, some of which originate from works discussed in section 1.4, while others are my own ideas or assumptions. These ideas have helped me develop the MMM and answer the working hypotheses which were presented in section 1.2 above. In 1.5.2, the model itself is presented, including the domains, the settings and units of analysis which are used for the analysis. A summary of the MMM is given in TABLE 2.

The presentation of the model is followed by a section describing the methods of the study.

1.5.1 Underlying ideas

I see language use not only as a means of communication, but also as a social action and a practice which influences society. On a macro level, the following ideas underlie this study:

- Diglossia exists in most multilingual societies
- This diglossia implies language asymmetry in terms of distribution

- The language asymmetry implies unequal distribution of power through languages
- Thus, some languages are strengthened
- Languages are strengthened through three processes:
 - Their status allocation
 - Their institutionalised use in official domains, and
 - Their use in other formal domains of society
- As the strengthening of languages is seen as a process, the status, i.e. the position of a language in society vis-à-vis other languages, is liable to change
- A dynamic dimension implies competition between all languages in a society
- Through the process of language competition, languages struggle for shares of the total *linguistic space*, i.e. the total space of language activity or status that is shared between the languages that are employed or assigned to be used within the domains
- The domains form what may be called *the linguistic market*
- The use of languages in this linguistic market is limited by official language management, but also by commercial forces, attitudes, and beliefs about languages and their functionality
- Language use within a domain reflects the strength of languages in society in the linguistic market
- A contrasting analysis of the relationship between official and non-official multilingual management will reveal the strength or power of the languages concerned
- Official multilingual management is considered to be based on top-down decision-making, i.e. decisions are made on a higher level and passed down to the lower levels, while non-official multilingual management reflects both top-down and bottom-up decision-making, and
- All decisions on language use are influenced by official language management but also by commercial forces, attitudes and beliefs about languages.

On an individual level, the selection of a specific language or linguistic variety involves a choice. The choice is constrained by *socially motivated restrictions*, as Coulmas (2005:11; 2006) puts it, thus following Popper's ideas that choice is a

pre-rational decision based on feelings (Popper and Eccles 1977). On a micro level, therefore, the underlying ideas may be stated as follows:

- In multilingual contexts language use involves choices
- An individual choice is restricted
- The restrictions are social, and
- The sum of the micro choices is reflected in the domains of society, both official and non-official.

In involving human agency, my point of departure seems to come near to the language ideology branch of critical studies (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998). The macro and the micro levels are here brought together, “concluding that power is not limited to any one site, but is in fact diffuse” (Chibita 2006:239).

1.5.2 Focus of the MMM

The main objective of this work is to describe the present status, function and use of languages comparing two countries. A specially designed systematic analysis tool which focuses on official and non-official multilingual management is needed. The concept *diglossia* gives a useful, although not exhaustive basis. Combined with Bourdieu’s theoretical ideas about languages, linguistic markets and power aspects, it added substantial inspiration to the development of a model of analysis: a model which analyses the relationship between the official and the non-official multilingual managements to which the investigated domains are assigned.

The focus of the MMM, which is presented below (see TABLE 2), differs from earlier models in some aspects. Compared with Chaudenson’s model (2000), the domains which are analysed diverge. Chaudenson, for example, uses cinematic production as a part of his mass media analysis. This is not considered in the MMM. Additionally, a new setting, called the *linguistic landscape*,⁷ is introduced as a part of the domain called *Trade and commerce*.

⁷ I use the term *linguistic landscape* in this thesis about private shop signs and billboards. The concept was originally wider, and included other kinds of written signs and messages visible in urban areas. See section 6.2 for further discussion on the definition of the term.

However, the main difference between Chaudenson's *grille d'analyse* and the MMM lies in their points of departure, as described earlier in section 1.4.5.

However, as stressed above, Chaudenson's work with its *grille* for quantification, to some extent combined with Calvet's sketch of a model of analysis (see 1.4.5), was the major inspirational source. I have taken Chaudenson's ideas further by comparing official and non-official multilingual management. These two parts contrast –

- the official state functions or state-controlled domains, and
- the non-official formal domains which reflect multilingual management not orchestrated by authorities.

Official multilingual management includes status allocation, but also implementation and practical steps of status planning initiated by authorities, in addition to institutionalised language use within state-controlled domains. *Non-official multilingual management* describes the way people living in a multilingual environment manage communication in formal domains, independently, influenced by or possibly at times even forced by official management.

The dichotomisation of the model into *official* and *non-official* multilingual management implies that the status and use of languages in these main domains can be measured, compared and contrasted. By using a quantitative method (see 1.6.3.2 below), the strength and relative position of languages and language groups is revealed.

For this analysis, six formal domains were defined, three of which belong to the category *Official multilingual management* and three to *Non-official multilingual management*. The official management includes *Official domains*, *Education* and *State media*. The non-official multilingual management comprises the domains *Trade and commerce*, *Religion* and *Private media*. See TABLE 2 below, "Focus of the MMM", which provides an overview of the settings and the units of analysis of each domain. The settings are the physical locations of the study. The units of analysis are the variables that have been studied and quantified within the domains. The model is constructed with mutually exclusive domains, settings and units of analysis in order to prevent a reliability problem.

TABLE 2. *The focus of the MMM***OFFICIAL MULTILINGUAL MANAGEMENT**

DOMAIN	SETTING	UNITS OF ANALYSIS
Official domains		
– Legislation	Parliament Parliament and commissions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official status: Constitution, laws and decrees • Language(s) used for formal written communication • Language(s) used for formal oral communication • Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication
– Administration	State administration at national level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministries State admin. at local level: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local offices Offices of formal institutions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • Army 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) used for formal written communication • Language(s) used for formal oral communication • Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication
– Jurisdiction	Official buildings and streets The Supreme Court	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) used on official objects (passports, IDs, currency, etc.) and official signs • Language(s) used for formal written communication • Language(s) used for formal oral communication • Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication
Education	Primary schools Secondary schools Universities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) as MOI • Language(s) as a subject (LAS)
State media	Media publishers Newspapers Radio stations Television companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals • Amount of advertisements (total number of pages) in various languages • Time allocation of languages – Radio • Time allocation of languages – Television

NON-OFFICIAL MULTILINGUAL MANAGEMENT

DOMAIN	SETTING	UNITS OF ANALYSIS
Trade and commerce	Markets Shops Offices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Languages used at markets • Language requirements: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Private shops – Private offices
	The linguistic landscape: Streets and roads in urban areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) used on non-official billboards • Language(s) used on private shop signs
Religion	Churches and mosques	Language(s) of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sermons/liturgy/preaching • Hymns/psalms (Islam: prayers in the mosque) • Formal written administration • Internal formal oral communication • Informal internal communication (written and oral)
Private media	Media publishers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals
	Newspapers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amount of advertisements (total number of pages) in various languages
	Publishing houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of books in various languages
	Radio stations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time allocation of languages – Radio
	Television companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time allocation of languages – Television

1.5.2.1 *Official multilingual management*

Official domains

The status of languages stipulated in official documents and the functions which languages are allocated in them are investigated here. *Official documents* are formal statutes or rules and legal documents such as the constitution, laws and presidential decrees which prescribe or stipulate the use of one or more languages. The results of the study of official domains are presented in Chapter 3, section 3.1. The unit of analysis to establish official status is – *Official status: Constitution, laws and decrees.*

In addition to these statutory official functions, one or more languages may have a de facto function, as described by Cooper (1989). Therefore, institutionalised language use is investigated as well. *Institutionalised language use* here describes and analyses written and oral formal and informal communication in state administration on national and local levels, ministries, the Supreme Court, Parliament, government offices, and offices of formal institutions such as the army and the police. Four units of analysis are examined:

- Language(s) used for formal written communication
- Language(s) used for formal oral communication
- Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication, and
- Language(s) used on official objects (passports, identity documents, currency, etc.) and official signs.

The last unit of analysis, official objects and official signs, includes written information on signs and items issued by the state: informative signs in government offices and in Parliament, official street signs, and official documents such as passports, identity cards (IDs) and banknotes. Institutionalised language use is described in Chapter 3, section 3.2.

Education

The legal role and function given to languages is investigated at all levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary (primary schools, secondary schools and universities, respectively). Both the units of analysis *Language(s) as MOI* and *Language(s) as a subject* are accounted for. Both these units of analysis were outlined by Stewart (1968) as two of ten important functional domains in language planning. The efficiency of the educational system is not taken into

account in this analysis. The analysis of education is thus of status and not of practice, even if this aspect is highlighted as well. The study of *Education* is presented in Chapter 4.

State media

State media studies language use in government-owned and –controlled media. Four settings are analysed:

- Media publishers (newspapers and periodicals)
- Newspapers
- Radio stations, and
- Television.

The units of analysis in this domain are languages of newspapers and periodicals, the amount of advertisements in various languages, and the time allocation of languages in radio broadcasts and in television programmes. The domain *State media* is analysed in Chapter 5.

1.5.2.2 Non-official multilingual management

Trade and commerce

The domain *Trade and commerce* is presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis. The Chapter as a whole focuses on the private sector. It is divided into two main sections. The first part, 6.1, provides an analysis of the communicative functions of languages and the values attributed languages. Here, the use of language in markets and the professional possibilities open to one or several languages in shops and offices is investigated. The second part, 6.2, entitled the “Linguistic landscape”, describes surveys of written visual communication in urban areas, represented by private shop signs and commercial billboards.

Religion

The analysis of the domain *Religion* uses the following units of analysis: *Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching*, *Language(s) of hymns/psalms (Islam: prayers in the mosque)*, *Language(s) of formal written administration*, *Language(s) of internal formal oral communication*, and *Language(s) of informal internal communication (written and oral)* to establish language use in the principal denominations or religious communities that exist in Rwanda and Uganda. The results are presented in Chapter 7.

Private media

The last domain to be analysed is *Private media*, reported in Chapter 8. The structure of this domain follows that for *State media*, with the addition of book publishing. The analysis focuses on language use in the private press, private publishing, and commercial radio and television. Here, as for *State media*, the units of analysis are *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals*, *Amount of advertisements in various languages*, and *Time allocation of languages* in radio broadcasts and in television programmes. Furthermore, for private publishing, the unit of analysis is *Number of books in various languages*.

1.6 Methods

A comparative analysis is made possible by studying the same domains and using the same units of analysis in both countries. Detailed information about the surveys is given in each Chapter of this thesis.

This study is empirical. It employs both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection. Today it is widely accepted that qualitative and quantitative aspects of scientific investigation are complementary. The following techniques have been used in this study:

Qualitative methods:

- Semi-structured interviews
- Observation, and
- Library research.

Quantitative methods:

- Empirical quantitative surveys
- Structured interviews, and
- Questionnaires (fieldworker-administered surveys).

The data which are obtained through qualitative methods such as interviews, library research and participant observation, include secondary data compiled by other scholars. This method is also qualitative, although the technique used in the primary studies by others is mostly quantitative.

The questionnaires, when used, were filled in by fieldworkers, as illiteracy is frequent both in Rwanda and Uganda, e.g. among persons working at

markets and in small shops. These questionnaires may also be labelled as a kind of structured interviews.

A combination of semi-structured and structured interviews was used in some domains, particularly in Chapter 7 about religion and in section 3.2 about institutionalised language use. These interviews started with a more general question about language(s) which were used at, for example, the state department, ministry or congregation. The initial information was subsequently followed up by a structured interview which categorised the degree of use of the languages which had been identified. The following example clarifies the technique employed for these structured interviews: If two languages were said to be utilised, the follow-up question would be as follows: “Are these two languages used on an equal basis, i.e. 50/50?” If not, the respondent was asked to estimate the proportions of language use according to the following percentage proportions: 10/90, 20/80, 30/70 and 40/60. If three languages were employed, the language most frequently used was identified first. The remaining languages were subsequently allocated the above percentage classes. The sum of language use is always 100 per cent, which I consider to be the *linguistic space* (see 1.6.3) of the units (described in TABLE 2) which are analysed in each domain. This questioning technique was used for all units of analysis within each domain where structured interviews were conducted. For religion, the five units of analysis which were identified – *Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching*, *Language(s) of hymns/psalms (Islam: prayers in the mosque)*, *Language(s) of internal formal oral communication*, and *Language(s) of informal internal communication (written and oral)* – were investigated in this way. Similarly, interviews were carried out with employees on different levels within the state administration, at ministries, the police force, and the army.

1.6.1 Data collection

The majority of the data used for the analysis were collected during field trips to Rwanda and Uganda between May 2005 and December 2008. Each research period lasted for one to two months. During these research periods, information was collected as described below, where both the methods used for data collection and the physical settings of such collection are explained.

The description follows the structure of the model demonstrated in TABLE 2. First, the domains categorised as *Official multilingual management*

are accounted for, followed by the domains allocated to *Non-official multilingual management*.

1.6.1.1 Data collection: Official multilingual management

The units of analysis of the official domains investigate both official status and institutionalised language use. The data for the study of official status (accounted for in section 3.1) were found through document searches at Parliament, ministries and libraries (e.g. the library at the Ministry of Law in Rwanda).

For the analysis of institutionalised language use (described in 3.2), the combination of semi-structured and structured interviews accounted for above was used for the following ministries:

- Ministry of Justice (MINIJUST), Ministry of Local Development (MINALOC) and the National AIDS Control Commission (NACC) in Rwanda, and
- Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education and Sports in Uganda.

Furthermore, the administration of local offices at county and sub-county level was investigated. Three such offices were targeted in Rwanda (in the current Huye District in the South Province; in the current Rabavu District in the West Province; and in Rwamiko in the North District) and 16 in Uganda. The offices that were visited were situated in northern, eastern, western and central Uganda. Interviews were conducted in the following offices: the Gulu District Council headquarters; the Gulu Municipal Council and the Laroo, Bar Dege and Pece Divisions; the Busia Town Council office; the Busia District headquarters; and the Dabani Sub-county office. In the central region, staff at the Kyandondo County office and the Nangabo Sub-county office in the Wakiso District were interviewed. Near Fort Portal, the Butebe County headquarters and the Buheesi, Bukuuku, Busoro, Karambi, and Mugesu Sub-county offices were studied.

The reason why more local offices were investigated in Uganda than in Rwanda is due to the linguistic situation. The Republic of Rwanda is homogeneous, with Rwanda spoken everywhere in the countryside, while language use in rural Uganda was considered less predictable. Thus, in the Uganda studies, it was considered necessary to include more offices with a geographical spread. Similarly, studies on language use at markets, shops and

offices were carried out in a few places in Rwanda, but in more and geographically spread-out areas in Uganda. For example, data on billboards were only collected in the outskirts of Kigali in Rwanda; as regards shop signs, collections were only made in Butare, Gisenyi and Kigali. For the equivalent data collection in Uganda, it was deemed necessary to target seven urban areas in the four regions of Uganda. Official documents and objects such as passports, IDs and official signs (see 3.2.1.3 and 3.2.2.3) were additionally collected and/or observed.

Other state offices and functions, such as the police headquarters and the army headquarters in both Rwanda and Uganda were also visited. Here, the spokesmen of both the armed forces and the police were interviewed, in addition to other officials, wherever possible.

Finally, within the official domains, language use in the Supreme Court was studied, using a combination of semi-structured and structured interviews.

The units of analysis of the domain *Education* are languages as MOI and as subjects. The data for this analysis were collected at the Ministry of Education and at the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) in both Rwanda and Uganda. In addition, other documents pertaining to language status were collected. As a complementary measure, classroom teaching was observed, combined with interviews with teachers and staff members in both primary and secondary schools in and around the capitals, Kigali and Kampala. These observations are accounted for but not included in the quantitative calculations.

The same combination of semi-structured and structured interviews which was used to investigate state administration was employed when investigating the function of languages at five universities in Rwanda, namely the National University of Rwanda (NUR); the Kigali Institute of Education (KIE); the Université Libre de Kigali (ULK); the Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST); and the Université Adventiste de l'Afrique Centrale (UAAC). Six universities in Uganda were visited: Makerere University (MUK), Kyambogo University, the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), the Uganda Christian University (UCU), Kampala International University (KIU), and Nkumba University.

As for the domain *State media*, i.e. the state-financed press and media, statistics pertaining to the state-financed press were obtained from ministries (in Rwanda, for example, from the Minister in charge of Information in the Office of the Prime Minister) and from staff at media councils/centres. Newspapers

were collected for analysis of language use as to editorial texts and advertisements in order to capture the distribution of languages. Moreover, data based on observations during fieldwork on how languages were used (time allocation in radio and television), combined with statistics, were collected and later analysed. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews with radio and television managers were conducted.

1.6.1.2 Data collection: Non-official multilingual management

For the analysis of the domain *Trade and commerce*, language use and language requirements in the private sector were studied through questionnaire surveys. The languages used at markets by market salesmen/-women were investigated at three markets in Kigali in Rwanda (Kimironko, Kimisagara, and Nyabugogo) and two markets in Butare (Marché Central and Rango). In Uganda, the questionnaire survey was conducted at ten markets in the central districts (the Luweero and Wobulenzi markets in the Luweero District, north of Kampala; the Kiwoko market in the Nakaseke District, west of the Luweero District; the Gayaza and Kasangati markets in the Wakiso District, west of Kampala; the Mukono, Najjembe, Namawojjolo and Sseeta markets in the Mukono District, east of Kampala; the Bukoto market along the Kisaasi road near Kampala; and the Kitoro market near Entebbe). Furthermore, four markets in Busia in eastern Uganda (the Arubaine market, the Mawero market, the Nangwe market, and the main market in Busia), and three markets in Gulu in the north (the Layibi market, the Owino market, and the Wilobo market in Gulu town) were targeted. In Fort Portal, vendors at the Kabundaire and Mpanga markets were interviewed.

Language requirements for employment in shops was studied in three streets in Kigali in Rwanda (Avenue du Commerce, Rue du Karisimbi, and Rue de Nyambogogo) and in the two existing streets in Butare.

In Uganda, a similar study was carried out in ten towns and villages in the central districts of Uganda: Gayaza, Kiwoko, Luweero, and Wobulenzi, north of Kampala; Mukono and Sseeta, east of Kampala; Abayita Ababiri, Entebbe, and Nkumba, south of Kampala; in the Wakiso District; and in Gayaza, which is situated 10 km north of Kampala.

Additionally, requirements for employment were studied in Busia in the eastern region, Fort Portal in the western region, and in Gulu in the northern region. See Appendix 3, which gives a full overview of all streets and the number of interviewers in each street.

In Rwanda, the office employment requirement study was conducted in Kigali (Avenue du Commerce, Rue de Karisimbi, Rue du Lac Burera, and Rue de Nyabugogo). In Uganda, the equivalent survey was conducted in central Kampala (George Street, Kampala Road, and Lumumba Avenue); in Gulu in the north; and in Busia in the east, close to the Kenyan border.

Quantitative methods were used to collect data for the analysis of what is termed the *linguistic landscape* and which here comprises private shop signs and billboards. These signs were categorised according to the languages used on the sign. Multilingual signs were documented through digital photos.

The shop sign study collected data in four streets in central Kigali (Avenue de la Commerce, Rue Karisimbi, Rue du Lac Burera and Boulevard de Nyabugogo) and one street in the Muslim area (Avenue de la Justice). These are the main commercial streets. The main streets of Butare and Gisenyi were additionally studied. In Uganda, shop signs in Entebbe, Fort Portal, Hoima, Jinja, Kampala, Mbale, and Mbarara were studied. The streets which were investigated are given in sections 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.2.2.

In Rwanda, the data of the billboard study were documented in Kigali (Boulevard de l'OUA and Avenue de la Justice). In Uganda, roads in the outskirts of Kampala (Jinja Road from the centre of Kampala to Mukono, and Gayeza Road to Kyebando), Mbarara (the road towards Kabale), Hoima (Butyaba Road), Jinja (Nalufenya Road to Owen Falls Dam), Mbale (Main Street) and Fort Portal (Busoro to Mpanga, Kampala Road and Kasese Road) were studied.

The data in the domain *Religion* were mainly obtained through semi-structured and structured interviews with clergy and administrative staff. The Catholic Church, the Adventist Church (Seventh-day Adventists), the Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church, were studied, as was the Muslim congregation in Rwanda. In Uganda, the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church (Church of Uganda), the Pentecostal Church, the Seventh-day Adventists and the Muslim faith were analysed. These Churches and congregations are the principal ones in each country. Additionally, documents were collected and observation of practice was conducted during fieldwork.

Private media were investigated in the same way as the state media described above, namely through semi-structured interviews and statistics obtained from ministries and media centres. Information was also gathered at ministries and through interviews at radio stations (Radio 10 and Radio Contact in Rwanda, and Radio West and Radio Buganda in Uganda) and television stations in Uganda. Information on publishing was obtained from

contacting the existing publishing companies. For the analysis of languages used for advertisements, newspapers and periodicals containing advertisements were selected for a quantitative analysis in both Rwanda and Uganda.

1.6.2 Problems and biases related to study design

The sampling design of this study needs some explanatory comments. Due to a lack of existing reliable demographic data, some sampling methods which would be preferable from a methodological point of view were not possible to use, e.g. systematic or stratified sampling.

It was nevertheless possible to use a probability sampling scheme, where every element had a non-zero probability of being sampled, by choosing – from a statistical point of view – an acceptable sampling frame.

For instance, maps were used in this study for framing the door-to-door shop and office employment requirement surveys (see 6.1), the billboard and shop sign surveys (6.2), and the survey of administration at local level (Chapter 3). First, the main geographical areas were identified from the maps. Towns or municipalities (in the case of local administration) were then randomly selected in these regions. For the two former surveys, streets were subsequently identified. All shops and offices in these streets were investigated through fieldworker-administered questionnaires. In the same way, all shop signs in the selected streets were recorded. Thus, as a method, cluster sampling is frequently used in this study: respondents from certain towns were chosen for the surveys of language use, e.g. of administration at local level, shop signs and billboards, language use at markets, and language requirements in shops and offices.

The structured interviews of language use in national administration may be defined as a *multistage sampling*, which is also a cluster sampling method. The clusters for investigation were first identified or structured, after which some settings were randomly selected (a number of ministries and government bodies). Finally, a number of employees working in these official institutions were randomly chosen for interviews. By using this technique, the disadvantages of a convenience sample were avoided.

The selected towns should be as representative of the population as possible. Therefore, towns from all four regions in Uganda (Central Uganda, Eastern Uganda, Northern Uganda and Western Uganda) were chosen. The available statistics were consulted in order to choose towns of approximately the same size. Of course, there is a risk that these clusters are biased, despite the effort made to provide samples that took various geographical or socio-

demographic differences into account. Therefore, I only make inferences from the data I have collected, and only for the period of time when the study was conducted.

Fewer places were included in Rwanda than in Uganda, as Rwanda is a far more homogenous society than Uganda in respect of its language situation (see section 2.1.2.1). The samples collected there were judged to be less liable to bias when it came to geographical differences as Rwanda is spoken all over the country; thus, a lower number of locations were judged to be needed. In Uganda, the language situation is more complex and settings in all four regions were deemed necessary to be included.

By using questionnaires filled in by fieldworkers, the non-response problem of mail surveys – which is typical of many Western research projects – was avoided.

The size of the surveys conducted in the various domains of society outlined in the MMM (see TABLE 2) vary considerably, from interviews with 10-15 respondents (administrations, churches) to more than 3,700 questionnaire responses (market salesmen/-women). This variation is due to the different character of the domains investigated. In ministries, for example, the number of employees and, thus, possible interviewees is limited. Additionally, the structure in state administration is rather hierarchical. Very often (but fortunately not always), it is not possible to interview lower-level civil servants when persons with higher positions are available. Furthermore, in the army, and to some extent in the police, all information is disseminated through the official spokespersons. This is a fact and cannot be changed. Hence, a low number of interviews is the result.

Moreover, the varying sample size may create problems with the quantitative data if measures are not consciously taken to avoid bias. For instance, it was not possible to establish the number of markets and the number of salesmen and -women at these markets in advance. Therefore, the locations of such markets were identified at a later stage and all the salespersons working there were interviewed by using structured interviews registered by fieldworkers. The same problems applied to shops and offices. In the selected towns, some streets were randomly chosen and a decision was taken that all shops/offices in such streets would be visited by the interviewers. In this way, the number of respondents varied from place to place. The original number of respondents was kept in the presentations of the results. To reduce the risk of bias, the average of

each geographical area studied was calculated separately, before calculating the average for all sub-studies.

This study struggles with the same issues common to all scientific research: reliability and validity. There are obviously general methodological problems in gathering data for a broad country analysis. In a macro-sociolinguistic study, it is impossible to investigate the domains in society in detail through specially designed surveys. This would be an overwhelming and impossible project. Therefore, a substantial part of the data, especially background information, must be gleaned from existing statistics and other data sources. The available statistics may be both subjective and unreliable, however. Even official data may, consciously or subconsciously, be biased and thus misleading. For example, governments or government institutions might be reluctant to reveal real competence in the official language (often a non-African former colonial language) where the result is counter-productive to official policy and politics. There are also problems with census statistics, as the declared competence in languages is not necessarily identical to actual competence or behaviour. A positive status attached to a language may have influenced the given answers. The statistical data must, therefore, be treated both critically and carefully.

To evaluate the accuracy of data, it is essential to use a combination of existing statistics and more intuitive empirical methods and observation. These impressions and observations are as reliable as estimated or subjective assessments based on statistical material. Good knowledge from seeing and being on location should, therefore, not be underestimated as a way of validating the data.

The example given above about census statistics also concerns the validity of findings. Language capacity data are frequently based on census questions about ethnicity. Ethnic groups and language groups are, however, not automatically on a one-to-one relationship, so the data should be treated with care.

As mentioned above, the sampling design is problematic when one works in countries where background information such as demographic structures is lacking or insufficient. The studies of language use at markets and the language requirements of shops and offices in Uganda (see section 6.1.2, Trade and commerce) amply illustrate these difficulties. Despite careful considerations as to geographical differences, the studies may nevertheless be biased. The selected

towns and areas may, for instance, not be representative of all Ugandan towns. I encountered such a problem in the study of requirements for shop employment in Uganda. Busia, in eastern Uganda, was chosen as one of the towns to be investigated in the study of markets, shops and offices. In Busia, the results of Swahili were exceptionally high, probably due to the closeness to Kenya and commercial border activities. The average results are, therefore, not quite representative of Uganda as a whole.

Additionally, the responses of interviews where the respondents make approximative estimations of language use, for instance within the domain *Religion*, or to investigate institutionalised language use within official domains may have weaknesses, partly due to a low number of respondents and partly because the respondents themselves may give inaccurate information. The fact that, in most cases, more than one interview has been conducted within the same investigated institution enhances the possibility of obtaining a correct picture of language use. Where it has not been possible to conduct more than one interview (as in the army in both countries), the information has been controlled to the best extent possible in order to minimise these problems. This was achieved methodologically through informal conversation with citizens and scholars, and by way of general knowledge gleaned through fieldwork in the countries concerned.

Overall, measures have been taken to prevent and to overcome both validity and reliability problems. One step in this direction lies in the model design, which has mutually exclusive units of analysis. In retrospect, however, some questionnaire designs could have been reformulated to avoid ambiguity and interpretation or validity problems. This pertains especially to the sub-studies of shops and offices in section 6.1. In my opinion, the problems were overcome through a mixture of good knowledge of everyday life in Rwanda and Uganda, deduction, and ordinary common sense.

1.6.3 Data analysis

Seen from my perspective, languages share the linguistic space of each domain of society. As described earlier in “Underlying ideas” (see 1.5.1), *linguistic space* is the total space of language activity or status that is shared between the languages which are employed or assigned to be used within a particular domain. To be able to evaluate this linguistic space of a domain, one or more essential units of analysis are identified. The linguistic space of each unit is 100 per cent (see 1.6.3.2 below). This idea is reflected in the method I developed for

this analysis in order to be able to quantify, compare and evaluate the said linguistic space. This makes it possible to compare the results in all domains. The calculation method suits my intentions and basic theoretical ideas about languages and the linguistic market.

Generally speaking, the percentage distribution of the languages or language categories is calculated for each unit investigated. Although the data differ for the sub-studies of this study, the calculation methods are always expressed as percentages of the linguistic space. These calculation methods are described in more detail in 1.6.3.2 below.

The main purpose of the calculations is to demonstrate the position of the identified languages and language groups and, in this way, enable a comparison of Rwanda and Uganda. The languages and language categories are described in the next section, 1.6.3.1.

The actual percentages which are the result of the quantifications are not important per se, but rather reflect the position of languages vis-à-vis other languages. Therefore, a table of interpretation has been created to indicate the levels of status or use of languages in the investigated units of analysis. This interpretation table is presented in 1.6.3.3.

1.6.3.1 Categories of analysis

To enable a comparison between Rwanda and Uganda, four categories of analysis have been identified, as shown in TABLE 3 below. Before going into more detail about the reasons for choosing these categories, an explanation of terminology pertaining to language names is given.

In this thesis, Bantu language names are used without the noun class prefixes, following the spelling practice of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), except in cases of quotations where the original language names are kept. The national language of the Republic of Rwanda, *Ikinyarwanda*,⁸ is thus called *Rwanda* in this paper; *Luganda* is called *Ganda* here, and *Kiswahili* is called *Swahili*. When there is a risk of misunderstanding whether the language Rwanda or the country Rwanda is being referred to, its full name *Republic of Rwanda* is used.

⁸ The autonym *Ikinyarwanda* means “language of Rwandans”. It is composed of the initial vowel *i-* (also called pre-prefix or augment), followed by the prefix *-ki-* (which means “language”, inter alia), the prefix *-nya-* (which has a possessive meaning) and the noun stem *-rwanda*.

Often the form without the initial vowel, *Kinyarwanda*, is seen in texts in French or in English. As this is a xenonym and as the prefix of a Bantu language changes when in another country (in Uganda the language is e.g. called *Runyarwanda*) the *Ethnologue* practice to use the glossonyms without prefixation was chosen. As we do not write *français* but French in English, the use of the glossonym without prefixation and not the autonym *Ikinyarwanda* is preferred.

The first category which has been judged to be vital to identify is *Dominant African language*. This includes Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda in the Republic of Uganda. *Swahili* is the second category. This African language is separated from the other African languages which fall into the category *Other African languages*. The fourth category is *Non-African official languages*, which contains English and French in Rwanda, and English in Uganda.

TABLE 3. *Categories of analysis*

CATEGORIES OF ANALYSIS			
Dominant African language	Swahili	Other African languages	Non-African official languages

The choice of these categories is based on the linguistic situation in the two countries investigated. As described above, Rwanda and Ganda are grouped as *Dominant African language*. In the Republic of Rwanda, the national and official language, Rwanda, known by 99.4 per cent of the population, theoretically has a unique position and could be used in all formal domains. It was expected that this study would show a different reality. The use of Rwanda within both official and non-official multilingual management was vital to single out, therefore. In Uganda, Ganda is the numerically largest language, even if its number of speakers is far lower than the share of speakers of the Rwanda language. However, Ganda additionally has a function as an LWD outside the geographical Ganda-speaking area (see section 2.2.2.2), which makes use of the latter especially interesting in terms of a separate analysis, in order to contrast it with the use of the Rwanda language.

Swahili is used in both Rwanda and Uganda in special functions, but is not an overall LWD in either country. Swahili has recently obtained status as an

official language in Uganda (by being nominated as the second official language in September 2005), but it has no official status in Rwanda. It will possibly gain more attention with the recent inclusion of Rwanda in the East African Community, but this is not a self-evident scenario, considering the function of the national language, Rwanda, as an LWD and the recent political movement towards the anglophone world. These changes are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

Swahili was expected to play a fairly substantial role in some domains as Swahili is known to be used in the army in Uganda and to some extent in trade. In addition, it has been claimed to be the language of both the police forces and the army in Rwanda (E Ntakirutimana, pers. comm. 31 March 2008)⁹.

The category *Other African languages* (OALs) groups all African languages which exist in the investigated countries, except Swahili.

The last category is labelled *Non-African official languages*. In this category the official languages of Rwanda, French and English, which are co-official with Rwanda, are found in addition to English, which has been the official language of Uganda since independence in 1962.

1.6.3.2 Quantification

As accounted for in section 1.5.2, the work of Chaudenson has inspired the model of this study, which is described in 1.4.5. In his country studies, Chaudenson quantifies his status and usage categories by applying point scales varying from 12 points for his domain *Official status* to 30 points for *Education*. The total of his five status categories sums to 107 points, while his four usage (*corpus*) categories total 80 points. The basis of the point evaluation is an estimation of status, e.g. from no or little recognition to unique for official status, or from weak to strong for usage. Chaudenson does not provide any stringent method of how to calculate the totals. From what I have seen from other sources, some of the country profiles that are provided by collaborators in the investigated countries are based on a rather superficial judgement of the linguistic situation. Even if the judgements are conducted by people with a sound good knowledge of linguistics, I consider these point scales to have low

⁹ In Rwanda, major changes not reported elsewhere in respect of language use pertaining to Swahili are found in this study. See section 3.2.1.1 for a more detailed account of the use of Swahili in the armed forces and within the police in Rwanda.

practical value even if a set of scale judgements is given, as there is no underlying common methodology for data collection and data treatment.

Quantification is an instrument which enables a comparative country analysis. It also offers a tool for interpreting the position of languages within each country. For this comparative study, I developed a method of quantification for data compiled by qualitative as well as quantitative methods.

The MMM is based on a calculation of the percentage distribution for each of the languages/language groups with respect to each unit of analysis which is investigated. The sum of language use of what I call the *linguistic space* is 100 per cent for each unit of analysis.

Most of the sub-studies which form the total study are based on quantitative data, such as a number of newspapers/periodicals, a number of advertisements calculated into total pages, or a number of broadcasting hours on radio and television (see Chapters 5 and 8). Here, the data are summed as a percentage distribution.

In two areas of research, namely institutionalised language use in governmental institutions and administration and religion, the results of the semi-structured and structured interviews are percentage estimations made by the interviewees. As accounted for in the introduction to section 1.6, the structured interviews resulted in an allocation of answers to percentage categories when more than one language was used. The data in this case are perhaps less precise and accounted for in tens and hundreds, compared with other domains, where there are ‘count’ units of analysis.

Generally, within each domain of the study, separate tables for Rwanda and Uganda were set up in an Excel worksheet. Each unit of analysis was listed vertically in columns and languages or language groups were placed in horizontal rows. The percentage distribution, which is the final outcome of these calculations, shows either the degree of use or status assigned to languages.

TABLE 4 and TABLE 5 below illustrate the calculation process by giving an example from the section “Linguistic landscape”. The tables exemplify calculations and some specific principles behind certain calculations. TABLE 4 gives a simplified version of the survey of languages used on 1,027 shop signs in Rwanda. In this table, a percentage summary of all signs in the selected streets of each town investigated is given to provide an overview. This distribution is based on a set of calculations which will be described below.

The percentage totals were kept on a multidecimal level throughout the calculations to prevent a loss of precision until the final value, except for data based on qualitative methods. In all calculations, the totals for each language or language group were subsequently summed, and the averages of all units of analysis were then calculated. The final results at this stage were reduced to one decimal.

TABLE 4. *Example of calculation: Shop signs in Rwanda*

TOWN	LANGUAGE					TOTAL %
	Rwanda	French	English	Swahili	Other languages	
Butare	17.540	58.100	24.360	0.000	0.000	100
Gisenyi	17.900	61.900	17.500	0.000	2.700	100
Kigali	13.605	54.845	30.150	0.000	1.400	100

The average for shop signs in Rwanda, which in addition to billboards is the unit of analysis of linguistic landscape, is shown below:

TABLE 5. *Average for shop sign study: Rwanda*

	LANGUAGE					TOTAL %
	Rwanda	French	English	Swahili	Other languages	
AVERAGE	16.4	58.3	24.0	0.0	1.4	100

Average calculations are used in all the comparative country tables, which end the description and discussion of every domain.

A series of steps precede the calculation of this percentage distribution. Firstly, the signs are sorted into sign categories. In Uganda, for example, such a category might be *E > area language*, meaning that two languages are used on the sign: English, and the language of the area, which is frequently the LWD across communities not speaking the same language. The “greater than” symbol (>) implies that the amount of text on the sign in English exceeds the amount of text written in the language of the area, or that English appears first on the sign when the amount of text is equal in the two languages. Another example, this time from Rwanda, is the category *F > r > e*, which reads that French is

used more than Rwanda, which in turn is used more than English in this sign category.¹⁰

Secondly, the number of signs in each sign category is summed. Thirdly, the total percentage for each category is calculated.

As the shop sign and billboard categories are frequently multilingual, the calculations require some additional explanations. To obtain the right language proportions and percentages of these multilingual categories, the threshold value for calling a language *dominant* was set to 75 per cent for the first language of bilingual signs. For trilingual signs, the first language was set to 50 per cent, the second to 30 per cent, and the third to 20 per cent when calculating the totals of the languages. These percentages are based on a rough calculation of the average proportions of shop sign texts in Kigali, Rwanda (Avenue de Commerce) and Mbarara, Uganda (High Street). The total for each sign was 100 per cent. Hence, for bilingual signs, the first language was apportioned 75 per cent and the second 25 per cent of the total 100 per cent when calculating the shares of the languages.

The percentage totals of the study (how much the languages were used on the signs) were calculated, as described above, for each studied unit of analysis and setting. The average was subsequently computed.

In the domain *Trade and commerce* (Chapter 6), a similar relative allotment was chosen for calculating the use of each language at markets. In Rwanda, all the multilingual categories, i.e. categories where more than one language was reported to be used by market salespersons, had Rwanda in first place. Rwanda, the national language, is strong in the country, especially in respect of oral functions. Based on observations, knowledge obtained through fieldwork and from consultations with Rwandan linguists (e.g. E Ntakirutimana, pers. comm. 15 March 2008), Rwanda was estimated to be used for 85 per cent of the communication and given a threshold value of 85 per cent of the total of 100 per cent of each questionnaire answer. The language use of each market salesperson sums to 100. For the other languages which were reported to be used, following the ranking made by the market salespersons, a descending scale was applied, ranging from 15 per cent to 1.5 per cent, depending on how many languages were used. Accordingly, a questionnaire answer where Rwanda and French were reported to be used, with Rwanda as

¹⁰ These symbols are used in a language dominance presentation model which is described in TABLE 7. The language dominance presentation is used as a complement to quantitative tables to show the results of the studies in a more simplified way.

the most-used language, would allot Rwanda 85 per cent and French 15 per cent of the total 100 per cent. The use of three languages would give the proportions as 85 per cent, 10 per cent and 5 per cent for each language, respectively, and as 85, 7.5, 5 and 2.5 per cent for each of four languages, respectively.

In Uganda, I judged the area languages to be as strong as the national language in Rwanda, i.e. that they were used for approximately 85 per cent of the interactions with customers. My estimation was supported by my Ugandan colleagues. Thus, the same principles of calculation were used for the Uganda study, where the first language which was listed in multilingual answers, regardless if this was Acholi, Ganda, Nyankore or any other area language, was estimated to be used 85 per cent of the time. Here as well, the calculations follow the proportions given above.

For the shop and office surveys (section 6.1), as well as for the calculations of section 3.1, Official status, which is part of the official domains, each language which was said to be required in the questionnaire interviews or allocated status was counted. When two languages were indicated, therefore, both were given an equivalent value. The percentages of each geographical area and setting were subsequently calculated separately before the total average was found. In this way, bias was avoided, as the total amount of data varied between the investigated geographical areas/places.

1.6.3.3 Interpretation of quantitative results

As stated initially in 1.6.3, the main purpose of the calculation is to show the proportions between the languages, i.e. not the figures or percentages per se. Thus, the quantitative totals are calculated to describe the degree of use (degree of acknowledgement, in the case of official status, described in section 3.1) within the domains of the analysis. The interpretation for the quantitative results is shown in TABLE 6 below. In the discussions of the domains, references are made to this scale.

TABLE 6. *Interpretation of quantitative results*

INTERVAL %	USE/STATUS
75–100	Used predominantly /Dominant status
50–74	Used frequently /High status
25–49	Used to a fair extent/Moderate status
0<–24*	Used marginally/Marginal status
0	Not used/No status

* The symbol 0< is used to indicate that values less than 1 per cent but greater than 0 per cent are found in some domains. These totals belong to the interval *Used marginally/Marginal status*. Generally speaking, the indicated intervals should be understood as including the last decimal before the next level (e.g. 25.0–49.9 per cent). To give a better overview, the decimals are not included in the table.

1.6.3.4 *Symbolic representation of language competition*

The results of the studies, besides being given in quantitative tables, are demonstrated symbolically, where applicable, with the help of tables showing language dominance. In the language dominance tables, symbols are used to illustrate the positions or use of languages. These tables show the relationship of languages within the domains in a more general way. TABLE 7 below demonstrates the symbols of the language dominance tables.

TABLE 7. *Language dominance symbols*

SYMBOL	DEFINITION
> (greater than)	Language dominance/Status dominance
= (equal to)	Use on an equal basis/Equal status
Upper case letter	Primarily used/Dominant status
Lower case letter	Used to a lesser extent/Subordinate status

An example of such a language dominance table is presented below. This is taken from section 6.2, Linguistic landscape (TABLE 94).

TABLE 8. *Example of language dominance*

BILLBOARDS	SHOP SIGNS
(F = E) > r	F > e > r

The table indicates that, for billboards, French and English are dominant and used on an equal basis. These languages are used more than Rwanda, which is nonetheless used to a lesser extent. On shop signs, French is dominant and used more than English, which in turn is used more than Rwanda. Both English and Rwanda are used to a lesser extent.

1.6.3.5 *Statistical test of hypotheses*

Five of the hypotheses stated in 1.2 were tested by using a Z-test for means of two populations. Due to zero-one variables in some domains and percentage means, the following equation is used:

$$Z = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{\frac{P_1(100 - P_1)}{n_1} + \frac{P_2(100 - P_2)}{n_2}}}$$

where P_1 is the population 1 mean and P_2 the population 2 mean. n_1 is the sample 1 size, and n_2 the sample 2 size.

The hypotheses which were tested were:

$$H_0: P_1 = P_2$$

$$H_1: P_1 \neq P_2$$

The null hypothesis (H_0) is tested against an alternative hypothesis (H_1). The null hypothesis is either rejected or not rejected.

The confidence level was set to 95 per cent. The null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis when the found value was higher than the critical value, which is 1.96 at $p < 0.05$. For some units, the Z value obtained from the tests was at $p < 0.01$ (critical value: 2.58). The levels of significance are always given when the Z-test results are presented.

Hypotheses 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 (see section 1.2) were tested. For some units of analysis it was not possible to conduct the Z-test. The data here were either insufficient to undergo a Z-test (low number of data) or had a zero frequency, which excludes the use of the Z-test.

1.6.3.6 Presentation of data

The data are presented both by descriptive and inferential statistics. *Descriptive* statistics are used to reduce and present most of the data of this study in a manageable form. These summaries enable comparisons with other units of the analysis. The use of descriptive statistics for the presentation of data additionally gives an overview of the main trends of the data. It is relevant for a comparison of status and use of, for example, African languages and official languages in both countries. Hence, the vitality of African languages may be visualised. All the analyses of Parts I and II are univariate as they examine one variable at a time. *Inferential* statistics are used to draw conclusions about the initial working hypotheses and to compare the findings in the two countries.

The results are usually given as tables (giving both absolute and relative figures) in Parts II and III. Graphic illustrations, mostly bar charts and dot plots, are employed in Part IV. The dot plots are two-dimensional coordinate systems and are used to compare Rwanda and Uganda and to show the position of languages vis-à-vis other languages within one country or to compare language use in the two countries investigated. On the X axis (the abscissa), the totals of the *Official multilingual management* (Part II) are shown, while the Y axis (the ordinate) shows the *Non-official multilingual management* (Part III).

1.6.4 Limitations of the study

This work is constituted by a series of sub-studies which together form this study of the macro-sociolinguistic situation in Rwanda and Uganda. The total of six formal domains with their sub-domains of human activity which are studied in both countries have been chosen as representative and vital for a sociolinguistic analysis. I have attempted to be as comprehensive as possible. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to cover more aspects or settings. The dangerous situation in northern Uganda also hampered the study to some extent. The study gives a summary of the study period, i.e. during 2005–2008, when the data were collected. As the relationship between languages is changing

and the languages are, in accordance with the theoretical framework, assumed to be in a competitive situation, the results of this study cannot be generalised to other polities, and conclusions cannot be drawn about future linguistic situations. However, this model and method of analysis can be used for an analysis of the same countries at a later stage, or to study other societies. Thus, the study provides a tool for comparative analyses, and will hopefully contribute to further studies of sociolinguistics in Africa.

2. Sociolinguistic background

2.1 Rwanda

The Republic of Rwanda is a small, densely populated country on the hilly high plateau of central Africa, often called *the land of a thousand hills*. Situated in the heart of the Great Lakes region, Rwanda borders Uganda in the north, Tanzania in the east, Burundi in the south, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the west. Rwanda has 8,162,715 inhabitants in an area of 26,338 sq km, according to the census carried out in August 2002 (Rwanda 2005b). Thus, Rwanda is one of the most densely populated states in sub-Saharan Africa.

The urban and town inhabitants represent 16.7 per cent of the entire population (Kaberuka 2005). Before the 1994 genocide, the urbanisation rate was one of the weakest in the world. Due to the genocide, the population in the capital, Kigali, has grown. Population growth is presently 2.6 per cent per year (Byuma 2005:6). Literacy, defined by the UNESCO criterion as inhabitants above the age of 15 who can read and write, is 60 per cent (Rwanda 2005a:18).

In 1996, approximately 80 per cent of the Rwandan population were of Hutu origin, nearly 19 per cent of the population were of Tutsi origin, and only about 0.5 per cent were of Twa origin.¹¹ After the genocide, ethnicity is no longer accounted for in Rwandan statistics.

The return of 850,000 refugees from Uganda and other neighbouring countries has caused a socio-cultural disequilibrium, as their second language frequently was not French, but English. This has affected language policy as well as language practice.

2.1.1 Historical overview

Rwanda is believed to have been populated in the 8th century BC by the ethnic group Twa, a pygmy hunter population. Some centuries later, the Hutus, who were farmers, settled in the area (Briggs and Booth 2006). The Tutsi cattle

¹¹ It is estimated that about 75 per cent of the Twa people were killed in the 1994 genocide.

breeders probably came to the area from the north (the Horn of Africa) before the 15th century. The three ethnic groups assimilated over time, and finally shared the same Bantu language, Rwanda.

The first Europeans visited the region in the second part of the 1800s.¹² The first German visitors were later followed by missionaries. Rwanda was declared a German Protectorate in 1899. In 1916, Belgian troops, assisted by Great Britain, took control of the country after having annexed a part of Rwanda to their colony, Congo. After the First World War, Belgium was, through the Treaty of Versailles, assigned the administration of Rwanda and Burundi (Ruanda-Urundi) by the League of Nations. After the Second World War, Rwanda-Burundi became a United Nations Trust Territory, with Belgium as its administrative authority. Rwanda was given full independence in 1962 by the UN General Assembly,¹³ after several years of struggles between the Hutus and the Tutsis.¹⁴

The genocide, which started in April 1994 after the airplane carrying the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down, claimed the lives of more than 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus. Another 2 million fled the country, and about 1 million were internally displaced.

In July 1994, soon after the Rwandan Patriotic Front took Kigali, the war ended. A coalition government was formed, and on 26 May 2003, Rwanda adopted a new constitution which eliminated reference to ethnicity and set the stage for presidential and legislative elections in August and September 2003, when Paul Kagame was elected President.

¹² The British officer John Hanning Speke (1827–1864) is said to have discovered the region in 1858. Speke was never in present Rwanda, only at the border, in Karagwe, in his search for the source of the Nile. Also, in the 1870s Stanley and Livingstone travelled in the area in search of the Nile's source. The first European to visit Rwanda was the German doctor, Oscar Baumann, in 1892.

¹³ Actually, both Rwanda and Burundi were given independence simultaneously.

¹⁴ The Belgians' attempt at creating more democratic institutions was resisted by the Tutsi traditionalists, who felt their political power threatened. The Hutus, encouraged by the Belgians, sparked a revolt in 1959, resulting in the overthrow of the Tutsi monarchy and more than 160,000 Tutsi refugees in neighbouring countries.

2.1.2 *The languages of Rwanda*

2.1.2.1 *The language situation*

Sociolinguistically, Rwanda is interesting. As opposed to most sub-Saharan countries, Rwanda has one language that can be used all over the country. According to the 2002 census, 99.4 per cent speak the national language Rwanda (Rwanda 2005b:38). There are practically no linguistic minorities in Rwanda, even if some other languages are found (see below).

Rwanda is, thus, the L1 of nearly all Rwandans. Even if Rwanda is spoken by a vast majority of Rwandans, CONFEMEN (1986) claims that there are some other autochthonous languages there – all Bantu, like Rwanda, and all belonging to the Niger-Congo family, in Guthrie's zones D and E (Guthrie 1971). Chiga (in CONFEMEN called *Gihima* or *Oluciga*) is said to be spoken by approximately 96,000 people in the prefectures Byumba and Ruhengeri (CONFEMEN 1986:258). *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) interestingly classifies Chiga as a dialect of the Rwanda language, as does Kimenyi (2007). The CONFEMEN report further states that Havu (called *Amahavu*, *Igihavu*) is spoken in the area of Lake Kivu by approximately 96,000 as well, while Mashi (*Amashi*) is found in the border area close to Congo-Kinshasa and is spoken by 35,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, Rasi (also called *Ikinyambo*, *Ikirashi*, *Ikirasi*, *Urunyambo*, *Ururasi*), spoken in Kibungo, is estimated to have 25,000 speakers. Rasi is said to be intelligible by Chiga speakers, i.e. these could be said to be dialects that are not geographically close (CONFEMEN 1986:258). *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) only reports English, French and Rwanda as living languages in Rwanda. Bufumbwa, Chiga, Hutu and Twa are said to be dialects of Rwanda.

Even Rundi, which is spoken mainly by people of Burundian origin, is reported by CONFEMEN (1986:259) to be found in Rwanda. It is classed as a separate language because of its status in the neighbouring country Burundi, even if the two languages belong to the same linguistic unity. The languages are labelled D61 (Rwanda) and D62 (Rundi) by Guthrie (1971). Rwanda is also spoken in the DRC, Tanzania and Uganda.

A number of dialects which are mutually intelligible are established (Bigabo 1998; Kimenyi 2007). The dialect of central Rwanda is considered the

norm. Goyi is the dialect spoken in the prefecture of Gisenyi in the north-west, which is the major part of the historic region of Bugoyi. Rera is spoken in the Ruhengeri (northern) and the Gisenyi (north-western) districts (CONFEMEN 1986:257; Kimenyi 2007). In the south, CONFEMEN (ibid.:258) identifies a dialect sometimes called *Ubulimi* spoken in the Gikongoro area (the historic regions of Bufundu, Bunyambili and Buyenzi) in the south as a main dialect. Kimenyi (2007) instead points out the southern dialect Nduga with three sub-dialects as the main variety. The Twa speak Rwanda with special dialectological particularities, especially tonal ones (CONFEMEN 1986:258). This dialect is disappearing due to the demise of many of its speakers in the 1994 genocide (Kimenyi 2007).

2.1.2.2 Multilingualism

The L1 speakers of languages other than Rwanda are multilingual, as they also speak and understand the national language Rwanda. The same applies to speakers of the exogenous language Swahili, which is estimated to be spoken by half a million people as an L2 (CONFEMEN 1986:259). The 2002 census reports that 3 per cent of the population (236,624 persons) speak Swahili as an L2, 3.9 per cent speak French, and 1.9 per cent speak English (Rwanda 2005b:38). The census registered the reported knowledge of *English*, *French*, *Rwanda* and *Other language* alone or in combination with another language. Thus, the language(s) spoken by each family member was/were registered without separating L1 or specifying proficiency. The number of L2 speakers is considerably higher in urban than in rural areas, and among the age groups 20–39 years compared with other age groups, as will be demonstrated below in TABLE 9. This table shows the number of speakers of the three official languages and Swahili, and includes some interesting features of the 2002 census regarding demographic differences such as urbanisation. The figures for English, French, Rwanda and Swahili are given as a total and as a percentage distribution.

The table clearly demonstrates the dominance of Rwanda, the L1 of practically all Rwandans. French, English and Swahili are mostly learnt as L2. The percentage of speakers of languages other than Rwanda is considerably higher in Kigali and other urban centres than in rural areas. For example, 23.4 per cent of the population in the age group 30–39 years in urban areas speak Swahili, but only 2.7 per cent in rural areas do so (not shown in TABLE 9 below). For the age group 60–69 years, the equivalent percentages were 16.7

per cent in urban and 2.6 per cent in rural areas, respectively (Rwanda 2005b:38).

TABLE 9. *Population and language competence in Rwanda*

LANGUAGE	Number of speakers	Total %	Urban areas %	Rural areas %	Age group 30–39 yrs (urban and rural areas)	Age group 60–69 yrs (urban and rural areas)
Rwanda	7,963,809	99.4	98.4	99.6	99.4	99.6
French	307,288	3.9	12.2	2.3	7.2	2.7
English	151,532	1.9	6.0	1.1	3.3	0.8
Swahili	236,624	3.0	12.2	1.3	6.4	4.4

A comparison with *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) reveals some differences from the official census figures. *Ethnologue*, whose source is not clearly given, lists 2,300 L1 speakers of French and 300 L1 speakers of English in Rwanda, in addition to 6,491,700 speakers of Rwanda. The number of both French and English speakers is much lower than the census figures, probably because the census percentages include both L1 and L2 speakers. Interestingly, a later version of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) has taken out the number of English speakers given in the earlier *Ethnologue*, but kept the figures for French. Swahili is not listed as spoken in Rwanda in either version of *Ethnologue*. Swahili, however, introduced in Rwanda during the era of the German Protectorate, is in earlier studies reported to be the L1 of “une frange de la population” (Nyirindekwe 1999:24). These are mostly Muslim families or people of foreign origin living in the Swahili quarters of urban areas (ibid.:319).

Earlier surveys show a rather similar picture of the language use, even if there are some interesting differences.

TABLE 10 gives an overview of three recent surveys and their percentages of language use.

TABLE 10. *Statistics on language use*

LANGUAGE	Census 1991 %	Socio-demographic survey 1996 ¹⁵ %	Census 2002 %
Rwanda	–	88.8	99.4
French	5.1	3.6	3.9
English	0.8	0.4	1.9
Swahili	2.3	2.0	3.0

Compared with the figures for the 2002 survey (and the 1991 census), the use of English seems to have increased. The levels of French and Swahili are rather constant, while Rwanda today is known and used by practically all Rwandans (99.4 per cent in the 2002 census).

It is also worth noting that *code-switching*, the use of two linguistic varieties within the same conversation or interaction, as described by Myers-Scotton (2002), is frequent both when speaking Rwanda and languages of European origin. Code-switching in Rwanda most frequently takes place within a sentence, e.g. in parliamentary debates.

2.1.2.3 *Language competence*

Language knowledge does not automatically imply proficiency. The proficiency in languages learnt formally is rather poor in Rwanda, as a study on proficiency in French, English and Rwanda of students and teachers, conducted in the Rwandan educational system in 2003–2004 by Ntakirutimana (2005:4–6), shows. In TABLE 11 I have conflated the results of the latter study.

¹⁵ The 1996 socio-demographic report by the National Population Office and the United Nations Population Fund, released in July 1998, found that 3.6 per cent of the total Rwandan population above the age of 6 spoke French, and 0.4 per cent of that group spoke English. Two per cent were found to speak Swahili. Multilingualism was rather frequent. If mono- and plurilingual speakers are merged, French, in combination with English and Swahili, was spoken by 5.3 per cent of the population, Swahili by 3.6 per cent, and English by 1.3 per cent. Some 88.8 per cent only spoke Rwanda (Rutayisire 2001). In Kigali, 22.3 per cent knew French, 22.7 per cent Swahili, and 7.2 per cent English (*ibid.*). In the capital, the number of inhabitants who only spoke Rwanda was 56 per cent.

Students who understand very little of texts specified by the curriculum for their year without a lot of help (totals below 49 per cent) were classified as *Poor readers*. *Dependent readers* implies that the students understand the texts with some help (50–65 per cent), and the category *Independent readers* groups students who understand the text without any help (from 66–100 per cent).

The study indicates that the levels of Rwanda are very high, while the ability to read in the other official languages is low for both primary and secondary school students, especially in English.

TABLE 11. *Language proficiency: Primary (P) and secondary (S) education*

LEVEL	LANGUAGE	Poor readers %	Dependent readers %	Independent readers %	TOTAL %
P4	Rwanda	12.26	15.71	72.03	100
	English	99.23	0.77	0.00	100
	French	96.55	3.45	0.00	100
P6	Rwanda	1.54	5.02	93.44	100
	English	96.91	2.32	0.77	100
	French	47.49	31.27	21.24	100
S4	Rwanda	0.44	4.36	95.20	100
	English	52.40	27.95	19.65	100
	French	20.09	31.00	48.91	100
S6	Rwanda	0.00	2.87	97.13	100
	English	53.58	20.10	26.32	100
	French	12.92	28.71	58.37	100

Proficiency in languages which are learnt informally shows a similar tendency as that for formally learnt languages. For example, knowledge of Swahili by those claiming to speak it is not always convincing. A survey on the use and knowledge of L2 in Kigali by Karangwa (1995) showed that, of those having Swahili as an L2, 48 per cent declared having a minimal knowledge, 33.3 per cent a medium knowledge, and 18.7 per cent a good knowledge of the language (Karangwa 1995:202). Swahili was the major L2 in Karangwa's study (44.2 per cent), followed by French (34.6 per cent), and English (17.7 per cent). Lingala, Arabic and Ganda (3.5 per cent in total) were also found in the Kigali study.

Older persons seemed to know Swahili better than their younger counterparts. The same trends were found in the urban centres Cyangugu and Gisenyi (ibid.:208-220).

2.2 *Uganda*

Uganda is situated in central East Africa. It is surrounded by Kenya in the east, Tanzania in the south-east, Rwanda in the south, the Democratic Republic of Congo in the west, and Sudan in the north (see map, page 22). Uganda's total area is 236,040 sq km and the population is, according to the 2002 Population and Housing Census, 24.4 million persons (UBOS 2006). Uganda is one of Africa's least urbanised countries (12.3 per cent) (ibid.). The population growth is 3.6 per cent (CIA 2007).

The major ethnic groups are the Ganda, who make up 17.3 per cent; the Hima, who speak Nyankore (*Nkole, Nyankore*), making up 9.8 per cent; the Soga (*Basoga*), 8.6 per cent; the Chiga, 7 per cent; the Teso (*Bakedi, Itesot*), 6.6 per cent; the Lango (*Langi*), 6.2 per cent; the Acholi, 4.8 per cent; the Masaba (Gisu), 4.7 per cent; and the Lugbara, 3.3 per cent. These groups all have more than 1 million speakers and constitute about 69 per cent of the Ugandan population (UBOS 2006). Literacy is estimated at 68 per cent (ibid.).

2.2.1 *Historical overview*

Up to the 1880s, the area which now constitutes the Republic of Uganda comprised independent and self-governing kingdoms or chiefdoms. Among the more famous of these kingdoms were the Nkole (*Ankole*), the Ganda (*Buganda*), the Nyoro (*Bunyoro*), and the Toro. The kingdom of Ganda had been the dominating power in the northern part of the Lake Victoria area since the early 1500s. This kingdom was proclaimed by the British as its Uganda Protectorate in 1894. Later, the kingdom of Nyoro and some smaller kingdoms were included and, in 1900, the Protectorate covered the area of present Uganda.

After the Second World War preparations for the Protectorate's independence started. In the 1950s, several political parties were founded, mainly on religious grounds. After a failed attempt at separating the kingdom of Ganda from the Protectorate, King Mutesa II was deported. He gave up the idea of an independent Uganda in 1961. His party started cooperating with the

Uganda People's Congress that won the elections in 1962. The same year, Uganda was declared independent, with Milton Obote as its Prime Minister. Mutesa was appointed President in 1963, but was overthrown by Obote in 1966. The Army General Idi Amin seized power by means of a coup in 1971. At the beginning of 1979, a liberation army supported by Tanzania overthrew his military dictatorship. After a short period of political instability, Obote ruled Uganda for a second time. In 1985, Obote was overthrown by the military. Yoweri Museveni was elected President in 1986 after a five-year bush war. Museveni is still President, after the Constitution was amended to enable him to stand for a third term of office.

2.2.2 The languages of Uganda

2.2.2.1 The language situation

The number of languages in Uganda is not known and the figures found in various publications vary. The Education Policy Review Commission, in its work which led to the Government White Paper in 1992, identified 25 main languages. The Road Map (the Uganda Primary Curriculum Review) talks about 63 main Ugandan languages, a number which is said to be confirmed by the Institute of Languages of Makerere University, MUK (Read and Enyutu 2004:12). These figures are probably based on the study *Language in Uganda*, which speaks of 63 languages and dialects, of which 30 were classified as different languages (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:31). No research on this issue has been carried out since 1968. Livingstone Walusimbi of MUK, however, agrees that the number of languages in Uganda is higher than the earlier identified total (L Walusimbi, pers. comm. 20 May 2005). It is possible that larger language groups have begun to break down into smaller and more distinct local languages and dialects (Read and Enyutu 2004:12).

Language in Uganda (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972), which is the only comprehensive study of the language situation of Uganda, identified 30 languages from the 63 language varieties investigated. These belong to four language groups: the Bantu languages, the Central Sudanic languages, the Western Nilotic languages, and the Eastern Nilotic languages (Ladefoged et al. 1972). Bantu languages belong to the Niger-Congo (Niger-Kordofanian) family, while the other identified language groups are sub-groups of the Nilo-Saharan language phylum (Greenberg 1963).

Ladefoged et al. (ibid.) used lexicostatistics and intelligibility as a method of identifying the languages.¹⁶ TABLE 12 below shows the 30 languages identified: 12 Bantu, 7 Central Sudanic, 3 Western Nilotic and 8 Eastern Nilotic. The languages within each table slot were identified as being so close that they were considered one language, with only dialectal varieties. The table is based on Ladefoged et al. (1972:83-84). In the overview, the language names used by Ladefoged et al. are not retained; instead they are given here without prefixes, following the practice of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009).¹⁷ Where the names differ, the names used by Ladefoged et al. (ibid.) are given within parentheses.

¹⁶ The criterion used for the lexicon was that 75 per cent of the words should be in common. For intelligibility, comprehension of more than 50 per cent of the texts was used.

¹⁷ The *Ethnologue* use of language names without prefixes, as described earlier in section 1.6.3.1 makes sense, as the use of prefixes is problematic when cross-border languages are involved. The national language of Rwanda, which is also found in southern Uganda, is an illuminating example. In Ladefoged et al. (1972), the Western Ugandan Bantu language Rwanda is called *Runyarwanda*. However, the autonym in Rwanda is *Ikinyarwanda*, which literally means “language of Rwandans”.

TABLE 12. *Languages of Uganda*

BANTU	CENTRAL SUDANIC	WESTERN NILOTIC	EASTERN NILOTIC
Masaaba (<i>Lumasaba</i>)	Lugbara – Standard Lugbara – Terego	Acholi, Lango, Alur, Labwor, Dhopaluo, Nyakwai	Teso (<i>Ateso</i>), Karamojong (<i>Ngakarimjong</i>), Jie, Ngadotho, Nyang’i (<i>Ngapore</i>)
Nyole (<i>Lunyole</i>)	Lugbara – Aringa	Kumam	Mening
Saamia (<i>Lusamia</i>) Gwe (<i>Lugwe</i>)	Ma’di – Okollo	Adhola (<i>Dhopadhola</i>)	Soo (Tepeth)
Gwere (<i>Lugwere</i>)	Ma’di – Ogoko		Kakwa
Ganda (<i>Luganda</i>) Soga (<i>Lusoga</i>) Kenyi (<i>Lukenyi</i>)	Ma’di – Moyo		Kupsabiny
Ruli (<i>Ruruli</i>)	Ma’di – Oyuwi		Pökoot (Suk)
‘Rutara’: Nyoro (<i>Runyoro</i>) Tooro (<i>Rutooro</i>) Hororo (<i>Ruhororo</i>) Rutagwenda Nyankore (<i>Runyankore</i>) Chiga (<i>Rukiga</i>)	Ndo (Kebu)		Ik
Konjo (<i>Rukonjo</i>)			
Rwanda (<i>Runyarwanda</i>)			
Bwisi (<i>Lubwisi</i>)			
Gungu (<i>Rugungu</i>)			
Amba (<i>Rwamba</i>)			

Ladefoged et al. (1972) admit a lack of knowledge in the group labelled *Sudanic languages*, and suggest that the real number of distinct languages within this group is lower.

Generally, the Bantu languages are found in southern Uganda, while the Nilo-Saharan languages (Sudanic and Nilotic) are found in the north (Ladefoged et al. 1972:17-18).

There are some striking differences both as regards the number of languages and their classification if Ladefoged et al.'s work is compared with the information in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). *Ethnologue* lists 45 languages, of which 2 are now extinct. The main difference in the classification is that some of the languages that Ladefoged et al. have classified as belonging to a dialect cluster are listed in *Ethnologue* as separate languages. This is, for instance, the case for the Western Nilotic languages Acholi, Alur and Lango, and the Eastern Nilotic language Karamojong. The eastern Ugandan Bantu languages Ganda, Kenyi and Soga are also seen as a dialect cluster by Ladefoged et al., but are classed as separate languages in *Ethnologue*. The same applies to the western Ugandan languages Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro.

Ethnologue additionally lists the Nilotic languages Bari (Eastern Nilotic) and Pökoot (Southern Nilotic), the latter being said to be the same language as Suk. Ladefoged et al. has no Southern Nilotic group, but classifies Jie, Mening and Suk, as well as Ngapore and Ngadotho, which are dialects close to Karamojong, as Eastern Nilotic. Ngadotho is not found in the *Ethnologue* classification. Jie is said to be a dialect of Karamojong, while Ngapore is listed as another name for the extinct Nyang'i (see below). The Bantu language Saamia, listed in Ladefoged et al., is said to be the same as Luyia found in Kenya in the *Ethnologue* classification. The Central Sudanic languages Lendu and Ndo (called *Kebu* in Ladefoged et al.) are also found in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). Lendu was not identified by Ladefoged et al., who instead identified the languages Ma'di (Ogoko), Ma'di (Oyuwi), which are not mentioned in the *Ethnologue* list. Nyang'i (Eastern Sudanic) and Singa (Bantu) are said to be extinct (Lewis 2009).

As for languages of non-Ugandan origin, *Ethnologue* lists Swahili (Bantu), Nubi (an Arabic-based Creole), Gujarati and Hindi (Indo-Aryan), as well as English (Germanic).

TABLE 13 below gives an overview of language information given in Ladefoged et al. (1972:19-20) and *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). This compares the sources regarding the major languages used as L1 in Uganda. To enable a comparison, the number of speakers given by *Ethnologue* is calculated into percentages. Twelve other distinct languages spoken by small groups,¹⁸ and the languages English, Gujarati, Hindi/Urdu and Swahili, which a total of 0.7 per cent of the population speak as an L1 (Lewis 2009) are said to exist but not

¹⁸ The 12 languages were not enumerated in the 1959 census.

included in the Ladefoged et al. statistics. These languages are grouped under *Other languages* in their overview. Ladefoged et al. based their speaker estimates on the 1959 census which had ethnic recordings. The *Ethnologue* numbers are partly taken from the 2002 census (28 languages) but also other sources, such as SIL publications and older censuses. The table follows the presentation of languages in *Language in Uganda* (Ladefoged et al. 1972:19). The major language of each language group is in bold.

TABLE 13. *Major languages as L1 in Uganda*

Language	Language group	% of speakers (Ladefoged et al. 1972)	Number of speakers (Lewis 2009)	% of speakers based on <i>Ethnologue's</i> number of speakers
Ganda	Eastern Bantu	16.3	4,130,000	17.5
Soga	Eastern Bantu	7.8	2,060,000	8.8
Masaaba	Eastern Bantu	5.1	1,120,000	4.8
Gwere	Eastern Bantu	1.7	409,000	1.7
Nyole	Eastern Bantu	1.4	341,000	1.4
Saamia	Eastern Bantu	1.3	335,000	1.4
Nyankore	Western Bantu	8.1	2,230,000	9.9
Chiga	Western Bantu	7.1	1,580,000	6.7
Tooro	Western Bantu	6.2	488,000	2.1
Nyoro			667,000	2.8
Rwanda	Western Bantu	5.9	764,000	3.2
Rundi	Western Bantu	2.0	101,000	0.4
Konjo ¹⁹	Western Bantu	1.7	609,000	2.6
Amba	Western Bantu	0.5	35,600	0.2
Lango	Western Nilotic	5.6	1,490,000	6.3
Acholi	Western Nilotic	4.4	1,170,000	5.0
Alur	Western Nilotic	1.9	617,000	2.6
Adhola	Western Nilotic	1.6	360,000	1.5
Kumam	Western Nilotic	1.0	174,000	0.7
Teso	Eastern Nilotic	8.3	1,570,000	6.7
Karamojong	Eastern Nilotic	2.0	260,000	1.1
Kakwa	Eastern Nilotic	0.6	30,000	0.5
Kupsabiny	Eastern Nilotic	0.6	181,000	0.8

¹⁹ *Konjo* is changed to *Konzo* in the latest version of *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009). I have chosen to keep the language name *Konjo* throughout the thesis to denote the Ugandan variety of Konzo, which is also spoken in the DRC.

Lugbara	Central Sudanic	3.7	797,000	3.4
Ma'di	Central Sudanic	1.2	Ma'di: 296,000 Ma'di Southern: 48,000	1.3 0.2
Other languages		4.0	Aringa: 589,000 Bari: 60,000 Gungu: 49,000 Ik: 10,000 Kenyi: 390,000 Lendu: 11,100 Ndo: 33,800 Nubi: 26,100 Pökoot: 70,400 Ruuli: 160,000 Soo: 5,000 Talinga-Bwisi: 68,500	2.50 0.30 0.20 0.04 1.70 0.05 0.10 0.10 0.30 0.70 0.02 0.30
Total		100	23,335,500	100

The Western Nilotic languages are sometimes referred to collectively as *Lwo* or *Luo*. Acholi, Adhola, Jonam,²⁰ Kumam and Lango are mutually intelligible dialects which constitute a dialect cluster called the *Lwo group* (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:144). This term is also used in the more specific sense as “a cover term for just Acholi and Lango” (ibid.:81). Acholi, Alur and Lango are classified as Southern, Luo-Acholi, Alur-Acholi, while Adhola and Kumam are classed as *Luo, Southern* (Lewis 2009). In this thesis, the term *Lwo* is used in the wide sense referring to the Western Nilotic languages as a whole.

When the relative percentages of the estimations of Ladefoged et al. and *Ethnologue* are compared, these are quite similar, but with some striking differences: the Nilo-Saharan language Alur, spoken north of Lake Albert in the north-west, has a higher listed number of speakers in *Ethnologue* than in Ladefoged et. al. (1.9 versus 3.1 per cent). Furthermore, the percentage estimations for Rundi, Rwanda and Teso were lower in *Ethnologue* (2 per cent versus 0.4 per cent for Rundi, 5.9 per cent versus 3.2 per cent for Rwanda, and 8.3 per cent versus 6.7 per cent for Teso). The group *Other languages* summed to 6.3 per cent in the *Ethnologue* overview, compared with 4 per cent in the Ladefoged et al. study.

²⁰ Jonam is considered a dialect of Alur in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009).

The census conducted in 2002 gives the percentages for nine main ethnic groups (UBOS 2006). These are listed in TABLE 14 in addition to the L1 of these groups:

TABLE 14. *Census 2002: Ethnic groups*

ETHNIC GROUP	LANGUAGE	NUMBER	% OF POPULATION
Ganda (<i>Baganda</i>)	Ganda	4,126,370	17.3
Nyankore (<i>Banyankore</i>)	Nyankore	2,330,212	9.8
Soga (<i>Basoga</i>)	Soga	2,062,920	8.6
Chiga (<i>Bakiga</i>)	Chiga	1,679,519	7.0
Teso (<i>Itesot</i>)	Teso	1,568,763	6.6
Lango (<i>Langi</i>)	Lango	1,485,437	6.2
Acholi	Acholi	1,145,357	4.8
Gisu (<i>Bagisu, Masaba</i>)	Masaaba	1,117,661	4.7
Lugbara	Lugbara	1,022,240	4.3
Other ethnic groups		7,340,257	30.7
TOTAL		23,878,736	100

It is striking that nearly one third of the population (30.7 per cent) were classified under *Other ethnic groups*.

The 2002 Uganda census and all earlier censuses unfortunately did not pose any questions about language knowledge or use.²¹ The information given here on the proportions of languages in Uganda is, therefore, based on ethnic self-identification, which may be proportional to linguistic competence in the language concerned, i.e. that ethnic identity and language use are on a one-to-one ratio, even if this is not necessarily the case.

The 2002 figures do not vary much from previous self-reporting censuses, with the exception of the Nyankore group, which seems to have grown, and the ethnic group Teso, which appears to have diminished.

As can be seen, there is no single language in Uganda which is spoken as an L1 by slightly more than 17 per cent of the Ugandan population. Even when related languages are added, no language group covers more than about a quarter of the Ugandan population (Ladefoged et al. 1972:18).

²¹ Earlier censuses (except in 1969 and 1980) have collected information on ethnic groups. The 2002 census thus followed the structure of the 1948, 1959 and 1991 censuses. Information on 30 ethnic groups was registered in 2002, but the census only shows the nine largest ethnic groups, while the rest are grouped and labelled *Other ethnic groups*.

The most important languages both in terms of number and function in each region are Ganda in the south, Lango/Acholi in the north, Lugbara in the north-west, Nyakitara in the west, and Teso/Karamojong in the east and north-east. *Nyakitara* is a term created to cover four major dialects found in western Uganda: Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro. These are frequently called the *4Rs* (Rukiga, Runyankore, Runyoro, and Rutooro). In Uganda, the major languages, i.e. the area languages, frequently function as LWDs within the regions.

The above-mentioned area languages also represent the major language groups in Uganda: Bantu (Ganda, Nyakitara), Central Sudanic (Lugbara), Western Nilotic (Lango/Acholi) and Eastern Nilotic (Teso/Karamojong).

2.2.2.2 Multilingualism

The majority of Ugandans are bilingual. Many are furthermore “multilingual in three and more languages” (Okech 2002:19), as statistics from the 1999 evaluation of the Functional Literacy Programme in Uganda show. Some 86 per cent of the programme participants, coming from all four regions in Uganda, spoke at least one language apart from their own (ibid.).

Research conducted in the northern and the central regions of Uganda shows that the degree of multilingualism varies between different speech communities. For example, multilingualism is more widespread among Lwo/Teso speakers than among Ganda speakers (Reh 2002:36). Some 27 per cent of the Lwo/Teso speakers were monolingual, while 55 per cent of the Ganda speakers only spoke one language. A total of 47 per cent of the Lwo/Teso speakers were bilingual (35 per cent for Ganda speakers). Furthermore 19 per cent of Lwo/Teso speakers were trilingual, compared to only 7 per cent of the Ganda speakers. 3 per cent of both interviewed groups were quadrilingual, while 4 per cent of the Lwo/Teso speakers spoke more than 5 languages (0 per cent of the Ganda speakers). According to this study totally 73 per cent of Lwo/Teso speakers are able to communicate in more than one language, while only 45 per cent of the Ganda speakers are multilingual (ibid.).

Knowledge of English in the above study is mentioned by two thirds (66.5 per cent) of the Lwo/Teso speakers (regarding non-L1 languages), while knowledge of Swahili was declared by 20 per cent. Other languages ranked much lower: 7 per cent for Teso, 4 per cent for Ganda, and 2 per cent for Arabic. In the case of the Ganda interviewees, English was mentioned by 41 per cent and Swahili by 7 per cent in respect of knowledge of these as non-L1

languages. Other languages known were Nyankore/Nyoro (5 per cent), Soga (2 per cent) and Arabic (1 per cent) (ibid.).

Ganda is the most-used LWD in Uganda. Ganda is not only employed in the central region and adjacent district, but is also said to be used in the far north-west and east, for example. Some 47 per cent from Arua (in the far north-west) and 54 per cent in Soroti (in the east, at Lake Kyoga) claimed to speak some Ganda. Practically none reported being able to speak English (Okech 2002:19). As was demonstrated in TABLE 13, in the late 1960s Ganda was the L1 of 16.3 per cent of the population. In addition, it was used as an L2 by 23 per cent (ibid.:25). The number of L2 speakers is probably higher than that, however. Two thirds of the population is estimated to understand Ganda as an L1, L2, L3 or L4, based on the 1980 census (Walusimbi 1988). Furthermore, Walusimbi (pers. comm. 20 May 2005) estimates that 75–80 per cent of the Bantu languages are mutually intelligible to a major extent. As a comparison Swahili, essentially acquired as L2, is known by 35 per cent and English by 21 per cent (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:25).

Practically all of these are L2 speakers (ibid.). English is most frequently learnt formally through the educational system. Swahili is often learnt informally, but also mastered by educated Ugandans (ibid.:28). The 2002 census did not include any questions on multilingualism. As is the case in Rwanda and most African countries (see 2.1.2.2), code-switching takes place in Uganda as well.

The present tendency to break some of the regional languages which function as LWDs into smaller groups has the practical implication that literacy programmes for what is commonly called *Lwo* have been forced to develop different readers for Alur (used in Nebbi) and Adhola (used in Tororo).

By many in the south-west, Nyakitara is seen as an attempt to re-establish the historic Nyoro influence in the region; thus, the grouping is resisted. There seems to be a greater support for it being split into two language groups: Nyankore/Chiga and Nyoro/Tooro. As Teso and Karimojong are listed by Ladefoged et al. (ibid.) as separate languages, the number of area languages could be said to be nine instead of the traditionally accepted five.

2.2.2.3 Language competence

Competence in the languages learnt through the educational system is deficient. An evaluation by the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) stated that “the majority of pupils leave the primary school cycle without the desired

competency levels” (UNESCO 2005). The study was done under the auspices of the National Assessment of Progress in Education (NAPE). TABLE 15 shows the results of the UNEB report on competence in English.

TABLE 15. *Competence in English in primary school*

	LEVEL	
	P3 %	P6 %
Inadequate in their performance in English reading and writing	64	80
Inadequate in oral English	76	30

As can be seen, the skills in reading and writing are very poor. Notably, the total for reading and writing in Grade 6 is even worse than for Grade 3. The results are confirmed by another study on literacy in primary schools, namely the *Literacy Practices in Primary Schools in Uganda: Report to The Rockefeller Foundation* by the Implementing Institution at Makerere University, which states that in some districts it was “common to find P6 pupils [i.e. pupils at the end of primary school] unable to communicate in English” (Makerere University 2005:24). Furthermore, more children in Kampala than in rural areas claimed to be able to read English easily (e.g. 59.2 per cent in Kampala and 11.7 per cent in Kalangala).

With the linguistic situation in Rwanda and Uganda as a background, the results of the study are given in Parts II and III of this thesis. The MMM separates official management from non-official management. The presentation and the discussion of the domains which are investigated in this study are, therefore, accounted for according to this dichotomy.

In Part II, which follows, the findings of the *Official, Education* and *State media* domains are presented.

PART II. OFFICIAL MULTILINGUAL MANAGEMENT

3. *The official domains*

Within official domains, both official status and institutionalised language use are studied. Thus, this Chapter has two sub-sections: Official status (section 3.1) and Institutionalised language use (section 3.21.1). The former will describe and analyse the official status of languages reflected in legislation, the latter the use of languages which is established and incorporated into official institutions, whether or not the languages used are allocated official status.

Both the official status of languages and institutionalised language use are related to the language policy of a country. As described in section 1.4.4, *language policy* is the allocation of status within formal domains of society, combined with the management of these language choices. Thus, the concept of *language policy* includes other dispensations in addition to decisions reflected in the constitution, laws or decrees.

3.1 *Official status*

Before giving an overview of the statutory and de facto language dispensations in Rwanda and Uganda, some terms pertaining to legal regulations need to be clarified. A *constitution* is traditionally seen as a set of fundamental rules governing the politics of a nation. *Statutes*, however, are decided by legislative institutions. These statutes or rules are limited by the constitution and are labelled *laws* or *decrees* (*arrêts* in French). Often, decisions are called *fundamental law* (*loi fondamentale* in French) or *organic law* (*loi organique*). Both of the latter terms are used when the laws declare the fundamental political principles of a government. The two terms are also frequently used synonymously with the term *constitution*.

The structure of this section follows the general structure of each domain examined in this thesis. First, the situation in Rwanda is analysed, followed by a presentation of the results of the Uganda study. Finally, a comparative analysis of the two countries is shown. A diachronic overview is given in each section, followed by an account of the present situation.

3.1.1 Rwanda

3.1.1.1 Official status of languages: Diachronic summary

At independence in 1962, the African government in Rwanda chose to keep French, which had been used as an official language by the then Belgian administration under UN trusteeship. As one of only a few independent nations, the Rwandan government even allocated status to an African language.²² Article 5 of the 1962 Constitution of the Rwandan Republic stated that the national language²³ was Rwanda, and that the official languages were Rwanda and French (Nyirindekwe 1999:14). The same statement was repeated in the Constitutions of 1978 (Article 4) and 1991 (Article 4): “Le kinyarwanda est la langue nationale, les langues officielles sont le kinyarwanda et le français” (ibid.:15).

In the aftermath of the Hutu–Tutsi conflict in 1994, English was introduced as a third official language, in addition to Rwanda and French. The trilingualism was considered necessary as more than 850,000 refugees and expatriates, a substantial number of which were from English-speaking countries, returned to Rwanda from exile. Even a large number of people who had fled as early as 1959 returned, having no or poor skills in the official languages of Rwanda. In addition to the practical aspect of the introduction of English, it probably also had a symbolic value. In this way, English was given a social legitimacy. The introduction of English may also be seen as “facilitating and enhancing economic and cultural ties with, and integration in, the region and/or world” (Ntakirutimana 2005:2).

The 1991 Constitution, in addition to the Arusha Peace Accord of 4 August 1993,²⁴ the July 1994 Declaration by the Rwanda Patriotic Front, and

²² Only a handful states like Ethiopia, Mauritania and Somalia decided to declare an African language as official. Botswana, Burundi and Lesotho chose a similar solution to Rwanda’s, with a non-African language sharing official language status with an African language.

²³ There was no need to declare a language which had a strong social basis and distribution as *national*. See discussion in section 1.4.1.

²⁴ The treaty between the government and the Front Patriotique Rwandese/Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR/RPF) at the time was never implemented.

the November Multiparty Protocol of Understanding, was adopted by the Transitional National Assembly on 5 May 1995 as the *Loi fondamentale*. The later introduction of English as an official language may be foreseen in these documents. For example, Article 25, section I, subsection 5 of the 1993 Peace Accord discusses how to integrate repatriates into the prevailing Franco-Rwandan society, and states that “[l]ack of knowledge of Kinyarwanda or French shall not constitute an obstacle to employment and discharge of duties within the public sector” (Rwanda 1993). Subsequently, English was added as an official language in the revision of 18 January 1996 of the *Loi fondamentale* (Article 7), which states that “Les langues officielles du Rwanda sont le kinyarwanda, le français et l’anglais”.

The Peace Accord (Article 25) also guaranteed interpretation services and the right to “use the languages they are most familiar with” during the first three years while following “intensive French or Kinyarwanda courses”. Article 30 of the Treaty additionally guarantees that “education should be provided in the language used in the country of asylum” (Rwanda 1993).

A new Constitution was not adopted until a referendum had been held on 26 May 2003. The Constitution was confirmed by the Supreme Court on 2 June 2003. Article 5 of Title I declares the following (Rwanda 2003a):

The national language is Kinyarwanda. The official languages are Kinyarwanda, French and English.

3.1.1.2 Present official status of languages

In addition to the status given to official languages in the Constitution, there are only a few legal dispensations governing the use of languages in Rwanda. These are found in the fields of jurisdiction and education. *Loi organique no 7* of 6 June 1996 (Article 104) and *Arrêt no 004/11.02/98* of 2 April by the *Cour constitutionnelle* (TLFQ 2007:8) both declare that all laws are to be in all three official languages, but that the original text is the version written in Rwanda, despite the equal legal status of the three given in the Constitution. Rwanda is, thus, given a more prominent role.

All laws are published in the official languages Rwanda, English and French (in this order) in the *gazette*, *Journal Officiel*. The reason for the order or position of each language (Rwanda/English/French) in the published laws is not clear. Prior to 1 March 1997, all laws were printed in French on the left-hand side of the official *gazette*, and in Rwanda on the right. The change of the position of Rwanda from second to first might indicate a change in Rwanda’s

function in official domains – a change which has also been noticed in other formal domains. During a short transitional period, from official gazette No. 18 of 15 September 1996 to 1 March 1997, the heading was in the three official languages (*Igazeti ya Leta ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda – Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda – Journal Officiel de la République Rwandaise*), while the laws were printed in French with the Rwanda version following below.

The 2003 Constitution (Title II, Article 40) further states that “An organic law determines the organization of Education” (Rwanda 2003a). This organic law, Law No. 29/2003 of 30 August 2003, establishes the organisation and the function of nursery, primary and secondary schools. Chapter IV, Section 1, Article 34 on the structure of and general provisions governing the education system states the following (Rwanda 2003c):

The language of instruction in the first cycle of primary education is Kinyarwanda except for the lessons of foreign languages. The Minister having education in his or her portfolio may, through a Ministerial Order, authorise the use of French or English as the medium of instruction in the first cycle. The language in the second cycle is French or English, except for other language lessons.

For a more detailed discussion of language policy and education, see Chapter 4.

For some years, the government has sought cooperation from and moved towards the anglophone world through its 2008 application for membership in the British Commonwealth²⁵ and inclusion in the East African Community. Moreover, the relationship with Francophonie, especially with France, has been rather frosty for some years for multiple reasons, among others being mutual accusations of involvement in genocide.²⁶

This change in political affiliation has resulted in a new direction and a sudden recent change in language policy. On 8 October 2008, Cabinet resolved as follows (section 11 of the Cabinet decisions) (Rwanda 2008b):

²⁵ The Commonwealth leaders decided to admit Rwanda as the 54th member end November 2009.

²⁶ An investigation led by the French Judge Jean-Louis Bruguyère accused President Paul Kagame of being complicit in the shooting down of the airplane carrying both the Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana and the Burundian President Cyprien Ntaryamira, and which sparked the genocide.

As a part of enhancing Rwanda's role within the East African Community in particular, and at international level in general, Cabinet requested:

- The Minister of Education to put in place an intensive programme for using English in all public and Government sponsored primary and secondary schools and higher learning institutions;
- The Minister of Public Service and Labour to put in place a programme to help Government employees at all levels learn English, starting with Top Ranking Officials.

A political background to the subordination of French is denied by government representatives, who claim that English was chosen for its own sake, due to its function as a world language (McGreal 2009). For a further discussion of the introduction of English, see Chapters 4 and 9 (section 9.6) herein.

Whatever the reason behind the decision to use English as an MOI at all levels of education and by government officials, this change in policy affects the status allocated to the official languages of Rwanda. The position of English vis-à-vis both co-official languages, especially French, is clearly strengthened.

How this recent decision will be implemented is still unclear. In an interview in *Jeune Afrique* of 2–8 November 2008 (Mataillet 2008:35), Dr Charles Murigande, Minister of Cabinet Affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister, declared that the Constitution would not be changed. In future, it is likely that all three official languages will legally continue to have equal official status.

3.1.1.3 Summary of language status in Rwanda

A quantitative language status analysis was conducted, based on the status of languages given in the Constitution, laws and other legal dispositions. The laws pertaining to education, which are discussed above to give a full picture of the status of the various languages, are not included in the quantitative calculations. *Language(s) as MOI* is one of the units of analysis within the *Education* domain. As the quantitative units of the MMM are mutually exclusive, legal dispositions regarding education are left out when calculating the result for official status.

The calculations are, as described in 1.6.3, a percentage estimation of the linguistic space of each language being investigated. The maximum is 100 per cent. The result of the calculations is shown in TABLE 16 below.

TABLE 16. *Quantitative analysis of language status: Rwanda*

	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Constitution and laws	28.6	28.6	42.8	0.0	100

In spite of the recent decision to use English in administration, none of the three official languages can be said to have a *Dominant status*. According to the interpretation table (TABLE 6, see 1.6.3.3), the position of the languages regarding official status may be read as follows:

- English: Moderate status (42.8%)
- Rwanda: Moderate status (28.6%)
- French: Moderate status (28.6%)
- Swahili: No status (0.0%)

Even if all three official languages are found in the *Moderate status* interval, English is in the top of the range, with Rwanda and French at the bottom. Together, the non-African official languages French and English may be said to have *High status*, according to the interval interpretation scale given in TABLE 6.

In addition, the position between the languages (see TABLE 7) may be demonstrated as follows:

$$E > (r = f) > s$$

Status-wise, English (E) has dominance. Rwanda (r) and French (f) have a subordinate status, but their status is greater than that of Swahili (s).

3.1.2 Uganda

3.1.2.1 Official status of languages: Diachronic summary

In the beginning of the colonial period, i.e. in the late 19th century, Swahili was used as the lingua franca in this British Protectorate. In 1912, however, due to massive support from the Church Mission Society (CMS), Ganda was “the compulsory language for all officials” (Hansen 1984:387). Swahili and some local languages continued to be bonus languages (ibid.). Ganda remained the compulsory language until 1924 for government officials, but in 1922 some exceptions were made: Gang (Acholi) was used in the north, Nyoro in Bunyoro, and Tooro and Swahili in Kigezi (ibid.:391).

There was a rivalry between the advocates of Swahili and advocates of Ganda. This has been called a “persisting Kiswahili/Luganda controversy” that eventually led to the growing importance of English (Mukama 1990:144). Since 1932, English “has grown to be more or less the sole medium of instruction from primary school to university. It is also the language of parliament, government, commerce, industry and most of the mass media. More still, it is the language of the elite” (ibid.).

Not surprisingly, English was appointed the official language of Uganda at independence in 1962. The status of English was confirmed in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Chapter 2, which states the following:

6. (1) The official language of Uganda is English.
- (2) Subject to clause (1) of this article, any other language may be used as a medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as may be prescribed by law.

In the Preamble of the Constitution, it is also declared in Part XXIV (Cultural Objectives) that the state shall –

- (ii) encourage the development, preservation and enrichment of all Ugandan languages; ...
- (iv) encourage the development of a national language or languages
...

The issue of *national language*²⁷ has been discussed from time to time. In 1972, for instance, Idi Amin initiated a national language debate which resulted in a proposal in 1973 to appoint Ganda as a national language.²⁸ The proposition was voted down after a heated debate where the participants (representatives from all districts) recommended Swahili as the national language of the country (Mukama 1990). Pleas to make Swahili a national language have been made on several occasions from 1970 on. It is reported that Idi Amin, during his military rule (1971–1978), issued a decree to the effect that Swahili was to become the official language, and instructed radio and television that it should be used – but the instruction was apparently not implemented (Kwesiga 1994:58). It has not been possible to verify this claim. However, the status of Swahili has certainly been debated over the past few decades. As recently as early 2005, the issue of making Swahili the second official language was one of the suggested amendments to the new Constitution by the Legal and Parliamentary Affairs Committee. Officially, due to a lack of time before the election, a total of 65 out of 98 amendments were dropped, among them being the question of the status of Swahili as a second official language (Osike 2005). Nevertheless, Swahili was nominated as an official language through an amendment to the 1995 Constitution on 30 September 2005 (Act No. 11 of 2005). Accordingly, Chapter Two, Article 6, sub-article 2 (Uganda 2006:32) states the following:

Swahili shall be the second official language in Uganda to be used in such circumstances as Parliament may by law prescribe.

Like before, the Constitution additionally declares that any other language may be used as an MOI in education (see 6, [2] of the 1995 Constitution).

The decision regarding the new status of Swahili – which was possibly evoked by cooperation in the East African Community – is still not widely known.

²⁷ See discussion on terminology, section 1.4.1.

²⁸ This debate is described in a newspaper article (*Sunday News*, 12 March 1972). A statement by Idi Amin in early 1972 declared that it was odd for an African country to retain English as a national language and that Ugandans were free to choose any of their own languages as a national language. Idi Amin did not want Swahili to be this national language as he claimed it was an international language. Amin's statement caused a debate among linguists and other stakeholders, and resulted in the vote referred to above.

The unsuccessful promotion of Ganda as Uganda's national language throughout the decades is probably due to its ethnic, cultural and political bonds to the Ganda history.

3.1.2.2 Present official status

English is, as described in 3.1.2.1 above, the official language of Uganda. Swahili is the *second official language*. The new language policy, introduced through the constitutional amendment of 2005, is not overtly reflected in other legal documents, laws or decrees. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda reveals in Chapter 2 (6.3) that "... any other language may be used as medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as Parliament may by law prescribe" (Uganda 2006). No such decree or prescription has been issued – except in the domain *Education*.

The language policy in education was created before Swahili gained its new status. The Government White Paper (GWP) entitled *Education for National Integration and Development – Implementation of the Recommendations of the Report of the Education Policy Review Commission* was passed by Parliament in 1992 (Uganda 1992). The framework devised for its practical implementation was provided in the 1999 National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) circular entitled "Local Language Policy for Primary Education". The implications of these decisions and regulations governing education are discussed in depth in section 4.2.

In general terms, the GWP states that the "relevant local languages" should be the MOI from Primary 1 to Primary 4, while English should serve as the MOI from Primary 5 onwards. The exception is in urban areas, where English should be the MOI from P1 on. Swahili and English are declared to be compulsory subjects throughout the primary cycle, both in rural and urban areas. It is also suggested that emphasis in terms of allocation of time and in the provision of instructional materials, facilities and teachers will, however, be gradually placed on Swahili as the language possessing greater capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development. The NCDC circular confirms the ideas of the GWP, and allows each school to select "mother tongues or the most commonly used area language", provided they are languages with a standard orthography. The MOI should be the language of evaluation. As for secondary education, English is said to be the MOI from S1 onwards, while Swahili and English are listed as compulsory subjects for all

secondary school students. One of the major Uganda languages may also be taught as an option (Read and Enyutu 2004:15).

3.1.2.3 Summary of language status in Uganda

English and Swahili share the linguistic space due to their position as official languages declared as such in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. This is demonstrated in TABLE 17 below. As described in 3.1.1.3 above, status within education is not included.

TABLE 17. *Quantitative analysis of language status: Uganda*

	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Constitution and laws ²⁹	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	100

Using the interpretation scale demonstrated in TABLE 6 in section 1.6.3.4, both English and Swahili have high status:

English: High status (50%)

Swahili: High status (50%)

OALs: No status (0%)

Ganda: No status (0%)

Prior to the 2005 amendment, the position of English was officially stronger, owing to it being the sole official language. However, official status allocation is not necessarily reflected in institutionalised language use within official institutions, whether in Rwanda or in Uganda. To get a full picture of the status a language has within official domains, institutionalised language use needs to be analysed as well. Institutionalised language use is discussed in 3.21.1 below.

²⁹ Only status through dispensations in the Constitution is accounted for, as educational laws fall under the domain *Education*.

3.1.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 18 below shows the status of languages in Rwanda and Uganda. The table has integrated TABLE 16 and TABLE 17 above. The term *Dominant African language* refers to Kinyarwanda in the Republic of Rwanda, and Kinyarukanda in Uganda. *Other African languages* incorporates other African languages, while *Non-African official languages* refers to French and English in the Republic of Rwanda and English in Uganda. The maximum for each country is 100 per cent.

TABLE 18. *Comparative analysis of the official domains: Language status*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Constitution and laws	28.6	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	71.4	50.0

The status of non-African official languages (French and English in Rwanda and English in Uganda) is high in both countries. When only English is compared, the official status of English in Rwanda is just a little below the status of English in Uganda (42.8 and 50 per cent, respectively) due to the recent official stipulation that English is to be used within state administration. Hence, despite equal recognition in the Constitution, there is a difference in official status regarding the three official languages in Rwanda.

Swahili has no status at all in Rwanda. In Uganda, Swahili shares official status with English. Thus, both English and Swahili have *High status*, according to the interpretation scale of quantitative results (TABLE 6).

As accounted for above (see section 1.5.2.1), status is not only allocated through statutory official functions, but also through its de facto use within official domains. This institutionalised language use is discussed in the next section.

3.2 Institutionalised language use

Institutionalised language use is language use established in and incorporated into well-established systems such as official institutions. This analysis comprises language use at governmental institutions and administrative bodies on a national and local level, in addition to language use displayed in items issued by official authorities.

The settings are Parliament, ministries, the Supreme Court, the police, the army, and local administrative offices. These local offices are on district, county and sub-county level (Uganda) or *akagari* level, which is the smallest politico-administrative level in Rwanda.

The units of analysis are as follows:

- Language(s) used for formal written communication
- Language(s) used for formal oral communication
- Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication, and
- Language(s) used on official objects (passports, IDs, currency, etc.) and official signs.

Formal communication includes proceedings or records/minutes of formal meetings and administrative routines. *Formal oral communication* is defined as discussions and verbal interaction of formal meetings. *Informal communication* includes both written – e.g. informal notes and private messages (PMs) – and daily oral informal office communication.

The unit of analysis *Language(s) used on official objects (passports, IDs, currency, etc.) and official signs*, henceforth called *Official objects*, refers to documents and objects such as identity papers, passports, currency, stamps and signs in official buildings, as well as street-name signs.

Following the structure outlined in section 3.1 above, the situation in Rwanda is demonstrated, followed by a presentation of the results of the Ugandan analysis. Finally, a comparative analysis of the two countries is given. In each section, an overview is presented of language use at national and local level, respectively, per country, followed by a discussion of the findings within *Official objects*. In the section on administration at national level, a symbolic representation of language competition is summarised, offering a more general

overview of language use. At the end of each main section, the quantitative results of the investigations are shown.

The data of this Chapter were mostly gathered through interviews with administrative staff at all levels (see 1.6.1.1), but is also based on document analysis and participatory observation.

3.2.1 Rwanda

3.2.1.1 Language use in official domains

TABLE 19 below shows language practice in official domains at national level. Here, language use at two ministries; the NACC, which falls under the Rwandan Ministry of Health; the Supreme Court; Parliament; the police forces; and the army is summarised by using the symbols explained in 1.6.3.4 and TABLE 7.

Language practice varies in the administration of ministries and central governmental offices. The prevailing pattern is nevertheless an extensive use of the national language Rwanda in administration, in both written and oral communication. The official languages, English and French, are used to a lesser extent in some ministries, such as the Ministry of Justice. TABLE 19 below clearly demonstrates Rwanda's dominance in written and oral communication, except at the NACC, which cooperates with foreign partners. Rwanda also occupies a prominent position in the judiciary. All Rwandan court cases are first recorded in Rwanda. At the end of each year, the verdicts are translated by professional interpreters and translators employed by the court, and printed in the official languages. Documents (reports, etc.) are, however, mostly in French.

A capital letter in the table indicates that the language is used primarily, while a lower case letter shows it is used to a lesser extent. The symbol > shows language dominance while an equal sign (=) indicates the equivalent use of the three official languages Rwanda (R/r), French (F/f) or English (E/e). These symbols are also used in TABLE 22. *MINIJUST* is the abbreviation for the Ministry of Justice, *MINALOC* is the abbreviation used for the Ministry of Local Development, and *NACC* is the abbreviation for the National Aids Control Commission.

TABLE 19. *Language competition: Ministries and institutions*

	OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS						
	Legislation	Administration					Jurisdiction
	Parliament and Parliamentary Commissions	MINI-JUST	MINA-LOC	NACC	Police	Army	Supreme Court
Language(s) used for formal written communication	R > (f = e)	R > (e = f)	R	E = F	E > R > F	R = E	R > (f > e)
Language(s) used for formal oral communication	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication	R	R	R	R	R > (f = e = s)	R	R

It is widely believed by Rwandans that both the army and the police forces in Rwanda use Swahili for communication. The fieldwork showed that this is not the case. It is a fact that Swahili used to be employed extensively in both the police and the army, even during the first period of the new regime that came to power after the 1994 genocide. However, there has since been a successive shift to English. For example, army drills used to be in Swahili, but even these are now in English. This change is due to the officers' backgrounds: the majority of them were educated in anglophone countries. Additionally, as Rwanda is a language spoken by practically all Rwandans, there is no need to use Swahili as a lingua franca. Why English has been chosen for drills and not Rwanda is not clear; this is probably linked to the background of the commanding officers.

The unit of analysis *Language(s) used for formal written communication* needs some additional explanation. In the army, both English and Rwanda are used for written administration. Both these languages are now employed to approximately the same extent. If one does not know the background of the

recipient of the written document or message, Rwanda is chosen. Earlier, even French was used.

Within the police forces, Rwanda is used for approximately two thirds of all written communication. The remaining third (mostly reports and documents) is in English (about 70 per cent) and French (30 per cent).

Parliamentary proceedings are only recorded in Rwanda, even if interphrasal code-mixing was noticed (personal observation, 26 January 2006, confirmed in March 2007). Parliamentary reports and official correspondence used to be in French. Written reports were translated into the other official languages depending on the target group and financial means available (Ntakirutimana 2002:48). Today, all the official languages can be used in official documents. However, documents in French have to be translated into English, and vice versa. Documents in Rwanda do not need to be translated.

For oral communication, both formal and informal, the position of Rwanda is clear. Both in the police and in the army, Rwanda has a near 100 per cent language dominance.

3.2.1.2 Language use at the local administrative level

The administrative system in the Republic of Rwanda was reformed in 2006. Following this Territorial Reform, Rwanda is now demarcated into four Provinces, Kigali City, 30 Districts, and 416 Sectors.

Three offices were investigated in the Huye District in the South Province, in the Rubavu District in the West Province, and in Rwamiko in the former Byumba province, now the North Province. As explained in 2.1.2.1 above, the linguistic situation in Rwanda is very homogeneous. In local administrations, i.e. in the provincial and district offices, Rwanda is used almost exclusively, in both rural and urban areas, even if French is used marginally for some written communication or documentation.

3.2.1.3 Language(s) of official objects

The study of official objects showed that there was no standard order for the position of the three official languages. Passports issued after 2004/5, for example, are trilingual. In one place in the passport, Rwanda is followed by English and French; in another place, the order of French and English is reversed. The new identity documents (IDs) issued from 1997 onwards are also

trilingual: Rwanda is used first, followed by the text in English and French. The text of banknotes is French on the one side, followed by English, while the reverse is in Rwanda only. Coins are monolingual in the national language Rwanda, while stamps are monolingual in French. Signs in official buildings vary similarly. For example, the signs at the Ministry of Education were in Rwanda, English and French (in that order). The signs indicating direction in Parliament were written in French, followed by English. Likewise, name signs including titles were both in French and English, with French in first position. The visitor's badges in Parliament were uniquely in French, as were the signs on office doors, while the electronic sign showing votes in Parliament was in English. Old official signs, like street-name signs, are mostly in Rwanda and French, or in French, followed by Rwanda. The trend nowadays is to introduce English on new signs and other official announcements in public. There is no uniform practice as regards the sequencing of languages on official objects.

3.2.1.4 Summary of institutionalised language use in Rwanda

In this section, I first give an overview of the results of how languages are used in the settings of the domain, before accounting for the results of the units of analysis. This is to reveal if the pattern of language use is similar in all settings, whether at national level or in local offices in the countryside.

The quantitative study of institutionalised language use in Rwanda comprises four settings apart from buildings and streets where *Official objects* were studied. These four settings are *Parliament*, *Supreme Court*, *Offices at national level*, and *Offices at local level*. TABLE 20 below shows the use of the national language Rwanda, the official languages French and English, and Swahili in these four settings.

The setting *Parliament* is based on an estimation of how languages are used in Parliament and on Parliamentary Commissions. The calculations for *Supreme Court* do not include language use in laws and decrees – which is dealt with in section 3.1 above. The percentages for *Offices at national level* are calculated from language use at ministries, national commissions and other official institutions such as the army and the police forces. In these calculations, official objects (passports, IDs, banknotes, coins, stamps, signs in official buildings and official street-name signs) are included. *Offices at national level* and *Offices at local level* include units of analysis dealing with both formal and informal communication.

A percentage distribution of the language use for each setting is shown below.

TABLE 20. *Quantitative analysis of four settings, Rwanda*

	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Parliament	90.0	6.7	3.3	0.0	100
Offices of state administration institutions, national level	76.8	11.9	11.2	0.1	100
Offices, local level	96.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	100
Supreme Court	90.0	6.7	3.3	0.0	100

TABLE 20 demonstrates that Rwanda is the language which is used most in all these settings, even if there are variations in the use. As can be seen, Rwanda is used predominantly in Parliament, the Supreme Court, and at national level. French and English are used marginally in official administration at national level and in the Supreme Court. Swahili has practically no function in any of these settings. That Swahili has an observable result in *Offices of state administration and institutions, national level* is uniquely due to its marginal use for informal communication within the police forces.

A summary of each unit of analysis in the study of institutionalised language use is given in TABLE 21 below. As described initially, *institutionalised* language use investigates language usage which is established and incorporated into official institutions. These institutions are the settings described above. The table summarises the results of the survey of institutionalised language use in Rwanda. In the table, the values of all interviews and observations in the settings in question are added, and the average calculated (see 1.6.3.2).

TABLE 21. *Quantitative analysis of institutionalised language use: Rwanda*

	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Language(s) used for formal written communication	61.6	16.4	22.0	0.0	100
Language(s) used for formal oral communication	86.9	11.9	1.2	0.0	100
Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication	99.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	100
Language(s) used on official objects and official signs	42.9	43.5	13.6	0.0	100

The calculations clearly show that Rwanda is the language used most in all the units investigated, except for *Language(s) used on official objects and official signs*, in the following called *Official objects*. Although this language is used more in oral and informal communication than in written communication, its use ranges from Used frequently (above 50 per cent) to Used predominantly, which is the highest level of use (see TABLE 6, section 1.6.3.3). The results of the unit of analysis *Language(s) of formal written communication* are presented below:

Rwanda: Used frequently (61.6%)
 French: Used marginally (16.4%)
 English: Used marginally (22.0%)
 Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Formal oral communication and informal written and oral communication show a very similar language pattern. Rwanda is the language which is preferred for both these units.

Rwanda: Used predominantly (86.9% and 99.3%)
French: Used marginally (11.9% and 0.2%)
English: Used marginally (1.2% and 0.3%)
Swahili: Used marginally (0.2% for informal communication)
Not used (0.0% for *Official objects*)

As can be seen, the results for French are higher than those for English, even if both languages are found in the interval below 25 per cent, which is interpreted as being used marginally.

Even in the study of official objects, Rwanda and French are employed to approximately the same extent. The percentages for these languages are found in the range *Used to a fair extent* (42.9 per cent and 43.5 per cent), while English is used less, and Swahili has no function in this context.

Apart from the unit *Official objects*, the general results of the analysis demonstrate that French is only used marginally, as is English. Swahili is not used at all, except very marginally for informal communication among the police, along with lower levels of frequency of French and English.

It is clear that Rwanda has a strong communicative function. Rwanda is known by all Rwandans, regardless of educational background. Thus, Rwanda is a 'neutral' medium of communication which helps bridge the gap between Rwandans having learnt English in exile and Rwandans who have learnt French through the Rwandan educational system.

The study of institutionalised language use in official institutions was conducted before the Cabinet decision of October 2008 (see sections 3.1.1.2 and 4.1.3) to teach English to government employees at all levels. This promotion of English is not restricted to Rwanda, but is rather commonly found in sub-Saharan Africa, e. g. in Tanzania where "some influential parts of the Tanzanian bureaucracy pledge for a stronger position of English in official domains" (Legère 2008:537). In future, English will probably have a more prominent role in state administration. However, I strongly doubt that English will or can replace Rwanda as a medium of communication, especially for oral interaction. As shown in the study of institutionalised language use in state administration accounted for above, the position of Rwanda is solid. In my opinion, only a strong suppression of this national language would stop Rwandans from using it – since practically all Rwandans can communicate through it with ease.

3.2.2 Uganda

3.2.2.1 Language use in official domains

TABLE 22 below shows institutionalised language use within *Legislation*, *Administration*, and *Jurisdiction*. For *Legislation* and *Jurisdiction*, the same institutions were studied in Rwanda and Uganda (the Supreme Court, Parliament, and Parliamentary Commissions). Language use in official administration is based on a study of the following institutions: the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education and Sports, the Central Police Station in Kampala, and the Army General Headquarters in Bombo. TABLE 22 below shows the position of English (E/e), Ganda (G/g) and Swahili (S/s), which are used within this domain.

TABLE 22. *Language competition at ministries and institutions*

	OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS/ FUNCTION					
	Legislation	Administration				Jurisdiction
	Parliament and Parlia- mentary Commis- sions	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Edu- cation and Sports	Central Police Station	Army General Head- quarters, Bombo	Supreme Court
Language(s) used for formal written communication	E	E	E	E	E	E
Language(s) used for formal oral communication	E	E	E	E	S > e	E
Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication	E > g	E > g	E > g	E > g	S > e	E > g

The position of English is clearly dominant in all formal communication, except within the army, which utilises Swahili for both formal and informal oral communication. Interestingly, English is used for written formal communication due to poor skills in writing Swahili, according to the army spokesman (F Kulaigye, pers. comm. 6 December 2006). In the remaining institutions, informal communication is mainly conducted in English, the dominant language in this domain, and Ganda.

3.2.2.2 Language use in administration at local level

The governmental functions in Uganda are conducted in district, sub-district, county and sub-county offices. The investigation of language use in official functions at local level was conducted in and around Gulu in the north, Busia in the east, Fort Portal in the west, and in the Wakiso District in central Uganda (see map on page 22 for an overview of regions and towns). In Gulu, the sub-county offices have taken over all the functions of county offices due to the war in the northern region. Most – if not all – of the county offices there are closed. The municipal offices now offer the former services of the sub-counties. Employees were interviewed at the Gulu District Council headquarters; the Gulu Municipal Council; and the Laroo, Bar Dege and Pece Divisions of the latter Council. In Busia, the Busia Town Council office, the Busia District Headquarters, and the Dabani Sub-county office were visited. In the central region, staff at the Kyandondo County office and the Nangabo Sub-county office in the Wakiso District were interviewed. In and around Fort Portal, the Butebe County headquarters and the Buheesi, Bukuuku, Busoro, Karambi, and Mugesu Sub-county offices were studied.

Common to all the investigated Ugandan local offices, as was the case at the national level, is that English is used extensively for formal written communication (see TABLE 23 and TABLE 24 below).

There are differences regarding this unit of analysis, depending on where in Uganda the local administrative offices are situated. English was found to be used to a lesser extent in most offices in Busia, Fort Portal and Gulu, compared with the district close to Kampala. In Fort Portal, Tooro, which is the L1 in Fort Portal, as well as Konjo and Nyankore/Chiga are used.

English is used to a limited but varying extent – even for informal written and oral communication. The average is a little more than 5 per cent for all the offices investigated. In the Fort Portal area, the African languages of the area were almost exclusively used, even if some offices reported using English, e.g.

the Bukuuku Sub-county office west of Fort Portal town, where English was estimated to be used for approximately 60 per cent of communication. Likewise, the Municipal Council in Gulu reported employing English for about half of all verbal interactions. For the remaining communication, Tooro and other languages of the area were preferred.

Generally speaking, English is used more frequently for formal communication in central Uganda than in other parts of the country, where the area languages, either Acholi, Saamia or Tooro are employed.

Regarding informal communication, Ganda is the language used in central Uganda. In Gulu, both Acholi/Lwo and English were reported as media of communication, but the area language was used to a much higher extent.

Even Ganda and Swahili were marginally used in the Gulu area of the north in some local offices. Swahili was employed to some extent as a medium of communication in Busia as well, but not in central Uganda or in Fort Portal in the west. The use of Ganda outside the Ganda-speaking area confirms that Ganda functions as a lingua franca in the same way as Swahili does.

3.2.2.3 Language(s) of official objects

In Uganda, all official signs, written documents and objects (IDs, passports, currency, stamps and official street signs) are in the official language, English. Swahili, which was introduced as an official language in September 2005, is not used on official documents or objects pertaining to government, state or other formal functions.

3.2.2.4 Summary of institutionalised language use in Uganda

As in the case of the Republic of Rwanda (see section 3.2.1.4 above), an analysis of the four settings of the study of institutionalised language use is presented together with the four units of analysis. TABLE 23 gives a summary of the four settings: *Parliament, Supreme Court, Offices and institutions at national level* and *Offices at local level*. TABLE 24 summarises the percentages of the units of analysis: *Language(s) used for formal written communication, Language(s) used for formal oral communication, and Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication, and Language(s) used on official objects* (abbreviated to *Official objects*). The analysis follows the procedures described in the introductory outline in section 3.2.1.4 above.

TABLE 23. *Quantitative analysis of four settings: Uganda*

	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Parliament	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
Offices of state administration and institutions, national level	3.1	84.2	0.0	12.7	100
Offices at local level	4.4	50.6	43.7	1.3	100
Supreme Court	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100

TABLE 23 clearly shows that English is the language used predominantly in Uganda for official institutionalised functions (within the 75–100 per cent interval), except at local administrative level, where Ugandan languages are used to a fair extent and Ganda and Swahili are used marginally. The relatively high total for Swahili in official administration at national level is due to its use within the army and the police forces.

TABLE 24 below shows the final results for the units of analysis of institutionalised language use within *Legislation*, *Administration* and *Jurisdiction*, in addition to the results for *Official objects*.

This analysis demonstrates a similar pattern to TABLE 23. English is *Used predominantly* (in the interval 75–100 per cent) for formal written and oral communication. English is *Used to a fair extent* for informal communication (34.7 per cent), whereas Ganda is *Used marginally* in this domain (10.3 per cent). Other Ugandan languages (labelled *Other African languages*) and Swahili are *Used marginally*, if at all, except for informal communication, where African languages are frequently used. When *Ganda* and *Other African languages* are added, the total is 59.9 per cent. The use of Ugandan languages in official functions demonstrates a rising scale related to formality, with written functions at the bottom and informal communication at the top. Thus, Ugandan languages are used more than English in informal verbal interactions within official functions.

TABLE 24. *Quantitative analysis of institutionalised language use: Uganda*

	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	TOTAL %
Language(s) used for formal written communication	0.0	89.0	11.0	0.0	100
Language(s) used for formal oral communication	0.9	58.5	35.8	4.8	100
Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication	10.3	34.7	49.6	5.4	100
Official objects	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100

3.2.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 25 shows the result of a comparative analysis of institutionalised language use in the two countries under study. The table is based on TABLE 21 and TABLE 24 above. The four units of analysis used to measure institutionalised language use within the domain in question are found in the left column, namely *Language(s) used for formal written communication*, *Language(s) used for formal oral communication*, *Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication* and *Language(s) used on official objects and official signs*. These units include communication in Parliament, on Parliamentary Commissions, and in courts and other official institutions, as well as institutionalised language use at ministries, official institutions, and local administration. In addition, the language used on official objects is analysed.

The term *Dominant African language* refers to Kinyarwanda in the Republic of Rwanda (Rw) and Ganda in Uganda (Ug). The category *Other African languages* incorporates all other African languages apart from these two and Swahili. *Non-African official languages* refers to French and English in Rwanda

and to English in Uganda. The maximum total within each unit of analysis and country is 100 per cent.

TABLE 25. *Comparative analysis of institutionalised use*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Language(s) used for formal written communication	61.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	38.4	86.7
Language(s) used formal oral communication	86.9	1.2	0.0	6.5	0.0	19.7	13.1	72.6
Language(s) used informal written and oral communication	99.3	14.1	0.2	7.6	0.0	35.7	0.5	42.6
Language(s) used on official objects and official signs	43.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	57.0	100.0

The position of the language Rwanda is remarkably strong in the Republic of Rwanda, especially regarding informal use within official institutions. Rwanda is used by practically everyone within administration for informal communication (99.3 per cent). French, English and Swahili are employed very marginally informally, and Swahili is used only within the police forces.

As can be seen, the position of Ganda in Uganda is not as strong as its dominant counterpart in Rwanda (14.1 per cent). Even if the totals for *Ganda* and *Other African languages* are summed, the Ugandan languages are used to a considerably lesser extent (49.8 per cent) compared with Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda.

The use of Rwanda versus Ganda combined with other Ugandan L1s (*Other African languages*) was tested statistically for the units *Language(s) used for formal written communication*, *Language(s) used for formal oral communication* and *Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication*. These units are part of hypothesis 2 (see 1.2), which proposes

that, in official domains, Rwanda was expected to be used more than Ganda and other Ugandan L1s in combination. The Z-test (see section 1.6.3.5) used for the analysis gave the following results:

TABLE 26. *Z-test results for Rwanda and Ganda + OALs*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) used for formal written communication	X (2.71)	
Language(s) used for formal oral communication	X (4.61)	
Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication	X (4.40)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$

With 99 per cent confidence, the zero hypothesis – that there is no difference between the two populations – was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. The results for Rwanda are significantly different from the ones for Ganda in combination with other Ugandan languages. Whether this statistical difference is due to Rwanda’s official status (which is shared with French and English) or to its function cannot be established. These facts are nevertheless interlinked as use is an important aspect of language status, as discussed earlier (see section 1.4.1 above). In this respect, the expanded status that English will acquire by being assigned a function in administration will be interesting to follow in the future. The key question is whether or not English can ever obtain the function Rwanda today has as a means of communication. In my opinion, this will be difficult, considering the strong position Rwanda has both in official domains and in everyday life.

In Uganda, English is used for both informal and formal communication in official functions, even if such use is more predominant in formal situations and for written communication. All *Official objects* in Uganda (which are all written) are in English, while in the Republic of Rwanda the national language Rwanda is used to a fair extent (43 per cent) for the same unit of analysis. French and English together obtained the total of 57 per cent, which indicates a frequent use of non-African languages within this unit of analysis. However, the difference between Rwanda and the co-official languages of European origin (French and English together) is not statistically significant. Hypothesis 1 (see

section 1.2) suggested that the official languages would not be used to the same extent within the domains of official language management, despite their equal status allocation through appointment as official languages. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported for the unit of analysis *Official objects*. Similarly, the results for Rwanda, French and English in the Republic of Rwanda, and English and Swahili in the Republic of Uganda for the unit of analysis *Language(s) used for formal written communication* was not statistically significant. If one tests the remaining units of analysis statistically, a significant difference between the results of Rwanda and the co-official languages English and French was found for the units *Language(s) used for formal oral communication* and *Languages(s) used for informal written and oral communication* at $p < 0.01$ (5.09 and 27.14, respectively). Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported regarding these units. Rwanda as the official language is stronger, when compared with English and French, as the situation declines in formality and becomes more oral.

Swahili, the co-official language in Uganda, is used marginally in both formal and informal communication within the army and the police forces in that country. This communication is almost uniquely oral. Swahili plays no role as a medium of written communication. In Rwanda, Swahili has no function as a medium of communication in official domains. Thus, the findings generally contradict working hypothesis 7, which expected the employment of Swahili to be on an equal level in Rwanda and Uganda. It was not possible to statistically test this hypothesis due to zero frequencies in the data.

Swahili was not used to the same extent as English in Uganda, despite their equal official status in the Constitution. Hypothesis 1 of section 1.2 was tested statistically using the Z-test for the two units that could be tested, namely *Language(s) used for formal oral communication* and *Languages(s) used for informal written and oral communication*. The remaining units had a zero frequency. The results for Swahili and English were significant at the 99 per cent confidence level (-5.94 and -2.86, respectively).

Hence, the study of the official domains as a whole supported working hypothesis 1 in section 1.2, that the official languages stipulated to be used are not employed to the same extent, despite their equal official status. Rwanda is clearly used more than the co-official languages French and English in the Republic of Rwanda. In Uganda, English is used more than Swahili.

4. Education

The *Education* domain is frequently the only one – apart from official status being assigned to languages through constitutional declarations – where African governments formulate a policy pertaining specifically to languages. These language-in-education policies are good indicators of a polity's goals, along with their practical implementation.

Before describing past and present educational developments in Rwanda and in Uganda, a short summary of the educational systems in the two countries is given.

The educational systems of Rwanda and Uganda are slightly different in structure. Primary school in Rwanda today is divided into Grades 1–3 (*1er cycle du primaire*, P1–P3) and Grades 4–6 (*2ième cycle du primaire*, P4–P6). Secondary school (*École secondaire*) constitutes a total period of six years (S1–S6). The senior phase of the secondary education period consists of three years, and can constitute either vocational training or an academic stream in preparation for university. The equivalent educational system in Uganda is seven years of primary education (P1–P7) and six of secondary (S1–S6). Secondary education consists of six years of schooling, therefore: four in lower secondary and two in upper secondary.

The three educational levels (primary, secondary and tertiary) constitute the setting of the study of languages in the *Education* domain. The units of analysis are *Language(s) as MOI* and *Language(s) as a subject*. The analysis deals mainly with policy and instructions regarding education. Implementation is not considered. The motive for this decision is discussed in more detail below.

The introduction to the section on each country is descriptive and will give both a diachronic perspective and a synchronic description of a language's formal status, based on statistics and legal dispositions. The de facto implementation of the legal dispositions, i.e. language use and practice, will also be discussed, but this is not included in the quantitative calculations. The reasons for this decision are multiple.

Both Rwanda and Uganda are presently experiencing radical changes regarding language policy within education. This in itself motivates an evaluation of the effects of the recent changes. However, extensive and longitudinal field studies are required in order to combine the field data with comparable and quantitative calculations. Due to the recent changes and the limitation of the dissertation (which includes two counties and three levels of education for each country), it was not possible to carry this out. Nevertheless, a number of observations in both countries supplement the description of the formal stipulations, but without being used for the quantification accounted for in the comparative tables. Thus, the results are based on a language's status as the MOI and as a subject within the *Education* domain. The quantitative results are calculated as a percentage for each setting and unit of analysis.

The data for this Chapter were collected in Rwanda and Uganda at the Ministries of Education, the National Curriculum Development Centres, and in other governmental offices. Relevant documents were later analysed. Information was also obtained through interviews and observations on all educational levels.

The Chapter on Education will first present the educational situation in Rwanda, focusing mainly on primary education. Subsequently, education in Uganda will be presented. Finally, a comparative analysis of education in the two countries will be given.

4.1 Rwanda

4.1.1 Introduction

Private schooling has played a marginal role in primary education in Rwanda. It accounts for less than 0.8 per cent of learners educated throughout the 1990s. However, there is presently a trend towards privatising even primary education, especially in the capital, Kigali. Some 29 per cent of secondary schools in Rwanda are public schools. The remaining schools are subsidised or strictly private. Of the 20 higher institutions which exist, 6 are public while 14 are private (Rwanda 2007a).

The total gross enrolment ratio³⁰ for primary, secondary and tertiary education in Rwanda was 50.9 in 2005 (UNESCO 2007a). Gross enrolment was 120 for primary education. For secondary school, the gross enrolment ratio was 14 and for tertiary education it was 3 (UNESCO 2007b). Net enrolment for primary education has risen during the last 15 years, from 66 to 74 during the period 1991–2005.

Another UNESCO source, a country profile prepared for the *Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2008* (Bines and Woods 2007) claims that the net enrolment rose from 73 per cent in 2000/1 to 94 per cent in 2005/6. Thus, Rwanda has virtually reached universal primary education, but is far from universal completion of primary education. Statistics show that the number of school dropouts is high: more than 30 per cent of children who are enrolled do not complete primary school within the six-year education cycle (Rwanda 2005c:3). The average number of years of schooling for adults is 2.6 (Nationmaster 2007).

Some 58.8 per cent of the population aged 6 and older have primary education. However, only 2.6 per cent have completed secondary school, and 0.5 per cent have tertiary education (Rwanda 2005a:25).

The overall literacy rate in the 2002 census was 60 per cent: 66.5 per cent for men and 54.7 per cent for women (Rwanda 2005a:18). The statistical calculations follow the definition of literacy commonly used in UNESCO statistics, namely the percentage of the population 15 years and older who can read and write. Of those classed as *Illiterate*, 4.4 per cent could read but not write (ibid.:17). The statistics show socio-demographic differences in addition to the gender variance. For example, literacy was higher among the urban population (71.1 per cent versus 50.5 per cent for rural areas), while the percentage of persons who could read and write was 85.1 per cent for Kigali.

³⁰ The *net enrolment ratio* is the ratio of the official age group enrolled in education at a given level of education, expressed as a percentage of the corresponding total population of children. The *gross enrolment ratio* includes students regardless of age, i.e. it covers over-age enrolment as well, and is expressed as a percentage of the population of official school-going age for the educational level concerned (primary, secondary or tertiary). The gross enrolment ratio can exceed 100 when there is an over-age enrolment.

4.1.2 Historical overview

During the German administration era (1907–1916),³¹ education was not a major interest. The schools that were established were initiated by the French missionaries, ‘Les Pères Blancs’, who mainly taught Swahili and some German and Rwanda (Kabanza 2000). Swahili was the lingua franca of the German colony. It was used as the MOI at schools as well as being taught as a subject.

TABLE 27 below gives an overview of the development of languages as media of instruction in Rwanda from the period of the Belgian administration up to the genocide in 1994. The table only shows the main trends. For example, it does not show the differences between rural and urban schools, which used French as an MOI during Belgian rule.

TABLE 27. *Language(s) as MOI in primary school 1907–1994*

PERIOD		LEVEL	
		LOWER PRIMARY	UPPER PRIMARY
Colonial period	German rule 1907–1916	Swahili	–*
	Belgian rule 1916–1962	Rwanda**	Rwanda/French
Period after Independence	1962–1978	Rwanda	French/Rwanda
	1978–1991	Rwanda	Rwanda
	1991–1994	Rwanda	Rwanda

* There were no upper primary schools during this period.

** Gujarati was used in some Indian schools (2–3) and Swahili in Islamic schools.

³¹ Rwanda was then part of German East Africa.

During the Belgian administration (1917–1962), three school reforms were implemented. In 1917 French, the language of the administration was introduced. Swahili was kept at first, but was later abandoned and replaced by Rwanda. A reform in 1929 divided the educational system into two different variants: urban schools, where the pupils were taught in French, and rural schools, where French was optional and skills were taught in Rwanda (ibid.).

Subsequently, all teaching up to Grade 4 was conducted in Rwanda. A reform in 1948 allowed the use of other languages. Gujarati was, for instance, used in Hindu schools in Byuma and Ruhengeri, while Swahili was used in Islamic schools, mostly in commercial centres. Rwanda was the MOI in all other schools except those that followed a European system, where French was the MOI from Grade 1. Pupils were taught Dutch, a major language of Belgium, as a second foreign language (Shyirambere 1978).

Upon independence in 1962, the school system that was operating at the time was retained. French was introduced as a subject from the first year of primary school (Niyitanga 2003:12), and used as the MOI in upper primary, while Rwanda was taught as a subject at this educational level. From 1965 on, French was introduced as a subject in P3. The school law of 1966 stated that the MOI should be Rwanda, but that the minister could authorise the use of another language (Article 69). It also stated, in Article 70, that the L1 and French were compulsory subjects (Kabanza 2000).

Swahili was abandoned in primary education, but reintroduced in secondary school in 1979. Rwanda was taught as a subject in secondary schools until 1977, even after independence in 1962, but suffered from a lack of didactic material. This changed in 1977 when a Rwanda language section was started in the Bureau Pédagogique de l'Enseignement Secondaire³². Its aim was to enable students to master their L1 both orally and in writing, but the work also included overt cultural-political aspects.

In 1978, a general reform of the educational system was launched. This could be called the 'rwandisation' of the school system. Primary education was extended from six to eight years. The MOI was to be Rwanda from P1 to P8, as the quotation from the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) shows (Rwanda 1978:6):

– pour valoriser la culture nationale d'une part, et pour faciliter l'assimilation des

³² Office of secondary school pedagogy and teaching (auth. trans.).

notions enseignées d'autre part, l'objectif à long terme est d'enseigner les enfants rwandais en leur langue maternelle, le kinyarwanda, et cela à tous les niveaux de l'enseignement[.]³³

During the school year 1979/1980, 12,168 students in 77 schools followed this system of education. Books and didactic materials were developed. Although Rwanda has been a written language for more than 100 years and a grammar and dictionary were printed for it as early as 1911 and 1912, respectively, there was no standard orthography until 1974 (Mutanguha 2005:16). Many of the books developed in the late 1970s are still in use in primary schools. Even a governmental commission, the *Commission Nationale du Lexique*, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and financed by the Office of the President, existed for developing terminology to be used in all subjects (F Gasimba, Member of the Commission, pers. comm. 9 February 2006).

The 1978 reform made French the MOI at secondary level (S3–S6) with English as a subject. This system applied right up to the changes brought about by tragic events in 1994.

In both secondary school and at university level, Swahili was introduced as a subject after the 1991 reforms. The teaching of Swahili seems to have diminished with the English/French reform of 1997, especially at tertiary level (Ntakirutimana 2002:43).

An assessment showing rather poor results in French led to a revision of the school system in 1991. This resulted in a return to six years of primary education with Rwanda as the MOI, and French being taught as a subject from P3 onwards (Niyitanga 2003:13).

4.1.3 Recent developments in education

The revision of 1991 and the changes in the educational system were disrupted by the political instability of the decade. After 1994, a revision of the educational system was deemed necessary by the political powers due to the new realities of Rwandan society, with refugees not knowing Rwanda or French. About 5 per cent (331,896 persons) of the Rwandan population had returned from anglophone countries in 1996 (Rugira 1997:11). The development in

³³ – to increase the status of national culture, on the one hand, and to facilitate learning on the other hand, the long-term aim is to teach the Rwandan children Rwanda in their mother tongue, Kinyarwanda, on all levels of education (auth. trans.).

Rwanda which led to this change in language policy was discussed in section 3.1.1.1.

The solution to the new situation was to allow students who had French as a second language to continue with French as a subject, and students with English as a second language to be allowed to keep English as a subject. In early 1996, a new educational system was introduced. A curriculum was developed by the Ministry of Education and implemented in 1997. According to the new curriculum, English, French and Rwanda were to be learnt simultaneously in primary school, with Rwanda as the MOI in Grades 1–3 and French and English being taught as subjects (Niyitanga 2003:13). The dispensations of the new curriculum are shown in TABLE 28 below. The table is based on the Education Sector Policy (Rwanda 2003b:26) and Niyitanga (2003:14).

TABLE 28. *Language(s) as MOI and as a subject at primary level*

LEVEL	LANGUAGE AS THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION	LANGUAGE AS A SUBJECT
P1–P3	Rwanda	French and English
P4–P6	French and English	Rwanda

The post-1994 political and sociolinguistic situation is also reflected in the general introduction to the lower primary English programme (Rwanda 1997:2):

The new composition of the Rwandese society and the new realities of the nation brought the Government to initiate English as one of the official languages. ... It should be taught as a subject in the lower and upper primary levels. ... In designing this programme, special attention has been paid to the prevailing linguistic situation of Rwanda, now populated by Rwandese citizens with different educational and social backgrounds.

Law No. 29/2003 of 30 August 2003 establishes the organisation and function of nursery, primary and secondary schools. Chapter IV deals with primary schools, where their structure and the general provisions pertaining to them are detailed in Article 34 (Rwanda 2003c):

The language of instruction in the first cycle of primary education is Kinyarwanda except for the lessons of foreign languages. The Minister having education in his or her portfolio may, through a Ministerial Order, authorise the use of French or English as the medium of instruction in the first cycle. The language in the second cycle is French or English, except for other language lessons.

Article 35 declares Rwanda, French and English, in addition to nine other subjects, as compulsory. The time allocated the languages is shown in TABLE 29 below. French and English are given the same amount of lessons, namely four per week in P1–P3, and five per week in P4–P6, while Rwanda is allocated more time in lower primary: seven lessons in P1 and P2, and six lessons in P3. Each lesson is 30 minutes. The table is based on Ntakirutimana (2002), NCDC documents (Rwanda 1997:A52), Muyuku Bigabo (1998) and *Rapport du séminaire-atelier sur la révision et l’harmonisation des programmes de l’enseignement primaire* (Rwanda 1996:8).

TABLE 29. *Weekly time allocation: Primary school (lessons per week)*

LANGUAGE	GRADE					
	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6
Rwanda	7	7	6	3	3	3
French	4	4	5	5	5	5
English	4	4	5	5	5	5

The 2003 Education Sector Policy declares the following policy on teaching languages (Rwanda 2003b:23):

Kinyarwanda, French and English shall continue to be offered in schools: Kinyarwanda as medium of instruction and English and French as subjects in all lower primary schools as well as private, whilst either English or French will be offered as a medium of instruction in the upper primary cycle and in secondary schools.

However, the practical implementation is not accounted for, as stated by Niyitanga: “Though the introduction of English and French is recommended, there is no clear definition for how these languages are to be used” (Niyitanga 2003:14).

The sudden change in language-in-education policy mentioned in section 3.1.1.2 was not foreseen in any education sector documents. As stated above, the 2003 Education Sector Policy establishes the languages to be used as media of instruction. The Education Sector Strategic Plan 2008–2012 provides for continuing education through the media outlined in the Educational Sector Policy.

This change in language policy, with its consequences for education, took place in late 2008. Ignoring educational specialists’ recommendations,

UNESCO and African Union policies,³⁴ the Cabinet resolved as follows on 8 October 2008 (Rwanda 2008b):

As a part of enhancing Rwanda's role within the East African Community in particular, and at international level in general, Cabinet requested:

- The Minister of Education to put in place an intensive programme for using English in all public and Government sponsored primary and secondary schools and higher learning institutions;
- The Minister of Public Service and Labour to put in place a programme to help Government employees at all levels learn English, starting with Top Ranking Officials.

The statement is signed by the Minister of Cabinet Affairs in the Office of the Prime Minister, Dr Charles Murigande.

At the Ministry of Education, there were still no formal documents about this change in 2008, although it was claimed that the decision should be implemented in January 2009. Other sources talked about implementation over a two-year period. A group at the Ministry was preparing a proposal to Cabinet in this regard.

As stated earlier in 3.1.1.2, Minister Murigande declared in an interview in *Jeune Afrique* of 2–8 November 2008 that the Constitution would not be changed, i.e. there would still be three official languages (Mataillet 2008:35). He added the following (ibid):

Il est vrai que les pédagogues recommandent que l' enfant étudie dans sa langue maternelle pendant les trois premières années du primaire. Nous n'irons pas contre ces recommandations.³⁵

Hence, in this interview, the Minister himself leaves a door open for Rwanda to be used in primary education, in spite of the Cabinet decision. Regrettably, and in contrast to the educational development in other African states such as

³⁴ UNESCO has recommended the use of L1s as media of instruction in education (teaching of and through L1s) for as long as possible (UNESCO 2003). This strategy is based on extensive research about learning and education, and is also acknowledged by the African Union, which, through the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), promotes the development of African languages “for use in a wider range of domains, particularly in education, mass communication, legislation, and technology” (ACALAN 2010).

³⁵ It is true that pedagogues recommend that the child learns in his or her mother tongue during the first three years of primary school. We do not go against these recommendations (auth. trans.).

Uganda, the decision to use English as an MOI from the very first Grade was implemented, in violation of UNESCO and AU recommendations. That language-in-education policy and its practical implementation are problematic is not a new phenomenon, as the next section will demonstrate.

4.1.4 Educational policy and implementation

The fieldwork pertaining to the educational sector in Rwanda was conducted prior to the new policy turn which took place at the end of 2008. For this reason it was not possible to follow up the new policy's implementation in detail. However, this is not an issue which pertains only to the new political situation: earlier fieldwork also revealed discrepancies between policy statements and observations.

In spite of the clear formulation of the law and the ideas of the Education Sector Policy, it was found that French was used as the MOI during the first cycle of primary education in public schools in the capital Kigali in 2006. It is unclear how, when and by whom the decision was made. No ministerial order appears to have been issued and no formal decisions were found during the fieldwork. The change seems to have been taking place around 2003/4. The use of French as an MOI – a practice verified through observation and during interviews with teachers at four primary schools³⁶ – was bluntly denied by local authorities and declared to be against the law. The decision to use French as an MOI was possibly made to improve the results of examinations in Grade 4 (held in French), in competition with private schools teaching in French or English. The teachers and administrative staff all claimed that the decision to use French as the MOI had been taken by the Kigali Municipality. The amount of time given to the different languages varied in the schools visited, as did the length of the lessons devoted to them.

In rural Rwanda, a contrary practice is often found. Despite the earlier stipulation that French should be used from Grade 4 on, teaching in French (or, less frequently, English) has often to some extent been complemented by Rwanda when the need arose to explain subjects in more detail. This is the case primarily in upper primary (P4–P6), even if this is normal practice in secondary

³⁶ A primary school in Gatsata, on the outskirts of Kigali; two Catholic schools in Remera, Kigali; and the Ecole primaire d'Application, also in Kigali.

schools as well. This phenomenon is also documented by Ball and Freedman (2004).

Interesting changes were found in the latest version of the Education Sector Policy, issued in July 2003, compared with an Internet version from 2002 (Rwanda 2002a:24). The following emphases in italics are added to the 2003 version, stating that all three official languages should be offered in schools: "... Kinyarwanda as medium of instruction and English and French as subjects in *all* lower primary schools *as well as private*, ...". The previous official policy was, thus, quite clear prior to the adoption of the new policy, while the practical implementation of the latter has revealed another reality.

As for secondary education, the law of August 2003, cited in 4.1.3, which states that the MOI in secondary education must be French or English, is still the leading educational policy document in Rwanda. As most of the teachers were educated in the pre-English era, the majority of secondary school teaching has been in French. No major changes, apart from the introduction of English, have taken place since 1994 until the recent change of policy. There are programmes for secondary school, but no textbooks or teacher guides corresponding to the recent programmes (dating from 1996, 1998 and 2000). The programmes have, thus, not been implemented.

To date, there are no changes in curriculum despite the new policy pertaining to education. The time allocated for languages in secondary education is two hours per week for Rwanda and six hours for French and English at Ordinary level (O-level, S1–S3). At the Advanced level (A-level, S4–S6), French is taught for two hours per week in the options *Language* and *Humanities and teaching*. Rwanda is only taught in the first two years in the scientific stream. French and English are taught for six hours a week at O-level and two to three hours a week at A-level, except for the language option, which teaches both the non-African official languages seven hours per week. For an overview of time allocation for secondary school, see Appendix 2.

As for Swahili, the Language in Education Policy of the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific Research and an Outline Strategic Plan for its implementation declares that "Swahili shall be taught at Secondary and Technical/Professional level and the possibilities of maximising Swahili language skills shall be addressed" (Rwanda 2004:6).

Considerable changes have taken place in tertiary education during the past 10 years. After 1994, a number of new private universities were established.

These new universities are mostly English-medium and situated in Kigali. Funding and other resources have been allocated to them.

The new educational institutions, along with the National University of Rwanda (NUR) in Butare, have up to now been characterised by an attempt to integrate English as an MOI alongside French. As approximately 80 per cent of the students in the Republic of Rwanda were educated in the francophone educational system, in the past preparatory intensive language courses have been made compulsory, e.g. at NUR and the Kigali Institute of Education (KIE), both offering a full year intensive course. The Université Libre de Kigali (ULK) offered a four-month language course. The Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST) has instead integrated intensive language courses with other university courses. The number of courses given in French or in English has depended on the capacity of each institution. Until October 2008, no law, circular or decree regulated the teaching in the two European languages or their use as media of instruction. The new situation and its implications for tertiary education are discussed at the end of this section.

TABLE 30 below shows the status of languages in 2006, i.e. prior to the decision of late 2008, at the four universities mentioned above and at the Université Adventiste de l'Afrique Centrale (UAAC). The universities are either private or state-funded. A capital letter in the table indicates that the language is used primarily, a lower case letter that it is used to a lesser extent. The symbol > shows language dominance, while an equal sign (=) indicates the equivalent use of languages. These symbols are also used in TABLE 31 to illustrate how languages are used in university administration.

TABLE 30. *Languages used in tertiary level in Rwanda, prior to 2008/9*

	KIE	NUR	KIST	UAAC	ULK
Number of students	2,981	7,609	5,000	1,000	7,885
State-financed (S)/ Private (P)	S	S	S	P	P
Existing Department of Rwanda	YES	YES ³⁷	NO	NO	NO
Preparatory intensive language course	YES (1 year)	YES (1 year)	YES (1 year)*	NO	YES (4 months)
Medium of instruction	F = E	F = E	E > f**	F	F > E***

* Intensive language teaching during the first university year parallel with the ordinary first-year courses, ten hours a week; in second year, five hours a week; in third year, two hours a week.

** Used marginally.

*** The lectures are supposed to use French and English on an equal basis according to the University's Strategic Plan. To improve proficiency in English, the University has an exchange programme with a university in South Africa. To date, 43 out of 200 teachers have taken part in the programme.

Interviews conducted at the universities in 2006 showed that language use in administration varied at the tertiary institution concerned. TABLE 31 gives a summary of formal and informal communication at these universities.

³⁷ The Department of French and the Department of African Languages and Culture closed in January 2009. Today there is a new department called Modern languages where Swahili, Rwanda and French are taught.

TABLE 31. *Language competition at tertiary level*

	STATE UNIVERSITIES			PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES	
	KIE	NUR	KIST	UAAC	ULK
Formal oral use (administration)	R > (e=f)	(F = R) > E	E > F	F	E = F
Formal written use (administration)	E = F	F > E	E > f*	F	E = F
Informal use (administration)	R > (e = f)	R > f > (e = s)	R > (e = f = s)	R > F	(E = F) > r

* Used marginally.

The language used for formal oral communication within the university has mostly been Rwanda (R) at KIE, while French (F), Rwanda and occasionally English (E) were used at NUR. UAAC used French almost exclusively, while KIST and ULK preferred English and French as media of communication, KIST with a dominance of English.

The language of written communication was mostly English and/or French. As seen from the table, the dominance of each of these languages varied somewhat across the tertiary institutions. For informal communication, Rwanda was chosen most frequently, except at ULK, which was established in 1998. Here, French and English were employed more frequently than the national language Rwanda.

Earlier, French was almost exclusively the medium of formal communication, both orally and in writing. The practice seems to have changed during the last decade, with the introduction of English as an official language. As a result of having both anglophone and francophone staff, the national language Rwanda has recently frequently been assigned the role of medium of internal informal communication at university level. This practice will possibly change in the future with the more extensive use of English as the medium of communication on all levels within tertiary education institutions. This change is clearly demonstrated in the draft policy on language teaching for NUR, which was presented at the end of 2008. The draft was submitted to the Academic Standards and Quality and the Management Committee in time for

presentation to the Senate meeting in January 2009. The policy document states the following (NUR 2008):

The new policy of using English as MOI also affects tertiary education. This Policy replaces the one accepted by Senate in 2007 and reflects the national policy that all education shall move towards English as the primary medium of instruction. Beginning immediately, English shall be the sole language of teaching and assessment throughout the National University, except for those disciplines which focus on French or African languages and/or literature or on subjects such as Law where the ability to read and comment on documents in French or Kinyarwanda is an essential skill.

In line with this policy:

- All lectures, seminars, practical classes etc will be conducted in English, except in the areas mentioned above;
- All oral or written assessment will be submitted in English, with the same exceptions;
- English shall be the normal language of the administrative business of the University, for both students and staff;
- English shall be the normal language of University meetings.

The draft additionally contains practical and transitional provisions to overcome problems due to a lack of English-speaking staff. Among other things, those who could teach in English, however falteringly, were encouraged to do so – perhaps through additionally breaking into French from time to time. Language classes were made compulsory for everyone under 60 who could not speak English well enough to teach in it. Staff aged 60+ did not need to turn to English unless they wished to do so: the investment of time and effort so late in the relevant staff member's career was not considered a reasonable requirement.

Despite efforts to make the transition a smooth one, NUR experienced severe problems, which included the lack of teachers proficient in English, a lack of books and other materials in English, and problems with students who could not learn in a language they did not understand (E Ntakirutimana, pers. comm. 2 November 2009).

4.1.5 Summary of the domain Education: Rwanda

Until late 2008, the three official languages Rwanda, French and English were all allocated a different status within education, especially regarding their role as media of instruction. Rwanda and French could be said to have had a dominant status, while English had a subordinate status in primary education. The role of

French was more prominent than the other co-official languages in secondary and tertiary education. TABLE 32 below gives an overview of how languages were stipulated to be used both as the media of instruction and as subjects in the domain *Education* until 2008, presented as a table showing language dominance, see TABLE 7, section 1.6.3.4.

The symbol > indicates language dominance. As before, an equal sign (=) relates to equivalent use. An upper case letter signals that the language is used primarily or has a dominant status, while a lower case letter shows it is used to a lesser extent or has a subordinate status.

TABLE 32. *Language dominance, 1994–2008*

LEVEL		
PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
(R = F) > e	F > E > r	F > E > r > s

After the introduction of the new language policy in October 2008, the formal status of English changed radically. The new status of languages within education could now be symbolically expressed as in TABLE 33 below.

TABLE 33. *Language dominance, 2009–*

LEVEL		
PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
E > (r = f)	E > f > r	E > f > (r = s)

As can be seen, English has a dominant status at all levels of education. Other languages (Rwanda and French in primary education; French and to some extent Rwanda in secondary education; and French, Rwanda and Swahili in tertiary education) all have subordinate status after the October 2008 change in policy.

A quantitative evaluation of languages in education is displayed in TABLE 34 below. The maximum of each educational level is 100 per cent, including languages both as media of instruction and as subjects. The calculation of languages used as media of instruction is based on their official status, while the unit of analysis for languages as subjects calculated from their weekly time allocation on all levels. This time allocation (number of lessons, accounted for

in section 4.1.3 and Appendix 2) is also transformed into a percentage distribution.

In the calculations, lower and upper primary are separated. The result of each level is shown within parentheses in the table, complementary to the average. TABLE 35 also shows the two units of analysis – *Language(s) as MOI* and *Language(s) as a subject* – separately. The unit *Language(s) as MOI* is, as described above, the stipulated use of languages within the domain.

TABLE 34. *Quantitative analysis of languages in education in Rwanda*

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
		Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	
Primary level	(P1–P3)	(21.7)	(14.2)	(64.2)		100
	(P4–P6)	(11.5)	(19.2)	(69.2)		
		16.6	16.7	66.7	0.0	
Secondary level		10.2	19.9	69.9	0.0	100
Tertiary level		7.5	20.0	70.0	2.5	100

The analysis confirms the formally unique position of English due to the recent allocation of status to English as the MOI throughout the educational system. The prominent position of English as MOI is clearly shown in TABLE 35. This table comprises an average total for all levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary. The sum for each unit of analysis is 100 per cent.

TABLE 35. *Quantitative analysis of languages as media of instruction and as subjects*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	
Language(s) as MOI	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100
Language(s) as a subject	22.9	37.7	37.7	1.7	100

The status of languages within the domain *Education* is judged to be the following, according to the interpretation scale of quantitative results (see TABLE 6):

Language(s) as MOI

English: Dominant status (100.0%)
French: No status (0.0%)
Rwanda: No status (0.0%)
Swahili: No status (0.0%)

Language(s) as a subject

English: Moderate status (37.7%)
French: Moderate status (37.7%)
Rwanda: Marginal status (22.9%)
Swahili: Marginal status (1.7%)

As practice is not included, the totals do not reflect reality and I consider the totals in this respect to have a strong bias in favour of English. It is highly probable that languages other than English are used on all three educational levels in Rwanda in spite of the formal status awarded to English through the Cabinet decision of October 2008. The example from tertiary education given in section 4.1.4 indicates that the difficulties are considerable. The problems at lower level are probably no less challenging.

So far, the curriculum has not been changed due to the new status and function assigned to English. If and when changes are made, the totals of the unit *Language(s) as a subject* will obviously change as well.

4.2 Uganda

4.2.1 Introduction

In Uganda, 20 per cent of all primary schools, 60 per cent of all secondary schools, and 20 per cent of all higher education institutions are run by non-governmental or private institutions (Uganda 2003:58).

The gross enrolment ratio for primary education is 119³⁸ (net enrolment is not available), the gross enrolment ratio for secondary education is 19 (net enrolment: 15) and for tertiary education it is 3 (UNESCO 2007b).

Primary school enrolment in Uganda has risen since the implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997, with the figures increasing from 3.1 million children to more than 7 million in 2006 (UBOS 2007). However, dropout rates remain high, especially for girls.³⁹ In 2007, the completion rate for both boys and girls was 43 per cent (Baguma 2008).

After an increase of 68 per cent (1996–1997), total school enrolment steadily declined from 90 per cent in 2003 to 84 per cent in 2008, according to the Education Ministry spokesperson Aggrey Kibenge (*ibid.*).

The number of private institutions in the education sector has risen and now absorbs more than half of the total enrolments. TABLE 36, based on information from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS 2005, 2007) and a World Bank report (World Bank 1997), gives a comparison of the gross and net enrolment ratios for the educational levels before and after UPE. As stated earlier gross and net enrolment are statistical measures used by the UN to show levels of education. The average number of years of schooling for adults is 3.5 years (Nationmaster 2007).

³⁸ For an explanation of *gross* and *net* enrolment ratio, see footnote 30.

³⁹ The passing rate for the period 1997–2001 was 61.5 per cent for P4 (Uganda 2003:86). Future survival rates are expected to be between 55 and 60 per cent for P4, 45–50 per cent for P5 and 40–45 per cent for P7 (*ibid.*).

TABLE 36. *Gross and net enrolment in Uganda, 1996 and 2004*

LEVEL	Gross enrolment		Net enrolment	
	1996	2004	1996	2004
Primary	93	132	63	81
Secondary	19	19	12	15
Tertiary	3	3	3	3

As demonstrated, the net enrolment in primary education rose from 63 in 1996 to 81 in 2004. The increase is probably due to the introduction of UPE, when free education for four children a family was introduced as a part of the new government policy. The gross enrolment ratio, which is 132 for primary education in 2004, indicates that students older than the primary school age interval are enrolled.

The adult literacy rate is 62 per cent (UNESCO n.d.). Adult literacy programmes use the Ugandan languages, but offer limited and unequal access to adult literacy education opportunities. The literacy education programmes (governmental and non-governmental) reach only about 4 per cent of the estimated 7 million non-literate adults (Uganda 2002):16). A Functional Literacy Programme (FAL) has been run by the Government of Uganda since 1992. The Department of Community Development in the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development is responsible for FAL's implementation. By the middle of 1999, FAL had reached 26 of Uganda's 45 administrative districts in its 8 larger administrative regions. Adult literacy programmes are almost exclusively conducted in the Ugandan languages, but for practical reasons, it is not possible to use all languages (Okech 2002).

4.2.2 Historical overview

In the early period of the Protectorate (1884–1962), the European settler and business community favoured Swahili, while the missionaries used Swahili and local languages as media of instruction in schools and also reduced the languages to writing (Hansen 1984:390). The schools were entirely in the hands of the missionaries until 1925, when the government “started exercising control over education by establishing a Directorate of Education” (Uganda 1992:3).

In 1924, Ganda was “the main medium of instruction in the schools in accordance with the government’s policy of making it the official language”, as reported by the later Director of Education ERJ Hussey (Hansen 1984).

English was used from 1932 onwards as the MOI. The use of African languages in primary education has, however, been discussed, more or less forcefully, both in the academic world and at political level. The use of local languages as media of instruction in education was, for instance, suggested by the Directors of Education of the four anglophone East African countries in 1947. The following recommendations were made:⁴⁰

- The main vernacular in each area should be the sole medium of instruction throughout the primary range (I–IV) if it was sufficiently developed and widespread to justify the provision of the necessary textbooks.
- The local vernaculars, spoken in smaller areas only, should be used as medium of instruction in the first class in their areas, after which children should be taught in one of the main vernaculars

After independence, in 1963, the main guidelines for educational development were provided by the Castle Commission. These have been guiding Uganda until the early 1990s.

In April 1992, the Ugandan government presented a report which provided for the implementation of the recommendations which had been made by the Education Policy Review Commission, appointed by the Minister of Education in 1987 under the chairmanship of Prof. Senteza Kajubi. The latter report, often referred to as the *Kajubi Report*, was submitted in 1989. The Commission’s recommendations covered all levels of education and all types of formal education. The Government White Paper (GWP) of 1992 on education will be discussed further in section 4.2.3.

4.2.3 Recent developments in education

When the Kajubi Report was published, it was taken to different stakeholders (specialists) for comments. The GWP, which was the result, was submitted to Parliament and considered. After that the National Curriculum Development

⁴⁰ These are cited in the “Proposed Language Policy in Education” – a proposal submitted to the Education Policy Review Commission on 10 June 1988 by the Department of Languages headed by Dr Livingstone Walusimbi (Walusimbi 1988).

Centre (NCDC) was tasked with linking the document with national goals and aims, which included national unity.

In response to recommendations 4–6 of the EPRC, the GWP stated that the primary education cycle would be extended from 7 to 8 years⁴¹ and that the government was intending to launch UPE “as soon as possible but not later than 2001/02” (Uganda 1992:43).

As regards the language-related decisions, the Kajubi Report recommended that the L1 should be used as an MOI in all educational programmes up to P4, and that English should be taught as a subject from P1 and used as an MOI from P5. It also suggested that the area languages (LWDs) should be taught as subjects in primary schools. From secondary school on, the students should be required to take, in addition to English, another Ugandan or foreign language. The teaching of Swahili was recommended to be strengthened at secondary school level (Uganda 1992:17).

The government, through the GWP on education, decided to take a clear and firm decision on language policy in education, especially in respect of the long-discussed role of Swahili, as seen from the following political decisions stated in the GWP:

36.(i)

- (a) In rural areas the medium of instruction from P1 to P4 will be the relevant local languages; and from P5 to P8 English will be the medium of instruction.
- (b) In urban areas the medium of instruction will be English throughout the primary cycle.
- (c) Kiswahili and English will be taught as compulsory subjects to all children throughout the primary cycle, in both rural and urban areas. Emphasis in terms of allocation of time and in the provision of instructional materials, facilities and teachers will, however, gradually be placed on Kiswahili as the language possessing greater capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development.
- (d) The relevant area language will also be taught as a subject in primary schools; this applies to both rural and urban areas. However, students may or may not offer this subject for PLE⁴² examination. UNEB will, nevertheless, provide for examination in all five main Ugandan languages (Luo, Runyakitara, Luganda, Ateso/Akarimojong and Lugbara) in PLE for those who study any of these languages as a subject for examination.

⁴¹ This has not been fulfilled. Primary education is still seven years.

⁴² Primary Leaving Examination.

District Local Governments were expected to set up District Language Boards (DLBs) who would be responsible for primary education, as cited in a report to the Rockefeller Foundation by the implementing institution, Makerere University (Makerere University 2005:23).

TABLE 37 below is based on the recommendations in the GWP for languages at primary level, in both rural and urban areas.

TABLE 37. *Languages at primary school level, GWP 1992*

LEVEL	LANGUAGE(S) AS MOI	LANGUAGE(S) AS A SUBJECT
P1–P4	RURAL schools: Relevant local language URBAN schools: English	English, Swahili, relevant area language
P5–P8	English	English, Swahili, relevant area language

The process leading to the final GWP shows some interesting shifts in language use and, thus, even in perspective and values. The emphasis in the following quotation is added by the author to expose the differences regarding languages and education. The Kajubi Report aims and objectives for primary education were as follows:

69. (i) To enable individuals to acquire functional literacy, numeracy and communication skills in one Ugandan language and English[.]

This was amended by the GWP as follows:

70. (i) (a) Government amend part (i) in line with the decisions already taken on language. It will, therefore, read as follows:

To enable individuals to acquire permanent functional and developmental literacy, numeracy and communication skills in *Kiswahili, the local language* and English. [Emphasis added]

As can be seen, Swahili was added, compared with the recommendations of the Kajubi Report. The changes in vocabulary will be discussed in section 4.2.4.

In the implementation strategy of recommendation 22 of the Kajubi Report about the curriculum of primary schools, the GWP additionally repeated the position stated in 70(i)(a), thus confirming the promotion of Kiswahili in education (Uganda 1992:41):

73. (i) Part (i) is amended, again in line with the new language policy. It will read as follows:

Skills in communication, oral expression, reading and writing in Kiswahili, English and the local language.

The current Local Language Policy for Primary Education was provided by the 1999 NCDC Circular. A summary of the main points of the NCDC circular is accounted for in Road Map (Read and Enyutu 2004:15):

- L1 or the most commonly used area language should be the MOI for P1–P4
- All schools should select as an MOI only languages with a developed orthography
- Where the MOI is not understood by all learners special attention will be given to learners who do not understand the language
- In urban areas where L1 might be difficult to use as an MOI, English may be used
- Local languages can be taught as a subject
- All instructions for P5–P7 will be in English
- The MOI will be the language of evaluation. Thus if the MOI is Nyoro/Tooro examinations must be set in the same language
- The decision on the use of a local language as the MOI will be taken by the school administration and the DLB⁴³
- The government of Uganda will produce instructional materials in the 6 languages Lwo, Lugbara, Ganda, Nyankore/Chiga, Nyoro/Tooro and Teso/Karimojong
- All districts must form District Language Boards, although several districts using a common local language can combine to form a DLB

⁴³ District Language Board.

- All districts should inform NCDC of the local language selected as media of instruction in their district

An Educational Strategic Investment Plan (ESIP) was developed in 1997 as the basic policy framework for the education sector and founded on the 1989 EPRC (Kajubi) Report and the 1992 GWP on Education. The ESIP was reviewed in 2003.

ESIP's main emphasis has been on achieving UPE, introduced in 1997. A review of ESIP provided some key recommendations for a future ESIP II policy framework. The report states that "The improvement of intellectual access to basic education, and learners' retention in the schooling system, is closely linked to the improvement of educational quality through the applied benefits of Mother Tongue Instruction in a bilingual setting in P1–P4" (Uganda 2003:xvii).

The report has also made recommendations based on the GWP. Referring to paragraph 32 of the GWP, the report states as follows:⁴⁴ "It will remain a core challenge for the plan period of ESIP II to develop, or to prepare for the development of a clear and coherent language policy in education and in national life generally" (Uganda 2003:109). ESIP strongly supports the recommendations of the EPRC regarding L1 as the MOI as well as the idea of establishing a National Advisory Board on Languages. Regarding 36(i)(b) on using English as the MOI in urban areas, ESIP states that "The investigation of approaches facilitating mother tongue instruction in mixed language areas and/or urban schools should form part of the mother tongue implementation strategy which needs to be developed under ESIP II" (ibid.:111).

Secondary education is divided into two phases: the O-level secondary school cycle, which is reduced to three years, and the A-level, which is undergone two years after obtaining the Uganda Certificate of Education, UCE (Uganda 1992:12). The GWP (ibid.:20) has the following to say about recommendation 7 in the Kajubi Report:

- (ii) (a) English will be the medium of instruction from S1 onwards.
- (b) Kiswahili and English will be compulsory subjects for all secondary school students. Students will be encouraged as much as possible to take another foreign language so as to increase their own and the national capacity to communicate at international level.

⁴⁴ Regarding the period 2003–2015.

One of the major Ugandan languages may also be taught optionally.

As for tertiary education, in the GWP on Education the government states that, in addition to the languages currently being taught: mathematics, science subjects, physical education and health, the National Teachers' College (NTC) also shall specialise in the following areas (Uganda 1992:97):

236.

- (ii) (a) Kiswahili
- (c) Other languages (Ugandan or foreign)
- (iii) One of the three NTCs specialising in languages will be developed rapidly into a National Institute of Languages and Language Teacher Education; and one of the three that are to specialise in Science will also be developed rapidly into a National Institute of Science and Science Teacher Education.

According to the GWP (425(i)(b)), Swahili will be the main language taught at the three NTCs: "Programmes for training tutors and teachers for other Ugandan languages will also be developed at the three NTCs".

4.2.4 Educational policy and implementation

4.2.4.1 Primary education

The de facto shift in policy pertaining to languages, regarding languages both as media of instruction and as subjects, seems to have moved away from the major area languages towards first languages. The Kajubi Report concluded that the “5 main area languages” should be taught. This was changed to “local languages”, omitting “5” and “main area languages” (Read and Enyutu 2004:16). Furthermore, the NCDC uses the terms *mother tongue* or the *most commonly used area language* in its discussion about the new educational policy (ibid.).

The subtle changes in vocabulary and curriculum decisions delegated to district level caused problems regarding which language to choose. This change was noticed by Geraldine Bukenya of the NCDC, who confirmed that the policy now is to use local languages, not area languages. The recommendations of the Kajubi Report have been dropped, therefore, a fact she regrets. The shift is “against UNESCO principles and will not create national unity” (pers. comm. 6 December 2006). She further confirmed that Swahili had been made compulsory from S1. However, the examination has become optional, whereas the Kujabi Report recommended Swahili be an examinable subject.

The final curriculum review report issued in 2004 and approved by the Ministry of Education and Sports (Read and Enyutu 2004:7), stated, among other things, in its report of June 2004 that:

1.1 (d)

There was general support from teachers and parents for the use of local languages [as languages of instruction,] but it was noted that there were very few trained local language teachers, almost no instructional materials or reading books in local languages in schools and the number of local languages in use was far greater than the 6 [sic] main area languages recommended by the 1992 Government White Paper.

1.1 (e)

Large parts of the official curriculum were not being delivered to a majority of the schools in the country. In particular 82% of schools surveyed were not teaching Kiswahili and 40% were not teaching IPS [Integrated Production Skills].

The curriculum review recommended local language policy to be rigorous to ensure that all media of instruction used in P1–P4 had approved orthographies, literature, etc. (1.2(j)); that the mechanism for the choice of local language at district level should be formalised and tightened up (1.2(k)); and that English should be used as an MOI only in those schools, whether urban or rural, where the majority of enrolled pupils did not speak a common local language as a first and dominant language.

It also recommended that the area languages should be examined (1.2(m)), and that Swahili should be a curriculum option instead of compulsory (1.2(n)) (Read and Enyutu 2004:9).

The documents accounted for above form the basis of the current educational policy. By using the local languages, the government has, among other things, aimed to promote comprehension and accuracy of expression. The use of Ugandan languages as media of instruction is linked to strengthening the individual's identity, socialisation, confidence, and capacity to learn other languages, and to create a bridge between home and school learning (Bukenya 2008).

The curriculum for primary education is now a thematic one, with reading/writing, life skills and competences as main areas of focus. The thematic curriculum was piloted in P1 from 2005 and implemented in 2007. P2 was piloted in 2007, and P3 in 2008. Neither P2 nor 3 had been implemented at the time of writing.

The position of Swahili in education has been unclear for a long time. First, Swahili was meant to be taught from P4 on and examined in P7, with 50 per cent of the examination in the local languages and 50 per cent in Swahili for all students (G Bukenya, pers. comm. 6 December 2006). The curriculum and books were prepared before the 2005 amendment to the Constitution making Swahili a co-official language. In late October 2008, the NCDC proposed a new ten-subject curriculum to the Ministry of Education. The top management at the Ministry reduced the number of subjects to seven, removing the subjects Information and Communication Technology, Integrated Production Skills, and Swahili. Swahili will, thus, not be introduced until secondary school (S1), when it will be presented as an optional subject (R Bbaale, pers. comm. 2 December 2008).

As shown in TABLE 37, English was allocated as the MOI in urban areas. The NCDC's Local Language Policy for Primary Education even opened up using English "as a default option in both urban and rural areas if there is difficulty in agreeing on a local language [as the language of instruction]" (Read

and Enyutu 2004). The use of English as an MOI has been widespread – not only in urban areas. In semi-urban environments, English has been used for decades, but it has been mixed with the area language because of the difficulty of teaching only in English. Visits to primary schools in rural areas in December 2006 clearly showed that English was used as an MOI. There was, however, a willingness to adapt to the new policy advocating the use of L1s.

The implementation of L1s as media of instruction has begun at the grass roots. The tables below show a compilation of the languages the District Boards submitted to the NCDC for approval to be used in primary education, based on the Road Map (Read and Enyutu 2004:16-18). Some 24 languages were identified and requested to be used as media of instruction by these Boards. The question marks were found in the original text and probably indicate that the accuracy of the information could not be established at the time of submission. The prefixes are omitted in the table. In addition, the spellings of some of the names in the original source have been changed. For example, *Langi* (the autonym of the ethnic group) is amended to *Lango*, and *Dophedola* now reads as *Dhopadhola*. The number of districts has increased since the report was published.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ In July 2006, 13 new districts were added, bringing the total to 69. Ten more districts are in the process of being added (CIA 2007).

TABLE 38. *Language preferences in the districts of Uganda*

NORTHERN REGION

Main MOI	Subsidiary MOI	District
Ma'di		Adjumani
Lwo (Lango)	Teso	Moyo
		Apac
Lwo (Acholi)		Lira
		Gulu
		Kitgum
Lwo (Alur)	Ma'di, Kakwa?	Pader
Lugbara		Nebbi
		Arua
Karamojong	Lwo (Acholi and Lango)	Yumbe
		Kotido
		Moroto
		Nakapiripiri

EASTERN REGION

Main MOI	Subsidiary MOI	District
Soga	Lamoji	Bugiri
		Iganga
		Jinja
		Kamuli
		Mayoge
Saamia	Masaaba, Bukusii	Busia
Kumam		Kaberemaido
Kupsabiny		Kapchorwa
Teso		Katakwi
		Kumi
		Soroti
Masaaba		Mbale
	Sironka	
Gwere, Teso	Swahili	Pallisa
Nyole, Teso, Lwo		Tororo
(Dhopadhola)		

CENTRAL REGION

Main MOI	Subsidiary MOI	District
Ganda	Soga?	Kalangala
		Kampala
	Nyole?	Kayunga
		Kiboga
		Luweero
		Masaka
	Ruli?	Mpigi
		Mubende
		Mukono
		Nakasongola
		Rakai
		Sembabule
		Wakiso

WESTERN REGION

Main MOI	Subsidiary MOI	District
Konzo	Rwamba, Bwisi	Bundibugyo
Nyankore	Nyakitara, Swahili	Kasese
		Bushenyi
		Mbarara
Nyoro		Ntungamo
		Hoima
Chiga		Masindi
		Kabale
Tooro	Chiga	Rukungiri
		Kabarole
Fumbira	Chiga	Kibaale
		Nyankore/Chiga?

The NCDC has so far approved nine Ugandan languages and English to be used as media of instruction. Course materials, textbooks and trained teachers in all these languages still do not exist, except for a few languages, such as Ganda. The approval of languages as media of instruction is based on two prerequisites: the existence of a standard orthography in the language, and the existence of written texts. In practice, the NCDC is in charge of language selection. The National Advisory Board under the Ministry of Education that should formally be in charge of this has not yet been formed. All language choices submitted by the District Boards can be approved by the NCDC.

The languages that are normally chosen by the Boards are the area languages, but schools with pupils or teachers with different ethnic backgrounds may choose English or another Ugandan language as the MOI. Certain schools in Mbale, for example, are reported to have chosen Ganda as the MOI instead of the area language Masaaba, while schools in Gulu with a heterogeneous staff have chosen English as their MOI (R Kyeyune, pers. comm. 2 December 2008). However, there are no statistics available to show what choices have been made by each individual school.

By 2008, the following ten languages had been approved by the NCDC as media of instruction in primary education:

- Acholi
- English
- Ganda
- Karamojong
- Konjo
- Lugbara
- Nyankore/Chiga
- Nyoro/Tooro
- Soga, and
- Teso.

The government initially proposed seven languages, i.e. the above languages with the exception of Konjo and Soga, as these seven would have covered the entire country. Initially, Lwo was proposed instead of Acholi. However, since the reform was piloted using all the above-mentioned languages, it was decided to bring even these “on board” (R Bbaale, pers. comm. 2 December 2008). In addition to the already approved languages, the NCDC are preparing material in Lango and Masaaba and, with financial support from the United Nations

Children's Fund, in three numerically marginal languages in the Karamojong region in the east, namely Bwisi, Lebu-thu and Pökoot, each of which is to be used in less than 20 schools.

The initial efforts of the reform have not been without their problems. Parents have been sceptical, but the monitoring reports from inspectors and teachers are positive: teaching in the L1 has improved both understanding and learning (R Kyeyune, pers. comm. 2 December 2008).

During P1–P3, literacy is taught as a subject for an hour every day (two periods of 30 minutes each). English is taught as a subject for five periods a week, as is mathematics, news, creative performing arts, and physical education. Religious education and free activities are taught for three and two hours, respectively, in the new thematic curriculum.

4.2.4.2 Secondary education

English is the MOI in secondary schools across the country. At O-level (S1–S4), English is taught for six periods a week, in 40-minute lessons. Other languages (French, Ganda, German and Swahili) are taught as optional courses for four periods a week (S1–S2) or for six (S3–S4). At A-level (S5–S6), a general paper in English is required and given three periods weekly. German and French are not common as subjects, while Swahili is now taught in most secondary schools. Due to the reform of primary education, even the curriculum of secondary education will subsequently be changed.

4.2.4.3 Tertiary education

English is also the MOI at Ugandan universities. The only exception is at the Islamic University, which teaches in Arabic approximately 30 per cent of the time. The table below gives a brief overview of language-related variables at tertiary level in Uganda. *E* indicates English, while the lower case letter *a* indicates that Arabic is used to a lesser extent.

TABLE 39. *Languages in tertiary education*

	Islamic University IUIU, Kampala branch	Uganda Christian University, Mukono	Makerere University, Kampala	Kampala International University, Kampala	Kyambogo University, Kampala	Nkumba University, Nkumba
Number of students	700	3,000	25,000	8,000	10,566	1,500
State (S)/ Private (P)	P	P	S	P	S	P
Offers African languages	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Media of instruction	E > a	E	E	E	E	E

Although African languages are offered at most of the universities investigated, African languages are not a popular course option at tertiary level – a tendency which is widely found in sub-Saharan Africa. The choices are mostly restricted to Ganda and Swahili. For example, the Uganda Christian University, run by the Church of Uganda, recently initiated a BA programme which included Nyakitara.⁴⁶ The programme only attracted two students. In comparison, the Ganda-Swahili programme appealed to 30 students. At the School of Education at Makerere University, 160 students enrolled for the combination Ganda-Swahili. Since 2007, the School of Education has included Lwo, Nyakitara (Nyoro-Tooro and Nyankore-Chiga) and Soga as possible choices, combined with English and other subjects. This combination mostly attracts teachers and students opting for employment in the media.

English is additionally dominant as a medium of communication in administration at the universities, as shown in TABLE 40 below. The table gives an overview of six universities: the state-run Makerere University in Kampala and Kyambogo University outside Kampala; and the privately run Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), the Uganda Christian University (UCU) in Mukono (run by the Church of Uganda), Kampala International University

⁴⁶ *Nyakitara* is a collective term created to cover four major dialects found in western Uganda: Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro, and Tooro. See section 2.2.2.1.

(KIU), and Nkumba University. Some of the area languages are used for informal communication: Lwo (L/l), Nyakitara (NA/na), Nyankore (N/n), and Nyoro (NO/no). The category Other languages (OLs/ols) designates languages other than English and Ganda. As before, the symbol > shows language dominance. An equal sign (=) relates to equivalent use. An upper case letter indicates that the language is used primarily, a lower case letter that it is used to a lesser extent.

TABLE 40. *Language competition in administration at universities*

	STATE UNIVERSITIES		PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES			
	Makerere University	Kyambogo University	IUIU	UCU	KIU	Nkumba University
Formal oral use (administration)	E	E	E	E	E	E
Formal written use (adminsiration)	E	E	E	E	E	E
Informal use (administration)	E > g	E > g > (n = l)	E > g > (a = s)	G = E > na	E > (g = ols)	E = G > (n = no)

4.2.5 Summary of the domain Education: Uganda

The following tables clearly show the dominance of English in education at all levels. TABLE 41 illustrates, in a general way, the situation of languages as media of instruction and as subjects, while TABLE 42 presents the total percentages.

TABLE 41. *Language dominance in education*

LEVEL		
PRIMARY	SECONDARY	TERTIARY
E > oal > (g = s)	E > (g = s)	E > (g = s) > oal

In primary education (P1–P4), Ugandan languages are stipulated to serve as media of instruction in rural areas, whereas English is officially the MOI in urban areas, and is unofficially so in semi-urban areas. In upper primary (P5–P6), English is the MOI. English is judged to be the more dominant language

at all levels, especially when the unit of analysis *Language(s) as a subject* is added.

TABLE 42 below shows a more detailed evaluation based on language status, both as the MOI and as a subject, at all levels in education. As in section 4.1.5 (TABLE 34), the totals are averages, calculated on the basis of status as an MOI (percentage distribution of the linguistic space of the status as MOI) and time allocation as a subject (presented as percentages). In calculating time allocation in curricula, only the languages being investigated here have been used, leaving out optional choices such as French and German. These optional subjects are not frequently offered, although Swahili is now taught at most secondary schools (C Ssebunnya, pers. comm. 14 July 2007).

In the calculations, in the same way as for the quantitative evaluation of education in Rwanda, lower primary and upper primary are given separately. The total of each level is shown within parentheses in the table, complementary to the average percentage. An overview of the totals for each educational level is given first (TABLE 42), followed by an assessment of the units of analysis (TABLE 43).

TABLE 42. *Quantitative analysis of languages in education: Uganda*

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
		Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Primary	(P1–P4)	(13.5)	(52.5)	(34.0)	(0.0)	100
	(P5–P6)	(0.0)	(90.0)	(0.0)	(10.0)	
		6.8	71.2	17.0	5.0	
Secondary		14.3	71.4	0.0	14.3	100
Tertiary		8.8	80.0	2.5	8.7	100

English has a high status on all levels of education, and is dominant in tertiary education. Ganda and other African languages, including Swahili, have marginal status on all levels. The Swahili total is entirely due to its time allocation as a subject from P5 on, as seen from TABLE 43 below. The table presents the total percentages of the two units of analysis *Language(s) as MOI* and *Language(s) as a subject* separately.

TABLE 43. *Quantitative analysis of languages as MOI and languages as subjects: Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Language(s) as MOI	2.8	87.5	9.7	0.0	100
Language(s) as a subject	17.1	60.9	3.3	18.7	100

As seen, the trend is similar, whether for languages as media of instruction or languages as subjects, even if English has *Dominant status* as an MOI and only *High status* when offered as a subject. The relationship may be expressed as follows:

Language(s) as MOI

- English: Dominant status (87.5%)
- Ganda: Marginal status (2.8%)
- OALs: Marginal status (9.7%)
- Swahili: No status (0.0%)

Language(s) as a subject

- English: High status (60.9%)
- Ganda: Marginal status (17.1%)
- OALs: Marginal status (3.3%)
- Swahili: Marginal status (18.7%)

This evaluation has only investigated status in detail. The practical implementation and practices in schools were not studied. One can only speculate about how implementation of the decisions is at grass-roots level in the *Education* domain. As there is an option to choose English as the MOI (see 4.2.4.1), I estimate that probably about 25 per cent of the pupils in primary education are taught in English. This estimation also includes factors such as urbanisation, which is quite low – 13 per cent, according to Hicks (1998) – and that English is used in semi-urban areas and occasionally in rural areas.

The use of Ganda is probably higher than it would be if only the number of its L1 speakers, namely 16.3 per cent of the population (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972), were taken into account (see also section 2.2.2.2). In the 2002 census, 17.3 per cent of the Ugandan population were listed as comprising the ethnic group *Baganda* (UBOS 2006). Ganda is used as an L2 even by other ethnic groups. Some sources claim that up to two thirds of the total population can communicate in Ganda. Even if the number of pupils taught in Ganda does not correspond to its function as an LWD, information from the NDCD (see 4.2.4.1) indicates that Ganda is also used outside the Ganda-speaking area to some extent.

4.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 44 below shows the result of a comparative analysis of the *Education* domain. The table is based on TABLE 35 and TABLE 43. The term *Dominant African language* refers to Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda in Uganda. *Other African languages* contains all African languages but Rwanda/Ganda and Swahili. *Non-African official languages* implies French and English in the Republic of Rwanda, and English in Uganda. The calculations of the units of analysis are percentages reflecting the degree of status a language has, i.e. how a language is stipulated to be used in the analysed settings (as MOI and as a subject). The maximum total within each of the two units of analysis is 100 per cent for each country.

TABLE 44. *Comparative analysis of education*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Language(s) as MOI	0.0	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.7	100.0	87.5
Language(s) as a subject	22.7	17.1	1.7	18.7	0	3.3	75.6	60.9

The analysis of the domain *Education* reveals striking similarities. *Non-African official languages* (English in Uganda and English or French in Rwanda) are dominant in both units of analysis.

As accounted for above, only status allocation through laws and decrees is included in this analysis. It was not possible to reject or fail to reject working hypotheses 1 and 2 of section 1.2, therefore. Working hypothesis 1 proposed that the official languages stipulated in the Constitution as official languages not would be used to the same extent, despite their equal status. Hypothesis 2 suggested that, in state institutions, state administration, education and state media (i.e. domains which I have labelled *Official multilingual management*), Rwanda would be used more than Ganda and other Ugandan languages, due to Rwanda's official status. Thus, both hypotheses deal with status compared to institutionalised use, which this sub-study has not investigated.

Status-wise, the unit *Language(s) as MOI* showed a total of 100 per cent and 87.5 per cent, respectively, for non-African official languages in Rwanda and Uganda. This confirms that English (in Uganda) and English and French (in Rwanda) have a dominant status, following the scale of TABLE 6. For the unit *Language(s) as a subject*, these non-African official languages are judged to have a high status. The combined totals for English and French in Rwanda are slightly higher than those for English in Uganda (75.6 per cent and 60.9 per cent, respectively).

Swahili, which now is an official language in Uganda, has a more prominent position within secondary education in the latter country than in the Republic of Rwanda, where the language has no official status (18.7 and 1.7 per cent, respectively). An official language would be expected to show higher totals. To date, Swahili has not been taught at primary level, despite the GWP's intentions stipulated in paragraph 36(i)(c). Although the position of Swahili within education is still not clear, Swahili will probably be taught from P4 onwards (see section 4.2.4.1).

In spite of its reduced status as an MOI, Rwanda is still allocated a position as a subject taught in primary and secondary schools. Rwanda shows a slightly higher total than Ganda, mainly because Rwanda continues to be taught as a subject throughout primary school after Grade 3, as demonstrated in Appendix 2. This is not the case in Uganda: after Grade 4, only English (and later, optionally, Swahili) are taught as subjects.

Through the 2008 decision to use English as an MOI from Grade 1 onwards, Rwanda has no status at all as an MOI in education. This is

deplorable. Rwanda as a country with one language, the national language Rwanda, known by all inhabitants, has an advantage compared with Uganda and most African nations who have to deal with multilingualism in education planning. Rwanda nevertheless made this decision – against the recommendations by UNESCO and the African Union (AU) in regard to official language policy.⁴⁷ Equally disappointing is the silence from the AU about this decision by its member state. However, this is not surprising considering the relatively low priority language rights are given in recent human rights documents. Despite the fact that language was one of the “most important characteristics of human rights principles” in the key UN human rights documents after 1945, language-related rights later disappear completely or are modified in binding clauses, in contrast to non-linguistic characteristics (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:528-542).

Apparently, the old beliefs that education – and, thus, cultural refinement and development – emanated from Western civilisation still thrives today. Additionally, ideas described by Phillipson (1992) as fallacies – among other that the more English is taught and the earlier teaching in English is started, the better – are manifest. Still the decision to introduce English as an MOI was officially motivated by Rwanda’s inclusion in the East African Community, as accounted for in section 4.1.3 above. Mazrui (2003) claims that European languages are becoming increasingly consolidated in African education and in other domains of African society. In Rwanda, as in many African countries, the population is alienated from its culture through decisions to promote non-African languages in education.

While Rwanda has, surprisingly, degraded its official and national language Rwanda, Uganda has taken a step in the opposite direction, namely by introducing L1s into primary education. In spite of this development, the government of Uganda does not fully acknowledge Ugandan languages as subjects. Furthermore, Ugandan languages are only used as media of instruction during the first few years of primary education.

⁴⁷ The AU promotes the use of African languages in education and society. Its specialised office, the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN), strongly supports L1-based multilingual education.

5. *State media*

This Chapter describes and discusses the state-financed and -controlled media in Rwanda and Uganda. *Media* here refers to the print mass communication, publishing, radio and television. The following settings are investigated:

- Media publishers (of newspapers and periodicals)
- Radio stations, and
- Television companies.

The aim of this Chapter is to investigate which languages are used in the *Media* domain and to analyse the position of each such language. For the print mass communication analysis, the number of publications in the investigated languages is examined, as is the amount of text in terms of the number of pages of advertisements in each such language.

The study of advertisements in the state-controlled press is included in order to display patterns of language use which are not apparent when only the language of articles and editorial material is considered. The state-owned Rwandan newspaper *Imvaho Nshya* ('The authentic informer'), for instance, is written exclusively in Rwanda, while advertisements are in all three official languages – Rwanda, French and English, as will be shown in this Chapter. In Uganda, newspapers in Ugandan languages display advertisements in English in addition to the language medium of the newspaper concerned.

As regards publishing, neither Rwanda nor Uganda has a state-owned publishing house. In Uganda, some state institutions and parastatals occasionally print books, like the NCDC and Makerere University Press. The state-owned New Vision Printing and Publishing Company is in fact only a printer, not a publisher. In Rwanda, some printing and publishing of school books used to be handled by IMPRISCO (Imprimerie scolaire) in earlier years. Today, state companies only offer printing facilities in Rwanda; as stated earlier, there are no state publishers in either country. Publishing has, therefore, not been considered in the analysis of state media.

For the radio and television analyses, the unit of analysis is time, i.e. hours of broadcasting in each language.

In this Chapter, the situation of the state media in Rwanda is presented first, followed by a similar outline for Uganda. The presentations begin with a historical overview, and end with the current status quo. The presentation of

the data in each part is followed by a quantitative analysis of each of the units of analysis studied: *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals*, *Amount of advertisements in various languages*, and *Time allocation* of languages in radio and television. Finally, a comparison is made between Rwanda and Uganda in regard to these units. The data presented in this part were collected during fieldwork. The fieldwork included interviews with government officials and the management cadre at radio, television and publishing companies. The data are accompanied by analyses of newspaper advertisements in collected issues, and analyses of time allocations for radio and television.

5.1 Rwanda

5.1.1 Historical overview

The print media in Rwanda have a longer history than the oral (radio) and audiovisual media (television). Some of the publications that date to the 1930s are still vital and are distributed in a considerable number of copies, such as *Kinyamateka* (“The newspaper”), published weekly in the Rwanda language by the Catholic Church (see Chapter 8, Private media). The leading state newspaper in Rwanda, *Imvaho Nshya* (“The authentic informer”), was first published in 1969, and has always been printed in the national language, Rwanda.⁴⁸

A study by Annie Bart published in 1982 (cited in Nyirindekwe (1999:41-42) of 225 newspapers and periodicals showed that French was dominant in the written media during the period 1917–1980. The majority of the newspapers and periodicals were either bi- or trilingual. Two dominant newspapers published mainly in Rwanda were the Catholic *Kinyamateka*, mentioned above, and *Hobe* (“Embrace”). The period from 1980 to the late 1990s shows a different pattern. A study by Nyirindekwe of 48 newspapers (6 official and 42 private) published after 1980 revealed that Rwanda was the dominant language (60.4 per cent) of monolingual newspapers. French was the language used in 18.7 per cent of the newspapers printed after the 1980s, while

⁴⁸ Shyirambere (1978:161) claims that the newspaper was bimonthly from 1969 to 1972. Today it is issued weekly.

English was used in 6.2 per cent. The rest of the newspapers (14.7 per cent) were bilingual (Nyirindekwe 1999:62).

Interestingly, the present study of publications by the author, as demonstrated in TABLE 45 on state-owned newspapers and TABLE 116 on private newspapers/periodicals, confirms that this trend continues today: 66.7 per cent of the monolingual publications used Rwanda, while 16.6 per cent represents the publications in each of the languages French and English.

Broadcasts on national radio in the Republic of Rwanda started shortly before independence. From the start in 1961 to 1968, the broadcasts were in Rwanda, French and Swahili. English was introduced in this medium in 1968, but had been used marginally until 1994. Radio Rwanda is still the only government-controlled station. It also runs three community radio services: *Radiyo y'abaturage* (Community Radio of Huye, transmitting in Huye since August 2003), *Radiyo y'abaturage* (Community Radio of Rubavu, transmitting in Rubavu since September 2003) and *Radiyo y'abaturage* (Community Radio of Rusizi), transmitting in Rusizi since May 2004 (Rwanda 2007b).

In 1978, Radio Rwanda broadcasted for 13 hours a day. For about half of the time, the broadcasts were in French; the other half was in Rwanda. The broadcasts in the national language Rwanda were often translations of information provided in French from international agencies' feeds (Shyirambere 1978:134).

A later study from 1999 by Nyiramahirwe, cited in Ntakirutimana (2002:54), shows that the national radio broadcasted 111 hours per week (6,660 minutes). Of these broadcasts, about two thirds were monolingual. These monolingual broadcasts were in Rwanda (61.6 per cent), French (19.2 per cent), English (10.3 per cent) and Swahili (8.9 per cent).

A study by Nyirindekwe (1999:31) of languages used by Radio Rwanda on 28 December 1998 showed a slightly different pattern. Firstly, the percentage of bilingual or multilingual broadcasts was a little higher (38 per cent compared with approximately 30 per cent in the 1999 study by Nyiramahirwe. Secondly, the proportions between the languages were different. If the figures given by Nyirindekwe are recalculated, Rwanda was used in 55.3 per cent of the monolingual broadcasts, French in 25.1 per cent, Swahili in 14 per cent, and English in only 5.6 per cent. Thus, time allocations for Rwanda and English increased in the period 1998–1999, while broadcasts in French and Swahili during that period decreased.

Compared with a study conducted ten years earlier, in 1989 (Ntakirutimana 2002:54), it may be noted that the use of Rwanda diminished from 3,677 minutes per week (67.9 per cent) in 1989 to 2,600 minutes per week in 1999 (61.6 per cent). The share of time allocation for French was the same in 1989 and 1999; French was used during 1,040 minutes (19.2 per cent) in 1989, compared with 810 minutes (19.2 per cent) in 1999, and Swahili for 700 minutes (12.9 per cent) in 1989 versus 375 minutes (8.9 per cent) in 1999. English was not used at all in 1989. Rwanda and Swahili have, thus, lost ground to English, while the position of French has remained unchanged.

Television broadcasts began in 1992, with programmes only in Rwanda and French. The majority of the broadcasts were in the national language, Rwanda. Since 1994, even when it comes to television, Rwanda has lost ground to English.

A comparison of language allocation and television broadcasts for 1998 and 1999 is given by Ntakirutimana (2002:54-55). This showed that, in 1999, Rwandan television broadcasted for 37 hours per week: 915 minutes (42.9 per cent) in Rwanda, 774 minutes in French (36.3 per cent) and 445 minutes in English (20.8 per cent). In 1998, the corresponding figures were 48.8 per cent (Rwanda), 36.1 per cent (French) and 15 per cent (English). Compared with statistics from 1998, therefore, Rwanda has lost ground, while English has been allocated more airtime.

5.1.2 Present state

The national Information Office of Rwanda (Office Rwandais d'information, ORINFOR), is responsible for press, radio and television. There is a law governing the press (Rwanda 2002b), but it does not include any directives regarding language use. Its Article 16, which is the only paragraph mentioning language, merely states that the launching of a press publication must be notified by written statement to the Ministry, including "language(s) of the publication" (Rwanda 2002b:72). At radio and television it is up to the director or station manager to decide which languages to use and how much time each language is allocated. The decision is arbitrary and not motivated by defined criteria. The Minister of Information is not involved in the decisions – not even in the state-owned media.

5.1.2.1 Press and publications

TABLE 45 below shows the state-owned newspapers and periodicals in Rwanda. In addition, there are 29 private newspapers and periodicals (see Chapter 8, Private media). The overview is based on information obtained from Haute Council de la Presse in Kigali, an institution under the Ministry of Information, on 21 February 2006, and from the Minister of Information, Dr Laurent Nkuzi, on 26 January 2006. In addition to the language of publication, the table shows year of first issue, periodicity, circulation, and the state institution responsible for the publication.

TABLE 45. *State-owned newspapers and periodicals in Rwanda*

NEWSPAPER/ PERIODICAL	Language	Established (year)	Periodicity	Number of copies	Publisher
<i>Imvaho Nshya</i>	Rwanda	1959	Weekly	12,000	ORINFOR
<i>Ingabo Magazine</i>	Rwanda	1995	Fortnightly	3,000	Ministry of Defence
<i>La nouvelle relève</i>	French	1973	Weekly	1,200	ORINFOR

Imvaho Nshya, published by ORINFOR, is the leading state-owned and -controlled newspaper in the Republic of Rwanda. The average distribution is 12,000 copies. ORINFOR also publishes *La nouvelle relève*, which is in French, and has an average distribution of 1,200 copies. Both are weekly publications. All articles in *Imvaho Nshya* are in Rwanda, whose target readership is the masses. Advertisements are in French, English and Rwanda. *La nouvelle relève* targets the elite. Its advertisements are usually in French, but some also appear in English. The government additionally publishes the periodical *Ingabo*, which is issued by the Ministry of Defence, and the formerly bilingual – now trilingual – gazette *Le Journal Officiel* (not included in the overview). No state newspaper is printed in English yet, but there are allegedly plans for an English-medium newspaper, according to staff at ORINFOR.

Even if it is not within the scope of this Chapter, it may be noted that 24 (70.6 per cent) of the total of 34 publications issued in the Republic of Rwanda, both state and private, are monolingual: 16 in Rwanda, 4 in French, and 4 in

English. The majority (7 out of 10) of the remaining multilingual publications are in all three official languages.

Advertisements

The government-controlled monolingual (in the national language, Rwanda) newspaper *Imvaho Nshya* is the main advertising arena, both for governmental bodies and private companies. The advertisements are in one or more of the three official languages. I conducted a frequency analysis of ten randomly selected issues from July 2005 to February 2006 of *Imvaho Nshya*, combined with an in-depth study of two issues, No. 1632 and No. 1638.

The quantitative results of the advertisement study are given in TABLE 46. The table shows the number of pages for advertisements in each of the official languages, recalculated into full A3 size pages. The average number of pages per copy of *Imvaho Nshya*, including articles and editorials, is 44.

TABLE 46. *Advertisements in Imvaho Nshya, 2005–2006*

DATE OF ISSUE	LANGUAGE (No. of pages)		
	Rwanda	French	English
11–17 July 2005	7.75	17.00	8.75
1–7 August 2005	13.75	15.25	5.50
17–23 October 2005	11.00	19.00	7.50
19–26 December 2005	7.00	13.00	7.00
16–22 January 2006	10.00	20.75	22.25
23–29 January 2006	6.00	16.75	5.00
30 January–5 February 2006	9.00	13.50	7.00
6–12 February 2006	5.00	10.50	7.50
13–19 February 2006	3.75	17.25	12.00
20–26 February 2006	6.25	18.25	11.50
TOTAL (No. of pages)	79.50	161.30	94.00
TOTAL (%)	23.7	48.2	28.1

The results displayed in TABLE 46 show that French is used most often (almost 50 per cent of the total) in advertisements in *Imvaho Nshya* in the issues studied. English follows with approximately 28 per cent, with Rwanda featuring in nearly 24 per cent. The number of advertisements in Rwanda may be said to be quite low, considering that Rwanda is known and used by all Rwandans, according to the 2002 census. In comparison, 3.8 per cent of the census participants declared they spoke French as an L2, and 1.7 per cent declared

their L2 was English (Rwanda 2005b). French used to be the language of the educated in Rwanda. Although the influence of English is growing, the majority of the elite are francophone. The advertisements, thus, probably partly target this educated elite, even if there may be other reasons behind the extensive use of French.

An earlier study of language use in newspaper advertisements by Nyirindekwe published in 1999 (Ntakirutimana 2002) pointed out that Rwanda was the language most frequently used in advertisements (30.5 per cent of the total amount). In addition, Rwanda was mixed both with French and English in 10.2 per cent of the studied advertisements, with French in 5.8 per cent of the advertisements and English in 1.4 per cent. In Nyirindekwe's study, one of the sources was *Imvaho Nshya*. If the percentages of only the *Imvaho Nshya* advertisements are accounted for, 35 per cent were in Rwanda, while 40 per cent were in French and 5 per cent in English. The remaining advertisements were bilingual or trilingual (Ntakirutimana 2002:53). Even if the number of pages varies somewhat from issue to issue, French clearly dominated in all the newspaper advertisements studied in 2006. Thus, a change seems to have taken place, giving French a more dominant role in newspaper advertisements. English also appears to have augmented its role at the expense of Rwanda, when compared with the earlier study.

My own study of *Imvaho Nshya* advertisements also showed an additional change in language use: the advertisements, formerly often bi- or trilingual, are today predominantly monolingual in one of the three official languages, even if there are some advertisements which are published in two or more languages. For example, the city of Kigali's labour inspectorate uses all three official languages in a request for employers to submit information on their employees (Imvaho 2005:16). The text, occupying half a page in total, is first given in Rwanda under the heading "Itangazo", then in French as "Communiqué", and lastly in English as "Announcement". This is, however, not the predominant structure.

The results of the two issues of *Imvaho Nshya* (19–26 December 2005 and 30 January–5 February 2006) which I examined in depth are shown in TABLE 47 below. The table below displays the use of each of the official languages Rwanda (R), French (F) and English (E) in three different kinds of advertisements: *Tenders*, *Public information* and *Vacancies*. Advertisements published by state-controlled institutions are separated from private advertisements. The table gives the total number of pages for each of the languages and types of advertisement in the two issues of the newspaper

concerned. The equivalent percentages of the total number of pages are given within parentheses.

TABLE 47. *Advertisements, Imvaho Nshya, No. 's 1632 and 1638*

Type of advertisement	Government institutions			Private companies/Non-governmental organisations			Total pages (%) [*]
	R	F	E	R	F	E	
Tenders	3.6 (6.4) [*]	7.3 (12.9) [*]	4.3 (7.6) [*]	0.5 (0.9) [*]	1.6 (2.8) [*]	0.8 (1.4) [*]	18.1 (32.0) [*]
Public information	8.2 (14.5) [*]	2.3 (4.1) [*]	2.1 (3.7) [*]	2.8 (5.0) [*]	2.0 (3.5) [*]	0.0 (0.0) [*]	17.4 (30.8) [*]
Vacancies	0.3 (0.6) [*]	5.5 (9.8) [*]	3.8 (6.7) [*]	0.5 (0.9) [*]	8.0 (14.2) [*]	2.8 (5.0) [*]	20.9 (37.2) [*]
Total (pages) Total (%) [*]	12.1 (21.5) [*]	15.1 (26.8) [*]	10.2 (18.0) [*]	3.8 (6.8) [*]	11.6 (20.5) [*]	3.6 (6.4) [*]	56.4 (100.0) [*]

The sums in the table refer to the number of full pages.

^{*}The figures within parentheses marked with an asterisk refer to the equivalent percentages.

Advertisements from private companies and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) revealed a pattern similar to that for state advertisements: tenders were most often written in French, followed by English and Rwanda. Rwanda was used almost as frequently as English. Public information was mostly in Rwanda (4.1 per cent of the total of full pages), followed by French (3.5 per cent). No public notices from private companies or NGOs were in English. Vacancies were mostly advertised in French.

The in-depth analysis showed (but not included in the tables) that, only 7 out of 33 tender advertisements published by governmental offices, commissions and ministries were issued in two or three official languages. Five of these seven advertisements were translated into all three official languages and published as separate advertisements. The majority of the remaining 26 tender advertisements were written in French. Vacancy announcements by governmental institutions showed a structure similar to that of tender advertisements: only 1 out of 11 advertisements was in the national language, Rwanda. On the other hand, public information from authorities was found to

be predominantly in Rwanda (17 out of 23), while four public notices were published in Rwanda and another official language.

The overall language choice tendency for all three types of advertisements is demonstrated in TABLE 48 below. The table is based on the same issues of *Imvaho Nshya*, and contains data from advertisements published both by governmental institutions and private companies/NGOs. Nearly 50 per cent of all tenders and nearly 65 per cent of the vacancies advertised appear in one language only, namely French. More than 60 per cent of the advertisements giving public information were in Rwanda.

TABLE 48. *Public and private advertisements in Imvaho Nshya*

TYPE OF ADVERTISEMENT	R %	F %	E %	TOTAL %
Tenders	22.7	49.2	28.1	100
Public information	63.2	24.7	12.1	100
Vacancies	3.8	64.6	31.6	100

Rwanda is the language that reaches the masses, as well as being the language preferred by state institutions when the aim is to disseminate information to the public. Tenders and vacancy advertisements clearly target another group: the educated elite, which have access to the educational or international languages, French and English.

To sum up the situation of state media using the language competition symbols explained in section 1.6.3.4, language use in print mass communication may be expressed as follows:

TABLE 49. *Language competition analysis*

PRINT MASS COMMUNICATION	
Newspapers/periodicals	Advertisements
R > f	F > e > r

In accordance with TABLE 7, this is interpreted as follows: in the case of newspapers and periodicals, Rwanda (R) is used predominantly, followed by French (f) which is used to a lesser extent. English and Swahili are not used. As for advertisements, French (F) is the dominant language and is used

predominantly, followed by English (e), which is used more than Rwanda (r). Both English and Rwanda are used to a lesser extent than French, therefore.

5.1.2.2 Radio

In section 5.1.1, some trends in the development at Radio Rwanda were accounted for. The trends are recapitulated in TABLE 50 below. The table is based on information submitted by Ntakirutimana (2002).

TABLE 50. *Trends in language use at Radio Rwanda*

YEAR	RWANDA %	FRENCH %	ENGLISH %	SWAHILI %	TOTAL %
1989	67.9	19.2	0.0	12.9	100
1999	61.6	19.2	10.3	8.9	100

After the introduction of English, Rwanda and Swahili appear to have lost ground in the period 1989–1999, while the position of French remained unchanged.

When compared with more recent data, some interesting differences emerge. TABLE 51 below shows the position of the languages used by Radio Rwanda today, based on time allocations during the period 20–26 February 2006. Radio Rwanda broadcasts from 05:30 to 23:00 on weekdays, and to 22:00 on weekends.

As can be seen from the table, Rwanda holds a dominant position, while the other languages used for broadcasts – French, English and Swahili – share approximately the same amount of airtime. Interestingly, an estimation of language use during 2005 by the station manager of Radio Rwanda, interviewed on 24 January 2006, showed that French was used less than estimated (12.3 per cent versus an estimation of 25 per cent). In reality, even English was used less frequently than estimated (10 per cent versus 25 per cent). The estimation in respect of Swahili was rather accurate (10 per cent versus 9.5 per cent actual use). The table does not include radio broadcasts at night, which totalled 2,730 minutes. These broadcasts mostly contain music. Comments, when given during night broadcasts, are in Rwanda.

TABLE 51. *Time allocation of languages, Radio Rwanda, 2006*

TIME ALLOCATION	RWANDA	FRENCH	ENGLISH	SWAHILI	TOTAL
Minutes/week	2,160	390	315	300	3,165
Percentage	68.2%	12.3%	10.0%	9.5%	100%

TABLE 51 above shows that, in comparison with 1999, French seems to have lost airtime, while the position of Rwanda has been strengthened. English and Swahili remain unchanged.

The reason why Rwanda has such a strong position in state-owned radio is probably due to its documented and recognised outreach as a medium of communication. Practically all Rwandans know the language. Its position is equally dominant in private radio broadcasts (see section 8.1.2.3).

5.1.2.3 Television

There is only one state-controlled and -owned television station in Rwanda, namely Télévision Rwandaise (TVR). The programmes normally start at 10:00 and end at 23:00. The languages used are Rwanda, English and French. Swahili is not used at all, apparently due to a lack of qualified Swahili-speaking personnel (V Kambanda, pers. comm. 31 January 2006).

In January 2006, I conducted a study of language use in television, the results of which are shown in TABLE 52 below. The table displays the amount of time and the equivalent percentage allocated to each language during one day (31 January 2006). It also gives the time allocated to each language during an average day. These figures are based on time schedules obtained from TVR.

TABLE 52. *Languages used in Télévision Rwandaise programmes, 2006*

TIME ALLOCATION	RWANDA	FRENCH	ENGLISH	SWAHILI	TOTAL
Minutes on 31 January 2006	140	290	290	0	720
Percentage	19.4%	40.3%	40.3%	0.0%	100%
Minutes per day in a normal week	245	185	290	0	720
Percentage	34.0%	25.7%	40.3%	0.0%	100%

The period when the study took place was special, however. Footballers across Africa were at the time competing for the African Cup. The matches were commented on in French on television, probably because the programmes had been bought from abroad.

Normally, the 105 minutes allocated to each football match would have been used for a studio production in Rwanda. Therefore, both the findings of the study and the figures for an average day are given. The study of the programmes on 31 January 2006 showed that French and English were allocated twice as much time as Rwanda. However, the programmes in English were mostly televised during the day, while programmes in Rwanda and French were more frequent in the afternoon or evening. Music, jingles, announcements and advertisements – usually totalling 40–60 minutes a day, are not included in the table. These are given in all the three languages; for example, in an English programme block, the advertisements are in English; between programmes using French, the jingles are in French.

TABLE 52 above shows that most television programmes for an ordinary week are in English (40.3 per cent of the time), followed by Rwanda (34 per cent) and French (25.7 per cent). Rwanda has lost more ground now – even when comparing the higher numbers of an average day – compared with 1998 and 1999 (see development accounted for above and in section 5.1.1), while English is growing. It is hard to give a definite explanation to this trend, but some facts may shed light on it. The share of locally produced programmes, which are mostly in Rwanda, is lower now than before. A great deal of the externally produced programmes are from the BBC, SKY and other companies, i.e. they are in English or French. The majority of the English-medium programmes are shown during the day and reach a marginal audience, both due to the time of broadcasts and to the fact that very few Rwandans own their own television set. Television is mostly watched in the evening in pubs and coffee shops in urban areas.

The present situation of language use in state radio and television may be expressed as a language competition table, as set out below.

TABLE 53. *Language competition table: State radio and television*

BROADCASTING	
State radio	State television
R > (f = e = s)	E > r > f

This language competition analysis (see TABLE 7) shows that Rwanda is dominant in state radio broadcasts, while French, English and Swahili are used to a lesser extent, and on an equal basis. In state television programmes, English is the dominant language, followed by Rwanda (r) and French (f), which are used to a lesser extent.

5.1.3 Summary of language use in Rwandan state media

TABLE 54 below summarises the language use of the state media as a quantitative overview. When the totals of the publications were calculated, the choice of languages which are used in state-controlled newspapers or periodicals was analysed. The number of copies and frequency of distribution (weekly/daily/monthly) were not taken into account. The calculations for *Radio* and *Television* are based on time allocations for an average week (radio) or day (television).

The quantitative analysis is shown as a percentage distribution of the languages concerned. The maximum for each unit is 100 per cent.

TABLE 54. *Quantitative analysis of state media: Rwanda*

	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	
Language(s) of					
– Newspapers/periodicals	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	100
– Advertisements	23.7	48.2	28.1	0.0	100
Time allocation – Radio	68.2	12.3	10.0	9.5	100
Time allocation – Television	34.0	25.7	40.3	0.0	100

The analysis of language use in state media shows that Rwanda is the language used most frequently for publications and for radio programmes. Here, the

position of Rwanda is quite high (state newspapers 66.7 per cent and radio broadcasts 68.2 per cent). In these media, Rwanda is *Used frequently*, according to the scale interpretation (see TABLE 6), while the co-official languages, French and English, are used markedly less often, except when it comes to newspaper advertisements and television, where English is employed more than Rwanda and French. Language use within the state-owned media is judged to be the following:

Newspapers/periodicals

Rwanda: Used frequently (66.7%)
French: Used to a fair extent (33.3%)
English: Not used (0.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Advertisements

Rwanda: Used marginally (23.7%)
French: Used to a fair extent (48.2%)
English: Used to a fair extent (28.1%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Radio

Rwanda: Used frequently (68.2%)
French: Used marginally (12.3%)
English: Used marginally (10.0%)
Swahili: Used marginally (9.5%)

Television

Rwanda: Used to a fair extent (34.0%)
French: Used to a fair extent (25.7%)
English: Used to a fair extent (40.3%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Generally speaking, Rwanda is employed in the media which reach the population best: newspapers and radio broadcasts. It seems clear that the state considers the functional usefulness of a language as a primary factor when choosing a medium of communication.

Advertisements by governmental advertisers show a different pattern. Despite the fact that there are fewer French-medium newspapers than their

Rwanda counterparts, French dominates in the state-owned and -controlled newspaper media advertisements. Probably, the advertisers who use French (and English) in their advertisements target the well-educated elite who master these official languages. Other forces such as prestige or the attribution of positive values to European languages may also be at work (see discussion in section 1.5.1).

English had the highest allocation of time on television, closely followed by Rwanda. The relatively high total for English may be due to a high proportion of externally produced programmes (e.g. BBC programmes). Generally speaking, there is also now an increasing tendency to show an interest in the anglophone world.

5.2 Uganda

5.2.1 Historical overview

Even if Uganda has a print history going back to 1911 (described in Chapter 8, Private media), the government has only been engaged in these media since Independence in the early 1960s. Only one state newspaper has ever been published. The paper, which is in English, changes its name with each new regime: it has variously been titled *Uganda Argus* (1962–1971), *Voice of Uganda* (1971–1979), *The Uganda Times* (1980–1986) and, since 1986, *The New Vision* (Bahemuka 2000). The New Vision Group, which publishes *The New Vision* with its Sunday version *The Sunday Vision*, has four sister newspapers in Ugandan languages: the daily *Bukedde* (“Daybreak”), published in Ganda; the weekly *Orumuri* (“Daybreak”), in Nyankore and Chiga; *Rupiny* (“Daybreak”), in Lwo; and *Etop* (“Big morning star”) in Teso. All these have Internet versions.⁴⁹ Most of the print media are based in Kampala, from where distribution takes place to urban centres in Uganda.

The first book was printed in Uganda in 1893 by missionaries. Until 1962, however, most books were printed in Britain. In 1962, Milton Obote established the Uganda Publishing House, Uganda School Supplies, and the Uganda Press Trust. Today, the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company and

⁴⁹ See link to these newspapers at www.african.gu.se/linkorg-afr.html.

the Uganda Literature Bureau, alongside the NCDC and Makerere University Press, are public publishers in Uganda.

Radio Uganda started in 1963, one year after Independence. Ugandan TV (UTV) merged with Radio Uganda in 2004 to form the Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC).

5.2.2 Present state

A number of laws control the press. Among these are the Constitution of 1995, the Press and Journalists' Statute (1995), the Electronic Media Statute (1996), and the Uganda Communication Act (1997). None of these statutes deals with the use of languages. The same applies to broadcast media. The Electronic Media Statute of 1996 regulates radio and television, but does not consider linguistic issues. It seems to be up to each executive or board to decide which languages to use, and how they are to be used. This was confirmed by the Radio Manager of the UBC, Doreen Ndeezi (pers comm. 15 November 2006). Decisions are based on a mix of considerations such as demographic and geographical estimations of intelligibility, pressures from minorities, and political influence. The Board approves the decisions on languages. The UBC Act merged Radio Uganda and UTV into the current UBC in 2005.

The media have a variable outreach. The print media probably have a readership of up to ten times the issued copies. In spite of this, the census of 2002 reveals that only 1 per cent of the population report the print media as their main source of information (UBOS 2006). Radio broadcasts reach 47.8 per cent of the population, while television is reported to be the main source of information for only 1 per cent of the population (ibid.).

5.2.2.1 Press and publications

An overview of the state-owned print media is seen below in TABLE 55. For a full overview of print media see Appendix 1. The table is based on information obtained in December 2006 at the Media Council in Kampala. The figures refer to information provided by the publisher, the New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Limited.

TABLE 55. *State-owned newspapers and periodicals in Uganda*

NEWSPAPER/PERIODICAL	Language	Periodicity	Number of copies
<i>The New Vision</i>	English	Daily	32,500
<i>The Sunday Vision</i>	English	Weekly	36,500
<i>Bukedde</i>	Ganda	Daily	14,300
<i>Orumuri</i>	Nyankore/Chiga	Weekly	9,500
<i>Rupiny</i>	Lwo	Weekly	3,800
<i>Etop</i>	Teso	Weekly	5,200

The English daily *The New Vision*, with its sister Ugandan language regional newspapers *Bukedde* (in Ganda), *Orumuri* (in Nyankore/Chiga), *Rupiny* (in Lwo) and *Etop* (in Teso), is fully owned by the government but is at the same time run on commercial business principles. *The New Vision*'s distribution is 32,500 copies. An average edition has 48 pages, of which about 16 are advertisements. *The Sunday Vision*, the Sunday issue of *The New Vision*, is published with the same distribution as *The New Vision*, while *Bukedde* has a distribution of 14,300 copies, according to the company itself (NVPPCL 2007). *Bukedde* reaches up to 15 readers per copy and is also the only daily with a section on the *Kabaka*, the Buganda traditional ruler (ibid.). The three remaining weekly publications in African languages are produced for communities outside of Kampala: *Orumuri* for the western part of Uganda (from Masaka to Kabale, and north to Lake George); *Rupiny* for the northern part from Arua to Gulu and Lira; and *Etop* for north-eastern Uganda (Katakwi, Kumi and Soroti).

In choosing these languages for the regional newspapers, the government targeted the largest audiences, potentially reaching approximately 40 per cent of the population (L1 speakers of these languages). In addition, newspapers in these languages may reach speakers of closely related languages. For example, Nyoro-Tooro speakers may read the Nyankore newspaper *Orumuri*, and people who have learnt Ganda as an L2 might read *Bukedde*.

The language situation of the state-owned newspapers and periodicals in Uganda, as expressed in language competition symbols, may be said to be as follows: OALs > e > g, which reads that other African languages (OALs) are used more than English (e), which is used more than Ganda (g). Swahili is not used at all.

Advertisements

All advertisements in the state-financed newspaper *The New Vision* are in English. Three issues (10, 14 and 20 November 2006) were studied in more detail. Of the advertisements, 179 were by private companies, while only 31 were by state institutions. The majority of the advertisements were purely commercial (110 out of 179). Some 41 were vacancies, while 21 were public announcements. The advertisements of the other state-owned newspapers *Bukedde*, *Etop*, *Orumuri* and *Rupiny* were in English as well as in the African language of the target group. A study of advertisements in these newspapers was conducted, based on data collected in 2006 and 2008. The results are shown in the tables below.

TABLE 56 reveals information about advertisements in four issues of the daily newspaper *Bukedde*. The size of each advertisement is recalculated into part of a full A3-sized page. Thus, the figures refer to the total number of full A3 pages. The number of advertisements is given within parentheses.

TABLE 56. *Advertisements in Bukedde, November 2006*

DATE OF ISSUE	LANGUAGE Number of pages and number of advertisements		TOTAL
	Ganda	English	
9 November 2006	1.0 (4)*	1.5 (14)*	2.5
14 November 2006	2.5 (7)*	0.3 (5)*	2.8
20 November 2006	0.4 (4)*	0.9 (9)*	1.3
21 November 2006	3.4 (7)*	0.0 (0)*	3.4
TOTAL PAGES	7.3 (22)*	2.7 (28)*	10
Percentage (pages)	73.0%	27.0%	100%

* Figures within parentheses refer to number of advertisements.

Some 73 per cent of the advertisements (a total of 7.3 full pages) were in Ganda, while 27 per cent (2.7 pages) were written in English. Although the number of advertisements in Ganda was approximately the same as for English

in *Bukedde*, the total amount of advertisements in Ganda, recalculated into parts of full pages, was three times higher for Ganda than for English, i.e. 7.3 full A3 pages written in Ganda versus 2.7 in English. This may be explained by the fact that the Republic of Uganda announces all High Court and Chief Magistrate's Court decisions in English. These are numerous, but of small size. The same trend was found in other state-owned newspapers (see TABLE 57 below).

Some 28 of the total 50 advertisement in *Bukedde* were inserted by private companies and organisations, and 22 by state institutions or offices. Most (22 of 28) of the advertisements by private companies were written in Ganda. All but one (21 of 22) state advertisement were in English.

TABLE 57 below gives an overview of advertisements and language use in the remaining state-owned newspapers in Ugandan languages. The following issues were studied:

Etop

30 November–6 December 2006

27 November–3 December 2008

10–17 December 2008

18–24 December 2008

Orumuri

13–29 November 2006

20–26 November 2006

8–14 December 2008

15–21 December 2008

Rupiny

15–24 November 2006

6–12 February 2008

27 November–2 December 2008

7–23 December 2008

The study generally confirms that the total size of the advertisements in African languages exceeds English, as demonstrated in TABLE 57 below. As for TABLE 56, the size of each advertisement is recalculated into part of a full A3-sized

page. The total percentages are based on the total size of advertisements (i.e. A3 pages).

TABLE 57. *Advertisements in regional African language newspapers*

	NEWSPAPER					
	<i>Rupiny</i>		<i>Orumuri</i>		<i>Etop</i>	
	Lwo	English	Nyankore /Chiga	English	Teso	English
Total number of pages (A3)	7.3(22)*	8.4(70)*	9.3(27)*	7.6(67)*	13.0(26)*	4.6(27)*
Percentage (pages)	46.5%	53.5%	55.0%	45.0%	73.9%	26.1%

* Figures within parentheses refer to the number of advertisements.

The total amount of pages was approximately the same for all the newspapers, with an average of around four pages per copy used for advertisements. The total number of advertisements was, however, lower for *Etop* than for the two other newspapers (53 versus 92 and 94 for *Rupiny* and *Orumuri*, respectively).

The study of the three newspapers revealed considerable similarities as well as striking differences. TABLE 57 clearly demonstrates that the number of advertisements in English was higher than the total number of advertisements in Ugandan languages in all three newspapers.⁵⁰ The same trend was found for the study of *Bukedde*. When looking at the total size of the advertisements, the overall pattern is the opposite: the total size of the advertisements in Ugandan languages (added to full A3 pages) was generally larger for the Ugandan languages, except for *Rupiny*, where Lwo was used marginally less than English.

Common to all the newspapers, including *Bukedde*, was that vacancy advertisements by state authorities were found to be published in English. However, public notices by state functions, apart from the court announcements mentioned above, were published in Ugandan languages. The same advertisement was found to be translated into the language of each newspaper.

⁵⁰ The number of advertisements in *Etop* was on an equal level in terms of language choices: 27 for Teso and 26 for English.

It is additionally worth noting that a total of 56 of the 70 *Rupiny* advertisements in English were by various state offices, while 20 of the 22 advertisements in Lwo were by private companies. The private companies have probably chosen the language which best reaches their target group, Lwo, as the medium of communication so that they can canvas potential consumers among the people of northern Uganda. The same tendency was observed regarding the *Etop* advertisements: 17 of 27 advertisements by state institutions were in English, while 21 of 26 private advertisements were in Teso.

Some results of the investigated newspaper advertisements were surprising. Firstly, the *Orumuri* advertisements showed a contradictory pattern compared with the other newspaper advertisements. In the investigated issues of this newspaper, 85 of the total of 94 advertisements by private companies were in English. It is possible that this pattern is due to a considerable number of potential readers from western Uganda, many of whom belong to the ruling elite. These well-educated persons are often former exiles and prefer to speak English (M Chibita, pers. comm. 1 December 2008). See also section 8.2.2.1.

Secondly, in all the newspapers except for *Rupiny*, the area language was used proportionally more than English, when the total size of the advertisements is considered. Thus, overall, the area languages have a strong position compared with English. Why Lwo is used less than the other area languages in advertisements may be due to several factors about which I can only speculate. It is generally believed in Uganda that people from the north speak English to a greater extent than do people in other parts of Uganda (C Ssebunnya Ssenyonjo, pers. comm. 29 March 2009). This belief is verified by the study by Reh (2002), referred to in section 2.2.2.2. In the latter study, 66.5 per cent of the Lwo/Teso speakers reported knowing English. Furthermore, the twenty-year war in the north may have led to a loss of confidence in the area languages. At the very least, the war led to displacements, which leads to another potential explanation: a good deal of the buyers of *Rupiny* live in Kampala and might not know much Lwo. Advertisers may be addressing this category of buyer.

Thirdly, a difference was found between *Bukedde* and the three other state-run newspapers in Ugandan languages. Fewer notices by the Republic of Uganda (High Court and Chief Magistrate's Court decisions) appeared in *Bukedde* than in the other newspapers. It is possible that the state publishes these court decisions in *The New Vision* instead of in *Bukedde*. Both these newspapers are read in the Kampala area, where English is widely spoken, in addition to Ganda. It is likely that the newspapers and, thus, the advertisements

are regarded as reaching the same audience; therefore, most court notices are advertised only in the English-medium *The New Vision*.

5.2.2.2 Radio

There are two state-funded radio stations with national coverage: UBC Radio (formerly Radio Uganda) and the commercial radio station, Star FM. A new station, Magic FM, is in the pipeline. Although these stations are 100 per cent owned by the government, the programmes are not 100 per cent financed by it. Part of the financing comes from commercial airtime and rental of technical facilities (UBC 2006a).

Star FM broadcasts only in Ganda, while 22 Ugandan languages, along with English and Swahili, are used in the programmes broadcasted by the state-owned radio station UBC Radio. The UBC Radio programmes are divided into three blocks: the Northern Block (also called the *Red Channel*), the South-western Block (the *Blue Channel*) and the Eastern Block (the *Butebo Channel*). These channels broadcast mainly in Ugandan languages, but programmes in Swahili are broadcasted for an hour every day in eastern Uganda (the Eastern Block) and in English for four hours. In western Uganda (the South-western Block), Swahili is used for 1.5 hours and English for 3.5 hours. There are no broadcasts in English or Swahili in the Northern Block. The latter two languages are used by the national service: English is used during 8 hours of daily broadcasts, and Swahili during 3 hours. TABLE 58 below shows the languages used in UBC Radio programmes.

TABLE 58. *UBC radio channels and languages used*

NORTHERN BLOCK	SOUTH-WESTERN BLOCK	EASTERN BLOCK
Alur Karimojong Gwe Lwo Ma'di	Amba English Fumbira Ganda Konjo Nyakitara group Swahili	Adhola English Gwe Gwere Kupsabiny Masaaba Nyole Saamia Soga Swahili Teso

The Northern radio station broadcasts for approximately five hours a day. The programmes of the Northern Block are mostly broadcasted in Lwo (75 per cent of the time). Alur, Gwe, Karimojong and Ma'di share the rest of the airtime. Nubi⁵¹ is reported to be on its way in. This is very interesting, considering that Nubi is the L1 of only 0.1 per cent of the Ugandan population (less than 26,000 persons). The other languages reported to be used are the quantitatively most prominent languages in the area of the broadcasts concerned. These area languages are also dealt with in section 6.2.2.

The South-western Block broadcasts mostly in Ganda and the interlacustrine western Ugandan languages which are often grouped as *Nyakitara*, namely Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro, and Tooro. Ganda and the Nyakitara group share about 50 per cent each of six hours' airtime. Amba, Fumbira and Konjo share one to two hours' airtime a day.⁵²

In the broadcasts for the East, Teso is the language which is used most of the time, i.e. for three hours, or 70–75 per cent of the time. Adhola, Gwe, Gwere, Kupsabiny, Masaaba, Nyole, Saamia and Soga share one to two hours' airtime a day. Gwe is a dialect of Saamia (Lewis 2009). The programme manager reported that Kumam had been used in the past, and would perhaps make a return (M Waceke Ngung'u, pers. comm. 15 November 2006).

5.2.2.3 Television

UBC TV (formerly UTV) has a near-national coverage (Khamalwa 2006:22). It is the only state-owned television station.

The languages English, Ganda and Swahili are used in UBC TV broadcasts. The majority of the programmes are in English. In locally produced programmes, English (used approximately 60 per cent of the time) and Ganda (40 per cent of the time) are mixed in the same broadcasts. There are no programmes using Ganda exclusively. News in Swahili is televised during 15 minutes every day, as shown in TABLE 59. The table, based on the broadcasts

⁵¹ Nubi in Uganda is a Sudanese Arabic-based creole which is said to mainly be spoken in the area of Bombo in the central region.

⁵² *Fumbira* or *Rufumbira*, as the source labels the language, is not listed in Ladefoged et al. (1972). The language appears to be closely related to the Rwanda language (Muranga 2006). In Ethnologue (Lewis 2009), *Rufumbira* is listed as a dialect of the Rwanda language.

during the week 6–12 November 2006, includes all programmes, even sports broadcasted at night.

TABLE 59. *UBC TV broadcasting languages, November 2006*

	LANGUAGE OF BROADCASTING			TOTAL
	English	Ganda	Swahili	
Total per week	6,638 minutes	675 minutes	105 minutes	7,418 minutes
Average per day	15 hour 48 minutes	1 hour 36 minutes	15 minutes	17 hours 39 minutes
Percentage	89.5%	9.1%	1.4%	100%

Consequently, a competition analysis of the state-owned television would be presented as E > g > s. As can be seen, English (E) is used predominantly. Ganda (g) and Swahili (s) are both used to a lesser extent, but Ganda is used more than Swahili.

5.2.3 Summary of language use in Ugandan state media

TABLE 60 below shows the percentage calculations of the unit of analysis of *State media*.

TABLE 60. *Quantitative analysis of state media in Uganda*

	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Language(s) of					
– Newspapers/periodicals	16.7	33.3	50.0	0.0	100
– Advertisements	5.4	59.5	35.1	0.0	100
Time allocation – Radio	7.8	28.5	54.1	9.6	100
Time allocation – Television	9.1	89.5	0.0	1.4	100

The analysis demonstrates differences in language use in the investigated sub-domains of *State media*. It is clear that the Ugandan languages are frequently used as the medium of communication in newspapers and periodicals and in radio broadcasts. Ganda and the group *Other African languages* are together used in 66.7 per cent of the newspapers or periodicals, and in 61.9 per cent of

radio airtime. On the other hand, English has a prominent position in television programmes and newspaper advertisements – even in newspapers published in African languages. Of the Ugandan languages, Ganda is the only one used on television. It has 9.1 per cent of the allocated time in television, which indicates marginal use according to the interpretation scale demonstrated in 1.6.3.3:

Newspapers/periodicals

Ganda: Used marginally (16.7%)
English: Used to a fair extent (33.3%)
OALs: Used frequently (50.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Advertisements

Ganda: Used marginally (5.4%)
English: Used frequently (59.5%)
OALs: Used to a fair extent (35.1%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Radio

Ganda: Used marginally (7.8%)
English: Used to a fair extent (28.5%)
OALs: Used frequently (54.1%)
Swahili: Used marginally (9.6%)

Television:

Ganda: Used marginally (9.1%)
English: Used predominantly (89.5%)
OALs: Not used (0.0%)
Swahili: Used marginally (1.4%)

It is tempting to try to compare how languages are used in state media with what their function in society is. Both Ganda and Swahili seem to be used to a lesser degree than their potential would allow. Ganda is assessed to be employed as an L2 for between 39 and 75 per cent of the population (see sections 2.2.2.2 and 4.2.5) and Swahili as an L2 by 35 per cent (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:25). However, a comparison of the findings related to their relative distribution in Ugandan society reveals some problems.

Firstly, questions about language use or claimed language knowledge have not been posed in the past censuses. It is, therefore, not known how many Ugandans actually speak Ganda, Swahili or any of the Ugandan languages.

Secondly, the only comprehensive estimation regarding Ugandan languages has not been updated since the work of Ladefoged et al. in 1972. Judging from the latter estimations, Ugandan languages, including Ganda, have a distribution which is lower than their use as L1 and L2 together. Nevertheless, considering that the Ugandan languages have no official status at all, these languages are used more frequently than one would expect in a state-controlled domain. These languages are probably used to meet a need for communication in media that are known by the masses. See also section 5.3 below for a discussion of this aspect.

5.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 61 below, which conflates TABLE 54 and TABLE 60 above, sums the results of the state media analysis. As before, *Non-African official languages* contains French and English in Rwanda, and English in Uganda. The table category *Dominant African language* comprises Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda, and Ganda in Uganda. *Other African languages* shows the use of the remaining African languages. Swahili is shown as a separate category. The maximum total is 100 per cent for each unit of analysis and country.

TABLE 61. *Comparative analysis of state media*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Language(s) of								
– Newspapers/periodicals	66.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	33.3	33.3
– Advertisements	23.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	35.1	76.3	59.5
Time allocation								
– Radio	68.2	7.8	9.5	9.6	0.0	54.1	22.3	28.5
Time allocation								
– Television	34.0	9.1	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	66.0	89.5

There are both similarities and differences when the language situation in the Rwandan state media is compared with Uganda's. The most striking difference is that the official and national language, Rwanda, is used to a much greater extent in Rwanda within all the settings investigated than Ganda is used in Uganda. However, when the results of *Dominant African language* and *Other African languages* of the unit of analysis *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals* are summed, the results are identical: 66.7 per cent. The same trend was found for radio broadcasts. Here, the African languages (Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda, the dominant Ugandan language in combination with other African languages) are used frequently (68.2 and 61.9 per cent, respectively).

Working hypothesis 2 (see section 1.2) suggested that there would be a difference in use between Rwanda and Ganda in combination with other Ugandan languages within official domains and in state media, mainly due to Rwanda's official status.

The results for Rwanda versus Ganda in combination with other African languages were tested statistically by using the Z-test for means given in 1.6.3.5. The obtained Z-values are given within parentheses in TABLE 62 below. As accounted for above, the unit of analysis *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals* obtained equivalent totals. The null hypothesis could, thus, not be rejected for this unit of analysis.

TABLE 62. *Rwanda versus Ganda and OALs in state media*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals		X (0.00)
Language(s) of advertisements	X (-6.55)	
Time allocation – Radio	X (2.04)	
Time allocation – Television	X (12.61)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.05$.

However, the results of language use in Rwandan and Ugandan radio broadcasts proved to be significantly different, at the 95 per cent confidence level, despite a seemingly similar trend. Hypothesis 2 of section 1.2 was, therefore, supported regarding language use in state radio and television, as seen from TABLE 62.

In newspaper advertisements, the situation is reversed. The analysis of advertisements in state-owned newspapers demonstrated that Ganda and *Other*

African languages were used more than Rwanda was used in the Republic of Rwanda – contrary to hypothesis 2. The result was statistically significant at the 95 per cent level. Even if the Ugandan languages were used less than the European languages, the former were used to a fair extent, according to the interpretation scale (TABLE 6). As discussed above, I link the rather extensive use of Ugandan languages by both state advertisers and private companies to functionality. The advertisers in these regional newspapers approach their target group in the language which best reaches their readers. In this respect, it is surprising that Rwanda is used to a lesser extent, considering Rwanda's communicative function. In Rwanda, it is obvious that the status of the co-official languages influenced the results.

The official languages of European origin were utilised to a fair extent in both countries as the language medium of newspapers (33.3 per cent in both countries). These languages are, however, more frequent in newspaper advertisements (76.3 per cent in state-owned Rwandan newspapers and 64.2 per cent in Ugandan newspapers).

The position of Swahili was equally negligible in state radio in both Rwanda and Uganda. Swahili was used marginally, according to criteria given in TABLE 6. This to some extent supports working hypothesis 7 (see 1.2), which suggests that Swahili would be found to be used to the same degree in both countries. However, Swahili was employed marginally in television in Uganda, but was not used in other media. It was not possible to test the data statistically, as most units of analysis displayed zero totals.

As suggested in working hypothesis 1 and also found to be valid for the units of analysis of Chapter 3 above, the use within the domains of official multilingual management does not follow the formally allocated status of such languages with one-to-one correspondence. This discrepancy is probably due to multiple factors, which are not easily identified.

One major factor seems to be practical utility and functionality. This was especially noticeable in the study of institutionalised language use within official institutions. As accounted for in Chapter 3, in the Republic of Rwanda, the national and official language Rwanda was preferred to the co-official languages English and French. The same trend was generally established for state media in Rwanda, with the exception of advertisements and television. In Uganda, the official language, English, was used more than the co-official language, Swahili. This result additionally supports ideas proposed in hypothesis 7, that the recent introduction of Swahili as an official language would not have a significant

impact on language practice. Uganda's multilingual situation apparently favours English as an LWD to some extent, but also the area languages.

When there is a need to communicate to the masses, African languages are preferred, both in Rwanda and in Uganda. State-controlled radio stations in Uganda broadcast regionally in the languages of the regions – and only rarely in English (or in Swahili). This fact supports working hypothesis 8 which suggests that African languages would be found to be used extensively in typically 'oral' settings.

Functionality apparently plays a role in language choice. With this in mind, it would be interesting to see whether or not the utility aspect is reflected in the studies of non-official multilingual management. These studies are presented in Part III ahead.

PART III. NON-OFFICIAL MULTILINGUAL MANAGEMENT

6. *Trade and commerce*

The domain *Trade and commerce* is split into two main sections: Markets, shops and offices (section 6.1) and Linguistic landscape (section 6.2). The first section studies communicative functions of languages and, to some extent, values attributed to languages, while the second section investigates commercial signage (billboards and shop signs in the private sector). The units that are analysed within these settings are introduced in each sub-section.

6.1 *Markets, shops and offices*

The aim of the surveys presented in this Chapter was to establish the use of languages at markets and to investigate which languages were required for employment in private commercial activities (private shops and private offices) in Rwanda and Uganda.

To study both use and requirements to describe and evaluate languages in the commercial domain was a conscious choice, even if the choice created some problems regarding the interpretation of results. Through extensive questionnaire interviews, the survey of language use at markets shows how languages are actually used. In this way, the function of one or more languages relative to others is investigated. The survey of language requirements in shops and offices adds another dimension. In addition to the need to use one or more languages as a tool for communication with local customers or clients from other parts of the regions or, in the case of offices, possibly even with other countries, the requirements might indicate a status choice in addition to the practical dimension of language choice. Thus, a language may be considered necessary, whether or not it is in fact necessary. This might additionally indicate how languages are valued on the linguistic market.

As stated above, to investigate requirements can cause some uncertainty regarding the survey answers and their interpretation. Primarily, the results probably show the need of a language for practical, everyday work, as an overt policy of language requirements most likely does not exist. This is supported by the fact that the answers were often found to be based on practical communicative needs in the geographical area of the survey, especially for markets and shops. The languages used in the area, i.e. languages of practical

utility, had high totals in these settings. Moreover, even if the African languages have a rather high total in the data, it cannot be ruled out that language prestige or status may have played a certain role as well. Furthermore, it is highly possible that prestige or status may have influenced the answers given in offices, both in Rwanda and in Uganda. To have staff knowing or required to know official or global languages may, for example, be considered prestigious and, hence, be reflected in the answers. The results of the surveys will, therefore, be discussed in the light of both these aspects.

This presentation is exclusively based on surveys. The fieldwork was conducted in Rwanda and Uganda in February, March and December 2008. Questionnaire surveys administered by fieldworkers were carried out in Kigali and Butare in Rwanda. In Uganda, surveys were conducted in all four regions of Uganda: the Eastern region (Busia), the Northern region (Gulu), the Western region (Fort Portal) and the Central region (10 villages and towns near Kampala). The regions and towns are found on the maps of Rwanda and Uganda (see page 22).

All vendors at the markets in the chosen towns and villages were studied. Accordingly, employees in all shops and offices in randomly selected streets in the selected towns were interviewed. The results were calculated from a total of 3,782 answers: 841 in Rwanda and 2,941 in Uganda.

The empirical survey results are, as in all the Chapters, presented for each country, starting with Rwanda. Each survey data are also accounted for separately. At the end of each country section, a comparative summary of the language situation is given. As for all calculations in this thesis, a quantitative total where the proportion between the languages and language groups are calculated as percentages is used. The calculation methods are accounted for in section 1.6.3.2. The Chapter is subsequently completed with a comparative analysis of both Rwanda and Uganda.

6.1.1 Rwanda

In Rwanda, the three surveys of important areas within the private sector – markets, shops and private offices – were conducted in February and March 2008.

Language use was studied at three markets in Kigali (Marché de Kimironko, Marché de Kimisagara and Marché Nyabugogo) and two markets in Butare (Marché Central and Marché de Rango). The total survey comprised 280 market salespersons: 215 in Kigali, and 65 in Butare.

The language requirements for employment in shops were studied in three streets in Kigali (Rue du Karisimbi, Rue de Nyambogogo and Avenue du Commerce) and the two selected streets in Butare. A total of 315 shops were visited: 245 in Kigali and 70 in Butare. Language requirements for office employment were considered for 246 private offices.

Most offices in Rwanda are small business or services companies. All offices were situated in Kigali: there are practically no offices in Butare or other towns. The offices were found in Rue de Karisimbi (56 offices), Rue de Nyabugogo (42 offices), Avenue du Commerce (63 offices), and Rue du Lac Burera (86 offices). Structured questionnaires were used for the surveys. The answers were noted by interviewers.

6.1.1.1 Markets

In the market survey, respondents were asked to list and rank the languages they used at the market in their contact with customers. TABLE 63 shows the result of the Kigali survey. The languages are abbreviated in the tables by their respective initials. Thus, *R/r* represents Rwanda, *S/s* is the abbreviation for Swahili, the letters *F/f* and *E/e* are short for *French* and *English*, respectively. The > sign in TABLE 63 and other tables in this Chapter shows the interviewees' ranking of languages, i.e. from the language used most frequently to the one least used. The most frequent use is given first, i.e. starting from the left, in this and the other tables in the Chapter.

TABLE 63. *Ranking of languages at markets in Kigali*

R > s > f > e	R > s > e > f	R > f > s > e	R > f > e > s	R > e > s > f	R > e > f > s
120	45	30	12	5	3
55.8%	20.9%	14.0%	5.6%	2.3%	1.4%

n = 215.

In total, Rwanda in first position and Swahili in second, followed by French and English, in that order, was the most frequent response. Some 55.8 per cent of all salesmen or -women (120 persons) in the three markets in Kigali reported that this was the order of frequency of the languages which they used. Swahili was extensively used as a second, third or even fourth language, but never as

first language. Rwanda is the language which is most frequently used at markets.

The calculations of proportions between languages showed that approximately 85 per cent of the oral business at the markets is conducted in Rwanda (shown in TABLE 68 below). The majority of the customers only speak Rwanda. Foreigners, rich or educated people who master other languages send peasants to the market to get a good (non-*muzungu*) price.⁵³

In TABLE 64 below, the summed results of the Butare market survey are given. A total of 65 salesmen at Marché Central and Marché de Rango were interviewed.

TABLE 64. *Ranking of languages at markets in Butare*

R	R > s > f	R > s	R > f	R > f > s	R > f > s > e	Other combinations
23	10	9	7	2	2	12
35.4%	15.4%	13.8%	10.8%	3.1%	3.1%	18.4%

n = 65.

In the following, some of the trends that were found are discussed. Firstly, no salespersons in Kigali reported using less than four languages in contact with customers. In contrast, monolingualism was frequent in Butare. Secondly, where the salesmen/-women in Butare were not monolingual, bilingualism was most common. It seems that Butare, as a smaller town with more local customers, has no or marginal need for the official languages English and French. The few cases of multilingualism in Butare showed a very individual pattern with different constellations of Rwanda, Swahili, French and English, combined with other African languages such as Ganda (2) and Rundi (4). A total of 12 answers had these unique combinations.

The Butare study furthermore confirmed that the position of Swahili as an L2 at markets is quite strong. Swahili has a history as a language of trade and commercial transactions, especially in urban areas. In urban areas, 12.2 per cent of the population is reported to know Swahili (Rwanda 2005b).

⁵³ The prices are decided depending on the client. There are two different price levels: the Rwandan price, and what is called a *muzungu* price – from the term for a white person.

6.1.1.2 Shops

The shop survey included 315 employees in private shops in Butare and Kigali. These employees were interviewed about the languages that were required for employment in the shop where they worked. The respondents were first asked whether or not knowledge of any specific language was required to be employed in the shop concerned. If there was an outspoken requirement, the language or languages which were asked for were noted. All shops in three streets in central Kigali (Avenue de la Commerce, Rue Karisimbi and Boulevard de Nyabugogo) and the main street of Butare were visited. They were all small, private retail shops.

The results of the survey are presented in TABLE 65 and TABLE 66 below. The most frequent responses are presented first (on the left) in the overviews.

TABLE 65. *Language requirements in shops in Kigali*

R	E	S	R + F*	R + E	F	S + F	E + F	S + R
159	45	12	7	7	6	4	4	1
64.9%	18.4%	4.9%	2.9%	2.9%	2.4%	1.6%	1.6%	0.4%

n = 245.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

As seen, 159 respondents in Kigali (nearly 65 per cent) reported that only knowledge of Rwanda was required. The demand for only English (45 answers) was the second largest category, with 18.4 per cent.

Butare showed a similar pattern. TABLE 66 below shows the result of the Butare shop survey.

TABLE 66. *Language requirements in shops in Butare*

R	F	E + F	E	S	E + S	F + S
49	7	6	2	2	2	2
70.0%	10.0%	8.6%	2.85%	2.85%	2.85%	2.85%

n = 70.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

In Butare, 49 respondents (70 per cent) reported that no special language competence except Rwanda was asked for. French was proportionally more in demand in Butare than in Kigali (10 per cent versus 2.4 per cent, respectively),

while English was frequently required in Kigali (18.4 per cent as the only language, and 22.9 per cent in combination with other languages). In Butare, the equivalent figures were 2.9 per cent and 14.3 per cent, respectively.

It is probable that the differences regarding the position of English and French are related to the characters of the two towns. Kigali is the centre of commerce and the new political elite, while Butare has an academic tradition and is centred on the national university, NUR, with its history of education in French. The new era with a higher status for English seems, at least initially, to have affected Butare to a lesser extent than Kigali.

The demand for knowledge of either English or French (or Swahili) might not reflect the actual need for these languages. On a daily basis, Rwanda is used for most communication with customers. Only in contacts with foreigners would any other language actually be used. Thus, factors such as prestige and status have probably had a certain influence on the results.

6.1.1.3 Private offices

In a survey similar to that conducted for shops, interviews by way of questionnaires were carried out among employees of private offices. A total of 246 office employees were interviewed in Kigali, where most offices are situated. All offices in four randomly selected streets in central Kigali were visited (see 6.1.1 above). The private offices were mostly small, local offices, e.g. auditing and financial offices like GM Partners, Vision Financiers, Centre Financiers des Entrepreneurs, other offices like typing services, and a few NGOs. In this survey, only permanent locations were studied. Thus, small mobile offices or businesses in the streets – which are not uncommon in the African context – are not included.

There is not always a clear-cut distinction between what constitutes an *office* and what constitutes a *shop*. Some shops include office services such as printing or typing services. This kind of business was categorised as a *shop*, both in Rwanda and in Uganda, and is, thus, not included in the office data.

The interviewees were asked which language skills were required for their employment. The results of the study are shown in TABLE 67 below.

TABLE 67. *Language requirements in offices in Kigali*

E	R	F	E + F	S	R + F	R + S	R + E	Other combinations
77	53	45	45	8	5	4	4	4
31.5%	21.6%	18.4%	18.4%	3.3%	2.0%	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%

n = 245.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

All interviewees listed specific demands for language knowledge in the Rwanda survey, i.e. there were no *No requirements* answers, a pattern which was different from the equivalent Uganda survey (see section 6.1.2.3 below). Demand for knowledge of Rwanda, thus, seems to be a conscious choice and not taken for granted by these interviewees.

As seen from the table, knowledge of English alone was required for 77 jobs (31.5 per cent), Rwanda for 21.6 per cent (53 respondents), and both French and the combination English and French for 18.4 per cent of the jobs (45 respondents). Swahili was required for 3.3 per cent of the positions (8 interviewees).

The results indicate that English, rather than French, is the language associated with business. In addition, English is the language which has worldwide status as the medium of international communication. In Rwanda, the actual employment or usefulness of English is probably lower than the demand for command of the language. The character of the majority of offices (small, local businesses offices, with marginal international contacts) indicates that the requirement for knowledge of English in particular is certainly a result of status rather than actual need. English is the language of the elite and, as such, probably signals job market potential and economic progress more than French does.

In spite of the status of English and, to some extent, French, as can be seen, Rwanda plays quite an important role in business. The official languages of European origin are nevertheless seen as more important when recruiting personnel.

6.1.1.4 Summary of markets, shops and offices in Rwanda

The summary of the quantitative totals is presented below. As for all these quantitative tables, the main objective is to find the proportion (here for use or requirements) of the languages in question. Thus, the figures are calculated as parts of the linguistic space of each unit, with a total of 100 per cent. The results are shown in TABLE 68 below.

TABLE 68. *Quantitative analysis of markets, shops and offices*

	LANGUAGE				Total %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	
Markets	86.3	4.6	2.8	6.3	100
Shops	71.7	10.2	11.5	6.6	100
Offices	21.7	31.2	42.0	5.1	100

TABLE 68 above shows that Rwanda is, as for informal communication in most domains in Rwandan society, used predominantly at markets. A total of 86.3 per cent of the market salesmen and -women used Rwanda in their communication with customers. At markets, Swahili is more frequently employed than both French and English, but the use of these three languages is marginal, as demonstrated below:

Rwanda: Used predominantly (86.3%)

French: Used marginally (4.6%)

English: Used marginally (2.8%)

Swahili: Used marginally (6.3%)

When language requirements in shops are investigated, it is clear that knowledge of Rwanda is also desired by a majority of shop owners (in 71.7 per cent of the shops), but English, French and Swahili (in that order) are in considerably less demand. Nevertheless, the percentages registered for these languages' demand in shops are higher than those registered for use at markets. Since status as well as use may be reflected in the responses from the shop and the office surveys, the interpretation of the results is as follows (TABLE 6):

Rwanda: Used frequently/High status (71.7%)
French: Used marginally/Marginal status (10.2%)
English: Used marginally/Marginal status (11.5%)
Swahili: Used marginally/Marginal status (6.5%)

The study of language requirements in offices shows a completely contradictory pattern to that for markets and shops. English has the highest total of all languages required in offices (42 per cent), followed by French (31.2 per cent) and Rwanda (21.7 per cent). Even Swahili is in relatively high demand here: knowledge of Swahili was required by 5.1 per cent of office employers. This is only slightly lower than the use of Swahili found at the investigated markets. For offices, the results for the languages concerned are as follows:

Rwanda: Used marginally/Marginal status (21.7%)
French: Used to a fair extent/Moderate status (31.2%)
English: Used to a fair extent/Moderate status (42.0%)
Swahili: Used marginally/Marginal status (5.1%)

When the three settings are studied, the overall pattern is a falling degree of use of Rwanda, from 86.3 per cent at markets to 21.7 per cent for offices, with shops in an intermediate position (71.7 per cent). A totally opposite trend for French and English is manifested. The value for French increases from 4.6 per cent for markets to 31.2 per cent for offices, while the calculated value for English goes up from 2.8 per cent for markets to 42.0 per cent for offices, with the shop value in between (10.2 and 11.5 per cent, respectively). This trend seems to follow a scale of formality which may be associated with prestige: the less formal the setting, the more Rwanda is in demand. It also conforms to a pattern of utility. At markets, the language which is understood by most people is used predominantly. In offices, which is on the other end of the scale, and partly in shops, which mostly interact with local customers and is in an intermediate position, other aspects in addition to functionality may be involved, as discussed in section 6.1.1.3 above.

6.1.2 Uganda

As for the Rwanda survey, the study of language use and employment requirements for language competence in Uganda was divided into three surveys of the private sector: markets, shops and private offices.

The first part of the survey comprised a total of 1,029 salespersons in markets: 358 in 10 markets in the central districts, and 671 in total in Busia, Fort Portal and Gulu (see map on page 22). The ten markets of the central districts were Luweero and Wobulenzi in the Luweero District north of Kampala; the Kiwoko market in the Nakaseke District west of the Luweero District; the Gayaza and Kasangati markets in the Wakiso District west of Kampala; the Mukono, Najjembe, Namawojjolo and Sseeta markets in the Mukono District east of Kampala; the Bukoto market along the Kisaasi road near Kampala; and the Kitoro market near Entebbe. In Busia in eastern Uganda, four markets were studied: Arubaine, Mawero, Nangwe, and the main market in Busia. This survey comprised 156 salespersons in all. In Fort Portal, 313 vendors at the Kabundaire and Mpanga markets were interviewed. In Gulu in northern Uganda, three markets were visited: Layibi, Owino, and Wilobo - all being in Gulu town. A total of 202 market salespersons were questioned in Gulu about their language use in customer interactions.

For the second part of the study, 1,741 shop employees of medium-sized retail shops were interviewed about the job requirements in respect of language use at their place of employ. Of these, 368 were in Gulu in the north, 227 in Busia in the east, 174 in Fort Portal in the west, and 972 in the central region of Uganda. In the central districts, ten towns and villages were selected: Gayaza, Kiwoko, Luweero, and Wobulenzi, north of Kampala; Mukono and Sseeta, east of Kampala; and Abayita Ababiri, Entebbe and Nkumba, south of Kampala, in the Wakiso District; and Gayaza, 10 km north of Kampala. In addition, all the shops in two main business streets in central Kampala (Bombo Road and Kampala Road) were investigated. In Fort Portal, the four main streets were studied: Bwamba Road, Kasese Road, Ruhandiika Street and Rukidi Street. See Appendix 3 for a full overview of towns and streets which were part of the study.

The study furthermore consisted of a survey of language requirements for employment in a total of 171 offices. Eight interviews were telephonic, and targeted the employees of publishing and printing companies established in

Kampala. The remaining 124 offices in central Kampala (George Street, Kampala Road, and Lumumba Avenue) were visited physically. As for Rwanda, the majority of the offices were small, local businesses. Structured questionnaires were used for these office interviews. In addition, 27 offices in Gulu (Acholi Road) in the north and 12 offices in Busia in the east, close to the Kenyan border (in Customs Road, mostly clearing and forwarding agents), were studied.

The number of places and respondents in Ugandan markets, shops and offices are higher than those for the Rwanda study. A geographical spread with surveys in the north, east, west and central parts of Uganda was considered necessary for this country, due to its less homogeneous linguistic situation (see discussion in section 1.6.1.1). Apart from the large amount of data collected, however, the surveys in Uganda were conducted in the same way as the Rwanda ones and are, therefore, comparable.

In the following, the market survey results are first given. Section 6.1.2.2 follows, giving an account of the results of the shop survey. The final section, 6.1.2.3, shows the results of the office survey. In all three sub-sections, tables which summarise each town and region are presented.

6.1.2.1 Markets

Similar to the studies conducted in the Republic of Rwanda (see 6.1.1.1), the respondents were asked to list and rank the languages they used at the market in their contact with customers. The results of the study of 19 markets in central, eastern, western and northern Uganda are given below.

The results of Busia in the east are given first, followed by Gulu in the north and Fort Portal in the west. Finally, the survey of 358 salespersons in the central districts of Uganda is accounted for.

Eastern region

TABLE 69 below shows the results of the Busia market survey. A total of 12.2 per cent (19 persons) of the 156 salespersons interviewed in Busia used only one language at the market. As many as 18 of these 19 monolingual salespersons used Saamia (Sa/sa), as seen from the table. Saamia is the main language used in the area (alongside Gwe and Soga)⁵⁴ and the L1 for most inhabitants there.

⁵⁴ See section 2.2.2.1, TABLE 12 and TABLE 13.

Only one respondent used Swahili (S) exclusively. This answer is included in *Other languages/combination of languages*. The remaining salesmen and -women used several languages in their commercial interactions: 35.3 per cent (55 persons) used 2 languages, 45.5 per cent (71 persons) used 3 languages, and 6.4 per cent (10 persons) used 4 languages. One salesperson (0.6 per cent) claimed to use 5 languages, in the following order of frequency: Swahili, Saamia, Ganda, English and Soga.

The most frequent ranking combinations of languages are shown in TABLE 69 below. The symbol > shows the ranking of languages by the interviewees, i.e. the order of languages which are said to be used. The most frequent categories are given, starting at the left with the most common category. The final category on the right sums infrequent combinations.

TABLE 69. *Ranking of languages at markets in Busia*

Sa > s	Sa > s > g	Sa	S > sa > g	S > Sa	Sa > g > s	Sa > s > e	Sa > s > g > e	Sa > g	Other languages/ combinations of languages
32	20	18	18	17	16	5	4	4	22
20.5%	12.8%	11.5%	11.5%	10.9%	10.3%	3.2%	2.6%	2.6%	14.1%

n = 156.

The combination Saamia (Sa) and Swahili (s) was the most common. This combination was used by 32 respondents (20.5 per cent), followed by *Saamia, Swahili and Ganda* (g), *Saamia exclusively* and *Combination of Swahili, Saamia, and Ganda*. *Other languages/combinations of languages* groups the exclusive use of Swahili (one respondent) and various combinations of English (e), Ganda, Saamia, and Swahili, each of which had only between one and three responses.

It is striking that Ganda was used – in combinations with Saamia and Swahili – by more than a third of the market salespersons. This shows that Ganda is used fairly frequently as an LWD, even in areas where Swahili has a special position due to their proximity to Kenya. A possible explanation may be that Ganda was used as an MOI in the formal educational system during the colonial and early post-colonial period in Busia, the present Tororo, and in Pallisa (Okech 2002). This might have enhanced the status and use of Ganda in the Busia District.

Northern region

To a certain extent, Ganda is used as an LWD in the north, even if the area language,⁵⁵ Acholi (Ach), is the preferred language. The term *Lwo* (L), when given by respondents, most probably indicates the use of the Western Nilotic languages (including Acholi), i.e. it refers to several related languages. The use of the term *Lwo* is probably semantic. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Acholi and Lwo answers were mutually exclusive in the data. In the calculations and discussions, Acholi and Lwo are treated as denoting the same language. Therefore, answers from respondents listing Acholi and Lwo are grouped in TABLE 70 below, which shows the results of the Gulu study, as well as in TABLE 75 and TABLE 81 below.

TABLE 70. *Ranking of languages used at markets in Gulu*

Ach/L	Ach/L > s	Ach/L > e	Ach/L > s > e	Ach/L > g	Ach/L > e > g	Other combinations
127	23	21	8	4	3	16
62.9%	11.4%	10.4%	3.9%	2.0%	1.5%	7.9%

n = 202.

Almost 63 per cent of the salespersons (127 out of 202) use Acholi/Lwo as language of communications with customers. Another 11.4 per cent primarily use Acholi/Lwo, but Swahili (s) is also used as an L2. Approximately the same number of market salesmen and -women report a combination of Acholi/Lwo and English. Some 8.4 per cent reported that they used a combination of languages which included Ganda. These are found in the categories *Ach/L > g* and *Ach/L > e > g* in the table (four and three respondents, respectively) in addition to the ten respondents included in *Other combinations*. The use of Ganda as an LWD is, thus, less frequent in Gulu than in Busia.

Western region

As in Busia, multilingualism seems to be more common in the Fort Portal markets compared with the results found in Gulu and in central Uganda (see TABLE 71 below). In Fort Portal, 35.2 per cent of the market salespersons used only Tooro, the main language of the area, when speaking to customers. The results of the survey show that 26.2 per cent used two languages: 21.1 per cent

⁵⁵ The term *area language* is defined as the language used predominantly as an LWD within a defined geographical area. See section 1.4.1.

used Tooro and English, as demonstrated in TABLE 71 below, while 5.1 per cent used Tooro in combination with the languages Chiga, Ganda, Konjo, and Nyankore. These combinations are included in *Other combinations*. In comparison, 18.5 per cent used three languages, 16.6 per cent used four languages, and 3.5 per cent of the salespersons at markets used five languages in interactions with customers. The most frequent categories of communication at markets in Fort Portal are shown in TABLE 71 below. Tooro (T) is the language used in the area. Nyankore (n) is the main language south of Fort Portal, while Konjo (k) is the language used south-west of Fort Portal, close to the DRC border. In *Other combinations*, even other neighbouring languages such as Nyoro (to the north-east of Fort Portal) and Chiga (used in southern Uganda) are found in various combinations. These combinations of other languages in addition to Tooro do not exhibit a concordant pattern. The combinations seem to be based on the personal and individual capacity of the salesmen or –women, and the background of the customers. The use of Nyoro was, for instance, mostly found at the Kabundaire market as a second, third or fourth language, but was practically absent at the Mpanga market.

TABLE 71. *Ranking of languages used at markets in Fort Portal*

T	T > e	T > e > g	T > e > s	T > g > e > n	T > n > e > k > s	Other combinations
110	66	22	11	7	5	92
35.2%	21.1%	7.0%	3.5%	2.2%	1.6%	29.4%

n = 313.

As is evident from the table, Tooro is the most frequently used language, either alone or in combination with the LWDs English, Ganda and Swahili. Swahili was found to be used more than Ganda, but both languages were used to a lesser extent than English. The latter was proportionally used in 3.7 per cent of the communicative interactions. See TABLE 73 for the calculated percentages of languages and language groups.

Central region

In central Uganda, in the districts bordering Kampala where the Ganda-speaking area is found, Ganda is used more at markets than Tooro is in Fort Portal. The structure of language use is demonstrated in TABLE 72.

TABLE 72. *Ranking of languages at markets in the central region*

G	G > e	G > s	G > n	G > so	Other combinations
271	47	5	4	4	27
75.7%	13.1%	1.4%	1.1%	1.1%	7.6%

n = 358.

Some 75.7 per cent (271 respondents) of the 358 market salespersons which were interviewed only used Ganda, while 13.1 per cent (47 respondents) used Ganda in combination with English, as seen from TABLE 72 above. The use of one language is, thus, more common at markets in the central districts of Uganda around Kampala than in the other geographical areas studied. The extensive use of only one language may be due to the linguistic homogeneity of the central region, but also the function of Ganda as an LWD. Languages such as Nyankore (n), which is an L1 in south-western Uganda, and Soga (so), which is an L1 east of the Ganda-speaking central area, were found to be used marginally at markets in some central districts.

My study of markets shows that the main language spoken in the region (the L1 of the population living there) is dominant in communication at markets. The reported use of Ganda in the central districts was only marginally higher than the use of Lwo/Acholi in Gulu and the area language Tooro⁵⁶ in Fort Portal, while Saamia, spoken as an L1 in Busia, was used less frequently, as demonstrated in TABLE 73 below.

Nevertheless, oral multilingualism is common in Uganda, even if there are some regional differences. TABLE 73 gives a summary of the total percentage distribution of the languages and language groups in the four investigated geographical areas. The overview gives the total of the language(s) used alone or in combination with other languages.

⁵⁶ Chiga, Konjo, Nyankore, and Nyoro were also found to be used to a lesser extent.

TABLE 73. *Use of languages at markets in the four regions of Uganda*

	G %	E %	OALs %	S %	Total %
Busia (Eastern region)	3.5	0.6	63.9	32.0	100
Gulu (Northern region)	0.7	2.5	93.3	3.5	100
Fort Portal (Western region)	1.4	3.7	92.8	2.1	100
Central districts (Central region)	96.1	2.5	0.9	0.5	100

OALs = Other African languages.

The languages used in the region of the investigated towns are employed to approximately the same extent, except in Busia, where Saamia, the language of the area (found in *Other African languages*) is used to a much lesser extent.

Instead, Swahili (S) is utilised in 32 per cent of all market communication in Busia. The use of Swahili is far more frequent here than in the other towns investigated, where Swahili use is marginal. The corresponding figures for central Uganda and Gulu are 0.5 per cent and 3.5 per cent, respectively, while the equivalent for Fort Portal is 2.1 per cent. The high percentage of Swahili for Busia probably reflects the geographical closeness to Kenya and the booming cross-border trade which has contributed to the growth of the town.

The use of English is marginal in all the markets studied, but even less frequent in Busia than in other areas. Swahili probably plays the role of an LWD in this area – a role Ganda and English play in the other areas.

It is also worth noting that Ganda was employed for 3.5 per cent of the market communication in Busia, which is not adjacent to the Ganda-speaking area. This indicates that Ganda is heard and spoken as an LWD here, to the same extent as Swahili is used at markets in Gulu.

6.1.2.2 Shops

As in Rwanda, the aim of the shop study was to investigate the usefulness of languages as perceived by shop owners, by asking shop employees whether or not knowledge of any specific language was required to be employed in that specific shop. If an outspoken requirement, the language or languages which were asked for were noted.

Before going into detail about the results, some remarks on the results are appropriate. For example, the *No requirement* responses show an interesting pattern. In some areas/towns, a majority of the responses belong to this category, while in other areas this is not the case.⁵⁷ In Gulu and in central Uganda (not including Kampala), *No requirement* dominates, contrary to Kampala and Fort Portal. In the latter two locations, a more outspoken language requirement was noticed. Busia has an intermediate position with a fair amount of *No requirement* responses, as seen in TABLE 74 below, but it also demonstrates a high number of answers claiming there was a demand for specific language skills.

It is highly possible that, in areas where there is a fairly high homogeneity regarding language use – as is the case of Ganda in central Uganda outside the capital Kampala, and of Acholi in Gulu the north – a good command of the language spoken in the area is taken for granted by employers. In Gulu, there is additionally no need to require knowledge of any other Western Nilotic language as these languages are mutually intelligible. Conversely, in areas with less homogeneous linguistic patterns, a more outspoken requirement is found.

In the following sections, the results of the three studied regions are given, starting with Busia in the east.

Eastern region

TABLE 74 below shows the results of the Busia survey. Here and in the tables to follow, the answers are presented with the *No requirement* category first, followed by the relatively more frequent categories. As can be seen, Swahili (S) has a strong position.

⁵⁷ These questionnaires were administered by the same interviewer, so the varying results are not likely to be due to differences in interview technique.

TABLE 74. *Language requirements for employment in shops in Busia*

No requirements	S	S + Sa*	S + E	Sa
94	94	14	14	11
41.4%	41.4%	6.2%	6.2%	4.8%

n = 227.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

A total of 53.7 per cent (122 respondents) answered that Swahili was required for their jobs (alone or in combination with other languages), while Saamia (Sa) was wanted in nearly 5 per cent of the cases (11 answers). Some 41.4 per cent (94 persons) reported that no requirements regarding languages formed part of the employment conditions. As discussed earlier, this category should be added to the Saamia answers, as these responses most probably imply that knowledge of the area language Saamia is presumed.

TABLE 74 indicates that knowledge of Swahili (S) and English (E), which function as LWDs, is more important in this town, which is situated close to Kenya, than in other parts of Uganda. This tendency was especially striking in certain streets. In Customs Road, for example, only 1 out of 59 interviewees answered that no request regarding language skills had been made by their employers; all the other respondents reported that they needed Swahili in order to be employed.

Northern region

When the results of the Busia survey are compared to those obtained in Gulu in the north, the patterns of language requirements are considerably different. In the northern region, Swahili (S), either along or in combination with other languages, was requested only by 1.4 per cent of the employers, as shown in TABLE 75 below.

TABLE 75. *Language requirements for employment in shops in Gulu*

No requirements	E	L/Ach	E + L/Ach*	S	Other combinations
299	19	23	16	5	6
81.2%	5.2%	6.3%	4.3%	1.4%	1.6%

n = 368.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

As evident from the table, more than 80 per cent (299 respondents) answered that no request for knowledge of a specific language had been made by their employers. However, knowledge of Lwo/Acholi (L/Ach) was most probably taken for granted, as discussed initially in this section. Western Nilotic languages are so widely used in the region that working in a shop without knowing any of them would be practically impossible.

In 5.2 per cent of the cases, English (E) was required (19 respondents) and in only 1.4 per cent of the cases, Swahili (S) was requested. A total of 23 respondents stated that knowledge of the area language Lwo/Acholi had been an explicit condition of their employment, while 16 respondents (4.3 per cent) claimed that both English and Lwo/Acholi skills had been required.

Western region

The Fort Portal results are shown in TABLE 76 below. In most shops, specific language skills were required. Both Tooro (T), which is the main area language, and English (E) were wanted in 54 shops (31 per cent). Tooro, English and Swahili (S) were required in 14.4 per cent (25 shops). Ganda (G) was asked for in some shops, in combination with English, Tooro and Swahili. This shows that Ganda functions as an LWD to a certain extent, even in the west. *Other combinations* groups combinations of three to four languages, including Konjo and Nyankore.

TABLE 76. *Language requirements in shops in Fort Portal*

No requirements	T + E*	T + E + S	T	E	T + E + G	T + S + E + G	Other combinations
28	54	25	19	17	6	4	21
16.1%	31.0%	14.4%	10.9%	9.8%	3.4%	2.3%	12.1%

n = 174.

* The + sign indicates that all languages were required.

As confirmed by the survey of markets (see section 6.1.2.1 above), Fort Portal is a multilingual society. This is probably why *No requirement* here contains rather few answers. In a multilingual setting, people are more aware of the needs of specific languages for communicative purposes. However, as in less multilingual areas, the *No requirements* category still implies that knowledge of the main area language is probably taken for granted.

Central region

In central Uganda, Swahili is not an LWD. Ganda, which is spoken by most people in this region, is the language which is used both as an L1 and an LWD, in addition to English. The table below gives a summary of the results of the survey conducted in districts close to the capital, Kampala.

TABLE 77. *Language requirements in shops in the central region*

No requirements	G	E	G + E*
527	122	100	43
66.6%	15.4%	12.6%	5.4%

n = 792.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

The survey shows that English (E) is widely required in this part of Uganda, in addition to Ganda (G), which had been a job requirement for 15.4 per cent of the interviewees (122 persons), while nearly 67 per cent said that no requirements had applied as far as language knowledge was concerned. As in other regions in Uganda, a thorough command of the area language Ganda is probably taken for granted by many employers, especially outside the capital city.

The study of central Uganda shows a divergent pattern when compared with shops in the centre of Kampala. In Kampala, language skills had not been an explicit requirement in only 11.7 per cent of the shops (21 respondents). English (E) was required in 33.9 per cent of the shops (61 respondents), with a combination of English and Ganda (G) in 28.3 per cent of the shops (51 respondents). Here, knowledge of Ganda does not seem to be presupposed. It was specifically requested, possibly because many of the shops have employees of Asian origin. Swahili was also considered necessary in a considerable amount of shops, almost exclusively in combination with other languages, of which the most frequently required were English and Ganda. The customers in the streets investigated comprise locals and people from the DRC and other countries where English is not commonly known. TABLE 78 shows the results of the Kampala city shop survey. *Other combinations* comprised single occurrences where knowledge of languages such as Nyankore and French were required, but it also contained answers where, for example, Swahili was an additional advantage, but not required (4 responses). Parentheses indicate that only some knowledge of the language was required.

TABLE 78. *Language requirements in shops in Kampala*

No requirements	E	E + G*	E + G + S	G	E + G + (S)	E + S	Other combinations
21	61	51	19	6	5	3	14
11.7%	33.9%	28.3%	10.6%	3.3%	2.8%	1.6%	7.8%

n = 180.

* The + sign indicates that all languages were required.

As there is a considerable variation between the surveys conducted in the towns investigated, TABLE 79 provides a summary showing the percentages for each geographical area. For the central region, the results for Kampala are singled out. When the totals of the languages or language groups were calculated, the *No requirements* answers were allocated to the area language category for each geographical town or region.

TABLE 79. *Responses for shops in eastern, northern, western and central Uganda*

	G %	E %	OALs %	S %	F* %	Total %
Busia (Eastern region)	0.0	5.5	46.7	47.8	–	100
Gulu (Northern region)	0.3	10.0	86.9	2.8	–	100
Fort Portal (Western region)	4.6	35.2	49.6	10.6	–	100
Central districts (Central region)	82.9	17.1	0.0	0.0	–	100
Kampala city (Central region)	36.4	50.3	0.3	11.7	1.3	100

* French.

As seen in the table, and compared with Gulu and the central districts of Uganda, Busia showed a strong demand for knowledge of Swahili. In

comparison, Swahili was never asked for (0 per cent) in central Uganda, and Swahili was requested in only 2.8 per cent of the answers in Gulu.

As discussed above, it seems that Swahili, more than English, has obtained the role of an LWD in Busia. Here, English was only listed as being a job requirement in 5.5 per cent of the cases. In central Uganda and in Gulu, responses regarding English had a higher frequency (10 per cent and 17.1 per cent, respectively). Overall, the main languages used in the area of the towns investigated, namely Ganda, Lwo/Acholi, Saamia (to a certain extent) and Tooro, remain the principal preferences and are required for employment in shops in Uganda, except in the capital, Kampala.

6.1.2.3 Private offices

This part of the study comprised 171 randomly selected private offices. Most (199) of the offices were situated in Kampala, where the majority of the private business companies and offices are found. As in Rwanda, the offices were mostly small, local outfits accommodating consultancies, auditors, advocates, church bodies, and private companies. Eight of the respondents in Kampala, namely publishing companies, comprised telephonic interviews.

In addition to Kampala, 13 offices in Entebbe (Kampala Road) were visited. The study included 12 company offices in Busia in the trade and business street (Customs Road) and 27 in Gulu (Acholi Road). The study was conducted by interviewers using structured questionnaires.

First the results from the eastern and northern regions are accounted for, followed by the results of the central region, i.e. the office studies conducted in Kampala and Entebbe. Hardly any offices were found in Fort Portal. Hence, offices in the Western region are not included in the study of language requirements in offices.

Eastern region

In the 12 offices visited in Busia, knowledge of both English and Swahili was required in 11 of them. The employer of the remaining office asked for skills exclusively in Swahili, as demonstrated in TABLE 80 below.

TABLE 80. *Language requirements in private offices in Busia*

Swahili + English*	Swahili
11	1
91.7%	8.3%

n = 12.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

Thus, Swahili has a strong position in Busia, even when employment in offices is investigated. The study of language requirements for employment in offices demonstrated that Swahili, alone or in combination with other languages, obtained approximately the same results as for employment in shops (52.2 per cent and 53.7 per cent, respectively), which is demonstrated quantitatively in TABLE 82 below and TABLE 74 above.

Northern region

The study conducted in Gulu demonstrated that knowledge of English was desired even in the north, but a combination of English and Acholi or Lwo was also required fairly frequently. TABLE 81 below shows the results of the office study in Gulu.

TABLE 81. *Language requirements for employment in offices in Gulu*

No requirements	English	English + Acholi*	English + Lwo	Lwo	Acholi
1	11	10	3	1	1
3.7%	40.8%	37.0%	11.1%	3.7%	3.7%

n = 27.

* The + sign indicates that both languages were required.

The surveys conducted in Busia and in Gulu were quantitatively rather small, as there are only a few offices outside the main commercial centre of the capital. Common to the results of both surveys is that the *No requirements* answers were practically absent. This pattern was also seen in the Kampala/Entebbe results, which are accounted for below.

Central region

The office study in central Uganda underlines that the language required by employers in Kampala and nearby Entebbe is English. In all the 132 offices studied, only proficiency in English was asked for.

To sum up, offices in Uganda apparently require skills in English in all parts of the country. Additionally, Swahili and the area language (Lwo/Acholi) are important in the east and north, respectively. TABLE 82 below summarises the results of the language requirement study in all the towns investigated, namely Busia, Gulu, and Kampala/Entebbe.

TABLE 82. *Offices in Busia, Gulu and Kampala/Entebbe*

	G %	E %	OALs %	S %	Total %
Busia (Eastern region)	0.0	47.8	0.0	52.2	100
Gulu (Northern region)	0.0	60.0	40	0.0	100
Kampala/Entebbe (Central region)	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100

The table emphasises that English is, par excellence, the language most valued for employment in offices in Uganda. Due to its position as an official language, English has prestige and status associated with it. In addition, both English and Swahili function as LWDs, and are most certainly required because a need for these languages is experienced. Business is conducted across communities speaking different L1s and even across national borders. Furthermore, the prominent position of English in these surveys is due to the educational system in Uganda. English is the language which has been both taught in schools and used as an MOI throughout the educational system. Thus, English has become the language of 'the educated' for clerical work.

6.1.2.4 Summary of markets, shops and offices in Uganda

In TABLE 83 below, the results given above are conflated as a summary of the average results of the surveys of markets, shops and offices. Each setting is shown as a percentage with a total of 100 per cent. The totals are calculated as an average of all the surveys of language use at markets and language requirements in shops and offices. The table shows the average of each setting separately.

TABLE 83. *Quantitative analysis: Languages used in markets, shops and offices in Uganda*

	LANGUAGE				Total %
	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Markets	25.5	2.3	62.7	9.5	100
Shops	24.8	23.6	36.7	14.6	100*
Offices	0.0	69.3	13.3	17.4	100

* Including French at 0.3 per cent.

Ganda and *Other African languages* hold a strong position at markets. These African languages together are reported to be used for 86.1 per cent of the verbal interactions at the markets studied. Language use at markets is interpreted as follows:

Markets

Ganda: Used marginally (16.7%)

English: Used marginally (2.3%)

OALs: Used frequently (62.7%)

Swahili: Used marginally (9.5%)

The equivalent interpretation for shops is shown below. As can be seen, the pattern for shops is similar to that for languages used at markets, although English appears to be in greater demand:

Shops

Ganda:	Used marginally/Marginal status (24.8%)
English:	Used marginally/Marginal status (23.6%)
OALs:	Used to a fair extent/Moderate status (36.7%)
Swahili:	Used marginally/Marginal status (14.6%)

The figures for language requirements for employment in shops need some comment. Firstly, only 55.7 per cent of the shops specifically required language skills in certain languages when employing personnel. In this study, it is presumed that knowledge of the language spoken in the area was presupposed by the majority of employers. The percentages of the shop survey are based on this presupposition. Secondly, the totals for Swahili might be slightly too high. As Busia, which was one of the towns investigated, is situated in the east, close to Kenya, the sample may be biased. The demand for Swahili is probably higher in Busia than an investigation of all towns in Uganda would show. Furthermore, approximately one fourth (23.6 per cent) of the shop employers required knowledge of English, while 69.3 per cent of office employees reported that English had been a job requirement. The total for English is, thus, higher in the office data, as seen from the overview below:

Offices

Ganda:	Not used/No status (0.0%)
English:	Used frequently/High status (69.3%)
OALs:	Used marginally/Marginal status (13.3%)
Swahili:	Used marginally/Marginal status (17.4%)

The assumed value of English, especially in shops, perhaps overrides the actual need for the language. The low total for English at markets may support this hypothesis, as the clientele – with the exception of central Kampala – is generally the same for markets and shops. The opposite is true for Ugandan languages; the required competence for employment in shops is lower than their actual use at markets. This might indicate that the value of non-Ugandan languages is overestimated by shop employers.

By and large, as in Rwanda, even Uganda shows a pattern following formality and functionality. Ganda and OALs are most used at markets and required less frequently in offices, while the official non-African languages are required in offices and used very infrequently at markets.

6.1.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 84 below shows the result of the comparative analysis of the surveys which this Chapter has discussed hitherto. The table is based on the calculations shown in TABLE 68 and TABLE 83. The term *Dominant African language* refers to Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda in Uganda. *Other African languages* contains all African languages except Rwanda/Ganda and Swahili. *Non-African official languages* contains French and English in Rwanda, and English in Uganda. The calculations of the units of analysis are percentage calculations of the degree of use and status through requirement. The maximum total is 100 per cent for each setting and country.

TABLE 84. *Comparative analysis of markets, shops and offices*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Markets	86.3	25.5	6.3	9.5	0.0	62.7	7.4	2.3
Shops*	71.7	24.8	6.6	14.6	0.0	36.7	21.7	23.6
Offices	21.7	0.0	5.1	17.4	0.0	13.3	73.2	69.3

* In addition, 0.3 per cent for French was reported in shops in Uganda. The total for shops, therefore, sums to 99.7 per cent.

As mentioned above, a parallel trend for language use and status at markets, in shops and offices was found in Rwanda and Uganda. A descending result for languages corresponding to formality was observed, with markets at the top and offices at the bottom. The more informal the setting, the more likely African languages are to be used. There is a reversed pattern for the non-African languages (French and English in Rwanda, and English in Uganda) as well as for Swahili in Uganda. The reversed pattern of language use also seems to follow functionality: African languages are used more at markets, followed by shops; they are apparently found to be less useful in offices.

There is nevertheless a striking difference between Rwanda and Uganda. As suggested in hypothesis 3, section 1.2, the language Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda is used more than Ganda in Uganda. TABLE 84 above shows that Rwanda has a stronger position than Ganda in all three settings studied. Especially at markets, Rwanda shows itself to be used predominantly (86.3 per cent), while Rwanda is also frequently required for employment in shops (71.7 per cent). Despite this extensive use, the totals are lower than Rwanda's

potential use, as suggested in hypothesis 5 of section 1.2. The totals for Ganda were, as seen from TABLE 84, higher than its proportional use as an L1, and as suggested in the latter hypothesis. The results found in these settings thus support hypothesis 5.

To compare the strength of the major languages in both countries, a Z-test was conducted on the means of the two major languages, Rwanda and Ganda. This and the other statistical tests accounted for in this section are a part of the examination of working hypotheses 3, 4 and 6 proposed in section 1.2. TABLE 85 shows the results of the statistical test.

TABLE 85. *Z-test: Rwanda and Ganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) used at markets	X (24.65)	
Language requirements – Private shops	X (17.10)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

Thus, with 99 per cent confidence, the null hypothesis – that there is no difference between Rwanda and Uganda – was rejected for the units of analysis for the settings *Markets* and *Shops* in favour of the alternative hypothesis. Thus, the result statistically supports hypothesis 3, that there would be a difference regarding the use of Rwanda and Ganda due to Rwanda's outreach. The unit of analysis *Language requirements – Private offices* was not tested due to the zero frequency of Ganda in the data. However, the mean total for Rwanda was clearly higher than that for Ganda: 21.7 per cent in the Republic of Rwanda, and 0 per cent in Uganda.

The figures for Ganda and other African languages should be summed to get a more accurate measurement of Ugandan languages compared with the Rwanda language. When comparing the African languages in the two countries, the Ugandan languages are as strong at markets (with a combined total of 88.2 per cent) as Rwanda is in the Republic of Rwanda (86.3 per cent). As for requirements in shops, the totals for Rwanda are higher than those for Ganda and other African languages in Uganda (71.7 versus 61.5 per cent). The same applies to requirements in offices, where the totals for Rwanda are a little higher than for the combined score for African languages in Uganda.

Even if Ganda is an LWD and is used as an L2, a comparison of the function of Rwanda with the summed totals of Ganda and other African

languages (hypothesis 4, see section 1.2) was judged to be more interesting than the figures for Rwanda and Ganda alone. Such a comparison will more clearly show if the results obtained for Rwanda are statistically different from those of the combined African languages in Uganda. The results of the Z-test are given in TABLE 86 below.

TABLE 86. *Z-test: Rwanda and Ganda+OALs*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) used at markets		X (-0.83)
Language requirements – Private shops	X (3.65)	
Language requirements – Private offices	X (2.27)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.05$.

As can be seen, the results of the units *Language requirements – Private shops* and *Language requirements – Private offices* were significant at the 95 per cent confidence level. The null hypotheses were, thus, rejected. The result of *Language(s) used at markets* was not statistically significant, however. Here, the null hypothesis could not be rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. In both countries, the language use displayed striking similarities at markets: the African languages were used predominantly.

On the whole, knowledge of English and French in Rwanda (non-African official languages) in shops and in offices is required to approximately the same extent as is English in Uganda, as demonstrated in TABLE 84.

Hypothesis 6 of section 1.2 expected the use of non-African official languages in non-official formal domains to show similarities in Rwanda and Uganda because of the prestige generally attributed to languages of European origin in Africa. In spite of the low number of speakers of these languages, the use of the non-African languages English and French was expected to be enhanced and to be at a similar level in non-official formal domains. The results of the Z-test for *Language(s) used at markets*, *Language requirements – Private shops* and *Language requirements – Private offices* are shown in TABLE 87 below.

TABLE 87. *Z-test: Non-African official languages in Rwanda and Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) used at markets	X (3.12)	
Language requirements – Private shops		X (-0.75)
Language requirements – Private offices		X (0.86)

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

There is not sufficient evidence against the null hypothesis in favour of the alternative hypothesis for the units of analysis *Language requirements – Private shops* and *Language requirements – Private offices*. Therefore, it may be assumed (even if it is not proved) that the use of non-African languages in these units displays similarities in Rwanda and in Uganda. For *Language(s) used at markets*, the null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. The result is significant at the 99 per cent confidence level. English and French are, thus, used more in Rwandan markets than English is used in Ugandan markets, even if these languages' share of the total communication at markets is marginal.

Swahili has a more prominent position in Uganda than in Rwanda. Following the scale evaluation, the use of Swahili is marginal, and at approximately the same level as the official languages of European origin. The z-test demonstrated that the results were significant for the units *Language requirements – Private shops* and *Language requirements – Private offices*, but not for *Language(s) used at markets*, as shown in TABLE 88 below. This result partly contradicts working hypothesis 7 of section 1.2, that the use of Swahili would be similar in Rwanda and Uganda.

TABLE 88. *Z-test: Swahili in Rwanda and Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) used at markets		x (-1.86)
Language requirements – Private shops	x (-4.89)	
Language requirements – Private offices	x (-3.81)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

In short, there are similar trends regarding language use in Rwanda and Uganda. Generally speaking, the L1s are used in proportion to the informality of the settings. Similarly, the use of French and English increases, depending on the level of formality of the setting. This supports hypothesis 8, which expected the use of African languages to be more common in settings with predominantly oral interaction such as markets and shops.

6.2 *Linguistic landscape*

In this part, written visual communication in non-official settings is discussed. The main focus is on what may be called the *linguistic landscape*: the signs and written notices that appear in the public space. These linguistic artefacts are seen as having not only an informative function but also a symbolic one: they are considered a manifestation of the cultural identity and symbolic associations attributed to languages (Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson 2007). Thus, the linguistic landscape reflects the relative power and status of languages, which is often not reflected in official language policy. *Linguistic landscape* is defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) cited in Gorter (2006:2) as follows:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration.

Thus, compared with its general definition, the term *linguistic landscape* is used in a limited way in this thesis. In the thesis surveys, only non-official billboards and shop signs that appear, mainly in urban settings, in Rwanda and Uganda are included.

The main focus of this analysis has been to quantitatively evaluate the use of various languages to show their relative importance. The corpus of this part of the study is a practically complete empirical inventory of all billboards and shop signs in selected towns. Categories of sign types were set up with a coding scheme consisting of two variables: the languages displayed in sign texts (mono- or multilingual signs), and the characteristics of the sign. In analysing the latter, the following criteria were used for multilingual signs:

- The amount of text in each language on the sign, and
- The order in which the languages were used, i.e. the placement of text on the sign.

When an approximately equal amount of text was observed in two or more languages, the first language on the sign was judged to be the more prominent. The Rwandan signs were divided into 10 multilingual categories for billboards and 11 for shop signs; the Ugandan signs were allocated to 5 categories.

In this study, the billboards comprised signs found along the main roads leading to major cities, advertising goods or business opportunities (commercial billboards) or displaying information (NGO billboards). The term *billboard* is used both for large steel-framed constructions with poster sheets mounted on poles above the ground and for less dominant signs along the road.

The shop signs were signs indicating the type of business or goods being offered at the business premises. These signs are strictly private, commercial signs for independent, small shops (no chain stores exist in the countries analysed).

Multilingual signs were recorded quantitatively and also by way of digital photos. For the comparative analyses, the results of the sign studies were calculated to show the actual use of the languages. These calculations are accounted for in section 1.6.3.2.

A total of 1,440 billboards (221 in Rwanda and 1,219 in Uganda) and 3,176 shop signs (1,027 in Rwanda and 2,149 in Uganda) were studied.

For each country, an account of the non-official billboard surveys is first given, followed by a summary of the shop sign surveys. Finally, a comparative analysis of the linguistic landscapes of Rwanda and Uganda is conducted. The results of all sign surveys are summed up in comparative quantitative tables.

6.2.1 Rwanda

Rwanda is a rural country where only 16.7 per cent of the population live in an urban setting. The urban centres normally only have one main street. The only exception is the capital, Kigali – with 7.5 per cent of the population: it has five major commercial streets at its centre. All these commercial streets were selected for the shop sign analysis. Butare, which lies in the south, is the third largest town in Rwanda. Butare and Gisenyi in the north were chosen to represent smaller urban areas in the shop sign study. The billboard survey was only conducted around Kigali.

6.2.1.1 Billboards

A total of 221 commercial billboards along two main roads in Kigali – the Boulevard de l’OUA and the Avenue de la Justice – were analysed.

TABLE 89 sums up the frequencies of the ten sign categories identified on billboards near Kigali. The symbol > shows language dominance if more than one of the three official languages Rwanda (R/r), French (F/f) and English (E/e) are used.

TABLE 89. *Languages used on billboard signs in Kigali*

F	34.8%	E	34.8%	R	15.4%
F > r	1.4%	E > f	3.7%	R > f	1%
F > e	2.7%	E > f > r	1.4%	R > e	4.1%
				OLs*	1%

n = 221.

*Signs in Arabic and Arabic/English. These signs were found in Avenue de la Justice, in the Muslim area.

The survey shows that monolingual billboards were most frequent. English and French were both used on nearly 35 per cent of the signs, while about 15 per cent of the billboards were monolingual in Rwanda. These monolingual sign categories were followed by bilingual signs in Rwanda and English, and English and French (both approximately 4 per cent) and French and English (2.7 per cent). Only 1 per cent of the signs were trilingual. The billboards were mostly strictly commercial, although some signs contained public information from authorities and information from organisations. Most of these signs were in Rwanda. The use of Rwanda was even more frequent in big commercial billboards outside Kigali, e.g. in Butare (not included in TABLE 89 above).

6.2.1.2 Shop signs

A total of 792 shop signs were recorded in five commercial streets in the capital, Kigali.⁵⁸ These showed a pattern somewhat similar to the billboard analysis. Some 40.9 per cent of the shop signs were monolingual in French, 23 per cent in English, and only 7.4 per cent in Rwanda. The latter shared nearly the same percentage as bilingual shop signs in French and Rwanda (7.2 per cent) and French and English (7.1 per cent) as well as trilingual signs in French, Rwanda and English.

In TABLE 90, the results of the shop sign survey are presented. As before, the symbol > after E, F or R shows language dominance, i.e. the category is multilingual with one or more languages.

TABLE 90. *Languages on shop signs in central Kigali*

F	40.9%	E	23.0%	R	7.4%
F > r	7.2%	E > f	4.9%	R > f	2.4%
F > e	7.1%	E > f > r	1.4%	R > e	2.3%
F > r > e	2.0%			OLs*	1.4%

n = 792.

* Some of the languages observed were Arabic, German, Hindi, Latin and Spanish, often in combination with one or more of the three official languages.

Studies of minor streets, e.g. behind the commercial streets, which were not part of the shop sign study in Kigali, display a somewhat different pattern. Shop signs in French were estimated to be more dominant in minor streets, as well as in urban areas outside Kigali, except in the east, where English is the more frequently used L2.

TABLE 91 below shows the result of a study of shop signs in the city Gisenyi in the north-west, close to the DRC border. All shop signs in the main

⁵⁸ Four streets in central Kigali (Avenue de la Commerce, Rue Karisimbi, Rue du Lac Burera and Boulevard de Nyabugogo) and one street in the Muslim area (Avenue de la Justice) were chosen for the analysis. These are the main commercial streets.

commercial street of Gisenyi were registered. As can be seen, French is used more here than in Kigali: 53.1 per cent of the signs were monolingual in French (40.9 per cent in Kigali), while only 9.7 per cent of the signs were monolingual in English. Rwanda was used on 15 per cent of the monolingual signs in Gisenyi, as opposed to only 7.4 per cent on such signs in Kigali.

TABLE 91. *Shop signs: Main commercial street, Gisenyi*

F	53.1%	E	9.7%	R	15.0%
F > r	7.1%	E > f	9.7%	R > e > f	1.8%
		E > r	0.9%	OLs*	2.7%

n = 113.

* Only three signs in this category were found: One Latin–Spanish, one French–Arab, and one French–German.

A shop sign survey similar to those undertaken in Kigali and Gisenyi was conducted in Butare, which lies in the south. In spite of the proximity of the national University, NUR, Butare has only one (unnamed) main street with a side street leading to the market. Even if the survey only served to compile a complete inventory of the existing shop signs, the number of signs is rather low (n = 122).

The study showed interesting differences compared with the results of the Kigali survey, especially regarding the position of Rwanda. Rwanda is more frequently used in the side (back) street than in the main street. In addition, French in particular, but also English, is used more often on monolingual signs in the main street than in the back street, as seen from TABLE 92 and TABLE 93 below.

TABLE 92. *Languages used on shop signs: Main street, Butare*

F	55.3%	E	23.4%	R	2.1%
F > r	6.4%	E > f	4.3%	R > f	2.1%
F > r > e	–	E > f > r	4.3%	R > e	2.1%
				OLs	–

n = 47.

TABLE 93. *Languages used on shop signs: Back street, Butare*

F	37.3%	E	17.4%	R	16.0%
F > r	13.3%	E > f	2.7%	R > f	6.7%
F > r > e	5.3%	E > f > r	–	R > e	1.3%
				OLs	–

n = 75.

6.2.1.3 Summary of billboards and shop signs

An overview of the use of languages in the cases studied is given in TABLE 94 below. An upper case letter indicates dominant language(s), a lower case letter that it is used to a lesser extent. An equal sign (=) relates to the equivalent use of the three official languages Rwanda (R/r), French (F/f) and English (E/e), while, as before, the symbol > indicates dominance.

TABLE 94. *Language dominance*

BILLBOARDS	SHOP SIGNS
(F = E) > r	F > e > r

The quantitative and comparative analysis is shown in TABLE 95 below. The maximum total for each unit of analysis (billboards and shop signs) is 100 per cent. The calculation is based on the findings accounted for in the earlier tables (TABLE 90, TABLE 91, TABLE 92 and TABLE 93). The percentages of the multilingual signs have been calculated in order to establish the actual employment of each language, as described in section 1.6.3.2.

TABLE 95. *Quantitative analysis of the linguistic landscape in Rwanda*

	LANGUAGE					TOTAL %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	OLs %	
Billboards	19.2	39.6	40.2	0.0	1.0	100
Shop signs	16.4	58.3	24.0	0.0	1.4	100

The totals of the quantitative calculations should be interpreted as follows:

Billboards

Rwanda:	Used marginally (19.2%)
French:	Used to a fair extent (39.6 %)
English:	Used to a fair extent (40.2%)
Swahili:	Not used (0.0%)
OLs:	Used marginally (1.0%)

Shop signs

Rwanda:	Used marginally (16.4%)
French:	Used frequently (58.3%)
English:	Used marginally (24.0%)
Swahili:	Not used (0.0%)
OLs:	Used marginally (1.4%)

In brief, both French and English are used fairly frequently on billboards and on shop signs, while Rwanda in both categories is used marginally. Swahili was not found to be used at all on signs, and *OLs* (*Other languages*) are of no importance in the Republic of Rwanda, since they occur only occasionally on signs.

The limited use of Rwanda – despite its potential as a language that reaches all Rwandans – must be due to factors other than pure communication or transmission of information. Theoretically, it is possible that shop owners and billboard advertisers target only the educated. This is hardly a theory that covers all language choices, however, as most shops are small retail outlets providing basic needs for the average Rwandan, who has little or no education. The co-official languages of European origin appropriated by advertisers are probably, at least partly, used to index modernity, progress and globalisation, as the earlier studies of advertisements referred to in section 1.5.1 indicated. Furthermore, through communicating with shop owners, it was found that language choice was also at times linked to a lack of adequate terminology in the African language to describe the goods and services on offer. The same trend was documented by Maral-Hanak (2008) in Tanzania, where English terms were used in the domain of agriculture because of a lack of knowledge of African language terms.

English was found to be used less frequently than French in minor streets and in urban centres outside Kigali. This, in my view, supports the idea that

shop owners use signs to convey more than functional information. Kigali shop owners want to exhibit their shops as modern and international, for example. To do this, they use English, which is the more recently introduced international and prestigious language. In smaller towns, French is still the most well-known international language, with high status.

6.2.2 Uganda

A total of 12 per cent of the Ugandan population live in urban concentrations. The towns and regional centres often consist of several minor streets, mainly with small businesses and shops. The capital, Kampala, is a busy centre for official administration, private companies and small business.

Eight towns in eastern, northern, western and central Uganda were selected for the linguistic landscape analysis, in addition to Kampala. In order to offer a background to the surveys conducted in these urban areas, which are all among the quantitatively largest towns in Uganda, TABLE 96 below shows their demographic and linguistic characteristics (see the map on page 22 for the location of towns and regions). The table is based on statistics from the 2002 Population and Housing Census (UBOS 2006).

TABLE 96. *Demographic and linguistic background of Ugandan towns*

TOWN	REGION	POPULATION	AREA LANGUAGE
Busia	Eastern region	36,630	Saamia
Mbale	Eastern region	71,130	Masaaba
Jinja	Eastern region	71,213	Soga
Gulu	Northern region	119,430	Acholi
Hoima	Western region	27,934	Nyoro
Fort Portal	Western region	40,993	Tooro
Mbarara	Western region	69,363	Nyankore
Entebbe	Central region	55,086	Ganda

6.2.2.1 Billboards

For the billboard analysis, a total of 1,219 billboards were used. These appeared in Busia (Jinja Road, Majanji Road and Tororo Road), Mbale (Main Street),

Jinja (Nalufenya Road to Owen Falls Dam) in the eastern region; Hoima (Butyaba Road), Fort Portal (Kampala Road from Busoro to Mpanga, and Kasese Road) and Mbarara (the road towards Kabale) in the western region; and Gulu (Acholi Road, Airfield Road, Atwal Road, Gulu Avenue, Kampala Road and Kitchum Road) in the northern region. In addition, billboards in the outskirts of Kampala (Jinja Road from the centre of Kampala to Mukono, and Gayeza Road to Kyebando) were investigated.

TABLE 97 below shows the frequency of signs within the five categories identified. *E* (English) contains monolingual billboards in English; category *E > Area language* groups bilingual signs where English is dominant (see criteria explained in the introduction to section 6.2) and mixed with the language used in the area. The latter language is shown within parentheses under the town column of the table. Similarly, *Area language > E* contains signs where the area language is dominant. The category *OLs* (*Other languages*) assembles signs displaying languages other than English or the area language.

TABLE 97. *Billboard sign categories in eight towns in Uganda*

REGION	TOWN (area language)	E %	E > area lang. %	Area lang. > e %	Area lang. %	OLs %	TOTAL %	TOTAL (No of signs)
Eastern	Busia (Samia)	98.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9*	100	52
Eastern	Mbale (Masaaba)	96.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	25
Eastern	Jinja (Soga)	93.7	0.0	0.0	1.3	5.0**	100	79
Northern	Gulu (Acholi)	94.7	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	100	151
Western	Hoima (Nyoro)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100	19
Western	Fort Portal (Tooro)	87.2	0.0	1.0	11.8	0.0	100	102
Western	Mbarara (Nyankore)	91.7	3.3	3.3	1.7	0.0	100	60
Central	Kampala (Ganda)	95.3	1.5	1.4	1.6	0.2***	100	731
								n = 1,219

* One billboard in Swahili

** Billboards in Ganda

*** One bilingual Swahili–English billboard

As seen from the table, English is used predominantly on billboards, both in the outskirts of Kampala and along roads leading to towns in the countryside. In the Kampala area, Ganda was used on a total of 4.5 per cent of the signs, including bilingual signs where Ganda was mixed with English. Ganda was also used in Jinja, where 5 per cent of the billboards had texts in the language, even though Soga is the area language. Thus, the study shows that Ganda is employed as an LWD outside the Ganda-speaking area to some extent. The use of Nyankore and Tooro was even more striking. Some 12.8 per cent of the billboards in Fort Portal (of which 11.8 per cent were monolingual in Tooro) and 8.3 per cent of the billboards in Mbarara used the area language, either alone or in combination with English. Examples of these signs can be seen in Appendix 4. This – in the Ugandan context – strong position was even reflected in the shop sign survey to some extent (section 6.2.2.2 below), even if the totals for shop signs were lower.

In Busia, Gulu and Jinja, there were no bi- or multilingual signs. As seen from the table, as in other towns, the majority of billboards in these towns (between 91.7 and 98.1 per cent) were monolingual in English. In Hoima, all (100 per cent) of the 19 signs which were found were written in English.

6.2.2.2 Shop signs

A total of 2,149 shop signs were studied in Uganda. Most of the shop sign surveys were conducted outside the Kampala area. The linguistic landscape of central Kampala is almost exclusively dominated by signs in English. In smaller, more peripheral streets some shop signs in Ganda (G/g) or Ganda mixed with English may be found, as shown in TABLE 98 below. *English* (E) comprises signs with proper names (8.1 per cent of the total 87.8 per cent), mostly related to the owner. If these signs are accounted for separately, monolingual signs in English would still be considered dominant, since nearly 80 per cent of all signs were in English only.

TABLE 98. *Languages on shop signs in Makerere Hill Road, Kampala*

E	E > g	G > e	G	OLs
87.8%	7.3%	2.5%	1.6%	0.8%

n = 123.

Urban settings outside the capital were also investigated. The towns of Busia (Jinja Road, Majanji Road and Tororo Road, which are the main streets), Jinja, which is situated on the River Nile in the northern part of Lake Victoria (Aldina Road, Clive Road, Ghokale Street, Luba's Road and Main Street) and Mbale in the east (Cathedral Avenue, Maluku Road, Naboa Road, North Road, Pallisa Road and Republic Street) were visited.

In Gulu, in the northern region, shop signs in the following streets were investigated: Acholi Road, Andrea Olal Road, Awere Road, Awich Road, Bank Lane, Gulu Avenue, Keyo Road – the busiest thoroughfare in Gulu, Jomo Kenyatta Road, Juba Road, Kampala Road, Labwor Road, Market Road and Olya Road.

In the west, Hoima, which lies close to Lake Albert, the following roads were studied: Byabacwezi Road, Butyaba Road, Main Street, Old Toro Road, Perse Road and Wright Road). In Fort Portal, which is located near DRC border, Babiiha Road, Bwambo Road, Kyebambe Road and Rukidi Street were studied. In Mbarara, in the former Ankole Kingdom in the south of western Uganda, Buremba Road, Garage Street, High Street and Nuwa Mbaguta Street were selected for the study.

In the central region, Entebbe, which lies south of Kampala, Kitoro and Serufusa Roads formed the focus of the sign study in Kampala, along with an unnamed street at the Bus Park.

TABLE 99 below shows the results of the shop sign survey as percentages. The area language is shown within parentheses in the town column.

TABLE 99. *Shop signs in eight Ugandan towns*

REGION	TOWN (area language)	E %	E > area lang. %	Area lang. > e %	Area lang. %	OLs %	TOTAL %	TOTAL (No. of signs)
Eastern	Busia (Saamia)	97.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4*	100	126
Eastern	Mbale (Masaaba)	98.1	0.6	0.0	0.0	1.3*	100	318
Eastern	Jinja (Soga)	96.2	1.0	2.1	0.3	0.4**	100	290
Northern	Gulu (Acholi)	74.6	13.5	10.3	0.8	0.8**	100	378
Western	Hoima (Nyoro)	90.9	8.6	0.5	0.0	0.0	100	187
Western	Fort Portal (Tooro)	93.5	4.5	0.8	0.8	0.4***	100	244
Western	Mbarara (Nyankore)	89.5	3.8	5.2	0.9	0.6****	100	345
Central	Entebbe (Ganda)	95.6	2.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	100	138
								n = 2,026

* Ganda and Swahili

** Swahili

*** Ganda

**** Hindi and Swahili

In the urban settings investigated, the shop sign study shows that English is dominant even outside the capital. However, some striking differences were found in Gulu in the north and in Mbarara, which is a Nyankore-speaking area and the ancestral home of the President. In Gulu, 74.6 per cent of the signs were in English. The use of English on shop signs is extensive, therefore, but the percentage is nevertheless lower than for the other towns investigated. Here, Acholi was used on a total of 11.1 per cent of the signs (comprising both monolingual signs in Acholi and bilingual signs, where Acholi was used more than English). The same tendency was found in Mbarara. Even if almost 90 per cent of the signs were in English, the area language, Nyankore, was used for

more than 6 per cent of the signs (alone or as the dominant language on bilingual signs).

Another remarkable result is that practically all shops in Mbarara had a written sign, in contrast to the other towns studied. In Busia, a total of 54.9 per cent and, in Hoima, almost 50 per cent of the shops lacked written signs. In Gulu, 30.3 per cent of the shops had no shop sign; in Entebbe, 27.5 per cent of the shops had signs; in Jinja, only 26.6 per cent of the shops had them; while shops in Mbale and For Portal had signs only 22.4 per cent and 17 per cent of the time, respectively. Thus, the Acholi- and Nyankore-speakers seem to use their language more frequently in the linguistic landscape and are possibly more proud of their language than speakers of other Ugandan languages under study. Whether this is linked to the prestige the President gives to Nyankore or their pride in the ancient Ankole Kingdom needs further study. The reason why Acholi is used more than other area languages may be linked to its function as an LWD. Acholi, in addition to Karamojong and Lugbara, has historically been used as a lingua francas in the north. Acholi has, thus, obtained a strong position in the region (L Walusimbi, pers. comm. 2 December 2008).

The lack of shop signs and the practically non-existent use of the area language Saamia in the east may be partly explained historically. Before Independence, Ganda was the language used in the educational system and by the local government in the east. After Independence, Ganda was abandoned and replaced by English, as the area language had not been standardised.

6.2.2.3 Summary of billboards and shop signs

TABLE 100 below quantitatively sums the use of languages in the two different sign categories investigated in Uganda.

TABLE 100. *Quantitative analysis of the linguistic landscape in Uganda*

	LANGUAGE(S)				TOTAL %
	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Billboards	0.9	95.7	3.4	0.0*	100
Shop signs	0.8	96.2	2.8	0.2	100

* Actually some signs in Kampala, but not visible on a one decimal level (0.025 per cent).

As clearly demonstrated, English is the language used predominantly on billboards and on shop signs in Uganda, while Ganda and other area languages are used marginally. Swahili is even less frequently used than Ganda.

Billboards

- Ganda: Used marginally (0.9%)
- English: Used predominantly (95.7%)
- OALs: Used marginally (3.4%)
- Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Shop signs

- Ganda: Used marginally (0.8%)
- English: Used predominantly (96.2%)
- OALs: Used marginally (2.8%)
- Swahili: Used marginally (0.2%)

The use of languages within the units of analysis *Language(s) used on non-official billboards* and *Language(s) used on private shop signs* is presented below as a language competition analysis (TABLE 101). The general trend is that there are very marginal differences regarding the use of languages on billboards and on private shop signs. English is dominant on both categories, as seen from the table below.

TABLE 101. *Language use in the domain* Linguistic landscape

BILLBOARDS	SHOP SIGNS
E > (oals = g) > s	E > (oals = g) > s

The extensive use of English in Uganda and the low frequency of Ugandan languages may be due to more than one factor. As in Rwanda, English signals modernity, progress, or other attributions which may influence the language choice by Ugandan shop owners and billboard advertisers. It is also possible that the level of literacy in Ugandan languages is low, as English has, up to recently, been both the MOI and a subject in schools from Grade 1 on.⁵⁹ Thus, the area

⁵⁹ That literacy is generally at a low level may partly, but not fully, explain the lack of signs that was found to a varying degree in most of the towns investigated.

languages have not been taught in primary schools: those who have attended school have learnt to write in English. English is probably not used as a lingua franca, as the area language would assume this function. Hence, multilingualism does not seem to be the main reason behind the frequent use of English.

6.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

Before summing up and comparing billboards and shop signs in Rwanda and Uganda, some comments on the data are needed. As stated earlier in section 1.6.1.1, it was deemed necessary to collect data from different regions in Uganda due to the country's relatively more complex linguistic situation. Hence, the number of towns and observations are fewer in Rwanda than in Uganda. Nonetheless, I think a comparison of Rwanda and Uganda is possible, and that the quantitative data may also be compared. In Rwanda, billboards are only found outside major towns such as Kigali and Butare. From my own observations, I judge that there is no major difference between billboards in these towns; thus, the data from Kigali are representative for Rwanda as a whole.

In the comparative table below, TABLE 102, TABLE 95 and TABLE 100 have been conflated to compare language use on billboards and shop signs in Rwanda and Uganda.

Non-African official languages groups French and English (Rwanda) and English (Uganda). *Dominant African languages* comprises the languages Rwanda (the Republic of Rwanda) and Ganda (Uganda). *Other African languages* shows the use of the area languages (Rwanda for the Republic of Rwanda, and Masaaba, Nyankore, Nyoro, and Soga for Uganda) and languages which are not dominant in the region.⁶⁰ The use of Swahili is shown as a separate category. The maximum total is 100 per cent for each unit of analysis and country.

⁶⁰ The very marginal occurrence of non-African languages which were found on signs are included in this category.

TABLE 102. *Comparative analysis of billboards and shop signs*

	Dominant African languages %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Billboards	19.2	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.0*	3.4	79.8	95.7
Shop signs	16.4	0.9	0.0	0.2	1.4*	3.1	82.3	95.8

* In Rwanda, non-African languages such as Arabic, German, Hindi, Latin and Spanish were also found on shop signs.

On the basis of the calculations, it may be concluded that the non-African official languages (French and English in Rwanda, and English in Uganda) are frequently used in both countries in both sign categories. Using the scale interpretation presented in section 1.6.3.3, TABLE 6, in Uganda, English is judged to be used predominantly on private signs (95.7 per cent for billboards, and 95.8 per cent for shop signs). In the Republic of Rwanda, the official languages English and French are used predominantly (79.8 per cent for billboards and 82.3 per cent for shop signs). In Rwanda, the use of English and French is more frequent (85 per cent) in Kigali, if the figures for the capital are singled out.

The use of the non-African official languages, French and English in Rwanda and English in Uganda, was expected to show similarities in the two countries due to the prestige attributed to European languages, as indicated in hypothesis 6 (section 1.2). TABLE 103 displays the results of the Z-test of the non-African official languages English and French in Rwanda and English in Uganda.

TABLE 103. *Non-African official languages in Rwanda and Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Billboards	X (-5.74)	
Shop signs	X (-10.65)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

As can be seen, the results for both units of analysis were found to be significant at the 99 per cent level. The null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. English in Uganda is used more than French and English in Rwanda are. Still, as stated above, in both countries the totals for these languages are high. The results as a whole support the expectation expressed in the same hypothesis, namely that their use would be enhanced owing to the prestige these non-African languages generally have in Africa.

Rwanda is an official and national language, spoken by every citizen in the Republic of Rwanda. Hence, Rwanda was expected to hold a stronger position in the domains of non-official language management than Ganda, an area language with no official recognition although it is used as an LWD, as suggested in working hypotheses 3 and 4. In spite of Rwanda's unique position, the language may only be classified as Used marginally on private signs (19.2 per cent for billboard texts and 22.6 per cent for shop signs). If shop signs in Kigali are separated from other results, Rwanda is used even less frequently (13.6 per cent). In Uganda, the totals were even lower. As expected and expressed in working hypothesis 5, Rwanda was used to a lesser extent than its potential indicated. Here, the status of the co-official languages French and English has obviously affected the linguistic space of Rwanda.

The results of the sign studies were tested statistically, using the Z-test described in section 1.6.3.5. The tables below are parts of the testing of working hypotheses 3, the use of Rwanda compared to the use of Ganda, and hypothesis 4, Rwanda compared to the combination of Ganda and other Ugandan languages. Both hypotheses expected Rwanda to be used more than Ugandan languages. TABLE 104 shows the results of Rwanda versus Ganda. In TABLE 105, the results of Rwanda versus all Ugandan languages (Ganda and OALs together) are given.

TABLE 104. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda on signs*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Billboards	X (6.86)	
Shop signs	X (13.20)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

TABLE 105. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda+OALs on signs*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Billboards	X (5.48)	
Shop signs	X (10.07)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

The null hypothesis was rejected for both billboards and shop signs in favour of the alternative hypothesis in both tests. The results are significantly different at the 99 per cent level of significance. The results support working hypotheses 3 and 4: The use of African languages in Rwanda is significantly different from the use of African languages in Uganda, both when the result of Rwanda is contrasted with that of Ganda, and when other Ugandan languages are included.

The comparative overview (TABLE 102 above) shows that Swahili is practically non-existent in Rwanda and only plays a very marginal role on private signs in Uganda. Even if Swahili is practically non-existent in both countries, the use of Swahili is similar in them. This supports ideas expressed in working hypothesis 7. It was not possible to test hypothesis 7 statistically due to zero percentage results.

The languages categorised under *Other African languages*, namely the area languages Masaaba, Nyankore, Nyoro and Soga in Uganda (3.4 per cent for billboards and 3.1 per cent for shop signs) and Arabic, German, Hindi, Latin and Spanish, which were found in shop signs and billboards in Kigali, are also used marginally. Interestingly enough, Ganda is not used more frequently in this domain than the other area languages, whether one analyses the language on billboards or on shop signs.

As African languages are used to such a limited extent, forces other than communicative considerations (i.e. language choice based on optimal transmission of information) have most likely influenced language use on private signs. It is highly probable that the factors identified by Piller (2003), namely modernity, progress and globalisation (see section 1.5.1), underlie the excessive use of French and English on signs in Rwanda and English in Uganda. There are probably additional factors behind the language choices revealed through the sign surveys. For example, it may be possible that the choice was limited in Uganda through a lack of literacy in African languages, as discussed in 6.2.2.3 above. It is also possible that some products are occasionally only known by the exogenous terms, such as hardware and utensils, as some shop owners in Kigali claimed (see 6.2.1.3). According to these shop owners, it would be too problematic and demand too much space to use Rwanda to explain what goods the shop offered. There are likely to be more aspects behind the choice of language than prestige. However, these are all factors which are interlinked with the prestige attributed to the European languages through their historical imposition. The motives for the language choices would be an interesting avenue to pursue in more depth in the future.

7. Religion

The setting of this part of the analysis is churches and mosques. The domain *Religion* is here defined as the community of spiritual practice within these institutionalised systems, defined as the community of systems of faith or worship. The focus of the analysis is on language use in the principal denominations or religious communities that exist in Rwanda and Uganda. The units of analysis used to determine language use and the position of each of the selected languages are as follows:

- Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching
- Language(s) of hymns, psalms (Islam: prayers in the mosque)
- Language(s) of formal written administration
- Language(s) of internal formal oral communication, and
- Language(s) of informal internal communication (written and oral).

In the following Chapter, the institutionalised use of languages within the domain is treated. As in section 3.2 which investigated institutionalised language use within the official domains, *formal written administration* includes proceedings or records/minutes of formal meetings and administrative routines. *Formal oral communication* is defined as discussions and verbal interaction at formal meetings. *Informal communication* includes both written communication such as informal notes and private messages as well as daily oral informal office communication.

First, the situation in Rwanda is analysed, followed by a discussion of the situation in Uganda. Finally, a comparative analysis of the two countries is conducted. In each part, a general presentation of language use, employing the symbols presented in TABLE 7 (see 1.6.3.4) is shown, followed by a quantification mainly based on estimations by employees within the selected churches or congregations.

The major denominations in each country were selected for the analysis. The data for this Chapter were mostly gathered through interviews with administrative staff (see section 1.6.1.1), accompanied by document analysis and participatory observation. On average, two persons were interviewed in each denomination/church in each country.

7.1 Rwanda

Since its introduction by French missionaries and Belgian administrators, Roman Catholicism has been the dominant denomination in Rwanda. Approximately half of the population (49.8 per cent) are Catholics. The 2002 census divided the remaining main confessions into Protestants (27.3 per cent), Adventists (12.3 per cent) and Muslims (1.8 per cent) (Rwanda 2005b). The percentage for Islam is low in the census data. Other sources indicate that Islam increased after the 1994 genocide (Wax 2002). Wikipedia estimates the number of Rwandan Muslims at 16 per cent today. The low regard (see footnote 63) with which Islam was held before the genocide is said to have shifted because the Muslims sheltered refugees, regardless of ethnic origin or religion, during the genocide (Wikipedia 2007).

In the analysis of language use, Christianity in Rwanda is represented by the following denominations:

- The Catholic Church
- The Adventist Church (Seventh-day Adventists)
- The Baptist Church, and
- The Presbyterian Church.

In addition, Islam is selected as the only non-Christian faith.

7.1.1 The dominant position of Rwanda

Rwanda is the dominant language used in religious sermons, in hymns, and in formal and informal administration, as shown in TABLE 106 below. In TABLE 106, the symbols explained in TABLE 7 are employed to demonstrate how languages are used in the churches investigated and in mosques. A capital in the table indicates that the language is used primarily, a lower case letter that it is used to a lesser extent. The symbol > shows language dominance, while an equal sign (=) indicates the equivalent use of languages.

TABLE 106. *Rwanda: Language use within the domain Religion*

	CHURCHES				MOSQUES
	Catholic	Seventh-day Adventist	Presbyterian	Baptist	Muslim community
Language(s) of sermons/ liturgy/preaching	R > f > (e = s)	R > (f = e)	R > f	R	R > f
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/prayers in the mosque*	R > (f = s) > e > oals	R > e	R	R	A*
Language(s) of formal written administration	F = R	E	R > (e = f)	R > (e = f)**	R > (a = e = f)**
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	R	R	R	R	R
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	R	R	R	R	R

* Arabic is used for prayers within the Islamic faith.

** Arabic, English or French, only with foreign partners.

- A Arabic
- E English
- F French
- R Rwanda
- S Swahili

As seen from the table, Rwanda has a dominant position in all investigated units of analysis, except *Language(s) of formal written administration*, where French is partly employed within the Catholic Church, and English is used within the Adventist Church. The use of English in the Adventist Church is not a post-genocide phenomenon, but can be traced back to long-established contacts with its mother Church in the United States. Swahili is only used very marginally within the Catholic Church, where the choice of language is decentralised to

the officiant. Arabic is used for prayers in Islam and marginally for administration, as seen from the overview.

The Bible was translated into Rwanda in 1954. This has possibly been a factor contributing to the dominant role of Rwanda in religious practice within Christianity. Rwanda is also the language which reaches the masses.

7.1.2 The change of language use of Islam

Interestingly, Rwanda is used to the same extent within Islam as within Christianity. The use of Rwanda seems to have changed during the post-genocide period. Karangwa (1995) identifies Swahili as the medium of Islam in Rwanda, after Arabic, but foresees the increasing importance of Rwanda.⁶¹ The present study shows that, today, Rwanda has replaced Swahili in *khutba*, the Friday sermons, while Arabic is still used for prayers.⁶² The new and more important role of Rwanda in Islam is possibly linked to the increase in Muslim adherents and not to changed attitudes towards Swahili.⁶³ The new converts have no knowledge of Swahili, so Rwanda is used (E Ntakirutimana, pers. comm. 27 June 2006).

Rwanda is also used both in internal and external communication within the Muslim community, except in contacts with foreign countries. For informal communication, Rwanda is used by all the religious denominations studied.

⁶¹ In his study, the Muslims in Gisenyi claimed to use Arabic and Swahili in their religious practice, but 77 per cent declared that Rwanda was used in the mosque (Karangwa 1995:211).

⁶² Worldwide, there seems to be a trend to use the language spoken in the country for the Friday sermons, but practices vary. Nic Craith, referring to Marranci, claims that it is uncommon to conduct the Friday sermons in the language spoken in the country and not in Arabic (Nic Craith 2007:13). In Marranci's study, Muslims in Northern Ireland chose to use English instead of Arabic, while *khutbas* in Scotland were conducted in Arabic (Marranci 2007:174-177). In Uganda, a combination of Arabic and the area language was found to be used. See also section 7.2.1.

⁶³ Muslims used to be a socially marginal group, with a low educational level, mainly employed in small-scale trade. Their medium of communication was Swahili, which was part of their cultural-religious identity. The prejudices and negative attitudes towards Muslims were strong (Karangwa 1995:187-188).

7.1.3 Summary of the domain Religion in Rwanda

TABLE 107 below shows a quantification of the language use for the five chosen units of analysis within the domain. The totals of the interviews were first calculated for each unit of analysis by summing the totals of all settings. Subsequently, the average percentage was calculated.

TABLE 107. *Rwanda: Quantitative analysis of language use in religion*

	LANGUAGE					TOTAL %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	Arabic %	
Language(s) of sermons/ liturgy/preaching	92.0	6.2	1.4	0.4	0.0	100
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/ prayers in the mosque*	75.0	0.8	4.4	0.8	19.0*	100
Language(s) of formal written administration	63.0	13.0	23.0	0.0	1.0	100
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100

*Arabic is used for prayers within the Muslim faith.

The totals are calculated from a low number of interviews. Small changes in estimations by the interviewees may, thus, influence the results. Nevertheless, the position of Rwanda is clearly demonstrated through the quantitative averages displayed in TABLE 107 above. Rwanda is the dominant language in all the functions investigated. Rwanda's total was for all the investigated units of

analysis, except for formal written use, within the interval *Used predominantly*. For formal written use, the totals were as follows:

Rwanda: Used frequently (63.0%)
French: Used marginally (13.0%)
English: Used marginally (23.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)
Arabic: Used marginally (1.0%)

The total for English is on the upper end of the interval for *Used marginally*. That English is employed more often than French overall is due to the extensive use of English within administration in the Adventist Church. Arabic is only used within the Muslim faith, and only for prayers and some administration.

Rwanda's potential as a medium of communication which reaches the masses is again demonstrated. In the Republic of Rwanda, the simultaneously national and official language, Rwanda, has a unique potential. The religious institutions in Rwanda utilise this potential. As will be demonstrated in the section below which describes language use in the same domain in Uganda, the African languages there do not have the same potential – even if Ganda is used to a fair extent in practically all the settings investigated.

7.2 Uganda

The Catholic Church is, as in Rwanda, the most dominant denomination in Uganda, grouping 41.6 per cent of the population. The second largest religious communion is the Anglican Church (Church of Uganda), with 36.7 per cent of the population. Other Christian groups are the Pentecostal Church (4.7 per cent) and the Seventh-day Adventists (1.5 per cent) and Orthodox (0.1 per cent). Next to Christianity, Islam is the second most popular religion, with 12.4 per cent of the population registering as adherents (UBOS 2006). Other minor religions are Bahai (0.1 per cent) and *Other*, claiming 1.6 per cent. The latter category groups the sub-categories *Other non-Christians*, *Traditional* and *None* (ibid.)

The Bible has been translated into eight Ugandan languages in addition to Ganda. It had already been printed in Ganda by 1896 (Lewis 2009). The Bible has also been available in Swahili since 1891. However, it is unclear if this version has been used in Uganda. Additionally, the New Testament exists in six Ugandan languages. Moreover, parts of the Bible were translated into Konjo in

1914 and into Gungu in 1998 (ibid.). TABLE 108 shows the languages and the year of translation of the Bible and the New Testament, based on information given in *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009).

TABLE 108. *Bible translations in Ugandan languages*

BIBLE		NEW TESTAMENT	
LANGUAGE	YEAR OF FIRST PUBLICATION	LANGUAGE	YEAR OF FIRST PUBLICATION
Ganda	1896		
Nyoro	1912		
Alur	1936	Pökoot	1967
Teso	1961	Karamojong	1974
Nyankore	1964	Ma'di	1977
Lugbara	1967	Masaaba	1977
Luyia	1975	Ndo	1994
Bari (Ma'di)	1979	Soga	2000
Acholi	1986		

In Uganda, the following churches/denominations were studied, in addition to Islam:

- The Catholic Church
- Church of Uganda
- The Baptist Church
- The Pentecostal Church
- The Adventist Church (Seventh-Day Adventists)

The Baptist Church is small in terms of members (number of adherents was not possible to verify), but has numerous congregations all over Uganda.

TABLE 109 below gives an overview of the languages used within the domain *Religion* in Uganda. As in TABLE 106, the symbol > after G and E shows language dominance. An equal sign (=) relates to the equivalent use of the languages concerned. An upper case letter symbolises that the language is used primarily, a lower case letter that it is used to a lesser extent.

TABLE 109. *Uganda: Language use in the domain Religion*

	CHURCHES					MOSQUES
	Catholic	Church of Uganda	Baptist	Pentecostal	Seventh-day Adventist	Muslim community
Language(s) of sermons/ liturgy/preaching	G > oal(s) > e	E > g	E > g > oal	E > oal(s)	G > e	G > a
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/prayers in the mosque*	G > oal(s) > e	E	G > oal(s)	E > oal(s)	E > oal(s) > s	A*
Language(s) of formal written administration	G > e	E > g	E > g	E	E	G
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	G > e	E = G	E > (g = oal(s))	E	E	G
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	G	E = G	E = G	E > g	E = oal(s)	G

* Arabic is used for prayers within the Islamic faith.

A/a Arabic
 E/e English
 G/g Ganda
 OAL(s)/oal(s) Other African languages
 S/s Swahili

As can be seen, language use within the churches and congregations investigated differs more than in Rwanda. Hence, similarities and differences in the studied settings will be discussed in more detail below.

7.2.1 Languages used in services

The Catholic Church today uses Ugandan languages as media of communication in services, except in the Kampala area, where both Ganda and English are used. Some other African languages are also used, depending on the

composition of the congregation, but their use is very marginal. Of the 23 parishes within the Kampala diocese, approximately two thirds use Ugandan languages; mostly Ganda is used, complemented by English. There is presently a trend towards using Ugandan languages more frequently. When sermons are held in English, psalms are in a variety of languages, for instance English, Ganda and Lingala. When sermons are in Ganda, the hymns or psalms are normally in Ganda.

The Church of Uganda – the Anglican Church – uses English more frequently. Two thirds of the sermons are held in English, while most of the remaining sermons are in Ganda. The psalms are mostly in English.

The Baptist Church most frequently uses English. An overall estimate of the use of English in the Baptist Church is that it is employed about 60 per cent of the time. Ganda, alongside English, is used within the Ganda area in central Uganda. It is also used in other areas, such as Jinja and in the north-eastern, mainly Teso-speaking, districts, because the Bible exists in Ganda. The psalms and songs are mainly in Ganda, but other African languages such as Lwo, Nyankore, Soga and Swahili are also used. There is often a mix of hymns in various languages within the same sermon. In Jinja, for instance, English, Ganda, Soga and Swahili songs are mixed, while in the Soroti District in eastern Uganda, the hymns are in English, Ganda and Teso.

The Pentecostal Church also uses English to a large extent. In the central region, English is used almost exclusively. In other regions, Ugandan languages are used as media of communication in religious practice. The psalms are mostly in Ganda, but languages such as Lingala, Nyankore, Swahili and Teso are also employed.

Ganda is used more frequently in the Adventist Church (Seventh-day Adventists) than in the other Protestant Churches. In the central region, the use of Ganda is estimated to be about 80–90 per cent, while in central Kampala, English is more frequent: about half of the sermons are in English. Even in the eastern districts such as Mbale and Tororo, Ganda is used as a medium because the scriptures are in Ganda.

Within the Muslim community, the preaching is in Arabic, but this is translated into the language spoken in the area, most frequently by the imam himself. The prayers are always in Arabic and are not translated.

7.2.2 Language use within administration

In administration, English is used to a very large extent for written formal communication within the Church of Uganda, the Baptist Church, the Adventist Church, and the Pentecostal Church, while Ganda is used in a similar way by the Catholic Church and the Muslims. The trend for informal and oral language use is that both English and Ganda are used (Church of Uganda, Baptist Church, Adventist Church, and Pentecostal Church), while the Catholic Church mostly uses Ganda and the Muslims use Ganda for approximately 70 per cent of informal communication.

7.2.3 Summary of the domain Religion: Uganda

TABLE 110 below gives a quantitative overview of the domain *Religion*, with an average for all denominations. The sums of the interviews were first calculated for each unit of analysis by summing the totals of all settings.

TABLE 110. *Uganda: Quantitative analysis of language use, Religion*

	LANGUAGE					TOTAL %
	Ganda %	English %	OALs %	Swahili %	Arabic %	
Language(s) of sermons/ liturgy/preaching	35.0	36.7	20.0	0.0	8.3*	100
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/ prayers in the mosque*	24.2	37.9	18.6	2.7	16.6*	100
Language(s) of formal written administration	38.3	56.7	0.0	0.0	5.0*	100
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	41.3	54.2	4.5	0.0	0.0	100
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	51.3	30.4	18.3	0.0	0.0	100

The most striking feature of this overview is that English is the language with the highest values in all the units of analysis, except for informal language use. In the latter, Ganda is used more extensively than any of the remaining languages or language groups. English generally had high totals in all the formal functions investigated, and was either used frequently or used to a fair extent, as demonstrated below:

Sermons/liturgy/preaching

Ganda: Used to a fair extent (35.0%)
English: Used to a fair extent (36.7%)
OALs: Used marginally (20.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)
Arabic: Used marginally (8.0%)

Psalms/hymns/prayers in the mosque

Ganda: Used marginally (24.2%)
English: Used to a fair extent (37.9%)
OALs: Used marginally (18.6%)
Swahili: Used marginally (2.7%)
Arabic: Used marginally (16.6%)

Formal written use

Ganda: Used to a fair extent (38.3%)
English: Used frequently (56.7%)
OALs: Not used (0.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)
Arabic: Used marginally (5.0%)

Formal oral use

Ganda: Used to a fair extent (41.3%)
English: Used frequently (54.2%)
OALs: Used marginally (4.5%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)
Arabic: Not used (0.0%)

Informal use

Ganda:	Used frequently (51.3%)
English:	Used to a fair extent (30.4%)
OALs:	Used marginally (18.3%)
Swahili:	Not used (0.0%)
Arabic:	Not used (0.0%)

English is the language used for administrative purposes in Uganda, as indicated earlier in section 6.1.2.3. For informal communication, the totals for Ganda and other Ugandan languages were rather high at 53 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively.

The reason why Ganda has such a widespread use in informal communication, compared with the number of L1 speakers of the language, should probably be sought historically in the early development of Christianity and the use of Bibles in Ganda, even outside the Ganda-speaking central region. Ganda's function as an LWD, as will be discussed in section 7.3 below, has probably had an impact on the results as well.

7.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 111 below shows the similarities and differences of language use in Rwanda and Uganda within the domain *Religion*. As before, the term *Dominant African language* refers to Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda in Uganda. *Other African languages* (OALs) excludes Rwanda and Ganda, but includes Arabic. The percentage total for Arabic, where one exists, is singled out and given within parentheses.

TABLE 111. *Comparative analysis of Religion*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Language(s) of sermons/ liturgy/preaching	92.0	35.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	28.3 (8.3)	7.6	36.7
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/ prayers in the mosque*	75.0	24.2	0.8	2.7	19.0 (19.0)	35.2 (16.6)	5.2	37.9
Language(s) of formal written administration	63.0	38.3	0.0	0.0	1.0 (1.0)	5.0 (5.0)	36.0	56.7
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	100.0	41.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	54.2
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	100.0	51.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.3	0.0	30.4

* The percentages within parentheses refer to Arabic.

As can be seen, there are striking differences between the position and use of African languages in Rwanda and in Uganda in the domain *Religion*. The language Rwanda is very strong in the Republic of Rwanda. If all the units of analysis are summed, the average total for Rwanda is nearly 90 per cent, which is surprising. Working hypothesis 5 suggested that Rwanda would be used less than its distribution due to the status that languages of European origin are assigned in Rwanda. Thus, regarding the use of Rwanda within the *Religion* domain, the hypothesis is contradicted. In contrast, the use of Ganda in non-official domains was expected to be higher than its proportional use as an L1.

The total for Ganda and OALs in Uganda, considering that these languages have no status in the country, was simultaneously found to be

relatively high. Ganda, which had a total of 38 per cent on average within this domain, is spoken by around 17 per cent of the population as an L1. Thus, the language is used more than would have been expected within the domain. This seems to confirm the 1972 findings that, apart from the L1 speakers, Ganda is widely used as an L2 (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:25). It is even possible that Ganda is understood and used as a lingua franca by approximately two thirds of the Ugandan population, i.e. widely outside the Ganda-speaking area, as discussed earlier in 4.2.5. Hence, Ganda's role as an LWD seems to have influenced its use within the domain.

Other African languages (OALs) were also employed quite extensively in both countries, as demonstrated in TABLE 111 above. Working hypotheses 3 and 4 presented in section 1.2 suggested that Rwanda would be used more than Ganda, and that there would also be a difference between the use of Rwanda and the combined use of Ganda and other Ugandan languages, for the reasons given above. The findings were, therefore, tested statistically, using the Z-test described in section 1.6.3.5.

TABLE 112 presents the Z-test results of Rwanda versus Ganda, and TABLE 113 the results of Rwanda versus Ganda combined with the other Ugandan languages (termed *OALs* in the table above).

TABLE 112. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda in the domain Religion*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching	X (3.36)	
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/prayers in the mosque*	X (3.38)	
Language(s) of formal written administration		X (1.15)
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	X (3.98)	
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	X (3.19)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

TABLE 113. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda+OALs in the domain Religion*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching	X (2.11)	
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/ prayers in the mosque*	X (2.18)	
Language(s) of formal written administration		X (1.15)
Language(s) of internal formal oral communication	X (3.59)	
Language(s) of internal informal communication (written and oral)	X (2.17)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.05$.

As can be seen, the results of both tests were significant for all units of analysis, except for *Formal written administration*. The null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis for these units. Thus, the suggestions of hypotheses 3 and 4, that there is a difference between the countries in the domain *Religion* regarding the use of African languages, were supported for four of the five units of analysis.

It was not possible to reject the null hypothesis for the unit of analysis *Language(s) of formal written administration*. The use of Rwanda on the one hand, and Ganda and other African languages, on the other, in written communication was not found to differ significantly in Rwanda and Uganda. In both countries, African languages were employed less in *Language(s) of formal written administration* than for the other units of analysis, which are all mainly oral.

Although Rwanda is used more than Ugandan languages, it is clear that the use of African languages is rather extensive in this setting, as working hypothesis 8 suggested.

The use of Swahili is marginal both in Rwanda and Uganda (the average is 0.4 and 0.6 per cent, respectively, for all units of analysis). Hypothesis 7, which suggested that the use of Swahili would be similar in Rwanda and Uganda, is supported, therefore. It was not possible to test the use of Swahili in Rwanda and Uganda statistically due to zero totals in the data in spite of its official status in Uganda.

English, the sole official language in Uganda, is quite strong, while the two official languages of European origin in Rwanda, namely English and French, are mainly used for administrative purposes. Generally, it may be said

that the use of the non-African official languages within the domain *Religion* is more extensive in Uganda than in the Republic of Rwanda, where the official language Rwanda has a unique position regarding both formal and informal use.

Working hypothesis 6 (see section 1.2) suggested that the imported European languages in non-official formal domains would display similarities in the two countries because of the prestige that non-African official languages are accorded in Africa. The level of use of these imported languages was additionally expected to be enhanced. The use of the non-African official languages was tested statistically for the units of analysis which were possible to test. TABLE 114 gives the results of the Z-test.

TABLE 114. *Z-test of non-African official languages in Rwanda and Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching		X (-1.78)
Language(s) of hymns/psalms/prayers in the mosque	X (-2.02)	
Language(s) of formal written administration		X (-0.96)

Level of significance: $p < 0.05$.

Only the unit of analysis *Language(s) of hymns/psalms/prayers in the mosque* showed a statistically significant result. With 95 per cent confidence, the null hypothesis could be rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis.

It was not possible to statistically test the units *Language(s) of internal formal oral communication* and *Language(s) of internal informal oral communication (written and oral)*, as the data of the Republic of Rwanda had a zero frequency for the official non-African languages, French and English.

For the two units of analysis, *Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching* and *Language(s) of formal written administration*, it was not possible to reject the null hypothesis – a result which supports hypothesis 6, which expected the level to be enhanced but similar in both countries.

8. *Private media*

This study of private media deals with both the print and broadcasting media. The following settings were studied:

- Media publishers (newspapers, periodicals)
- Newspapers
- Publishing houses
- Radio stations, and
- Television companies.

Whereas Chapter 5, State media, excluded publishing houses, they are added in the *Private media* domain. The main aim of this study is to analyse which languages are used in the domain, and what the position of each of these languages is in the settings listed above. First, a short diachronic overview of the media is given, followed by a presentation of the present situation in both countries, where language use of press and publications, advertisements, book publishing, radio and television is given. A quantitative analysis of all settings is conducted for both Rwanda and Uganda. Finally, a comparison of language use in the private media in Rwanda and Uganda is presented.

For the study of publications (newspapers and periodicals), the units of analysis which are identified are *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals* and *Amount (pages) of advertisements in each language* (calculated as a percentage for each of the languages or language groups). As is the case for the state media, even the advertisements placed in the private media show patterns of language use that differ from the language of the newspaper articles and editorial material. A study of advertisements in the leading private newspapers is included in this Chapter, therefore, with a special focus on newspapers published in African languages. For radio and television, *Time allocation of languages* is analysed. Book publishing is measured by the *Number of books in various languages* used in the analysis.

The results are mainly based on research conducted in Rwanda and Uganda in 2006 and 2008. Information was obtained through interviews (radio and television stations, and the publishing industry), combined with document collection (timetables, catalogues and price lists) and observations. When data were obtained from secondary sources, the reference is provided.

8.1 Rwanda

8.1.1 Historical overview

The written media in Rwanda have a history going back to the 1930s. The Catholic Church newspaper *Kinyamateka* (“The newspaper”) was published monthly from 1933 to 1955, twice a month from 1956 to January 1960, and weekly from February 1960 on (Shyirambere 1978:161). Currently, *Kinyamateka* is mostly written in Rwanda, but the newspaper also has some articles in French. The paper is reported to occasionally include texts in English, even if this was not found to be the case when examining some issues in the ambit of the current study. A study of two issues of *Kinyamateka* (No. 1726 of October 2007, and No. 1739 of April 2008) showed that 23.5 per cent of the texts were in French and the remaining texts in Rwanda. Since 1954, the Catholic Church has also published *Hobe* (“Embrace”) for children.

Private newspapers and periodicals published in French were dominant during the period 1917–1980. TABLE 115 below gives an overview of languages used in newspapers during this period. The table is categorised according to the preferred language of newspapers and periodicals (labelled *Language* in the table). The table is based on Nyirindekwe (1999:42), which cites a study by Annie Bart (1982).

TABLE 115. *Newspapers and periodicals in Rwanda, 1917–1980*

Language	Number of newspapers and periodicals			Total	Percentage %
	Monolingual	Bilingual	Trilingual		
French	73	44	4	121	55
Rwanda	44	42	4	90	41
English	3	1	2	6	2.7
Swahili	–	1	2	3	1.3
Total	120	88	12	220	100

The table is categorised after the preferred languages of the newspapers.

After the genocide in 1994, a considerable number of new publications have been issued. Many of these were short-lived, however. Of the new newspapers, the Kigali-based *The New Times*, which was launched in 1995 and is owned by The New Times Publications SARL, is the oldest. The same company owns

Izuba Rirashye (“The sun rises”), which is written in Rwanda. Only a few publications were founded before 1999. The majority (18) of the publications reported to exist in 2006 were set up in 2004 or later (see TABLE 116 below).

The first private radio stations in post-genocide Rwanda were given recognition in 2004. The new stations were Radio 10 (February 2004), Radio Contact, the Seventh-day Adventist Church radio (April 2004), Radio Mariya, owned by the Catholic Church (May 2004), Izuba Radio (June 2004), and Radio Flash (August 2004). In 2005, the new private radio stations were followed by Radio Salus (run by UNR’s School of Journalism), Umucyo Community Radio, and City Radio. The year 2006 added Restore FM and Araha FM (Rwanda 2007b).

The state has not yet enabled private television stations to operate in Rwanda.

8.1.2 Present state

8.1.2.1 Press and publications

The majority of the print publications in the Republic of Rwanda are monolingual in Rwanda, as TABLE 116 below shows. The table gives an overview, based on information obtained from the Minister of Information, Dr Laurent Nkusi, on 26 January 2006, and the High Council of the Press in Kigali, an institution under the Ministry of Information, on 21 February 2006.

Of the 31 private newspapers and periodicals in Rwanda, 14 were monolingual in Rwanda (R). Rwanda was also used mixed with the other official languages and Swahili (S) in ten publications. Three newspapers/periodicals were monolingual in French (F), and four in English (E). Parentheses indicate that the language is used marginally. The information in the table is arranged according to language(s) in which the newspapers/periodicals are published.

TABLE 116. *Overview of private newspapers and periodicals in Rwanda*

NEWSPAPER/PERIODICAL	Language	Established (year)	Periodicity	Number of copies
<i>Objectif</i>	R F E S	2005	Monthly	--
<i>Ibanga</i>	R F E	2005	Bimonthly	1,000
<i>Isimbi</i>	R F E	2006	Weekly	--
<i>Umurabyo</i>	R F E	2005	Bimonthly	--
<i>Itwararike</i>	R F E	2005	Bimonthly	--
<i>Rugari</i>	R F	2005	Monthly	--
<i>Rushyashya</i>	R F	1997	Monthly	1,500
<i>Education forum/ Bite mu burezi</i>	R E	2005	Monthly	1,000
<i>Hobe</i>	R (F)(E)*	1954	Monthly	135,000
<i>Kinyamateka</i>	R (F)(E)	1933	Bimonthly	8,000
<i>Football Imanzi</i>	R	2005	--	--
<i>Gasabo</i>	R	2001	Bimonthly	1,000
<i>Igenzi</i>	R	2005	Bimonthly	1,500
<i>Imbarutso</i>	R	2001	Monthly	--
<i>Umurinzi</i>	R	2005	Bimonthly	1,000
<i>La voie de Radio Maria Rwanda</i>	R	2004	--	--
<i>Rwanda Champion</i>	R	2004	Weekly	4,000
<i>Ubumwe</i>	R	2005	Bimonthly	3,000
<i>Umuco</i>	R	2002	Bimonthly	3,000
<i>Umurage/Heritage</i>	R	2002	Bimonthly	--
<i>Umuseso</i>	R	2000	Weekly	5,000
<i>Umwezi</i>	R	2004	Bimonthly	2,500
<i>Urubuga rw'abagore</i>	R	1999	Monthly	8,000
<i>Urumuli</i>	R	2005	Weekly	1,000
<i>DEVT</i>	F	2005	Bimonthly	1,000
<i>Grands lacs hebdo</i>	F	--	Weekly	--
<i>Les points focaux</i>	F	2001	Monthly	--
<i>Focus</i>	E	2006	Weekly	--
<i>Rwanda Newslines</i>	E	1999	Weekly	3,000
<i>The New Times</i>	E	1995	Four times/ week	5,000
<i>The Rwanda Weekly Review</i>	E	2005	Weekly	1,000

*Parentheses indicate marginal use.

-- The sign indicates that information was not available.

In the official overview, *Hobe* and *Kinyamateka* are said to partly use French and English in addition to Rwanda. This use is extremely marginal, if it exists at all.

The majority of the publications were established after the genocide in 1994 and, as stated above (see 8.1.1), most of these after 2004. The situation of

the written media in Rwanda continues to be quite unstable. A follow-up in November 2008 showed that 14 newspapers/periodicals had disappeared or had not printed any issue during 2007: *Ibanga*, *Isimbi*, *Education Forum*, *Itwarike*, *Objectif*, *Football Imanzi*, *Imbarutso*, *La voie de Radio Maria*, *Ubumwe*, *Umuco*, *Umurage/Heritage*, *DEVT* and *The Rwanda Weekly Review*. Some 50 per cent of these were published in the national language, Rwanda. All but four of the publications which had disappeared were started after 2005.

During the same period 2007-2008, 11 new publications appeared: *Amani*, *Business Daily*, *Hagurika*, *Huguka*, *Impamo*, *Umukindo*, *Umusanzu*, *Umuseke*, *Umusingi*, *Umuwugizi*, and *Izuba Rirashe*. The latter is the Rwanda version of *The New Times* (as already stated in 8.1.1 above) and appears three times a week.

The majority of these new newspapers or periodicals are written in Rwanda (8), while two use a mix of French and Rwanda (*Amani* and *Umukindo*). Only the *Business Daily* is published in English. This publication does not appear on a regular basis – a destiny it shares with 55 per cent of the newspapers which were issued during 2007 (Rwanda 2008a:6-7).

The New Times, which is the leading English-medium newspaper, became the first daily in Rwanda in 2007. This newspaper, although privately owned, is close to government policy.

Even if the English-medium *The New Times* has extended to daily publication, the trend is quite clear: the preferred language of new publications is the national language Rwanda – the language which reaches the masses. That *The New Times* has started a Rwanda-medium sister newspaper only confirms this trend.

Advertisements

Few of the private newspapers contain advertisements. A study of the publications which existed in Rwanda in November 2008, for example, showed that neither *Kinyamateka* nor *Urubuga rw'abagore* (“Women’s platform”) – the latter being a periodical for women issued by *Kinyamateka*, displayed any advertisements. Similarly, *Rwanda Champion* had no advertisements, while the Rwanda-medium newspapers *Journal Rugari*, *Gasabo* and *Izuba Rirashe* had sporadic advertisements, all by private advertisers, in English and in Rwanda.

The English-medium newspaper *The New Times* is the major forum for advertisers, both for private business and state bodies. In addition, *Umuseso* (“The dawn”) contains some advertisements.

TABLE 117 and TABLE 118 below show the distribution of languages in advertisements in some randomly selected issues of *The New Times* and *Umuseso*. *The New Times* of 28 August 2008, 13 September 2008, 15 November 2008, 20 November 2008 and 25 November 2008 were analysed, along with the *Umuseso* of 25 September–2 October 2008, 13–20 November 2008, and 21–28 November 2008. The figures in the tables refer to the total of advertisements calculated into full A3-size pages. The number of advertisements is given within parentheses.

TABLE 117. *Advertisements in The New Times*

	LANGUAGE			Total
	English	French	Rwanda	
Number of pages	35.2	4.8	1.5	41.4
Number of advertisements	(94)	(12)	(2)	(108)
Percentage	84.8%	11.6%	3.6%	100%

The sums in the table refer to number of full pages.

The figures within parentheses refer to number of advertisements.

As can be seen, the majority of the advertisements were written in English. Most of the advertisements (82) were placed by private companies, while 26 were public announcements, vacancy advertisements, or tender notices by state institutions. The majority of the advertisements (77) by private companies were in English, with the remainder (5) in French. There were no advertisements by private advertisers written in Rwanda. Of the total of 26 advertisements by the state, only 2 were in Rwanda, while 17 were written in English and 7 in French.

In the number of *The New Times* studied, when one looks at the type of advertisements placed and by whom they were placed, there are nine for vacant positions in private companies or organisations, and ten with similar content placed by state authorities. English was used in a total of 11 of these advertisements, while French was used in 8. These vacancy advertisements were both private and public. Fifty per cent of the tenders (6) were by the state (3 in English and 3 in French). The private advertisements were in English (5) and in French (1). All the public announcements (7) were published by the state: 5 in English and 2 in Rwanda.

To sum up, Rwanda was only used for 2 public announcements by the state in the advertisements studied in the English-medium private newspaper *The New Times*. Rwanda was proportionally used more in the newspaper *Umuseso*, which is written in Rwanda. TABLE 118 gives the results of the study of advertisements in the latter newspaper.

TABLE 118. *Advertisements in Umuseso*

	LANGUAGE			Total
	English	French	Rwanda	
Number of pages	2.3	1.5	1.5	5.3
Number of advertisements	(6)	(3)	(3)	12
Percentage	43.4%	28.3%	28.3%	100%

The sums in the table refer to number of full pages.

The figures within parentheses refer to number of advertisements.

Umuseso did not contain many advertisements. All the advertisements were by private advertisers. The state does not advertise in this newspaper for its notices because it often criticises the government. As can be seen, the majority of the advertisements were written in English (43.4 per cent). French and Rwanda shared the same space in advertisements: 28.3 per cent of the advertisements were in French and 28.3 per cent were written in Rwanda. One advertisement was mixed in English and Rwanda (a total of 0.2 pages).

8.1.2.2 *Book publishing*

The private publishing industry in Rwanda is in its infancy. Most books, mainly school materials, are printed by multinational companies. The leading publisher in Rwanda is Macmillan, which produces school books (three titles in English and one in French) in addition to novels and stories in English not specifically produced for Rwanda. There are, however, a few Rwandan publishing companies. Editions Bakame (“Trickster rabbit”) is run by an organisation on a non-profit basis. It specialises in folk tales, picture books and teen novels. Some books are documentary in nature, but are narrated as stories based on old beliefs. Out of 29 titles, most had 10,000 print runs. Of these titles printed in 2006, 23 were in Rwanda, 3 in English, 2 in French and 1 in German. There were no Swahili titles printed by this private publishing company.

Most of the titles were original productions. Only a few were translated from other languages, e.g. a Swahili book from Tanzania, and a translation of a South African book. In 2007, Editions Bakame published a series of textbooks in Rwanda for Grades 1–6 of primary school. The series contained both learners’ and teachers’ manuals. Even the multinational publisher Macmillan has produced only 7 illustrated primers in Rwanda.

In addition to Editions Bakame there is Editions Rwandaïses, run by Caritas, which publishes a new title every now and then. Another publisher is Urukundu (“Love”), which was launched by Librairie Ikerezi in 2003. The published titles up to 2006 are in French (4) or French, English and Rwanda (1), and printed in runs of 200 to 5,000 copies. Urukundu has also translated the Human Rights Watch publication *Leave None to Tell the Story* into Rwanda, and will start printing titles on Rwandan law in French. The association of Rwandan writers, Edition IBARWA, has also published a few titles in Rwanda (4 during the period 2003–2004).

8.1.2.3 Radio

Radio stations, which were licensed from 2004 onwards, act as countrywide broadcasters of news, sports and health issues (e.g. Radio Flash FM) as well as entertainment stations. Radio 10, for example, is based in Kigali but it reaches Gitarama in central Rwanda, Ruhengeri in the north and Umutara in the east.

According to information given by the *Primature*, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Republic of Rwanda has the private radio stations listed in section 8.1.1, with the addition of Radio Ijwi ry 'ibyiringiro, which is run by the Adventist Church (Rwanda 2006). Apart from these, the privately run station Radio Sana, a confessional radio station, and the Voice of Africa, which is a Muslim station, are reported to exist (Rwanda 2007b), in addition to the BBC, the Voice of America (VOA) and the Deutsche Welle. Radio France Internationale was closed down on 28 November 2006, due to the strained diplomatic ties with France. BBC broadcasts from Kigali in English, French, Rwanda and Swahili, and VOA in English and Rwanda.

The programmes of three private radio stations were examined in more detail, namely Radio Contact FM, Radio Flash FM, and Radio 10. These stations all used Rwanda more than other languages. Radio Flash FM broadcasted in Rwanda about 65 per cent of the time. English and French shared 25 per cent of the airtime, while Swahili and Rundi shared approximately 10 per cent. Radio 10 broadcasted in four languages: Rwanda (75 per cent of the time), French (15 per cent), English and Swahili (5 per cent each), for seven days a week, and from 06:00 to 22:00. During the night, music, jingles and sometimes taped recordings of various kinds of between 30 minutes to an hour were played. The commercials – the paid component of broadcasting – used Rwanda about 60 per cent of the time, French 20 per cent,

and English 20 per cent. The percentages for French and English are high because advertisements which are in Rwanda are translated.

Radio Contact FM in Kigali broadcasted for 24 hours, 7 days a week. Radio Contact FM is a commercial music and entertainment station, with some studio discussions/talk shows and news on the hour. Rwanda was used about 80 per cent of the time for these broadcasts. Advertisements were mostly in Rwanda (90–95 per cent). The big advertisers wanted their advertisements in all three official languages.

In addition to the three official languages and Swahili, there were broadcasts in Ganda and Lingala. On a weekly basis, these languages (excluding Rwanda, which is the language used in 80 per cent of programme time) were used to the extent recorded in TABLE 119 below.

TABLE 119. *Language use in all broadcasts: Radio Contact FM*

French	English	Swahili	Ganda	Lingala
15 hours 25 minutes	4 hours	6 hours	5 hours 30 minutes	3 hours

The news broadcasts were in Rwanda, French, English and Swahili, as demonstrated in TABLE 120 below.

TABLE 120. *Language use in news broadcasts: Radio Contact FM*

Rwanda	French	English	Swahili
07:00, 15 minutes	08:00, 15 minutes	09:00, 15 minutes	10:00, 15 minutes
11:00, 15 minutes	14:00, 15 minutes	12:00, 15 minutes	18:00, 15 minutes
(sports)	21:00, 15 minutes	15:00, 15 minutes	
13:00, 15 minutes		(economic news)	
20:00, 15 minutes		17:00, 15 minutes	

The structure of language use in radio broadcasts may be expressed in the following way, using the language competition analysis symbols explained in section 1.6.3.4. An upper case letter indicates that the language is primarily used, while a lower case letter shows that it is used to a lesser extent. The symbol > demonstrates language dominance.

R > f > e > s

Generally, Rwanda was the language which dominated in radio broadcasts. French, English and Swahili were used to a much lesser extent, with French being used more than English, which in turn was used more than Swahili.

8.1.2.4 Summary of language use in private media

Rwanda is the language which is used most in practically all communication within private media, with the exception of advertisements in newspapers.

TABLE 121 below displays the quantitative evaluation as a percentage distribution of the languages. The maximum total of each category is 100 per cent. The percentage for newspapers and periodicals is based on the situation in 2008, i.e. TABLE 116 with adjustments, based on the 2008 fieldwork. The advertisement total is calculated from the advertisement analysis, demonstrated in 8.1.2.1, of the newspapers *The New Times* and *Umuseso*.

The calculation of publishing is based on the publishers listed in 8.1.2.2, except Editions Rwandaises, due to a lack of information on its irregular and infrequent publications. The radio total is calculated from weekly airtime allocated to languages of the private radio stations Flash FM, Radio 10, Radio Contact Radio, Contact News, Izuba Radio and Umucyo. At present, no private television companies operate in the Republic of Rwanda.

TABLE 121. *Quantitative analysis of private media in Rwanda*

	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Rwanda %	French %	English %	Swahili %	
Language(s) of					
– Newspapers/periodicals	69.0	15.5	15.5	0.0	100
– Advertisements	16.0	20.0	64.0	0.0	100
Number of books					
– Publishing	79.1	11.2	9.7	0.0	100
Time allocation					
– Radio	75.1	10.1	8.9	5.9	100
Time allocation					
–Television	–	–	–	–	–

Below, the percentages for each language according to the scale interpretation (see TABLE 6) are shown for each unit of analysis. As can be seen, Rwanda has a dominant role within this domain. The only exception is in the analysis of advertisements, where English dominates.

Newspapers/periodicals

Rwanda: Used frequently (69.0%)
French: Used marginally (15.5%)
English: Used marginally (15.5%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Advertisements

Rwanda: Used marginally (16.0%)
French: Used marginally (20.0%)
English: Used frequently (64.0%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Publishing

Rwanda: Used predominantly (79.1%)
French: Used marginally (11.2%)
English: Used marginally (9.7%)
Swahili: Not used (0.0%)

Radio

Rwanda: Used predominantly (75.1%)
French: Used marginally (10.1%)
English: Used marginally (8.9%)
Swahili: Used marginally (5.9%)

It is perhaps somewhat surprising that Rwanda has such a dominant position in publishing. The private publishing industry is in its infancy in Rwanda. The high percentage for Rwanda indicates a consciousness on the part of the publishers of the outreach that Rwanda possesses. Apart from multinational companies that print some of their textbooks in the national language, Rwanda, publishers who want to reach the Rwandan people – like Bakame, for example, which publishes books for children and adolescents in Rwanda – print in the national language. Naturally, there are titles available in English and French,

but the main production within the country, even if marginal, was found to be in the Rwanda language.

French and English have a marginal function in all units of analysis, except for their use in advertisements. English was found to be the language which was mostly used by both state and private advertisers, while French was used to a lesser extent. This follows the pattern of advertisements in state newspapers, as demonstrated in Chapter 5. However, in state-owned newspapers, French was used more than English.

Both governmental and private advertisers in private newspapers probably target the well-educated and the elite who have mastered the official languages French and English. *The New Times* is an English-medium newspaper and its readers most likely know English. Therefore, it is not so surprising that nearly 85 per cent of the advertisements in it are in English. It is perhaps more unexpected to find that, in the Rwanda-medium newspaper *Umuseso*, nearly half of the advertisements were in English, even if the total number of advertisements was low. All advertisements in *Umuseso* were by private companies. Obviously, language choice here is not a rational one. If so, “symbolic associations that languages have, particularly in multilingual or minority language contexts” are ignored, as suggested by Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson (2007:35). Apart from targeting the elite which have mastered the languages of European origin, possibly other factors such as values attributed to the prestige languages are at play even here, as they had been for signage (see section 6.3). In addition, the language choice probably signals attributes such as modernity and progress, as research on advertising by Piller (2003) purports. English used in non-English-speaking countries is appropriated by advertisers to index identities and social stereotypes.

Swahili enjoys marginal use in radio broadcasts, but has no function in the other units of analysis. The reason for the low scores for Swahili is probably functional. Swahili is not needed for communicative purposes within this domain, because Rwanda, as a medium of communication, reaches all Rwandans and carries out the LWD function within the country. Additionally, the media in the Republic of Rwanda are all national, so Swahili is not needed as an LWD to communicate with readers or listeners outside Rwanda. Furthermore, Swahili is not granted the same symbolic prestige values with which French and, especially, English have been endowed.

8.2 Uganda

8.2.1 Historical overview

Uganda has a history of privately owned presses that goes back to 1911, when *Munno* (“Your friend”) – a Ganda-medium newspaper owned by the Catholic Church in Uganda – was launched. The publication survived until the mid-1990s (Bahemuka 2000). The overwhelming majority of the old newspapers have, like *Munno*, disappeared. The independent and privately owned daily *The Daily Monitor* (with a distribution of 40,000 copies) and its Sunday edition *The Sunday Monitor*, which both started in 1992 and are published in English, are the leading newspapers alongside *The New Vision*. Some 80 per cent of the shares of *The New Vision*, which belong to The New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Ltd since 1986, are owned by the government; 20 per cent are owned by private shareholders (Khamalwa 2006:24).

The print media were liberalised in 1983, allowing private titles to be published for the first time. In 1994, broadcasting was opened up to private enterprises. Over the past 15 years, radio and television stations, but especially radio stations, have mushroomed. Today, more than 80 private radio stations exist in Uganda.

8.2.2 Present state

8.2.2.1 Press and publications

Uganda presently has a considerable variety of private newspapers and periodicals, compared with the six state-owned newspapers. The majority of the private publications are published weekly or monthly. However, many newspapers and periodicals are irregular, and all but a few are written in English.

As seen from TABLE 122 below, in 2006, four newspapers were printed in Ugandan languages: two in Ganda, one in Nyankore and one in Teso. Fieldwork in November and December 2008 showed that both *Entatsi* (in

Nyankore) and *Kamunye* (in Ganda) from time to time were out of the market, having allegedly been banned by the Media Council due to pornographic content. *Mulanzi* was additionally not possible to purchase at the end of 2008. A Nyankore newspaper, *Orutambi*, was issued in the spring of 2008, but was no longer being printed by November/December 2008.

Among the English-medium newspapers, the above-mentioned private newspaper *The Daily Monitor*, the tabloid *Red Pepper*, the Kenya-based *The East African* and *The Weekly Observer* are the leading newspapers. See Appendix 1 for a full overview of the print media in Uganda.

TABLE 122 below gives an overview of the private print media in Uganda, sorted according to language of publication. The table is based on information obtained at the Media Council in Kampala on 27 November 2006.

TABLE 122. *Private print media in Uganda*

NEWSPAPER/PERIODICAL	Language	Periodicity	Number of printed copies
<i>The Financial Times</i>	English	Weekly	7,000
<i>The East African</i>	English	Daily	60,000
<i>East African Business Week</i>	English	Weekly	5,000
<i>The Message</i>	English	Weekly	5,000
<i>The Sunrise Communication</i>	English	Weekly	5,000
<i>The Daily Monitor</i>	English	Daily	40,000
<i>The Sunday Monitor</i>	English	Weekly	40,000
<i>Dine Out Magazine</i>	English	Monthly	300
<i>Black Mamba Newspaper</i>	English	Weekly	3,000
<i>The Uganda Confidential</i>	English	Weekly	3,000
<i>East African Procurement</i>	English	Weekly	20,000
<i>Red Pepper</i>	English	Weekly	20,000
<i>The Weekly Observer</i>	English	Weekly	15,000
<i>The Job Weekly</i>	English	Weekly	10,000
<i>Kampala Motorist Monthly</i>	English	Monthly	1,000
<i>Kamunye Newspaper</i> (owned by <i>Red Pepper</i>)	Ganda	Daily	8,000
<i>Mulanzi Newspaper</i>	Ganda		–
<i>Entatsi</i> (owned by <i>Red Pepper</i>)	Nyankore	Weekly	10,000
<i>Ateker Newspaper</i>	Teso	Weekly	5,000

During the follow-up on newspaper publishing in 2008, even the English-medium *Black Mamba* had been banned. Additionally, 16 more or less irregular periodicals and 3 newspapers, all English-medium, had been registered.

English is the dominant language of newspapers and periodicals in Uganda. Using language competition symbols (see TABLE 7), the position of the languages could be illustrated as follows:

E > (g = oals)

This language competition formula demonstrates that English is dominant (indicated by an upper case letter), while both *Ganda* and *Other African languages* are used to a lesser extent (signified by lower case letters) but on an equal basis. Swahili is not used at all as a language-medium for newspapers and periodicals in Uganda.

The fact that private newspapers in African languages were published in Nyankore (*Entatsi* and *Orutambi*) and Ganda (*Kamunye* and *Mulanzi*) shows that these languages are regarded by both publishers and advertisers as targeting important groups. That there are newspapers in Ganda is perhaps not so remarkable, considering the number of Ugandans who are familiar with the language. That Nyankore is deemed an economically or politically important language by two private newspapers is possibly more remarkable. The reasons behind establishing these are multiple. The use of Nyankore not only targets its L1 speakers, but also speakers of the other Western Bantu languages Chiga, Nyoro and Tooro, i.e. more than 20 per cent of the population. There are additionally a considerable number of Nyankore speakers in the diaspora which these newspapers reach. It may also be assumed that Nyankore is an economically strategic language, whether or not it is linked to the President's roots in western Uganda. Recently, for example, the state-owned newspaper *The New Vision* bought the dominant and successful private radio station Radio West, which, in addition to Ganda, broadcasts in Nyankore and the other Western Bantu languages known as *Nyakitara*.

The above-mentioned private Uganda-language newspapers are partly financed by advertisements. As will be shown in the following section, the structure of the advertisements in these newspapers differs from advertisements in state-owned newspapers.

Advertisements

As opposed to advertisements in English-medium newspapers, which are all in English, advertisements in the newspapers published in Nyankore are in both Nyankore and English. An advertisement analysis of the private Nyankore

newspapers *Entatsi* and *Orutambi* was conducted to show the proportion between the advertisements in the above languages.

Six issues of the newspaper *Entatsi* (14–20 November 2006, 5–11 February 2008, 12–18 February 2008, 19–25 February 2008, 26 February–3 March 2008 and 4–10 March 2008) and four issues of *Orutambi* (7–13 February 2008, 14–20 February 2008, 28 February–7 March 2008 and 27 March–2 April 2008) were analysed.

As described in the introduction of this Chapter, the private newspapers are not stable and are out of production from time to time. *Entatsi* is a 16-page weekly tabloid specialising on news from the south-western districts. *Orutambi*, which started in 2008, was no longer found on the market in November/December 2008.

The *Entatsi* analysis shows that about two thirds of the advertisements were in English and one third in Nyankore, as demonstrated in TABLE 123 below. The figures in the table refer to the total in full A3-size pages. The number of advertisements is given within parentheses.

TABLE 123. *Advertisements in Entatsi*

	LANGUAGE		Total
	English	Nyankore	
Number of pages	10.5	4.8	15.3
Number of advertisements	(121)	(38)	(159)
Percentage	68.6%	31.4%	100%

The sums in the table refer to number of full pages.

The figures within parentheses refer to number of advertisements.

All the advertisements in Nyankore were placed by private parties, while the advertisements in English were either private (47.1 per cent) or placed by state institutions or governmental bodies (52.9 per cent). All these advertisements were monolingual.

A comparison with *Orutambi* shows that, proportionally, more advertisements were in Nyankore than in English in *Orutambi*, compared with *Entatsi*, as shown below, even if the majority of the advertisements were in English.

TABLE 124. *Advertisements in Orutambi*

	LANGUAGE		Total
	English	Nyankore	
Number of pages	4.8	3.4	8.2
Number of advertisements	(56)	(26)	(82)
Percentage	58.5%	41.5%	100%

The sums in the table refer to number of full pages.

The figures within parentheses refer to number of advertisements.

As in the case of *Entatsi*, the majority of the *Orutambi* newspaper advertisements (87.8 per cent) were placed by private advertisers. All the advertisements in Nyankore were paid for by private advertisers, while 46 out of 56 advertisements in English were placed by private companies or organisations. Two of the advertisements were bilingual, the remainder monolingual.

Compared with state-owned newspapers, English is used more as a language of advertisements overall in these private newspapers. A comparison with the state-owned newspapers in Ugandan languages (*Bukedde*, *Etop*, *Orumuri* and *Rupiny*) shows a striking difference. In the state-run newspapers in Ugandan languages, advertisements in Ugandan languages were dominant with an average of 62.1 per cent versus 37.9 per cent for English. The opposite was found in the private Ugandan language media private newspapers. For a comparison, see section 5.1.2.1 of the Chapter presenting the results of the state media. The equivalent averages for the private media advertisements were 63.5 per cent for English, and 36.5 per cent for Nyankore.

In the state-owned newspapers, the government publish public notices (besides job vacancy advertisements) in Ugandan languages, as these languages best reach the citizens in the four regions which the newspapers target. That the pattern is different in private newspapers may be due to specific factors which are linked to the status and use of the language Nyankore. Although Nyankore is the language of the ruling elite, it seems to be used less than its potential for advertisements in the private Nyankore-medium newspapers. A great number of the Nyankore-speaking elite have earlier passed time in exile or been educated in anglophone countries. Due to this, many L1 Nyankore speakers prefer to use English and tend, through an act of snobbism, not to teach their children Nyankore (M Chibita, pers. comm. 1 December 2008). It is possible that this phenomenon influences the advertisers when they target their consumers or audience. It is also possible that the status of English and its association with

education, modernity and progress have influenced the choice of languages in advertisements.

8.2.2.2 Book publishing

More than 50 publishing houses are said to exist in Uganda today (Kigambo 2006). Some of these are very small, with a limited and specialised list of titles.

Private book publishing can be divided into national (Ugandan) and multinational publishers. The most prominent private Ugandan publisher is Fountain Publishers, founded in 1988. Other Ugandan publishers are Monitor Publications Ltd (established in 1992), the Catholic Mariamum Press (year of establishment unknown) Longhorn Publishers (established in 1995), and the newly established Baroques Publishers.

As regards the multinationals, the British-based multinational publishing Oxford University Press, Macmillan, Heinemann and Longman Publishers, Cambridge University Press, and Evans publish mainly within the educational sector. In 1998, these houses published around 90 per cent of all school books in Uganda (Tumusiime 1998). The multinationals are still dominant, however, despite the emergence of a number of local publishers.

A study of publishing in Uganda conducted by the author in November 2006, with a follow-up in January 2008, showed that few of the private houses published books in Ugandan languages. The following private publishers were investigated: Macmillan (U) Ltd, MK Publishers (U) Ltd, Mariamum Press, Procurement News, Fountain Publishers and Uganda Women Writer's Association in addition to College Publishers (U) Ltd.

Only two of the seven – namely Fountain Publishers and MK Publishers – printed titles in Ugandan languages. Some 60 per cent of Fountain Publishers' titles were educational.⁶⁴ The remaining production mainly consisted of titles for children and titles on history, politics and international affairs. The books in Ugandan languages constituted approximately 20 per cent of the total of Fountain Publishers' distribution.

⁶⁴ The new educational policy (see Chapter 4, Education) has resulted in an escalation in the domestic production of educational materials in Ugandan languages. School-book production constitutes a considerable part of publishing overall. Fountain Publishers started publishing in Ugandan languages before the change in language-in-education policy.

MK Publishers printed 195 titles in English, of which 106 were educational materials. A total of 11 titles were in Ganda, with 24 in Swahili. A Lwo dictionary and a book in Soga were said to be forthcoming. TABLE 125 shows the number of books in Ugandan languages by these publishers and the languages the books were printed in. The book production is presented alphabetically after the language the books are printed in.

TABLE 125. *Book production in Ugandan languages*

LANGUAGE	PUBLISHING COMPANY	
	Fountain Publishers Ltd	MK Publishers (U) Ltd
Acholi	7	--
Alur	4	--
Dhopadola	2	--
Fumbira/Rwanda	4	--
Ganda	21	11
Karimojong	6	--
Konzo	15	--
Lango	9	--
Lugbara	7	--
Lwo**	7	1
Nyakitara*	49	--
Soga	12	1
Swahili	6	24
Teso	13	--
TOTAL	163	37
Percentage of total production	20.4%	15.6%

* *Nyakitara* is a term used for the four related languages of Western Uganda: Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro.

** *Lwo* is a collective term for Acholi, Alur, Dhopadola and Lango. It was not possible to establish which of the Lwo languages the seven titles listed as being in Lwo were written in.

Additionally, Fountain Publishers claimed in an advertorial supplement that the company had published books in Ma'di (Fountain 2008).

Most books available in Uganda were in English, as seen from the publishing statistics. The trend was also found in other statistics sources such as village libraries. The Uganda Cooperative Alliance (UCA) has, since 2000, set up libraries in 30 villages in southern, south-western, south-eastern and central Uganda through cooperation with a Swedish partner. In 2005, there were 6,107 copies, of which 1,115 (18.8 per cent) were in Ugandan languages, as follows:

574 in Ganda, 198 in Nyankore, 115 in Masaaba (Gisu), 112 in Soga, and 116 in other languages (UCA 2005).

8.2.2.3 Radio

At the time of the study there were 89 private radio stations in Uganda (UBC 2006b). Most of these are commercial FM stations situated in and around Kampala. There are also a number of non-profit community-run stations. The regional and local commercial stations have increased considerably since 2000 (Khamalwa 2006:15).

In eastern Uganda, the town of Mbale is the centre of FM broadcasts, with the stations Top Radio, Signal Radio, Radio Maria and Open Gate FM. These stations broadcast in Masaaba. In western Uganda, the most popular radio broadcaster is Radio West, with stations in Kabale and Mbarara. Radio Hoima broadcasts in the Hoima area. In addition, there are 16 other stations, of which the majority broadcast in Nyakitara (Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro).

Of the 15 stations broadcasting in the north, the languages Acholi and Teso are mainly used by five stations: Radio Alwak Lira, Radio Apac, Radio North, Radio Rhino and Radio Wa. Choice FM, Peace Radio, Radio Four and Radio Maria use Acholi. Radio Paidha uses a mix of languages: Alur, English, French, Lingala, Lugbara, Lwo, Ma'di, Nyoro and Swahili.

In central Uganda, a variety of commercial radio stations compete. Among them are CBS FM, Radio One and Radio Simba. Only private radio stations located in Kampala broadcast in English (nine stations). The remaining 13 stations, which are Kampala-based, use African languages – mostly Ganda.

TABLE 126 gives an overview of language use by private radio stations in Uganda. For a full description of private radio stations, see Appendix 5.

The table shows the number of radio stations using each of the languages concerned, and their percentage distribution, starting with the most frequently used language. The term *Nyakitara* covers the languages Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro; see also sections 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2 for more information on the term Nyakitara.

TABLE 126. *Languages used by private radio stations in Uganda*

Ganda	Nya- kitara	Acholi/ Teso	English	Lugbara	Others*	English + OALs	Masaaba	Soga	Nyoro
24	14 +2**	13	9	6	6	5	4	4	2
27%	18%	14.6%	10.1%	6.7%	6.7%	5.6%	4.5%	4.5%	2.3%

* *Others* includes Karamojong (1), Gwere (1), Swahili and Kupsabiny (1), Teso and Nyakitara (1), Tooro and Nyakitara (1), and mixed languages (1).

** Nyakitara and Ganda.

The private radio stations that broadcast outside of Kampala mostly use the regional Ugandan languages. For example, the privately owned commercial radio station Radio West broadcasts from 06:00 to 22:30 on weekdays, from 06:00 to 23:30 on Saturdays, and from 06:00 to 24:00 on Sundays. Ninety per cent of the programmes are in the regional languages Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro (so-called *Nyakitara*) – even the news. Some sponsored programmes and some news broadcasts are in English (approximately 5 per cent) and in Ganda (about 5 per cent). The aim of the radio station is to sensitise the western region as to social, economic and political issues. Most of the programmes clearly target different groups like the youth, adults, the family, children, the middle-aged, the working class, opinion leaders, or farmers.

In addition, Radio Hoima broadcasts in Nyakitara about 60 per cent of the time. It also relays programmes in Ganda (3 hours) and Lugbara (1 hour).

8.2.2.4 *Television*

The private television stations in Uganda are mostly Kampala-based, with the exception of two, namely Step TV in Mbale, and Note TV in Lira. One station, Wavah Broadcasting Services (WBS), also broadcasts outside the Kampala area and transmits to Jinja, Masaka and Mbarara. Additionally, there are pay-TV channels based in South Africa and available via satellite, as well as pan-African broadcasters such as East African TV, which broadcast from Tanzania in English and Swahili (Khamalwa 2006:20). Even religious US-based Christian re-broadcasts in English are common, through Top TV (Christian Life Ministries) and Lighthouse TV (part of the Global Trinity Network), for example.

TABLE 127 below shows the private television companies in Uganda, their location and the languages in which they broadcast.

TABLE 127. *Private television stations in Uganda*

TELEVISION STATION	LOCATION	LANGUAGE(S)
Step TV	Mbale	English and Masaaba
Africa Broadcasting Network (AfricaTV)	–	English
Record TV	Kampala	Ganda, English and Portuguese
Sledge Hammer Communication	Kampala	English and Ganda
Digitex Advertising Ltd	Kampala	English and Ganda
Kampala Siti Cable Ltd	Kampala	English and Ganda
Note TV	Lira	English, Teso and Acholi
Wavah Broadcasting Services (WBS)	Kampala	English and Ganda

WBS is the only private television with practically national coverage, broadcasting in central Uganda, the south-west (Mbarara) and the east (Jinja). WBS transmits 24 hours a day, and produces about 50 per cent of its programmes locally; the remainder consists of international programmes. Even if the transmissions are in both English and Ganda, programmes in English are dominant (approximately 90 per cent). The remaining 10 per cent constitutes news and some dramas in Ganda. Almost all commercials are in English. Swahili is planned to be included in the future due to cooperation within the East African Community (P Iganga, pers. comm. 15 November 2006).

The languages used for private television broadcasting are shown in the language competition analysis below. An upper case letter indicates that the language is primarily used, while a lower case letter shows that it is used to a lesser extent. The symbol > demonstrates language dominance.

E > g > oals

Thus, English (E) is dominant, while Ganda (g) and *Other African languages* (oal) are used to a lesser extent. Ganda is used more than other African languages, however.

8.2.3 Summary of language use in private media

TABLE 128 below shows a quantitative evaluation of language use in the private media units analysed. The calculations are based on the languages used in all newspapers and periodicals in Uganda. In addition, studies were conducted on the languages used in advertisements placed in the newspapers *The Daily Monitor*, *Entatsi* and *Orutambi*. The totals of publishing are calculated from the production of Macmillan, Mariamum Press, Procurement News, Fountain Publishers and MK Publishers. The percentage for radio is based on all radio stations shown in Appendix 5. As for television, the total is an estimation of languages used in broadcasts by Step TV, Africa Broadcasting Network (Africa TV), Record TV, Sledge Hammer Communication, Digitex Advertising Ltd, Kampala Siti Cable Ltd, Note TV, and WBS (see TABLE 127).

The use of English is dominant in all categories (ranging from 75.7 per cent to 92.7 per cent), except in private radio station programmes, where the situation is reversed: Ganda and *Other African languages* are used predominantly (together accounting for 86.9 per cent of airtime), while English only is used in 12.5 per cent of the broadcasted programmes. Swahili is used even more marginally in private radio. The maximum total for each category is 100 per cent.

TABLE 128. *Quantitative analysis of private media in Uganda*

	LANGUAGE				TOTAL %
	Ganda %	English %	Other African languages %	Swahili %	
Language(s) of					
– Newspapers/periodicals	10.5	79.0	10.5	0.0	100
– Advertisements	0.0	75.7	24.3	0.0	100
Number of books					
– Publishing	1.5	92.7	3.6	2.2	100
Time allocation					
– Radio	30.6	12.5	56.3	0.6	100
Time allocation					
– Television	6.3	91.2	2.5	0.0	100

That English is so dominant in practically all private media, except in radio broadcasts, is probably due to the same factors as suggested for Rwanda, namely that private media target the well-educated and elite, which master the official

languages. The exception here is radio broadcasting, where African languages are used. In Uganda, most radio stations are regional and, therefore, employ the languages understood by their listeners in the area where they transmit their programmes. When compared with state radio broadcasts, private radio stations use African languages to an even greater extent (61.9 per cent by the state versus 86.9 per cent by private stations). It is possible that the commercial sponsors who finance these private radio stations see the communicative potential of radio through the languages which are understood by the majority of the citizens. The high total percentage for Ugandan languages in radio broadcasts indicates, as in Rwanda, that the main aim of these radio stations is to reach the populace. In addition, listenership is very high. In 2005, 100 per cent of the population had listened to the radio in the past year, 92.8 per cent in the past seven days and 73.7 per cent as recently as the day before (BBC 2006:14). Radio is the main source of information for the average household, especially in rural areas.

Ganda obtained a relatively high total in radio broadcasting as many stations (proportionally more than in the rest of the country) are situated in central Uganda. These stations broadcast in English or, more often, in Ganda. Generally, the trend is to broadcast in the languages of the region, so the use of Ganda does not imply that Ganda here is seen as an LWD.

There is a lack of Ganda in advertisements (0 per cent). This is because it was not possible to obtain any issues of private newspapers written in Ganda when the fieldwork was conducted, as private newspapers are quite irregular and their production rather unpredictable. Ganda-medium newspapers would probably display a certain amount of advertisements in that language. Thus, the zero frequency of Ganda in advertisements is most likely a somewhat biased total. Ugandan languages (Ganda and OALs added together) are nevertheless used for approximately one third of all advertisements, while English is used for the remaining proportion.

8.3 Comparison of Rwanda and Uganda

TABLE 129 below has integrated TABLE 121 and TABLE 128 above. As can be seen, the overall differences between the Republic of Rwanda and Uganda are striking when it comes to the use of African languages, with some exceptions. Rwanda is, generally speaking, used in a more extensive way in comparison with Ugandan languages, which are found in the table categories *Dominant African*

languages (which also comprises the language Rwanda of the Republic of Rwanda) and *Other African languages*.

Rwanda is *Used frequently* in the print media (newspapers and periodicals), in publishing, and by the privately run radio stations in Rwanda, while Ganda is used markedly less in these categories. As there are no private television stations in Rwanda, a comparison could not be made for this unit of analysis. However, English is clearly the dominant language of television broadcasts in Uganda, as it is for all the investigated units except for radio broadcasts.

TABLE 129. *Comparative analysis of private media in Rwanda and Uganda*

	Dominant African language %		Swahili %		Other African languages %		Non-African official languages %	
	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug	Rw	Ug
Language(s) of								
– Newspapers/periodicals	69.0	10.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.5	31.0	79.0
– Advertisements	16.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	24.3	84.0	75.7
Number of books								
– Publishing	79.1	1.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	3.6	20.9	92.7
Time allocation								
– Radio	75.1	30.6	5.9	0.6	0.0	56.3	19.0	12.5
Time allocation								
– Television	–	6.3	–	0.0	–	2.5	–	91.2

Even if the tendencies discussed above seem quite clear, there are interesting similarities and differences regarding the use of languages within private media which need further discussion. In the following section, the use of Rwanda compared with the use of Ganda is summed, followed by a discussion of the position of Rwanda compared with the combination of Ugandan languages. The function of the official languages French and English in Rwanda, and English in Uganda is treated. Finally, the use of Swahili in both countries is compared.

The results for the private media were tested statistically, using the Z-test described in section 1.6.3.5. The three tables are parts of the testing of research hypotheses 1, 4 and 6 (see section 1.2). The unit of analysis *Time allocation – Television* could not be tested for any of the languages, as there are no private television stations in Rwanda. Additionally, in the case of the languages Rwanda

and Ganda, the unit of analysis *Amount of advertisements in various languages* could not be tested as Ganda has a zero frequency in the data.

Hypothesis 3 expected Rwanda to be used more than Ganda in the domains of non-official language management. TABLE 130 presents the Z-test results of Rwanda and Ganda, while TABLE 131 gives the results of Rwanda compared with the total percentage of Ganda and the other Ugandan languages, described in hypothesis 4.

TABLE 130. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda in private media*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Languages(s) of newspapers/periodicals	X (6.16)	
Number of books in various languages	X (15.23)	
Time allocation of languages – Radio	X (8.44)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

Not surprisingly, the results of Rwanda and Ganda in private media are statistically significant, at the 99 per cent level of confidence. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternative hypothesis. This supports hypothesis 3.

If one compares all African languages in Rwanda and Uganda, the result is similar, as reflected in TABLE 131 below.

TABLE 131. *Z-test of Rwanda and Ganda +OALs in the private media*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Languages(s) of newspapers/periodicals	X (3.22)	
Amount of advertisements in various languages		X (-1.92)
Number of books in various languages	X (14.43)	
Time allocation of languages – Radio	X (-2.92)	

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

The null hypothesis was rejected for three of the four units of analysis investigated: *Languages(s) of newspapers/periodicals*, *Number of books in various languages* and *Time allocation of languages – Radio*. Hypothesis 4 was, thus, supported in the case of these units of analysis. However, in radio broadcasts, Ugandan languages are used more than Rwanda. This result contradicts working hypothesis 4.

Even if Rwanda was used extensively in the private media, i.e. *Used frequently* or *Used predominantly* in all units of analysis with the exception of newspaper advertisements, the official and national language is used less than its potential – a fact which supports working hypothesis 5.

African languages were used marginally in advertisements in both Rwanda and Uganda. Here a similar trend was seen for the two countries: French and English in Rwanda and English in Uganda were used predominantly for advertising.

The differences between Rwanda and Uganda regarding the use of *Non-African official languages*, which groups French and English in Rwanda and English in Uganda were tested statistically. These languages are used more frequently than the *Dominant African languages* Rwanda and Ganda in most categories. English is employed predominantly in Ugandan newspapers and periodicals (79 per cent), including advertisements (75.7 per cent), in publishing (92.7 per cent) and in television programmes (91.2 per cent) in Uganda, while English and French are used far less often in Rwanda. They are used to a fair extent in publications (31.0 per cent), and marginally in publishing (20.9 per cent) and in private radio broadcasts (19.0 per cent). The results of the statistical tests are shown in TABLE 132 below.

TABLE 132. *Z-test of non-African official languages in Rwanda and Uganda*

UNIT OF ANALYSIS	SIGNIFICANT	NOT SIGNIFICANT
Languages(s) of newspapers/periodicals	X (-3.22)	
Amount of advertisements in various languages		X (1.92)
Number of books in various languages	X (-13.95)	
Time allocation of languages – Radio		X (1.66)

Level of significance: $p < 0.01$.

The results were significant at the 99 per cent level of confidence in respect of language use in *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals* and for publishing (*Number of books in various languages*). English in Uganda was found to be used significantly more than French and English in Rwanda.

For advertisements and for radio broadcasts, the results for the non-African languages were not significant. The null hypothesis could not be rejected, therefore. The way French and English are used in Rwanda is similar

to the way English is utilised in Uganda for these units. In both countries, the non-African official languages are employed extensively in advertisements, but only marginally in radio broadcasts.

Common to both countries is that Swahili is utilised marginally in all units of analysis, even for radio broadcasts in Uganda. This probably has the same background as suggested for the low total for Swahili in Rwanda (see 8.2.3), namely that the radio broadcasts in Uganda are regional, so regional languages are used for this type of broadcasting. Swahili is, thus, not needed as a lingua franca to permit communication between people who have different L1s. In spite of low total percentages in both countries, the difference between the use of Swahili on Rwandan and Ugandan private radio was statistically significant at $p < 0.01$ (4.16). *Time allocation of languages – Radio* was the only unit of analysis that could be tested in respect of the use of Swahili. That Swahili was used more in Rwanda than in Uganda in private radio contradicts hypothesis 7 of section 1.2, which expected the results for Swahili to be on an equivalent level in both countries.

The results found in the studies of private media are strikingly different in some respects from those found for state media. English is used less in Ugandan private newspapers than in state-controlled newspapers there. This simultaneously implies that African languages are employed more as the medium for state newspapers than for private newspapers. The Ugandan state seems preoccupied with reaching its citizens when it comes to successfully disseminating information. In printing state newspapers in the main regional languages, the state implicitly acknowledges the potential of the Ugandan languages as well as the deficits of English as a medium of mass communication. The use of African languages in other areas of both private and state media (radio broadcasts in both countries, private publishing in Rwanda) seem to confirm that some media prefer African languages for communicative purposes. There is a general trend that African languages are preferred for oral communication, as suggested in working hypothesis 8. That the Rwanda language was used to such an extent for printed media as was the case for book publishing and newspapers/periodicals contradicts this hypothesis, and demonstrates that African languages are well suited and equipped for these functions as well.

The contradictory trend – namely, to use non-African languages for advertisements, for example, as demonstrated here – has, as discussed in 8.1.2.4, its origin in the symbolic associations that languages have, particularly in

multilingual or minority language contexts. This has been discussed by Piller (2003), among others. Piller suggests that English used in non-English-speaking countries is appropriated by advertisers to index a social stereotype: modernity, progress and globalisation. The competition between the need to communicate and attitudes towards languages apparently work side by side, and influence the extent to which languages are used

PART IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

9. Patterns of language management and their implications

The roles languages play in society and which are addressed in this study are discussed in this final section. Here, the findings are summarised, starting with the disproportionate role the official languages of European origin were found to have, not only in official domains but also in non-official domains. This discussion is followed by sections 9.2 and 9.3, which summarise the roles African languages are assigned through status allocation and use in Rwanda and Uganda. First, the function of Rwanda as a national and official language is focused on. This is followed by a comparison of Rwanda and Ganda. The positions Ganda and Swahili have as LWDs is subsequently discussed. In these discussions, the initial ideas about how both sociolinguistic characteristics and language policy would influence patterns of communication and the role of languages in society, as stated in the working hypotheses in section 1.2, are examined.

Before the concluding remarks, the MMM, which separates official and non-official language management, is used to demonstrate patterns and characteristics of language status and use within the domains of the dichotomy official/non-official multilingual management. Hence, the strength of languages in official and non-official management is contrasted, as proposed in working hypothesis 9.

9.1 Status and use of official languages

English and French in Rwanda and English in Uganda are languages of high status. The status attributed to imported languages of European origin has historical as well as contemporary causes. Both English and French have historically been imposed on Africa. These languages, especially English with its global status as a world language, have increasingly consolidated their position after independence, due to the legal and official support these languages were given. The study clearly shows that, generally, these European languages have high status vis-à-vis African languages, although the official language Rwanda partly shows a contradictory pattern regarding institutionalised language use within the domain of official language management. The role of Rwanda is given a more thorough discussion in section 9.2 below.

Official domains are high-status domains. Status and use in all domains of official language management, especially in the official domains, are known to strengthen languages. Although this study is dichotomised into official and non-official domains of language management, the domains classified as *Official multilingual management* form a continuum, with the official domains at the top, followed by education and state media. The higher the status of a domain is in the institutional hierarchy and the bigger the share of the linguistic space that language occupies within the domain vis-à-vis other languages, the more that language is strengthened. On an individual level, persons who master these languages are empowered.

Languages stipulated in the Constitution to be used as official languages have an equal official status. However, the allocation of functions to such languages in other formal domains as well as institutionalised language use in both official domains and non-official domains add status to languages. Hence, one of the initial working hypotheses of this study (hypothesis 1, see 1.2) suggested that these official languages would not be employed to the same extent in the domains of official language management. To examine this hypothesis, the quantitative results of all the units of analysis investigated in respect of the official languages are summarised as a bar chart below. The following figures comprise the results for all domains labelled *Official multilingual management*: FIGURE 1 demonstrates the results for the official languages in Rwanda, while FIGURE 2 below gives a graphic illustration of the position of the official languages in Uganda.

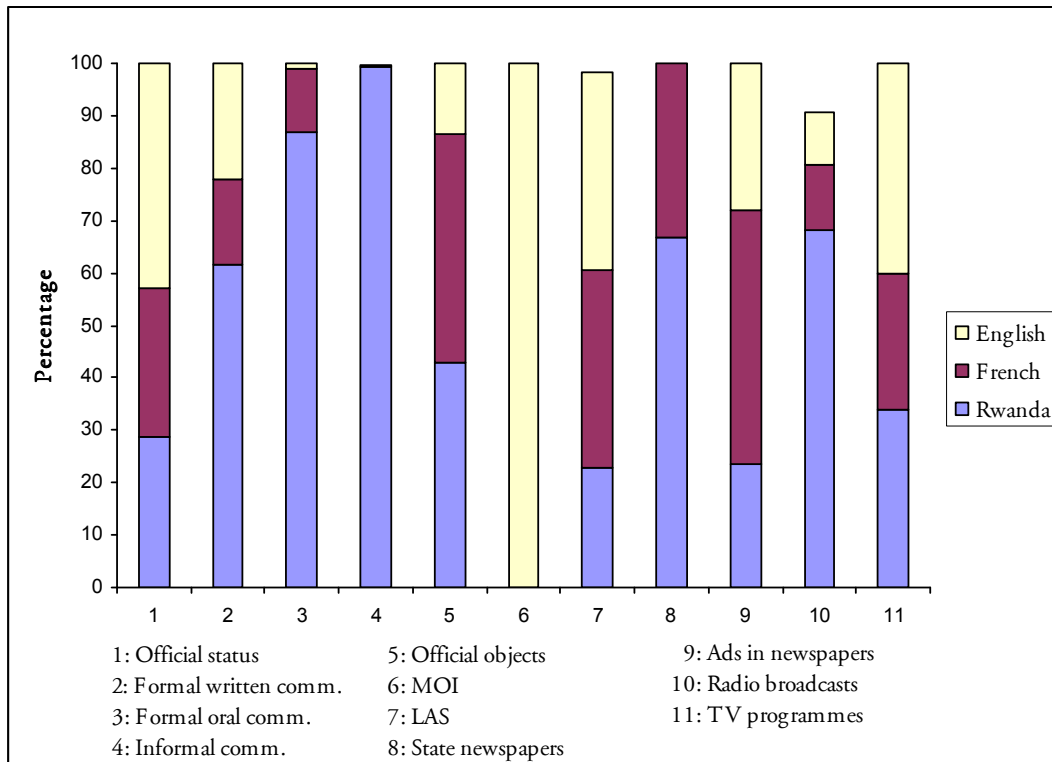


FIGURE 1. *Official multilingual management in Rwanda*

FIGURE 1 clearly demonstrates that the results for the official languages in Rwanda vary considerably for the investigated domains and respective units of analysis identified within each domain. Although all three official languages in Rwanda are given equal official status in the Constitution, not even the result for *Official status* in the above Figure displays an equal result for the three languages. This is due to the recent official allocation of a special role for English in state administration.

Despite their official recognition, French and English are not employed in proportion to their allocated status through legal decisions, as a means of communication within official domains. This can be seen from the totals of units of analysis 2 to 5, which show the results of institutionalised language use. French and English are marginally used in Rwanda (see 3.2.1.4), if one investigates the units of institutionalised language use. This marginal use is true for all but one unit of analysis, namely *Official objects*, where French and English were found to be used to a fair extent.

The less formal the function, the less these official languages are utilised. If one looks at official management in other formal domains, the most striking results are found within the domain *Education*, where English has a dominant position through status allocation as an MOI (see bar 6 in FIGURE 1). The

discrepancy between the potential of Rwanda and its status is flagrant. Generally, it may be concluded that Rwanda has a dominant status compared with its co-official languages, French and English, through institutionalised use in all state administration units (bars 2–4 in FIGURE 1) and a high status in state newspapers and in radio broadcasting (bars 8 and 10, respectively, in FIGURE 1). This underlines the strong function that Rwanda has in verbal interaction, which is not reflected in its official status. Rwanda is the national language used by everyone, from Members of Parliament to traders at markets. As the Republic of Rwanda has a national language, a language that is spread and used all over the country, there is no need for English or French or any other language for communication within the domains or across the domains of society. From this point of view, to maintain the languages inherited from the European administrations and even enhance their position, as in the case of English in Rwanda, is deplorable.

Unfortunately, the lack of recognition of African languages in high status domains such as education is the rule rather than the exception on the African continent. The low regard for African languages, which is revealed through decisions like the one made by the Rwandan government to promote English, is a reflection of myths about both African and European languages. In the case of Rwanda, the government apparently believes that English is the ticket to development and participation in the international community. Furthermore, those in power seem to think that learning *through* a language automatically implies learning a language, which is contradictory to past and current research on learning and recommendations from educational experts, as discussed in 4.1.3. Furthermore, in substituting Rwanda with English as the MOI during the first years of primary education, the Rwandan government goes against both UNESCO recommendations and AU policy, which strongly advocates – at least in theory – the use of African languages.

Moreover, in other African countries where there is language competition between different African languages, like in Uganda, myths about the neutrality of English as a means of creating national unity are strong. Although the overt motives behind the decisions to promote and use European languages vary, a common denominator for all African nations is a lack of trust in the capacity of African languages and in the potential for African languages to be developed and used in all domains of society. This also reflects an inferiority complex where those in power are not proud of their own languages, but believe in what most of them inherited from the previous dispensation – that only Western

values, including languages, are valuable and a symbol of modernity. It further looks like these attitudes reflect the concept of pleasing Western donors.

The European languages are imposed from the top down through being allocated official status, and their status is reinforced by the school system. This status allocation is not contested by the citizens, who believe in its legitimacy, as pointed out by Bourdieu. In Rwanda and Uganda, as in all African countries, foreign languages are identified with employment opportunities, economic development, and the positive effects of globalisation. This idea is a myth as strong as any of those listed above. All these ideologies can be contested. Firstly, few job opportunities in real life are linked directly to a knowledge of specific languages, as shown in previous chapters. Secondly, globalisation is seen as a natural and positive force which involves the use of English on all levels of society. Naturally, English is a useful tool as a lingua franca in international business and in cooperation between nations and organisations, but this does not imply that it is essential to introduce English as an MOI in primary schools, or for it to be used by all citizens on all levels of interaction. If nothing is done to prevent this development, there is a risk that English will be imposed even on local administrations. Thirdly, through the uncritical allocation of status to it, English has been endowed with a type of intrinsic resourcefulness. The promotion and increasing consolidation of English to the detriment of African languages reinforces myths about African languages as being inferior. This causes a vital part of African identity to be neglected.

There is a discrepancy between the formal status allocated to the official languages of European origin and their employment within the domains of official management in Rwanda, as demonstrated in FIGURE 1 above. When compared to Uganda, striking differences and similarities are observed within the same domains of official management, as will be demonstrated below.

In both Uganda and in Rwanda, the official languages were found to be employed unequally, despite their equal official status. Hence, working hypothesis 1 was shown to hold both for Rwanda and Uganda, as clearly demonstrated in FIGURE 1 above and FIGURE 2 below. FIGURE 2 below shows the totals for the two official languages, English and Swahili, in Uganda. As can be seen, English is dominant in all units of analysis, except in unit 1, *Official status*, since English and Swahili have equal status as co-official languages.

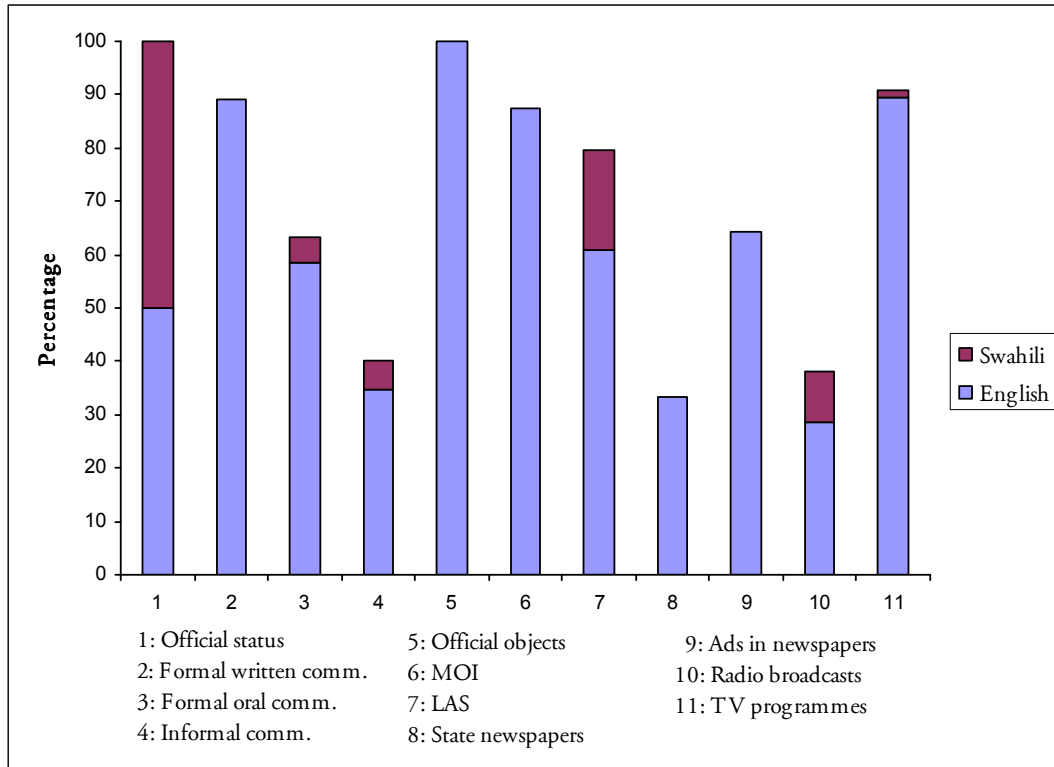


FIGURE 2. *Official multilingual management in Uganda*

In conclusion, English, which was the sole official language in Uganda from independence in 1962 to 2005, has a paramount position. Swahili has some long-established functions in the domains of official language management: in the army, in the police, as a subject in secondary and higher education, and as an LWD. The recent declaration of Swahili as a co-official language has apparently not led to any new functions for this language in official settings. Thus, the future of Swahili is not clear. There are indications that it will gradually be introduced into domains such as education, but it is still too early to decide whether or not the allocation of status to Swahili was more than a tactical political statement by the government.

If one examines the results pertaining to non-official management, it seems clear that the use of the official languages of European origin is enhanced, both in Rwanda and in Uganda. This supports working hypothesis 6 (see section 1.2), which suggested that the use of non-African languages in non-official domains would be enhanced because of the prestige with which imported languages of European origin are generally endowed in Africa. In spite of the low number of speakers of these languages, the use of the non-African

languages English and French/English was expected to be high in non-official domains,

This trend is more striking in some domains than in others. For example, European languages were extensively used on private signs and for advertisements in private newspapers in both countries. This does not reflect a need to communicate in English or French, but is a way of marking social status through languages.

In Uganda, English – even more than French and English in Rwanda, was the dominant language of private newspapers and book publishing. That English in Uganda was used more than English and French in Rwanda contradicts hypothesis 6, which expected the use of European official languages to be on an equal level in the two countries.

This study has not penetrated the aspects of attitudes towards languages and the reasons for these language choices. Nevertheless, the data clearly indicate that French and English are attributed values beyond a straightforward communicative level. Obviously, the number of persons able to use the official non-African languages is low in both Rwanda and Uganda, although it is higher in Uganda than in Rwanda, and higher in urban than in rural areas. Even when this is accounted for, however, the totals are still judged to be noticeable compared with actual knowledge of the languages among the citizens.

9.2 The position of the national and official language Rwanda

As underlined earlier, Rwanda has a rather unique position in the African context, as it has a potential of reaching practically all citizens. Theoretically, therefore, it could be used in all communication or interactions in both official and non-official domains.

The study as a whole clearly confirms the unique position of Rwanda as a language which is widely used in all domains of society, both official and non-official. However, and not unexpectedly, Rwanda shares the linguistic space with the co-official languages French and English in all domains, but to a varying degree, as suggested in working hypothesis 1 (see section 1.2). Generally speaking, Rwanda is found to be used to a lesser extent in the domains of official multilingual management than in non-official domains. Within official domains the language additionally holds a stronger position for institutionalised language use compared with its official status, as described above, even if there are a few settings where Rwanda has marginal status or use. These latter settings are highlighted below.

As Rwanda's outreach is so potent, it is perhaps more remarkable that Rwanda was not found to be used to its full potential in all non-official domains. Other factors than purely communicative ones have had an impact on language choice, therefore.

Thus, working hypothesis 5 appears to be supported. Only for oral communication within the domain *Religion*, for communication at markets, private radio broadcasts and private publishing, Rwanda was found to be used predominantly. In the latter communicative functions, Rwanda is clearly preferred – to the detriment of the co-official languages French and English. The extensive use of Rwanda in these settings thus confirms hypothesis 8 which put forward that African languages would be used more in oral than in written settings. That Rwanda additionally had such a dominant use in private publishing is a surprising result which shows that Rwanda as a medium is acknowledged in a setting which traditionally in African context is characterized by the use of the imported languages of European origin.

A striking trend in the data is that the use of Rwanda for advertisements in private newspapers was marginal. Additionally, Rwanda was marginally required for employment in offices and to a very limited extent found on billboards and private shop signs. The results of both these sign categories fall into the same interval namely *Used marginally/Marginal status*, following the criteria given in TABLE 6.

This under-representation, mainly of Rwanda, can be traced to inherent societal structures, but mostly to imposed attitudes towards languages. It is not totally unexpected that French and English are required for employment in offices as at least some of the offices are involved in international business. I have nevertheless found that most offices in the Republic of Rwanda are small national or even local businesses, with no or very little need for European languages for their day-to-day communication. Furthermore, to find a high degree of advertisements in private newspapers in French and English is quite expected, as these are the languages of higher education and are known by middle-class citizens, who probably also form their main target audience.

What is more surprising is that Rwanda is used to such a reduced extent on private signs. If only practical considerations were at play, the language known by practically all Rwandans would have been chosen almost exclusively by shop owners and companies advertising their goods or specialities on signs and billboards. The extensive use of the official languages English and French, which are not known by more than a very marginal part of the population, is most likely due to other forces or myths (described in 9.1), such as the

attribution of sophistication, modernity or other attitudes towards these languages (discussed in section 6.2 and chapter 8), or lack of Rwandan terms (discussed in 6.2.1.3), which is also linked to the attribution of prestige and importance to the imported European languages, as suggested in working hypothesis 6.

9.3 The use of African languages in Rwanda and Uganda

As expressed in working hypothesis 4 (see 1.2), Ganda and other L1s in Uganda were expected to be used to a lesser extent than Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda. The examination of working hypothesis 4 confirmed this idea. Even if Rwanda is not used to its full potential in non-official domains, as demonstrated above, there are considerable differences when comparing the use of Rwanda and the use of Ugandan languages. The results of the Z-tests conducted for Rwanda compared with Ugandan languages (*Ganda* and *OALs* in combination), which are accounted for in Chapters 3 to 8, are summarised in TABLE 133. The units of analysis *Official status: Constitution, laws and decrees* and *Languages of official objects* (which are found in Chapter 3) and the two units of analysis of the *Education* domain (*Language(s) as MOI* and *Language(s) as a subject*) were not tested due to a zero frequency or a low amount of data (see 1.6.3.5).

TABLE 133. *Z-test for Rwanda versus Ugandan languages – All units of analysis*

DOMAIN		SETTINGS	UNIT	Signi- ficant	Not signi- ficant	Level	
O F F I C I A L	Official domains	State institutions and offices	Language(s) used for				
			– Formal written communication	X		0.01	
			– Formal oral communication	X		0.01	
	State media	Media publishers Newspapers Radion stations TV companies	Language(s) of		X		
			– Newspapers/periodicals			0.01	
			– Advertisements	X		0.05	
			– Radio	X		0.01	
			– Television	X		0.01	
N O N O F F I C I A L	Trade and commerce	Markets Shops Offices Streets	Language(s) used in		X		
			– Markets			0.01	
			– Shops	X		0.05	
			– Offices	X		0.01	
				– Billboards	X		0.01
				– Shop signs	X		0.01
	Religion	Churches and mosques	Language(s) of				
			– Sermons/liturgy/preaching	X		0.05	
			– Hymns/psalms/prayers	X		0.05	
			– Formal written administration		X		
– Internal formal oral communication			X		0.01		
– Informal internal communication (written and oral)			X		0.05		
Private media	Media publishers Newspapers Publishing houses Radio stations TV companies	Language(s) of					
		– Newspapers/periodicals	X	X	0.01		
		– Advertisements			0.01		
		– Publishing	X		0.01		
			– Radio	X		0.01	

In all but four of the units tested, there was a significant difference between Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and the African languages in Uganda. The difference was in favour of Rwanda for all units except for *Advertisements in*

state newspapers and *Private radio broadcasts*. Thus, the results generally validate working hypothesis 4, namely that the national language Rwanda would be found to be used more than African languages in Uganda.

However, the exceptions which are accounted for above demonstrate some striking trends, which contradict hypothesis 4. As shown in section 8.2.3 earlier, African languages are employed extensively in both Rwanda and Uganda for private radio broadcasts. Statistically, Ugandan languages were used significantly more than Rwanda in this sub-domain, probably due to regional broadcasts being in Ugandan languages. Radio is the main media channel in both countries, with an historical, well-established and well-documented outreach. Additionally, it is an oral medium – a fact which favours African languages (see working hypothesis 8 and section 9.2). It is not too surprising, therefore, that both NGOs (whose main objective is to maximise their communicative potential) and private companies (whose main objective is to maximise their profit) choose African languages – even more often in Uganda than in Rwanda.

The use of Ugandan languages for advertisements in state-owned newspapers is perhaps even more striking and surprising. Ugandan languages are significantly more frequently utilised, compared with the national language Rwanda in Rwanda. As demonstrated in 5.2.2.1, the use of Ugandan languages was almost twice as frequent in the Ugandan state-controlled newspaper advertisements, compared with advertisements in the state-owned Rwanda-medium *Imvaho Nshya*.

Although the Ugandan state mostly favours English for its advertising, with the exception that public notices are mostly in Ugandan languages, private Ugandan advertisers in these state-owned newspapers generally seem to prefer Ugandan languages. In Rwanda, both government institutions and private companies use Rwanda for public notices, but for other kinds of advertisements, French and English are preferred over Rwanda. This difference is not easily explained. It is possible that, even here, the regional character of the state-owned newspapers in Uganda and their use of the area language play a particular role. The buyers or readers of these Ugandan-language-medium newspapers will probably even read advertisements in those languages. However, this does not explain the extensive use of French and English in the Rwanda-medium *Imvaho Nshya*. Here it appears that only the educated elite are targeted, as the use of Rwanda would reach all citizens.

African languages are generally used more in advertisements in state-owned newspapers than in private newspaper advertisements. In private media advertisements, both Rwanda and Ugandan languages are employed marginally

and the difference between these is not significant. This is directly contradictory to hypothesis 4, which suggested that the total use of Ugandan languages would be less than the use of Rwanda. The same trend, namely a similar use of African languages and, thus, contradictory to the proposed hypothesis, was manifested for the remaining three units of analysis: *Language(s) of formal written administration* in the domain *Religion*, *Languages used at markets*, and languages used as the editorial language of state newspapers, i.e. the unit of analysis *Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals*. Both in Rwanda and Uganda, African languages were used to a lesser extent for written administration than for formal oral and informal communication in the *Religion* domain. The difference between the use of Rwanda (*Used frequently*) and Ugandan languages (*Used to a fair extent*) was not significant. For the two latter units in both countries African languages were used predominantly (*Languages used at markets*) and used frequently (*Language(s) of newspapers/periodicals*).

In the following, some further aspects are illustrated in more detail, starting with the position of the dominant African languages in Rwanda and Uganda. FIGURE 3 shows the results of *Dominant African languages*, which groups Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda and Ganda in Uganda as a two-dimensional coordinate system.

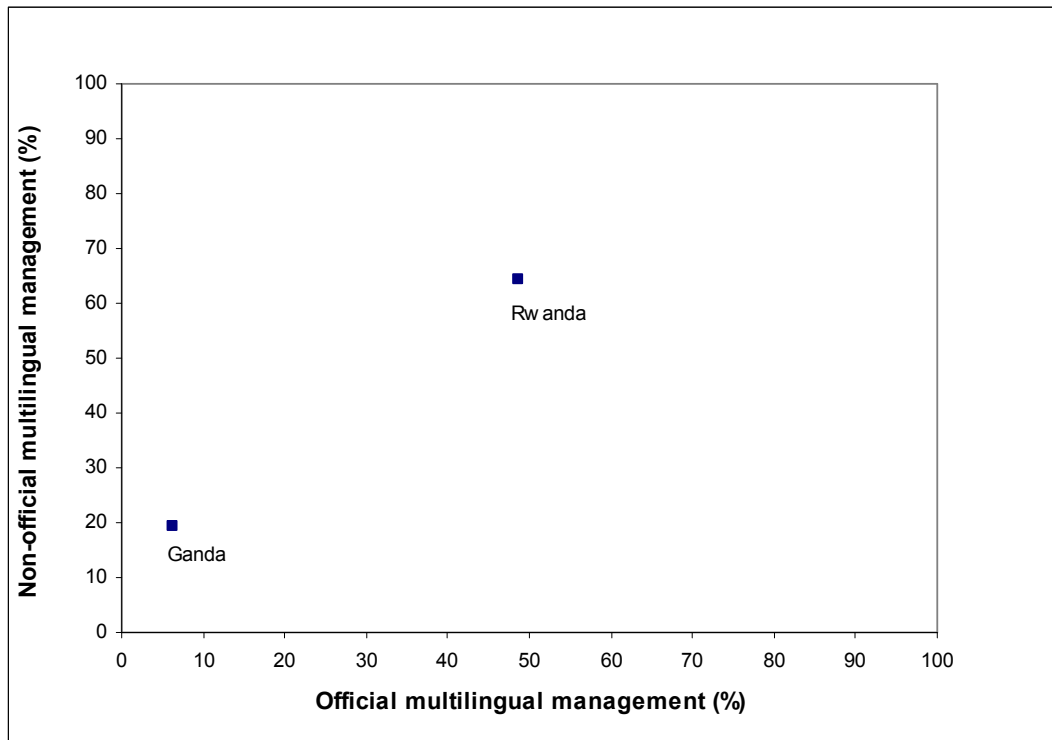


FIGURE 3. *The languages Rwanda and Ganda: Official versus non-official multilingual management*

By contrasting the totals for *Official multilingual management* (X axis) and *Non-official multilingual management* (on the Y coordinate), as suggested in working hypothesis 9, it is clearly demonstrated that Rwanda has a high percentage total on both the axes, but slightly higher on the *Non-official* axis. Generally speaking, FIGURE 3 shows that Rwanda is used frequently or has high status within the domains of official and non-official multilingual management. Additionally, as foreseen in hypothesis 2, FIGURE 3 emphasises that Rwanda's total is much higher than the total of Ganda, which is in the interval *Used marginally/Marginal status*. For Ganda, the total for the domains of non-official multilingual management is approximately twice as high as for those of official multilingual management. That Ganda is used less in official than in non-official multilingual management is not completely surprising, as Ganda has no official recognition in laws or legal documents. Furthermore, English has a profound position within both official and non-official multilingual management, as demonstrated in sections 9.1 and 9.5, respectively.

The total percentages for both Rwanda and Ganda are higher for the domains of non-official than for the domains of official multilingual management. The noticeably higher total for Ganda in non-official domains is

probably linked to both its function as a major L1 and as an LWD. The function of Ganda as an LWD will be discussed in more detail below.

9.4 Languages of wider distribution

As earlier described in 2.2.2.2, Ganda, English and Swahili are the main LWDs in Uganda. Area languages, i.e. the major languages within a defined geographical area, are additionally used as LWDs within the various regions of Uganda. In the following discussion, the roles of Ganda and Swahili as LWDs are focused on. The role of English was described in 9.1 above.

9.4.1 Ganda as an LWD

The results of the study as a whole suggest that there is a trend to use Ganda as an LWD in some domains. Ganda is used especially frequently for communicative functions in religious practice, at markets, and in private radio broadcasts. As discussed above, these are all settings which target the average Ugandan with the purpose of functional oral communication. Factors such as prestige or attitudes towards languages have a low impact here.

In other domains within non-official domains, Ganda was found to be used less than would have been expected, for example, in private newspapers, book publishing, shop signs, and billboards. This fact contradicts working hypothesis 5 in section 1.2, which suggested that the use of Ganda would be greater than its use as an L1 in all non-official domains. Furthermore, Ganda was not required at all for employment in offices. This might indicate that Ganda has a low prestige in these settings, in contrast to languages of European origin (*Non-African official languages*), as discussed in 9.1 above.

In Uganda, with its multilingual setting, there is definitely a need for LWDs to facilitate the communication across language borders. In Africa, communication has always been solved through multilingualism and the use of lingua francas. Traditionally, speakers of African languages have learnt other languages to communicate. This study as a whole indicated that Ganda is used as an LWD to some extent. Ganda is employed at markets in the east, north and west of Uganda, i.e. outside the central region, where it serves as the L1. However, in the regions of Uganda that were investigated, the area languages – more than Ganda, as clearly demonstrated in Chapter 6 – are used for communication across linguistic borders.

Through status allocation, English and, later, Swahili have been promoted as official languages and, thus, as LWDs. However, there is no need for English or Swahili except at national level. At regional and local levels, the use of Ganda and other area languages function well and should be promoted instead.

9.4.2 *The role of Swahili*

Swahili, which has practically no L1 speakers in Uganda, has a limited use as an LWD in certain domains. The role of Swahili in Uganda and in Rwanda is discussed in the following section.

Hypothesis 7 proposed that Swahili would be used to approximately the same extent in Rwanda and Uganda, as a general lingua franca and as a medium of communication within the army and the police in both countries. The recent introduction of Swahili in Uganda as a co-official language alongside English was not expected to have had any significant impact on language practice.

FIGURE 4 below visually illustrates how Swahili is used in the domains of official multilingual management. Swahili was found to be used only very marginally and only in some of the settings investigated. This applied to both countries. However, Swahili was employed more in Uganda than in Rwanda for the units of analysis that were investigated. In Uganda, Swahili had a measurable total in 6 out of 11 units of analysis. In Rwanda, Swahili had a quantifiable but marginal total in only three units: *Language(s) of informal written and oral communication* (in the Figure, termed *Institutionalised use: informal*, 0.2 per cent); *Language(s) as a subject (LAS)*, 1.7 per cent); and *Time allocation of languages – Radio (Radio)*, 7.8 per cent), as demonstrated in FIGURE 4 below. Although Swahili has official recognition in Uganda as a co-official language with English, Swahili's official status is not reflected in use in the units of analysis investigated, as explained earlier in section 3.2.2.1, despite its function within the army and the police forces. In Rwanda, Swahili is not used in these official functions anymore, as discussed earlier in section 3.2.1.1.

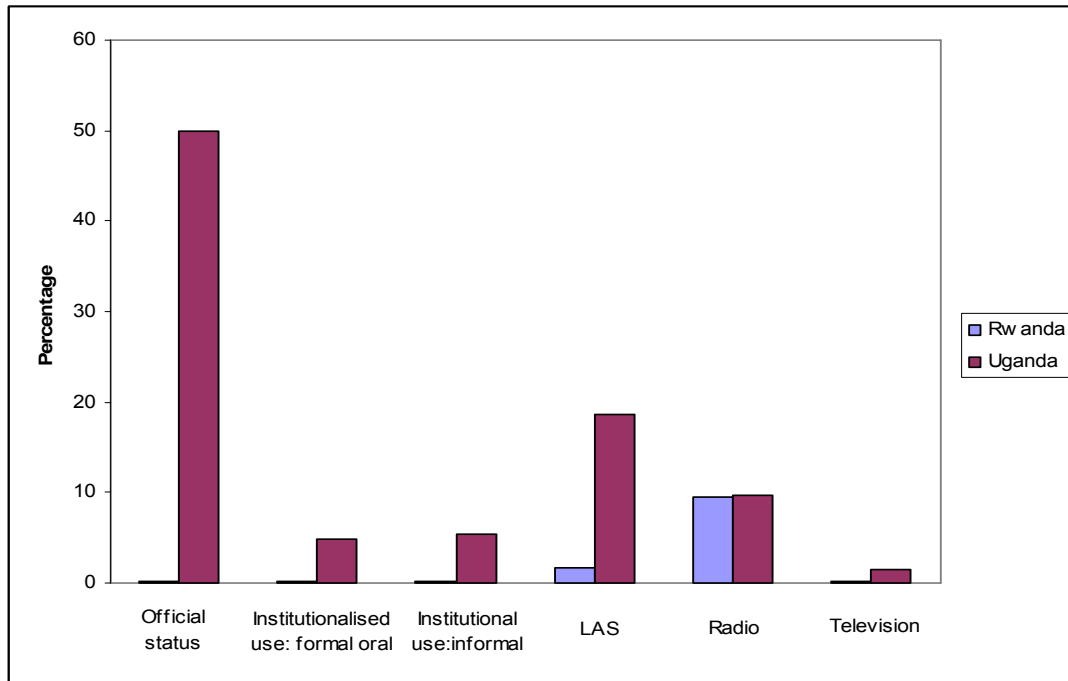


FIGURE 4. *Swahili in the domains of official multilingual management*

Official status is an abbreviation of the unit of analysis *Official status: Constitution, laws and decrees*; *Institutionalised use: formal oral* is short for *Language(s) used for formal oral communication*; *Institutionalised use: informal* implies “*Language(s) used for informal written and oral communication*”; *LAS* is short for *Language(s) as a subject*; *Radio* signifies *Time allocation of languages - Radio*; while *Television* relates to *Time allocation of languages - Television*.

Generally speaking, Swahili has marginal use within official multilingual management. When compared with non-official multilingual management, a similar pattern emerges. Like in official multilingual management, the total of Swahili is not measurable in all units analysed. FIGURE 5 illustrates the totals for Swahili in Rwanda and Uganda in these non-official domains. As can be seen even here, Swahili is generally more widely used in Uganda than in Rwanda, with the exception of some units of analysis, namely *Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching* (called *Sermons* in the Figure) and *Time allocation of languages - Radio* (called *Radio* in the Figure). The percentage totals are generally within the TABLE 6 interval *Used marginally*.

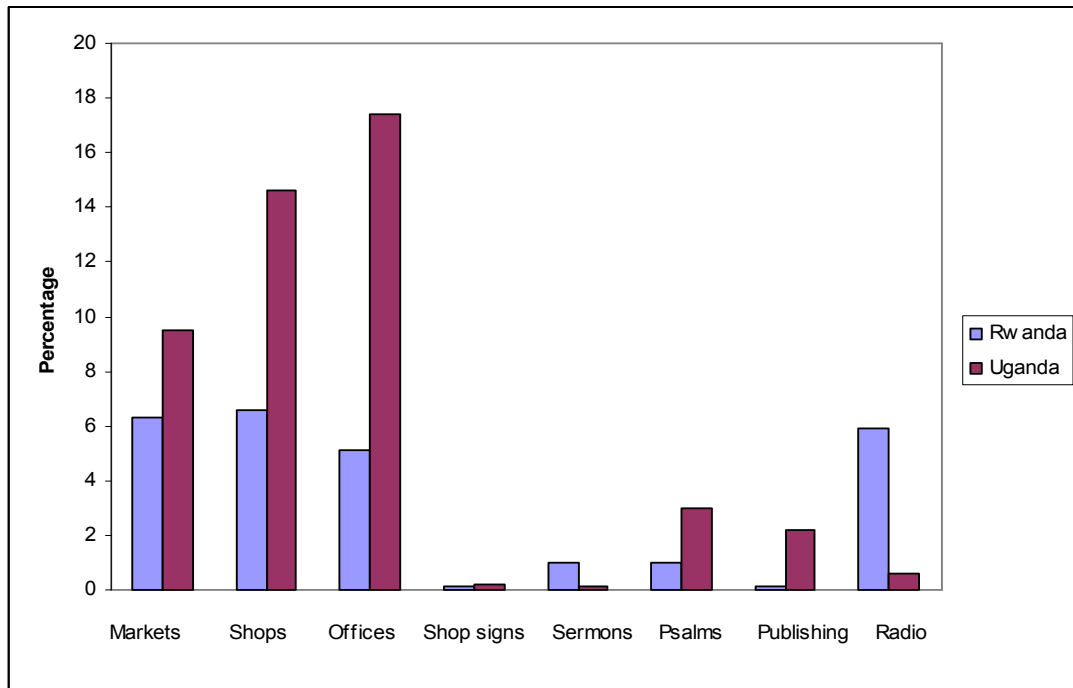


FIGURE 5. *Swahili in the domains of non-official multilingual management*

The bars demonstrate the results of the units of analysis, see TABLE 2. *Markets* give the results of the unit of analysis *Languages used at markets*. *Shops* should be read as *Language requirements – Private shops*, *Offices* signifies *Languages requirements – Private offices*, *Shop signs* is *Language(s) used on private shop signs*, *Sermons* displays the totals for *Language(s) of sermons/liturgy/preaching*, *Psalms* for *Language(s) of hymns/psalms (Islam: prayers in the mosque)*, *Publishing* for *Number of books in various languages* and finally *Radio* gives the totals for the unit of analysis *Time allocation of languages – Radio*.

Only for three units of analysis, namely *Language requirements – Private shops*, *Language requirements – Private offices*, and *Time allocation of languages – Radio* was the difference between the position of Swahili in Rwanda and Uganda significant. The Z-test displayed significant differences at $p < 0.01$. The null hypothesis was rejected in favour of the alternate hypothesis. Thus, Swahili was in significantly higher demand in Uganda than in Rwanda regarding employment requirements in both shops and offices, while Swahili was used more in Rwanda than in Uganda for radio broadcasts. That Swahili was found to be used more in Rwanda than in Uganda in private radio is rather surprising: the multilingualism in Uganda contrasts with the situation in the Republic of Rwanda, where Rwanda reaches all Rwandans. Due to the regional character of radio broadcasts in Uganda, there is apparently no need for Swahili as an LWD. The area languages are used predominantly for these regional broadcasts and function as LWDs.

These findings contradict hypothesis 7, which expected that Swahili would be used to approximately the same degree in Rwanda and Uganda.

A graphic summary of the position of Swahili in the domains of official and non-official multilingual management is given below in FIGURE 6 on the basis of FIGURE 4 and FIGURE 5 above. Even if the use of Swahili is marginal in Rwanda and Uganda, there is a noticeable difference between the two countries. Not only due to its official status in Uganda, Swahili obtained a higher total in the domains of both official and non-official multilingual management in Uganda compared with Rwanda. FIGURE 6 aptly summarises this difference.

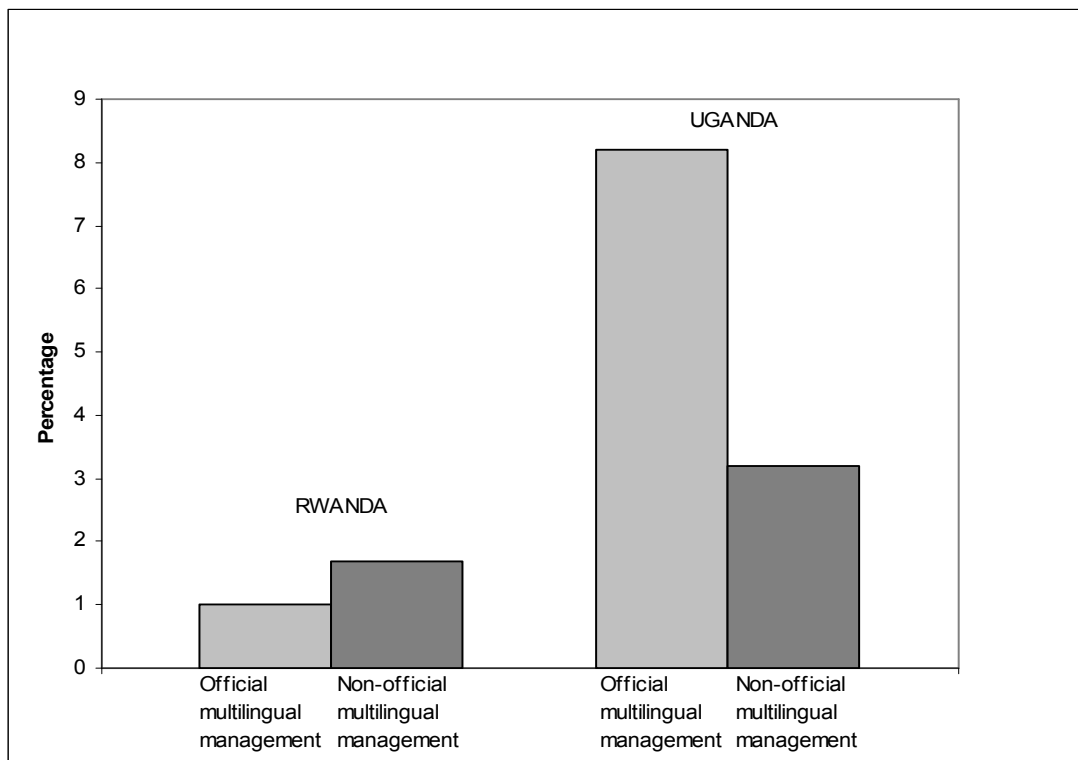


FIGURE 6. *The position of Swahili in Rwanda and Uganda*

9.5 *Official versus non-official multilingual management*

As outlined in section 1.5.1, the MMM which separates the domains of official multilingual management from non-official management is based on the idea that a contrastive analysis of the relationship between these domains would reveal the strength of languages, as additionally proposed in hypothesis 9. The totals were believed to be affected by both legal decision and use, but also by commercial forces, attitudes and beliefs about languages.

In this section, the average total of all the units of analysis in official multilingual management, i.e. the units of analysis of all domains accounted for in Part II of this thesis, are added to the total of all units which have been analysed within non-official multilingual management (Part III) in order to demonstrate the position of the languages or language groups studied. FIGURE 7 shows the totals of the non-official multilingual management domains on the ordinate (Y axis) and the official multilingual management totals on the abscissa (X axis).

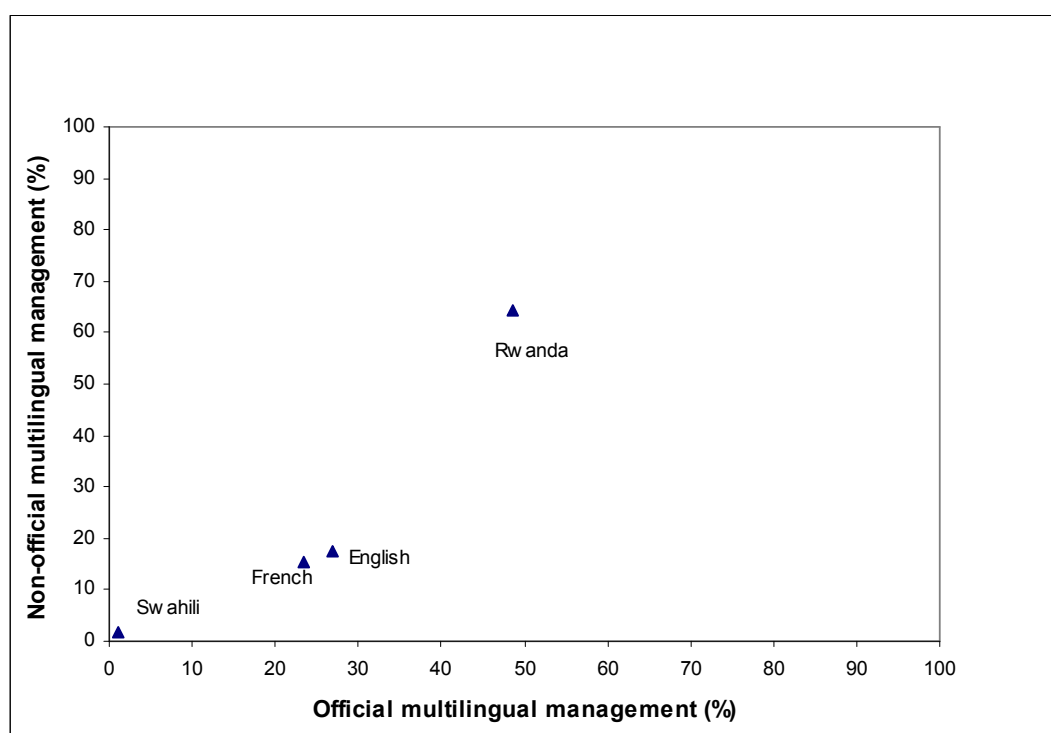


FIGURE 7. *The position of languages in Rwanda*

FIGURE 7 aptly illustrates that the total of the national language Rwanda is high, for both official and non-official management, even if the percentage is somewhat higher in non-official domains than in those of official multilingual management. The position of both English and French are far below that of Rwanda. Swahili has a very marginal total.

Rwanda, through its official status and high to dominant status through institutionalised use in state administration on all levels and in most state media, empowers the Rwandan population in a way which, as demonstrated below, is clearly totally different from the situation in Uganda. This in spite of the educational system in Rwanda, which favours non-African languages.

Up until recently, French has had a position as a language of the educated elite. The recent upgrading of English through function allocations in education and administration will probably change the power ratio obtained through language competence. If, as stipulated in the Cabinet decision, English will be used in administration, and Rwanda is used less frequently in institutionalised functions within the domains of official multilingual management, the exclusion of all but the educated elite will probably be even more evident in the future, which will consequently lead to reduced access to information at the grass roots.

FIGURE 8 below illustrates the position of languages in Uganda in the same way as for Rwanda above. The dot plot diagram illustrates the use of languages/language groups in relation to status obtained through allocation and institutionalised use. As can be seen, the total for English is high – higher within the domains of official in comparison with non-official multilingual management. This is a reversed situation, compared with the use of Rwanda (see FIGURE 7). *Ganda*, *Other African languages (OALs)* and *Swahili* all have much lower totals, even if these are not negligible.

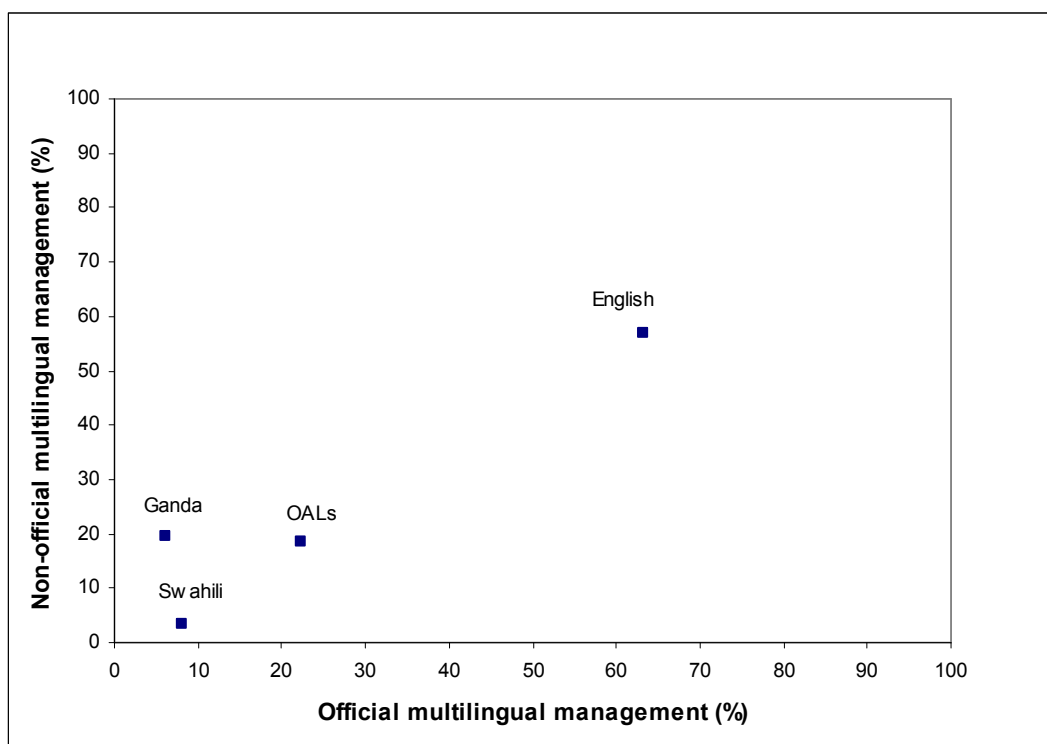


FIGURE 8. *The position of languages in Uganda*

In terms of access to power through languages, in the domains of both official and non-official multilingual management, citizens who are empowered in Uganda are usually those who have mastered English, while those who lack competence in English are excluded, as discussed in section 1.4.6. This disempowerment is frequently the result of a covert exclusion through systematic use of English in vital domains in society. However, the exclusion can also be more open. A striking example from Uganda of an open exclusion lies in the requirements listed in running for Parliament. A candidate needs a certificate which states his/her level of education, i.e. at least an A-level, that is, at least 13 years of formal education. This requirement is officially justified because a good proficiency in English is essential.⁶⁵ Whether or not this is the only reason, it is certainly an effective tool for excluding less qualified, but apt candidates from power.

It is not surprising that both English in Uganda and Rwanda in the Republic of Rwanda have a strong position in official multilingual management domains, considering their status as official languages. What is more surprising is that the position of English in Uganda is almost as strong in non-official as it is in official multilingual management domains. Probably both the long-term official status accorded to English and the powerful mythologies discussed in 9.1 above that are embedded in the linguistic culture of Ugandan society have influenced the market value of English. As a consequence, those who know English, i.e. the educated urban elite, are empowered; those who do not are more or less excluded in certain domains. As Bourdieu (1991) states, the communication is designated by the user's relative position in a social field.

In the non-official domains in both countries, the intrinsic exclusion through lack of access to specific languages is also found in private signage, all media except radio, and also to some extent in administrative written functions within the *Religion* domain. In contrast, communication at markets, radio broadcasts, religious services and employment in shops favour African languages. Functionality and communicative needs seem to be the stronger forces determining frequency of use here. Hence, the languages which are known by the addressees, i.e. African languages, are chosen. These are also frequently the only languages known by the participants in the interactions

⁶⁵ There have recently been calls for a minimum standard qualification, e.g. a university degree, as a requirement for candidates interested in running for Parliament (R Nalumaga, pers. comm. 3 November 2009).

concerned. That African languages were found to be employed in these oral settings confirms working hypothesis 8, as discussed above.

A graphic summary of the position of languages in Rwanda and Uganda is given in FIGURE 9 below, where FIGURE 7 and FIGURE 8 above are conflated.

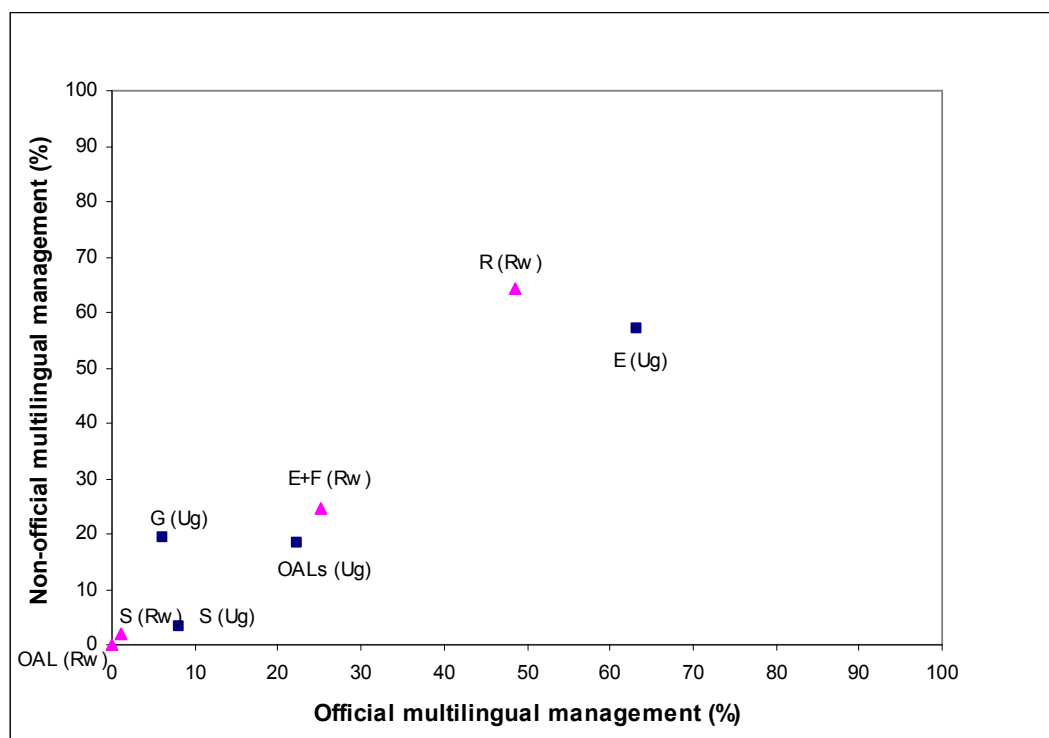


FIGURE 9. *The position of languages in Rwanda and Uganda*

The figure aptly illustrates that there are differences between the two countries investigated in this study. The effects of language choice and the reasons why certain languages are used, i. e. whether or not these differences are related to the linguistic situation in those countries, to official and institutionalised language use, or to other structural factors is discussed below.

Before summarising how languages are used, some comments on the societal bilingualism or multilingualism in Rwanda and Uganda seem to be necessary. Both Rwanda and Uganda are multilingual, using Coulmas' definition (see section 1.4.2) that several languages are used side by side.

The majority of the population in Rwanda is neither multilingual nor even bilingual. In Rwanda, nearly 100 per cent of the population speaks Rwanda as an L1, but only a fringe minority are bilingual or trilingual.

According to statistics (see 2.1.2.2), only 3.9 per cent know French as an L2 and 1.9 per cent English. Swahili is known by 3 per cent. Hence, approximately 90 per cent of the population is practically monolingual. The equivalent figures for Uganda are somewhat higher: 21 per cent for English and 35 per cent for Swahili are reported for knowledge of these languages as L2s, as accounted for in section 2.2.2.2. In Uganda, multilingualism in other Ugandan languages is common, even when mutual intelligibility between some languages is taken into consideration. Thus, multilingualism is more frequent in the Ugandan context than in Rwandan society.

As expected and accounted for in the previous discussions, the languages that occur in the two countries under study are not found to be used to the same extent or on an equal footing. In spite of the low number of bilinguals and multilinguals in the official languages of European origin in both countries, this study shows that both states are diglossic. *Diglossia* is, as stated in 1.4.2, defined as a social situation where two or more languages coexist with different status and/or function. It is traditionally assumed that languages have certain spheres of social interaction assigned to them. Languages are additionally often regarded as having a complementary use or function, i.e. that one language is used to the exclusion of one or more other languages. The situation found in Rwanda and Uganda only partially confirms this.

A diglossic situation with layered relationships corresponding to varying power dynamics is typical of many African nations. A study of both official and non-official multilingual management in Rwanda and Uganda clearly shows that a language asymmetry exists, i. e. that languages are assigned specific roles in society, both through legislation and through institutionalised language use. However, the findings of this study show that Rwanda and Uganda differ in some aspects. I think it would be more appropriate to talk of a type of *embedded diglossia* - to use Calvet's terminology, especially in Rwanda. Status-wise, the official languages are on the same level in Rwanda, but the enhanced status of Rwanda through its institutionalised use in formal domains, especially in the official domains, shows that even the extent to which a language is used must be taken into account as well when labelling the type of diglossia which exists in Rwanda. In Rwanda, the diglossic situation is both simple and complex: Rwanda and the co-official languages French and English share the linguistic space for both high-level interaction and low-level communication, but also, albeit to a varying extent, regarding settings and degree of use. Thus, there is an overlapping diglossia, to use Fasold's term. A more fluid definition of

diglossia is probably needed to define the multilingual situation in Rwanda as regards the functional differentiation of languages.

In Uganda, on the other hand, a more classical diglossia obtains, with African languages used for low-level functions and English for elite 'premium' activities – hence, an exoglossia.

The complex situation of language status and use has been revealed through the use of the MMM. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that Rwanda's official recognition as a national language and its formal appointment as a co-official language have had a major impact on the totals for this language in all the domains investigated. As expected, Rwanda was found to be used to a lesser extent than its potential suggested, and in some domains even less than Ugandan languages, e.g. for private radio broadcasts, and on the same level as Ugandan languages for written administration in churches, communication at markets, and in state-owned newspapers. Nevertheless, Rwanda's status is well established and it is used extensively in the domains of both official and non-official multilingual management, with the exception of the domain *Education*.

It is obvious that the masses do not master the language(s) of the elite, namely the imported languages of European origin, either in Rwanda or in Uganda. However, in Rwanda, unlike Uganda, it is possible for ordinary citizens to employ the national language Rwanda in official domains. Conversely, the capacity for Ugandans to communicate within these official domains is limited: the average citizen's exclusion from official domains through lack of access to the languages that dominate in them is apparent in Uganda. The recent development with the enhanced status of English in Rwanda poses some questions regarding the future function of Rwanda as a medium in official domains. In addition, the effective structural obstacle which the educational system constitutes, as mentioned above, restrains Rwandan citizens from full access to power.

Even if Rwanda continues to be used in official domains, I classify both countries as exhibiting *Existing diglossia without bilingualism* (see TABLE 1), using Fishman's four possible combinations of bilingualism and diglossic situations. There is an unequal distribution of power in such situations, as discussed above. Speakers of non-African languages acquire linguistic capital, to use Bourdieu's terminology, and these languages are conferred with a certain legitimacy, credibility and authority, in addition to their potential to grant their speakers access to top-level employment and economic opportunities.

When the imported European languages are used for vertical communication, only a marginal part of the population is reached, and this communication does not integrate the masses. Hence, in Uganda, only a horizontal communication is possible between peers, i.e. the educated elite, due to societal multilingualism and the – in practical terms – exoglossic policy pursued by the government of Uganda.

The recent decisions affecting Swahili in Uganda and English in Rwanda demonstrate that, in both countries, there is a far-reaching modification of the linguistic situation imposed by the state. A competition between languages clearly exists in both countries. This competition is orchestrated by the governments and the political powers that be. As accounted for in 3.1.2.1, the changes in 2005 in Uganda were the outcome of a protracted debate and competition between Ganda and Swahili for a role as an official language, which was won by Swahili allegedly due to Uganda's recent membership of the East African Community. The changes in late 2008 in Rwanda were similarly the results of a power struggle on the linguistic market in Rwanda, a struggle that has been going on since 1994, when the current regime took power.

There are obviously agents behind this language competition. These agents have either overt or hidden agendas. For example, there are those who claim that the enhancement of the status of English has been a covert or tacit strategy by the ruling elite in Rwanda ever since the genocide, possibly as a means of controlling the 'old' intellectual elite which were educated through French. This is, of course, possible and plausible. However, the scope of this study has not included an investigation of the political strategies at play. Suffice it here to acknowledge the role of agents behind the decisions which have been made, and the resulting changes on the linguistic market.

The status and use of languages are products of how people value and use languages, within the domains of both official and non-official language management. The impact of top-down decisions about languages are traceable in non-official domains, e.g. when one looks at the imported languages English and French on signs in both countries and the extensive use of the same in advertisements.

Simultaneously, it is clear that African languages have the capacity to be used more extensively than they are today. In the case of Rwanda, even if Rwanda is officially recognised as both a national and an official language, it has no formal recognition which equals its usefulness and acceptance by the country's citizens. Instead of acknowledging the full capacity of Rwanda, English has recently been promoted.

In my opinion, these changes are the results of a competition between languages on the linguistic markets in Rwanda and Uganda. This competition has resulted in clearly hierarchical roles of languages in both countries. Hence, the social interaction and the spheres where one or more languages are accepted are determined by official language policy and planning, but stimulated by non-official management. A more extensive use of African languages in all domains would theoretically enhance their status and demonstrate their potential to function in domains where they presently are not accepted. Unfortunately, it seems that considerations other than practical usefulness are the stronger, as discussed in 9.1. Thus, globalisation, economic ties with trade partners, and myths and beliefs about the superiority of European languages at present direct language policy in both Rwanda and Uganda.

9.6 Final remarks

This study analysed two multilingual countries from a macro-sociolinguistic point of view. It has additionally presented a model for country analysis, which facilitates the comparison of Rwanda and Uganda.

To my knowledge, this study is the very first comparative study in Africa to examine in such detail the position of all languages in two countries, including all the main domains of society. As a tool for understanding the status assigned to languages, how languages are used, and the relationships between languages within a given society, the MMM has contributed to a better knowledge of the linguistic situation in Rwanda and Uganda. The MMM may additionally be used for further work comparing multilingual settings.

A macro-sociolinguistic work intrinsically covers a wide range of domains. Due to time constraints and the format of this work, not all settings and research areas are covered in the study. The broad approach also naturally limits the depth to which each domain can be examined. It is also obvious that changes are ongoing in every area of society. In future, it would be both interesting and necessary to study some of the domains in more detail; education would be one of these. The recent changes in both Rwanda and Uganda, especially the implementation of the recent decisions about education, need to be followed up. Here, Rwanda and Uganda have chosen opposite directions in policy. Shockingly, the Republic of Rwanda has chosen to replace Rwanda with English as an MOI – a choice whose impact on learning is an imperative object of study in the future.

The choice of Swahili as a co-official language in Uganda and the implications of this choice in the domains of society, especially within education, is another imperative in respect of an area to study, possibly linked to attitudes towards both Swahili and Ganda, which lost the battle for official recognition. Furthermore, signage, both official and private, caught my interest ever since my very first fieldwork in Rwanda. The use of languages on other written items in the cityscape, collectively called the *linguistic landscape*, also needs further attention. The scope of this work could also be broadened to include motives behind the choices of languages, for example, or language choices linked to identity and symbolic associations. Even code-mixing would be an interesting new avenue of research for these two countries, possibly linked to signage but also to domains such as official use (e.g. in Parliament in Rwanda) and media (including advertisements). Another avenue of research which not only has implications for the sub-Saharan African context, but also for other parts of the world, is the expansion of English as a global language, linked to both open and covert support from organisations such as the Commonwealth and the World Bank.

In fact, all the domains included in the current study would benefit from a more thorough examination. Furthermore, it would be interesting to use the MMM in other African countries. Comparisons using the same methodology would result in a unique base of information which could be used by politicians and language policy planners alike in the countries studied.

Language policy and planning should be considered a vital part of development strategies. Disappointingly, even recent language policy decisions tend to favour non-African languages, as clearly demonstrated in Rwanda, but also in Tanzania, where English is strengthening its position. Unfortunately, the promotion of African languages is frequently only paid lip service.

Multilingualism, which most African countries apparently consider a problem, must naturally be dealt with. However, even the world outside Africa is multicultural and multilingual, and so are most states or nations. As opposed to what people generally think, European countries also face multicultural and multilingual realities, despite earlier 19th and 20th century ideas of a nation state with one single language as a national language. These multicultural and multilingual realities have always been part of individuals' and communities' lives. Thus, underpinning most modern nations there are a number of cultures, languages and dialects. In the postmodern world, many nations have started to recognise this multicultural and multilingual reality.

Hopefully, even African nations will begin to acknowledge the de facto multilingual reality which characterises practically all sub-Saharan nations. The pre-postmodern multilingual management must be replaced by a management which sees multilingualism as an asset and not an obstacle to development. In a multilingual country, there is a need for languages to be assigned complementary roles which cover different functions in society. Future language policy work in Africa needs to acknowledge this.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Newspapers in Uganda

NEWSPAPER/PERIODICAL	Language	Periodicity	Published by the state (S) or privately (P)	Number of Copies
<i>The New Vision</i>	English	Daily	S	32,500
<i>The Sunday Vision</i>	English	Weekly	S	36,500
<i>Bukedde</i>	Ganda	Daily	S	14,300
<i>Orumuri</i>	Nyankore/Chiga	Weekly	S	9,500
<i>Rupiny</i>	Luo	Weekly	S	3,800
<i>Etop</i>	Teso	Weekly	S	5,200
<i>Ateker Newspaper</i>	Teso	Weekly	P	5,000
<i>Black Mamba Newspaper</i>	English	Weekly	P	3,000
<i>Dine Out Magazine</i>	English	Monthly	P	300
<i>East African Business Week</i>	English	Weekly	P	5,000
<i>East African Procurement</i>	English	Weekly	P	20,000
<i>Entatsi</i> (owned by <i>Red Pepper</i>)	Nyankore	Weekly	P	10,000
<i>Kampala Motorist monthly</i>	English	Monthly	P	1,000
<i>Kamunye Newspaper</i> (owned by <i>Red Pepper</i>)	Ganda	Daily	P	8,000
<i>Mulanzi Newspaper*</i>	Ganda		P	
<i>The Daily Monitor</i>	English	Daily	P	40,000
<i>The East African</i>	English	Daily	P	60,000
<i>The Financial Times</i>	English	Weekly	P	7,000
<i>The Job Weekly</i>	English	Weekly	P	10,000
<i>The Message</i>	English	Weekly	P	5,000
<i>Red Pepper</i>	English	Weekly	P	20,000
<i>The Sunday Monitor</i>	English	Weekly	P	40,000
<i>The Sunrise Communication</i>	English	Weekly	P	5,000
<i>The Uganda Confidential</i>	English	Weekly	P	3,000
<i>The Weekly Observer</i>	English	Weekly	P	15,000

* Registered, but never took off.

Appendix 2: Time allocation in secondary education in Rwanda

Weekly time allocation (hours per week)

O-level (1st, 2nd and 3rd Form)

Language	1st Form	2nd Form	3rd Form
Rwanda	2	2	2
French	6	6	6
English	6	6	6

A-level: Scientific section

Language	4th Form	5th Form	6th Form
Rwanda	2	2	–
French	3	2	2
English	3	2	2

A-level: Language option

Language	4th Form	5th Form	6th Form
Rwanda	4	4	4
French	7	7	7
English	7	7	7

A-level: Humanities and teacher training option

Language	4th Form	5th Form	6th Form
Rwanda	2	2	2
French	3	3	3
English	3	3	3

Source:

Government of Rwanda. 1996. *Workshop Seminar on Reviewing and Harmonizing the Curricula for General Secondary Education*. Kigali: MINEDUC, 57 pp.

Appendix 3: Shop employment requirements in Uganda

REGION, TOWN AND STREET	NO. OF INTVIEWEES
NORTHERN REGION	
GULU	
Acholi Road	56
Awach Road	48
Awich Road	29
Bank Lane	15
Cemetery Road	48
Juba Road	19
Kampala Road	67
Labwor Road	32
Market Road	30
Olya Road	24
EASTERN REGION	
BUSIA	
Customs Road	59
Jinja Road	61
Majanji Road	48
Tororo Road	59
CENTRAL REGION	
ABAYITA ABABIRI	
Entebbe Road	40
Kasenyi Road	56
ENTEBBE	
Kampala Road	46
GAYAZA	
'Main Street'	48
KAMPALA	
Bombo Road	99
Kampala Road	81
Kisaani Road	33

KASANGATI	
Gayaza Road	20
Icyankia Road	16
Kira Road	24
Nangabo Road	28
KIWOKO	
Ngoma Road	40
LUWEERO	
Abbey Mukwaya Road	24
Abdu Kasoma Road	30
Kasenke Road	16
Town Lane	24
MUKONO	
Jinja Road (Kampala-Jinja highway)	59
Kayunga Road	59
NKUMBA	
Entebbe Road	24
SSEETA	
Bajjo Road	16
Bukeerere Road	60
Namilyango Road	48
WOBULENZI	
Baamunaanika Road	35
Bukalasa Road	31
Kigulu Road	15
WESTERN REGION	
FORT PORTAL	
Bwamba Road	40
Kasese Road	68
Ruhandiika Street	22
Rukidi Street	58
TOTAL	1,741

Appendix 4. Examples of shop signs and billboards



Shop sign on High street in Mbarara, Uganda
English-Nyankore sign:
Eduuka y' emibazi 'Shop for drugs'



Billboard on the Mbarara-Kabale Highway
Monolingual billboard in Nyankore
requesting people to get a Hiv/AIDS test



Billboard in the outskirts of Kigali, Rwanda
Vuga mu masegonda... 'Speak in seconds...'
wishyure ku isegonda... 'pay per second'
MTN Per Second
MTN everywhere you go



Shop sign in Avenue de la Commerce, Kigali
The monolingual text in Rwanda says: 'Wear and become smart' 'We have for you wear new model' 'For adults and children' 'There is TV, videoplayer, iron'

Appendix 5. Private radio stations and language use in Uganda

RADIO STATION	LOCATION	LANGUAGE(S)
Choice FM (Nora Group of Companies)	Gulu	Acholi
Radio Four	Gulu	Acholi
Radio Maria	Gulu	Acholi
Peace Radio (Childcare International)	Kitgum	Acholi
Best Services Co, Ltd (Radio Pader)	Pader	Acholi/Lwo
BBC Kampala	Kampala	English
Campus FM	Kampala	English
Capital FM	Kampala	English
Hot 100 FM (FM Holdings Ltd)	Kampala	English
Radio ABC	Kampala	English
Radio One	Kampala	English
Touch FM	Kampala	English
Voice of Africa	Kampala	English
Sanyu FM	Mbale	English
Impact FM	Mbale	English and Masaaba
Tim Com	Kalangala	Ganda
Busiro FM	Kampala	Ganda
CBS FM	Kampala	Ganda
Dembe FM	Kampala	Ganda
Family Radio (Family Broadcasting Network)	Kampala	Ganda
Kampala African Radio (KARA FM)	Kampala	Ganda
Kampala FM	Kampala	Ganda
Mama FM	Kampala	Ganda
Metro FM	Kampala	Ganda
Radio Maria	Kampala	Ganda
Radio Sapientia	Kampala	Ganda
Radio Simba (Africa FM Ltd)	Kampala	Ganda
Radio Two	Kampala	Ganda
Super FM	Kampala	Ganda
Prime FM	Kireka	Ganda

(Appendix 5 cont.)

Baptist International Missions in Uganda (BIMU)	Masaka	Ganda
Buddu Broadcasting Service	Masaka	Ganda
Impact FM	Masaka	Ganda
Radio Equator	Masaka	Ganda
Radio Maria	Masaka	Ganda
Top Radio	Masaka	Ganda
Sky Radio Mityana	Mityana	Ganda
Dunamis FM	Mukono	Ganda
Spirit FM (Dynamic Broadcasting)	Mukono	Ganda
Alpha FM	Kampala	Ganda (news in English)
Beat FM	Kampala	Ganda (news in English)
K-FM	Kampala	Ganda and English
Impact FM	Kampala	Ganda and English
All Karamoja Radio	Moroto	Karamojong
Arua One FM	Arua	Lugbara
Born Free Technologies Network (BTN), Arua	Arua	Lugbara
Nile FM (Born Free Technologies)	Arua	Lugbara
Radio Koboko (Homenet Limited)	Arua	Lugbara
Radio Pacis	Arua	Lugbara
Voice of Life	Arua	Lugbara
Radio Bugwere	Paliisa	Gwere
Open Gate FM (Tallcom Electronic Broadcasts Ltd)	Mbale	Masaaba
Radio Maria	Mbale	Masaaba
Signal FM	Mbale	Masaaba
Top Radio	Mbale	Masaaba
Radio Paidha	Paidha	Mix of languages
Radio Maria	Fort Portal	Nyakitara
Life FM (World Evangelical Ministries Fort Portal)	Fort Portal	Nyakitara
New Life Radio (Madison Baptist Church)	Hoima	Nyakitara
Radio Hoima	Hoima	Nyakitara
Radio West	Kabale	Nyakitara
Kagadi Kibaale Community (KKCR M)	Kagadi	Nyakitara
Kinkizi FM	Kinkizi	Nyakitara

(Appendix 5 cont.)

Kyenjojo FM	Kyenjojo	Nyakitara
Radio Kitara (Masindi Broadcasting Service)	Masindi	Nyakitara
Top Radio	Masindi	Nyakitara
Baptist International Missions in Uganda, BIMU	Mbarara	Nyakitara
Radio West	Mbarara	Nyakitara
Top Radio	Mbarara	Nyakitara
Rukungiri FM	Rukungiri	Nyakitara
Radio West	Kampala	Nyakitara and Ganda
Radio West	Masaka	Nyakitara and Ganda
Grace Radio (Lion of Judah Ltd)	Kasese	Nyoro
Bunyoro Broadcasting Service	Masindi	Nyoro
Busoga FM	Jinja	Soga
NBS Kodheyo FM (Nkabi Broadcasting Services)	Jinja	Soga
Radio Kiira	Jinja	Soga
Busoga People's Radio (Radio Empanga)	Kamuli	Soga
Rock Radio	Tororo	Swahili and Kupsabiny
Radio Apac	Apac	Teso
Continental FM	Kumi	Teso
Baptist International Missions in Uganda, BIMU	Soroti	Teso
Kioga Veritas FM	Soroti	Teso
Radio North	Lira	Teso and Acholi
Radio Rhino	Lira	Teso and Acholi
Radio Wa	Lira	Teso and Acholi
Voice of Teso	Soroti	Teso, Kumam, Kipsabiny, Swahili, Masaaba, English
Radio Alwak (Unity FM) Lira	Lira	Teso/Acholi
Voice of Toro	Kampala	Tooro and Nyakitara

The overview is based on information received from the Uganda Broadcasting Council on 15 November 2006 (UBC 2006b). This was supplemented by interviews with Council staff to establish which languages are used at each radio station.

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