



French Institute of South Africa [IFAS] Research Newsletter - no. 14 - July 2012

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UMIFRE CNRS 25 | USR 3336

Editorial...

For my last editorial as Director of IFAS-Research for this edition of *Lesedi*, I would like to look back on the last four years, thank the staff and colleagues at IFAS as well as all our scientific partners who actively contributed to transforming Social and Human Science research between France, South Africa and Southern Africa.

While many research programmes are currently running, others are still in the defining stage. The implementation of the CNRS 3336 Research and Service Unit in 2010, closely associating the centres of Johannesburg, Nairobi, Ibadan and Khartoum within a shared platform, is an opportunity to develop transversal themes between our centres, particularly in the domain of material and immaterial heritage definition and management in our respective countries, between negotiation, national conflicts and management models propagated in Africa by major international donors.

Four years down the line, the research initiatives housed by IFAS are confirming the crucial relay role played by the Institute in implementing research programmes in the region, in partnership with local institutions and researchers. Three programmes financed by the ANR are currently being implemented at IFAS for their South and Southern African dimensions, always in a spirit of interdisciplinarity within the Human and Social Sciences, and a concern about decompartmentalising research in the area, through comparisons with other geographic contexts.

The successful and reliable African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics (APORDE), which ran for the past five years at IFAS and offered high level training to more than 150 participants, will be run as of July 2012 by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) (www.idc.co.za). The French Institute of South Africa is pleased to see APORDE run by a South African institution and wishes the IDC, the Department of Trade and Industry, the Agence Française de Développement, all the lecturers as well as the Programme Director Nicolas Pons-Vignon and the Programme Administrator Christian Kabongo, a fruitful 2012 edition.

My successor, Adrien Delmas, historian and former IFAS doctoral bursary holder, will need to reinforce the regional dimension of the Institute around new research fields such as Angola which falls under the jurisdiction of IFAS-Research since January 2012. Adrien will be heading a fairly new team at IFAS-Research, following the departure of Michel Lafon who worked for four years at the University of Pretoria on Language Policy programmes, the replacement of IFAS-Research Communication Officer Thibault Hatton by Victor Magnani in June 2012, and the departure of APORDE Administrator Christian Kabongo.

Finally, by the time this edition of *Lesedi* comes out, the French Season in South Africa (www.france-southafrica.com) will have already been launched, and it will already be high time to think about organising the South African Season in France in 2013. In this light, French research teams and their South African partners are invited to submit projects to the Joint French-South African Steering Committee of the Seasons. In doing so, we hope that all the research teams involved in France will find it possible to maintain and develop a scientific interest for South Africa, which over the years has been a revealing subject of study for the contemporary dynamics of emerging countries, and a formidable pool of social science researchers.

Enjoy!

Sophie Didier
IFAS-Research Director



Is education bringing the long due Africanisation of Mozambique?



Michel Lafon

Michel Lafon holds a doctorate in African linguistics from INALCO in Paris on Comorian (shingazidja). In addition to describing Zulu, he focuses on the role that African languages can and do play in education, both in South Africa and in Mozambique. Member of the CNRS, (administratively attached to IFAS since 2008) he joined the Centre for Research on the Politics of Language (CenRePoL) at the University of Pretoria as Research Fellow, where he participates in a research group looking at the acquisition of writing skills in the early school years in the provinces of Gauteng and Limpopo.

It was only in 2002 that African languages were tentatively introduced into formal education in Mozambique, many years after other Southern African countries. This was a consequence of the democratic opening following the peace agreements which ended the civil war in 1990. Indeed, the denigration of local practices, characteristic of the Portuguese colonial ideology of 'assimilation', was largely adopted after independence by the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Frelimo). Yet, a surprise to many, this new educational strategy was supported by many rural communities, so much so that it not only ensured its maintenance and extension, but also led to the reorientation of the legitimisation discourse of the elite in power, who is now enhancing the country's Africanness. Even better, the promulgation of a linguistic law officially recognising African languages seems to be considered. We examine the key aspects of this process in some detail.

1. Colonial period: roots of assimilation

Despite its demographic, economic and military weakness, 19th century Portugal sought to consolidate its imperial claims dating from the time of the Great Discoveries. In Mozambique, the colonial administration secured itself the support of a micro-elite elevated above the African masses, in return for systematically renouncing local practices projected as 'barbaric' or backward and, mostly, for adopting the Portuguese way of life, which made the core of the so-called 'assimilation' policy. Assimilated individuals were exempt from forced labour, enjoyed freedom of movement and their children had access to European schools (Honwana & Isaacman 1988:81 & 91; Moreira 1997:46). During a first, so-called 'uniformising' period (*assimilação uniformizadora*), assimilated individuals were to a large extent accepted by the European society in Mozambique, some even taking on high-ranking functions within the colony (Rocha 2006:40, 71, 124). Attitudes towards African languages were then open. Command of Ronga was a normal practice among assimilated

individuals originating from the South, both Coloureds and Africans. Better still, following the pioneering works of protestant missions (see Harries 2007), many were able to read and write Ronga. Indeed, the sheets published at the beginning of the 20th century by the so-called 'nativist' politico-cultural associations which represented this group, were often bilingual (Honwana and Isaacman 1988:20, 96 & 110; Moreira 1997:86; Rocha 2006: 26, 52, 34, 121, 123, 148, 151, 197; infopedia [http://www.infopedia.pt/\\$o-brado-africano](http://www.infopedia.pt/$o-brado-africano), visited in July 2010). But, during the first decades of the 20th century, the pressure created by new settlers from Portugal led the administration to impose vexing measures to assimilated individuals. This was the end of 'uniformising' assimilation. 'Race' and cultural practices became insurmountable social barriers. With the establishment of Salazarism in 1926, the position of assimilated individuals became even more precarious. They had to prove constantly that they deserved not to be confused with the African masses which came under different, much stricter rules. This reinforced the prestige of Portuguese culture, and the exclusive use of Portuguese became symbolic of the status of assimilated individuals.

While, demographically, the numbers of assimilated individuals remained low, growing from around 900 individuals in 1896 to less than 5 000 in 1950 (Rocha 2006:99; Mondlane 1979:33), this policy was enough to provoke, among them and among the Africans in contact with them, disdain or even contempt towards local practices perceived as barbaric and backward and, more to the point, linked to the rural populations which were exposed to exploitation and poverty. The abrogation of the assimilation policy in 1961, together with the abolition of forced labour and the extension of citizenship to the entire population (O'Laughlin 2000), contributed in fact to generalise the ideology of assimilation among urban populations, even though on the eve of independence in 1974, only one third of Mozambican children attended schools, and the schooling rate remained very low in rural areas (Gomez 1999: 54, 70-71).

2. Independence: modernity, assimilation in new garbs

From the beginning of the independence struggle, Frelimo chose to use Portuguese exclusively, as it was the only language shared by militants from the various regions many of which had no link between them other than that created by colonisation (Mondlane 1979:96). Yet this choice reflected also the social structure of the leading group. Many of the cadres, themselves assimilated individuals, were, due to their personal history, uneasy with African languages which they spoke little if not at all. Cahen (2006:122) explains: "As such, the Mozambican micro-élite was almost the exclusive product of 20th century Portuguese colonisation. Situated essentially in Lourenço-Marques, these small groups of elite were socially, culturally, ethnically and even most often religiously external to the rest of the population."

At independence and from the very beginning, Portuguese was proclaimed the 'language of national unity'. The aim of this proclamation was to reinforce a national feeling in a particularly unstable country (Stroud 1999:345), while maintaining, as in the colonial days, a linguistic boundary against their Anglophone neighbours (Rothwell 2001). But, in addition to this otherwise common continental pragmatism, the Marxist-inspired one party-state had a peculiar obsession for the 'modernisation' and construction of the 'new man'. Traditional practices which were deemed contradictory to an idealised view of progress were banned, and all the more so since they differed from one area to another. This ban was even extended to languages. For Frelimo and State cadres, "African languages and cultures [remained] the expression of obscurantism and possible sources of tribal division" (Balegamire Bazilashe et al. 2004). Resorting exclusively to Portuguese became an act of loyalty towards the party (Stroud 1999: 354), and the use of African languages, regarded pejoratively as 'dialects' along the Portuguese habit, was banished from any official circumstance, tribunals and Parliament included (Isaacman 1983:115; Firmino 2006: 142). According to Stroud (1999: 365, 375), to prevent African languages from being used in schools, teachers were in principle posted outside their region of origin, making any code shifting impossible or difficult. This attitude has been analysed as the appropriation by the State bureaucracy of the ideology of assimilation. "(...) The modernism of the Frelimo was rooted in the assimilation policy that refused the country's cultural and linguistic diversity. It aimed at creating the new man, a socialist man (...) supposed to emerge devoid of any culture and history, except for a perception of the past as being hostile" (Mudiue 1999:37). Geffray spoke appropriately about the ideology of the 'blank page' (in Hall & Young 1999:219) which, in the end, aimed at denying any cultural and political reality prior to colonisation.

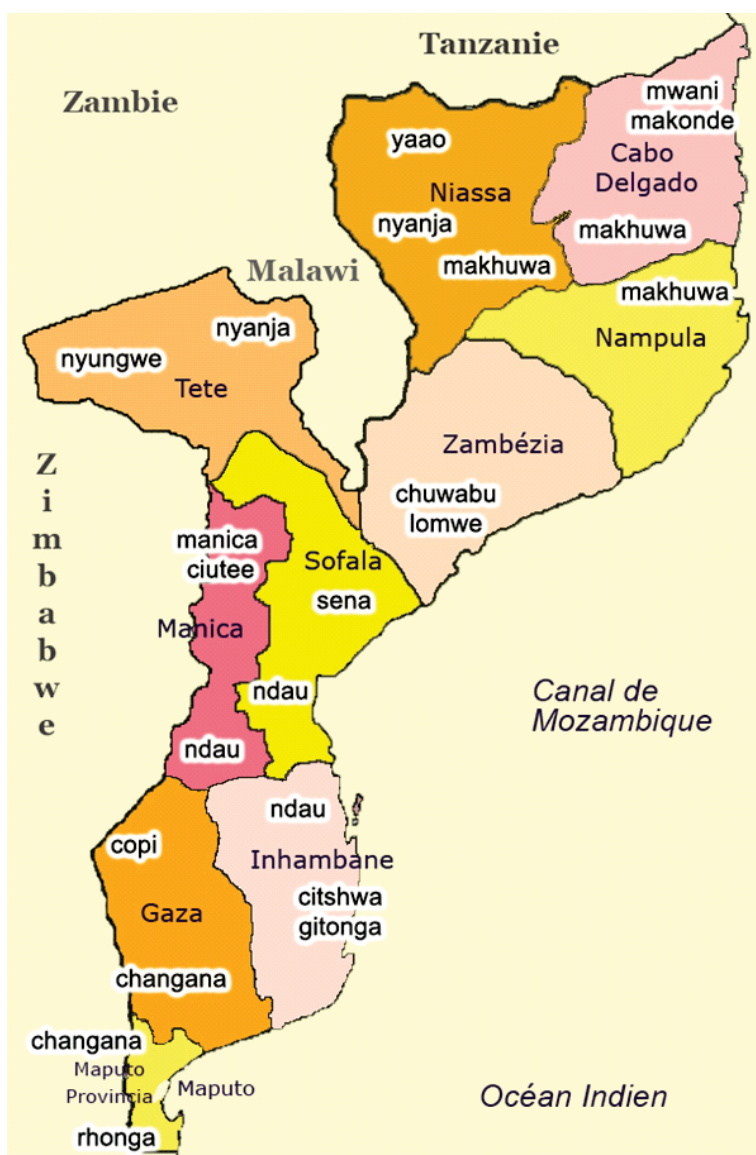
To materialise its project and 'elevate' the cultural level of the people, the regime implemented an extensive education programme, which, due to the confiscation of the properties of religious congregations, was provided for mainly by the State and conducted on a voluntary basis by students (Colarinho et al. s.d.; Hall & Young 1999:86). Due to weak colonial schooling - at independence, the literacy rate (in Portuguese) of the

population was less than 10% (Lopes 1998: 465) - the emphasis was on teaching adults to read and write. Of course, all these educational efforts resorted exclusively to Portuguese. Newitt (1995:547) remarked ironically that independent Mozambique dedicated more energy to spreading Portuguese than Portugal ever did during the colonial period.

3. Confronting linguistic and cultural diversity

After the enthusiasm provoked by the defeat of the colonial power and the proclamation of independence, the young State began experiencing all sorts of difficulties.

While the massive departure of Portuguese threatened the



Languages used in bilingual education by province
Map prepared by Sylvie Grand-Eury, based on a map published by J. Leclerc in
Language Planning in the World,
www.tlfg.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/mozambique.htm

viability of the country, an armed opposition movement was created with the support of the Rhodesian secret services headed by Ian Smith, called the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Renamo), with a view to weakening the regime (Hall & Young 1998: 117 & seq.). Indeed, the 'fall' of Mozambique made Rhodesia and South Africa vulnerable, since the Marxist regime was likely to support freedom movements in the 'white' strongholds. Most of the territory became insecure, with Renamo capitalising on people's discontent provoked by the socialism and 'modernisation' imposed by Frelimo, particularly in the marginalised areas of the north and the centre. Renamo was determined to destroy infrastructures. Schools, perceived as instruments of the Frelimist State, became targets. Access to primary education regressed. In 1992, only 3 384 primary schools were functional out of the 5 730 listed in 1980 (Matusse 1994: 548). Moreover, in the mid-1980s, due to insecurity, the State's generalised disorganisation as well as a drop in enthusiasm, literacy campaigns practically ended. As a result of these combined failures, barely 42% of the population was considered literate (in Portuguese) in 1998 (*Recenseamento geral da população de 1997*, according to the website of the Instituto de Estatística, May 2007).

Renamo, which demanded a return to traditional practices, was using African languages widely and Ndaou in particular, spoken in the centre of the country, as it was the language of the majority of its cadres (Stroud 1999:360; Hall & Young 1999:174).

4. Aggiornamento, general change in direction

Faced with a deadlock at the end of the 1980s, the government of Joaquim Chissano had no alternative but to open negotiations with Renamo (Hall & Young 1999:189 & seq.). In 1990, with a view to organising democratic elections, a new constitution which recognised a multiparty system was promulgated. This *aggiornamento* reoriented also the official doctrine as regards languages. While maintaining Portuguese as the sole official language, the new constitution mentioned African languages which the State undertook to recognise and develop (Article 9, mentioned in Lafon 2008)¹. This was reflected in education. On the one hand, reacting to the failure of former campaigns, the use of African languages was admitted in adult literacy programmes, as testified by the pilot programme conducted by the *Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Educação* (INDE). This field was largely left to non-state operators, and protestant churches used it as an opportunity to revive their former practice, with other denominations and NGOs following suit (see Heins 1999; Veloso 2002). On the other hand, from 1993 to 1997-98, taking note of the poor school performance – from 1992 to 1998, the average rate of pupils repeating a year during the first 5 years remained fixed at one quarter (Balegamire et al. 2004; Strategic Education Plan 1997-2001, 1998: 21) – and of educational policies conducted in neighbouring countries, an experiment involving bilingual education, the *Pebimo* or *Programa de Escolarização Bilingue em Moçambique*, supported by Swedish co-operation, was conducted. Despite its extremely limited character since it only involved 350 pupils

distributed into two linguistic areas, this experiment was deemed positive (see Benson 2000 & 2001). Few questioned the fact that the lack of knowledge of the language of instruction in the rural areas, by pupils and teachers alike, was at the centre of the problem. "*The language issue is a determining factor in the teaching-learning process [o processo de ensino-aprendizagem], (...) insofar as the mother tongue spoken by the majority of Mozambican pupils (...) is different from the language of instruction*" note Conceição et al. (1998). In 1997, during an assessment and perspective seminar organised by the INDE, the extension of the experiment to the rest of the country was announced for the start of the 2002 academic year (Lopes 1998: 462; Matsinhe 2005:128). The model adopted was that of an early exit transition, where the local language was used as language of instruction during the first three years, before being replaced (in theory) by Portuguese, which was to be introduced verbally from the first year already. This new direction went hand in hand with the general renewal of the curriculum which included a 20% localisation of contents, to which the local communities were expressly invited to contribute (Governo de Moçambique MEC 2006). More generally, this orientation was part of a vast movement of administrative decentralisation, partially boosted from outside, and which saw municipalities and districts take on increasing responsibility in all domains, not least planning and development (see Cistac & Chiziane 2008).

This change of direction was revolutionary in a country where the colonial language had been erected as a symbol of national unity, and where African languages were perceived as tribalistic, backward and inadequate for modernity. It gave rise to two reactions: a large section of the urban elite, who, incidentally, were not directly concerned by this new direction, expressed scepticism, while, from the very beginning, the affected communities showed their enthusiasm, a fact which turned out to be a determining factor.

5. Adherence in the rural areas - the satisfaction of being recognised

Seven languages had been selected initially, with the programme due to affect 22 pilot-schools situated in linguistically homogeneous rural areas, out of the 10 000 or so schools in the country. It was to spread vertically, every year opening the next level; the 4th year was to be reached at the start of the 2006 academic year; two new first classes were also to be opened in each of the pilot schools. Yet, from the beginning, by popular demand, the programme was extended from 7 to 16 languages on the one hand, and from 22 to 32 schools on the other. The languages concerned were those identified by the *Núcleo de Estudos das Línguas Moçambicanas* (Nelimo) during its second seminar held in 1999, to which Mwani was added (Nelimo 1989; Matsinhe 2005:131; V. Bisquet, INDE, interview July 2010). Ndaou, initially adopted only in the provinces of Manica and Sofala, was also included in that of Inhambane (A. Dhorsan, personal communication). Thus, in 2005, bilingual education affected around 4 200 pupils, far more than planned initially, although it remained a tiny proportion of the total number of pupils. This

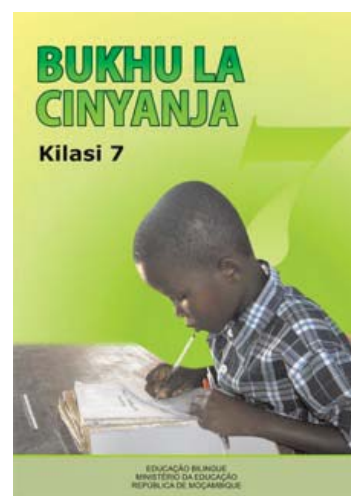
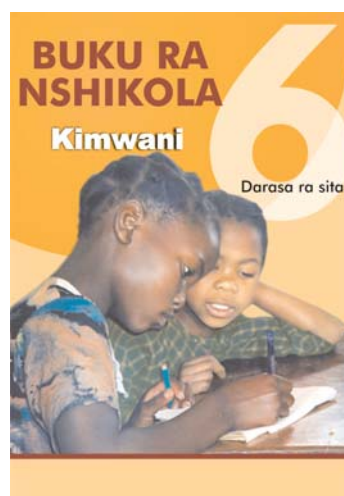
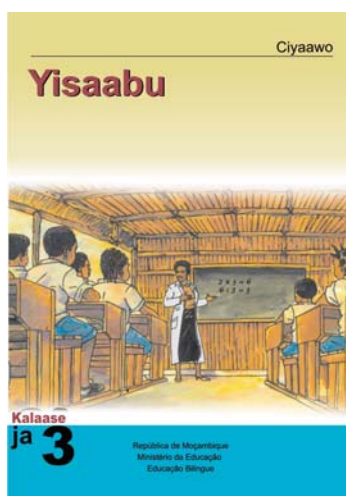
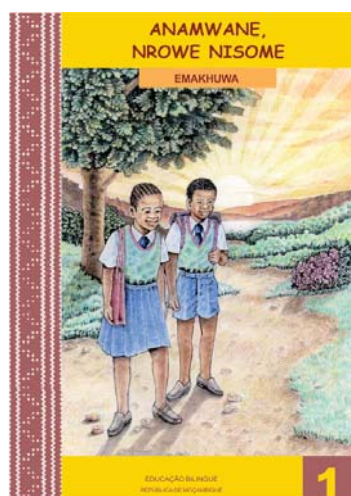
'wild' extension process ('*expansão selvagem*' in the jargon of INDE staff) was even accelerated once the programme became known in the rest of the country. According to an INDE statistical survey from 2009 (transmitted by V. Bisquet), over 200 schools out of around 12 000 were supposedly affected, involving some 28 000 pupils, because education officials at district and province levels usually endeavoured to meet demands.

This adherence was not influenced by the difficulties which affected, and are still affecting, the implementation of the programme, in a context of generalised shortage, aggravated by the considerable extension of access to primary education: between 1997 and 2003, the number of children in schools went from 1,7 to 2,8 million (*Governo de Moçambique* MEC 2006), resulting in the deterioration of the quality of an education system which, by the authorities' own admission, had been of average quality at best. Moreover, certain constraints were specific to it: i) the choice of languages and/or varieties; SIL lists around forty languages (<http://www.ethnologue.com/web.asp>; June 2010); even if we cut this figure by half, as do local researchers (Balegamire et al. 2004, Firmino 2005:49, Patel et al. 2008), the fact remains that the Nelimo list is not exhaustive; ii) spelling and terminological decisions often imposed from the top; iii) the shortage of teaching aids – until the start of the 2010 academic

satisfaction of seeing one's language and culture being finally recognised by a system which had despised them for so long. In fact, faced with the popularity of the programme, the official discourse and practices have changed, to incorporate other aspects beyond education.

6. Conclusion

It seems that, in Mozambique, schooling served as a catalyst for the official recognition of African languages and as a tool for their legitimacy, as mentioned by Chimbutane and Benson (2012). Indeed, not only has bilingual education been fully integrated since the start of the 2011 academic year into the educational policy (A. Dhorsan, INDE and E. Sequiera, *Progresso*, July 2010, Maputo), but in April 2010, at the end of a seminar chaired by the Minister of Culture (Esteve Filimão, personal communication, July 2010, Maputo), a possible revision of the constitution to ensure the proper recognition of African languages was announced. Given the country's history, this was highly symbolic. Even if it seems that this question was forgotten in the public consultation process opened in September 2011 on the revision of the constitution – a process which incidentally is stagnant – and if, in respect of languages, it seems to move towards a 'mere' linguistic law (Esteve Filimão, personal communication, Maputo, May 2012), it is undeniable that mentalities have changed. Today,



Books produced by the Association Progresso for the bilingual programme (facsimile kindly provided by T. Veloso)

year, no manual was available for many languagesⁱⁱ; iv) teachers' training in bilingual teaching methodology (these aspects are discussed in Lafon 2004). Some of these difficulties were resolved locally thanks to the support of educational NGOs, Progresso in particular and, to a lesser extent, UDEBA-LAB (*Unidade de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica em Gaza – Laboratório*).ⁱⁱⁱ

Such enthusiasm shows once more, as suggested by Ricento (2006:8), that linguistic choices affect more than just language per se. In rural Mozambique, these choices do not proceed so much from better school or professional results, which in any case take a long time to materialise, than from the

the country's diverse African reality, far from being denied, is brought to the fore, even if sometimes through a tendency to folklorise African practices. This is manifest in many aspects of social life. The media, including national radio, have increased the number of programmes in African languages, and publications are spreading, reviving old traditions as far as certain languages are concerned. Cultural practices which, previously, were almost prohibited, are experiencing a rebirth, as is the case for the *Guaza Muthini* celebration in Marracuene, where no one no longer fears being seen (S. Matsinhe, personal communication October 2011). The written press published severe criticisms on the former "All Portuguese" policy, which would have been unimaginable in

the past (see for example Lopez 2007). Lastly, Mozambique subscribed to the *Carta de Maputo*, emanating from a meeting of the countries of the Lusophone community (PALOP) held in Maputo in 2011, which recognises the multilingual situation of Lusophone countries and explicitly calls for linguistic development (Esteve Filimão, entretiens, July 2010, October 2011; <http://www.iilp.org.cv/>, consulted in October 2011).

If, avoiding the pitfall of ethnic folklorisation, cultural and linguistic rights are indeed recognised, the various communities will have a powerful lever to claim a more equitable place on the political and cultural scene. Does this mean that a new balance is taking shape where the voice of

the rural masses, ignored for so long, is being heard? Not necessarily, but an enabling framework is in place. The bilingual education programme will have triggered formal acceptance by the political authorities of the country's plural African identity, thereby ending the implicit pursuance of the ideology of assimilation. As such, the programme shows an impact which goes well beyond its immediate ambition. Paradoxically, this confirms in a manner which the promoters of the programme had certainly not planned nor wished for, the ambitious slogan painted on high school walls during the revolution, when Samora Machel was leading the country: "*E aqui que o povo toma o poder*", "It is here [at school] that the people take power".^{iv}

- i. The 2004 Constitution, which is currently in force, maintained these provisions identically (Governo de Moçambique 2004).
- ii. This was also the case for schools using Portuguese (see Chimbutane 2005:7).
- iii. On Progresso, see Lafon (2004); on UDEBA-LAB, see Draisma (2010).
- vi. Despite its aged paint, this slogan is can still be read on the walls of the school of Chimoio in the 2000s.

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A case study of out-of-school language practice with implications for language teaching and policy



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The language component of any education policy or curriculum is vital since language – understood educationally as a capacity to read, write and talk without error whilst incorporating cultural knowledge – is both a skill in itself and what essentially provides access to other content subjects. In South Africa the question of language becomes, rightly, a question of politics and distributive justice since instruction is muddled by the gross unfairness of the now defunct Bantu Education Act (1953), and the contemporary transition to a more democratic educational dispensation. Whilst South Africa does recognise eleven official languages and would seem to promote linguistic diversity, there is still a rift between policy and praxis that hinges upon a growing need to see the world from the global South (Nuttall and Mbembe, Eds., 2008), as a heterogeneous place, with its own realities. The double importance of language in education can be resumed under two considerations, namely that a) language is a medium of instruction which enables and constrains learning in institutions; and b) language is itself taught as a subject with greater or lesser effect. The aim of this article is to present findings from a case study which, by drawing on broader research into informal (out-of-school, non-institutional) contexts of writing, has decided interest for the first consideration and may help to draw some conclusions for the second, at least insofar as the teaching of English is concerned.

Documentation such as that recently issued by the DoBE¹ (1997 and 2010) on the status of languages in South African public schools, provides a compelling entry into the debate. On the one hand a policy designed to allow multilingualism, and on the other a clear preference for English as LOLT² which gives an image of ill-controlled language dominance. Reinforcing this negative image is clear systemic dysfunction where, for instance, there is only 0.9% English additional language teaching in the foundation phase, compared to the 65% of learners who will have English as LOLT in later education, and an even higher percentage who will write their final exams in English. In mitigation is the small but significant

rise of parallel and single medium schools in languages such as Xitsonga, isiNdebele and Sesotho, reinforced by the increasingly important role of civil society in forming policy (see Nkosi vs DHS Governing Body and Hoërskool Ermelo vs Head of Mpumalanga DoE).

The upshot of surveys like these is nevertheless a picture of school learning in South Africa, where students are at a remove from the medium of instruction and thus from the institution, handicapped in their learning potential. Much research focuses on the policy implications of this situation. Rubagumya (2009) clearly illustrates some of the factors leading to ill-adapted language strategies throughout Africa, where constraints such as book purchase and institutional (elitist) pragmatics favour an ineluctable march towards monolingual instruction. From a more domestic perspective, Alexander (2003) has consistently constructed a case for valuing and standardising the diversity of languages in South Africa, whilst providing a very cogent explanation for the current prestige attached to English. Michel Lafon who is a contributor to this present edition of Lesedi has provided deep school-based research into foundation phase primary teaching, and is currently running a highly pertinent research consortium on this question (see Lesedi #13).

South Africa, with its long history of institutional contestation born in the struggle against Apartheid, is also a place that focuses attention on extra-institutional settings, where language practice has little regard for policy but responds rather to people's informal uses, needs and understandings. Indeed, by taking informal settings such as streets, shops and neighbourhoods an important forum of language practice is restored. Languages in such contexts can often be seen to be in dynamic interaction. The study of everyday language use is the rationale behind the broader research of which the case study presented here is a small part. By taking a city neighbourhood and the texts on display within that neighbourhood, sampling *all* texts for language, length, subject matter, genre and voice, the research aims to

contribute to an understanding of language practice and identity.

Initial results as to multilingualism and language variety in the Gauteng site (downtown Pretoria), closely mirror the DoBE study mentioned earlier. Out of 690 tokens, monolingual English texts represented 90% whilst monolingual texts in other languages represented just 2.6%. However what is interesting is that, in the remaining 7.4% of the sample, a dozen different languages were registered and in a variety of combinations. English was often the common denominator but found in bi- or trilingual texts with Afrikaans, key regional variants of the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni groups, Chinese, Spanish and French. The relation to trade is obvious, given that much of the activity of any street is dominated by shops and boutiques, but it would be wrong to characterise these texts as simple sloganeering or labelling. A quarter of all texts are twenty-five words or more and on subjects as diverse as health, investment and music. Genres cover graffiti, notices, signs, posters, flyers and printed objects.

In this context of language diversity and coexistence, further research was needed concerning the understandings of producers of texts in terms of literacy, and the dynamics of community and neighbourhood. Means were also needed to directly compare these understandings and practices with what happens at an institutional level. A case study approach was therefore adopted, taking as participants a family involved in the neighbourhood making stickers and personalising signs and objects. One of the members of the family was a young adult in her last years at school. By comparing this person's in- and out-of-school practices, it was possible to see whether the hints of language plurality and diversity mentioned above could usefully highlight a consideration of educational issues.

Information was gathered in four key ways: a) unstructured interviews and visits, b) worksheets to be filled in by the participant; c) interviewer knowledge of school and subject curricula; and d) recorded interviews using questionnaires in which were inserted two types of rating scale, five point Likert scales and EPA nine point semantic differential scales



(Pedhazur 1991:125). Interviews were conducted both with the participant and her two older cousins (one of whom is the head of the household), so as to be able to compare responses and arrive at nuanced understandings. Inclusion of the rating scales was to provide points of comparison within and across environment and participant in order to give an opportunity of greater clarity with respect to attitude. Interviews and visits took place throughout the month of September and October 2011, with several visits to the family shop. The family household was also visited and notes were taken of its disposition and usage.

The aims of the case study were to: a) allow a qualitative understanding of written language practice within the household, with its different languages, activities and interactions; b) seek similarities or discrepancies with the school environment; and c) discover what resources the participant draws on in terms of non-institutionalised learning. This last aim merits attention due to the fact that the research paradigm adopted in this study was what Moll et al. (2001) call 'funds of knowledge'. 'Funds of knowledge' adapts methodology from ethnographies of communication to the school environment, and focuses on three key aspects: the multi-stranded nature of household relations in terms of history, culture and fields of skill; the 'borderlands' in which people live and where different peoples and cultures 'rub up against each other'; and finally an emphasis on practical suggestions for the school environment. In terms of this case study, the field of skill that would constitute a pertinent fund of knowledge, is the production of signs, packaging and personalised objects (which provides a direct link with the broader research).

The participant, Nosibusisoⁱⁱⁱ, is a girl aged seventeen, who arrived in South Africa at the beginning of the 2011 school year with her younger sister Valeriane from Swaziland. She speaks primarily siSwati and English. Both sisters stay with their older cousin (referred to as their sister) Masia, her partner Glen and their young daughter Millicent. The household consists of three separate parts. There is the large house in the sprawling residential area of Centurion with central lounge, shared swimming pool, wide-screen TV, kitchen and three adjoining bedrooms. But there is also Masia's younger sister Hlengiwe's flat which she shares with her infant son James. These two family units meet and overlap in the shop that specialises in the personalisation of objects, stickers and clothes, screening, stencilling and the thermo application of designs, logos, names and photographs, in addition to the creation of business and greeting cards and accessories.

Established by Masia over the last two and a half years with her share (R 20 000) of her mother's bequest, the shop is named after her mother and employs Hlengiwe full time. Since it is not far from school (a twenty-minute walk), and since both Masia and Hlengiwe are often there, it serves as the rendezvous point when Nosibusiso and Valeriane come back from school. They help Hlengiwe with stencil cutting and application, sometimes on the computer design software. The shop also symbolises the intersection of the *four* key languages in the household with the wider pool of languages in

Pretoria. All use English at work and at school but Glen is more comfortable in Afrikaans whilst Masia switches between isiZulu and siSwati. The shop however has a large pool of clients who transact in either isiZulu, isiXhosa or all three major South African members of the Sotho-Tswana group (Setswana, Sesotho or Sesotho sa leboa).

Straight away this study becomes interesting both in terms of the way these languages mix and coexist in the shop productions (which will find their way into informal settings), and because of the way Nosibusiso will use them in her own language practices. The family shop where she works has a very large front display window filled with the objects that the shop proposes. Most have been chosen for the laughter value of the sarcastic mottos and ironic references and include: thermoses, t-shirts, mugs, aprons, cards, certificates etc. Some examples of these objects are reproduced below:



a) T-shirt combining English and isiZulu which reads, "Slow down or die, don't be forward."



b) Tile in siSwati which reads, "My siblings" with the additional implication of 'peer'.



c) Bag combining isiZulu and English which reads, "Choose for yourself, Heaven or Hell."

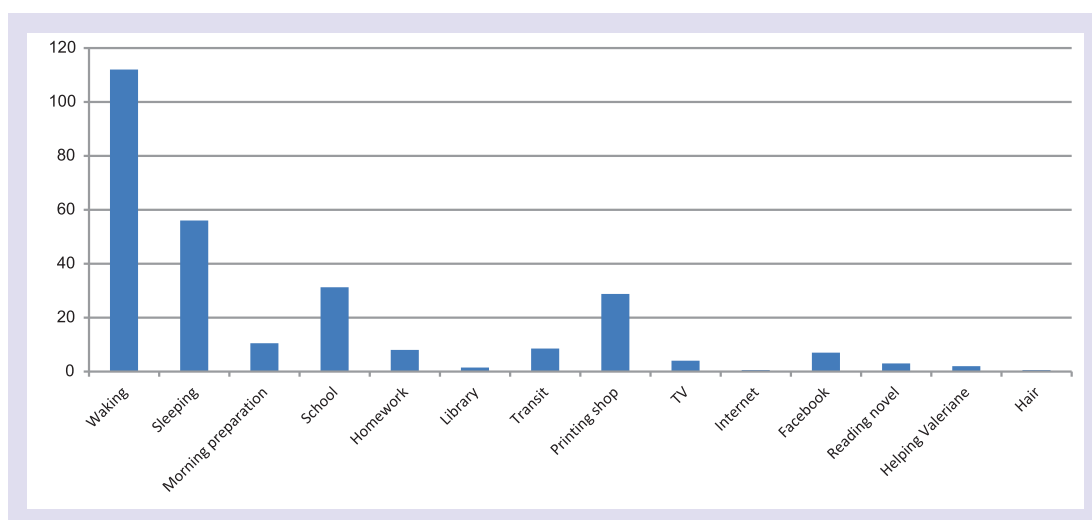


d) A T-shirt that combines SMS, South African slang, abbreviation and 'Pretoria Taal' (a mix of Setswana, Sesotho sa Leboa, English and Afrikaans) to read, "Come and see for yourself my friend (Chana) that Soshanguve (a town near Pretoria) is happening (Dia Boa)."

Are these examples syntagmatic, representative of a broader paradigm in which codes mix to create a new, vibrant informal language? Or are they rather examples of a switch from one code to another, to mark a part of the message with the connotations attached to the use of a particular code in a particular context? It is certain (as in many examples of the texts studied for this research) that the message is short enough to be read and grasped simultaneously as a whole. More pertinently, for this case study, is the question of targeting and equivalence in prestige between English and the languages with which it is combined. This is what Nosibusiso remarks in her consideration of her own language practices.

Nosibusiso mentions Facebook and conversations with friends and family. She also lists the plot of a television programme she watches, the types of phone calls and SMSs she sends, the novel she is currently reading and her conversations with or work for clients. The work that she does in the shop has been dealt with briefly and will be examined in more depth below. There remains the school and homework that she does and the help that she gives Valeriane. In all of these activities she is conscious of the phatic element of language, the how and the why of her interactions in which languages coexist and reinforce the situation at hand. On Facebook she uses siSwati for her extended family – many of whom now live in South Africa. Even though they have changed country, they continue to value siSwati as a marker of identity and to facilitate a feeling of closeness with the family who still live in Swaziland. On TV, programmes like *Isidingo* freely switch between Setswana, isiZulu and English. When her cousin Masia talks on the phone the conversation is mostly in English, but quickly reverts to siSwati whenever the tone picks up (which can happen quite frequently!). SMS language with its shortcuts and abbreviations is another area in which Nosibusiso mixes primarily English and siSwati. The more formal activities such as school work and reading from the library are however in English without switching, mixing or parity between languages.

This formal, English dominated characteristic of the school and library work mirrors another scission between the manner of learning practiced in the shop or at home, and that which is practiced institutionally. The manner of Nosibusiso's household learning reflects her 'funds of knowledge'. This knowledge should be given its due importance considering the time that it represents in Nosibusiso's week.



The above graph shows Nosibusiso's week in hours, reflecting data from the worksheet that she filled in but adding activities and adjusting times for further information provided both by herself and the other participants.

What is immediately striking, other than the time spent in

transit (8h30) and which is a necessary consequence of the organisation of the household, is how much time is spent in the shop. School accounts for 31h15 whilst Nosibusiso is present in the shop for most afternoons and for 28h45. What she learns there could definitely be considered a fund of knowledge.

The activities of the shop cut across several of the domains established by Moll et al. (2001:133). It is a business and involves aspects of accounting, sales, consumer knowledge and market value. A key element is material and scientific knowledge in terms of printing, textual choices (font and layout) and design (interaction of text and illustration primarily). The hardware and the software of the shop need care and maintenance, sometimes repair, and these are skills in themselves. Nosibusiso is not involved in all of these aspects of the business. Much of the time she is engaged in unpicking the negative-cut plastic from the backs of thermo-applied letters and designs, but she watches Hlengiwe, her cousin, or other members of the rotating staff when they use the computer or adjust the hardware. Watching, paying attention and sometimes trying for oneself are the principal ways cited by both Masia and Hlengiwe in talking about their own learning. In fact Masia tells a funny story in terms of her own funds of knowledge. When asked by her parents to make mealie meal using the hand-powered machine, she explained: "they would just give it to you and they say go there, and when you come back they say, 'it's not soft enough.'"

There is a matter-of-factness about learning in the family that reflects the household. Whilst there is a real feeling of life in the main house, the walls are bare and signs of *possession* of the place are rare. The only person who regularly puts her drawings up on the walls is Masia's young daughter, Millicent, and often Masia takes them down. Similarly there are many books (Masia belongs to a book club and all the family members read the books she brings home), magazines, and subscriptions to two newspapers (the Sunday Times and the Sowetan) but they are tidied away, not very much in evidence. In the shop there are bits of paper and plastic strewn about, names, logos, projects in-progress and completed, but user manuals and shop-related paperwork is kept tidily and dealt with - there is little to distract. When Nosibusiso is in the shop and not helping, she is either doing her homework, helping Valeriane with her own work, looking after James or Millicent, playing with her phone (she goes on to Facebook four or five times a day) or chatting with whoever is there.

And there is always someone there, from friends, colleagues and relations to clients. This reflects the 'multi-stranded' nature of the activity. It is multi-stranded not because the work is not individual, but because in the shop Nosibusiso is helping and learning from different members of her family, who have different skills in a way that is fluid and reactive. Participation and learning forums also change. For instance in the week from 12 to 19 September, she accompanied Masia to a business conference on printing and design.

In her responses to her work in the shop as language

practice, Nosibusiso talks about helping a client with a personalisation job and an order. The languages mentioned are Setswana, isiZulu, Sesotho sa leboa and English. She goes on to say that, "*The name or numbers that we print on our customers' clothes says a lot about them and whatever we print on completes the description.*" This aspect of the shop also captures very well the notion of 'borderlands'. As used by Anzaldúa, Moll et al. and Janks and Ferreira (2007) borderlands are not just places where cultures and ways of doing 'rub up against each other' they are also places of intimacy and sharing. The use of different languages by different people who all come to the shop and are assisted by the members of the household is an aspect that is mentioned by all participants in this research. In fact the shop policy is that clients must write down what they want so that there is no mistake, and so that whoever is serving them can help them get it exactly right. What is noticed is that many of the clients have *problems* either with English or with other languages, and all members of the shop family are conscious of this.

This evidence from the case study perfectly illustrates that in many respects South Africa can be considered a newly literate environment. Illiteracy is a real issue that projects such as SoUL™ (Prinsloo 1996) do well to address. School is seen very positively but there is a separation. In the same way that the institution separates out languages and recognises only one 'home' language for each learner, it also fails in many ways to create links with the manners of speaking and learning that this case study has emphasised. Put differently, the problem could be considered one of (non-)intersection of parallel environments. A student passes from institution to household but leaves practice and manners of being/learning at the door when entering the new context.

This demands a closer look at participant attitudinal factors concerning institutional spaces, such as schools, and the type of work and language practices participants seem to favour. Using a semantic differential rating scale (SD scale), participants in the case study were interviewed on their comparative understandings and reactions to institutions and funds of knowledge. Findings suggest broadly similar responses in terms of understanding and comfort, but also in terms of the 'individual' nature of the activities, and these points do tend to reinforce the interpretation of the two domains as being 'parallel'. However, Nosibusiso indicates that whereas her funds of knowledge are immediately understood, in her school learning there is a *process* which involves an initial period of under confidence and misunderstanding. School or the institutional setting is also mostly qualified as 'comfortable', not 'very comfortable', and Nosibusiso also has reserves on how 'interesting' it is in her evaluation. Of note too is Masia's more reactionary insistence on the strongly negative impressions she had of learning in a household context, and the fact that the direction of learning for her should clearly be *from* institution to application in the house and in her shop.

Returning then to the two facets of English highlighted in the introduction – its teaching as a subject and its role as a medium of instruction – this case study seems to provide

justification for some interesting comments. Concerning the teaching of English per se, what appears strongly is a need for transversal pedagogic projects that emphasise links with content subjects such as Business and Science. Whereas English traditionally tends to be combined with Art – emphasising its role in self-expression and in creativity (adopting a very Eurocentric conception of these terms), what appears more crucial is an emphasis on combining different skills where English also provides a degree of interest, and an opportunity to tackle these subjects from a more design-orientated point of view. Similarly, English can profitably be combined in these projects with Life Orientation^v, since respect and ethics were seen by all three interviewees as something that was learned and valued in a context of 'funds of knowledge'.

Turning to English as a medium of instruction – and of great importance for the huge majority of learners who will write their final exams in this language – the image painted earlier of institutional inaccessibility and remove for those who do not speak it as their 'home' language, needs to be qualified. English is institutionally dominant in South Africa, but it seems to co-exist dynamically with other languages in both text and through people's interactions – indicating a linguistic environment that is particularly rich and versatile. Secondly – and against portrayals of Africa as a predominantly oral culture – this case study and broader research into informal textual production, points to people's very personal and vibrant recreational link with the written word that, as Nosibusiso emphasises, "says a lot about them."

- i. Department of Basic Education (administers school grades 0 to 12, where 12 is the equivalent of Baccalauréat)
- ii. Language of Learning and Teaching
- iii. Whilst identities must be protected it is also important in a qualitative research project to establish a feeling of connection with the participants in the research. Since, however, first names are also markers of identity, culture and socio-economic status, all pseudonyms in this paper were chosen through the simple procedure of taking the most popular names on a social forum website for Swaziland:
www.studentsoftheworld.info/penpals/stats.php3?Pays=SWA.
- iv. Social Uses of Literacy
- v. Life Orientation is a subject that teaches about citizenship, health and societal issues.

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Programmes...

Research programmes on international migration Interview with Aurelia Segatti

The African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS)

The African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) is an African based research centre in migration. We were initially founded in 2001 as a master's programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. Then we gradually developed into a research centre. There are now about 20 staff members based here, from junior researchers to senior researchers, professors, and a few support staff. We cover the whole range of migration studies. We have a number of programmes that look at migration and urban development, programmes looking at migration and public health, as well as programmes that look at migration and policy development, not only in South Africa but in Southern Africa and beyond.

ACMS/IFAS scientific cooperation on international migration

We have been working with the French Institute of South Africa for seven years now, since 2005. This grew from collaboration between researchers here in Johannesburg who had been working on migration especially from a Human Rights perspective in the early 2000s and researchers from France who had worked on various aspects of migration. Some like myself were already involved in studies of migration policy development in post-apartheid South Africa, but others from different research organizations in France had worked on changes in migration policies for instance and the impact of European migration policy on North African countries. So there was mutual interest for expanding those exchanges and trying to develop very strong linkages.

The cooperation initially started with a collaboration around a French programme that was called FSP ("International Migration, Territorial Recomposition and Development in Africa") looking at international migration and urban transformation in various parts of the African continent. This programme ran between 2006 and 2009 and this really helped us build those very strong linkages. A number of publications came out of this, we also developed linkages with colleagues across Africa (Mozambique, DRC...). It was a very fruitful programme that strengthened those research linkages.

We then had a second research collaboration which was called Mitrans (ANR Mitrans "Transit migration in Africa: policies, urban transformation and social dynamics"). This was funded by the National Research Agency in France and it was a collaboration between French research unit Urmis

coordinated by a colleague of ours, Jocelyne Streiff-Renart (director of Urmis) and myself. It looked at transit migration in Africa. This programme stemmed from the realization that the policies put in place in particular by the European Union on the Euro-Mediterranean area and – to a lesser extent but with a number of similarities – by South Africa in Southern Africa had a number of implications in terms of the development of migration policies in those neighbouring countries, in terms of the transformation of transit areas, transit cities, transit towns, as well as in terms of migrant subjectivities, migrant trajectories and migrant projects.

We finally developed a specific research project that was looking at mobility in the urban space thanks to funding from the Institute for Research and Development (IRD/Wits joint chair "Mobility and the Governance of Urban Space in Southern, Central and Eastern African Cities" Aurelia Segatti & Loren Landau). This ran between 2008 and 2010.

Description of the ANR XenAfPol research programme (2011-2013)

This is a new research programme also funded by the National Research Agency in France (ANR) which is entitled "XenAfPol" and is looking at the politics of xenophobic mobilisation across the continent. This comparative project runs across four countries: South Africa, Kenya, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria. This programme is based on fairly extensive partnerships but essentially a partnership of individual researchers. There are a number of institutions involved but it is essentially a team of researchers pooling resources together and developing qualitative research projects in the four countries. So in terms of the institutions involved, the coordination of the programme is based at a French research unit at the University of Bordeaux, "Les Afriques



dans le Monde" (LAM), and coordinated by my colleague from LAM Laurent Fourchard. And this project is based on a collaboration between LAM, the French Institute of South Africa and this research unit here which is in charge of the coordination of Southern Africa, East Africa and Central Africa, namely the Congolese, the South African and the Kenyan case studies.

In this programme we are essentially looking at three different things. We are looking at the sociology of xenophobic mobilisations. We are trying to understand what actors take part into those mobilisations. One of the key questions is to really interrogate these notions of xenophobia and to try to understand if we are facing the same kind of mobilisation between Nigeria and South Africa, between Kenya and the DRC. Beyond this we are very much looking at the sociology of the actors involved, at the people with the capacity to include or exclude. A second important aspect of the programme is to try and understand the *modus operandi* of these different mobilisations: How are people being included or excluded? What are the methods, the institutional frameworks through which people are being excluded/included, through which a sense of belonging is created in different communities across the continent? Not only in the urban context but in the rural context as well. And thirdly we are trying to understand what sort of new arrangements are coming out of these emerging mobilisations, what sort of subjectivities emerge among those who create a new sense of belonging, among those who make the rules and what sort of new subjectivities emerge among those who are imposed new forms of belonging or exclusion.

ANR XenAfPol timeframe

In terms of our timeframe, the programme will be running until December 2013 so it's a 3-year research programme. We have essentially three big meetings. We met first of all in February 2011 for the launch of the programme. All partners and participants met here in Johannesburg at the University of the Witwatersrand. We met again at the end of May 2012 in Bordeaux at LAM. This was a mid-term meeting where all the different participants were able to present progress reports and share their first findings with the rest of the team. And we are then envisaging to meet again, this time in Cambridge, in

May 2013. We will this time call a public conference at which all the different papers will be presented and discussed by external discussants from various research communities in the UK as well as in France and South Africa.



http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0Yiul_u96dc&feature=relmfu

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEtjTaouVTA&feature=relmfu>



Cahiers de l'Urmis (n°13) on so-called "transit" migrations

Issue n°13 of the Cahiers de l'Urmis (published in October 2011) is dedicated to the so-called "transit" migrations. It contains four articles based on papers read at the conference on *Transit Migrations in Africa, Local and Global Dynamics, Political Management and Actors' Experiences*, held in Nice (France) in December 2009. The aim of the conference was to compare the results of the ANR-Mitrans programme, the research of which focused on the development of movements inside and from the African continent in the context of border closures, with the results of researchers working on similar themes in Africa and other continents.

The Mitrans programme which received ANR support from 2006 to 2009, was a collaboration between researchers from Urmis (universities of Nice Sophia-Antipolis and Paris 7 Denis Diderot), the universities of Rouen and Le Havre, the French Institute of South Africa, and the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

The Cahiers de l'Urmis are published by the Research Unit Migrations and Society (URMIS) which is specialised in the study of migrations and inter-ethnic relations, associating the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement and the Universities of Paris 7 Denis Diderot and Nice Sophia-Antipolis.

Issue n° 13 of the Cahiers de l'Urmis is available online:
<http://urmis.revues.org/index948.html#ftn1>

New Global History:

Transversal outlook on the first globalisation in the South

University of the Witwatersrand / University of Cape Town
October 2012

On more than one occasion, it has been found that academic history has made a poor depiction of the socio-political changes of the new South Africa. Among the many challenges with which South African historians are confronted, one in particular has become increasingly pressing: the decompartmentalisation of national history, inside as well as outside the borders. While from the beginning of the democratic transition it had become urgent to write a new history which took into account those who had been forgotten from 20th century official history, another need saw the light more recently, a need which emphasises South Africa's position in what has been called today the first globalisation since the 16th century. Perhaps South African history is not as special as we thought, and its integration into processes of greater scope and longer duration has become necessary: the movement of people and goods between Europe, Africa and

Eurocentric, this approach which is always concerned with symmetry in the way sources and experiences are treated, pays attention to encounters, connections, synergies as well as discontinuities, impositions and parallel routes used or abandoned by such large-scale phenomena. Far from repeating the major divisions between Europe and the rest of the world, history and myth, science and superstition, written and oral traditions, such a history endeavours to deconstruct the logics and power struggles which presided over their elaboration. Because these processes of distinction have helped to constitute South African society since the 17th century, the history of South Africa offers the possibility of decentring them, giving them back all their complexity, discontinuities and contingencies, and understanding the social and cultural forms of their implementation.

As such, it was time for South African researchers willing to decompartmentalise a national historiography which had been artificially isolated for too long, and the new generation of historians working on decentring the first globalisation to come together. This historiographical dialogue between new global history and new South African history will need, among other things, to supply some of the historical keys to understanding current North-South relations.

An event will be organised in this regard at the beginning of October. It will include two round tables in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and will be an opportunity to introduce the latest publications of Romain Bertrand (*L'histoire à parts égales. Récit d'une rencontre, Orient-Occident, XVI^e-XVII^e siècle*, Seuil, 2011, 672 p.) and Adrien Delmas (*Written Culture in a Colonial Context. Africa and the Americas 1500-1900*, Adrien Delmas & Nigel Penn, UCT Press, 2011, 364 p.).

For more information on the event, please register on the mailing list of IFAS-Research by sending an email to: research@ifas.org.za.



Cantino Planisphere, 1502

Asia, global economic integration, migrations on the scale of the African continent, Atlantic history, the Indian Ocean slave trade, scientific networks between different continents etc. In many respects, South African history appears, since modern time, as the local crystallisation of global phenomena.

However, integration should not take place by using rough simplifications. To apprehend such phenomena on a large scale, the new global history which can be defined as the meeting of world and cultural histories, offers new perspectives and valuable decentrings. Against a world history which is too often unilateral, teleological, not to say



An event organised as part of the France-South Africa Seasons 2012 & 2013.
www.france-southafrica.com

Development of new multimedia content and communication tools for IFAS- Research

On the occasion of the conference entitled Memory and the City held in September 2011, IFAS-Research has, with the support of the Institut Français, undertaken to develop its digital and video contents in particular, to communicate on research activities. As such, IFAS produced documentaries showing the walking tours in Yeoville which were proposed during the conference, and showing the presentations made during the plenary sessions of the conference (Philippe Gervais-Lambony, Annie Fourcatt and Cynthia Kros). IFAS-Research will continue to propose videos on its Youtube page to introduce current and scientific events.

IFAS-Research can also be found on Facebook since last year. Thanks to this networking tool, we hope to reach an increasing number of young French, South African and African researchers, and to facilitate the dissemination of information to all other French Research Institutes abroad (IFRE), which also have their own Facebook pages (Facebook pages for all IFRE totalled just over 4750 subscribers at the beginning of 2012).

Finally, IFAS is currently preparing to update its website with, in particular, the creation of an interface to access its digital archives which will be operational during the course of 2012.



 <http://www.facebook.com/IFASResearch>
 <http://www.youtube.com/user/IFASresearch>
 <http://www.flickr.com/photos/ifasresearch>

IFAS-Research personnel changes

Three members of the IFAS-Research team are leaving the Institute. Sophie Didier, IFAS-Research Director, will be leaving at the end of August, to be succeeded as director by Adrien Delmas; Communications Officer (and international volunteer) Thibault Hatton left at the end of May, making place for his replacement Victor Magnani, who arrived in mid-June; and finally Aporde co-ordinator Christian Kabongo, left in early July to join the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC), the new operating structure for the APORDE programme.

IFAS-Research wishes all the best to those who are leaving IFAS, and a warm welcome to all their replacements.

End of APORDE-IFAS cooperation



After five years of collaboration on the African Programme on Rethinking Development Economics (Aporde), the agreement between the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS), the Research Department of the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), came to an end in June 2012. IFAS, which had been running the programme, is handing the reins over to the Industrial Development Corporation (www.idc.co.za)

This change is accompanied by an evolution of the programme: in parallel with the classic academic format of the programme, Aporde intends to develop high level training workshops for high-ranking South African personnel from both the government and public enterprises. The 2012 edition of Aporde will be held in Johannesburg in September.

IFAS is proud of its fruitful partnership with the AFD and the DTI, and would like to thank all those who contributed to the increasing success of the programme during the past five years. All the best to the programme and all future participants.

Déplacés de guerre dans la ville

La citadinisation des deslocados à Maputo (Mozambique)

[War Displaced People in the City. The Urbanisation of Deslocados in Maputo (Mozambique)]

Jeanne Vivet
2012
KHARTALA - IFAS
ISBN: 978-2-8111-0629-4

This work examines the link between forced movement and urban citizenship, using a study carried out on rural people displaced by war and who took refuge in Maputo at the end of the 1980s, during the civil war of 1977-1992. Experiences of deterritorialisation and forced mobility are essential to understand the way displaced people settle in town. The coercive character of the displacement to Maputo explains why the authorities and the majority of displaced people initially envisaged their presence in the city as temporary.

A city is above all a place where one takes refuge and lives for a short while, before it becomes a permanent place one can call home. Turning displaced people into urban citizens, results from a dialectic process which calls public policies as well as the urban, social and family context and their individual practices into play. While the exceptional character of the situation legitimates their presence at first, it often ends up making their situation even more illegitimate than that of other migrants, once the conflict has been sorted out.

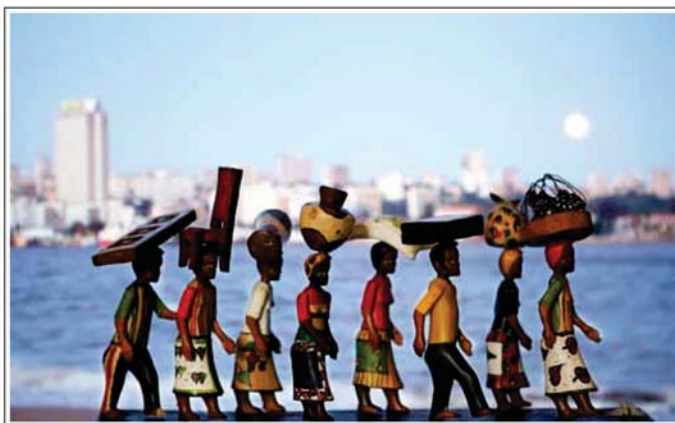
Twenty years after their arrival, the fact that formerly displaced people decide to stay in town could not be construed univocally: for some, it testifies to positive territorialisation, economic and residential integration as well as a sense of belonging in Maputo; for others, on the contrary, it means that it would be impossible for them to return to their place of origin and the past, and therefore refers to forced immobility rather than urban citizenship.

Jeanne Vivet, former ENS-Lyon student, a qualified teacher in Geography and Doctor at the University of Paris Ouest Nanterre, is currently conducting post-doctoral research work at the Social Science Institute of the University of Lisbon, on Angola and transnational families. Her thesis was rewarded by the 2011 French National Geography Committee.

Jeanne Vivet

Déplacés de guerre dans la ville

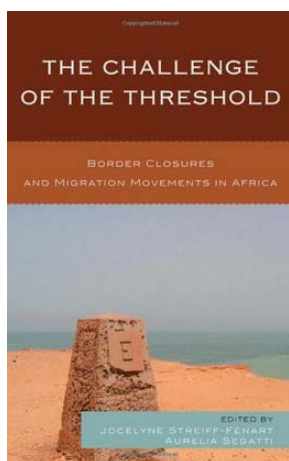
La citadinisation des deslocados à Maputo
(Mozambique)



KARTHALA - IFAS

The Challenge of the Threshold

Border Closures and Migration Movements in Africa



Edited by Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart and Aurelia Segatti
2011
Lexington Books
ISBN: 978-0-7391-6510-2

The recent containment policies aimed at regulating immigration flows towards Europe have profoundly altered the dynamics of migration in Africa. The impact of these policies is apparent in the redefinitions of the routes, itineraries and actors of migration. But their effect can also be felt in migrant categories and identities and in the perceptions of migrants in

the societies through which they transit or the communities which they have left behind. By placing the problem of border control at the very heart of the migration issue, the policies aimed at the restriction of migration flows have changed the meaning and significance of migration. More than ever before, both migrants and institutions in charge of border control construe migration mostly around the challenge of border-crossing.

In the Global South, the transit situation in which would-be border jumpers are retained blurs the distinction between

temporary migration and settlement. This contributes to change, in various ways, the relationship to strangers, from renewed forms of solidarities to the reactivation of latent xenophobic sentiment, whether around the Mediterranean or en route towards South Africa, the other migration hub on the continent.

The editors of this volume have decided to work on the notion of "threshold" as an operative concept for addressing the multiple dimensions of the issue: the discursive and conceptual frameworks that constitute the backbone of threshold policies aiming to keep undesirables beyond borders; the constitution of stopping places, intermediate areas and relay towns, which all represent threshold spaces that challenge local urban equilibria; and the experience of liminality, in which individuals caught for a time between two states (as migrant on the road and as immigrant, the state to which they aspire), experience the typically ambiguous situations characteristic of 'threshold people' (Turner).

Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart is director of the Research Unit on Migrations and Society at the University of Nice Sophia-Antipolis/University Paris Denis Diderot and IRD, France.

Aurelia Segatti is a senior researcher at the African Center for Migration and IFAS.

The book can be purchased online at:
<https://rowman.com/ISBN/9780739165102>

IJURR Symposia on "Local politics and the circulation of community security initiatives in Johannesburg"

The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research (IJURR) symposia present a collection of articles on the circulation of security initiatives primarily in Johannesburg but also in other Southern African cities like Cape Town, Windhoek (Namibia) or Maputo (Mozambique). It looks at the importation of various security systems (gated communities, community-policing, enclosures, CIDs...) and the way they are locally implemented, adopted or adapted in the urban context of Southern African cities.

These symposia follow up on the 2009 IFAS-Karthala publication (*Sécurisation des quartiers et gouvernance locale, enjeux et défis pour les villes africaines*) which documented security governance and spatial issues in African cities through various case studies. The book itself stemmed from a research programme initiated by IFAS in 2003 on urban and community responses to crime and their implication in terms of governance.

IJURR is the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research embracing a multidisciplinary approach and having a special interest in the complex, changing roles and futures of cities and regions.

Articles from the symposia are available online at:
<http://www.ijurr.org/details/symposium/1666665/Circulation-of-Security-Models-in-Southern-African-Cities-Between-Neoliberal-Enc.html>

About us...

The French Institute of South Africa was created in 1995 in Johannesburg. Dependant on the French Department of Foreign Affairs, it is responsible for the French cultural presence in South Africa and to stimulate and support French academic research on South and Southern Africa.

IFAS-Research (Umifre 25) is a joint CNRS (French National Centre for Scientific Research) - French Foreign Affairs Research Unit, and part of USR 3336 "Africa south of the Sahara". Under the authority of its scientific council, IFAS-Research takes part in the elaboration and management of research programmes in the social and human sciences, in partnership with academic institutions and research organisations.

The Institute offers an academic base for students, interns and visiting researchers, assists with the publication of research outcomes and organises colloquiums, conferences, seminars and workshops.

IFAS-Research Director

Sophie Didier

Researchers

Michel Lafon – Linguist

Administrative Staff

Laurent Chauvet – Translator

Werner Prinsloo – Graphic Design, Website, IT Management

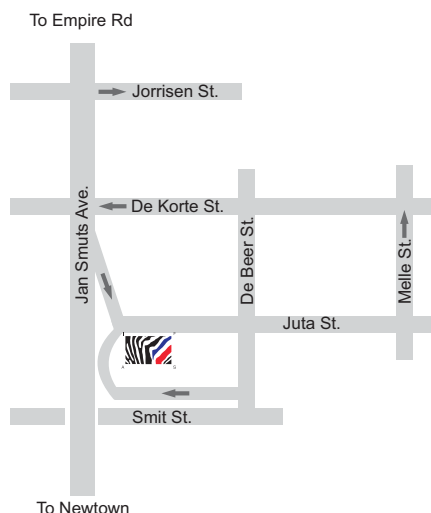
Christian Kabongo – APORDE Administrator

Thibault Hatton – Research & Communication officer (*for this issue*)

Victor Magnani – Research & Communication officer

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Lesedi: Sesotho word meaning "knowledge"

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