



REVIEW ARTICLE

EDUCATION IN NORTHERN BAHR EL GHAZAL, SOUTH SUDAN

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ABSTRACT

This is a descriptive study that aims at investigating the influence of education on individuals' language attitudes through the languages used as media of instruction in schools. These languages tend to be introduced to the family domain by pupils and students. English, as the means of education in South Sudan in general and Northern Bahr el Ghazal (NBeG) in particular, affects the status of Southern Sudanese indigenous languages, thus causing language change. Hence, the positive attitudes towards the English language is due to that English is viewed as being of more socioeconomic value, and a means of gaining better socio-political status and jobs. NBeGS was (until 2015) one of the ten States of South Sudan. It has an area of 33,558 km² and is part of Bahr el Ghazal region. A sociolinguistic profile on NBeGS and Aweil is provided to lay the ground for understanding how and why English as a means of education could be among the factors of language change. Interviews, focus group discussions and observations were the main tools of data collection. The data was collected from NBeGS; mainly in Aweil Town from the late 2009 to the beginning of 2010, in Wau (January 2010), but also in Juba (December 2010, December 2011, October 2014) and in Khartoum. The other sources of information were the Sudan Fifth Population Census of 2008 and the State Ministry of Education. The information on schools, students, and languages was used to be continuously updated. It is found that, despite the shortcomings in educational services in NBeGS, the English language tends to spread within the family domain by pupils and students, causing language change.

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INTRODUCTION

The Republic of South Sudan is a newly born country. It was founded on 9 July 2011 after its breakup from Sudan¹. The capital is Juba with Ramciel as the proposed new capital. South Sudan has an area of 619,745 km² and it is a landlocked country in east-central Africa. However, South Sudan is classified as part of the North Africa sub-region by the United Nations (UN). It has a population of around 10,314,021 (Source: 2011 World Bank estimates). According to the Sudan 5th Population Census 2008, there were around 8,260,490 people. Its boundaries are Sudan to the north, Ethiopia to the east, Uganda and Kenya to the southeast, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the southwest and Central African

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¹ Southern Sudan is used in the present study to denote the area before its breakup from Sudan and South Sudan for the newly born country.

Republic to the west. English is the official language of the country.² Table 1 illustrates the distribution of Southern Sudanese population based on their region of origin; Southern Sudanese, Northern Sudanese and non-Sudanese. Thus it provides information on the ethnic composition of Southern Sudanese States.³

METHODOLOGY

The methodology covers pre-field preparation, data collection and data management. It includes description of the tools used in collecting the data: questionnaire, interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and participant observation. In addition to the tools, the methodology also tackles the processes used in coding, entering, cleaning and analyzing the data (*Manual of Research Methodology* 2003: 23). The main tools of data collection in the present paper are interviews, focus group

² See <http://www.sudantribune.com/+South-Sudan,036-+>.

³ South Sudanese States are divided into 28 States, on basis of a presidential order "Establishment Order Number 36/2015 for the creation of 28 States." (<https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/full-list-kiirs-proposed-new-28-states-s-sudan>)

discussion and observations. The preparation for interviews and FGDs conducted in South Sudan was done in advance since the researcher was still in Khartoum. They were conducted with the assistance of four individuals; three Dinka males; a teacher, administrative officer, and jobless person in addition to one Barno female teacher. The aim of these interviews and FGDs is to find answers to the following research questions:

- Does English as the language of education spread within family domain?
- How is education valued? Why is it valued in that way?
- What are the participants' attitudes towards the use and spread of English language within the family domain?
- What are the position and attitudes towards the use of Arabic in education?
- What are the participants' views on replacing Arabic with Kiswahili in South Sudan?
- How are educated people treated by the community and tribe? Why?
- Could the socioeconomic situation of the State be one factor of English language preference?
- What would be the influence of English on Southern Sudanese languages and how does this influence contribute to language change?

Interviews and FGDs will be described in the following subsection.

differ with respect to gender, age, level of education, profession and ethnic background. They were conducted in Aweil Town, Wau (January 2010), Juba (December 2010, December 2011 and October 2014) and Khartoum (since 2009 up to the present time). The aim was to collect more detailed information on displacement, migration, education, and Arabic language in addition to a number of other related issues. Interviews are the means used by the researcher to update information. The languages used in interviews were Dinka, Arabic and English.

Focus group discussion

Focus group discussion is used as another source of information. A focus group discussion (FGD) is a good way to gather people from similar backgrounds or experiences, to discuss a specific topic of interest (Avery et al. 1981, Krueger 1994).⁴ Only five group discussions were made due to the sensitive situation at that time (2009-2010). The 17 members of the FGDs included both South Sudanese (58.8% 10/17) and immigrants⁵ (41.2% 7/17) with age ranging between 17- 49, 41% (7/17) out of them were females and the remaining 58.8% (10/17) were males. Immigrants were two groups consisting of 3 and 4 members whereas South Sudanese include 3 groups of 3, 3 and 4 members. Among the topics discussed were education, displacement either inside Sudan or in other countries, slavery, war, the situation of their languages, interethnic marriage, and a lot of relevant issues. Recording

Table 1. The distribution of Southern Sudanese population according to regional group¹

Southern Sudanese States	Northern Sudanese	Southern Sudanese	Non-Sudanese	Total	
				Frequency	Percent
Upper Nile	38,444	911,314	4,496	1,300,254	15.1
Jonglei	1,024	1,337,533	3,027	1,358,602	15.8
Unity	9,733	567,002	1,041	585,801	6.8
Warrap	2,586	957,328	1,331	972,928	11.3
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	3498	708,134	1,498	720,898	8.4
Western Bahr el Ghazal	14,626	310,405	2,235	333,431	3.9
Lakes	952	684,448	1,968	695,730	8.09
Eastern Equatoria	1,132	892,738	3,177	906,126	10.5
Western Equatoria	1,023	608,833	3,917	619,029	7.2
Central Equatoria	6,125	1,068,518	17,641	1,103,592	12.8
Total	425,143	8,046,253	39,870	8,596,391	100

Tools of data collection

Interviews, focus group discussions and the observations of the researcher are the main tools of data collection. Data was collected from Northern Bahr el Ghazal State: mainly in Aweil Town and in Wau, but also in Juba, and Khartoum. In addition, information was obtained from the Northern Bahr el Ghazal State Ministry of Education and Sudan Fifth Population Census of 2008. It is worth mentioning that it was extremely difficult to collect the data. The South Sudanese respondents' attitude towards the researcher was discomfort, doubt and untruth based on their experiences during the war (1983-2005). In addition, information about schools and students was obtained from five Counties. That task was assigned to two research assistants, because trips by the researcher to the Counties were estimated to be too insecure and risky.

Interviews

Interview is one of the main tools of data collection. A number of interviews were administered to more than fifty people who

was prepared by the researcher, after having the group's permission, then transcribed, and interpreted. The results were shared with the groups in order to give them some feedback, either by phone, or at a second session, reviewing results, verifying their accuracy, and or exploring other themes. In addition, the researcher wrote down certain points. Notwithstanding this limitation, focus group discussions provided an insight into how a group thinks about different issues, the range of opinions and ideas, and the variation that exists in their community in terms of beliefs and their experiences and practices, in addition to people's attitudes to the languages of education. The following paragraphs provide a general background on the demography and sociolinguistic structure of NBeGS in order to provide comprehensive background. This helps understanding the possible reasons for English language preference, the extent of its spread in the

⁴ For more information on FGD, see Nashid (2014: 31-33)

⁵ 'Immigrants' is used in this context to denote the non-South Sudanese groups.

family domain, and the influence on the Southern Sudanese indigenous languages.

Demographic and sociolinguistic profile of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State

Demographic and sociolinguistic information on NBeGS and Aweil Town is important to lay the ground for understanding what could be the motivations behind individuals' language preference. It also could give insights into the individuals' attitudes, which is assumed to be one of the factors of language change, i.e. their attitudes towards their native languages on one hand, and Arabic, English, and Kiswahili on the other hand. English is the language of education, Arabic was the language of education, and the medium of instruction in some few private schools, and Swahili is the medium of instruction in some private schools. Northern Bahr el Ghazal (in Arabic: Shamāl Baḥr al Ghazāl) was one of the ten states of South Sudan. It has an area of 33,558 km² and is part of Bahr el Ghazal region. It borders South Darfur (Sudan) to the north, Western Bahr el Ghazal to the west and south, and Warrap and Abyei to the east. Aweil is the capital of the State. This area suffered extensively in the second civil war in Southern Sudan because of its proximity to Kordofan and of the railway line that used to cruise its way to Wau⁶. The Northern Bahr el Ghazal area and the adjacent parts of Western Kordofan to the north were among the most politically sensitive regions in the former united Sudan. The Misseriyya Arabs from Kordofan have interacted with Dinka in this region over a long time. While relations during the colonial era were largely peaceful, the last war had witnessed an upsurge in hostilities between them. The gravest result of the second war in Southern Sudan was the rebirth of the institution of slavery in a form of organized slave raids. Government-backed Misseriyya benefited from the local Dinka groups. Raids by Marāḥīl (aka Marḥūm/ Marāḥīl in Arabic Ruḥāl which means nomads)⁷ militias and other government backed groups, including some Dinka militias, resulted in considerable loss of life, widespread abduction and pillaging of Dinka villages. Many of these raids coincided with the movement of government trains to and from Kordofan to Wau. According to Jok (2001), these slave raids started in 1985 and have taken place every year since then. Due to difficulties horses faced in the rainy seasons, Marāḥīl militias attacked Dinka only between January and April, destroying many of the Dinka villages, killing many people and capturing thousands of children and women. The captives were taken through Kiir River to the Baggara villages to be distributed between the raiders as free labour. This has resulted in the destruction of the infrastructure of the State, since the majority fled their homes and villages (for more than twenty years) to relatively secured areas. Great numbers had no option but to join the military forces of the SPLA so as to defend themselves.

The grievances experienced by the Dinka and other Southern Sudanese ethnic groups are believed to have a major role in prompting the people of Southern Sudan to opt for independence (Secession-Independence) as stated by many South Sudanese researchers and elites in many of the

⁶ The train does not work any longer.

⁷ Marāḥīl is used by Dinka to refer to Baggara militias which used to attack people during the last ended war (1983-2005).

discussions and interviews with them (Wol 2007; Tutkuay 2011). According to them, slavery was implanted and deeply rooted in the Northerners' brains and it was their chance to put their beliefs into practice. Besides, slavery was the way Arabs (some Northerners) used to express how they viewed Southerners simply as slaves (Arabic: 'abīd). This also helps to create a hostile attitude towards Northerners, which the researcher herself experienced when she was in Aweil Town. Another result is that many Southerners have rejected the Arabic language, regarding it as their enemy's language or a means of new colonialism. Their attitudes towards the spread of Arabic are either to deny it, neglect it or to struggle in order to stop its spread. This has led to the appearance of a new political wave calling for replacing Arabic with Swahili in Southern Sudan. The majority of the State villages were destroyed; therefore, assessment programmes were necessary to reconstruct them in order to accommodate the great number of returnees. Accordingly, the information on Northern Bahr el Ghazal State presented in the next section includes information on the assessed villages since they constitute a great percentage of the State villages. Any information on the population of NBeGS has to mention returnees; either IDPs or refugees.⁸

There is an estimated 400,000 persons who have returned to the region since peace and stability were restored at 2005.⁹ In addition, great numbers of people returned to the State after Southern Sudan Secession from the Sudan (July 2011). Under the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan, the three provinces of Southern Sudan were divided into ten States, including NBeGS which was subdivided into five counties and the counties were subdivided into 39 Payams. The counties were Aweil West, Aweil North, Aweil East, Aweil Centre and Aweil South. The division of Northern Bahr el Ghazal into counties and around 100 bomas started in 2005 after the Interim Constitution entered into force. Borders as well as names of counties and Payams were modified. The high return movement makes it necessary to continue the restructuring as new villages and bomas have been created. The boundaries of the new counties were recognized by the government, but are not yet officially demarcated. The counties and the Payams included are shown as in Table 2:

NBeGS is currently divided into four States based on order titled the "Establishment Order Number 36/2015 for the creation of 28 States" (see Appendix 1) as shown in Table 3:

Demographic profile

Demographic information is presented here so as to satisfy the requirement of adequately analyzing the research data on the study area. Background information on geography, population, migration patterns, education and income generation activities in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State is provided, excluding Aweil Town which will be presented later.

⁸ 'Returnees' is used in this context to refer to the people who leave the southern Sudan during the last ended war (1983-2005). They are two categories: the group which was staying at the Sudan as 'internally displaced people, IDP' and those who leave the country living in Diaspora as refugees.

⁹ Most of this information was taken from the State Report of Northern Bahr el Ghazal: Village Assessments and Returnee Monitoring Analytical Report, Northern Bahr el Ghazal State, 2009. Abbreviated (VARMA.Report). see http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/activities/countries/docs/village_assessment_northernbahr.pdf.

Table 2. Counties and Payams of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State¹

County	Headquarter	Payams
Aweil Centre	Aroyo	Awada, Auluich, Nyalath, Barmayen, Achanna, and Chel South
Aweil East	Wangjok	Rumaker, Wanyjok/Mabil, Malualbaai, Madhol, Baac, Mangartong, Wunlung, Yargot, Mangok and Majokyithiou.
Aweil North	Gog Machar	Malual East (Mayen Ulem), Ariath, Malual Centre (Pamet), Malual North (Gok Machar), and Malual West (Majakbaai).
Aweil South	Malekalel	Nyocawany, Terialiet, Nyeith, Panthou, Wathmouk, Tarweng, and Gakro.
Aweil West	Nymlel	Meiriam East (Mduang), Meiriam West (Udhum), Gomjuer East (Wedweil), Gomjuer West (Chelkou), Gomjuer Centre (Mayom Akoon), Ayat centre (Mayom Akuangrel), Ayat East (Marial baai), and Ayat West (Nyinbuoli).

Table 3. States of Northern Bahr el Ghazal¹

States	Headquarters	Counties
Aweil	Aweil	Aweil Centre and Aweil South
Lol	Raja	Aweil West, Aweil North and Raja
Aweil East	Wanyjok	Aweil East
Twic	Mayen Abun	Twic

Table 4. The distribution of the population of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State according to regional group¹

Northern Bahr el Ghazal State	Northern Sudanese		Southern Sudanese		Non-Sudanese		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Aweil North County	1,127	0.9	126,900	98.3	81	0.06	129,127	17.9
Aweil East County	303	0.09	305,112	98.4	270	0.09	309,921	42.9
Aweil West County	1,732	1.04	162,092	97.5	502	0.3	166,217	23.1
Aweil Centre County	324	0.8	41,039	98.1	84	0.2	41,827	5.8
Aweil South County	12	0.02	72,991	98.9	82	0.1	73,806	10.2
Total	3,498	0.5	708,134	98.2	1,019	0.14	720,898	100

Population and migration patterns in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State

Northern Bahr el Ghazal falls between the humid and sub-humid zones; therefore, it is highly rich in its vegetation, covered with surface water. The landscape of Northern Bahr el Ghazal is characterized by flat grassland and tropical Savannah of around 33,559 km². Every county is geographically divided into three areas of different ground water height, locally known as low middle and highlands. Areas of high water table (lowland) are annually flooded in the rainy season from May to November, and only accessible in the dry season. Characteristics for mid-lands are that water is available throughout the year and the area is not prone to floods. Highlands are fertile areas with low water table and no access to water in the dry season (VARMA Report 2009). Northern Bahr el Ghazal State is geographically divided into 4 major areas or administrative divisions: Abiem, Malual-Giornyang, Paliet-Wek, and Anyot-Paliupiny.¹⁰ Typographic characteristics of the study area may give insights into the economic activities of its inhabitants and the possibilities of its development. Therefore, since it is highly rich with surface water and fertile land, the main activities are expected to be agriculture and animals' raising. The population of the State was estimated around 720,898 according to the 2008 Population Census; 98.2% (708,134) are Southern Sudanese, 0.5% (3,498) out of them are Northern Sudanese and 0.2% (1,019) are non-Sudanese (Table 4). It is divided into five Counties by which shall be considered in details, since they constitute the State with which the present study shall be concerned.

In addition to the population figures of each County mentioned in table 4 above, information on the population of the assessed villages has to be presented. This is in order to lay a ground for

understanding the extent of the State destruction, people's suffering and the role would be played by education in their lives. The total population of the assessed 1,738 villages is about 790,898 people. Returnees represent around 51% (400,098), internally displaced people represent 4% (32,439) and residents represent 45% (358,361) of the assessed population. Establishing reliable population figures was amongst the most challenging aspects of the assessment process. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SSRRC) did its utmost to verify the numbers of returnees and residents within villages. It was clear that on some occasions the population data provided during the assessment was unrealistic and inflated. Ultimately, the population figures collected through the IOM/SSRRC village assessments significantly exceeded the data of the Population and Housing Census published in June 2009. This is may be due to the fact that people add to their actual numbers in order to receive more assistance from humanitarian organizations. About 224 villages reported that some returnees were either displaced again or separated from their families after their return to NBeGS. Those secondary displaced returnees reported to be mainly from villages in Aweil East (48%) and Aweil North (24%) counties. The main return destinations in Northern Bahr el Ghazal are Aweil East (50%), Aweil North (20%) and Aweil West (16%) Counties (VARMA Report, 2009).

As explained above, returnees constitute a considerable number of the population of NBeGS. Many returnees have come from Khartoum and other urban locations, as reported by Great Britain Parliament House of Commons (2010-12). NBeGS hosts the second largest number of returnees in South Sudan. This is largely due to the organized trains of returnees which have carried returnees from Khartoum to Aweil Town throughout the year 2009. Whilst some returnees have returned to their respective villages in the rural areas or to their extended families, the vast majority have preferred instead to

¹⁰See: <http://madingaweil.com/abuot-aweil.htm>.

be relocated close to towns. This high return to the area created a lot of problems in the communities which already lacks services, such as clinics, schools, etc. In Aweil Town, for example, a lot of returnees settled with their extended families without being formally registered. This placed pressure on the already insufficient resources, especially water. The great number of returnees and their concentrations on specific areas created many disputes between them and the host communities. From October 2010 through September 2011, there were 66,157 returnees to Northern Bahr el Ghazal, with the highest concentrations in Aweil Centre County, Aweil East County, and Aweil North County. A lot of difficulties have faced returnees in their attempts to resettle in the State. Among these difficulties are the disputes on land and property. Land disputes are common in Northern Bahr el Ghazal, with massive numbers of returnees residing in the temporary sites of Apada and Maduany. Many do not wish to be relocated to the permanent site designated for them in Nyalath. Other issues over land involve hardships paying for plots. They have to pay money to the government by the end of the year for their land plots.¹¹ Generally speaking, the ethno-linguistic fabric of the State can be represented by providing some information on the ethnic groups and languages found. Ethnic groups found in the State can be categorized into two major groups; South Sudanese ethnic groups and immigrants. The State is mainly populated by Dinka, Jur Chol and Fellata who came from West Africa a long time ago. The other South Sudanese groups found in the State are Banda, Belanda Bor, Belanda Viri, Gule, Yulu, Kresh, Zande, Shilluk, Nuer, Anuak, Acholi, Runga, Latuka, Bari and Gollo. Most of these groups joined military forces, especially the Equatorians (the people whose home origin is Equatoria-South Sudan). The majority of the Sudanese immigrants are coming from Darfur, Kordofan and the White Nile. They are Baggara, Nuba, Krongo, Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit. In addition, there is a small group of Arabs from the White Nile. The other groups of immigrants from the neighbouring countries are Ethiopians, Ugandans, Somalis, Kenyans and Nigerians. There are also groups of West Africans, locally called Mawālīd (Hausa, Bargo, Barno and Fellata). The majority of those immigrant ethnic groups work in the market places, and medical services. In addition, Europeans, Asians, Americans and Israelis are also found in small numbers.¹²

These heterogeneous groups led to the existence of different types of education as presented in the coming section. From the above discussion, it is clear that returnees, internally displaced people and immigrants¹³ constitute a great percentage of the State population. The patterns of their immigration are significant since it affects individuals' language behaviour through the languages used and preferred. For example, IDPs and Sudanese immigrants are expected to use Arabic increasingly since IDP used to live in Sudan within Arabic speaking communities and the Sudanese immigrants know and use Arabic either because it is their native language or a lingua franca. The refugees in some of the neighbouring countries are expected to use Swahili. English is also used by some of the

educated people to communicate with Europeans, Asians and some Africans. Education is among the factors that affect the individual's language behaviour and language attitudes through the languages used as medium of instruction in schools. These languages tend to be introduced to the family domain by pupils and students. Therefore, the following sub-section presents general information on education in the State.

Education in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State

The following paragraphs present some information on the education on NBeGS. It starts with general information on schools and students. It also presents information on the school attendance in relation to age groups and people's mode of life to have insights into the influence that can be brought about through education, i.e. the way education affects the sociolinguistic situation of the State. The people who receive more educational services may be more subject to effects brought about by education. Education may be among the most influential factors on people's language behaviour if the socio-economic situation of the State is to be considered. Sudan Fifth Population Census (2008) is the main source of information on education discussed in this context. The information mentioned on age groups ranging between 6-24 will be the base of this discussion. The number of the students in the entire State is not recorded by the Ministry of Education and the recorded data, if needed, has to be directly taken from their offices in each County. There are about 280 basic primary schools, 7 senior secondary schools and 6 training centres.¹⁴ The General Director of the State Ministry of Education gave information about the schools and students shown in Table 5. Therefore, the following Table includes only information about the number and type of schools in each County, excluding Aweil Town which will be presented in the sub-section 2.3.2.

Most of the above listed schools are seasonal and most of the training centers are dysfunctional. Secondary schools are very few all around the State, including Aweil Town and there is only one in each County, exceptionally 3 in Aweil West and there is none in Aweil Centre. Therefore, there is a need to increase them in order to satisfy the number of students graduating from primary education. High school education could be provided to spread higher education systems, such as academic institutions, agriculture education, commercial, and technical schools. Nevertheless, the most urgent and needed institutions at present are vocational training centers to provide skillful technicians, in order to provide experts to handle development as explained by Kuc (2004). School attendance is significant since education is among the effective factors which affect the individuals' language behaviour. People attending school may be more subject to outer influence. Therefore, information on school attendance in the State may shed light on the groups most influenced by the effect brought about by education. The people attending school represent 15.06% of the State total population. This category includes the age groups ranging between 6-49 as mentioned in the Sudan's Fifth Population Census 2008. This may be due to the fact that the age of school enrolment is not restricted or confined to specific age. People keep enrolling in and dropping out of schools at all ages and this may be justified by the difficulties people face,

¹¹ See: <http://southsudanprotectioncluster.org/wpcontent/uploads/2012/IRC%20Northern%20Bahr%20el%20Ghazal%202011Protection%20Stakeholder%20Report.pdf>.

¹² This information is based on both the interviews and on the researcher's field visits.

¹³ Immigrants include non-South Sudanese groups.

¹⁴ In Northern Bahr El Ghazal State, schools are called basic primary and senior secondary unlike the north in Sudan where they are called primary and secondary schools.

Table 5. Schools in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State ¹

County	Number of basic primary schools	Types of Schools	Number of senior secondary schools	Type of schools	Number of training centres
Aweil East	105	(104) government (1) Religious	2	Government	3
Aweil West	45	Government	3	(1)Government(1) Private	2
Aweil Centre	42	Government	0	0	1
Aweil North	44	Government	1	Government	1
Aweil South	44	Government	1	Government	0

Table 6. School attendance by population of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State according to modes of life and sex ¹

Modes of life	Sex	Currently attending		Previously attending		Never attend		Total	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Total	Male	54404	22.5	27051	11.9	160359	66.3	241813	46.2
	Female	24511	8.7	13721	4.9	243920	86.4	282152	53.8
	Total	78915	15.1	40772	7.8	404279	77.2	523966	100
Urban	Male	6130	31.3	5272	26.9	8207	41.9	19609	54.7
	Female	2978	18.3	2772	17.1	10493	64.6	16243	45.3
	Total	9108	25.4	8044	22.4	18700	51.2	35853	100
Rural	Male	222204	54	48274	31.7	21779	14.3	152151	39.5
	Female	265909	86.1	21533	9.2	10949	4.7	233427	60.5
	Total	488113	73.4	69807	18.1	32728	8.5	385578	100
Nomad	Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 7. School attendance of population of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State according to sex and age group¹

Age groups	Currently attending				Previously attending				Never attend			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
6-9	9192	16.9%	5465	22.2%	1489	5.5%	1216	8.9%	37877	23.6%	41263	16.9%
10-14	18316	63.4%	9050	36.9%	1714	6.3%	1281	9.3%	20852	13%	28889	11.8%
15-19	13639	33.7%	6084	24.8%	1613	5.9%	1726	12.6%	11129	6.9%	22699	9.3%
20-24	7095	13.04%	2497	10.2%	3130	11.6%	2340	17.05%	9272	5.8%	26698	10.9%
Total	54404	100%	24511	100%	27051	100%	13721	100%	160359	100%	243920	100%

such as war, during which schools were closed and people were forced to leave their homes. Social or economic obligations have forced many to leave their education to work in farms or cattle keeping, providing life's necessities for their families. Table 6 below illustrates the school attendance of the people of NBeGS. The figures provided may give insights on education in the State. Table 6 shows that the majority of the State population do not attend schools and the majority of those who currently attend school, by which males represent the great percentage, are located in the rural areas (93.2%).

According to school attendance, people are placed into three categories: those who are currently attending school, those who have previously attended school (dropped out) and those who never attended school. As shown in Table 6, those currently attending school represent 15.06% (68.9% males and 31.06% females), those who previously attended school represent 7.8% (68.6% males and 33.7% females), and those who never attended school represent 77.2 % of the State's total population (39.7% male and 60.3% females). It becomes clear from these percentages that the greatest number fall within the category 'never attended school', which represents two-third of the total population; in which females are the majority. The majority of the population of the State did not receive any kind of education and this may be due to the effect of the war and many other reasons as previously mentioned. This may indicate that less people may become subject to the outer influences which resulted from education through languages used as a means of instruction in schools. In addition, this also increases

the opportunities for more maintenance of the ethnic languages or it may give great value to education as a means of obtaining better chances. Hence, this increases the status of English language which tends to spread. The most important role played by a language in these communities is a distinctive socioeconomic, political and social status within the tribe, or the community and this could be obtained through English. As stated by Nashid (2014: 346-347) "...The most common reason for language preference among 62.5% of the respondents is status. The high percentage of respondents having positive attitude based on status may indicate the effect of socioeconomic position on individuals' language behaviour". Relating school attendance with people's mode of life shows that about 6.8% of those who currently attend schools are located in urban areas (97.3% males and 2.7% females). The majority (93.2 %) of those who currently attending school are found in the rural areas (49.9% males and 50.1% females) and this may be due to that most of the areas of the State are categorized as rural and they are the most populated areas due to the great number of returnees who resettled with their extended families. Therefore, the languages used as means of instruction in school are expected to be introduced to the family domain through students and pupils.

As mentioned, many of the students drop out from their schools for different reasons. Those who previously attended school represent 19.7% in the urban areas (65.5% males and 34.5% females) and 80.3% (66.5 males and 33.5% females) in rural areas. The majority of this category are males and this

may be justified by their need to drop out earlier from their schools in order to take responsibility for their families. About 4.6% of those who never attended school are found in urban area (39.5% males and 60.5% females) and 95.4% are found in rural area (43.9% males and 56.1% females, Table 6). The majority of this category are located in rural areas due to the difficulties people face as schools are located far away and students have to walk, sometimes more than two hours, to reach the nearest school. Moreover, the lack of facilities such as teachers, buildings, and materials make access to education more difficult to the people of the State, in addition to the economic needs that they have to fulfill as mentioned before. The following Table illustrates school attendance of population of NBeGS, age groups ranging between 6-24 as mentioned by the Sudan Fifth Population Census 2008.

The number of people falling within the age group 6-24 is estimated at around 284524. They represent 54.3% of the total number of the State's total population who currently attend school. Within these age groups, males represent 55.9% and females represent 52.9% of the sum total of the males and females, i.e. they represent more than half of the persons who attend school in the State. The majority of those who are currently attending school belong to these age groups (90.4%). The persons currently attending school of 6-24 age groups represent 90.4%, in which males are 76.9% of the sum total of the males currently attending school in the State, and females are 94.2% of the sum total females currently attending school in the State. Within the 6-24 age group, the persons who previously attended school represent 35.6% of the sum total of the persons who previously attended school in the State, in which males represent 29.4% of the sum total of the males previously attended school in the State and females represent 47.8% of the sum total of the females who previously attended school in the State. The percentage of persons who never attended school, within these age groups, is 49.1%, by which males represent 49.3% of the sum total of the males who never attended school in the State, and females represent 49.01% of the sum total of the females who never attended school in the State. The population of the 6-24 age group represents the majority of the persons who receive educational services in the State; therefore, it is expected to be more influenced by changes brought about by education, as one of the factors that affects individual's language behaviour, as languages are used as medium of instruction in the schools. Socio-economic factors may play a significant role in the in language behaviour and language attitudes of individuals. People, in most cases, tend to use languages that help them to be placed in a more advantageous position. The languages with more socio-economic value may be viewed as a way to gain better socio-political status and jobs. Education in Aweil Town will be presented in the following sub-section.

Education in Aweil Town

Aweil ¹⁵ (aka Uwail or Uwayl or Aweil Town or Mading Aweil) was the capital city of Northern Bahr el Ghazal State. It is located at around 8°46'48"N 27°23'24"E / 8.78°N 27.39°E /

¹⁵ The name Mading Aweil is a Dinka's name taken from Mading Ayuel. The name Mading Aweil was derived from an event in which a bull coloured "Mading" was slaughtered as a sacrifice by somebody called Ayuel, a man from the Paliej (paan Achiee) clan, a clan that first settled in what is now known as Aweil town (<http://madingaweil.com/abuot-aweil.htm>).

8.78; 27.39. The Lol and Pongo Rivers intersect here. Aweil had a railway station on the line to Wau built in the 1960s, but after a period it fell out of use due to war damage. However, it was restored to use in 2010. Now, there is a link by a new unpaved road, which also links Khartoum, the capital of Sudan, and Juba, the South Sudanese capital. The population size of Aweil was around 40,054 in the 2008 census. The population in Aweil is divided into three major ethnic groups: Dinka (80%), Luwo or Jur Chol (19%) and others (1%). Although Dinka constitute the majority in Aweil, it is difficult to distinguish between Dinka and Jur Chol, for the long history of inter-marriages between the two ethnic groups. It is believed that those who are half-Dinka and half-Jur constitute more than 60% of the total population. Fellata or Fulani, who constitute 1% and live in Aweil Town have immigrated to the area from West Africa, especially from Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad. Aweil is currently estimated to have more than 3 million inhabitants.¹⁶ The following information on education in the Town gives an account on the number of the students and the number and type of schools. There are 21 basic primary schools in Aweil Town; 19 of them are government schools and 2 are semi-private schools. In addition, there are 6 senior secondary schools; 4 of them are government and 2 are private schools. The number of students in the basic primary schools is estimated around 109515 (75733 males and 33782 females). The number of students in the senior secondary schools is 2013 (1899 males and 114 females).¹⁷ The above information, given by the Director General, is later modified because it was the number of the students registered at the beginning of the academic year. The actual numbers are taken from the head masters of the schools, which included the students actually attending schools then. Most students drop out from schools although the academic year for the difficulties they face. The later estimated number of students in the basic primary schools was 11924 (8270; 69.4%) boys and 3654 (30.6%) girls. The estimated number of the students in the senior secondary schools was 1482 (1171; 79.01%) boys and 311 (20.98%) girls. The rest of the information was obtained from headmasters in each school. Co-education is the system applied in the Town, except three schools; two of them for girls; one basic primary school and another senior secondary school and one basic primary school for boys. About 16 of the basic primary schools have complete classes and 5 have only the first five classes, because they were established after CPA (2005). English is the medium of instruction in these five schools. In the remaining 16 schools, English is the medium of instruction in the first five classes, whereas Arabic is the medium of instruction in the rest of the classes since they received their education in Arabic. English is the medium of instruction in the senior secondary schools, except one school for girls in which Arabic is the medium of instruction and there exists only the first class.

The age of school enrolment in the primary level is mostly 9 years. The average number of students per class ranges between 45 and 200 and the average of teachers per school ranges between 8 and 15; many of them are volunteers. The construction standards of educational buildings are extremely poor. Many of the functioning schools are constructed from local materials, such as grass, wood and/or mud. A significant number of the buildings are found to be in need of

¹⁶ See: <http://madingaweil.com/abuot-aweil.htm>.

¹⁷ Source: Seizard Atem Atem, director of the State General Education, 2009.

maintenance. Many educational facilities are actually classes held in open spaces, mainly under trees for shade. Schools receive assistance for the provision of education. This reflects the efforts provided by both the State authorities and the international humanitarian community. For children attending schools, great numbers walk more than 60 minutes to reach their schools. The distance was given as the main reason why children are not enrolled in school as well as why many drop out early. There were about 21 basic primary schools and six senior secondary schools in Aweil Town then (2009-2010). The number of schools increased and some of these schools change their names. Schools were located all around the entire Town. The number of schools was not sufficient to satisfy the increasing number of the students, including the returnees. Adding to that, schools lack a lot of the fundamental resources. Old buildings, which survived after the war still, need renovation. There were no desks, textbooks, laboratories and above all, no sufficiently qualified teachers. In other words, there was no proper educational management. Teachers needed intensive training before being dispatched to schools. There were three types of education in Aweil Town: government schools, in which Arabic was the medium of instruction, but now is replaced by English. Semi-private education, where Arabic is the medium of instruction, is represented by a few schools. Private education, which is run by Kenyans and Ugandans, is also found. English and Swahili are the medium of instruction in this type of education. Languages used as medium of instruction in schools spread and tend to have special status.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

This is a descriptive study that aims at investigating the influence of education on individuals' language attitudes through the languages used as media of instruction in schools. These languages tend to be introduced to the family domain by pupils and students. English, as the means of education in South Sudan in general and NBeG in particular, affects the status of Southern Sudanese indigenous languages, thus causing language change. The data was obtained through interviews, FGDs and observation. Therefore, the following paragraphs present a discussion and findings on the issues dealt with. Education was among the topics discussed; how it is valued and why it is considered as a means of getting lives back. The responses to education by the 50 interviewees and 17 members of the FGDs reposes to education differed with respect to ethnic background and age. All South Sudanese participants (40 interviewees and 10 FGD members) and 58.8% (10/17; 6 interviewees and 4 FGD members) of the immigrant participants were highly valued education and saw it as their means of obtaining better socioeconomic and political status. The remaining 7 immigrant participants (mostly Sudanese from Darfur) expressed their desire to have high political status when returning back to their home; Sudan, after the end of the Darfur Crisis (started since 2007). Youth participants expressed the way education would help them maintaining their future. The use and spread of English language within the family domains is also focused on. About 78% (39/50; 32 interviewees and 7 FGD members) of the South Sudanese participants agreed on the tendency of English language use by students and pupils. For them, English language is increasingly introduced at family domains by pupils and students. Abuk, a housewife, non-educated; a Jur

Chol participant, explained the way her kids use English in her presence "... they are usually starting their talks in either Jur Chol or Dinka and suddenly turn to English so I understand that they are hiding something from me". These words shed lights on the spread of Dinka language among non-Dinka ethnic groups which has been emphasized by Nashid (2014).

All South Sudanese participants and 76.5% (13/17) of the immigrant participants have positive attitudes towards English and showed their desire for their children to learn English language because of pragmatic reasons, i.e. mainly to gain better socioeconomic opportunities, and better jobs. The participants' positive attitudes towards English is due to instrumental motivation¹⁸. The remaining 23.5% (4/17) of the immigrant participants, Fellata, behaved positively towards Arabic expressing their desire for Arabic to be the means of education. The position, attitudes towards the spread and use of Arabic in education was also discussed. The participants' views on replacing Arabic with Kiswahili in South Sudan was among the issues that received attention. One results of the southern Sudanese experience during the war (1983-2005) is the rejection of the Arabic language, and regarding it as their enemy's language or a means of new colonialism (Nashid 2014). Their attitudes towards the spread of Arabic are either to deny it, neglect it or to struggle in order to stop its spread. This negative attitude towards Arabic language may be explained as their own strategy to dissociate themselves from the Northern Sudanese culture because, to them, it is a reflection of a racial supremacy and domination (Nashid 2014: 182). This has led to the appearance of a new political wave calling for replacing Arabic with Swahili in Southern Sudan. All South Sudanese participants have negative attitudes towards Arabic due to their grievous experience during the war as previously mentioned. About 86% (43/50) of the South Sudanese participants expressed their discomfort with the use of Swahili in education due of being a carrier of a completely different culture and tradition. The remaining 14% (7/50) emphasized replacing Arabic with any other language in order to be completely independent of the Arab's colonialism. As stated by Akwei, 28th years-old Dika secondary school student "... Arabic language and culture should be removed from our lives, then we can feel liberation and freedom".

The most important role played by a language in these communities is a distinctive socioeconomic, political and social status within the tribe, or the community and this could be obtained through English. Therefore; how educated people are treated by the community and tribe was also discussed. Participants, especially South Sudanese, explained that educated people, particularly those joining the civil service tend to have special status within the tribe. According to Majok, a jobless Dinka, "... educated people are highly valued, they have to agree on a lot of important issues such as marriage, they are to attend, approve, and give their advices whenever needed and this is a great status" The situation of Southern Sudanese and immigrant languages is also considered. The power of a language in a society plays an important role in maintaining it. The domain of language use

¹⁸ Instrumental motivation reflects pragmatic and utilitarian motives. It is characterized by a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language. According to McClelland (1958, cited in Baker 1992: 32), it is mostly self-oriented and individualistic and seem to have conceptual overlap with the need for achievement.

was discussed to have a background on the situation of these languages. How these languages are viewed by their speakers and others is also accounted for in order to have insights on the future of these languages. South Sudanese participants belong to different ethnic groups such as Dinka, Jur Chol, Bari, Nuer, Kresh and Fertit. Immigrant participants are Sudanese (Fur, Zaghawa, Nuba and Arab) and West Africans (Fellata and Barno). All Dinka participants (30; 26 interviewees and 4 FGD members) have positive attitudes towards their native language showing how they are increasingly used and how they are important component of their individual and group identity. However, they considered the use of English as an indicator of individual high status. For the remaining 20 South Sudanese non-Dinka participants (14 interviewees and 6 FGD members), there is a tendency of less mother tongue (MT) maintenance and more Dinka language use; especially among Jur Chol. Immigrant participants showed an increasing use of Arabic even at home; particularly among youth who also behave positively towards English language, either. West African participants showed a complete shift to Dinka and Arabic. Their preference of language is due to integrative motivation, i.e. such an attitude has conceptual links with the need for affiliation. It may concern with the attachment to or identification with a language group and their cultural activities, i.e. to be identified with another language group (see Baker et al. 1978). For the languages used by participants in their cultural practices, the majority explained various degree of mother tongue (MT) use; except the West Africans. Dinka and Arabic are the languages used by them in social and cultural practices. This is supported by the observation of the researcher who attended many celebrations both in South Sudan and Khartoum. At a Fellata wedding party a few months ago in Khartoum, they were sung in Dinka and also alot of Dinka traditions were practiced. This is an indicator of the Dinka linguistic and cultural dominance over this group.

Conclusion

Although 77.2% of the State population do not receive educational services, and 7.8% drop out from schools, education in English in NBeG affects individuals' language attitudes, and hence causing language change. In addition, English tends to spread and is used by the students and pupils due to socioeconomic factors. The participants' positive attitudes towards English is due to instrumental motivation; especially among South Sudanese who showed the desire for their children to be taught in English. This highly positive attitudes towards English is due to its status as the country's official language, the language of administration and education. Accordingly, different phenomena are dictated among educated elites; especially the Dinka. Code-switching¹⁹ is an example of these phenomena which could be considered as an indicator of language change. It takes the form of speech habit among a number of Dinka educated elites as has been observed by the researcher in her annual visits to South Sudan. In most cases, they start the utterance in Dinka then shift to English. When they are asked by the researcher about the reason of switching from the first language (L1) to second language (L2) since people usually switch from the second language to the first language, they answered that some ideas

¹⁹Code-switching is the use of elements from both languages in the same utterance, such as Dinka-English "*wek koc Aweil* (we, the people of Aweil), have to think about a solution".

are easier to be expressed in English than in Dinka. In addition, English is widely used by the Dinka educated people even in group communication. This is explained by Mernang, one of the Dinka multilinguals from NBeGS who is working at Juba "...yes this is a style of Dinka educated elites and it is fashionable and easy because many thoughts are easier to be expressed via Dinka and others through English".²⁰ This lack of communication in Dinka indicates the direction of language change among this group. It also gives insights on the power of the English language among the Dinka which was proven among the same group in Australia (Izon and Kelly 2007; Hatoss and Terry 2009). According to Hatoss and Terry (2009), a Sudanese refugee community in Australia was strongly attached to their mother tongue, Dinka; however, English was increasingly used in various public and private domains among those of the survey group. South Sudanese participants have negative attitudes towards the Arabic language, regarding it as their enemy's language or a means of new colonialism based on what they have been experienced during the last ended war 2005. This has led to the appearance of a new political wave calling for replacing Arabic language with Swahili in South Sudan but a great number of the participants stand against this. The questions posed here: Does the situation indicate identity change? Can English become a national language of South Sudan that replaces Southern Sudanese indigenous languages? Could English be one of the components of a South Sudanese identity?

The study recommends the following:

- Since languages used in education have high status, evaluated and tend to spread, South Sudanese indigenous languages should be introduced in school curriculum in NBeG from the first grades.
- The syllabi should include lessons on the structure and history of South Sudanese languages to strengthen the status of these languages and to increase their vitality so as to be maintained. The starting point could be the common languages²¹ in each area. Some of these languages are described and chosen previously for orthography development programmes such as the six languages chosen in the Rejaf Conference (see Appendix 2). In the Addis Ababa Accord (1972), certain Southern Sudanese languages (Dinka, Bari, Kresh, Lotuto (Lotuko), Moru, and Nuer) were selected to become a media of instruction in grades 1-2 in primary schools, while sixteen other southern Sudanese languages were assigned for general literacy purposes in Southern Sudan.
- The use of foreign languages as media of instruction in schools and universities in South Sudan in general and in NBeG in particular has to be limited for their negative effect on the situation of the South Sudanese languages.

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²⁰ From Nashid, an unpublished paper having the title "Code-switching, identity and language change: A case study of Dinka bilinguals at Juba, South Sudan"

²¹'Common language' is used in this context to denote the languages widely used in the different areas of South Sudan (see Nashid 2014).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: South Sudanese States

South Sudan's president has issued an order to divide the country's ten existing states into 28 states, largely along ethnic lines. The written order is titled the "Establishment Order Number 36/2015 for the creation of 28 States." The states listed in the order are:²²

Imatong State: comprising Torit, Ikotos, Lopa and Magwi counties with its capital at Torit.

Namoronyang State: comprising Kapoeta South, Kapoeta North, Kapoeta East and Budi counties with its capital at Kapoeta.

Maridi State: comprising Maridi and Ibba counties, with its capital at Maridi.

Amadi State: comprising Mundri West, Mundri East and Mvolo counties, with its capital at Munri.

Gbudwe State: comprising Anzara, Yambio, Ezo, Tambura and Nagero Counties, with its capital at Yambio.

Jubek State: comprising Juba County, with its capital at Juba.

Terekeka State: comprising Terekeka, Jemeza, Tali, Tigor and Gwor with its capital at Terekeka.

Yei River State: comprising Yei, Kajo-Keji, Morobo and Lainya counties with its capital at Yei.

Wau State: comprising Bagari and Jur River counties with its capital at Wau.

Aweil State: comprising Aweil South and Aweil Centre counties with its capital at Aweil.

Lol State: comprising Aweil West, Aweil North and Raja counties with its capital at Raja.

Aweil East State: comprising Aweil East County with its capital at Wanyjok.

Twic State: comprising Twic County with its capital at Mayen Abun.

Gogrial State: comprising Gogrial East and Gogrial West with its capital at Kuacjok.

Tonj State: comprising Tonj North, Tonj East and Tonj South counties with its capital at Tonj.

Eastern Lakes State: comprising Yirol West, Yirol East and Awerial counties with its capital at Yirol.

Western Lakes State: comprising Rumbek East, Rumbek North, Wule and Rumbek Centre counties with its capital at Rumbek.

²² The source is <https://radiotamazuj.org/en/article/full-list-kiirs-proposed-new-28-states-s-sudan> (retrieved at 5.4.2016)

Gok State: comprising Cueibet County with its capital at Cueibet.

Northern Liech State: comprising Rubkona, Guit, Koch and Mayom counties with its capital at Bentiu.

Southern Liech State: comprising Leer, Mayendit and Panyijar counties with its capital at Leer.

Ruweng State, comprising Pariang and Abiemnhom counties with its capital at Pariang.

Eastern Nile State: comprising Malakal, Renk, Maban, Melut, Baliet, Akoka, Pigi and Koma counties with its capital at Malakal.

Jonglei State: comprising Bor, Duk and Twic East counties with its capital at Bor.

Western Nile State: comprising Panyikang, Kodok and Manyo counties with its capital at Kodok.

Western Bieh State: comprising Fangak and Ayok counties with its capital at Ayod.

Eastern Bieh State: comprising Akobo, Nyirol and Uror counties with its capital at Akobo.

Latjoor State: comprising Nasir, Ulang, Maiwut and Longchuk counties with its capital at Nasir.

Boma State: comprising Pibor and Pochalla counties with its capital at Pibor.

Appendix 2: Rejaf Language Conference

*Rejaf Language Conference*²³ is one of the significant measures intended to separate the south religiously, culturally and politically. The conference took place at Rejaf in Southern Sudan in 1928 and it aimed to:

1. List of languages and dialects spoken in the southern Sudan;
2. To make recommendations as to whether a system of group languages should be adopted for educational purposes, and if so, which of these languages should be selected, for the various areas;
3. To consider and report as to the adoption of a unified system of orthography;
4. To make proposals for co-operation in the production of text-books; and the adoption of skeleton grammars, reading book, and primers for general use.

²³The source is <http://www.dlib.indiana.edu/collections/nuer/grammar/nuersound.utx.html>.