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# Good Morning, Grade One.
# Language ideologies and multilingualism within primary education in rural Zambia.

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PhD in Trans-Disciplinary Documentary Film

The University of Edinburgh, 2015.

Please view the accompanying DVD or Blu-Ray disc before reading the following written submission.

# Abstract

This practice based PhD project investigates the language ideologies which surround the specific multilingual context of rural primary education in Zambia. The project comprises of a creative documentary film and a complementary written submission. The fieldwork and filming of the project took place over 12 months between September 2011 and August 2012 in the community of Lwimba, in Chongwe District, Zambia.

The project focuses on the experiences of a single grade one class, their teacher, and the surrounding community of Lwimba. The majority of the school children speak the community language of Soli. The regional lingua franca, and language of the teacher, however, is Nyanja, and the students must also learn Zambia's only official language, English. At the centre of the project is a research inquiry focusing on the language ideologies which surround each of these languages, both within the classroom and the wider rural community. The project also simultaneously aims to investigate and reflect on the capacity of creative documentary film to engage with linguistic anthropological research.

The film at the centre of the project presents a portrait of Annie, a young, urban teacher of the community's grade one class, as well as three students and their families. Through the narrativised experiences of the teacher and children, it aims to highlight the linguistic ideologies present within the language events and practices in and around the classroom, as well as calling attention to their intersection with themes of linguistic modernity, multilingualism, and language capital. The project's written submission is separated into three major chapters separated into the themes of *narrative*, *value* and *text* respectively. Each chapter will focus on subjects related to both the research inquiry and the project's documentary film methodology. Chapter one outlines the intersection of political-historical narratives of nationhood and language that surround the project, and reflects on the practice of internal narrative construction within documentary film. Chapter two firstly focuses on the language valuations within the institutional setting of the classroom and the wider community, and secondly proposes a two-phase perspective of evaluation and value creation as a means to examine the practice of editing within documentary film

making. Chapter three addresses the theme of *text* through discussing the role of literacy acquisition and use in the classroom and community, as well as analysing and reflecting on the practice of translation and subtitle creation within the project.

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**Acknowledgments**

This project has been a long, fascinating, and importantly collective undertaking. Without the contribution and support of many people it would not have been possible. Firstly, I must offer my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to Annie and all the children, and their families, of the grade one class at the centre of the project. Thank you for sharing your time, stories and insights with me and for permitting me, and my camera, to enter into your beautiful world. To Mr Mpatisha and the rest of Lwimba Basic School staff and students, I also thank you sincerely for your warmth and generosity during my time in Lwimba.

To my supervisors, Nick Higgins, and Magnus Course. Thank you for your encouragement, insight, and supervision throughout the project. Your guidance and advice has been invaluable. I also thank the University of Edinburgh for having the foresight to establish the Trans-Disciplinary Documentary Film program, which has allowed this project to happen.

There are of course many people who have helped and contributed over the course of the project, both in Zambia and in Edinburgh, and the friendship and support the project has received from everyone who has crossed paths with it has helped to shape and develop it. I wish to reserve a special thanks to my patient translators, Suwilanji Ngambi, Brighton Lubasi, and Peter Lupiya, as well as to Dr Dennis Banda at the University of Zambia for your advice and support in Lusaka.

The project has also received the financial support of the UK Literacy Association, The William Dickson Award, and Tweedie Fund from the University of Edinburgh, for which I am extremely grateful. Finally, a special thanks to my family for their support and encouragement, and most importantly to my partner Elena Zini, for your patience, tireless support, countless viewings and proof reading. Thank you.

## Declaration

The following thesis has been composed by Alastair Cole and is the author's own work.

Signature

Date

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# Introduction

In 1990 Zambian scholar Mubanga Kashoki stated that 'for Zambia, language is quite clearly a dilemma, a paradox and a challenge' (1990: vi). Zambia is a country with 72 ethnic languages, 7 national languages, and one official language, English. An official language which is also the main language of governance, commerce and, importantly, education. It is a language, however, which is only spoken at home by 1.7% of the population (Central Statistics Office 2004: 42). This documentary film based research project investigates the language ideologies which surround this complex multilingualism, within the specific context of rural early primary education and a grade one class in the multilingual rural community of Lwimba.

## Positioning the project

As with any significant and long term piece of interdisciplinary scholarship, there are numerous academic fields and branches of research that the project consciously intersects. While the research inquiry is most significantly orientated within the literature of linguistic anthropology, scholarship from social linguistics, education, translation studies, African studies, wider anthropology and social theory are some of the other major academic influences on the project. Importantly, however, the overall project also aims to implicitly research the capacity of creative documentary film as a research medium in linguistic anthropology, both through the production of the creative documentary film at the heart of the project, and the reflection on major elements of its construction in the following pages.

As a means to forge a clear position for this project, I wish to briefly highlight and orientate the wider methodological approach and submission makeup. It should be first emphasised that while the project is practice-based, at its centre is a research inquiry, one that is presented primarily through the medium of a creative documentary film, which is supported by the following written submission. Together, these two elements act as a complete thesis. Thus, they are complementary to each

other, and while the documentary film aims to have the capacity to be viewed alone eventually, it is best understood through the engagement with the following written work. The following written submission, on the other-hand, is not designed to be read independently and should be considered following the close viewing of the film.

This methodological prioritisation of practice as a means of knowledge generation and transfer stems from the project being located within a wider field of 'practice-based research'. The use of the term can be understood to bring together practice, particularly arts and creative practice, under one field. A taxonomy of terms including; 'practice as research' (Nelson 2013; Allegue et al. 2009), 'practice-led research' (Gray 1996; Haseman 2007; Smith and Dean 2010), or 'arts based research' (Leavy 2009) is present in scholarship. While all these terms can be understood to have slightly differing perspectives, arguably 'practice-based' and 'practice-as' can be seen to be used relatively interchangeably and without prejudice (Freeman 2010: 1). These terms can all, however, be fundamentally be linked to research methodologies where 'insightful practice is submitted as a substantial part of the evidence of a research inquiry' (Nelson 2013: 9). Thus, while this project is defined as being located within the terms of a 'practice-based' project, it aims to also occupy a space within the wider domain of research utilising practice as a major methodological and presentation element. These taxonomy considerations also allude to the interdisciplinarity of the project, which it strives for not only through its research focus, but equally from a methodological perspective where scholarship on practice-based research, documentary film practice and ethnographic filmmaking all inform the project in vital ways. This is further highlighted as the project can be understood to be drawing quite directly on paradigms of qualitative and ethnographic research within its practice, thus imbuing within it more elements of traditional academic methodologies.

The second element of the submission, the following written work, is aimed to jointly evidence the research inquiry alongside the practice, providing a supporting articulation of the research focus of the project as well as providing a reflective communication of a selection of elements of the practice itself. Scholars have

highlighted this role as being understood as a ‘clew’, from the old form of ‘clue’ to denote a thread (Nelson 2013: 10). I suggest that this provides a helpful structure through which to view the following chapters. Importantly, its nature is to both provide a thread to assist with the reading of the text of the film and to specifically draw attention ‘to the thread of the researcher’s doing-thinking’ (2013: 11). This later role aims to assist the project as a means to provide insight and new knowledge into elements of creative documentary film practice. Importantly, however, I am not aiming to transpose my complete practice of filmmaking into words, and while I will reflect on specific processes in these pages, the complete project has many more practice orientated reflections implicitly within it.

## Production outline

While many of the various processes of the production will be detailed within the rest of this submission, it is helpful to briefly highlight the production structure of the project. The entire project was undertaken over four years, from October 2010 to October 2014. The pre-production began immediately and through a two week research trip in November 2010 the viability of the project was established. The first year was spent in Edinburgh undertaking book based research and sourcing the required funding for the filming period of the project. The second year of the project was spent entirely in Zambia, with the first three months, from September to December 2011, spent locating the project setting and gaining trust and access to the characters and community. Filming was completed over eight months between January and August 2012, covering two school terms. During filming I was based in Lusaka and visited Lwimba approximately once a week, staying up to three days at a time, depending on equipment battery capacity. Around 80 hours of material was captured over the period, with initial processing and draft translation being undertaken in Lusaka between filming. The third major stage of the project began in October 2012 and lasted two years. During this period the filmed material was edited to a final film, and the accompanying written work was completed. All the work during this time was completed in Edinburgh, with the exception of a return trip to

Zambia in April 2014 for final translation, pickup filming, and a rough cut screening of the film in Lwimba.

## Written 'clew' outline

The following written submission has been constructed around three major chapters, preceded by an extended introduction. Each chapter has been constructed around a specific theme and engages with subjects related to both the research inquiry and my documentary film practice, as well as their shared intersections with the given theme.

The first chapter employs the theme of *narrative* to address the details of the socio-historical and documentary film structures that provide the foundation of the project. I will first suggest that the intersections of the historical and political narrative of the emergence of the post-colonial nation of Zambia, the imaginary narrative of modernity, and the development of education and language policies are fundamental to the comprehension of the language ideologies the project brings into focus. Secondly, the chapter will address the construction of an internal narrative structure for the film, specifically through the decisions and challenges which underpin the process of the narrativisation of real events and characters, highlighting the fundamental structuring and audience engagement role that narrative plays for the documentary.

The second chapter focuses on the theme of *value* as a means to discuss the language valuation processes that influence the language ideologies observable in both the institutional frame of the school as well as the wider community. This will aim to bring into focus a hierarchical multilingual structure which, I suggest, can be observed in the classroom. It will also focus on the roles of symbolic and linguistic capital as well as ethnolinguistic associations in the valuations of the three main languages seen in the project. Further to this, I will highlight the value bound decisions that, I suggest, are incorporated within the process of documentary film editing by outlining the two phases of evaluation and value creation that can be identified in my own editing practice. I will discuss the processes of selection and

distillation of content, as well as the roles of syntax, structure, and issues of representation in the value creation process which, I suggest, underpins documentary film editing.

The third and final chapter utilises the theme of *text* to engage with relationships between the acquisition and social practice of literacy in the school and community, as well as the production and use of subtitles within the film's production. The chapter will discuss the overlap of language ideologies with literacy use, suggesting the existence of a dominant literacy bound to the English language, forged through institutional structures, publishing, media and public text production. This, I will also suggest, exists alongside defiant local language literacies in the home and community. The chapter will highlight the commonality of interlingual translation that the community and classroom contexts share with the production of film, and move onto reflect on the challenges and practice of translation within subtitling. This will include a discussion on the unique translation context that documentary film creates, one which presents specific ethical and representational challenges, as well as opportunities for an audiovisual 'thick' translation. Finally, the chapter will highlight elements of the politics of subtitling and part-subtitling, as well as the opportunities the practice bring as an additional meaning making tool.

Further to these three main chapters, I will present an extended introduction to the project below. This includes a brief theoretical outline of the major academic literatures the project engages with, a discussion on some methodological considerations that, I suggest, are important to expand and elucidate on as a result of the practice-based nature of the research, as well as details of the physical and linguistic context of the project.

## Theoretical and methodological background

The project has aimed to be interdisciplinary in its theoretical engagements. Throughout the research, scholarship from fields including education, sociolinguistics, social theory, African studies, translation studies, and literacy

studies have been instrumental in moving the project into new directions. Furthermore, the practice methodology and its reflection has been importantly influenced by research in documentary film practice, ethnographic filmmaking, documentary studies and more general practice-based research scholarship. Within this interdisciplinary approach, however, there has remained an important theoretical grounding within linguistic anthropology, and particularly scholarship within language ideology. Thus, I wish to briefly outline these fields, along with positioning the project within wider Zambian anthropology and highlighting its intersection with documentary film and ethnographic filmmaking as a means to situate the theoretical approach of the project.

*Linguistic anthropology*

As its name suggests, linguistic anthropology defines itself as dealing with subjects and questions surrounding language, including its use, meaning, social context and significance. This positioning of linguistic anthropology was originally premised by Dell Hymes in his 1964 edited volume '*Language in Culture and Society*', where he summarised linguistic anthropology as 'the study of language within the context of anthropology' (Hymes 1964: xxii). This definition of the discipline has been further extended by one of the field's most prominent scholars, Alessandro Duranti, who states that the practice of it amounts to 'the understanding of the crucial role played by language in the constitution of society and its cultural representations' (2001: 5). Thanks to its setting within anthropology, the discipline has also defined itself through its methods of research, with the prioritisation of long term ethnography and the observation of linguistic events as its source of data. This approach importantly contrasts with the related discipline of sociolinguistics, which prioritises the use of sociological data, or sentence and word based analysis. Linguistic anthropologists have widely identified themselves and their discipline as dealing with unique language 'acts, situations, and events' (2001: 18), and ones that 'entail social description' (Hymes 1971: 52).

As with any brief summary of a field of research, these definitions only provide the very broadest view of linguistic anthropology, and barely touch the tip of the expanse of avenues which research in the field has taken. A brief set of examples of the nature of research carried out under the banner of linguistic anthropology includes subjects surrounding: linguistic relativity, (Whorf 1938; Hymes 1966; Leavitt 2010), linguistic ideologies (Woolard 1989; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity 1998; Bauman and Briggs 2003), ethnography of communication and speaking (Hymes 1972; Sherzer 1983; Blum-Kulka 1997; Agha 2007), language socialisation and acquisition (Ochs 1988), language and performance (Bauman 1977; Hymes 1981; Fabian 1990), politics and language (Bloch 1975; Blommaert 1999; Besnier 2009; Lempert and Silverstein, 2012) multilingualism and diversity (Heller 2006; Blommaert 2013), literacy and education (Street 1984; Barton & Hamilton 1998; Collins and Blot 2002).

*Language ideology*

This project further delineates itself through an academic orientation within the study of language ideologies. This recently emergent sub-field of linguistic anthropology has seen extensive scholarship, with researchers working to delimit its use and broaden its definition to often far reaching constructs (Woolard 1998: 3). Today, as Cody suggests, its study forms 'a presupposed backdrop' to many of the myriad of linguistic anthropological subjects encountered by scholars, and can be understood to underpin a 'turn' within the discipline of the last 15 years (2010: 200). Judith Irvine's understanding of the research focus of the field provides, I suggest, a useful introduction. She proposes that language ideologies can be understood as 'the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading about moral and political interests' (1989: 255).

The field's emergence originally stemmed from the scholarship of Michael Silverstein (1979) over 30 years ago to reconsider the Whorfian theoretical positions of linguistic relativity. His work highlighted the 'language-ideological complexes' that could be seen to exist within language use and Whorf's posited 'world views',

through which he illustrated the linkage of language use and beliefs with social values. The sub-field's study was subsequently furthered through scholarship engaging language and political economy (Gal 1989), and the extension of conceptions of the position of language practices within broader systems related to power and inequality. The field was then solidly established by the seminal edited volume of Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998) *Language Ideologies,* and through subsequent extensive ethnographic work.

Research in the field has seen 'a sustained analysis of the ways in which communicative practice articulates with fields of cultural value to produce regular social effects' (Cody 2010: 200). Resulting scholarship has shown these language ideologies to be about, among many other things, 'the construction and legitimisation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups' (Spitulnik 1998: 164). Furthermore, for its use as a methodological tool, a number of critical determinants of language ideology have been proposed by Kroskrity (2000). First, that 'language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group', and second, that they should be conceived as multiple through the 'multiple meaningful social divisions that exist which they represent' (2000: 8-9). These, I suggest, provide an important foundation to my own use of the term throughout this project.

As this project leans significantly on this literature, it is appropriate to engage at a more detailed level with the nomenclature, and define the use of the term 'ideology' within the study of language ideology. Kathryn Woolard identifies two distinct interpretations of the term ideology in linguistic scholarship. The first, neutral and noncommittal concept of ideology she notes as being 'ideational or conceptual, referring to mental phenomena as it 'has to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas' (1998: 5).[1] As Thompson suggests, this neutral perspective of ideology treats such phenomena as 'one aspect of social life

[1] Such an approach has been also associated with the Durkheimian tradition of Sociology (Blommaert 2006: 511).

(or form of social inquiry) among others, and is no more or less attractive or problematic than any other' (1990: 53). By treating ideology as a general framework of 'ideational complexes', this first approach can be further defined by its 'total' nature, 'for it suggests the acceptance of the ideational-cultural complexes by every member of the community' (Blommaert 2006: 510). This neutral perspective of ideology is further, and importantly, delineated by its lack of engagement with relationships and processes of politics and power.

In contrast, the second perspective of ideology draws on the Marxist tradition and a view that can be understood to orientate ideology within a frame of 'discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power' (Woolard 1998: 7). This view of ideology specifically links it to socio-economic structures, focusing on concepts of 'false consciousness' and 'distortion' as central to its understanding, and building on Marx's observation that 'the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas' (1938: 61 in Price 1977: 42). The major common critique of Marx's conception of ideology has been that his thesis itself must also be determined by the structure of society that he critiques, as he himself is a part of it (Gee 1990: 7). This critique reminds us of the problem of identifying just which ideas and ideologies are correct, or *reality*, and which a result of an apparent 'false consciousness' (Street 1993: 8).  However, as Irvine's definition of language ideologies above reminds us, such a dichotomised interpretation is not necessary. By understanding ideology as ideational, as well as politically or morally loaded, we are able, I suggest, to return to the more specific understanding of language ideology which underpin this project's engagement with the subject.

*Zambia based anthropological research*

The regional setting of the project also brings with it a corpus of texts from across anthropology which orientate and influence the project. Anthropological research in Zambia has a substantial history, revealing a field that has extended from the work of the colonial era Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI) to the 'second generation' of anthropological monographs appearing in the late 1990s and early 2000s (see Crehan

1997; Pritchett 2001; Ferguson 1999; Hansen 2000). Zambia has changed beyond recognition since the concentrated work of the RLI during the colonial period of the 1940s and 1950s. [2] However, some specific later scholarship provides a useful background to this project, perhaps most notably the work of Elizabeth Colson whose research started with the RLI and the Gwembe Tonga (1960), but importantly continued with a focus on education and the formation of social elite through her subsequent work with Thayer Scudder (1980). The second generation of Zambian anthropology scholars have been noted as far less collective, or institutionally bound, relative to their predecessors, with scholars noting a critical and somewhat uncomfortable intellectual relationship between them (Gordon 2003: 136). While this research engages in more direct conversation with more specific linguistic ideology scholarship, this second generation does provide a broad regional parentage to the project, with commonalities in research especially through concepts surrounding the meanings of modernity. James Ferguson's influential ethnography *Expectations of Modernity* (1999) in particular exemplifies this. His work posits a structure of continuity between urban and rural lives in the Copperbelt by highlighting the broken expectations of modernity and urban life of workers through describing their strategies in returning to rural lives. The project could be seen to express an implicit reply and reversal of his research through Annie's experiences, who provides an example of a 'modern' urban Zambian, struggling to integrate and live in a rural community.[3] There are many other scholars whose work in the region will be shown to provide valuable input in this project, including from across disciplinary boundaries. As mentioned, however, its academic focus is directed towards the field of language ideology, and work from the field, such as Debra Sputilnik's (1998) research on language ideologies in radio broadcasting in Zambia, act as significant regional texts which the project aims to build on.

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[2] The RLI became the Institute for Social Research at the new University of Zambia in 1964.

[3] Ferguson's work also contrasts in that it was researched over a period of painful recession in Zambia over 20 years ago, while the period of this project coincided with the appreciable economic expansion of the country.

*Documentary film and ethnographic filmmaking scholarship*

In introducing the anthropological underpinning of the project, I have concurrently opened a question of the role and position of visual anthropology, or perhaps more specifically its practice element of ethnographic filmmaking, within the project. As will be made clear throughout the following chapters, I have drawn on both films and literature from ethnographic filmmakers throughout the project, with scholars such as MacDougall (1998, 2006), Banks (2001), Henley (2004, 2006), and Heider (2006) providing important contributions to my work. However, I have also engaged with the scholarship surrounding documentary film practice and documentary studies. Scholars including Nichols (1991, 2001), Minh-ha (1992), De Bromhead (1996), Bruzzi (2006), Koppal (2008), and De Jong (2012) all provide invaluable input for the reflection on my own filmmaking practice and the project as a whole. Furthermore, the practice element of the project has been greatly influenced by numerous documentary films, many of which can also be understood as ethnographic. Thus, this combined use of the two literatures and filmographies could lead to a question of where the project is positioned in relation to ethnographic film and documentary film. It is however, I suggest, an unnecessary opposition, and the project's anthropological and ethnographic grounding does not preclude it from being a documentary film, nor the documentary film practice orientation prohibit it from being an ethnographic film. The situation between the two practices is, I argue, closer to the suggestion by Olivier de Sarden (1999), that a shared 'realist pact' based on ethical and technical grounds results in 'no clear boundary which separates the subgroup of 'ethnographic film' from the genre of 'documentary film' of which it forms a part' (1999: 24). Thus, while the project has fundamentally an anthropological focus, I will continue to use a broader definition of documentary film in my description of the practice at its centre. This is not because I do not consider it to be an ethnographic film, but rather as a means to open the project to increased interdisciplinarity within discussion of both methodology as well as its research focus.

*Cinematic representation of Zambia, Africa and education*

The project's use of documentary film at its heart also leads to a positioning of the work within the wider output of related and influential documentary film practice. While other films will be alluded to in the following chapters, and even more have inspired and been influential for the project's, and my own, development, I wish to briefly highlight work within the cinematic fields where I suggest the project can been seen to sit.

The project's setting of Zambia immediately situates the film within the documentary film output from the region. Zambian based documentary film projects are very limited however, even when compared to other African countries. Recent examples of documentary films to have been produced in and about the region include: *Stealing Africa* (Gullbrandsen 2013) and *Zambia: Good Copper* and *Bad Copper* (Odiot and Galler 2011), both dealing with the profiteering of the European controlled copper companies in the north west of the country; *Solar Eclipse* (Marecek 2011), highlighting the challenges of western charity work in Zambia; and *When China Met Africa* (Francis and Francis 2010), focusing on the burgeoning relationship between Zambian and Chinese business and political interests.[4] While the films mentioned above provide a regional and contemporary creative documentary film orientation for the project, all four films contrast in their subject matter, the main linguistic medium, and the short term nature of their Zambia based production periods. The subject matter of these films also highlights the problematic nature of the negative narratives established within the media, as well as filmic representations from the region. So often the complex and personal stories from there can be seen to be reduced solely to narratives of economic hardship, illness and poverty, resulting in a challenging landscape for any foreign filmmaker entering into

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[4] The short fiction film *Mwansa the Great* (Nyoni 2011) also provides a rare contemporary example of the cinematic representation of Zambian childhood and, importantly, one conducted through Zambian languages, Nyanja in its case.

the region. This challenge, with regards to editing and the aims of this project, will be discussed in more depth in chapter two.

The work of documentary filmmakers engaging with anthropology in Africa including David and Judith MacDougall in Northern Uganda, John Marshall in Namibia, and Jean Rouch across West Africa, also provide important practice references for the project. The MacDougall's model of 'transcultural' and 'participatory cinema' (MacDougall 1998) and John Marshall's emphasis on 'reality' filmmaking' (Marshall in Ruby 1993: 37) also provide important grounding for the cinematic approach of the project. Also, for any filmmaker straddling anthropology and working in Africa, elements of the films, practice and writing of Jean Rouch are never far from the surface. While the setting of his work in West Africa is very far removed from Zambia, and much of his approach to practice is often very contrasting to my own, his influence is still present at various points of the project. His emphasis on the careful balance of ethnography and cinema, as well as the returning of work to the subjects in fostering a shared anthropology have been influential within the project, and will be elaborated on in the chapters to follow.

Further to situating the project within a regional cinema landscape, the field of the documentary film representations of schooling and childhood provides an important frame through which to position the project. As David MacDougall points out, 'there is in fact a distinct school film genre, with a full complement of standard themes, set pieces, and stock characters' (2005: 78). While MacDougall includes both fiction and documentary film examples within his categorisation, a number of contemporary cinematic documentary films using the classroom as a canvas provide important examples of influential films within this project's evolution. These include: *Être et Avoir* (Philibert 2001), *Please Vote for Me* (Chen 2008), *On the Way to School* (Dogan and Eskikoy 2008), the ethnographic school films of David MacDougall (2000) and Frederick Wiseman's direct cinema work *High School* (1968).[5] In chapter

[5] Documentary films set within educational contexts in Africa are more limited, however the BBC series *African School* (2005), filmed in Uganda, provides a recent regional example within a TV documentary series structure, and *The Boys from Baraka* (2005) an example with a US students as central subjects within a Kenyan school setting.

one I will also discuss how the natural narrative structures which schooling and a classroom provide are important tools for any documentary film engaging with the subject, including this project.

## Methodological considerations: knowledge, rigour and creativity

As a means to expand on the practice-based approach of the project, prior to its more detailed analysis in the chapters which follow, I wish to briefly discuss three important methodological considerations which, I suggest, the project's practice-based nature raises. These are the intersections of practice with academic concepts of *knowledge production, rigour* and *creativity*.

From the outset of the project, the understanding of what benefit the chosen practice-based methodology utilised would bring to this research has been regularly scrutinised. As a documentary filmmaker and student of linguistic anthropology, who has made documentary films and conducted traditional book-based research into similar academic territory prior to the project, clarity in understanding why and how the two fields should intersect has been important from the start. Answering questions of how the practice methodology will be able to evidence the proposed research inquiry was pivotal to moving the project forward from proposal to production stages.

The use of a non-traditional approach to presenting knowledge within a PhD also clearly comes with debate, arriving into a contested territory and bringing with it a certain anxiety as a practitioner and graduate student. It requires, as Scrivener points out, 'a level of critical engagement with the debate on the theory and practice of research not demanded of researchers in those disciplines where shared and agreed research principles and methods have become embedded' (2004: 1).

As outlined earlier, this project aims to sit within a research field of practice-based research, with a research inquiry focussing on subjects of particular relation to linguistic anthropology. However, the 'field' of practice-based research is of course

very broad, and one that this project shares with a multitude of different practice focused methodologies and fields of research inquiry. The variance of practice that has been produced just within the creative and artistic fields range from theatre, visual arts, music, to film and design, and could be extended well beyond the arts to include ‘any subject where the result might be an artefact generated in the laboratory or workplace’ (Briggs 2000: 2). With such a vast disciplinary landscape, with varied subjects and practice outputs associated with it, the complexity of highlighting the particular terms on which to gauge a general perspective on the value of practice-based projects is, I suggest, problematic. This contested understanding of the value of practice to academic research can be first situated by viewing the definitions of research as utilised within the UK. At the broadest level, the OECD Frascati Manual states research to be

> the creative work undertaken on a systematic basis in order to increase the stock of knowledge, including knowledge of man, culture and society, and the use of this stock of knowledge to devise new applications (OECD 2002: 31).

A further, more academy specific definition from the UK Research Assessment Exercise states that 'research', is to be understood as an ‘original investigation undertaken in order to gain knowledge and understanding’ (HEFCE 2008: 34). Importantly these definitions demonstrate the fundamental requirement of research to produce, or ‘gain’ knowledge, which can be understood as the grounds from which a value judgement on any research is traditionally made. This traditional relationship between knowledge and research, and particularly how practice-based research methodologies fit has been described as a ‘conundrum’, owing to the situated, tacit and often embodied knowledge that practice-based research produces (Smith and Dean 2009: 2). The added complexity of the contested nature of defining what type of knowledge is generated from a practice-based approach can also, I suggest, be understood to complicate the attribution of value to any given project.

Nelson’s (2013) proposal of a model for ‘practice as research’ provides a recent helpful theoretical example of schematising various aspects of practice as a research methodology. It aims to provide a multi-mode epistemological model for

understanding the relationship between knowledge generation and practice-based research. His suggestion comprises of three key modes of 'knowing' as 'know-how', 'know-what', and 'know-that' which exist around a focus of 'art praxis', or the overarching 'theory imbricated within practice' (2013: 37). He states his aims as to provide a useful structure through which a 'practitioner - researcher' can conceptualise the forms of knowledge that they bring to a research inquiry. His proposed conception of 'know-how' is of a procedural knowledge, which many practitioners bring with them from previous experience and education. In my own case the technical filmmaking skills, including production orientated skills such as camera operation and editing skills could be understood as this, however, I would also suggest, the ethnographic and field research skills from anthropology should also be understood in this light. Importantly, he posits that this know-how is then reformed into 'know-what', which is generated through critical reflection on your practice, through 'pausing, standing back and thinking about what you are doing' (2013: 44). Finally, he suggest the 'know-that' can be understood as 'the equivalent of traditional academic knowledge', articulated in words and numbers, drawn from reading of all kinds (2013: 45).

Nelson's model provides a useful starting point for many practice-based projects, and its applicability to a musical performance, or in performance and theatre production, is perhaps clearest. For my own practice and this project in particular, however, I suggest there is a significant missing additional component. That of the knowledge that is garnered through the research, during its production, and specifically *from* the other participants in the project. If I were to continue with Nelson's terminology, it could be referred to as 'know-from'. It would be an explicit acknowledgement of the other participants in the research, in my case Annie, the parents and members of the community who were interviewed - who could be understood as 'informants' within an anthropological taxonomy, and importantly the children who were observed throughout the research. They clearly contributed significant knowledge to the project, which was arguably attained through my 'know-how' as a filmmaker and ethnographer, and recontextualised through my 'know-that' from book based research. The acknowledging of this additional knowledge component also

importantly highlights the ethnographic and qualitative influences within my practice. While I will not explicitly isolate each of these four modes in relation to my own work, I do suggest they provide a helpful framework through which to view the triad of theory, practice and knowledge generation as revealed in the project.

Within scholarship on the positioning of practice-based research in wider academia there has often, and understandably, been a comparative approach taken, where the knowledge generating capacity of practice has been laid against traditional book and word based research, both from science and humanities fields. This need to provide a comparable piece of knowledge to the established academic methodologies highlights the obstacle of showing demonstrable 'rigour', particularly to a non-specialist academic audience. The embedded indexing and citation structures utilised in written research, including peer reviewed articles and standardised thesis structures, have within them the capacity for an academic audience to interrogate the rigour on which the claims of new knowledge are based. Practice-based research, however is not necessarily able to embrace these traditional research tools and structures, as such it brings with it a particular dilemma regarding the representation of the inputs which contribute to its makeup and meaning. As emphasised by the position of practice scholars who rightly state that it is not sufficient to say 'we know what we know' and that 'knowing in the arts is personal, embodied and tacit' (Nelson 2013: 29). Thus, as theorists and regulatory bodies have highlighted the production of 'new' or 'extensions to' knowledge as being fundamental to gauging what can be understood as a means of evaluating new research, this fundamental requirement to demonstrate rigour is problematic for a practice-based project. The processes and actions that go into the making of any feature length documentary film are hugely labour and intellectually intensive. The myriad of inputs, research, skills, decisions, processes, and influences that make up these could be understood to combine to form the rigour which underpins the final project. There is, however, very little option to reveal these in the film itself, as the inherent invisibility of the production processes that forge a documentary film are one of the medium's characteristics. The use of a written supplementary 'clew' to assist in highlighting these can go some way toward this, and a trained filmmaking audience would undoubtedly be able to see through

some of the cloak of invisibility of film production to guess at some of the underling processes. However, within an academic setting, where the actions and labour required to undertake traditional book based research are known and embedded, and the indexical capacity of text based referencing that comes with a traditionally written work reinforce an entire history of academic research, the removal of these clearly becomes a distinct challenge to the researcher.

A further complication of this value-knowledge-input relationship is, I suggest, specific to the definition and understanding of the 'creative' nature of arts based practice. I position this project within the field of *creative* documentary film as a means to acknowledge this relationship and the creative decision making that I suggest is at centre of the documentary filmmaking process. Creativity is, however, a contested and elusive concept and, I suggest, any unchallenged use of it as a defining element in a research methodology can provide an unnecessary obstacle to the argument of the value of any arts based research practice. In their arguments for the positioning of practice as research as a 'third practice model', scholars highlight the role of creativity as running throughout arts education (Haseman 2007; Nelson 2013). I suggest that there is a risk of interpreting creativity in an unhelpful manner if not clearly defined. Romantic notions of an elusive, imaginative artist working from 'the spark of an idea' (Nelson 2013: 28) as the basis of the creative process exemplify this. Nelson suggests that contributing to this process are 'the workings of the unconscious mind', which can be 'mobilised in sleeping and daydreaming. Some practitioners like to take a long walk or a bike ride, others find travelling on a bus or train helps' (ibid.). This view, I suggest, risks being understood as one in conflict with wider research within the academy, and could open up practice-based research to criticism of lacking academic value for lack of process evidence. Furthermore, it fails to recognise the important similarities in qualitative and practice-based processes that can both be understood to stem from creative processes.

From the outset I have positioned the creative process as having an important role defining this project, however, I suggest, as scholar Margaret Boden points out in her work, *The Creative Mind,* that 'romanticism provides no understanding of

creativity' (Boden 2004: 15). She instead presents a constructed and pragmatic approach to creativity and provides a view that is nearer to my own creative practice. Acknowledged as a systems approach to its study, it advocates that the practice of creativity should be seen as much as a 'cultural and social, as it is a psychological, event' (Csikszentmihalyi 1999: 313). Scholars utilising this approach have shown the interrelated aspects of culture, society and personal background on 'the production of novelty' (1999: 315) as well as the influence of economic, political and social events on the rates of creative production (Simonton 1990). This view of the problematic relationship with romanticism and creativity as utilised in documentary film practice is also shared by Kerrigan and McIntyre where they note that:

> Romanticism commonly fails to distinguish between a creative art product and an individual's creative process, and it also fails to perceive creativity as a rationally accessible phenomenon, instead perpetuating the myth that creativity is a trait that is only found in individual artists (2010: 112).

This position of identifying the accessibility of the creative process can also importantly, I suggest, link practice-based research to more traditional qualitative research methodologies. As Leavy reminds us, 'qualitative researchers do not simply research and write; they compose, orchestrate and weave' (Leavy 2009: 10). Other scholarship highlighting the fundamental role of the creative process in the qualitative research project suggests that the intuition and perseverance that is associated with creativity, as well as the 'problem finding' abilities that Csikszentmihalyi (1996) identified in creative individuals, can also be recognised in the processes required to undertake qualitative research (Janesick 2010: 537). Thus, I suggest, by viewing this linkage between creativity and both practice and qualitative research approaches, the understanding of creative practice as a comparative and valuable methodology within the academy has a stronger position than if it were to be understood as an exclusive and mythicised activity of artists.

Finally, by removing these romantic notions of creativity, I suggest creative documentary practice, as well as arguably other arts practices, can be seen to be reflected by the rigour and myriad of inputs and creative decisions within their

productions, a process John Grierson described as a 'very laborious, deep-seeing, deep sympathising creative effort indeed' (Grierson and Hardy 1979: 151). Importantly, the answers to the questions posed along the creative process are dictated by the experience and skill of the practitioner, which as Csikszentmihalyi notes, are influenced by the environment and context of production, both present and historical (1996: 216).

## Linguistic anthropology and creative documentary film

With these practice and theoretical academic orientations in mind, I wish to briefly suggest that documentary film based research, especially in its observational, and ethnographically informed approaches, can be understood to have distinct value for the discipline of linguistic anthropology. Firstly, through film's capacity to be held up to scrutiny through the presentation of captured linguistic source material directly in the final research product, and secondly as a highly transferable, translatable and returnable research medium. [6]

Documentary film practice clearly has at its heart the use of audio and visual recording. The ability to firstly capture the sound of linguistic events that are under study through audio recording and secondly, to position and visually describe those events answering the when, how and where they were produced through the simultaneous video recording, gives documentary film a significant tool in meeting the academic goals of the discipline. Furthermore, and as I will discuss in more depth in chapter two, through the editing process the goals of 'social description' and wider

[6] A useful insight into the conceptual links between documentary film studies and linguistic anthropology has been made by Gershon and Malitsky (2011), highlighting the commonality of issues of indexical representation and the construction of truths between the two disciplines.

cultural and social significance can be revealed.[7] Through this editing process, a documentary film could also be seen to provide a less disruptive presentation of spoken linguistic events than the traditional ethnographic writing up process.

This more direct representation of linguistic source material in the final research product that documentary film provides could also be understood to permit it to be more open for academic debate and scrutiny. Verifiability of source data is, I suggest, an issue particularly pertinent to linguistic anthropology, as it has historically been susceptible to critiques for the lack of corroborated linguistic data in contrast to linguistics methodologies of interview and experiment based projects. The tenuous nature of the writing up process from this data collection has also been a target, with critics noting that even the most clinical and precise field notes have still been seen to be subject to 'memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors' (Chomsky 1965: 3 in Duranti 2001: 21). The benefit that audiovisual based research offers in this case is significant as it provides verifiable and reviewable linguistic data. Its potential is furthered today with the use of digital video, making it very possible for even long term linguistic anthropological projects utilising film based observation to provide hours of raw, high quality footage on an accessible database for independent analysis.[8]

A further distinct virtue of documentary film based inquiry is its wider transferability, especially outside the academy, and particularly its capacity to be returned, viewed

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[7] This appropriateness of creative documentary film to linguistic anthropological subjects can also be understood through films made outside the academy which have addressed subjects which surround the intersection of language use with social and cultural subjects. Recent examples include: *Le pays des sourds (In the Land of the Deaf) (1992)* by Nicolas Philibert, *Good Bye, How Are You? (2008)* by Boris Mitic, *Zasto ne govorim srpski (na srpskom) (2008)* by Phil Collins, *Iki dil bir bavul (On The Way To School)* (2008) by Ozgür Dogan and Orhan Eskikoy, *Between Joyce and Remembrance* (2004) and *O Amor Natural* (1996) by Heddy Honigmann.

[8] Such is the advance in digital technology that the 80 hours of 'rushes' or raw data from this project could be made easily accessible for this purpose, and in a proxy file format would be available in their entirety on a single hard drive or uploaded for viewing online.

and approved in the communities involved in the research.[9] The returning of this project to be screened in Lwimba provides an example of this capacity. In April 2014, during the final post production work on the film, I returned to Zambia to complete the final translations and screen the film at the school and in the community where it was filmed. Firstly it was screened to Annie and the children of grade one (who were grade three at the time of the screening), and secondly for their families and community members. A further screening was also organised for the headman and head teacher, as well as Steward and his family who were unable to attend the screening with the other students due to ill health.

Images 1.1: Screenings of rough cut of the film in Lwimba in April 2014

This returning of the film to the community prior to its completion also allowed me to build on Jean Rouch's notion of the 'audiovisual counter gift', where the returning of rushes to a film's subjects for feedback is a key means to share anthropology (Rouch 2003: 47). Each of the three screenings in Lwimba provided the project with unique participant feedback, both directly through post film discussion, and through observation of the audiences. The members of the community directly involved were the first people outside those working on the project to see the film. The version they viewed was a near final rough cut, from was 10 minutes were removed during fine cut editing. The film was chosen to be shown to them at this stage to also permit any major errors or dislikes from the community and participants to be reedited before

[9] Ethnographic film has also been held up in other academic areas including Geography and History as an example to follow for embracing the knowledge transfer capacity of filmed images (see Garret 2010; Rosenstone 1995).

the film was presented publicly. In the post film discussion with the community, including the parents of the children, there were no major issues that were raised, the overall reaction to the film was unanimously positive and a community blessing was offered to share the research publicly. The final version of the film will be presented to them in spring 2015, and copies will be given in DVD form to the school, as well as to all the adults featured in the film, and to the families of the featured students. During this second returning of the film it is expected that further screenings in Lusaka and around Zambia will be organised.

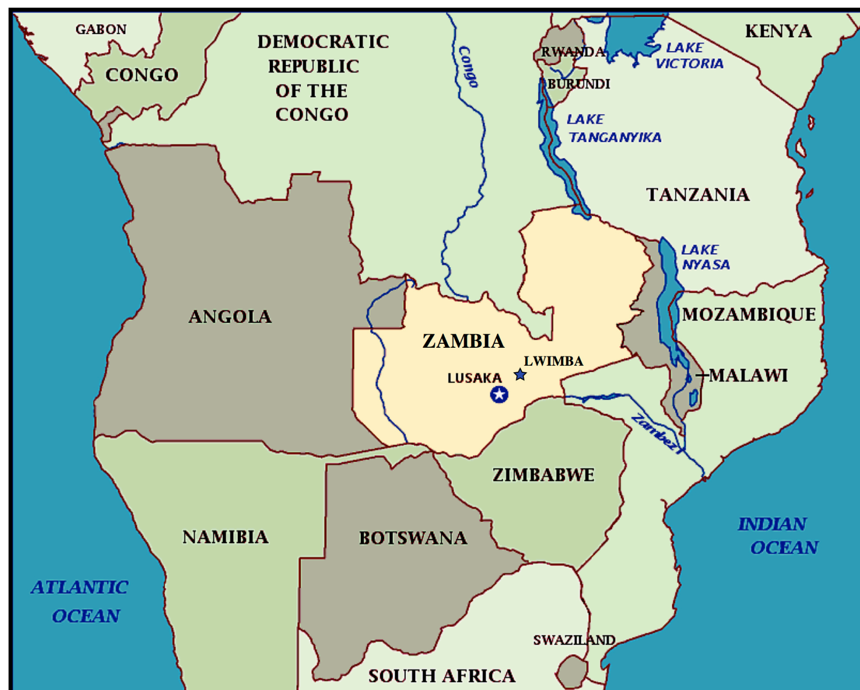
This returning of the film also assisted in providing an ethical grounding to the challenging questions of the problematic engagement of rural communities in qualitative or documentary film based research. It is standard practice in both academic research and non-academic documentary filmmaking to have participants sign declarations of their willingness to participate in research, and this was carefully undertaken through translators at the start and conclusion of the filming period, with all main characters and the parents of the children involved in the film. Despite the efforts of myself to create an informed consent process, such documents arguably have priorities of ensuring universities, broadcasters, and productions companies are legally insured rather than providing any guarantee of participant understanding of the nature and contexts of their final portrayal in any given research or film project. This is arguably even more problematic in work that is produced only in a textual form and resulting from research conducted in areas of low literacy, or where different languages are spoken. Thus, the documentary film based methodology of this project has provided it with a valuable means through which to continue to involve and share the research with the community that offered so much to it during its production.

## Setting

From early on in the project the physical setting, which largely swings between the grade one classroom and the wider community of Lwimba, was conceived as an immersive environment, one that would be presented to a viewer audiovisually

through what Giddeon Koppal has referred to as an 'evocation of a world' (2008: 316). It is a world that may appear foreign to many cinema audiences, but it arguably shares countless social elements with the wider region and with the experiences of childhood and parenting around the world. Thus, it was particularly through its audiovisual representation that I aimed to establish the project 'as a property of place and people [...] rather than as an exterior object' (ibid: 318). A deeper understanding of the physical setting of the project is also instructive as a means to provide important background context to the more detailed theoretical discussion in the chapters that follow, and to the project as a whole.

*Zambia*




Map 1.1: Zambia positioned in southern Africa

Zambia sits within the wider region of South Eastern Africa. Its landlocked nature means it shares its borders with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, Democratic People's Republic of the Congo, Angola, Botswana, and Namibia. The geographic territory of Zambia itself is clearly an artificial construct, shaped

somewhat like a butterfly (or a flexed bicep muscle if you ask most Zambians). As Faber reminds us, it was clearly

> sketched out in Europe by statesmen who had never been to Africa. The area that was marked out formed no separate entity geographically, and the tribes who lived within it were neither distinct from the populations who surrounded them, not united ethnically or linguistically with each other (1968: 4).

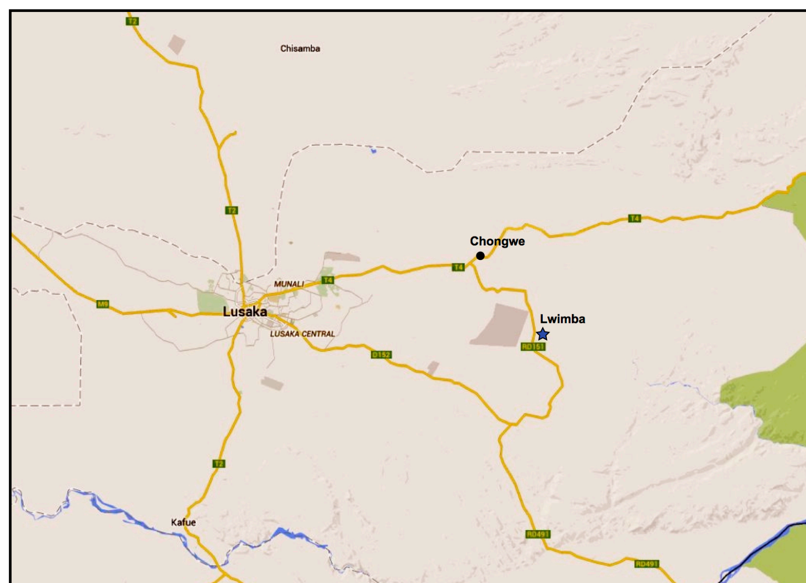
During the colonial period between 1924-1964, the region had only a minor white British settler population of no more than 70,000 at its peak (less than two percent of the population), two thirds of whom were based within the copper industry region of the north west (Roberts 1976: 207). Northern Rhodesia, as it was then known, was part of the British Empire's doctrine of 'indirect rule', where 'Native Authorities' were incorporated into British government structures, notably in contrast to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Despite this relatively minor presence of British settlers and hands off approach to its governance, the socio-cultural and political upheaval experienced throughout the colonial period was extensive. This is exemplified by the colonial creation of a centralised government which was seen to undermine the traditional chiefs, their authority, and subsequently the ethnic languages they presided over.[10]

Zambia eventually became independent from British colonial rule alongside Malawi and Tanzania in 1964. I will address the post-independence emergence of the nation in more detail in chapter one, with specific orientation to the narrative of the nation and its impact on the language ideologies seen in Zambia today. Importantly, however, the region is also one with an extensive human history, dating back to at least 250 b.c, with settlements and large scale migrations traced to the region from across the continent (Fegan 1964 in Brelsford 1965: 1). With limited space it is of course difficult to orientate such an extensive history of a region here, however it is important that colonialism should not be seen as 'the ultimate element through which

[10] The role of traditional chiefs is still very much visible today, however as Dennis Banda points out, while the historians' view that the colonial and missionary period heralded a change from their 'omnipotent power' may be functionally correct, today they are still highly influential (2008: 4).

these communities have to be understood but as a trigger that reinforced the complexities of these spaces' (Anchimbe 2007: 5).

*Lwimba*




Map 1.2: Lwimba and Chongwe relative to Lusaka

The setting of the rural community of Lwimba is constant throughout the majority of the project, changes in specific internal settings from the classroom to the cornfield, market, family houses or Annie's living areas were all situated within in the wider Lwimba area. The community is geographically situated in Chongwe District, approximately two hours drive north east from Lusaka. Its position along the Chalimbana to Katoba Raod means it has developed as a zonal centre for numerous nearby small villages, some with only a handful of families and houses.[11]

Lwimba is functionally based around a central market area, which is attached to Lwimba Basic School, a medical centre, a tavern and bus stop. Life in Lwimba, as for much of rural Zambia, is one without the benefit of running water or electricity.

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[11] I choose to use the term community throughout the project to describe Lwimba. While maps and official records generally officially refer to Lwimba as being the only locale in the area, and those from outside the area would refer to it as a 'village', it was in fact a collection of smaller villages, thus the term community in English seems the most appropriate.

Housing is largely constructed from traditional mud brick, and livelihoods are typically agricultural and often subsistence in nature. The terrain itself is relatively fertile with a small network of rivers allowing for farming. Predominantly, this was for crops of maize for consumption and selling to the annual government purchase, vegetables, 'greens', and cash crops such as soya and cotton. The official number of households in wider Lwimba according to the 2010 national census was 834, with 4,847 people, and 58% of which were under 18 years old (2011: 40).

A network of dirt roads has allowed Lwimba to be connected to the Great East Road, a major arterial road connecting the capital Lusaka and Zambia's eastern-most city, Chipata. Chongwe town is the nearest sizeable town, approximately 45 - 90 minutes driving away, depending on the season.[12] Public transport to and from Lwimba consists of only a very limited services from Chongwe, normally limited to one or two mini bus journeys a day. The cost however is normally beyond the financial reach of many members of the community. As such, walking long distances to and from Lwimba or Chongwe is common for many of those who live in the area.

The large majority of members of the community are Soli, a minority ethnic group who are for the most part located within wider Chongwe and Lusaka District, a combined area which was commonly referred to as 'Soliland' between members of the community. Historically, it has been contended that the name 'Soli' was that of a linguistic grouping and cultural unit rather than ethnic group, and their identity as a tribe and political unit could be seen as an administrative construction from colonial times (Brelsford 1965: 76).[13] However, this perspective was far from that reflected by the attitudes in the community, where a strong ethnic identity and history was identified by all Solis the project engaged with. Their long cultural history has also

[12] On my last trip in April 2014 work had begun on the construction of a paved road between Lwimba and Chongwe.

[13] The wider Soli ethnic group has previously been broken down into four sub-groups: Soli wa Manyika, Soli wa Malundu, Soli wa Shamiwe and Soli wa Futwe (Brelsford 1965: 76). While this sub group identity was never referred to in any conversation in the Lwimba community, they would officially fall into the Soli wa Manyika grouping.

been illustrated through one of the few written pre-colonial historical accounts of a small ethnic group in Zambia (Manchishi and Musona 1984).

Today, the Soli people are led by the traditional Chief or Cheiftainess Nkomeshya, based in Chongwe.[14] Within the community, leadership comes from headmen representing the interests of their own villages as well as from the head teacher at the school. The strong Soli identity and sense of collectiveness is also visible through traditional festivals and cultural history that are prominent in everyday discussion. The pleasure within the community of the impending opening of a Soli language radio station exemplified this identity and strong spirit, as heard by the good humoured comment from the Chamwembe family of 'with the new Soli radio station here in Chonwge, soon we will be Soli and white people!' [15]

One of the main exceptions from the ethnic Solis who lived in the Lwimba area were the majority of teachers and their families employed at the Basic School. These teachers and their families generally spoke very little of the Soli language, and came from various other regions and ethnic groups in Zambia. Within the community, they lived in a specific area of supplied housing adjacent to the school.

Lwimba Basic School also provided the major internal setting for the project, as it was the location of the grade one classroom where much of the research took place. The school was government operated, catering for primary education from grades one to nine. The school had around 950 students spread over the nine years, with 95 pupils in grade one in 2012 who were split between two classes, both taught by Annie. This project focused on one of these classes, grade one A.

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[14] At the time of writing and filming, her Royal Highness Chieftainess Nkomeshya Mukamambo II was the leader of the Soli people. She was also a highly respected senior leader within the wider Zambian network of traditional leaders.

[15] This is a rephrasing of a commonplace, and humorous Zambian idiom, heard across many languages. Its translation is relatively literal however, and while it is important to understand the humorous intentions of it, it is also a direct comment on the assumed European status of being developed.

The school suffered from low results, despite being an official regional zonal centre for education. The number of students who graduated from the important grade nine exams, which gave access to secondary schools, was very limited. In 2011, six students out of the 102 who sat their grade nine exams at Lwimba Basic gained grades high enough to qualify to enter secondary school directly. Despite this low academic achievement, the school was well administered, and the head teacher and staff were largely well respected in the community. Furthermore, its linguistic context and accessibility meant it was a very well suited setting for the project.

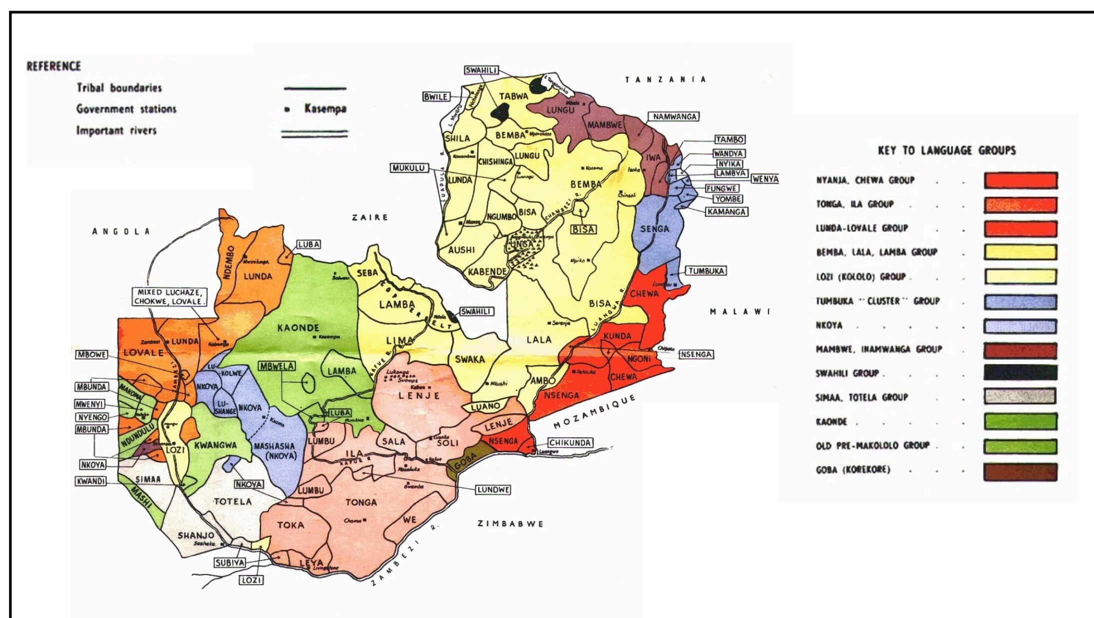
*Lusaka*

Images 1.2: Lusaka as viewed from the central city

While it only appears briefly within the film, the setting of Lusaka provides a major change from Lwimba and acts as an urban counterpoint to the rural focus of the project. Lusaka is the capital of the country with approximately 1.3 million people and also the nearest major urban centre to Lwimba. It was the home of Annie, and through her position in the project as representative of an urban Zambian, as well as her use of Town Nyanja, the city is conceptually rarely far from the events being shown on the screen. The main urban sequence in the film, where the setting directly changes and the audience is visually taken ‘to town’, involves material shot from the main roads into the city from the East, the central business area of Lusaka surrounding Cairo road, as well as Manda Hill Shopping Mall, one of the handful of large scale shopping malls which have emerged recently in the city.

As the project aimed to make explicit, Lusaka also represented one of the main areas where English was visually very present with billboards, store names and newspapers all providing important visual and textual language references in the project. Despite this, Lusaka was very much a melting pot of languages. Town Nyanja was largely considered a lingua franca in the city and the most common language to hear in everyday use, however it was also common to hear other Zambian languages, especially Bemba.

## Linguistic Setting




Map 1.3: Map of the linguistic and ethnic groups in Zambia

The project is set not only within the physical location of Lwimba, but also within the particular linguistic setting that the school, community and Zambia are situated. This relationship between the children's Soli, Annie's use of Town Nyanja, and the Zambian curriculum's English is of course one of the fundamental aspects of the wider focus of the project. In order to further discuss the linguistic issues raised in the project, I wish to first briefly provide a wider perspective of the language landscape of Zambia today, before illustrating in more detail the linguistic and social nature of the three main languages heard in the project.

Zambia is an impressively multilingual country, so much so that the precise number of languages spoken within its borders is the subject of an ongoing debate. Zambian linguistic scholars Ohannessian and Kashoki noted that to such a simple question 'there is no correspondingly easy answer' (1978: 9). There are 73 ethnic groups recognised within the country by the official government discourse, and through the fairly rudimentary association of ethnicity to language. This is also a number which is largely reported as the number of languages spoken in the country. In more recent research linguistic scholars Marten and Kula (2008) highlight 26 language clusters in the country, while Zambian scholar Mugambe Kashoki states there are around 80 bantu dialects and 20 indigenous languages which are not mutually intelligible at all (1990: 109). Despite this debate, Zambia provides an illustrative example of a plurilingual society, with a high and complex array of languages. This complexity is also added to by the lack of any one major local language being spoken by a majority of the population. The seven official 'national languages' with the percentage of first language speakers in the 2000 census in brackets are: Bemba (38.5%), Nyanja (20.6%)[16], Tonga (13.9%), Lozi (6.9%), Lunda (2.2%), Luvale (1.7%), and Kaonde (2%).[17] Further to these formally recognised languages there is a strong emergence of urbanised versions of Zambian languages, most notably of Bemba and Nyanja (Kashoki 1990; Banda 1996; Spitulnik 1999).

Today, through a regional history of migration and trade, and a constant fluidity in the nature and combination of languages spoken, Zambia has a population where the average citizen is a polyglot (Banda 1996: 111), and where multilingualism is seen as an asset (Marten and Kula 2008: 309). This foregrounded position of multilingualism, its normality and effective role as a conceptual lingua franca is also one of the major sub-themes of the project. Furthermore, the multilingual nature of

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[16] Despite spelling and pronunciation differences, Chewa in Malawi and Nyanja in Zambia are linguistically often considered the same language. (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978: 45; Williams 1998: 5)

[17] Throughout the project, I refer to Zambian languages by their 'English' names, which largely mirror the name of the ethnic group associated with them. When a language is referred to in Nyanja, the prefix ci is added, thus Nyanja becomes ciNyanja, Soli becomes ciSoli. This additional prefix can be loosely understood to mean 'the language of'.

many of the postcolonial spaces in the region, such as Lwimba, is a characteristic which has a history which stretches well before European languages arrived (Anchimbe 2007: 3). The multilingual repertoires and language choices of people across the continent more broadly has also provided valuable content for recent scholarship in linguistics (Lupke and Storch 2013), and the role of ideology in these language choices continues to be shown as fundamental (Storch 2013: 123).

Thus, Zambia's position as a multilingual post-colonial African nation is not unique, however understanding its relatively complex situation, particularly within the wider southern African region, is helpful to positioning the project. Neighbouring Uganda's linguistic context has been viewed comparatively in research, with their current policy of English and Swahili being classified as the official languages of the forty spoken in the country having been arrived at through a highly politicised debate (Kashoki 1990: vi). The multilingual and the ideological nature of language policy in Zambia's lusophone neighbour Mozambique since independence has also been presented in linguistic ideology research (Stroud 1999). Malawi also provides an example of the pivotal nature of political climate and ideology in deducing national language policy. Malawi's first independent President, President Banda, declared his home language Chewa (with 27% of the population as first language speakers at the time) as the national language on independence in 1964 - despite two other major languages existing in Yao (19%) and Tumbuka (11%), and 43% of the population speaking other minor languages (Williams 1998: 5).

In preparation for the project, I learnt formal Nyanja to a working level, including an intensive period of study for the first three months in Zambia. However, the eventual use of Town Nyanja and Soli as the two main local linguistic mediums of the project resulted in a situation where I was able to follow the classroom lesson being observed, however the Soli interviews with the families of the students were conducted with a local interpreter. Furthermore, due to the significant variations between Annie's Nyanja and the formal version I learnt, the translation of the large majority of the filmed material was necessary for editing purposes. This translation process is discussed in more depth in chapter three.

*English*

Within the complex linguistic network of local languages in Zambia, English remains the only *official* language. The most recent available Zambian census statistics place the number of speakers of English in the home at 1.7% of the population (Central Statistics Office 2004: 42).

This position English holds within the wider Zambian political structure and Zambian society has been highlighted as one of 'obvious privilege' (Kashina 1994: 19). While some scholars insist that English should be viewed as a normal member of the linguistic community of languages and not as a privileged code sitting on top of the others (Bokomba 1995 in Anchimbe 2007: 5), its 'official' status and role as the only publicly visible language within government administration, as well as business, banks, post offices, wider industry and commercial transactions counters this argument.

This official position English holds is arguably perhaps beyond one of just 'privilege', and Felix Banda recognises that

> in practice the roles of English as an international language and as a language for wider communication in urban Zambia have only served to enhance its status and obliterated any role Zambian languages were supposed to play outside the immediate home environment (Banda 1996: 111).

This is undoubtedly a view of urban Zambia that is very recognisable for anyone living there, however, I suggest, the project reveals that the impact and role of English is notably different within rural worlds such as Lwimba, where what limited use it has can be viewed as an 'additive rather than replicative entity' (Anchimbe 2007: 3).

In the project, English is heard and seen being taught in the classroom, in conversations between Annie and myself, in text, on the radio and in some limited conversation between teachers. These English language events can be seen to summarise the use of English in Lwimba. Outside of the classroom it was rarely heard, the exceptions being if one of the few members of the community who spoke it was addressing a foreigner such as myself, or if a media outlet, commonly a radio, was being played (however, local language radio was also common). Thus, it would be a significant challenge to live and proceed with everyday activities in Lwimba with only English, without a knowledge of Soli or Nyanja.

Furthermore, the little English that was spoken in Lwimba can be further classified as Zambian English, a language with its roots clearly in British English but with alterations to grammar, vocabulary and spelling that are distinctly local. Colloquially, Zambians refer to these local alterations as creating 'Zamglish', and while often in jest, this alternate linguistic classification they identify in their language highlights the ongoing process of the 'ownership of English' which, scholarship reminds us, can be seen to equate to a process of taking control of its structures and future use by its speakers (Chisanga and Kamwangam 1997: 89). Zambian English can, I suggest, be likened to other more well-known emergent Englishes, such as Indian English, Nigerian English, or Singaporean English. Scholars argue that rather than being understood as 'approximate', 'pidgin' or 'idiosyncratic' dialects, 'these new Englishes have their own structural norms, their own characteristic features and even their own communicative styles', and as a result they need to be considered in their own social and cultural context (Romaine 1992: 254).

*Soli*

The first language heard in the project is Soli, which is the mother tongue of the large majority of the students and residents in Lwimba. The linguistic roots of the language are from the Bantu Botatwe group of languages, commonly understood as the Tonga group, after its most common language (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978:

21). Tonga is a language predominantly spoken in Zambia's Southern Provence and holds a status as one of the seven national languages in Zambia. Soli, however, is not a simple fit into this group linguistically, and historically there has been debate about its position there (Fortune 1959: 38). Its mutual intelligibility with Tonga has been roughly classified in as having approximately 71% of basic words in common (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978: 112).[18] While these statistics are particularly hard to rely on as a referent to intelligibility, especially when noting the fluidity of Zambian languages and adaptability of Zambian speakers to speak and learn new languages, I suggest that they provide a basic grounding to the argument of the significant difference in the languages heard spoken in the project. Annie's own reflection on her lack of understanding of basic Soli greetings as a mother-tongue Tonga speaker also provided an example of these differences for a non-Zambian speaker. While theoretically, as a Tonga speaker, she should be in a good position to understand and acquire Soli, she struggled throughout the year to learn the language and often resorted to speaking Tonga with the community members and the children in an attempt to be understood.

Statistically, a growth in Soli speakers is also evident. Soli speakers account for 0.8-1% of the Zambian population, with an estimated 150,000 speakers of the Soli language.[19] This figure has grown significantly since the 1986 official figure of 54,400 (Grimes 2000: 253). While this growth in numbers equates to the regional population growth of the area, it also represents the lack of any movement away from the language in its traditional homeland. Like many minority languages, the Soli language has a strong and growing community of speakers, and when interviews with members of the community moved to the subject of its future, all were confident of its continued growth. Outside the development of a new Soli language radio

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[18] This survey was described as a 'percentage of agreement of basic words', conducted with 200 basic terms and can be understood as a form of lexical similarity linguistics research. The definition of a dialect, as opposed to a language are when two languages are seen as having 85% similarity (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978). To place these numbers in European language context, German and English have a 60% indexical similarity, English and French 24% (Grimes 2000: 707) and Italian and Spanish 82% (ibid: 677).

[19] The speaker numbers were estimated from the Chieftainess's office while they awaited the official 2010 statistics to be released.

station and ongoing Bible translation projects, other interviewees noted that they recently felt more able to speak Soli in public areas and on public transport in towns and cities outside the traditional boundaries of Soliland. In the past they noted they were inclined to speak other Zambian languages rather than their own outside of their community, even if they were with other Soli speakers.

*Nyanja and Town Nyanja*

Throughout the project, Annie can be heard talking to the children in a language which has its roots in Nyanja, one of the seven national languages of Zambia, and which in its 'pure' or 'deep' form is spoken predominantly in Eastern Provence and Malawi.[20] However, the language Annie is heard speaking to the children throughout the year can be further classified as a distinct urban form of Nyanja, which as an unofficial dialect has been referred to by a variety of names including 'Town Nyanja', 'Lusaka Nyanja', and 'ciTauni' (Tambulukani and Bus 2011; Gray, Lubasi et al. 2013). It is a highly fluid urban form of the language and as Annie is not a mother-tongue Nyanja speaker, her knowledge of the language stems from growing up in Lusaka. As such, she provides an example of an archetypical speaker of this emergent dialect. During most general teaching throughout the project Annie was speaking to the children in Town Nyanja, however, during their formal lessons of Nyanja, educational material such as stories and basic literacy tasks were presented to the children in the formal, Chewa based Nyanja, or 'deep Nyanja', which at times in the film Annie is seen to have trouble in pronouncing.[21] These issues, including importantly the value and role of Town Nyanja and Nyanja in both the classroom and community will be addressed in more depth in chapter two.

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[20] The Nyanja as spoken in Eastern Provence is understood as a very close dialect of Chewa, the official language of Malawi (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978: 45). As such it is commonplace in Zambia that the Nyanja spoken in Eastern Provence is often differentiated by being referred to as 'Chewa', or 'Deep Nyanja' (Williams 1998: 186; Tambulukani and Bus 2011: 143).

[21] The limits of her own grasp of Nyanja are particularly visible during her discourse to the children in the project prior to the learning of the national anthem. While this scene is pertinent for raising themes of history and nationhood, linguistically it also shows the limits of her Nyanja, as she is seen to be searching for the correct words to express herself and the narrative of Zambian independence.

The observations in the project of the linguistic events utilising Town Nyanja also provide an important insight into the wider narrative of the language landscape of Lusaka Provence. Academic recognition and research into Town Nyanja is limited, however in the 1978 linguistic survey of Zambia *Language in Zambia* it was understood that 'there are signs pointing towards the modification of some Zambian languages and may be seen from the borrowing of foreign words, and emergence of alien grammatical structures' (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978: 15). By the 1990s it was observed that these urban varieties had developed significantly in speaker numbers (Kashoki 1990: 137), and noted that while the urban varieties of Nyanja are 'the most widely spoken, they are not taught in schools' (Banda 1996: 115). More recently Tambulukani and Bus have also highlighted the role of the gap between the 'Town Nyanja' as spoken by children in Lusaka and the formal Nyanja taught at school as a contributory factor to literacy problems in the area (2011).

Linguistically, the language has its roots within the Nyanja as spoken in Eastern Provence, however it has borrowed words and grammatical devices extensively from other languages, most notably English and Bemba.[22] As Kashoki points out, languages often borrow words to fill an empty phrase in their own languages, and the adoptive word *windo* for the English 'window' is found in many Zambian languages (1990: 137). However, Town Nyanja can be seen to have extended beyond simply the adoption of foreign words, with unique phonetic sounds and grammar being borrowed from English and Bemba especially.[23]

This hybrid nature and use of Town Nyanja also resonates with Mikhail Bakhtin's view of the heteroglossic nature of all language. Town Nyanja's overt absorbing of

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[22] The hybrid nature of the Town Nyanja spoken by Annie also reflects the similar state of town Bemba, the urban dialect of another of Zambia's national languages spoken predominantly in the Copperbelt region of the country, as observed by Spitulnik (1999) and Richardson (1961).

[23] As well as the adoption of significant foreign vocabulary, the major differences between Nyanja and Town Nyanja include changes to word structure to often remove the traditional vowel endings or contracting other consonant vowel combinations, as well as adaptations to the traditional Nyanja 18 noun classes, and the adoption of Bemba pronunciation of the distinct bilabial fricative sound of ŵ. While very little formal linguistics research has been made into this emergent language, the first basic speaking guidebook was published in 2013 (see Gray, Lubasi et al. 2013).

words from other languages, grammatical reconstructions and constant state of rapid evolution can be seen to represent his suggestion that at any given moment 'language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the coexistence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present' (1981: 291). Furthermore, the role of Town Nyanja as lingua franca for urban Lusaka sees the language embody the wider narrative of modernity in the construction of language ideologies which the project aims to address. The rapid urbanisation seen in Zambia over the last 50 years has without doubt led to what is a fluid, accessible lingua franca and one that reflects the language evolving 'in an environment of social heteroglossia' (1981: 292).

The complex situation of the grade one class in Lwimba also provides an illustrative example of the widening role of Town Nyanja and its use within a situation where formal Nyanja would be expected and is prescribed through the curriculum. This extra layer of linguistic complexity, added to what is already a multilingual environment, is also pivotal to understanding the position of the various languages in the community and linguistic setting of the project. Importantly, Lwimba and Chongwe District are situated within the official Nyanja speaking regional area out of the seven possible linguistic areas as designated by the Zambian Ministry of Education. This is despite Soli having a relatively limited linguistic relation to formal Nyanja, with a linguistic similarity of just 42% (Ohannessian and Kashoki 1978: 112). It was estimated by some interviewees that all adults in the village could communicate to some extent in Nyanja, however it is important to emphasise, that Nyanja was still not the easiest of the seven 'national' language for Soli speakers to learn or communicate in, Tonga was.

# Narrative

Language and documentary films both rely on a form of narrative to give shape and structure, to provide context and, I suggest, to engage their 'audience' emotionally. They are structures resulting from processes which emerge from the inclusion and exclusion of inputs and events, and from the decisions taken by those in powerful, or authorial positions. By analysing the details of the particular filmic and socio-historical narratives that underpin this project, as well as the decisions and influences that these narrative structures are forged through, I aim to set in place an important frame for the comprehension of both the construction of the ideologies at the heart of the research inquiry, and the practice of the filmic medium through which it is presented.

The following chapter will be shifting between these two interactions of the project with narrative. While each utilises narrative from a different perspective and context of engagement, I intend to link both through the wider understanding of narrative in anthropology and history scholarship. I will aim to suggest that the ideological and emotional implications of narrative within both engagements are significant to a deeper understanding of the research. The chapter will first view narrative from a socio-cultural mediation, specifically with relation to the intersection of the historic narratives surrounding the nation state, the imaginary narrative of modernity and development, and the ongoing narrative of language and education in Zambia. I will suggest that the construction of these histories has been influenced by linguistic and political ideologies and secondly that these historical narratives continue to influence the production of language ideologies as seen in the project. The chapter will then move on to discuss the construction of narrative through the process of documentary filmmaking; specifically through the narrativisation of real events through the decision making process that can be seen to occur throughout a film's development. I will bring into focus the specific decisions I made, and internal narrative I created for the film, including highlighting the choice of characters of the film, which I suggest are fundamental to the film's narrative structure.

## Narrative and theory

The following discussion does demand a requisite understanding of what the term and phenomenon of *narrative* is and how it has been understood within scholarship, both at its most fundamental level as an arguably universal human structuring device, as well as a collective socio-cultural concept and mechanism for the retelling of observed realities.

The ubiquitous and arguably universal nature of narratives in society has been suggested in scholarship to be a fundamental element of the human experience. As Roland Barthes notes, narrative 'is present in every age, in every place, in every society' (1977: 237). It is presented through oral and written languages, through images, audio or gestures. It can be found within a huge array of medium: from everyday conversations to myths, legends and novels; from histories to newspapers; from films to paintings. At its most elemental form, narrative can be understood as the ordering and telling of a series of imaginary or real temporal events 'so that a meaningful sequence is portrayed' (Kerby 1991: 39).

Perhaps it is easiest to understand the concept of narrative first in relation to what it can be seen to stem from, that of a given series of connected events. Narrative could be understood as the retelling of these events through a structure to give meaning, or additional meaning. Importantly, it involves a selective process of inclusion and exclusion of some of these events, and the ordering and telling of them in such a way that the recipient, be it a group, society or self, garners the intended meaning. As Hayden White (1980) points out, while this process is especially of note in narratives retelling real life events, it is equally the same process that is engaged with for imaginary events to create fictional narratives. The specific structure of a final narrative may differ across mediums and cultures, and while a beginning, middle and end are often seen as commonality in a Euro-American understanding, as Banks points out such forms are far from innate or universal (2007: 14). As such, anthropologists and narratology scholars have given significant time to the

examination of culture specific ‘narrative stock’ in attempts to find situated elements of narrative structures (Propp 1968; Levi Strauss 1970; Bruner 1990).[24]

Narrative has been shown to operate on both an individual and sociocultural level, with a distinct intersection between these two levels of its conception understood to exist. Scholarship into the role of narratives in identity formation and the making of the self (Kerby 1991) has aimed to highlight the role of the individual in the creation of their own specific narrative of their character, where ‘narrative form becomes personalised in use, and individuals continue to write stories which depict their own world views’ (Rapport and Overing 2007: 324). However, the means of telling, forms and public meaning can be understood as a ‘*bricolage* of largely inherited cultural forms’ (ibid). This understanding of the wider influence and consequences of cultural specific narratives, such as historic and state narratives, not only on individuals but on collective ideologies such as those I suggest that surround language within this project, will be at the forefront of my discussion in the first half of this chapter. I will aim to illustrate that it is through the embracing of specific constructed narratives that

> members of a society or culture come to share the same ways of organising, presenting and remembering information, and so knowing the world. The narrative stock of a culture is thus seen as embodying what are socially recognised to be typical behaviour patterns (Rapport and Overing 2007: 323).

As White (1980, 1987) notes, within historiography the use of narrative, through both narration and narrativising is very present, and significantly valued as a tool straining ‘to produce the effect of having filled in all the gaps, to put an image of continuity, coherency and meaning’ (1980: 15). The valuation and the selection of which elements are included in any historical discourse is, I suggest, bound to the authorial and power relationships that are intertwined with any narrative construction. The events I will recount now are of course from my own position as an author, and will be engaging in my own historical narrative construction in the

[24] The theoretical work in relation to the analysis of narrative, including Levi Strauss’ (1970) work on narrative in South American myth and Propp’s (1968) foundational work in the analysis of narrative within Russian folktales are influential within the academic field of Narratology.

first half of this chapter. I am however engaging with a specific 'pre-narrated' history that has been made available to me through my informants, or from the largely Zambian historical scholarship that is available. Thus, this narrative structure can already be seen to be influential in the development of the ideologies we see today in Lwimba.

### Language and the narrative of the nation of Zambia

The link between a language's use and its historical-political context has been highlighted as fundamental to the understanding of the ideologies which surround it. As Woolard and Schieffelin remind us, 'language ideologies and processes of language valuation are never just about language' (1994: 55-56). I wish to highlight two stages of intersection between historicity and language ideology, first the role of ideology in the events, policies and divisions that form the basis of a historic narrative, then subsequently the current influence of these narratives on the ideological perspectives surrounding languages as seen in the project. As Blommaert notes 'language is an intrinsically historical object' (2014: 7), thus the connotations of historicity within language ideologies are often fundamental to their power.

The processes which influence the ideologies surrounding the language events visible in the project are many, and while I will explicate others further on within the thesis, the socio-historical narrative of the nation state and linguistic-educational development is, I suggest, bounded and significant in these processes. Through a historiographical presentation of first the emergence of the nation state of Zambia, and second the trajectory and historical development of language and education in the country, I wish to bring into focus the language ideological underpinning of the historical narrative of these periods, as well as the ongoing impact on the ideologies surrounding language of these historical narratives.

Zambia surfaced from colonial rule in 1964 with its nation building intentions of integration and unification proclaimed loudly through the national motto of 'One

Zambia, One nation'.[25] It was emerging as a newly independent nation with its own voice and nationhood being projected by its independence movement, led by President Kenneth Kaunda. This is a historical narrative that emerged from British colonialism and within the Africa-wide independence movements which won their independence throughout the early 1960s. I suggest that within this narrative of independence and state construction it is important that the establishing of a new nation-state is understood as a cultural project, rather than just a political, geo-political, and economic structure. One based 'on the projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative' (Balibar 1991: 93), and importantly as a 'discursive project, a system of emblems and indices mediated through images of language' (Stroud 1999: 343).

British colonial rule in the large territory that is now Zambia dates from the late 19th century until independence. These early colonial years provide the opening of the narrative of the nation of Zambia as we understand it today, where Zambians, like many southern Africans in post-colonial nations, 'have woven the linguistic, cultural and racial mixes brought about by colonialism into the fabric of their daily existence' (Anchimbe 2007: 2). Despite a British policy of indirect rule in the country, the emergence and introduction of English in the country was a direct result of this colonial period and its administration and government.[26]

Despite the clear link with a colonial past, and its local perception as a 'foreign' language, English became the language of the struggle for independence in

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[25] This motto is still very much widely recognised by the people of Zambia, it remains inscribed on the national coat of arms and in interviews conducted with non-English speaking community members in Lwimba it was often quoted to me in relation to discussion on questions relating to the importance of English in Zambia.

[26] Zambian scholars including Kashoki (1975) and Banda (1996) point to the nationwide introduction of the poll tax in the middle of the 20th centre as an example of one of the major disruptions to both the traditional rural Zambian life, and the linguistic landscape during colonial rule. With its introduction came the necessity to not only interact with the new colonial government and their official language of English, but for many men of a working age it forced them to leave their rural home for employment in new government run industries 'ostensibly to enable them to pay for their own and their relatives' poll tax' (1996: 110).

Zambia.[27] It not only acted as a communication link between the various leaders who came from different linguistic backgrounds, but also as an important vehicle in taking their cause to an international audience (Kashoki 1990: 11). Furthermore, at the time, across the continent, it was observed that 'the new leaders of African states are obliged to use English or French, in the absence of a truly continental lingua-franca' (Mwanakatwe 1968: 213). As a result of this already embedded position of English within the political elite at independence, its introduction as sole official language of the country in 1964 was understandable. The political attitude towards English can be seen through the words of former Minister of Education J. M. Mwanakatwe, who in 1968 reflected that:

> Since independence much time has been spent by leaders on activities designed to promote national pride and national unity. However, all leaders now accept that the real strength of national unity lies in the recognition of the legitimate hopes and fears, as well as the interests, of the diverse elements which constitute the Zambian nation - that is the several tribes scattered in all parts of the country. It is *unity* in *diversity* which must be forged without exasperating inter-tribal conflicts and suspicions which have a disruptive effect. Because of this fact, even the most ardent nationalists of our time have accepted the inevitable fact that English - ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial masters - has definitely a unifying role in Zambia (1968: 213).

The massive drive for ethnic integration and unity surrounding independence is very much, I suggest, integral to the historical narrative of the emergence of the nation, and is the source of the ideological position which post-independence language policies emerged from. The intent of the first independence government to move away from ethnic and tribal identities led to the association of the promotion of African languages with 'factionalism and tribalism' (Marten and Kula 2008: 308).[28] In the United National Independence Party's (UNIP) and President Kaunda's *Humanism in Zambia* political manifesto, it is abruptly stated that unity must be promoted by 'removing individualism, tribalism, and provincialism. (*These rank*

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[27] The ongoing perception of English as a difficult, and importantly 'foreign' language is still common today, and referenced in everyday discourse such as the Nyanja idiom *Cizungu ce na bwera pa modzi* or 'English came by boat', a common tongue-in-cheek expression to express frustration directed at the English language.

[28] This inherent fear of tribalism would also be cited as the reason for abandoning multi-party democracy in 1972 in favour of a single party 'second republic' under President Kaunda (Marten and Kula 2008: 306).

*among deadly vices!)'* (Kaunda 1967: 11 - emphasis in the original). This ideological position can, I suggest, be seen as an attempt to produce 'homogenisation from above' (Blommaert 2014: 3), where ideological rectitude was imbued within the English language through its perceived counter balance to tribalism.

Blommaert highlights that often during independence periods in new nations, there exists a belief that 'modern nations require singular symbols: one unambiguous name, one homogenous identity, on common history, one language' (2014: 1). This argument of the central role of language within the events and decisions that surround a nation state's emergence also brings into focus the role, and influence of the 'ideological imagination' (2014: ix) which fuel this. During this period in Zambia, I suggest English was inserted as a core element into this imagination.

This post-independence period also provides the political and ideological backdrop of many of the language policies that form the linguistic foundation of the institutions, government structures and formal language environments that are visible across the country today. This drive beyond rhetoric to policies implemented by Kaunda's government in its earliest years included the introduction of 'ethnic levelling Acts' (Banda 1996: 109). One of these acts provides an important backdrop to the project and the explanation why Annie had been posted to Lwimba despite not speaking Soli. A policy implemented by Kaunda's first government called for the sending of government employees, including teachers, to any part of the country irrespective of their own linguistic and ethnic background (ibid). It was a policy created ostensibly to ensure that the 'English only' administrative policy and curriculum were adhered to.[29]

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[29] The ongoing adherence to this policy, even while grade one schooling is no longer only in English, was sighted in interviews with Zambian curriculum specialists as being highly problematic in the development of the new primary local language programs. Where not only was it likely that, as in the case of Annie, newly migrated teachers were unable to communicate to the grade one children in their mother-tongue, but it was possible that they were being asked to teach the classes in a local language that they themselves did not speak at home.

*Modernity, language and the state*

This narrative trajectory of colonialism, independence, integration and unification has, I suggest, had an influential role in the socio-historical production of the language ideologies visible in Lwimba today. The use of English as the new nation's only official language was aimed at providing a vehicle for political unity in Zambia, which it has arguably done very successfully, as Zambia has remained one of the most peaceful nations in the region since the 1960s (Mwalimu 2014: 1098). While critics point out that, especially in the Zambian context, political-geographic unity does not necessarily imply socio-cultural integration (Kashoki 1990: 6), the country's peaceful post-colonial history was raised with pride during interviews in Lwimba. During discussions with the oldest community member interviewed during my time in Lwimba, Stanford Niks, the grandfather of four of the children in the grade one class and a Soli elder in the village, our conversation moved to the topic of the importance of English in the modern Zambian state. Despite he himself speaking very little English as a result of not having the opportunity to attend school, he noted that, 'here in Zambia we have about 72 or 73 languages, but English is the language that has brought the people together and brought peace with other tribes'.

This commonly understood narrative of the political importance of English can, I suggest, be viewed as significant in the formation of the prioritised position that English can be seen to hold today. This process of politically positioning a single language above others and the subsequent increasing of social and institutional valuations of it will be discussed in more depth in chapter two. However, I wish to highlight that these emergent language ideologies have distinct roots in historical-political processes and narratives, specifically the decisions that surround the formation of the independent Zambian state. These are also decisions which can be understood as being influenced by political ideologies of modernity and state-building at the time, as well as UNIP's and Kenneth Kaunda's 'ideas of what a Zambian nation should be' (Larmer, Hinfelaar et al. 2014: 896). Importantly, and as recent scholarship has highlighted, the top down plans for development from the

period can be seen as drawing on 'political and moral narratives influenced by, among other things, modernist notions of development and improvement' (ibid.).

Briggs (1992) and Bauman and Briggs (2003) have suggested that the understanding of the way in which language ideologies have been utilised to construct such modern social realities also requires an understanding of how these ideologies are located 'within the processes by which power is produced, naturalised and challenged' (1992: 388). They view this process through the prism of European histories, highlighting that in Europe, modernity has not emerged detached from the language mechanisms that permitted it to exist. It is a process which, they illustrate, is an intrinsic part of the quest for modernity and one that within the narrative of post-colonial language policies in Zambia can, I suggest, be orientated within the theoretical frame of the development of 'linguistic modernity' (Bauman and Briggs 2003, Blommaert, Leppanen et al. 2012). Such modernist ideas of language have been shown to be based on the fundamental rejection of 'hybridity' and 'impurity', or what can be understood as an expansion of the more classical view of modernity of Zygmunt Bauman of the human need for order in opposition to chaos (1991: 4). Furthermore, as scholars have recognised, in multilingual states, particularly in post-colonial Africa, the development of policies and the policing of language structures can be observed within these modernist principles, and be seen to be determined through the language-ideological features of modernity.

> Multilingual societies, first, needed to reduce the number of (societally, and thus economically, valuable) languages in use on their territory - the principle of *oligolingualism*. Second, because of the *efficiency and loyalty* principle, the remaining languages needed to be *ranked,* hierarchically ordered across different domains in society' (Blommaert, Leppanen et al. 2012: 6).

The linguistic, economic and political 'story' of post-independence Zambia further highlights this intersection of modernity and ideology. In the years following independence, Zambia saw its economic fortunes significantly rise, primarily through the successful nationalisation of the copper industry in 1964. Internationally, the country was held up as an example of the African 'Industrial Revolution' (Ferguson 1999: 2), having a GDP per capita only marginally below that of Portugal in 1969.

However, the dramatic fall in the price of copper from 1973 bought with it an equally dramatic fall in the country's economic fortune. When combined with enormous IMF debt repayment obligations, it saw its income per capita fall by 50% from 1973 to 1994 (1999: 6), and the country's economy and society was brought to its knees. Politically, this deterioration of the economic and social conditions in Zambia over the 1970s and 1980s led to a 'third republic', following the first multi-party elections since independence in 1991.[30] Importantly, this change in government also saw a change in the language policy. While still continuing with English as the sole official language, the new government recognised seven 'National' languages, made up of the seven most spoken Zambian languages. This promotion of the status of Zambian languages would be an important precursor to education reforms undertaken in the country in the 1990s, however the status of English in Zambia continued to be seen as 'far superior to that of Zambian languages' (Kashina 1994: 18), and continued to hold the sole 'official language' status. These changes in policy and power came through a distinct shift in the political landscape of Zambia, from a single party state to a multi-party democratic system, and continue to develop and change today. This relationship between language policy and political change in the country highlights, I suggest, that 'language ideologies are a resource in the construction of social and political power, changing as constructions of power change' (Stroud 1999: 371).

*Language and education: history and policy*

While on its broadest level this project is very much situated within the wider frame of Zambia and the interaction of language ideologies with national historical-political narratives, it is the more specific location of the rural primary classroom and its linguistic context that is brought into sharp focus. As such, I suggest that the understanding of the historical narrative that has led to the linguistic-educational context we witness within the grade one classroom in Lwimba is significant to appreciating the linguistic practices within in it, and the ideologies which can be seen to influence them. Furthermore, the fundamental role of institutions and their

[30] The elections saw the Kenneth Kaunda led UNIP government, who had ruled under a single party system since independence, being voted out to be replaced by Frederick Chiluba's MMD party.

discourses in influencing language ideologies has been identified by scholars, noting that of

> crucial importance in this process of shaping a linguistic ideology is the role of the institutional (and/or semi institutional) discourses. The alignment of political ideology and language practice is orientated, stimulated and monitored by a number of authoritative communicating actors; first and foremost by the state and its officials, but also by secondary institutional discourses such as scientific discourse, media coverage and forms of widely distributed artistic or intellectual expressions (literature, music) (Blommaert 2014: 5).

While I will discuss the role of publishing and media within the shaping of the ideologies in the project in chapter three, I wish to first orientate the educational institutional context of the classroom and Lwimba Basic School. Furthermore, as Annie is representing this institution through her role as a teacher, she can be seen as what Blommaert refers to as an ‘ideology broker’ (2014: 5), and thus her communication activities which the project focuses on equally reflect those of the wider educational institution she works within.

The historical narrative of language and education that has unfolded to reveal the context we witness within the classroom in Lwimba is one, I suggest, that also has its roots in the political ideologies surrounding the emergence of the nation state described above. Furthermore, the historic narrative itself has an influential role in the current linguistic practices and ideologies visible in the project. Thus, understanding this narrative is, I suggest, a requisite to understanding the wider project.

The history of language and education in Zambia is one equally bound to the history of wider education in the country. As Anchimbe (2011) and other scholars have noted, Zambia, like many southern African countries, has always been a highly multilingual country as a result of the constant migration and movement that has shaped its history. Educational history in the country extends from pre-colonial traditional educational structures to the arrival of formal, western education with missionaries and colonial administration, through to the emergence, via independence, of a new ‘English only’ Zambian educational approach.

The formalised classroom education structures visible today arrived in Zambia with the religious missionaries in the late 19th century.[31] Historical debate surrounds the impact and aims of the missionary's education system, debate that extends beyond the scope of this project. However, notably they did attempt to teach in local languages, or at least in major regional languages. Their teaching in local languages was largely seen to be ideologically motivated, 'so that people could read the Bible and spread the gospel to others' (Banda 2008: 35) and in line with general Christian aims of 'increasing the size of their 'flock'' (Kallaway 2006: 5 in Banda 2008: 35). Importantly, however, despite this prioritisation of teaching in local languages, they were soon confronted with local men and women who wished to be taught in English (Snelson 1974: 21, Carmody 2004: 105), a language which was seen to permit them opportunities in the new industrial centres of the country.

The emphasis on teaching in indigenous languages was also prioritised through the establishment of the Northern Rhodesian Ministry of Education in 1924, with the original advisory papers of the organisation stating 'the study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance' (Colonial Office Advisory Education Committee in Carmody 2004: 106). Despite creating a colonial education system which historical scholarship has described as 'disastrously inadequate' (Larmer, Hinfelaar et al. 2014: 903), the problem of language and education at the time was confronted through prioritising mother-tongue and major vernacular language education in the first four years of primary school. This emphasis on local language education was created and fostered by policy, and supported by international groups such as the Institute of African Language and Culture, which argued that the privilege of mother-tongue education 'should not be withheld from the African child' and its advantages far outweighed the administrative disadvantages (IALC Report 1930 in Shana 1980: 6). However, by the 1940s, arguments to extend English education arose overwhelmingly from the pressure of local parents who wanted their

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[31] Zambia also has an extensive history of traditional education, generally undertaken within ethnic and social groups; its ongoing importance has been highlighted by numerous scholars (Mwanakatwe 1968; Snelson 1974; Carmody 2004; Banda 2008).

children to learn in the language, and who did not see local languages as being sufficiently complex for education (1980: 6).[32]

With independence in 1964, the need for a 'new' Zambia brought with it the need for a new education system, one that was universal and 'must perforce be related more to the wider aspects of nation building' (Kaunda in Mwanakatwe 2013: xi). The introduction of an English only education system was announced in May 1965, and formalised in 1966 into the Education Act, to be introduced over seven years from independence in 1965 (Higgs 1980: 21-22). The debate leading to the movement towards an English-only curriculum developed in the years surrounding independence. While the policy appears to be contrary to the wider development education theory at the time (UNESCO 1953), a British Council and UNESCO report requested by the Northern Rhodesian government in 1962 still recommended that English as a universal medium of instruction should 'be introduced as quickly as possible' (Hardman 1965 in Shana 1980: 10). These decisions, and the motivations behind them, have been shown to lack educational priorities, as Zambian scholar and former Director of the Curriculum Development Centre, S. C. Shana views it,

> it would appear that Zambia chose an English medium for political and administrative reasons rather than for educational considerations [...] No one appears to have questioned the logic of such a move or to have asked for evidence to support it. The real debate centred around the 'selling' of the English medium to the country at large (1980: 15).

This primary role of politics within the decision behind the English only policy is supported by the reflections of the then Minster of Education, noting 'on political grounds alone, it is clearly impossible to adopt any one of the official vernaculars as a medium of instruction in primary schools without exciting tribal passions and creating serious discontent and unrest' (Mwanakatwe 2013: 205).

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[32] This wider apathy towards developing local languages within education can also be seen in the very limited Zambian language publishing industry, such that by the time of independence there was a distinct dearth in any published literature in Zambian languages (Carmody 2004: 106). The implications and influence of this in relation to text and literacy in the project will be discussed in chapter three.

While history has revealed these alternate perspectives on these decisions, the publicly given rationale of the English only policy at the time is also one that highlights the interaction between the political drive towards modernity and language ideology. The three main arguments for the policy were firstly that the highly multilingual setting provided a practically unfeasible context for any local indigenous language use; secondly, that as seen through immersion programs in Canada, children were considered malleable and able to learn similarly well in a second language, and thirdly, that Zambian children would gain a 'head start' in learning a language which was seen to be a necessary for later schooling and future work (Serpell 1993: 97). These, combined with a political discourse that was focussed on nation building, created a climate where any debates about the choice of primary language 'took for granted that the English medium proposals were educationally sound' (Shana 1980: 11).

By the early 1970s the English only curriculum was in place, and its positioning as the sole medium drew many critics throughout the following decades. By the 1990s Zambian scholar Mubanga Kashoki noted that 'even those who insist on the overwhelming usefulness and importance of English are coming to admit that such usefulness and importance, at least for the time being, is only true for a very small, though influential, minority of the population' (1990: 11).[33] Therefore, while the policy can be understood as being part of attempts to foster the nation of Zambia, and as an answer to the problem of having no obvious alternative for a local *lingua-franca,* it can, I suggest, also be seen as both symptomatic and causal of the extraordinary gulf between those in power and ordinary Zambians.[34]

This troubling stratification of society through educational and in turn linguistic capacity was compounded by the negative research and indicators of educational

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[33] This development of a small educated, English speaking, urban class has also been highlighted in ethnographic research from the period (Colson and Scudder 1980).

[34] The gulf has been highlighted in recent research on the relationship between the economy and education policy in post-independent Zambia, where one of the characterising aspects of the period can be seen as the massive achievement gap between rural and urban students (Mwalimu 2014: 103).

progress during the 1990s. These included a 1995 SACMEQ (Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality) report that revealed that only 25% of grade 6 children in Zambia could read at a minimum level, and 3% at a desired level, statistics that shocked the country's educational sector (Tambulukani and Bus 2011: 141). Furthermore, the inadequacy of the English only policy was clearly visible through the comparative research undertaken by Edward Williams in Malawi and Zambia between 1992 and 1994, including the testing and observing of 900 students across the two countries. Williams showed that, despite having four more years of schooling in English than Malawian children, Zambian children's English reading proficiency was no better at any grade. Furthermore, Malawian children were far more proficient in local language reading (1998: 58).[35] This inadequacy of the English only system was also not lost on the government and a 1993 Zambia Ministry of Education report reveals criticism of the country's curriculum which was blunt and straightforward. Pointing out that any administrative and financial benefits of the policy are more than offset by its negative consequences, including:

> That the majority of children form hazy and indistinct concepts in language, mathematics, science and social studies [...] it leads to a downgrading of local languages and does little to foster one's own cultural heritage, it serves to isolate the school from the community [...] and finally, the implicit message of the English medium policy is that schooling should direct one away from traditional society (Ministry of Education 1992: 28).

While many aspects of the education system have been critiqued within the wake of these reports, the relationship of children learning in the unfamiliar language of English from their first day at school was seen as a significant contributory factor. As a result, from the mid-1990s steps were made to relax the absolute interpretation of the English only education policy and saw the introduction of a grade one curriculum that permitted the teaching of children in one of the seven national languages, dependent on their geographic location. The mapping of the seven National languages is far from perfect however, and while this new curriculum was referred to

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[35] This comparative analysis is especially notable as many Zambian and Malawian children share the same local language so differences in reading and writing aptitude can be seen to directly stem from education systems rather than linguistic particularities.

as having an ‘emphasis on mother-tongue literacy’ (Carmody 2004: 108) it is often far from it. The situation in Lwimba of a minor community language (Soli), national language (Nyanja), and English all being used in the same classroom is also, importantly, not unique. The wide linguistic distribution in the country and broad national language mapping means there are undoubtedly other communities in a similar situation. This complexity of the policy has also been noted within recent education scholarship, where it has been highlighted that many Zambian primary school children are still not in a position to benefit from the system as currently implemented as ‘despite the policy, most Zambian children are not instructed in their most familiar language’ (Tambulukani and Bus 2011: 158).

The narrative of language and education in the country is of course one that continues to evolve and develop. Most recently, in January 2013, announcements were made by the Zambian Ministry of Education that indicate the extension of the local language education curriculum to grade four, with English remaining as a subject from grade two, and becoming the medium of instruction in grade five. The announcements follow political campaigning around the issue of language and education by the PF (Patriotic Front), with their description of the current education system as having ‘a colonial hang-up’ (Mvula 2013) due to its reliance on English. These ongoing developments highlight the complexities of the relationship between language and education in Zambia, and in turn present the discussion of their position within the historical-political narrative of the nation as ongoing and pertinent.

I have suggested that both the historical narrative of the nation state and the historical and ongoing narrative of language and education in Zambia have their foundations in political and linguistic ideologies. Furthermore, these historical narratives themselves continue to influence the current perspectives on language seen within the project. Thus, I suggest that these narratives provide an important grounding to the understanding of the language and literacy practices seen in the project, as well as the ideologies which surround them which I will elaborate more on in chapter two and three.

## Narrative and documentary film practice

Observation based documentary film, like history, ethnography, or other social research, deals with reality, or more accurately *realities*. The events under study arrive in a disorderly tangle, generally without any obvious structure. They arrive without a given start, middle or end, a central subject, or without any of the list of narrative devices which are largely inherent and fundamental to one's practice as a filmmaker. The resulting process of constructing a narrative from these realities brings with it challenges which are not isolated to documentary film, and, as White suggests for historiography, 'narrative becomes a *problem* only when we wish to give real events the *form* of a story. It is because real events do not offer themselves as stories that their narrativisation is so difficult' (1980: 8).

In his analysis of narrative and visual research, Banks (2001, 2007) highlights the separation of *internal* and *external* narratives. He suggests that internal narratives of a visual medium can be understood through a description of the story presented by the medium, while the external narrative involves the understanding of answers to process specific questions of who and where the visual material was made, thus creating the 'story' of the film or photograph from understanding the work as a 'node or a channel in a network of human social relations' (2007:14). Over the course of this thesis, including for the remainder of this chapter, I intend to implicitly present this external narrative through my own reflective analysis, including those processes and decisions which relate to the internal narrative. I will however be more specifically analysing the internal narrative of the film for the remainder of the discussion.

A number of elements of a traditional narrative can be seen to make up the language and grammar of a vast array of films, both documentary and fiction. These include plots, protagonists, characters, setting, subplots, turning points, key events, dramatic ironies, the list can go on. These devices can be understood on their most basic level as tools to organise the visual data captured. In documentary film practice they often

hold the key to the wider basic aims of the film, including attributing meaning, presenting arguments, engaging an audience and creating a single whole connected body of work. This process can be understood as fundamentally the conversion of a series of temporal events to a narrative form. A form which could be defined as 'the logic that shapes the material into a story that may be linear, episodic or in some sense abstract (De Bromhead 1996: 5). For a filmmaker, this tool can be seen as 'the physical communication or artistic form with which we will present our viewer with the discourse that will take them through the story' (Knudsen 2012: 92). Harper (1987) has highlighted such an approach within visual anthropology as a specific narrative form of output, contrasting it with scientific, reflective and phenomenological forms. He notes that,

> narratives rely on time as part of their structure. The time sense may be linear - representing natural experience - or it may utilise flashbacks or even reverse time progression. Characters are seen to change or develop in relation to the events or circumstances. Thus a key issue in the narrative approach is the organisation of the images. The meaning may derive as much from the organisation as it does from the images themselves (1987: 4)

The mechanics, and eventual 'success' of how an audience understands these strategies of a filmmaker is, scholars suggest, dependent on a learning process by which an audience comes to understand and interpret a visually mediated narrative. Larry Gross suggests this is a three stage process, where first audiences 'merely recognise the existence of persons, objects, and events in the film and makes attributions about them based on our stereotypic knowledge of such things in real life' (1985: 3-4). Then he suggests the audience sees the contiguity of these events in time and space 'as the result of an intention to tell us something' (ibid.), and the final stage, he suggests, occurs when they recognise 'the structure of a sign-event; that is, we become aware of the relations between non-contiguous elements and their implicative possibilities: the beginning and end of a story, variations on a theme, prosodic patterns, and so forth' (ibid.). While a somewhat mechanical interpretation of the narrative cinematic experience, these suggested processes highlight that through narrative construction the parallel process of an audience making meaning and a filmmaker working to give meaning are occurring. These can be viewed, I suggest, as the foundations of the emotional engagement a documentary film strives

for, fostering emotions through the narrative which can be 'an agent for action in us, both unconscious and conscious' (Knundsen 2012: 91). This highlighting of the unconscious action resulting from these processes also draws an important parallel for the wider research inquiry and, I suggest, can be viewed as analogous to the use of the earlier described socio-historic narratives as a source of influence on the linguistic ideologies seen in the inquiry.

Narrative as theorised within wider documentary film studies has seen attempts to create a typology of narrative approaches within the field. De Bromhead's 'four principle narrative modalities' of 'linear, discursive, episodic and poetic' (1996) provides an apt example, having taken a lead from Bill Nichols' broader view of the categorisation of 'modalities' of documentary films (Nichols 1991, 2001). Such strict classifications however, whether of narrative form or documentary approach, are open to similar critiques. Including that filmmaking today may very often have hybrid styles (Bruzzi 2006: 3), or alternate modes that emerge as solutions to the creative questions you are forced to ask yourself as the filming process develops.

As outlined in the introduction, this project aims to orientate itself in both anthropology and wider documentary film practice. This makes for an inherent tension between balancing academic rigour and wider non-academic audience engagement through narrative construction, a difficult relationship which can lead to a danger of creating a hybrid product which, as Jean Rouch points out, can lead to something that satisfies neither quarter (2003: 36). The use of cinematic techniques, including even basic narrative devices, has been previously ardently argued against within anthropology, insofar as Margret Mead called for the ethnographic film genre to only include films which adhere stringently to chronology and duration of the events being filmed (Mead 1995). Other writers have taken equally firm stances against ethnographic film's ability to portray 'the ethnographic' (Bloch in Houtman 1988; Hastrup 1992) and particularly to what extent the techniques of cinema should be used within ethnographic film (Heider 2006: 114). However, as Henley points out, in the practice of academic and ethnographic film, narrative is in many ways the filmmakers 'guilty secret' (2006: 376). He illustrates that now seems to be a pertinent

time to remove the guilt associated with narrative construction in ethnographic film practice in light of the wider understanding and use of narrative and storytelling in social sciences, including written ethnography. David MacDougall furthers this argument by pointing out 'if anthropologists once resisted the idea that they were telling stories, they have now certainly made up for it', noting that many modern ethnographies are often complex stories of other lives, or stories of anthropological encounters in the field (MacDougall 1998: 155).

The contested position of narrative within academic film contrasts with its use within wider documentary film practice, where its role of providing organisational strategies which 'establish a preferred reading' (Nichols 1983: 19) has been understood by practitioners from the start of the form. This is visible within Robert Flaherty's *Nanook of the North* (1922), where the filmmaker utilised the constructed temporal framing of a 'life in a day' of the protagonist Nanook to structure the film, or in the films of the British documentary's GPO film unit led by John Grierson such as *Night Mail* (Watt and Wright 1936) which leant on the structure of train journey from London to Edinburgh. It is very possible to understand that narrative as a tool is unavoidable in documentary film practice, a position taken by film maker and scholar Toni De Bromhead who states that 'I no longer accept the idea of a non-narrative film ... the only non-narrative films are unstructured rushes' (1996: 5).

*The process of narrative construction*

The construction of the internal narrative of the film at the heart of this project can be viewed as a process that began from the start of production, continued throughout the main filming to the final editing and post-production period. The diagram below outlines these stages and the processes of narrative construction which I, as a filmmaker, engaged in.

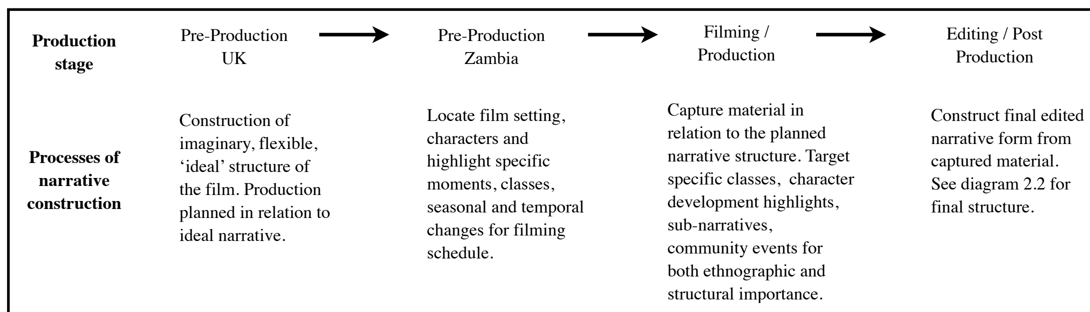


Diagram 2.1: Process of narrative constructive in film's production

While there is a clear link between the editing stage of documentary production and narrative construction, I suggest that the process began from the earliest stages of planning and pre-production. The creation of imaginary narratives influenced some of the first choices that were made, including choosing themes, context and settings of the film. This significant link between the planned focus of a film and early narrative decisions is, I suggest, reflected in the abundance of documentary films of processes, journeys, competitions, court cases or elections, subjects for a film where natural narrative structures are easily identifiable, where the start and end of the realities the filmmaker is aiming to capture can be assumed at the beginning. This also importantly includes school and classroom films, where the school year or term structure immediately gives a filmmaker a narrative device around which to build other elements.

During the pre-production of this project, I was well aware of the structuring opportunities that specifically the classroom and the school would offer me in the final film. The planning of the timing of the production period took this into account, with my arrival into Zambia being planned for September, giving me three months of pre-production on the ground in preparation to begin filming in January, the start of the Zambian school year. Production was planned through to August to coincide with the end of the second term and the end of the yearly harvests.

Importantly, the film from the start was one that would aim to largely narrativise, rather than narrate the events filmed. The contrast White (1980) draws between these two approaches within historiographical accounts can, I suggest, equally apply

to documentary film. He posits that the difference can be viewed as being 'between a discourse that openly adopts a perspective that looks out on the world and reports it and a discourse that feigns to make the world speak itself and speak itself *as a story*' (White 1980: 7). This aim of creating a structure which would permit the narrativisation of events being filmed was also corollary to the wider stylistic and filming approach of the film, which relied largely on observational cinema techniques in the classroom and on some limited interactional or participatory elements during the interviews with Annie and the students' families.

The final film is also very much the result of these decisions surrounding the filming approach which were taken at the start of production, highlighting the relationship between narrative construction and the entire film making process. There were of course a myriad of filmmaking options that were available to me that would have taken the film down different paths, structuring and telling the same events in a contrasting manner. However, the choices I made at the time resulted from decisions on my preferred way to present the subject of the film, given the characters and setting involved, which as well as structural and stylistic choices, were highly practical and pragmatic decisions to permit the events in the classroom to unfold on camera unhindered. Choosing a highly interactional mode for the classroom setting would be unfeasible through the disturbance it would cause to the class, and straight observational film making at the family homes was equally unfeasible for me to gauge their sentiment, thoughts, and feelings on language and education which I aimed to garner.

It is important to highlight that while the nature of the filming in and around the classroom was 'observational', as with any filming, social research or ethnography, it came with significant preparation and I had specific aims during the periods of filming. While the moments and events seen in the classroom were very much spontaneous, I was filming with planned intentions and looking for specific elements relating to the focus of the project. The moments I chose to film, and not to film, were largely dictated by this, and for some classroom scenes such as the first and final days of term, or the national anthem lesson, I knew in advance that these

specific lessons were happening on a specific day. Others, including some of the most relevant to the focus of the project such as the learning of 'Hallo, How Are You?' or the students learning to write their names took me by surprise when they happened. As filmmaker Marc Isaacs points out, such targeted observational filming still often results in events changing during filming, revealing new elements, which are often surprising and of great benefit for the film. However, in general, during filming

> there is a clear sense of what this scene might deliver, what it might mean, how it might fit into the wider themes that I am interested in, rather than just following somebody and hoping that something interesting will emerge (Isaacs in Quinn 2013: 10).

*Outlining an internal narrative*

The final structure of the film's narrative was underpinned by a muted classic linear structure, understood in wider filmmaking through a three act structure and a characters' journey through timed obstacles, challenges, and turning points. Further categorisation of the film could also see it understood as 'chronological event and character driven' (De Jong 2012: 105) or a 'journey film' (Winston 1995: 104). The combination of these three classifications perhaps goes some way towards orientating the final structure of the film, one that has seen me lean on natural temporal framing devices such as the school year and harvest alongside the natural development and journey of Annie and the children over the two terms. The diagram below explains graphically this final narrative structure as developed throughout the production of the film and as detailed in diagram 2.1. The diagram positions the two movements of the seasonal and temporal devices, alongside Annie's personal journey over the period, both elements which acted as important tools in the final narrativisation of the captured realities.

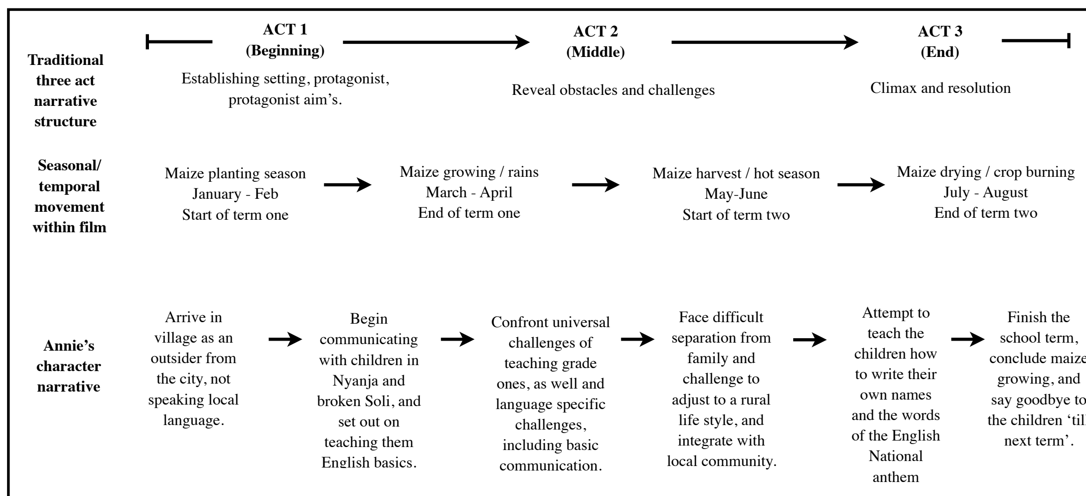


Diagram 2.2: Internal narrative structure of the film

This diagram provides an illustration of what is very much the skeleton of the overall internal narrative structure. Creating this final structure is undoubtedly a progressive, layered process and within it there can be added a host of elements and other events, sub-characters, sub-narratives, and key moments which all contribute to the overall final narrative. Within the diagram above the progress of the children's development over the two terms could also be added as a further significant sub-narrative, as well as more specific structures such as their progressive literacy learning, the progressions and key moments surrounding their learning of first Nyanja, and then English, and arrivals and departures from the village. Furthermore, the specific scenes, moments and juxtapositions during the film which reveal the various pivotal points of different character's challenges and journeys, and moments of narrative motifs such as the student's constant tardiness could be included.

I suggest that when viewed as a whole this illustrates the complexity of documentary narratives and highlights how the myriad of decisions that are undertaken in the course of making the film are directly connected with narrative construction. As such, it is important to view the final film in this light, as a consequence of a long series of deeply debated choices by myself as a filmmaker, some of which I will attempt to reflect on within these pages, but any attempt to cover all of these decisions in detail would fill far more than space allows.

The chronology of events as they happened was largely adhered to in the final film and, as the final detailed structure emerged through editing, it was clear that the development of the students and Annie was best revealed without any major changes to the order of the filmed material. This adherence to the progression of the academic year was also brought on by the very distinct seasonal shifts in colour and landscape as the year progressed, and Annie's regular hair style changes which prevented any combining of classes together. The few scenes which were placed out of chronology were positioned so to assist with the wider cohesion of the film and included the opening sequence, which was made up of footage and events from across the course of filming, and the family interviews, which were filmed at various intervals but do not necessarily relate to the position within the temporal development of the film's narrative. This wider respect for chronology does not equate, however, to an exact literal, relative temporal structure. This is exemplified by the many hours and days of filming that were not used in the final film, while one particularly profitable day of filming in early May provided two of the teaching sessions seen in the film, involving the telling of the students' holiday stories and them learning to write their names, the second trip to the corn field with Annie, as well as the third informal interview seen with Annie in her new home. Other entire weeks of filming did not produce any material that is in the final film.

While I worked within this traditional linear structure to position the various events which were filmed, and to help tell the story of Annie and her class over the two terms, the film does not pretend or strive to achieve an overtly dramatic structure that prioritises narrative elements over and above the ethnographic content or genuine temporal and character development. Perhaps this measured classical narrative structure I worked with is illustrated through the 'climax' which effectively became the lesson of the National Anthem. During production, I targeted this particular class knowing it could provide an important and revealing context of the wider intersections of the socio-historical narrative and language ideologies which were

playing out in the classroom.[36] The relative failure of the children to learn the words during the lesson meant that rather than the major emotional and dramatic event which many fiction films, and often documentaries utilising a three act structure today, strive to present, the scene concluded with a somewhat muted ending, highlighting the difficulty of the lesson for the children, as well as suggesting the frustration and sense of futility the lesson brought Annie.

The use of such ideal devices in creating a filmically narrativised portrayal of realities can be seen to raise epistemological questions, and often discomfort for documentary filmmakers. These are questions, I suggest, that stem from the 'inherent tension between on the one hand, the concern to document and preserve faith with the pro-filmic reality and, on the other hand, the requirements of narrativisation' (Henley 2006: 383). As a documentary filmmaker, or equally an ethnographer, there is a clear obligation to create an accurate representation of the people and events being filmed, however as Henley continues 'this obligation should not be directly equated with a literal account' (ibid.). The transformation of an 'event as recorded' to a 'filmic event' clearly changes its relationship with reality, its chronology, and in turn frames the event within the specific perspective of the filmmaker, whether the transformation and selection of narrative devices happens within the pre-production, filming or editing stages.

### Narrative and characters

In continuing this chapter's discussion of the project's internal narrativisation, I wish to elaborate on one fundamental area of narrative construction of *characters*. Key human individuals, whether identifiable as characters, protagonists, collaborators or informants, perform fundamental roles that permit the narratives that underpin most documentary films and ethnographic research to exist. They are the face of the film and research, the people who typically the audience directly interact with and often

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[36] Early on during filming Annie had mentioned in passing that learning the words of the national anthem was part of the grade one curriculum, as a result I asked her to let me know before she intended to teach that particular class to ensure I was in the village and filming at the time.

whom arguments and meaning are revealed through. Documentary film clearly also differs significantly from other fictionalised film genres in its treatment of characters, and the relationship between the film, filmmaker and character is a delicate one built on a high level of trust, responsibility and an immersion, sometimes bordering on an invasion, into the life of the person you are filming and studying. This responsibility is highlighted by the fact that 'in a documentary, characters are themselves before, during and after a film is made. In fiction films, characters have no real life beyond the studio' (Baena, Perez et al. 2004: 139).

As such, often a huge importance is placed on finding a 'great character' in the development and pre-production periods of documentary films. However, this importance should not be seen to misplace the role of characters as being separate from the themes and arguments of the film. Importantly it is what they illustrate, symbolise or stand for that makes them 'great'. As Isaacs aptly points out that someone maybe a great character but, what a filmmaker must as is 'what do they really represent?' and do they 'bring an idea alive' (Isaacs in Quinn 2013: 248-249).

Ethnographic filmmaker and scholar David MacDougall also highlights that this integral position of the character on the other side of the lens results in an intricate relationship between the ownership of their 'story' and the film itself, leading to questions of voice and authorship of the film. If it is Annie's 'story' that is represented through my practice, I must also acknowledge my own role in forming the narrative being 'led' by her. While as an observational documentary filmmaker one aims to take a stance of humility before the world, aiming to permit a characters' story to unfold, 'they become stories from the filmmaker's perspective by their framing of these events [...] the participants would perhaps have neither framed them that way nor recognise them as stories in their own narrative tradition' (MacDougall 1998: 154).

*Annie*

Image 2.1: Annie in the classroom

Annie provided an exceptional main character for the project. It was through her experiences and reflections which I was able to reveal themes and the focus of the project. Furthermore her position as the teacher, and hence leading, mediating, and reproducing the language ideologies and language practices in the classroom, resulted in her being a very multidimensional and often complex character for the film. She was also an impressive personality and teacher, very open, interesting and unique. From early on she granted filming access and was relaxed and unhindered by the presence of the camera.

While fortunate to have met and gained access to Annie for the project, it was far from accidental that her, and her situation were so well suited to the film. Through earlier research and evaluation trips to Zambia I had established that the government policy of sending early career teachers to any school in the country to work, irrespective of their own language abilities, created an opportunity to find a young, relocated, teacher who would reveal the linguistic dilemma that surrounded education in Zambia. This can be seen as an effective 'casting' period of the production. While normally this is understood as the domain of fiction film, its

importance in documentary has also been noted by practice scholars and filmmakers (Barbash and Taylor 2001: 383).

From early on it was clear that Annie provided a powerful representation of the linguistic dilemma and ideologies that the project was aiming to reveal. Her personal circumstances, including moving to a rural community from the city, leaving behind a husband and two young children in Lusaka, and being placed in accommodation and surroundings that she was not used to, or overly comfortable with, highlighted her position as a being somewhat out of place. While Annie discussed coming to Lwimba to further her own teaching career, she had little financial need of the work, as she noted in the film she 'lived a comfortable life back in Lusaka'.

Immediately Annie showed a strong maternal caring for the children she was teaching, and this genuine interest in seeing them take their first steps in education created a valuable outline of her personal aims through which the wider narrative of the film was able to lean on. Furthermore, I aimed to engage the viewer's emotional attachment with both Annie and the children through revealing her personal commitment to their education, utilising the idea that an audience's 'powers of empathy are tied up with a range of associations, not least of which relate to being able to identify with a protagonist's aims' (Knudsen 2012: 123).

Her position of being socially out of place within her new community was also analogous to her linguistic situation of being unable to speak the community language of Soli. A situation she would reflect on later during the filming as a common symptom of the multilingual nature of Zambia. Annie also provided an important example of a modern, urban multilingual Zambian. While she referred to herself as a Tonga, and identified her mother-tongue as the Tonga language, she can be seen to speak English with her husband (also a Tonga mother-tongue) in the film. When asked about this she responded that as he would often tease her about her mistakes in her mother-tongue she preferred to speak English with him. Her knowledge and everyday use of multiple languages, primarily Tonga, Town Nyanja, Bemba and English, also provides an example of socio-linguist David Laitin's

ballpark prediction that people across the continent of Africa will speak three plus or minus one language on a daily basis (1992).

*Steward, Elizabeth, M'barak*

Further to Annie, I was interested in treating three children in the class as sub-characters within the final narrative. These sub-characters would hold an important role for the film's structure, including the emotional engagement of the film, and in order to understand and humanise who in a primary educational environment were the receivers of the wider language policy and ideologies. During the filming I initially focused on six children, and conducted interviews with families and filmed with all of them at intervals over the eight months. Each of the children were chosen through a combination of their and their family's comfort and willingness to be filmed, their personal language context, and their social position within the classroom.

The final three student sub-characters that were included in the film were Steward, M'barak and Elizabeth. They were chosen intentionally to provide a cross section of the array of languages, abilities, and backgrounds in the class. I also aimed to have them and their families represent the modern African rural linguistic and social environment. An environment of multiple identities, with both very static and very fluid populations, reflecting both modern economic migration and traditional rural structures.

As sub-characters in the film, I aimed to contextualise their experience through conversations with their families. Thus, while also as their guardians who gave permission for me to film with their child, the parents themselves became a focus for various parts of the film. My intention with extending the narrative of the children to include their families was also to provide a juxtaposition of the universal concerns and challenges parents of primary school aged children experience with the uniquely Zambian space within which they lived.

Image 2.2: Steward with Annie

Steward Sandibonga provided the film with a main sub-character who was very much embedded within the traditional Soli landscape. His father and grandparents had attended Lwimba Basic School, and while he was struggling with the language difference in the classroom, he was also living in an environment where everyday life was complex and impoverished. He was one of three siblings in the same class, and one of 16 children with the same father, Godfrey. His first language was Soli, and throughout his family life he had been exposed to very little Nyanja before attending school, and even less, if any, English. Within the practicalities of production he also provided a highly accessible character, as his family house and crops were a short walk from where I stayed during my time in the village. As a result I was able to develop my relationship with him and his family through regular informal contact.

Image 2.2: Elizabeth during her family's interview

Elizabeth Chamwembe provided a character of a 7 year old Soli girl, intentionally providing a balance to Steward. She was performing very well in the class and, as mentioned by her family in the film, she was the ranked the third highest student across all 100 grade one children after the first term exams. Her hard working nature and determination in her studies was distinctive, and was a source of pride for her family. Her parents both identified themselves as Solis and spoke Soli as their mother-tongue with some limited English. Her family environment was also contrasting to Steward in that she was one of only seven children, the parents were living together and both only had one spouse. Furthermore her father, while now a farmer, had previously worked in various paid employment positions in the wider region.

Image 2.3: M'barak with his school bag

The third child presented in the film, and whom the audience meets the mother of, was M'barak Phiri. M'barak was the child of Mrs Phiri, the grade three teacher at the school. Her and her husband had relocated to Lwimba from their homes in Eastern Province to work as teachers. M'barak was one of a small group of children from outside the area in the class who spoke little or no Soli. These children were predominantly the sons, daughters, or relatives of the teachers working in the school. Mrs Phiri identifies herself as a Tumbuka, and spoke the Tumbuka or Chewa language at home with M'barak. M'barak represented an important element of the multilingual nature of Lwimba and most Zambian communities, where migrant workers in various areas of work have relocated. While M'barak understood Annie's Nyanja clearly, he was unable to communicate with many of the other children in the class, and as a result would be seen to play and communicate mostly with the other children from outside the village.

There were of course many children in the class who also reappear and hold particular roles in the classroom and the documentary film narrative. The aim of the film was to show this complex linguistic situation which these children enter into at grade one, but also to highlight them as universal children, highlighting their innocence, showing that as with six to seven year olds anywhere in the world, they cry, misbehave, laugh and play.

## Chapter summary

The understanding of the concept of narrative as a structuring device utilised across creative, historical, and academic endeavours provides this chapter with an important theme through which I have aimed to analyse two important engagements within the project. Firstly, through the historical-political narratives which underpin the language ideologies which are the focus of the project, and secondly, through the process of the construction of an internal narrative within the final film of the project. While these are two distinct perspectives and uses of narrative, I suggest there are important intersections including the processes of inclusion and exclusion which narrative construction fundamentally relies on. I have also suggested that documentary film shares an important challenge with historical narrativisation through its engagement with real events and their inherent unstructured original form.

I have suggested that understanding the historical narrative that surrounds the emergence of Zambia as a nation state, and the development of the historical and political context which surrounds language and education in Zambia are fundamental to understanding the language ideologies within the project. I have outlined how the historical decisions which led to the construction of many of these narratives, such as language policy making, have been significantly influenced by political ideologies surrounding modernity, development, monoculturalism and state building. Furthermore, I have suggested that these historic narratives are still very much influential in the perspectives, values and practices surrounding language as observed within the project.

I also aimed to highlight that narrative provides a fundamental structuring, organisational, audience engagement device through which a documentary filmmaker can present their ideas and create meaning for their work. I have provided an outline of the linear, character and temporal led internal narrative of *Good Morning, Grade One*. I have aimed to illustrate that the process of narrative construction in

documentary practice is one that begins at the very start of the filming process, and continues through production and post-production. Finally, I have highlighted one major narrative element of characters, outlining the main and sub characters within the project, and suggested that not only the nature of the individual, but also their situation and relationship to the wider theme are fundamental to their role within the narrative of a documentary film.

# Value

From the outset of this project the concept of *value* has been ever present. From the focus and subject of the research inquiry to discussion on the very structure, methodology and editing of the film, to the theme of value and the processes that surround it developed into an important thread. This chapter aims to lean on this broad, but significant, theme to initially illustrate the intersection between value and evaluation processes in the formation of the linguistic ideologies seen in the inquiry. This includes the specific language values and the hierarchical multilingual structure that emerges through analysis of the institutional context of the grade one classroom, as well as the intersection of capital and ethnolinguistic identity with language valuations in the wider community context of Lwimba. The chapter will also address the concept of value within the practice based methodology of the project, specifically highlighting two phases and processes within the editing of the film. First, the evaluation and selection of content, and second, the value creation phase of bringing the film to its final form, calling attention to the negotiation of syntax, form and issues of representation. Throughout the chapter I will lean on the work of David Graeber (2001) and his theoretical proposals for an understanding of *value* and *values*, highlighting that his work can help to inform an understanding of both language use and language ideologies in Lwimba, as well as my own editing practice. Further to this, the chapter will focus on the intersection of the research inquiry with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1991), Debra Spitulnik (1998), and Monica Heller (2006), and the practice of documentary editing with the work of scholars including David MacDougall (1998) and Marcus Banks (2001).

### Value and evaluation in anthropology

As a means to introduce the discussion, I wish to first briefly outline the academic understanding of *value* as a term and concept, taking particular note of theory within wider anthropology, as well as the wider understanding and uses of the processes of *evaluation* within linguistic anthropology.

Despite its regular use across anthropology and social sciences, *value* has been largely seen to occupy two distinct, and contrasting, theoretical applications and understandings, with economic and exchange potential on the one hand and a social, personal meaning on the other. The widely utilised economic approach to value has been seen to embrace the implicit idea of 'the maximising individual', where the value of objects can be understood through exchange and driven by self-interest. Such a model has been criticised for its lack of engagement with the concepts of 'meaning' and particularly an inability to embrace other understandings of value as related to Saussurean notions of 'langue' (Graeber 2001: 60).

This conflicted understanding of value is considered by anthropologist David Graeber to result in it being a misused and significantly unchallenged concept in scholarship. His volume *Towards an Anthropology of Value (2001)* was subsequently forged as a means to provide a significant rethinking of anthropological theories of value and has emerged as a foundational text in its study.[37] In his approach, Graeber proposes that this 'choice between the kind of value proposed by economists and a Saussurean notion of meaningful difference' was not necessary (2001: 44). His work embraces ideas presented through Marx and Mauss, as well as anthropologists Nancy Munn and Terence Turner, presenting the contrast between exchangeable 'value', such as that associated with money, and 'valuables' that hold value through their relation to larger societal values as well as specific past actions (2001: 114). Graeber sought to understand this distinct difference in the uses of value through highlighting the importance of 'actions', and proposes a 'theory of value starting from the assumption that what is ultimately being evaluated are not things, but actions' (2001: 49).

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[37] Previous to Graeber's work, a significant contribution to the study of 'value' included Clyde Kluckhohn's comparative 'value project' (1956), which resulted in a definition of values as 'conceptions of the desirable', where 'desirable refers not simply to what people actually want - in practice people want all sorts of things. Values are ideas about what they *ought* to want' (Graeber 2001: 3).

> Value emerges in action; it is the process by which a person's invisible "potency" - their capacity to act - is transformed into concrete, perceptible forms [...] Value, then, is the way people represent the importance of their own actions to themselves [...] Rather than having to choose between the desirability of objects and the importance of human relations, one can now see both as refractions of the same thing. Commodities have to be produced (and yes, they also have to be moved around, exchanged, consumed...), social relations have to be created and maintained; all of this requires an investment of human time and energy, intelligence, concern. If one sees value as a matter of the relative distribution of *that,* then one has a common denominator (2001: 45).

Graeber importantly expands his definition outside the 'object' and through ethnographic examples, such as the performance of Kayapo chiefly chanting, he describes his notion of 'measures' and 'media of value' (2001: 75). This is a theoretical perspective, I will suggest, that holds resonance with the attachment of value to the various languages and ones capacity to speak them within Lwimba, as well as with the values attributed and created through the editing process of documentary filmmaking. Furthermore, Graeber highlights the importance of public recognition in the comparative valuation process, suggesting that the actions that create value are contained within 'objects of display' (2001: 94). This perspective, I will suggest, is visible within the relationship between the value attribution and use of language in the community, as well as implicit value attributed to the editing process for the film.

While the theoretical understanding of *value* is fundamental to the following discussion, I also wish to focus on the processes through which value can be seen to be attributed, such as the evaluation of different languages in Lwimba and my own processes of evaluation in the editing of the film. Within the wider philosophy of language, concepts of evaluation and language use can be drawn from Valentine Voloshinov's view of language that 'every utterance is above all an evaluative utterance' (1973: 105). His illustration of the importance of social determinants in this evaluation process is framed through his conceptualisation of the 'generation of the evaluative purview' that exists within every social group. This is a concept which he understands as the 'totality of all those things which have meaning and importance for the particular group' (1973: 106).

Within language ideology research, the importance of the use of 'valuation' rather than solely 'ideology' as an analytical means is, as Spitulnik notes, that in doing so you are able to call attention to the nature of linguistic ideology as a process, rather than strictly only as an ideational concept (1998: 164). These processes of language valuation can be understood as 'processes through which different social values and referents come to be associated with languages, forms of speaking, and styles of speaking', importantly they also 'tap into a broader conception of the interpretative value-laden dimension of all human reality' (1998:164).[38] In the second half of the chapter I will also suggest that this process is mirrored through my own evaluation processes which were required to edit the film at the centre of the project.

## Value, language and the research inquiry

Throughout the project, the attribution of value to the languages used in Lwimba, as well as how it was embedded within the linguistic events and practices visible in the research, was at the forefront of the inquiry. These values and the evaluative processes through which they were constructed form a significant aspect of the linguistic ideologies which the project has sought to investigate. I will outline two spheres of valuation, firstly the institutional and curriculum dictated grade one class room setting, and secondly the wider community setting as presented through the teachers and families of the students. By extending the discussion from the formal educational environment of the classroom to the wider community I intend to not only illustrate the process of the association of the values attached to different languages within the community, but also to connect the classroom focus of the research to the wider socio-economic environment it occupies. This important linkage is highlighted in the research through the focus and structuring of the inquiry with the students at its centre. It is the students who, I suggest, provide the project with this linkage of these micro-worlds and act as recipients of the educational and

[38] Scholarship within linguistic anthropology has highlighted the importance of the process of evaluation within the construction of linguistic ideologies. Within ethnographic based research this relationship has been noted within a Libyan multilingual secondary school education setting by Asker and Martin-Jones (2013) and in Zambian national radio broadcasting frame by Debra Spitulnik (1998).

linguistic processes and ideologies, from which they will eventually emerge to be the users of any future community ideologies.

Within the institutional classroom setting, I will introduce the three main languages heard and suggest the creation of a system of hierarchical multilingualism which the implicit and explicit institutional valuations of them can be seen to create. By drawing on the work of linguistic anthropologists Debra Spitulnik (1998) and Susan Gal (1998), I will aim to orientate the observations of the grade one classroom within wider linguistic anthropological debates. In my analysis of the values seen to be attributed to the languages in the community, I will also draw on Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic and symbolic capital. This will include discussion on the intersection of language values with capital, modernity, as well as the social and economic opportunities associated with English. I will finally also focus on the contrasting ethnolinguistic identity and socio-cultural values attached to Soli, drawing on the work of socio-linguistics scholar Monica Heller (2006).

I will suggest that, in Lwimba, this process of language valuation is not only reflected through the linguistic events observed both on and off camera, as well as the language choices speakers make, but also through community member's personal reflections on the value of the various languages that make up their linguistic space. Furthermore, within the institutional educational setting that frames the project, the language valuations can be seen to converge with the current and historical political positioning of each language, including those processes which legitimise some languages over others. This, I will suggest, further reveals the stratified political economy of languages in the country as well as representing the ongoing influence and development of the socio-historical narrative of language in Zambia as outlined in chapter one. Thus, I will suggest that these values and valuations can be viewed as significant to the connecting of each language to wider political-economic processes, as well as a means of welding them to the surrounding micro-cultural worlds and those who occupy them.

## Language evaluation and the institution: the Zambian education system

Language ideologies, especially within institutional environments such as a classroom, are best understood, as Spitulnik reminds us, as 'processes of language valuation and evaluation which occur through specific kinds of semiotic processes' (1998: 163-164). To reveal this understanding the research inquiry focused on the use of languages in the classroom, aiming to reveal 'what kinds of language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct in the framework of ideological orientations connected to social, economic and political interests' (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001: 2). Within the grade one classroom, the research revealed the valuation and evaluation of the languages through three distinct processes. Firstly, through the process of inclusion, exclusion and the legitimation of different languages through the Zambian curriculum. Secondly, it was visible through the relationship between specific languages and the 'good' and 'appropriate' way for the children to speak and behave, and finally through the language choices made by the teacher, and to a less extent, the students within the classes. I suggest that understanding the intersection of these language practices and events, language policies, teaching realities and everyday multilingualism provides an important window into the valuation processes, and in turn language ideologies, which were embedded in the classroom.

The research revealed three main languages that were predominantly heard in the classroom, English, Soli, and Nyanja, with Nyanja being heard in both its dialectic Town Nyanja form, as well as its standardised form. The valuation of each of these languages within the wider Zambian curriculum can be understood within the terms of a structure of hierarchical multilingualism, which, I suggest, has a distinct resonance with theoretical understandings of linguistic modernism as posited by Bauman and Briggs (2003) and outlined in chapter one.

An overview of this suggested hierarchical linguistic structure as understood from both the institutional value and the use within the research can be seen on the table below.

| Language | Official Status | Official Use | Observed use in research |
|---|---|---|---|
| **English** | Official language of education | Language of instruction from grade three onwards. Language of all exams, text books and official school interactions. | Used by teacher during English language teaching, and regularly during the classroom for short greetings, demands, and songs. Used in staff meetings and when possible in all other teaching from grade three onwards. |
| **Nyanja** | Official familiar national language | One of seven national languages designated as a medium of instruction in grade one and two. Taught as a separate subject until grade seven. | Used by teacher during literacy lessons, and formal Nyanja classes. Taught as a separate subject at all grades. |
| **Town Nyanja** | Unofficial local language | Not acknowledged in public education curriculum, utilised in new urban education initiatives. | Used extensively by the teacher as medium of communication and instruction. Playground language for some children from outside the area. |
| **Soli** | Unsupported minor language | Excluded from the formal education system in any form. | Used by teacher for basic communication when needed, normally through student translation. Used in the playground and between students at all grades. |

Table 3.1. Hierarchical multilingual structure of the grade one classroom

During the period of research, English was the only designated language of instruction from grade three onwards in Zambian schooling.[39] This included all national examinations, including the pivotal national grade seven and grade nine exams, as well as all secondary and tertiary education. All text books, with the exception of Zambian language subject specific books, were produced only in English. This position as the sole official language of education as dictated through the Zambian curriculum creates, I suggest, a valuation of English as the only 'legitimate' language of education in Zambia. Within Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of a legitimate language, through his essay *The Production and*

[39] This was due to change to grade five from the beginning of the 2014/2015 school year.

*Reproduction of Legitimate Language* (1991), he stresses the economic and social conditions surrounding the acquisition, production and reception of speech as major determinants in their role and perception as languages. His work is primarily shaped from a critique of structuralist linguistics, where he cites previous scholars' exclusion of these extra-linguistic aspects as a major oversight. He posits that the development of legitimate and illegitimate languages within a group can be seen to stem from these external factors and that language is not simply a tool of communication but also a medium of power. He notes that languages are

> produced by authors who have the authority to write, fixed and codified by grammarians and teachers who are also charged with the task of inculcating its mastery, the language is a code, in the sense of a cipher enabling equivalences to be established between sounds and meanings, but also in the sense of a system of norms regulating linguistic practices (Bourdieu 1991: 45).

Within a Zambian context, the political process which places English as the official language to learn and learn through for all post grade two education is, I suggest, also one that endows it as the only 'legitimate language'. As scholarship has underlined, particularly in multilingual Africa, one of the key things that education systems do is to define the legitimate language (Goke-Pariola 1993: 228). While, as discussed in chapter one, the rationale behind the imposition of English as the sole official language in Zambia, and as the sole medium of education, is highly political, this status, I suggest, has a fundamental role in establishing the broader symbolic power of English. As Heller and Martin-Jones remind us, 'education acts as a key site for constructing what counts as knowledge, what counts as displaying knowledge and who may define and display knowledge' (2001: 3). While Bourdieu's own work dealt with intra-lingual difference, particularly in France, he also acknowledges its applicability in bilingual and multilingual contexts (1991: 45). Bourdieu's view of language and education as being 'embedded in a larger dynamic of material condition and symbolic power' (Collins 1993: 116) has also been utilised in research in addressing multilingual educational contexts including in Nigeria (Goke-Pariola 1993) and Canada (Heller 2006). As such, I suggest, his scholarship provides a frame of reference for the linkage of the official status of English within the Zambian state, its position and valuation as the only legitimate language for education, and

establishment of a wider ideological process of 'linguistic domination' of the English language (1991: 46). [40]

*English*

This process of value attribution and the legitimisation of English was also one that was very recognisable in the grade one class, despite it being an exception to the rest of the Zambian curriculum in its use of a familiar local language as a medium for instruction. In grade one, children were expected to learn 'through' one of the seven national languages, and English was taught twice a week through an introductory oral language course called *Pathways to English*. [41] It is a course designed to build up a level of spoken English that allows students to transfer into English literacy in grade two and to English medium teaching from grade three (Linehan 2004).

As part of the wider grade one curriculum it was also expected that the teacher would regularly introduce English words, greetings and sayings to orientate the children with the language. While the research highlighted that these moments when English was demanded of the children were regular, they comprised of predominantly formal situations requiring a level of respect for authority, such as apologising for lateness, asking to leave the classroom, saying good morning and good bye. While clearly, for pedagogical reasons, teaching basic phrases that would occur regularly in the class had rationale, these linguistic events also, I suggest, provide an example of the

[40] While Bourdieu posits the powerful position of institutions in understanding the politics of language use, Kathryn Woolard's (1989) research in bilingual Catalonia has critiqued his perspective by showing that other factors such as solidarity, status and prestige can also be important to understanding the political economy of language use.

[41] The amount of time spent on each of these subjects was officially dictated by the overall curriculum, however the reality of the classroom was far from that what was outlined. Officially in grade one, students should receive 35 periods per week of 40 minutes per period, totalling 23 hours 20 minutes (Lineham 2004). However, as the 100 grade one students in Lwimba were split into two classes, from 10am to 1am, and 1pm, to 4pm, at the most students could have expected 15 hours in total at school, and less teaching time through breaks. Furthermore, as the research made clear, many students were absent and late for class on a regular basis, so the amount of contact time was dramatically less than outlined by the curriculum.

linking of the symbolic power of English through its association with an institutional authority.

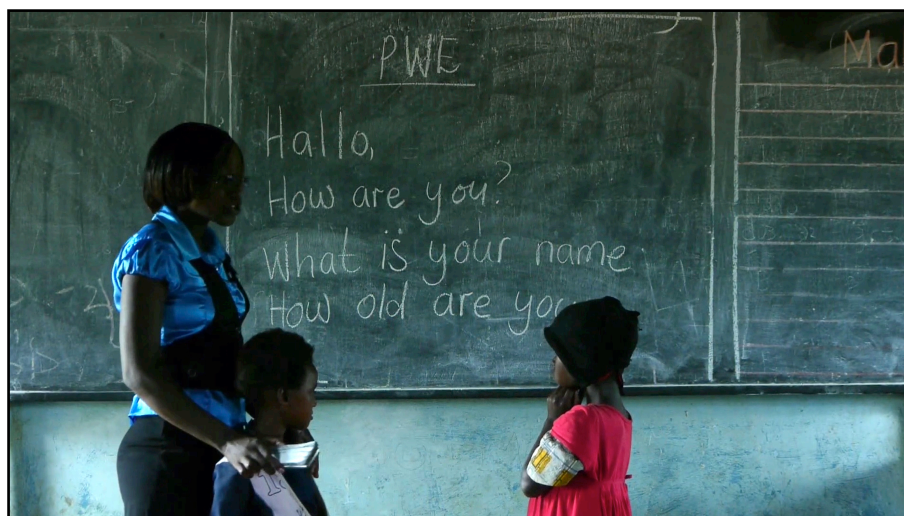
Images 3.1: The rules of the class and Steward running late for school

The 'rules of the classroom' were quite literally written only in English and the complex communicative effect this had was highlighted through the telling off Iride for 'insulting' her friend, which was contrary to the second rule of the classroom of 'no insulting'. Her emotional response in Soli for breaking the 'English' rule, while being told off in Town Nyanja by Annie, created a linguistically complex and revealing event for the research. The inculcation of these English rules into the children's linguistic understanding can also be understood through the scene of Steward and his siblings walking to school, where the conversation below was captured in Soli.

Steward: (Soli) *So when we arrive we knock on the classroom door.*
*Then when the teacher opens, we say to her...*
(English) *'Sorry teacher we are late'... ok?*
Veronica (Stewards' sister): (English) '*We are late'*

The research featured various scenes which were selected for inclusion as they revealed this direct linkage with the official status of English, the valuation of it as the legitimate language within the institutional environment, and the process of instilling this through education. The inclusion in the film of the lesson of basic English greetings, including 'Hallo, how are you?' and personal introductions exemplifies this. This was treated as a very valuable class for the children by Annie, and conversely became a pivotal scene in the project. While the initial teaching of 'Hallo', rather than 'Hello', revealed the wider subject of the ongoing

Zambianisation of the English language, it is the impassioned explanations of the importance of the greetings made by Annie which, I suggest, revealed her own perspective of the high value of even basic English for the children. [42]




Images 3.2: Annie teaching basic English greetings

The valuation of English as the only official language of education and, implicitly, the only legitimate language for teaching and learning, was visible. I suggest, through both observation and analysis of wider education policy. However, the dilemma of the conflict of this position with the country's multilingualism is further illuminated when it is considered that a primary school aged child who only spoke English, such as Annie's own daughter, would be in a very difficult position during their early years of public schooling.[43] In interviews with the head teacher of Lwimba Basic, Mr Mpatisha, such a situation was discussed in a grade one context, where he noted that 'if a child came from a home that only spoke English, it would be difficult to associate with the language in the class, they would find it a bit of a problem here'. This dilemma highlights that with the exception of a very small

[42] It should be noted that Annie was a strong believer in the English education system she was using, and despite her frustrations with communication she maintained her commitment to it, and regular English use, from the start to the end of the research.

[43] Annie's own daughter attended private schooling in Lusaka and was taught in English from grade one.

proportion of children who speak English at home, and attend the generally exclusive urban private schools which offer only English from grade one, all Zambian children, and as a result teachers, will find themselves facing a significant linguistic communicative challenges during the first years of education. This may be having to learn the regionally allotted national language in grade one, the English spoken by the teacher from grade three onwards, or for the children of Lwimba, both of these.

*Nyanja and the 'national' languages*

English's value as the state endorsed, legitimate language of education contrasts to the other two distinct languages heard in the project. Both Soli and Town Nyanja, through policy, have a very limited or non-existent official role in the classroom, despite their clear presence in the research. Nyanja, in its 'deep' form is, however, one of the seven national languages and designated as one of the 'familiar' local languages through which teaching in grade one and two could be conducted. This is then extended to its position as a standalone subject from grade three to seven.

This positioning of Nyanja as one of the seven familiar languages of the education system demonstrates its institutional valuation above other Zambian languages, such as Soli. The move illustrates a stratified linguistic context which has been identified in other areas of local language use in Zambia. Debra Sputnik's research in revealing the linguistic valuation visible within radio broadcasting in the country demonstrates a division of language output within radio which can be seen to establish a model for viewing the 'construction and contestation of language value' in the country, describing the resulting structure as a form of 'hierarchical linguistic pluralism' (Spitulnik 1998: 170).

As outlined in the introduction, within the research there was also an important differentiation between the Nyanja spoken by Annie to the children in general teaching and that used for literacy lessons or formal Nyanja classes. Annie's use of Town Nyanja further positioned the teaching seen in the research as outside wider language policy, where Town Nyanja and its dialectic alterations are not recognised

or expected to be taught within the curriculum.[44] Despite this, and as detailed in table 3.1, Annie used Town Nyanja for the large majority of her teaching and communication with the children. Observed exceptions, where a more formal or deep Nyanja was used, included when she was teaching explicitly from the teaching material, such as reading stories to the children.

The attribution of value and symbolic power through an official role in education to a formal but impractical form of a language, in a foreign region with little linguistic or ethnic ties can, I suggest, also be seen to play a role in the process of devaluation and exclusion of other local languages and dialects. In Lwimba this can be viewed through the linguistic triad of Nyanja - Town Nyanja - Soli. However, similar contexts could be found across the country, with minority and dialectic forms of the various languages being devalued through non recognition. Such a situation has been shown to create 'symbolic hierarchies' of languages within multilingual areas, which gives rise to the possibility that some speakers 'sound more authoritative' as a result of their mother-tongue (Wortham 2008: 45).

*Soli and minority languages*

The institutional valuation of the Soli language provides a stark contrast to that of Nyanja and English, in that there is no official position for it within the education system. This official exclusion from the formal education curriculum can, I suggest, be interpreted as a valuation of Soli that as a language it is not 'appropriate' for education, either through lack of material, speakers, or lacking the capacity as a language for education. While it was clear in discussions with parents that there was a strong desire to see their children learn in Soli, this implicit institutional perspective of the lack of capacity of the language for education was made explicit by the head teacher of Lwimba, where he highlighted the lack of technical or academic vocabulary as being the major obstacle against any use of the language in teaching.

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[44] Recent urban primary education initiates, including the alternate primary education initiative of iSchool in Lusaka have created curriculums in Town Nyanja.

> To teach science and maths in Soli would be a challenge. If you managed to do a study and translate the words for different concepts, then maybe you could teach in it. For 'minus' in Soli, it's kufunyaku (to remove), but how do you translate quotient? Or divided by? What do we call them in Soli? I don't know... So, those who were are making a syllabus in Soli may struggle or fail to find some terms.

Scholarship has also shown that such an attitude of the inadequacy of a home language for education could also be understood as being a factor in the low education performance and school attendance levels by its speakers (Labov 1972). As well as the linguistic challenge of undertaking education in a foreign language, Labov highlights the 'functional interference', or the powerful symbolism of the language difference between the home and school languages as being significant in resistance to schooling. Thus, while the language context of Lwimba is one of a many factors which contributed to students at Lwimba Basic School failing to achieve minimum levels, I suggest that it could be understood to act as a contributory factor on both linguistic and symbolic terms.

Despite this official exclusion, and as noted in table 3.1, Soli can be seen in the research being used by Annie as a means of basic communication, generally in a very simple and broken form. This was also largely where English and Nyanja had failed with communicating communal class issues such as hygiene or tardiness. Typically, this was after she had requested the translation from one of a handful of children who had a good grasp of both Town Nyanja and Soli. It was a regular occurrence during the classes, especially at the start of the year, however as the year progressed it became less frequent as the children's Nyanja improved and Annie lost her enthusiasm for learning Soli herself.

Soli is one of dozens of minority languages in Zambia that do not have any official status within the education system. They can, as a result, be understood to be collectively devalued first in relation to the seven national Zambian languages that are utilised, and second, as with all Zambian languages, in relation to English. This dual devaluation, therefore, could be understood to position speakers in a weakened social position, firstly through creating barriers to knowledge and education, and

secondly by limiting the linguistic capital that they can potentially bring to any markets outside of their own homes and community. This categorisation and exclusion can also be understood as a process of exercising control on the value of linguistic resources, which in turn regulates access to other resources and legitimates the social order that constructs and permits the processes to exist (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001: 2).

While officially excluded from any educational use, the use of Soli that was seen in the research is not explicitly discouraged by school management, or the Ministry of Education. A UNESCO monitoring report on the situation of the introduction of national languages for early literacy noted the Ministry's overarching desire for mother-tongue education and instruction, noting that

> with 72 or so dialects, choosing initial literacy in only the 7 official Zambian languages of education, still involves a sizable minority of people for whom the language of literacy is a familiar language but not necessarily their mother tongue. This has led to a call to increase the number of languages designated as official languages for education, with at least four new languages now claiming that they have sufficient literature to warrant their inclusion. The Ministry of Education has encouraged this movement in the belief that while familiar-language literacy is desirable, mother-tongue literacy should be the ultimate goal. The belief is that if fewer and fewer people feel excluded, there will be less political opposition in the future to adopting local languages as media of instruction (Lineham 2004: 8-9).

This positive light with which the Ministry of Education views mother-tongue education points to a possibility of a more favourable future for minority language speakers in Zambia. It also, I suggest, highlights the overtly pragmatic and economic influences that have impacted on the choice of which languages are used within education today. Zambia is not currently economically in a position to provide curriculums and teaching in all of its 72 languages. Even to follow in the footsteps of South Africa and provide full schooling in the seven national languages would be a huge economic and logistical challenge. Thus, while for Soli speakers and millions of other minority language speakers, education in their own mother-tongue is a long way off, and the lack of it leaves them in a disadvantaged position, the solutions are unfortunately not immediate, despite the positive steps towards increasing local language education in the country which have been made in recent years. This situation further underlines the paradoxical challenge of language in Zambia which

Kashoki reminded us of in the introduction of this submission, and which I will now suggest continues beyond the school system to the wider community.

### Language, value and the community

In a complex multilingual environment such as Lwimba, understanding the particular interests of the language users that surround the classroom broadened the research and opened up wider insight into the language ideologies that existed in the community. It also provided a bridge between the micro-culture of the classroom and the community, through parents and teaching staff, and through which, I suggest, a greater understanding of the specific ideologies and value attribution surrounding each of the main languages was revealed. Furthermore, expanding the research beyond the immediate doors of the classroom was also fundamental to understanding the relationships between the discussed institutional linguistic valuations and ideologies, and the social, economic, and political processes within the community. This also provided the research with a mechanism through which a wider understanding of the intrinsic roles phenomena such as nation building, the socio-economic aspirations of rural Zambian parents, ethnolinguistic identity and the ongoing encroachment of urban life and modernity play in the construction of socio-linguistic choices and language events revealed in the research.

I wish to highlight the significant values placed on the various languages spoken in the community, firstly making particular note of the relationship between linguistic and economic capital associated with English and the dominant position the ideology that surrounds it has developed. Secondly, I will outline the regional communicative capital associated with Nyanja, and finally, the importance of the language-identity relationship in the community and the ethnolinguistic and socio-cultural values attributed to the Soli language.

The research has lent on modern critical theories of language ideology which have demonstrated it as a phenomenon to be multiple in nature (Kroskrity 2000, Gal 1998, Woolard 1998), highlighting that linguistic ideologies exist in social groups where

everyday social divisions 'have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership' (Kroskrity 2000: 12). Furthermore, these differing ideologies have the potential to 'construct alternate, even opposing realities; they create differing views arising from and often constituting different social positions' (Gal 1998: 320). This emphasis on multiplicity within the analysis of ideologies in Lwimba, both in the classroom and the wider community, offered a variety of differing subjectivities for comparison.

While such multiplicity of ideologies provides insight into the contrast and conflict of values that surround the research, I also wish to suggest that the view of English revealed in the research illustrates the nature of a powerful, or 'dominant' ideology as suggested by Kroskrity (2000). It is an ideology which can be seen to be underpinned by the socio-economic and modernising values attributed to English. Its dominant nature, I suggest, is one that has developed through a narrative of political and historical inputs that have become 'naturalised' by the groups in the research (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990: 164, Spitulnik 1998: 163). This introduction of themes of domination and ideology is, of course, an academic iceberg and its theoretical roots and influence can be tied to social theory from across disciplines, including Gramscian cultural hegemony and Marx and Bourdieu's perspectives on symbolic domination. While ideas of dominant language ideologies can be understood as the ideology of dominant groups, which in Zambia can also be seen through current and historic linkages between educated, and in turn English speaking, social elites, I suggest that the ideology of English visible within the research also links its symbolic power to a distinct socio-economic expectation attached to modernity, capital and social progression within the community.

*English and linguistic capital*

Of the interviews conducted with Soli speaking members of the community, three of which were seen in the final research and four others which were not, all parents highlighted the primacy of learning the English language as explicitly necessary for their children. The economic promise of work and the expanded communicative

capacity were directly associated with a knowledge of English. This perception of the direct connection between the Bourdieuian (1991) notion of 'linguistic capital' and the capacity to communicate in English was seen to be fundamental to their children advancing in a life outside Lwimba. Bourdieu's construct of linguistic capital can be understood as a speaker's ability to produce the 'correct' or legitimate expression in the appropriate market or *field*. In Zambia, this market can be understood as the formal employment sector, access to which can be seen as being granted only via the official and legitimate language of English. Importantly, one's capacity to speak the language and enter the field is judged primarily through educational qualifications obtained only through an English curriculum. As a result, people's different linguistic ability, especially their English language capacity, can be understood as 'indices of the social positions of the speakers and reflections of the quantities of linguistic capital (and other capital) which they possess' (Thompson 1991: 18).

Like most parents, those interviewed in the research saw their children's future as being open to all possibilities. Godfrey Sandibonga, the father of Steward and the first interviewee seen in the film, is heard clearly highlighting the challenges for his children in understanding the teacher's Nyanja and English. Of all the parents, he was also the strongest supporter of having education in the Soli language. However, he still saw the importance of English as being fundamental to the prospects of his children. Noting that 'I want to even sit down with them and teach them English myself, so if it's possible, these children, some of them can be doctors, others can be teachers, or at least choose from what kind of work they do'.

All the parents interviewed were equally enthusiastic about the value and importance of English for their children's future prospects. I chose to particularly highlight the responses of Mrs Phiri in relation to this, where she noted, in English, that 'English is a must' and continued in Nyanja that it was the 'only way to get work in these modern offices'. This response, as well as Beauty and Ephraim Chamwembe's affectionate joking that they wanted their daughter Elizabeth to learn English so she could teach them the language, provided the research with a clear link between the association of the economic prospects for their children outside the village in the

dominant market and having the capacity to speak the English language. Furthermore, it highlighted that the English language, and the ideology that surrounded it, had come to constitute 'their lived reality' (Gal 1998: 321), symbolising the possibilities for their children's future. This was despite their own lack of English and the fact that their children's learning in English could be seen to result in their own languages being excluded from their formal education.

Utilising Bourdieu's theoretical frame of linguistic, economic and symbolic capital with reference to the research provides, I suggest, a view into the types of values which are attached to English in the community and how they can be understood within the wider Zambian context. However, in order to extend this understanding into the conceptual makeup and construction of these values, I wish to highlight an aspect of David Graeber's wider anthropological theory of value outlined at the start of this chapter. The importance he placed on 'action' in his construct of value is, I suggest, visible within the heightened view of English. The required process of learning over many years, through successful education, can be understood as a significant action contributing to this value. This acknowledgement of the significantly increased time and difficulty of learning English, rather than Nyanja or other Zambian languages, was noted in the research through the reflections of the head teacher, Mr Mpatisha, and his memories of his own difficulties in learning English. It was also noted in interviews by various community members that were not included in the final film, with Stanford Niks, grandfather of four children in the classroom, detailing that

> the languages of Zambia are not that difficult to learn, even if you marry a Luvale, you can learn their language, even if you marry a Chewa from Chipata, you can learn their language. Even Bemba, a person can learn it... but English, that is very difficult to learn! If you want to learn it, you can't unless you go for special training because it is so different from our African languages.

As Graeber points out, across the creation of varied objects and abilities, such as the construction of commodities, maintaining social relations, or learning a skill, it is the action of the investment of time and energy that becomes a significant factor in the production of the value associated with that item or skill, and importantly 'one

invests one's energies in those things one considers most important, or most meaningful' (2001: 45). Thus, the view in the community of English being so vital can be seem to be reflected through the desire of people to learn it and have their children learn, however, as so little English had been learnt by community members, this heightened value can also be understood as being produced by the increased time and energy required to successfully learn it.

The potency of this ideology of the value of English, as visible in the research, is also, I suggest, reified through its acceptance by the very groups it excludes. The ideology that surrounds English in Lwimba highlights the argument that 'power resides in the ability of some ideologies to gain the assent or agreement even of those whose social identities, characteristics and practices they do *not* valorise or even recognise' (Gal 1998: 321). This is a perspective highlighted in the responses of the Soli speaking members of the community, where the valorisation of the socio-economic potential attached to the English language, and the English based education system, is despite its position as an exclusionary mechanism for their own language.

Finally, this ideological view of the heightened value of English could be understood as an indication of the role that English had developed as not only as a measurement, media, or 'token' of its attached economic and symbolic capital, but an embodiment of these values and as an ends in themselves. In this regard, Graeber's discussion of value associated with Kayapo chanting, as seen through the work of Terrance Turner, provides an example for such a role. He suggests that people tend to see these 'tokens not as "tools" through which value can be measured or mediated, but as embodiments of value in themselves; even, in classic fetishist fashion, as the origins of those very values' (Graeber 2001: 115). This introduction of the ideas of fetishisation of a valued object, or in this case a language provides, I suggest, an important means to link wider social structures that Lwimba is orientated within and the individual desires that are expressed in the research. This grounding of the values visible in the research within the wider social structures they operate within also

further highlights the importance of the historical and contextual understanding of the community and linguistic setting of the project.

*Nyanja in the community*

Nyanja, and generally the dialectic form of Town Nyanja, had come to be valorised by the community members interviewed as an effective regional *lingua-franca*, a mechanism for regional communication with non Soli speakers. While none of the parents valued the language in the same frame as English as a means of access to dominant markets, it held distinct communicative capital for them in wider Zambia and particularly for use in nearby Lusaka. Furthermore, as their children were required to learn standard Nyanja as a standalone subject at school, its cultural capital as a specific skill was valued. The Chamwembe family saw it as important for Elizabeth to know Nyanja for pragmatic reasons alone, as they noted, 'even at school it is one of the languages that she learns, and now Nyanja has been adopted as a language that is used by many people'. Through shared Bantu linguistic origins, the jump between Soli and Nyanja was not huge for a mother-tongue speaker of either, but still required significant practice and work for fluency. As such it was largely estimated by interviewees that all adults in the village could communicate to some extent in Nyanja. However, it is important to emphasise that Nyanja was still not the easiest of the seven 'national' languages for Soli speakers to communicate in, Tonga was. This was revealed in the research through observing Annie's interactions in Lwimba, where as a Tonga speaker she would largely talk to the adult community members in Tonga, rather than Nyanja. While she would continue to greet people in Soli, by the second school term she had largely given up on learning Soli herself, despite her initial enthusiasm. Subsequently her use of the more common linguistic ground of Tonga to communicate revealed the linguistic and symbolic distance Nyanja was viewed with in the community, despite its positioning as their regional local language. There was also little or no ethnolinguistic value placed on the language by the Soli families interviewed and its position as a required language in the school was resented by some. As Godfrey Sandibonga reflected, 'the children

will never live in Chongwe (the capital of Zambia's Nyanja speaking Eastern Provence) so why do they learn it?'

*Soli and ethnolinguistic identity*

The link between ethnicity, identity and language has been subject to scholarly investigation across linguistic anthropology and socio-linguistics, including within specific African multilingual contexts (Anchimbe 2007, Mfoteh 2007). While there is no accepted one to one link between language and ethnicity (Makihara 2010), scholarship and ethnographic research has emerged underlining the role of language as a 'strong ethnic marker and the manifestation of a specific culture' (Hansen and Liu 1997: 572), as well as stating that 'social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language' (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982: 7).[45]

Anthropology more generally has taken a great interest in the construction and meaning of ethnicity, and while its roots can be seen within Barth's (1969) presentation of the importance of boundaries and the 'social organisation of cultural difference', ethnicity can be understood today as a 'historically and politically situated set of identity practices in which language serves as an important symbolic resource' (Makihara 2010: 40). Zambian ethnic groups are not outside of any debate over the historical and political nature of ethnic division, however it is beyond the scope of the thesis to discuss these in great depth. It is important, however, to note that this research has taken a subjective approach to the definition of ethnicity, referring to Clifford Geertz's perspective that it should be 'the subject's, not the observer's, sense of the "givens" of social existence that should provide the basis of definitions of ethnicity' (Geertz 1994: 7).

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[45] Outside of anthropology, sociolinguistics has taken an equally strong interest in the role of language in forming and structuring identity, and Giles and Johnson's 'ethnolinguistic identity theory' (1987), which built on the fundamental theoretical constructions of social identity (Tajfel 1974), focused on language as a salient marker of group membership and social identity.

The linguistic complexity of the multilingual environments of Zambia and Lwimba provides further questions of the limits of the language-ethnicity-identity relationship, as well as possibilities of multiple ethnolinguistic identities. I wish to suggest that while in Lwimba many interviewees spoke numerous languages, only certain languages were valued for their role in establishing a social identity. Importantly, one's tribal ethnicity was very much tied to one specific language, however a larger identity of being Zambian still existed in parallel beyond any specific language ties.

For all interviewees, the strongest link to their own sense of ethnic identities was closely associated with their mother-tongue, be it Soli for the Sandibongas and Chamwembes, Tumbuka for Mrs Phiri, or in Annie's case Tonga. These links can be understood as being something within these languages that 'they believe helps them express a specificity that is theirs. They build boundaries that cut off non-group members or fold in group members' (Anchimbe 2007: 12).

This entrenching of history, identity and family was the most significant value cited for the continued use and learning of the Soli language in an informal, normally family based, educational system. Thus, while Soli can be understood as a language of domesticity and intimacy in the village, it was also importantly viewed as a linguistic link to speakers' identity as members of the Soli ethnic group. The Chamwembe's insistence of the importance of 'knowing who you are and the land where you come from' as a significant reason for their daughter learning to read and speak in Soli was stressed in the final research. This direct connection between one's tribe and ethnicity and the need of maintaining their language as a means of preserving diversity into the future was also stressed in other interviews, as illustrated by the following response from Stanford Niks.

> The good thing about Soli, even any other language in Africa, is that we have our own cultures, which is why we love our tribes. Even in the future, people will still know that there is this tribe and it's not going away but still growing. When they grow up, these children will know what their elders used to do, the dancers will know how to dance, in funerals they will know how to act, even for marriages they will know how the elders used to perform them. When we

> grow old, these young ones will teach the new ones. That is the importance of Soli, it makes history... from the past to the future, where we are going.

This socio-historical value attributed to Soli by the parents contrasts to both English, and to a different degree, Nyanja, as it can be seen to hold less exchangeable and economic capital, or value as understood from action stemming from input and labour, due to its mother-tongue status. However, I suggest, the value attributed to it can be understood as analogous to the personal, socially relevant, and historically loaded value Graeber identifies with heirloom jewellery. For Graeber, heirloom jewellery, has a 'historical value, derived from acts of production, use, or appropriation that have involved the object in the past' (2001: 115). While Graeber's description is regarding objects, rather than a language, its specific association with the history and particularly historic actions attached to the valued item can, I suggest, help to frame the understanding of the value seen to be attributed to the Soli language by the community. Furthermore, as well as the past actions, such as traditions and ceremonies that are attached to the language, it is the value itself that can be understood as having the capacity for 'action', as 'value, after all, is something that mobilises the desires of those who recognise it, and moves them to action' (Graeber 2001: 115). The enthusiasm that is seen in the research for the development of the first religious written texts and the first radio station in Soli can be understood as an extension of this relationship of value and action specifically for the Soli language.

This situation underlines not only the multiplicity of ideologies that can exist in parallel in a multilingual environment, but also reifies the community separation of two the perspectives of firstly the importance of English in accumulating the capital to gain equal access to wider dominant markets, and secondly, the ethnolinguistic identity attached to one's mother-tongue.[46] The separation of these valuations between Soli and English within Lwimba is importantly juxtaposed with the situation of Annie's family in the research. While the Chamwembe's insistence on Elizabeth

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[46] Such an observation is not unique to multilingual communities in the region, as Monica Heller has highlighted with the pragmatic, economic desires of bilingual students and their parents at a French immersion school in an English speaking region of Canada (2006: 218).

speaking Soli and informally learning to read and write it, Annie's own daughter, of a similar age, did not speak any Zambian languages. Annie reflects in the research that it was a situation that could 'leave you feeling out of place' and had led her extended family to tell her that she was not raising her daughter correctly. While this represents her contrasting valuation of her, and her husband's, mother-tongue of Tonga, it also demonstrates, I suggest, the extent of the dominant ideology of English in specific urban classes. This predilection can be seen amongst those who have not only seen first-hand the economic benefits that English can bring, but have already experienced it themselves. Furthermore, as in Annie's case, they will sacrifice the scorn of family and risk having their child feel out of place in non-English speaking areas of the country for the socio-economic benefits it can bring. This emergent urban English speaking Zambian evidences what Monica Heller has viewed as a form of 'pluralistic pragmatism' in the use of language in bilingual contexts. Where 'language becomes capital and not emblem, and in which the school, as a social institution, plays a key role in producing and distributing that newly valued capital' (2006: 213).

The example of Annie's daughter also seemingly provides a distinct link with the aspirations which Zambia prescribed through the nation building narrative described in chapter one, where the values of a Zambian identity are forged through a constructed framework of the ethnolinguistic essentialism of 'One Nation, One Zambia', and effectively 'one language', that was declared at independence. However, what also emerges is, I suggest, 'an economics of languages', which permits language to become a powerful tool 'which can be used pragmatically by individuals to position themselves advantageously' (Heller 2006: 213). The situation Annie has created for her daughter to take advantage of arguably requires economic and social resources far out of the reach of any of the other parents interviewed, and in all likelihood out of the reach of their children. As such, while these future generations of Zambian English mother-tongue speakers, such as Annie's daughter, will undoubtedly have first access to dominant markets through their linguistic competence, they also risk continuing to 'feel out of place' in the vast majority of non-urban Zambia, where English is not present outside institutional structures.

Thus, a paradoxical situation emerges where the values of unity and nation building that are ascribed through the heightened positioning of English arguably counter the very ideas and the 'One Zambia' it aimed to achieve, thus reversing the value with which it was originally instilled.

### Evaluation and value creation in documentary film editing

While processes of valuation and value are central to the project's focus on language ideologies and multilingualism in Lwimba, I also wish to suggest that the concepts provide a useful frame through which to view the editing of the film at the heart of the project. Editing a documentary film is a specific practice, one that may share its technical elements with fiction film editing but has at its centre a very fundamental constructive and moulding role. As esteemed film editor Walter Murch notes, this contrast between the two is not least illustrated through a documentary film editor's ability to 'impose on a film a vision that wasn't there to begin with' (Murch in Ondaatje 2002: 29). This constitutive role of editing in documentary also provides a significant link with the narrative construction which is imbued within the editing process, thus the discussion in chapter one provides an important precursor to the remainder of this chapter.

Within the following discussion I wish to use the theme of *value* to highlight two important phases of the documentary film editing process, first that of an evaluative stage, and second of a value construction stage. The first phase centres on the evaluation of the elements within the raw audiovisual material of the project and distils a massive amount of material into a manageable assembly form. The second surrounds the myriad of editing processes, tools and devices which, I suggest, can be understood to function as value creation mechanisms which mould the assembly into a final film. Just as the language ideologies discussed in the first half of the chapter were able to be explored through understanding the language values and evaluations within the inquiry, I suggest that a mirrored conceptual processes emerged through my editing of the film. Thus, through the reflective analysis of the authorial decisions

I have taken throughout this period of practice, their implicit and unavoidably ideological underpinning can be brought into focus.

Throughout the remainder of the chapter I will also borrow from the dialectic of Georg Simmel (1971) of 'content and form', and suggest we can understand *content* as not only being made up of the raw audiovisual material, but also of my own aims, intentions and ideas for the project, and *form* as the final documentary film. The relationship between these two, as I will aim to call attention to, is clearly temporal, context specific and transitional.

The editing of *Good Morning, Grade One* was, even by documentary film standards a very slow and long process, being completed over a period of around 18 months from the end of filming. Furthermore, throughout the 12 months of production in Zambia, I was preparing and reviewing footage, which can be understood as effectively starting the initial editing of the material. From the initial filming, I would estimate that 10% of the material was immediately removed from the editing process as unusable for technical reasons. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter three, I also went through an extensive review process at this stage during the translation of the material. While these initial stages of the edit were important on an organisational and preparatory level, within the wider edit they were very much the pre-edit stage. It was not until my return to Edinburgh that I began the long process of evaluating the material to create the edit.

It is important, I suggest, to highlight that the separation of the evaluative and value creation processes of editing I use in this chapter does not suppose that they are isolated from each other. Documentary filmmaking should be understood as a very 'liquid' process, one that is in many ways is difficult to isolate into any of the various typically codified practices. Editing often begins while you are still filming, if not in practice, often in the imagination of the filmmaker. A filmmaker also often returns to film material during the editing stage, or may be subtitling while constructing the edit. Importantly, however, all of these influence each other on many practical and conceptual levels. As Graeber reminds us 'to understand the value attributed to any

particular object means that one must understand the meaning of the various acts of creation, consecration, use and appropriation, and so on, that make up its history' (2001: 114). Thus, while I will break down the editing of the film into evaluative and value creation processes to assist with the analysis of the practice, there should be an appreciation of the interconnected nature of both these practices, as well as their intersection with the other filmmaking elements discussed within these pages.

## Phase one: evaluating and selecting content

The evaluation and selection of the realities filmed in a documentary film can, I suggest, be initially understood to occur on a dual plane of judgement of content and aesthetics, which often occur simultaneously or individually. As described above, for this project there was a portion of the material that was removed from the outset due to it being valued as unusable. The limits of usability for the material were set at a relatively visually balanced picture and usable sound. This may sound like a fairly standard limit to set one's self in in a filmmaking context, and one would expect most, if not very close to all footage to fit into this bracket. However, through a combination of the extremes of dark indoors, intense midday sun, dust and haze of atmospheric conditions, as well as audio interference from newly built mobile phone towers, the village often provided very challenging conditions for filming. This, combined with my relative inexperience as a cinematographer, rendered some material unusable and was discounted before the main evaluative stage began.

### *Processes of content distillation*

This basic pre-edit stage of evaluation of the material was followed by a more detailed review and selection process that was dictated largely by the content of the material. This phase lasted approximately seven months and involved the largest removal of material and the first sequencing and editing of raw footage. This stage saw the project move from around 60-70 hours of raw usable material to a three hour assembly. This stage represents an important selection process, as very little material that appears in the final film was not selected at this stage. This was at times a very

slow and frustrating process. As filmmaker Jarecki has noted 'editing a documentary is the systematic process of giving up hundreds of fascinating details and stories in favour of a handful of even more fascinating details and stories' (Jarecki in Quinn 2013: 273). A process which, Chanan highlights, is a crucial characteristic of documentary film, reminding us that 'the documentary that you see is only one version of the film it might have been. Why? First because the other versions are lying on the cutting room floor' (2008: 123).

The need for some systemisation in editing during this stage was done initially through a process of relatively broad-stroke evaluations. I was aware, from both filming and from reviewing rushes that there were certain classes that had little value to the focus of the film. While many were fascinating insights into many aspects of the school and community in their own right, such as classes teaching the children about money and how to count, or local agricultural fairs and interviews with other parents, I had to make value based decisions in order to remove the large majority of the material I filmed. This initial selection of significant classes and scenes was followed by the isolating of specific periods and moments from certain classes and interviews which I felt held value for the final film. As the standard class was three hours long, and at the most any one class scene in the final film is around six to seven minutes long, even those classes that were used were only a very small percentage of the filmed material.

The resulting assembly was material structured on a chronological basis and presented within rough sequences. The judgements which led to this dramatic removal of over 95% of the material can be understood to be significantly influenced by a directors aims, and can be understood to be related to their own 'evaluative purview', as posited by Voloshinov and outlined earlier. Furthermore, within this evaluation process there is a contingent aspect of the value that is associated with one piece of filmed material over another, that of the intention and aims of the 'beholder', or myself as the filmmaker. A process that, Graeber notes, on a theoretical level is recognisable across the value attribution process of any object. He reminds us that

that 'one's own desires, wishes, and intentions' are newly mobilised in that very act of the recognition of value (2001: 115).

The evaluation process that underpins this selection phase was hugely significant in the process of the creation of the final film. As MacDougall suggests, a film sustains a 'hundred deaths and a hundred and one rebirths' during its production (1998: 28). Thus, the final film and selected material can be viewed as a result of the confluence of the realities filmed and my own interpretation and subjective evaluation of them. My personal, academic and filmmaking history clearly provide the foundation for this, and any evaluations and editing decisions I made are never far removed from these influences. Filmmakers and individual documentary films that have tread related territory, or have, through accident or design, influenced my own filmmaking style or the approach of this film, thus become imbued within the selected material.

Throughout this editing and especially, I suggest, in this first evaluation process, there remained a constant and intense relationship between myself, the filmmaker, and the human subjects of the film. While it was a relationship founded in Lwimba, it was significantly intensified in a small editing suit in Scotland. A process, which as MacDougall highlights, has a significance for the view through which the material is seen and, I suggest, valued by the filmmaker.

> The attentiveness of the filmmaker to the subject that begins with the making of the film inevitably shifts towards the images themselves, in a relationship that cannot be reciprocated. It produces an increasing intimacy but a one-way intimacy that is always in danger of fetishising its objects (1998: 36).

This danger MacDougall refers to is mirrored within Graeber's analysis of the wider process of object valuation, where he notes, through attributing value to a given object, there can be understood to be an inherent fetishisation of that object. Here, the use of the term fetishisation can be understood as 'the overdetermination of the social value of the object' (Dant 1996: 496) and the risk MacDougall highlights within filmmaking, which results from the highly concentrated and often isolating editing process is, I suggest, influential for the filmmaker and the evaluation process. It is also resonant with the more general perspective of valuation which places in

focus the fundamental role of the director and the nature of their decisions, in that the recognition of the objects' value can be understood to 'become mirrors of the beholder's own manipulated intentions' (Graeber 2001: 115). This danger highlights the importance of the collective process of editing, where 'fresh eyes' are often brought into view a project throughout the edit. This external viewing can work to correct overdetemination on the part of the filmmaker as well as offer feedback and alternate solutions to challenges. For this project, these external eyes were of supervisors, executive producers, anthropologists, editors, and other filmmakers who were able to interrogate the various cuts of the film and inherently my evaluation of material.

*Project content evaluation breakdown*

As a result of having to remove such a large quantity of content during this phase, that which did arrive in the final form of the film can be seen to have gone on a complex and varied journey. Although the journey is clearly one which documentary film directors and editors all go through, the differing content and ultimate form of every project will render each process different. For first phase of the editing of *Good Morning, Grade One* I will attempt to break the major aspects down below.

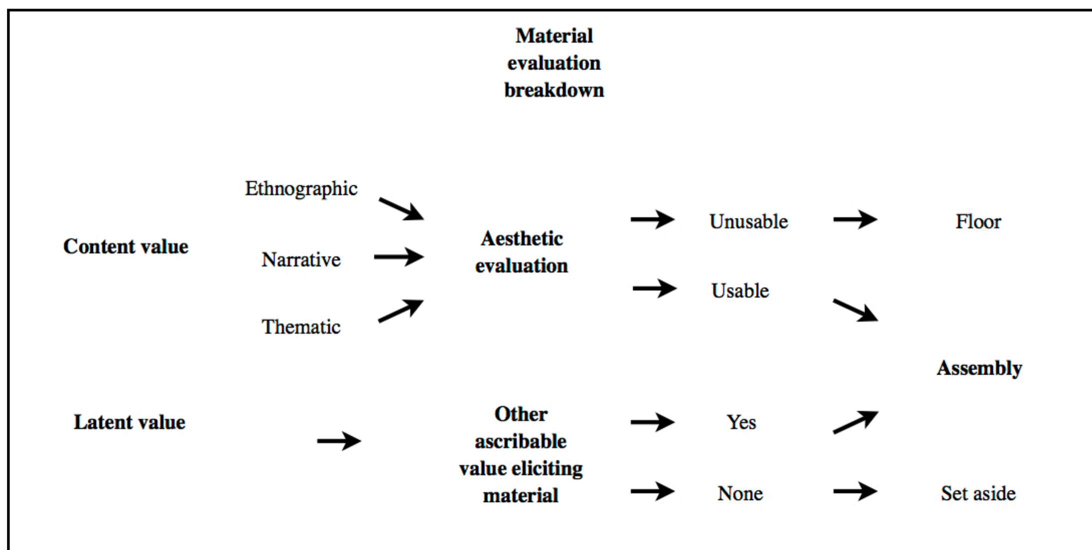


Diagram 3.1: Breakdown of evaluative process to reach a 3 hour assembly.

While a somewhat skeletal description of what is an involved process, the above diagram aims to illustrate the major determinants of the value of a given scene for inclusion in the assembly of the film. The first and major criteria for the valuation of footage was the 'content value', which I have separated into ethnographic, narrative or thematic categories. These are very broad categorisations and the ever present hybridity and liquidity of the form can result in elements being applicable to more than one category, and sometimes none. However, I suggest, these three categories broadly highlight the major aspects of content I was looking for at this stage of the editing. For the first term I have used *ethnographic,* however it would also be possible to exchange the term for 'subject' or 'focus specific', as this was material that was judged to be aligned to the aims and target of the project. Classroom scenes such as the teaching of the various types of toilets, the learning of the national anthem, basic English greetings or the opening lesson of Annie greeting the children were very clearly applicable to this. Much of the interview material with parents was isolated along these terms and can be understood to be valued within this category. The *narrative* specific content included temporal moments such as the seasonal changes and harvesting scenes. Furthermore, scenes and moments that permitted the development of Annie's journey, such as her talking to her husband on the phone, growing maize, or reflecting on missing her family in interviews would be considered to fit here. The third category I have highlighted is *thematic* moments, these include elements I aimed to reveal regularly, such as the regular lateness of the children or events which emphasised ideas such as the innocence of childhood. While these elements may not have been directly related to the focus of the project, they provided options for themes, sub-narratives and motifs that would supplement both the main focus and core narrative of the film.

All of the material evaluated through this process could then be understood to go through a secondary determinant of value, where material was analysed on audiovisual and aesthetic grounds. This was largely a more stringent process from that which was undertaken at the initial pre-edit stage of organising and ingesting of the footage. It was also where scenes that may have had similar content could be

separated on terms of their usability or of comparatively how well they were captured. There were a number of scenes that had very poignant content but were difficult to include for technical reasons. While ethnographic film scholars such as Karl Heider have suggested that aesthetic and cinematic elements of footage should be relegated to a distant position within the filmmaking process (2007: 114), there is, of course, a basic requirement of usability for myself and watchability for an audience that determined whether some material was included or excluded.

The second category highlighted in the diagram is material which I have ascribed as having 'latent value'. Here again, aesthetic judgements were undoubtedly often influential in selecting material. Material that may have no immediate content value or linkage with the aims of the film, but could act as supplementary and supportive to that which does made up the majority of this material. It was importantly also made up of material which, through the process of editing, could have a perceivable value ascribed to it. For this film, scenes, images, and moments in the class that could be used to support other, more ethnographic-specific classroom scenes, were important to isolate at this stage.

Even from this early stage of the edit I was aiming to work in sequences, creating rough scenes by combining valuable content with material that, through association and editing, could be understood as holding value. Within the development of each of these sequences for classroom scenes, I consciously aimed to use only material from a given specific class. When material from other classes was mixed together, the alterations in atmosphere, light, class numbers, appearance of the children (who were growing very fast at this stage) created an unconvincing sequence. Finally other, more aesthetically valued material, such as content filmed around the village, fields and wider landscapes was also selected during this stage. For all of this material, if there was not a sequence or obvious position for it in the assembly, or accompanying material with which to integrate it, it was set aside for use if needed at a later stage in the edit.

### Phase two: value creation, syntax, structure and representation

From the position of a three hour assembly the editing process became less engaged with broad selections and more a slow concentrated process of rearrangement, manipulation, refinement and reflection. The focus of this period, from a practical perspective, was to move the project from the assembly to a 72 minute final film over a 10 months period. On a conceptual view the aim was, I suggest, to forge and attribute value - which would eventually be observable through a complete, meaningful, and coherent final film. This stage, I suggest, differs from the previous evaluative stage of the editing, as while I continued to evaluate the material, rather than doing so on systematic 'in or out' terms based on perceived existing (overt or latent) value in the material, the evaluation was influenced by the potential value that could be ascribed through the editing of given footage. Thus, the focus was on creating value with the ultimate goal of giving a whole complete new form to the selected content, thus *realising* the value in a public presentation, which can be understood to have been produced through the dedicated action of the editing process.

This relationship between the value producing action of editing and the emergence and realising of value through a final, publicly available, documentary film brings us again to Graeber's main theoretical position of 'value as the meaning of actions', as well as his underlining that 'the process of the realisation of value involves some form of public recognition' (2005: 452). This public recognition, he suggests, is not a battle over prestige, but rather with the public who will recognise a given form of value, as defined by the actor. The action of documentary editing can be understood as the myriad of editing techniques, most of which are far from the final audiences eyes. Scholars have highlighted the 'invisibility' of this process and, as Chanan reminds us, this invisibility can be understood as twofold. First, through the cuts in the final film, where edits are largely made so that the viewer does not notice except for when there is intention to do so, and second through the process itself, which involves weeks, months and years of moving material around a timeline which is 'beyond the ken of the viewer' (2008: 124).

In this final editing and value creation stage of the film I also introduced an external fine cut editor, who took the film from 80 minutes to the final length. We worked together over a three week period, and while there were only minor changes in structure or content over this time the film solidified and took its final shape here. The focus of our work together was to permit him to work with me to provide a 'level of abstraction to understand what is implicitly shown or told in the film' (De Jong 2012b: 268). For myself, at this stage of the production, it was clear, as MacDougall suggests,

> the filmmaker can never see the film as others see it [...] The filmmaker's response is in many ways the reverse of that of other viewers. For the filmmaker, the film is an extract from all the footage shot for it, and a reminder of all the events that produced it. It reduces the experience onto a very small canvas. For the spectator, by contrast, the film is not small but large: it opens onto a wider landscape (1998: 27).

The external perspective of a fine cut editor was also vital in the process of polishing and reifying meaning, narrative and themes that the film aimed to reveal, but also in creating an efficiency and final rhythm to the film. These final steps also polished many of the aesthetic elements of the film, such as straightening, stabilising and cropping certain material. It was also within this stage that subtitling and translation feedback was used to ensure the best possible subtitling of the film.

*Syntax and structure*

As highlighted in chapter one, there is a primary importance of structure and organisation within the construction of any documentary film. This can be viewed, I suggest, both on a broader narrative level and equally at a sequence, syntactical level, both of which provide important value to the final film. The use of an idiom of 'syntax' as a means to analyse the process of editing in documentary filmmaking has been illustrated by Koppel (2008) and, I suggest, provides a useful frame through which to view this second, value creating phase. Once material is evaluated and selected, the final decisions surrounding the manipulation of the syntax of images and sound result in the refining of the mass of possible connections that the material

can have into the most desired and meaningful ones. The value created through the editing of the audiovisual syntax within a particular scene or sequence increasingly became the terms on which material would remain in the final cut of the film as the edit progressed. This is illustrated by the universal documentary filmmakers torment that some of my most well prepared, nicely framed, or personal material became redundant and unusable in the final film due to its inability to work syntactically with other material, and ultimately add value to the film. This is a constitutive and gradual process, and while decisions that are made are informed by a filmmaker's and editor's experience, there is a tremendous amount of trial and error in establishing the images, syntax and structures that create the desired value and form for the final film. Clearly, there is not the space here to isolate and explain every editing decision made in the film, however it is important to remember, that as any documentary editor or filmmaker will testify, often the logic of what 'works' and what does not in an edit is unpredictable at best and only though the audiovisual experience of watching and listening is it possible to gauge the success of a sequence.

Image 3.3: Four images of the introduction sequence

I wish to briefly highlight the opening of the film as an example of the creation of value through editing and positioning of material. The opening of a film sets in

motion its narrative, atmosphere, tone and pace, thus it is highly importantly for the final form. It is also, as Jarecki reminds us, 'true of almost any piece of art because you only get one chance to introduce your story to your audience' (in Quinn 2013: 271). The opening sequence of *Good Morning, Grade One* is made up of material filmed across the two terms, which, as noted earlier, also made it relatively unique for this film. The focus in its creation was to set forth the 'journey' of Annie, both her personal trip from the city to the village and also that which she was about to begin with the children and audience. It was also important to introduce both the children and setting within the sequence, together with the tone and pacing of the film. The material of Annie driving became fundamental to this, through both the impending arrival it suggested and the counterpoint the modern vehicle Annie was driving created with the images of rural village life. This dual value of the same material can be understood to stem from the multivocality of visual images, which has been highlighted by Banks (2001: 140) and is emphasised by the images within this sequence that allow there to emerge multiple concurrent values and meanings. This suggested arrival by car was juxtaposed against the material of the children walking to school, both of which eventually connected through the children seeing Annie and alluding to the beginning of the narrative.[47] This scene could be understood as the most constructed of all sequences in the film, as the two 'arrivals' were filmed months apart despite being intentionally edited to appear simultaneous. The reformulating of this material to give further meaning illustrates the much debated tension between the creative processes of filmmaking and the realities which documentary film aims to represent, particularly as it would have been impossible for me to film these two arrivals simultaneously while working alone.

These are of course questions that stem from the capacity of the medium for manipulation and are questions which for a documentary filmmaker are constantly present. However, as scholars have highlighted, there is an overriding importance of

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[47] The opening sequence also served to introduce the setting of Lwimba to the audience, first highlighting the agricultural nature of life there through the scenes of cattle herding and the village market, and later its wider rural context through extreme wide shots of the landscape. The images of the cattle also had a further intent to visually reference the opening of the film *Etre et Avoir* (Philibert 2001), one of the more important documentary film influences on the conception of this film.

intent and purpose on the part of the filmmaker, as well as a commitment to the subject in the validity of any representation. This can be understood both within documentary film scholarship's definition of the documentary film emerging from 'purpose and context' rather than any elements of form or style (Ward 2005: 7). These are also issues and perspectives that are echoed within the wider goals of ethnography, which through representation via traditional ethnographic writing has faced its own challenges. As prominent anthropologist Johannes Fabian, highlights the unavoidable and problematic nature of the observed moment and the use of recreation in ethnographic writing is that 'there is no alternative to telling a story, or stories, when we go about representing knowledge gained and recorded in the past; it is impossible to make that past present without recourse to the ethnographers' personal memory or memories (2008: 4). Subsequently, the idea that the reconstruction of events is a 'legitimate ethnographic descriptive device' (Heider 2006: 12) has been shown to be practised in some of the most esteemed written ethnographic works.[48]

For this film, the regularity of the classroom and the lack of extensive setting changes heightened the importance of creating emphasis through utilising recurrent themes and repetition within the editing. The motif of tardiness throughout this film provides an example of this. From the first class to the very last scene, the repeated act of the children entering in late not only provided an element of humour, but also an important reflection on the disconnection between the institution of the school and traditional village life. It was also an element of the classroom that was almost impossible to ignore, due to its frequency. In every lesson I filmed, without fail numerous children would be late. This was despite Annie's best effort to enforce punctuality and dissuade absenteeism. The value of this motif also emerged through the creation of an eventual convergence with the main focus of the English language learning through the children needing to learn the phrase 'sorry teacher I am late'.

[48] One of modern Anthropology's founding figures, Bronislaw Malinowski's own reconstruction was centered on the portrayal of a specific canoe boat journey, which in his ethnography he described in great details, however he did not actually take part in (Malinowski 1922: 376 in Heider 2006:12). He justified this through the fact that he had both reports of the journey at question, as well as having taken the journey a number of times before.

Again, this was highlighted through repetition, with the earlier discussed sequence of Steward and his siblings walking to school practising saying the phrase providing not only a reflection on the authority English was prescribed, but also humorously reminding the audience of the children's ambivalence to arriving at school on time.

*Audience and representation*

This same capacity for multivocality utilised as a value creation tool for the introduction sequence scenes can also, as Banks reminds us, be problematic for the understanding of a film for an audience. As he notes, visual images 'can address different audiences in quite different ways, creating a 'problem of audiences'' (2001: 140). Furthermore, within ethnographic film audiences, research has shown that misunderstanding stretched to reifying certain negative stereotypes about subjects and characters despite a filmmaker's best intentions to avoid them (Martinez 1992). Thus, from a filmmaker's perspective there is a very real danger of adding what could be understood as 'negative value' through editing decisions, which again foregrounds the complex issues of representation that documentary filmmaking entail. It also highlights Stella Bruzzi's position that representation through documentary film is a process 'of negotiation between reality on the one hand and image, interpretation and bias on the other' (2006: 4). This process of negotiation can also be understood as suggested by Nichols through a 'triangle of communication', where the film itself occupies a domain between the 'stories' of the filmmaker, the film and, importantly, the audience (2001: 61).

On a personal level, this was a very delicate and sensitive process. For myself, within the portrayal of Annie, the children and the families in the film there was a constant awareness and negotiation with any images and scenes that may create 'negative value' for the representation of them. An example of material that appeared throughout the film initially, but was scaled back in the final edit, was material of Annie using her phone in the classroom. As she reflected in the film, she tried to stay in touch with her friends and family regularly through her phones. She did also keep her phones on in the classroom and regularly checked them for messages. This was a

practice that was also notably regular throughout the school but was generally frowned upon by education inspectors and the head teacher. My initial intention in showing Annie using her phone regularly was to emphasise the distance and loneliness she was experiencing from her family. However, the reaction from members of European test audiences with experience in primary education was that these images alone showed Annie as a bad teacher, and negatively coloured their opinion of her for the entire film. Thus, these images, through a combination of my editing of them and their multivocality, could have been understood to have created negative value for the film and for the representation of Annie as a teacher, had they been left in. In the final edit of the film I kept these images to a minimum and instead emphasised her use of her phone out of class as a means to garner the theme of homesickness I intended.

Images 3.4: Phone use scenes cut from the film

The issue of representation is further highlighted in this particular project, where the location of Zambia is situated within a wider western public discourse that is overwhelmingly negative, with issues of poverty, unrest, and illness being foregrounded particularly by the media. While this project is not highlighting such issues directly, as Nichols notes, the assumptions and expectations an audience brings to a documentary film can very much effect their reception of the film (2001: 65). It was therefore important to consider the positioning of the project in the wider public sphere and my choices that affect the representation of the people and places shown. Decisions throughout production were taken to counter what I consider to be often highly misrepresentative and negative perspectives which have permeated about the region. I attempted to position the project in counter to these through

elements such as elevating moments of humour and creating space in the film for universal themes of childhood innocence and the familiar concerns of parents. This awareness of the creative and production decisions and their relationship to the field which the film would be presented and eventually exist within also extended to translation and subtitling, which I will discuss in more depth in chapter three. These decisions were, however, part of an acute awareness that the possibility of creating negative value extended beyond scenes, images and moments in the film to the final value of the project itself, and the implications of unintended negative value could not only be harmful for the film, but more importantly for Annie, and the people and community of Lwimba who were at its centre.

### Chapter summary

Throughout this chapter I have utilised the theme of value as a means to link together a number of significant intersections of theoretical and methodological topics the project has engaged with. I have suggested that issues surrounding *value* are highly visible within both the institutional context of the classroom and the wider community setting, and are significant contributors to the wider linguistic ideologies the research inquiry has focused on. I have shown that they can be understood through their relationship with the evaluative processes that construct a system of hierarchical multilingualism in the classroom and wider education in Zambia. Within the community, the attachment of specific values to each of the languages can also be seen to reveal the complex and contrasting network of associations of economic, socio-cultural and ethnolinguistic purviews of the parents and community members.

I have also discussed the two phases of evaluation and value creation which, I suggest, frame the wider editing process of the film at the centre of the project. I have suggested that scholarship surrounding value in anthropology can be helpful to analyse the editing stages of a documentary film. I have also outlined how the use of a systematic system of evaluation permitted me to make the required massive reduction and selection of content to arrive at an assembly stage of the film, before

beginning a second, value creation phase, which through engagements with syntax, structure and representational issues was a complex but fundamental process in forging the final form of the project.

# Text

The theme of this final chapter may come as a surprise to some readers, particularly as the project's reliance on audiovisual representation, rather than textual, is one of its defining methodological aspects. However, the theme of *text* provides a useful frame through which to first discuss the relationship of the practice and social use of literacy within the research inquiry, and second the unique role that translation and subtitling played in the project's production.

The use of text as the chapter's theme aims to highlight the common component of what are two distinct practices undertaken from contrasting perspectives in relation to the textual object. One, literacy, will be defined as a social practice (Street 2003), as engaged with by the students and community, and as recipients of texts within the specific multilingual context of Lwimba and Zambia. The other, translation and subtitling, is the practice of text production within the context of the production of the documentary film at the centre of the project.

The wider understanding of text and textuality in scholarship, particularly through anthropologists such as Karin Barber (2007), has a notably broad comprehension and engagement. Barber posits that a 'text' can be understood as 'a tissue of words' (2007: 1), locating it as a constructed, socially powerful, and self-reflective object which reaches beyond the written word to include oral and performed texts. She focuses on the duality of a text as constructed 'social facts', which while 'detachable from the flow of conversation' are forms of language 'accorded a kind of independent and privileged existence'. Importantly, she also notes that 'all texts, including written ones, are forms of actions, speech acts embedded in the context of the emission and reception' (2007: 3). While this chapter will limit my engagement to the written word, I will focus on Barber's highlighting of the importance of the understanding of a given text's emission and reception. This includes the context of production, relationships with different language mediums and the confluence of

linguistic ideologies and political implications of the construction and reception of texts within the project.

For the first half of the chapter I will aim to discuss what it means for the students, community members and Zambians more generally to understand and engage with text through the practice of literacy. I will highlight the processes through which the texts are utilised and produced, including their intersections with institutional and social contexts of education and public production, particularly within media and publishing. I will aim to orientate the project's observations of the practice of literacy within linguistic anthropological debates, including scholarship illustrating the plural and ideologically imbued nature of literacy practices. I will suggest that in Lwimba the existence and creation of a dominant English literacy through institutional structures exists in parallel to defiant local language literacies in the home and community. A situation which, I will suggest, reveals the conflicting positions of an autonomous perspective of literacy as permeated through institutional apparatus and public discourse, and the situated, plural and multilingual social practice that literacy can be understood as at a community level.

The discussion of the construction of texts will also extend to a reflection on my own practice as a film maker in the second half of the chapter, where I will analyse the production of one specific type of text, that of subtitles within a documentary film. I will illustrate a number of specific challenges relating to translation and representation that documentary film subtitling brings with it, especially within the context of this project where its multilingual nature has given the subtitles increased significance. I will outline how the nature of the everyday utterances that documentary film captures, the technical restrictions on the final subtitles, as well as the simultaneous presentation of the speaker and translation combine to create a very unique translation context that requires careful navigation. I will also suggest that the audiovisual nature of the medium allows for a director and subtitler to create a translation which mitigates some of these challenges if the subtitling process is prioritised and engaged with early in production.

Finally, I will aim to foreground the shared elements of both discussions, which are importantly linked through the focus on the production and reception of written texts. The chapter will also suggest that the commonality of multilingualism highlights the role of the inter-lingual translation processes that underpin text production and language practices for both myself as a filmmaker, and the children and community members in Lwimba, acting as a vital shared tool for communication across linguistic barriers, despite the political, ideological, and technical obstacles.

## Literacy, anthropology and texts

As with many practices, skills, or phenomena under academic scrutiny, the definition of literacy is somewhat elusive and contested. Interpretations of it as the knowledge and practice of reading and writing are clearly at its core, however more probing questions of the meaning of this 'ability', the level of knowledge one needs to be defined as 'literate', or even the very nature of the visual sign system that literacy utilises exemplify the directions literacy scholarship has taken.

The modern academic understanding of the term literacy is as a plural and multimodal phenomenon, stretching well beyond the written word and relating to 'the mastery of a second discourse' (Gee 1990: 153). The goal of the project however, is not to expressly expand on wider academic definitions of literacy, therefore I will be viewing it as the learnt, social practice of reading and writing. The project will view literacies as plural 'social practices' which can be understood as 'ways of reading and using written text that are bound up in social processes which locate individual action within social and cultural processes' (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000: 5). This perspective also importantly brings into focus the 'ideological character of the processes of acquisition and of the meaning and uses of different literacies' (Street 1993: 7), thus highlighting the inescapable patterning and

regulatory relationship of literacy practices to power and knowledge structures, as well as social institutions in society (Barton and Hamilton 1998, Street 1993).[49]

Literacy's relationship with two other major themes of the project, language and education, is also clearly one that is fundamental to each. The practice of literacy is one that is attained, generally through a process of education, which today largely stems from formal public educational institutions. Literacy is also of course strictly bound to language, including the choice of language in which it is practised within a multilingual context such as Lwimba.

*Autonomous and situated perspectives of literacy research*

The focused anthropological study of literacy, and specifically its significance within wider society, has evolved into a somewhat dichotomised debate around universal and situated perspectives. Within linguistic anthropology, the debate on the role of literacy within societies evolves from the 'autonomous approach' to its study, which refers to it as an autonomous and universally effective cognitive technology. As a school of thought, it was originally proposed by Goody and Watt within their now classic essay, 'Consequences of Literacy', in the volume *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (1968), which has been followed by extensive further scholarship directly building on their work (see Ong 1982, Olson 1994, Goody 1986, 2000). The perspective views reading and writing as transformative technologies in relation to human thinking, our relation to language, and wider social and political makeup. The division the research draws between orality and literacy, and in turn oral and literate cultures, has also seen the perspective become known as the theory of the 'great divide', a title with its roots in Tylorian anthropological thought (Collins and Bolt 2003: 10).

The problematic underpinnings of the autonomous perspective, including the assumptions it makes of the very nature of language, such as an assumed dichotomy

[49] This positioning of the project also orientates the discussion in wider social research on language and power (Foucault 1977, Bourdieu 1991) and scholars currently combining the two areas in contemporary scholarship (see Luke 1996, Collins and Blot 2003).

of orality and literacy creating an opposition of literate and illiterate cultures, has been widely critiqued. These critiques (Brice-Health 1983, Street 1984, Finnegan 1988) have come to be understood as forming the 'situated approach' to literacy, or 'New Literacy Studies' (NLS). Where autonomous approaches focused on the cognitive and societal consequences of the introduction of literacy as a means to understand its significance, this approach instead addressed the 'uses' of literacy, asking what reading and writing are used for and how they are approached and viewed in differing social and cultural contexts. Finnegan describes the situated approach as 'shifting attention away from the search for universals, ideal types or human development in general terms to more detailed investigation into actual choices in specific societies' (Finnegan in Street 1984: 96). [50]

The work of the NLS scholars has also led to an understanding of the plurality of literacies, their ideological character and importantly an understanding of them as 'social practices'. This is an insight that brings the social context within which literacy is practised into focus, and reveals the variety and specificity of each practice site. This importantly also applies to a school setting, which Street notes that despite its institutional nature, 'like other contexts, has its own social beliefs and behaviours into which its particular literacy practices are inserted' (2003: 79). The emphasis placed on the social context of literacy practices has also seen the NLS research generally conducted through careful fieldwork with an assumed focus on the 'the social meaning of literacy' (Collins and Bolt 2003: 35). [51]

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[50] This position creates a debate which replicates others associated with universalist and relativist perspectives across the social sciences. As such, the situated approach to literacy has been subject to critiques that are common against many relativist arguments, including that of its inapplicability to policy making, its celebration and encouragement of inappropriate local practices, and reification of existing class and society divisions (Street 2001: 12).

[51] This ethnographic grounding of the NLS approach has resulted in important anthropological work from across the world, although there is a notable absence of major studies undertaken in Zambia. However, a number of related ethnographic educational studies from the country should be noted, including Robert Serpell's (1993) *The Significance of Schooling, Life Journeys in an African Societ*y, and Scudder and Colson's (1980) *Secondary Education and the Formation of an Elite*. Both volumes provide important insights into education and development, as well as the complex relationships of literacy and education with social class and language in Zambia during the periods their work was undertaken.

The theoretical engagement with ideology, focus on social practice and context, as well as a methodological use of ethnography clearly lend the situated view of literacy well to this project. As such, I will draw on scholars from it during my discussion. However, I will also suggest that the assumed polarity of the two approaches is not necessary, and a situated approach does not deny the option to consider at least the impact of literacy in a decontextualised manner when needed.[52] Furthermore, I will suggest that the autonomous view of literacy 'as the organ of social progress' (Olson 1994: 5) and as a simple autonomous skill is identifiable within wider public narratives, political debate and in media representations of literacy and education (Barton and Hamilton 1998: 20). Thus, understanding the ideological impact on public narratives and political decisions of these assumed autonomous implications of literacy acquisition can, I suggest, inform the understanding of the creation of a dominant, institutionally bound, English literacy which is visible in Zambia. Therefore, both perspectives will remain influential within my discussion.

### Literacy within the research project

Literacy holds both explicit and implicit roles within the project. At the time of the research, the children of grade one were setting out on their first steps in the Zambian educational process which, as with any primary education, has a significant goal of attaining reading and writing literacy. This relationship was made explicit in the final project at various points, and the slow but significant progression that the students made from first learning the alphabet, to writing their first letters and finally writing their names provides an important sub-narrative in the film. However, it is also the embedded intersection of literacy within the institutional education processes and practices that I suggest is equally significant. This includes the language choice, education policy, and community language values that create an important layer to the landscape of the language ideologies that play out in the school and community.

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[52] Kate Stephens, a critic of NLS, points out that without such an approach 'it is difficult to see how we can get any purchase on the problems and potentialities of the ability to read and write across differing social and linguistic contexts' (Stephens 2000: 13).

*Institutional pattering: literacy in the grade one classroom*

The early stages of literacy acquisition revealed in the project aims to highlight the direct role of the institution of the school and classroom in introducing, teaching, fostering, and examining formal literacy practices. This direct relationship between educational institutions and literacy practices has been highlighted in scholarship, including the influential ethnography and theoretical work by Barton and Hamilton (1998) who emphasise that 'literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships', and as a result 'some literacies become more dominant, visible, and influential than others' (1998: 7).

Literacy skills in the grade one class were taught through the *New Breakthrough to Literacy* (NBTL) grade one program. This was a program designed to teach basic literacy in one of the seven local languages for the first year of schooling before shifting to English literacy in grade two. In Lwimba this local language was the standardised Nyanja. This program began with very basic reading and writing skills which were taught first through the learning of the Roman alphabet before the introduction of the various Nyanja consonant/vowel sound combinations. From this basic stage one could already highlight linguistic and pedagogical sources of conflict, as the Roman alphabet does not completely correspond to the letters used in written Nyanja.[53]

Further to the three specific literacy lessons the project highlights, there were of course many other lessons related to literacy, some filmed and some not. The importance of showing the progression of the children learning was a priority in choosing these particular scenes to demonstrate the nature of their literacy education. The lesson at the blackboard for Steward and three other children also provided an

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[53] An alternate to this methodology was to teach completely through the various consonant/vowel and unique aspirated consonants that make up spoken Nyanja, i.e. ma, me, mi, mo mu, or ng' and kh'. This would mean that the roman letters that are not utilised in the Nyanja such as q, x or a soft c would not be introduced until later in their education.

intimate, and rare, scene of Annie interacting with the children as a small group and the children successfully learning to write their first letters.

As the year developed, the children were introduced to the written form of a number of basic words in Nyanja and English, such as the days of the week, colours, numbers and animals. The project highlights a lesson from the second term where children were being taught to write their own name through writing the English statement ‘My name is...’. While on an emotional and symbolic level this scene helped to raise questions of the conflict between identity and language which, I suggest, is embedded within the multilingualism in the community, it also aimed to illustrate the significant role of English in literacy practice in the classroom. While the NBTL program was designed to introduce children to literacy in a local language, in reality it was a distinct mix of English and Nyanja that the children were learning through, even at the earliest stages of schooling.

The progression from the learning of the Roman alphabet, to the letter B, to the writing of ‘My name is...’ happened over approximately six months. However, by the end of the second school term, when filming finished, many of the children, including Steward, were still unable to write their own names despite the curriculum and Annie stating it as a priority that they should be able to. During the final lesson, part of which was seen in the film, Annie asked each child present who could write their names and the alphabet, and gave children strict instructions to ask their parents for help if they were unable to.[54]

This importance given to English literacy is further illustrated when it is considered that, outside of the grade one class, literacy use within the school is significantly orientated towards English. From grade two children begin an English medium literacy program building towards their major national grade seven and grade nine

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[54] As with many of the lessons captured in the project, there was very low attendance for the final lesson. This was significantly due to the lack of the capacity for direct communication between the school and the families on the closing date of the school. The children had been asked to stay away in the week previously for wider school exams and as a result many did not know that the school had reopened for the final days, as it was unable to be communicated to many of their families.

exams. As these exams are conducted through written English (with the exception of the local language specific course in Nyanja), the importance of English language literacy becomes heightened with every year until it is the sole language of literacy available to students. As schooling and passing these national exams has a huge bearing on student's future prospects, including continuing their education through to college level, conceptions of being educated and 'literate' can, I suggest, be seen almost solely in terms of English language literacy.

The positioning of English literacy as prioritised within the classroom, even when the curriculum does not completely necessitate it, such as in grade one, provides an illustration of a dominant literacy being constructed through an institutional structure. It is, of course, a structure that aligns itself within the socio-historical and political-linguistic narrative of the nation as described in chapter one, but also one that, I suggest, is located within an autonomous view of literacy. This dominant, powerful position that English literacy has been attributed through education can be seen throughout the wider community, particularly within urban Zambia, which I will discuss further on. However, despite this institutionally constructed dominant literacy of English, and relegation of local language literacy practices to a position even below that of their relative spoken languages, it was evident that in different domains of life there continued to be non-English literacies utilised.

*Multilingual literacies: community literacy practices in Lwimba*

Within the community of Lwimba and wider Zambia, I suggest, the development and practice of what scholars have identified as complex multilingual literacies (Martin-Jones and Jones 2000) is evident. These can be understood as plural literacies, intersected with a multilingual setting and all the socio-historical relationships, values, ideologies and power networks these bring with them. The research reflects the observations of social linguistics scholars Martin-Jones and Jones that 'in a multilingual setting, the acquisition and use of language and literacies are inevitably bound up with the asymmetrical relations of power between ethnolinguistic groups' (2000: 1). While, both in Lwimba and wider Zambia, these relationship do

not necessarily play out along internal, local ethnolinguistic divisions, the distinctly favourable position that English literacy and its users had over local language literacies illustrates this observation. Furthermore, while literacies and their practice differed between Lwimba and urban Zambia, there also remained some distinct similarities, including the significant linkage with the wider ideology, socio-historical narrative and values associated with languages as outlined in chapter one and two.

Image 4.1: English sign in Lwimba

Within Lwimba, what few public displays of literacy there were, i.e. signs and advertising, were largely only in English. There were no readily available public reading materials, such as newspapers, and what little written text that was encountered was largely religious content such as bibles or religious magazines. This lack of literacy material outside of the school was presented implicitly in the film through the obstacle of the children not having any newspapers to cover their books with when Annie requested them to do so.

Despite this lack of literacy material, there remained a distinctly plural nature to literacy practices at a private and community level within Lwimba. While the public displays of literacy were largely in English, English literacy skills were rarely seen to be engaged with outside of the school itself or in communication with central government, public officials, or non-Zambians. This separation illustrates what

Barton and Hamilton suggest, that 'within a given culture there are different literacies associated with different domains of life' (1998: 9). Thus, within multilingual contexts such as Lwimba, literacies can be further understood to orientate not only along linguistic lines, but along the domains such as home, neighbourhood, community, school or work.[55]

Soli literacy practices were largely non-existent in institutional domains of life, particularly as Soli literacy is not included within any training, education or political infrastructure. Despite the lack of formal literacy opportunities, there remained an enthusiasm within the community to utilise a written form of the language for private and personal communication, as well as religious literacy practices such as Bible reading. Personal letter writing in Soli was still seen as a very valuable tool for many interviewees, resonating with Barber's (2006) observations that personal letter writing across much of the African continent has been hugely prevalent since colonial rule. The comments from the Chamwembe family on their keenness to teach Elizabeth to write in Soli if, and when, there were more books available, were repeated by other members of the community including the head teacher of the school, Mr Mpatisha. He insisted that despite taking a view there was no space for Soli medium education at the school, he would continue to write in Soli himself, as well as teach his children to write in it. I suggest that this separation of the institutionally bound taught literacy of English and the home taught, community literacy of Soli, as well as the willingness for them to coexist, supports both the arguments for a pluralistic view of literacy put forward by the situated scholars, as well as the embedded, and everyday nature of multilingualism extending beyond the spoken word in the region.

While the dearth of public literacy material in the community was notable, with the emergence of mobile phone use and increase in text messaging via cell phone networks an important new literacy practice was developing during the period of the project. While the content of most of these messages was clearly private, it was

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[55] This plurality has also been observed and researched ethnographically within minority language settings including in the UK (Bhatt, et al 1994, Ran 2000: 71).

observable through my own interaction with community members that a significant, phonetic based literacy practice in Nyanja, English, Soli and other Zambian languages was developing quickly at the time of the research. It was however restricted to those members of the community with literacy skills and access to cell phones.[56] Often one phone was shared between a family, and due to the limited access to power to charge them, and the cost of mobile phone credit, their use was somewhat restricted. However, this practice clearly provided one of the few outlets for the regular practice of local language literacies, and one that will no doubt continue to grow as technology and electricity expand in the region. A full discussion of this new emergent literacy practice is outside the scope of this project, however recent scholarship in other parts of the continent have shown it to be a valuable new area of research, including the emergent and dynamic 'text speak' language varieties that it utilises (Blommaert and Velghe 2014).

*Literacy engagement and text production in wider Zambia*

Within urban Zambia, most notably Lusaka, there was a distinct ubiquity of English text within public spaces. Signs, advertising, newspapers, books, were almost exclusively in English. Over the course of the project there was also a distinct rise in the amount of commercial billboards carrying English slogans and local, often hand painted, advertising also exclusively in English. The inherent commercial justification for the use of English text within advertising also highlights the target customers for business advertising, who are seen to be English speaking, literate individuals.

[56] The lack of official written material in many languages including Soli and town Nyanja also meant that there was largely an unofficial orthography utilised for any literacy practices that did happen. This was based largely on the phonetic combinations and spellings associated with other local language orthographies such as Tonga and Nyanja, or English.

Images 4.2: English billboards and newspaper sellers in Lusaka

This assumed correlation between a capacity for English literacy, economic prosperity and buying power was equally visible within the publishing sector. Printed texts, including books, newspapers and reading material across Zambia were still very much almost exclusively available only in English during the time of the research. I suggest that understanding the relationship between the available texts and social context of production brings into focus the hierarchical status of language and literacy in the country, including the dominant public position of English literacy practices in wider Zambia.[57] During interviews with the Ministry of Education, they demonstrated that what limited books that they currently had available in local languages were from the colonial education system and some limited privately or self-published books. The significant economic and cultural challenges of publishing in English or local languages in Zambia has been recently discussed by Chilala (2014) and across the region by Diallo (2011) and Reiner (2011).

The development of literary writing in the country has also reflected the official status of English, and secondary position of local languages. The literary history of Zambia has been dominated by a small cultural elite (Primorac 2014: 576) and whose literary production in English was 'for decades officially supported by the state and, as elsewhere, meant to be the carrier of a national cultural tradition' (ibid: 581). The analysis of the 1960s and 1970s literary journal *New Writing from Zambia* sheds light on this socially and linguistically limited range of writers and audience,

[57] The major exception to the current dearth of local language publishing in Zambia is that of religious material, including Zambian language translations of the Bible. During the research there was a venture that was being undertaken for its translation in Soli, which was embraced in a very positive light in Lwimba.

despite the publications' best intentions to embrace the cooperative, humanistic and democratic goals of newly independent Zambia. As Primorac notes, they were 'in principle open to input from 'the people' - that is to say, English-Speaking working and lower-middle-class Zambian residents' (2012: 55). Despite this intention, the reality remained that what had developed was an English language literature with state patronage, forged by a small, privileged group who, it seemed, fit well into Karin Barber's description of an African arts producing intellectual elite as 'the educated few who have assimilated European languages, conventions, and forms more or less thoroughly' (Barber 1987: 5). While this example taken in relation to literary journals may be at the far end of the spectrum of literacy uses, this separation of the audiences and text producers into 'English literate and non' does, I suggest, highlight the development of English literacy in Zambia as a form of Bourdieuian 'cultural capital'. Furthermore, when considered with the overt English only text production within media, business and advertising, the development of an elite linguistic market accessible only to those with one specific literacy could be understood, bringing into focus the wider role of 'literacy as capital' (Luke 2003: 138) in the country.

This conscious priority given to an English based literacy is also further illustrated through the current distinct lack of regular local language newspapers in urban or rural areas.[58] A lack of infrastructure and public funding has meant that the six previously published local language newspapers printed have now ceased to exist, or be regularly published. Prior to their closure they were however subject to heavy criticism for their lack of applicable regional news, as all the papers were printed and edited centrally in Lusaka and relied on translated and outdated national news from English language sources (Kasoma and Leslie 1990). During interviews with ZANIS, the government department responsible for media and print in the country, there was a clear enthusiasm for the resumption of the Nyanja and Bemba language papers in the near future, a process which had begun at the time of the research with the

[58] There are three daily and two weekly newspapers in Zambia, all of which are published only in English. The *Times of Zambia* and *The Zambia Daily Mail* are government owned, while the daily tabloid newspaper *The Post* and the weekly newspapers *The Monitor and Digest* and *The New Vision* are privately owned.

purchase of a new printing press to be located in Chipata (Interview P. Lungu 2011).[59] The wider distribution and obtainability of newspapers, as opposed to published literary material, also arguably emphasises that the lack of local language newspapers could be considered an even greater influence preventing any immediate prospects for an increase in local language literacy practices.

This wider primacy of English in education, publishing and text production is troubling for many Zambian writers and academics. The reality of the disconnect between literacy, literature, media and local languages that has formed through a convergence of public policy, education, institutional and commercial priorities has regularly been foregrounded in public debate. Zambian linguistic scholar and prominent critic of the English-only education policy, Mubanga Kashoki has raised the fundamental consequences of such a policy on the 'cultural fibre of the nation' (Kashoki 1990: 81). Kashoki has provided a vital voice in support of the use of African languages in education across the continent, and argues that just as English is associated with modernity, so too can African languages, making a case for the use of African languages as 'tools for development' (1990: 145). When asked on the situation of language, education and literacy in the country, writer and Professor Leyson Tembo gave a summary that perhaps highlights this wider dilemma that the dominant public position of English literacy has arguably created.

> If I were to be absolutely blunt about it, I would say it is left in a very poor state and a very awkward position. You know, I can see literacy in our languages actually dying. It's a most unfortunate position as far as I am concerned. My children speak three languages in the house, mine, my wife's and English. But they are not reading Nyanja and they are not reading Bemba. They read in English. They are literally illiterate in these other languages - in the languages of their father and mother with regards to writing and reading. It's a sad thing because we are denying our children, we are denying ourselves tremendous wealth of culture and ironically we don't seem to mind (Tembo in Sumalili 1991: 30).

Zambia is obviously not alone in the challenges they face with multilingualism, literacy, education and text production. Within the wider southern African region, the advancing of local languages and local language literacy post-independence has been

[59] This keenness for the resumption of the publishing of the local language newspapers was also repeated and supported publicly during Parliament discussion on the subject (Zambia National Assembly Debate Records 08/06/2011)

engaged with in contrasting ways. Despite varying degrees of multilingualism, one local language (in brackets) has been positioned as 'official' and embraced at least within basic literacy education in Tanzania (Swahili), Malawi, (Chewa), and Botswana (Tswana). Malawi provides a context somewhat similar to the current evolution in Zambia, where Chewa is utilised as a medium of education and basic literacy education for the first 4 years of primary school, before changing to English (Heugh 2008: 357). Post-apartheid South Africa and Zimbabwe have faced the challenge of high degrees of multilingualism through the official constitutional recognition of 11 and 16 languages respectively, and in the case of South Africa creating curriculums promoting in literacy all 11 languages.[60] Each country obviously faces its own set of socio-historical, political, economic and linguistic contexts, which limit any deep comparison to the Zambian situation. These differences, however, further illustrate the importance of bringing these Zambia and Lwimba specific linguistic, social and power relations into focus, also importantly highlighting the wider confluence of literacy with the narrative and value based discussion from chapter one and two, and, as I will outline below, in relation to the production of subtitles within the project.

### Subtitling, translation and text

From the initial stages of the project it was clear that translation and, eventually, subtitles were going to play a pivotal role in the construction and presentation of the research. The multilingualism of Zambia that the project sought to investigate rendered this unavoidable, and also as the film would more than likely not be viewed by any audience without subtitles or translation in some form. This is also for any future screenings within Zambia, where it would be very rare to find an audience who were all able to speak Soli, Nyanja, and English to understand the entire film.

[60] This unique language and literacy context of South Africa has been addressed in depth in *The Social Uses of Literacy, Theory and Practice in Contemporary South Africa* by Prinsloo and Breier (1996).

For the remainder of this chapter I wish to highlight the process of subtitle production within the project, and suggest that, while the contortions of translation, reduction and spotting that lead to the final subtitles can be seen as unavoidable, intrusive alterations to the original spoken word, the mitigation of the impact of many of these is possible. I will suggest that for documentary film practice both the early engagement with the translation and subtitling process and a full understanding of the ethical and representational issues that are imbued within it are important. I will also suggest that observational documentary film provides a unique translation context, which provides an audiovisual annotated translation that further helps to confront these challenges.

Finally, it is also important to underline the convergence of both discussions in the chapter through the practice of language translation. The multilingual context of the classroom, community and wider Zambia results in everyday inter-lingual translation being a normalised and fundamental part of communicative practice and literacy use. Furthermore, it is a process which starts with children, whether the translations are regular, personal and internal, as Elizabeth's parents reflect on, or external as is witnessed regularly in the classroom through Annie's use of children to provide interpreting. Thus, it can be viewed as a shared and fundamental tool in bridging, and harmonising linguistic difference in the classroom, community and my own practice.

## Translation and subtitling in scholarship

I wish to briefly highlight the practice of language translation within wider social anthropology, which can be viewed as an expected and often essential methodological element within a piece of research. The prioritisation of the research methodology of ethnography, often with language communities very different to that of the anthropologist, has meant that the learning of a local language, and translation of that language within the traditional textual ethnographic research output, is very much part of an anthropologist's tool kit. Furthermore, the discipline has historically conceived of itself as engaging in a wider goal of 'cultural translation', with Asad noting that the phrase 'the translation of cultures' has become a description of the

task of the discipline since the 1950s (1986: 141). This broader aim of understanding and comprehending cultures 'inevitably involves either the translation of words, ideas, and meanings from one culture to another [...] translation is central to 'writing about culture'' (Rubel and Rrosman 2003: 1).

The scholarly debate on the practice of translation itself has been extended significantly through the emergence of translation studies as a discipline, and the complex relationships between the source languages, authors, target languages and readers has been shown to provide a politically involved and complex context for all practices involving translation. The dichotomised models of translation's foreignising and domesticating practices (Venuti 1995) provide an example of this problematic relationship between ideology, power and translation in practice. It is also one which I will expand on within the specific issues of documentary film, representation and subtitling. The importance of 'context', which wider anthropology can be seen to strive to prioritise across its study is, I suggest, equally important within the translation and production of subtitles. As a means to illustrate this I will use Appiah's (1993) call for 'thick translation' within the translation of everyday utterances to suggest the challenge and opportunity that documentary film practice provides.

The narrowing of the discussion to that of inter-lingual subtitles, which have at their centre the use of translation, also provides its own set of theoretical and practical issues. The practice of subtitling is fundamentally that of translating the dialogue heard within a film or television program to a text, which generally appears simultaneously to the original audio at the bottom of the screen. The somewhat recent academic field of audiovisual translation studies has engaged with subtitling alongside practices such as dubbing and audio description through scholarship. Their work has shown that the creation of subtitles has not only many of the same political, linguistic, and cultural issues that wider inter-lingual translation faces, but added to these are medium specific issues such as the forced transfer of an oral language to a textual object and the technical and aesthetic restrictions of the final onscreen text. The process of subtitle creation revels a distinct 'chain of translation' (MacDougall

1998: 167), revealing a journey from an utterance captured, to a final translated, condensed and formatted textual object appearing on screen. It is these progressive and repeated alterations, along with the distinct technical constraints of space and time on screen that has led some scholars to reflect on the 'violent' nature of the practice. As Nornes points out,

> in the process of converting speech into writing within the time and space limits of the subtitle they [subtitlers] conform the original to the rules, regulations, idioms and frame of reference of the target language and its culture.... The peculiar challenges posed by subtitling and the violence they necessitate are a matter of course; they are a variation of the difficulties in any translation, and in this sense are analogous to the problems confronted by the translator of poetry. It is the subtitler's response to those challenges which are corrupt...they conspire to hide their repeated acts of violence through codified rules and a tradition of suppression (Nornes 1999: 18).

I suggest the use of harshly negative idioms such as 'violence', 'corrupted' and 'suppression' which Nornes and other critics of contemporary subtitling approaches (see Fozooni 2011) use to highlight the unobtrusive status which the subtitling process traditionally seeks to achieve in the final film is not only exaggerated, but also unhelpful in understanding the subtitling process as an important part of a much wider filmmaking mechanism. Furthermore, as I will discuss later, the process of subtitling shares with it the inter-lingual communicative goals that many translational contexts have at their heart, that of facilitating a communicative understanding, and step towards an 'other's' discourse. Thus, its importance lies much beyond that of the subtitling practice itself. However, the somewhat dramatic description above does raise some of the issues that lie at the heart of the process of the subtitle production, and brings to light the challenging and often problematic process of their production. Therefore, it is important to emphasise that especially within this project, and arguably with any subtitled documentary film, subtitling is far from an extra or additional part of the production to be engaged with at the conclusion of an edit. Rather, I wish to highlight the integral role that the subtitles play in the interpretative and meaning making activity that documentary filmmaking engages in. They can be understood as an intrinsic part of the filmmaking process that can be planned and engaged with from the start of production, and embraced as a powerful tool for emphasising perspective as well as forging characters and narratives. However, it is

also finally important to note, that 'nothing is simple when it comes to subtitles; every turn of phrase, every punctuation mark, every decision the translator makes holds implications for the viewing experience of foreign spectators' (Nornes 1999: 17). As such, as David MacDougall suggests, when used they become a significant and powerful 'part of the creative process' and 'if a film is to be re-subtitled in another language, even the mildest of film-makers can become quite menacing if the producer suggests this is merely a technical process' (1998: 168).

## Subtitling and translation in the project

*Production of the subtitles*

I will briefly outline my own subtitle production process below, before moving the discussion to specific examples from the project regarding the intersection of subtitling practice with translation theory, political and representational issues, and finally the role of subtitles within the creative development of the film.

The journey from the spoken words as observed and filmed in the classroom and wider community, to the final presented and subtitled version of the project has been a distinct five or six stage process, depending on the source or output language. This is a process which began on a practical level as soon as filming, or production began, but had been in the planning from the start of the project. The diagram below explains this process over the period from the start of filming to the final release of the film.

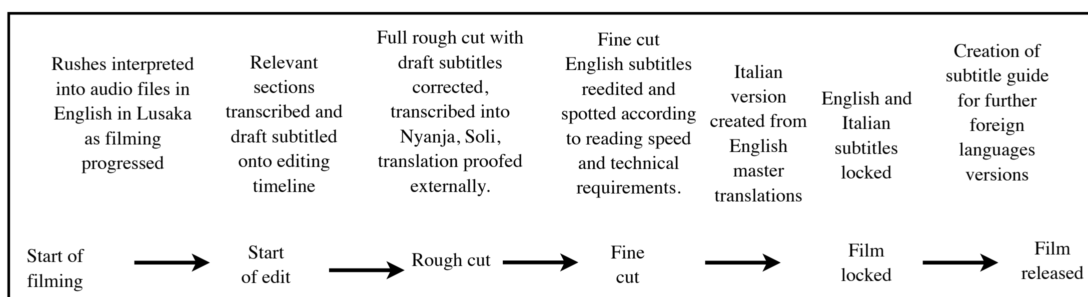


Diagram 4.1: Subtitling production process

There were two somewhat differing initial processes for the Nyanja and Soli material captured in the project. These differed as a result of my own language capacity in formal Nyanja, and limited capacity in Soli. This was also as a result of the differing context of the classroom to the semi-formal interviews where the majority of the Soli language material was filmed. During the Soli interviews seen in the project I worked alongside a local interpreter. In the classroom I filmed alone and through my own understanding of formal Nyanja I was able to follow the flow of the lesson. This approach permitted me to film the lesson as I needed and minimised the disturbance of my presence on the children. However, due to the distinct differences in Town Nyanja and my own Nyanja, as well as the frequent forays into other Zambian languages by Annie, the bulk of the rushes still needed to be translated before any editing occurred. This was a process done through a local translator, who would review and aurally interpret the raw material into English with me in Lusaka. For the Soli material, the interpreter I worked with in the village would follow the same process in Lusaka after filming.

These were the first major translations that took place, however, importantly at this stage the content remained in an aural form, with the translators interpreting into an audio recorder while we both watched and listened back to the material. The limiting of the translation to an effective draft interpreting rather than extensive written translation was decided on for both time constraints, but also to garner an initial translation that was able to encase the performative aspects of the dialogue, especially that of Annie's utterances in the classroom. This was a conscious strategy, as while my translators were very skilled and articulate, neither were trained translators. By asking them to effectively 'perform' the character of Annie in their own time during this initial translation, it delayed the textualising process and permitted the focus to remain on the best direct aural to aural interpretation of the

material.[61] Throughout this process I was present and was able to take notes on the rushes, as well as call out time codes in order to ensure that it was clear while listening back where in the footage the translation was. This method also permitted the translator to stop and start the material when they needed, as well as explain specific translations, interesting and humorous moments, changes of language, and for me to stop to ask any questions. It did however create for a very time consuming, and at times arduous process.

From these long audio files of the interpreted rushes I was able to transcribe the selected parts of the footage onto text documents verbatim. Creating partial transcripts, which also permitted myself a further review of the material before any editing occurred. These transcripts provided the basis of the first draft subtitles that were placed onto the raw unedited material on the editing timeline. This section of the editing and translation process signalled the first major selection of material and emphasises the very high integration of the translation and subtitling process with the editing of the project. So much so that effectively the film was edited from start to finish with at least rough subtitles on the image.

As the editing of the film progressed to a rough cut stage, I returned with the project to Zambia and Lwimba. This was firstly an opportunity to have the community and students view and feedback on the film, but also to have the existing draft subtitles corrected and transcribed in Soli and Nyanja to allow for external translation proofing. This stage also allowed me to sit with both the original Soli and Nyanja translators for viewing and editing, and a second set of translators for proofing. This period also proved invaluable for revealing moments of background dialogue, and missed speech that the first draft translation was not able to capture.

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[61] An alternate strategy of creating master transcripts of the raw material would not only have been unfeasible in relation to the quantity of filmed material being dealt with, but such an approach has been demonstrated as being a very fallible process by Franco (1999). In her analysis of the translation of a Dutch language TV documentary shot in Brazil, the major translation issues in the final film were sourced to the Portuguese transcription of the original dialogue. She isolated the issue to be where local crew had endeavoured to reformulate the dialogues into a different written form of Portuguese for the producers, which were then retranslated into French and Dutch.

The final editing of the English subtitles was conducted at the fine cut stage of the edit. This involved the finalising of the content of the subtitles, including editing the wording to fit best within the technical requirements of subtitles on a screen. These include the reading speed, letters and words per line, and the 'spotting' or entry and exit points of the subtitles. Often due to these technical factors the wording of subtitles required alterations, reduction and editing, a process which has been estimated to reduce the original dialogue by 20-40% (Lomheim 1999: 191 in Gottlieb 2004: 87). This process was first conducted within the offline editing software, before being transferred to separate professional subtitling software to be finalised.

Due to the fundamental nature of subtitles in this film (and arguably in any foreign language documentary film), this final stage of subtitling happened earlier than is practised in many productions. The film was not yet at a 'locked edit' - or where no further changes would be made. This was a deliberate choice and somewhat contrary to a standard *ex post facto* subtitling process of most fiction, and many documentary feature films.[62] This was a strategy to enable the subtitles to influence the pacing and emotional engagement of the film where necessary, and permitted the adjustment of any scene that would create significant problems in viewing with the subtitles. Furthermore, this process was also repeated at this pre-locked stage for the Italian version of the film, which was used as a template language for other full foreign language versions of the film. Here any scenes with issues arising from the spoken English sections of the film, as well as where there was English text on screen which needed to be translated, were adjusted.

Finally, in preparation for the release of the film, a full subtitle guide document was created by myself with the producer of language and accessibility. This was a single extensive document with the full original transcript, alongside the full translation, the

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[62] An overview of the practice of subtitling studios working on both fiction and nonfiction is given by Sanchez (2004). While she identifies four main methods that subtitling companies utilise to work with clients, none involve working on a project prior to its completion. Romero-Fresco (2013) has also highlighted the need for an increased integration between filmmakers and audiovisual translators earlier in production, in both fiction and documentaries.

English subtitles, Italian subtitles, as well as a notes section for my comments regarding specific moments for subtitlers to be aware or which were important to be viewed in a certain way for translation. It was also expected that the subtitlers of the various foreign versions would communicate directly with me with any questions on the content of the film during their work.

*Thick translation and documentary film*

This journey of the captured utterances within the project, from their original spoken form to their eventual presentation on screen, can be seen as a complex and highly disruptive one, and one that undoubtedly shaped their eventual reception and meaning. Whether this disruption was, as the Italian saying *traduttore traditore* goes, the result of a 'treacherous' translation, or as in Jean Rouch's eyes, due to the aesthetic damage of subtitles 'mutilating' the image (Rouch in Henley 2006b: 69), the process of their creation is undoubtedly problematic. However, as suggested earlier, this inter-lingual subtitling process has at its core the practice of translation. A process aimed at establishing linguistic communication and personal relationships between people and language communities. Therefore, while it is important to highlight the problematic and challenging aspects of subtitling in a given context, when viewed against the alternatives of non-comprehension outside specific language groups if one were to not subtitle a film, or the dehumanising and arguably more intrusive practices of voice over or dubbing, subtitling can be viewed at the very least as vital, but 'least bad compromise' (Henley 2006: 70).

The content of observation based documentary film, largely made up of everyday utterances, spoken without scripting and intertwined with a specific time and place, provides, I suggest, a further obstacle for their translation. As language and philosophy scholar Kwame Appiah points out, one of the biggest challenges of the translation of everyday utterances is that through a text alone it is difficult to give a full account of why an utterance was made, and the intentions and people behind them.

> Utterances are the products of actions, which like all actions are undertaken for reasons. Since reasons can be complex and extensive, grasping an agents reasons can be a difficult business and we can easily feel that we have not dug deeply enough, when we have told the best story we can (Appiah 2000 [1993]: 418).

The translation of an utterance is also often made more complex through implied meanings and the need for wider contexts to illicit an external observers full understanding. As Walter Ong reminds us,

> the word in its natural, oral habitat is a part of a real, existential present. Spoken utterance is addressed by a real, living person to another real, living person, or real living persons, at a specific time in a real setting which includes always much more than mere words. Spoken words are always modifications of a total situation which is more than verbal (Ong 1982: 100).

Furthermore, in engaging with the natural everyday language within a documentary film, the relationship between the performative nature of language is brought into focus. As Micheal Silverstein notes that to understand the use of language is to understand 'a system of praxis [...] communication is always performative and the notion that there is merely, if you will.... a sign vehicle and the concept, is really not what it is all about' (Silverstein, Van der Aa and Blommaert 2014: 2). This is highlighted, I suggest, when one considers that subtitles would struggle to function or be fully understood if read on their own as a page of text. Thus, the context and performance imbued within the filmed utterances can be seen to be pivotal to their understanding and translation. They, like other linguistic notions such as grammar and semiotics, are parts of the whole language being translated; however, in everyday utterances their role is very often essential to an understanding.

In response to these challenges for translation, Appiah suggests the introduction of a Geertzian influenced notion of 'thick translation' (2000 [1993]), involving a highly contextualised and annotated textual translation for a foreign reader. While his work is in reference to literary modes of translation, I wish to suggest he highlights an important challenge, but also brings to light the benefits of the nature of documentary film, and the specific translation its subtitling involves.

The audiovisual nature of documentary film, and its focus on representing realities as seen through the director's eyes, has the capacity, I suggest, of going some way to providing the 'thickness' called for by Appiah, as well as revealing the context and performative elements of the spoken word as highlighted by Ong and Silverstein. The original moment a given utterance is spoken is recorded by the filmmaker, and at least the simultaneous audio recording, and very often a video recording of that moment is provided for a 'reader' of the translation. This contextualising of the spoken moment has a significant role, I suggest, in stretching the translation beyond the 'utterance meaning' (Appiah 2000 [1993]: 423) or what the words mean in their particular order, and permits it to aim at the broader sense of meaning of why someone has spoken as they have.

The translation of the passages below provides examples of importance of the intention, and context of the speaker, as well as the benefits of documentary film in providing an effective audiovisual annotated translation.

The three passages on the tables below provide examples of the same Nyanja root word, *-menya,* being used but requiring different translations, highlighting the importance of the visual material in contextualising the utterance for a reader and translator. The root word *-menya* has a literal translation of the verb 'to beat' in English. In the first passage it is said with the prefix object pronoun for 'you' of ku-, resulting in *kumenya*. In the second example it is used twice, firstly as *menyelako* with the applicative ending of -ela combined with suffix of -ko to indicate a softening or restriction, and secondly with the plural form of you, with the prefix of ku- and suffix of -ni resulting in *kumenyani*. In the third passage it is used in its root form of *menya*.

Images 4.3: Subtitling of four examples of -*menya*

*Passage one:*

During the telling off of M'barak for stealing Zenaida's pencil in the classroom Annie is heard to say the passage:

| Nyanja | Literal Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|
| Ufuna nikayambe ku kumenya? | Do you want me to start to beat you? | Do you want me to smack you? |

*Passage two:*

During the national anthem lesson Annie is again heard using to say the following when holding a stick prior to the children starting to sing:

| Nyanja | Literal Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|
| Mwachiona ichi chi mukwapu? | You have seen this big whip? | Do you see this stick? |

| Nyanja | Literal Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|
| Ndiye cho menyelako be sibamvela. | It is for beating those who don't listen | I will use it for all of those who don't listen |
| Nizayamba ku kumenyani manje | I will start to beat you now | I will start using it! |
| tamvelana? | Have we understood each other? | Do we understand each other? |
| Ee! | Yes | Yes |
| Ichi ndiye cho menyelako be sibamvela. | This is for beating those who don't listen | It's to punish those who are being naughty! |

*Passage three:*

During the sweeping of the classroom before the final class in the film, Charity yells the following at Steward as a result of him not helping:

| Nyanja | Literal Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|
| Ni ku menya ka Steward uganiza ngati niseka. | *I will beat you little Steward if you think that I am laughing!* | I will beat you Steward if you think I am joking! |

These different translations of the same word provide an example of the influence of the intention and context in establishing the best translation. For all cases the word in question provides an immediate challenge in its content. The word's translation as defined through Nyanja to English dictionaries and as given to me by my translators was 'to beat', i.e. to strike someone violently and repeatedly. To beat someone is of course a very physically abusive act; however the word was overwhelmingly used as a verbal threat without any intent. Annie would use it relatively regularly in the classroom, however she never used any means of physical punishment with the children. Nevertheless, the threat in English of 'I will beat you', especially when

made by an adult to a child, is of course a severe threat, and would not be taken lightly in virtually any context.

As a result of this problematic literal translation of the word, the first two examples of the subtitling of it can be seen to avoid the verb 'to beat' entirely. These were uttered in specific contexts by Annie, and if translated literally I felt that it could cast an unfair and unrepresentative light on her as a teacher in the eyes of a foreign audience.

While she is angry in the first context, she was seen on screen to be far from M'barak when she stated the phrase, thus not providing any threat physically. Furthermore, when the moment and utterance is understood in the context of his regular misbehaviour, it can be seen as an attempt to use the question to illicit better behaviour from him. The resulting translation of *Do you want me to smack you?* still provided the verbal threat, however by using the threat to smack rather than to beat provided a somewhat blunted, and less shocking phrase. Furthermore, the visual material leading up to the utterance, including having the other children complain about M'barak's misbehaviour, allowed me to give context to Annie's statement.

For the translation of the second example, from the introduction of the national anthem lesson, I chose to avoid the use of beat, smack or any direct verb to associate with violence. The intent with which Annie made the statement is very much playful with the children, and even with her threat of using a stick, her delivery of the statement in Nyanja is said in a joking manner (also emphasised by her use of the suffix *-ko*, which indicates restriction and roughly translates as 'to a certain extent'). Here again, a direct translation would paint Annie in what I considered to be an unrepresentative manner. With the removal of any specific verb to relate directly to violence, combined with the footage edited to show the playful delivery of the dialogue, the intent, and meaning of the passage was aimed to be captured.

Finally, the use of the word by the children provided the one time where I did choose the more literal translation, where the threat was provided by a young girl, Charity,

towards Steward, and was a result of her clear frustration at him not helping with the cleaning of the classroom. The final subtitle of *I will beat you Steward if you think I am joking!* was a close to literal translation, keeping with it the slightly broken grammar, and the implied mimicry of an adult who Charity seemed to have heard make a similar threat.

These examples provide some of what were many translation challenges throughout the film, and highlight the influence of the intention, context, and the action that surround everyday utterances. Furthermore, they suggest a unique 'thickening' mechanism that audiovisual elements offer a documentary film translator, which can assist in both navigating the translation challenges, but also in mitigating the technical restrictions that come with subtitles.

*Ideology, politics and representation in documentary subtitles*

The problematic elements within the process of subtitling in documentary films also, I suggest, stretch beyond translational issues, and into distinct areas with intersections of power relationships and representational issues related to translating human subjects on a screen. The inherent politics and ideological implications of translation as a general practice have been a subject of extensive discussion within wider translation studies (Venuti 1995: vii, Bassnett 1996, Tymoczko and Gentlser 2002). The relationship between the source language and author of a translation, and the target language and its audience have also been discussed within terms of hierarchy, hegemony and cultural dominance (Rubel and Rosman 2003: 6). Furthermore, translations between minority and majority languages are 'rarely divorced from issues of power and identity, which in turn destabilise universalist theoretical prescriptions on the translation process' (Cronin 1996: 4).

Further to these intersections of power through language interaction and translation, the commercial and political structures that impress various subtitling standards, audience expectations and ethical representational issues all, I suggest, create specific implications for the choices involved in subtitling a film. The regional and national

divisions of subtitling or dubbing conventions across Europe clearly show a highly politicised field, with distinct linkages to language ideology and language protection which have provided extensive content for scholarly debate within audiovisual translation studies (see Diaz Cintras 1999, Koolstra, Peeter and Spinhof 2002, Gottlieb 2004). This scholarship has shown that the international, or even national, standardisation of subtitles is also far from agreed, and attempts to create a set of parameters for technical and grammatical elements differ within academia, from country to country, and even broadcaster to broadcaster (see Ivarsson and Carroll 1998, Karamitroglou 1998, as well as BBC, Channel 4, and Ofcom subtitling guidelines).

The previously discussed inherent challenges of translation that subtitling necessitates also, I suggest, brings into focus the ethical implication of the representation through translated text of the dialogue of real people in the film. This is underlined through the subtitled documentary film being a unique context where the human speaker of the source utterance and final translation are projected together simultaneously. This contrasts firstly with other forms of textual translation such as non-fiction written translations, where any original utterance is generally reproduced solely through a new text, but also secondly with other audiovisual translation practices. Practices such as dubbing require that the original dialogue is muted or reduced to inaudible levels, or fiction film subtitling contrasts as the utterances being translated do not carry the same ethical and representational challenges through their scripted nature. The practice of live translation and interpreting arguably holds similar implications for the interpreter, however the lack of replication and distribution of the final translated product again restricts any direct comparison. Thus, it is this very present and recognisable relationship with the subtitle and the speaker of the translated utterance in a documentary film that, I suggest, creates a unique translation context, and distinct challenges to a filmmaker and subtitler.

To exemplify this distinction of the medium, I wish to turn to the oft-quoted perspective of the practice of translation by Walter Benjamin in his essay ‘The Task

of the Translator' (1969 [1923]). Benjamin notes that in regards to the conveying of meaning:

> the language of a translation can - in fact, must - let itself go, so that it gives voice to the *intentio* of the original not as reproduction but as harmony, as a supplement to the language in which it expresses itself, as its own kind of *intentio*. Therefore it is not the highest praise of a translation, particularly in the age of its origin, to say that it reads as if it had originally been written in that language (Benjamin 1969 [1923]: 79).

This argument also resonates with translation scholar Lawrence Venuti's (1995) dichotomy of 'foreignizing' vs 'domesticating' translations - where domesticating translations have all traces of the source language, and thus the translation process removed, creating a cloak of invisibility for a translator. Like Benjamin's encouragement for a translator to allow 'his language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue', Venuti advocates that domesticating translations, which prioritise fluency and naturalness, should be avoided, highlighting them as ethnocentric and stemming from a distinctly ideological, and English language driven approach the practice of translation (Venuti 1995: 2). While for text to text translation these arguments may have merit, when considered in relation to the heightened speaker-translation relationship of a subtitled documentary film along with the ethical and representational responsibilities of the filmmaker, the particularity of the practice of subtitling in documentary film is brought into focus. Importantly, as Asad notes, these concepts pose a 'challenge to the person satisfied with an absurd sounding translation on the assumption that the original must have been equally absurd' (Asad 1986: 157). In the context of a documentary film audience, if they were to view a translation which seemed strange, broken or inarticulate, there is an assumption that the original must have been equally strange, broken or inarticulate. If this were not the case, and the translator was merely highlighting the foreign structures of the source language or its translated nature, they risk portraying the speaker of the utterance, whom the audience can see and recognise, as inarticulate or ridiculous. The translator and director risk not only misrepresenting their characters utterance, but altering the perspective of them as individuals for the target language audience, both within the film and outside. While Benjamin's and Venuti's theories may have been taken out of context from the written translation subject matter for which they

were originally proposed, I suggest that their inapplicability to documentary film serves to illustrate the very specific and important relationship that the subtitling of the film has on the representation of those on screen.

Finally, these debates do raise the important issue of the relationship of power and responsibility within the translation process and the film's creation, and the question of the ultimate responsibility for the representation of the people in the film. The common, and often inevitable requirement to outsource the creation of various foreign language versions of films can result in removal of the director from any translation and subtitling debate, thus shifting ultimate responsibility for the translation and the representation of the characters involved in the film away from the person with whom the people in the film have entrusted their stories.[63] Fully understanding the implications and procedures of subtitling, recognising the key role of the director in any debate, and understanding one's own ideological perspective within the creation of the subtitles and the film as a whole is, I suggest, critical to mitigating the obvious dangers and harm mistranslation, and misrepresentation can entail.

*Implications of 'part-subtitling'*

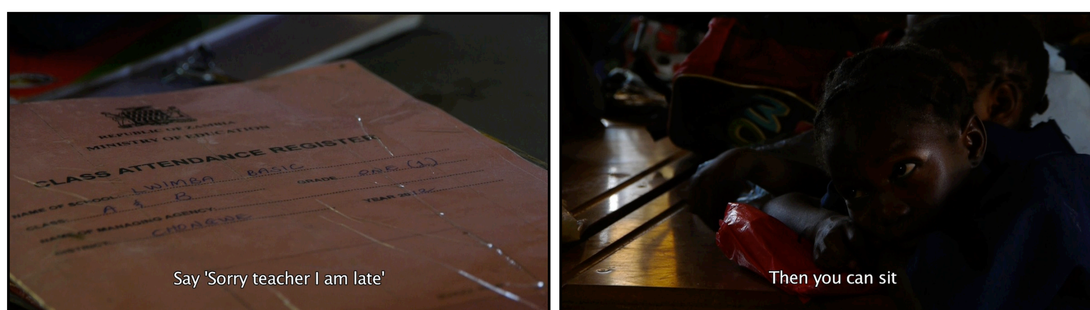
For the English version of the film, I chose to use a strategy of 'part subtitling' (O'Sullivan 2008: 81), where the majority of the English spoken in the film was not subtitled. This is a decision that brings with it its own political implications, as well as opportunities to assist in the meaning making of the film through the decisions of prioritising voices and choosing when, and when not to subtitle. For the large part of the film, Annie is the sole English speaker heard. This was largely a result of my own relationship with her being conducted through English. However, she spoke with a distinct Zambian accent which during feedback caused problems for some viewers. This raised the question of if it was necessary to

[63] The implications of mistranslation and manipulation in the subtitling of a documentary film has been highlighted in the critical assessment of *Darwin's Nightmare* (Molony, Richey, and Ponte 2007: 602).

subtitle her English for better understanding of an English speaking audience. This is, of course, a notably political question, as Annie is very much an English speaker of a high standard, and subtitling her spoken dialogue would implicitly question this, along with the wider nature of Zambian, and other forms of non British or American English. The dilemma is also not new, and one that particularly documentary film makers have wrestled with through a variety of accents and Englishes.

> English as spoken by diasporic and Third World peoples has been widely treated by the media as a foreign language whose subtitling is a commonplace. I can't perpetrate such a hegemonic attitude, but I can't also ignore the amount of effort I require of English-speaking audiences (Minh-ha 1992: 208).

My own choice was to only subtitle the English spoken in the film when it was a short word, or sentence, within dialogue spoken in a Zambian language, but in an inverted comma. This was also decided as a means not to ask the audience to switch to and from reading subtitles for one phrase, as well as permit the use of the subtitles to remind the reader of the language change happening. An example of this is below




Images 4.4: Examples of part-subtitling

| Speaker | Nyanja | Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annie | Kamba ati sorry teacher I am late uyende uka nkale pansi. | (Nyanja) You say (English) Sorry teacher, I am late, and (Nyanja) then you can go and sit down. | Say 'Sorry teacher I am late' |
| | | | Then you can sit |

This approach was also complemented by creating a structure of the film which assisted with introducing an English audience to Zambian English gradually, a technique also advocated by ethnographic filmmaker Paul Henley in his presentation of characters speaking Guyanese English (2006b: 84). The first classroom scene contains Town Nyanja, English, and Soli, which, while acting as a succinct introduction to the multilingualism in the classroom, the majority of was also purposefully subtitled to permit audiences to adjust to the linguistic context of the film. The first unsubtitled phrase in the film was the repeated phrase from Annie 'Sorry teacher I am late', which was previously subtitled, and from the edited scene and context what was being said was made very clear. This initial part subtitling was followed by the first extended non subtitled passage of the film, the phone call from Annie to her husband. This scene not only served to highlight the linguistic relationship Annie had within her family, but introduced the audience to her English in a clear, evenly passed passage. From this point in the film, when Annie spoke in English she would not be subtitled.

The choice of who and when to subtitle can also be understood as a meaning making and creative tool in the film making process, especially during periods where multiple voices are heard, as ultimately one voice needs to be chosen to be subtitled. This is an issue of particular note to the everyday conversations often captured in documentary film, where the spontaneity of dialogue and intervention of speakers are often a natural element of the material (Matamala 2009: 115). As MacDougall suggests, the general dialogue captured in documentary film can be seen as 'far less orderly and economical than in fiction' and as a result 'they tend to offer more choices than fiction films about what to subtitle and how to subtitle it' (1998: 168). It is a selective, directorial decision, which allows certain topics and characters to be given precedence in the film. As a result it can be understood that 'subtitles act on the verbal level somewhat as the camera and editing act on a visual and structural level, to single out subjects and frame human relationships' (ibid: 169). The short passage below provides an example where some language spoken on camera is not translated due to the constraints of subtitling and multiple voices being spoken on screen at the same time. The scene provided an important moment in the film revealing Annie

with her students outside the classroom, however it also forced a decision on prioritising one speaker over another through subtitles.

Images 4.5: Examples of non-subtitling as meaning making

| Speaker | Nyanja | Translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|---|
| Annie | Manje ngati ulibe ma book sikubwela? | Now, if you don't have your books, don't you come? | If you don't have books are you not supposed to come to school? |
| Friend | Enzo sobela chabe, pe ninakomboka chabe namupeza kunyumba asobela. | When I knocked off I found him just playing at the house. | When I came home<br>I found him just playing at the house |
| Annie | Kunyumba kwanu? | At your house? | At your house? |
| Friend | Ee, namufunsa "Kennedy suyenda ku sikulu?" Ati ee sinizayendako. | Yes, then I asked him, Kennedy are you not going to school?" And he answered and said, "Yes, I will not go" | [NO SUBTITLE] |
| Annie | Kennedy sufuna skulu? | Kennedy, you don't want to come to school? | Kennedy,<br>don't you want to come to school? |

The overlapping of Annie and Kennedy's friend speaking can be heard clearly on the recording. For Nyanja speakers the two dialogues are clear and understandable, however for audiences relying on subtitles, only the start of the friend's speech is provided. The loss of translation of the second half the child's speech is a loss of a humorous discourse of the child telling on their friend to the teacher. Had this moment occurred by itself it would have been likely to be included and subtitled in

the film, as a result of the themes of childhood and innocence it provokes. However, as Annie is seen on camera speaking, and she is the one who continues after it dialogue was clear that she should be the one to be subtitled.

A further example of the non-subtitling of a passage as a meaning making tool was the choice to leave the subtitles blank for the song sung by Stella during the final class in the film (a still image from this is above). This was firstly done as pragmatic decision, as no one who was consulted was able to decipher the lyrics, including translators, Annie, community members, or gospel singers. It was established that it was probably an attempt at an English church song by Stella, and earlier versions of the subtitles included *(Broken English)* or *(English Gospel Song),* however each raised further questions and issues which disrupted the atmosphere of the final class. The removing of the subtitles completely, thus leaving all audience members, both Zambian and foreign, in a position of non-comprehension, also permitted the themes of the film, and parallel linguistic experiences of the children, to be played out within the viewing of the film.

*Code switching, language tags and subtitles*

The importance of the multilingual nature of the classroom and especially the demonstration of the code switching within the class was fundamental to the research inquiry. The use of additional text on screen through subtitling provided an opportunity to convey this extra-linguistic information on the languages being spoken to foreign audiences. While a speaker of Zambian languages, and possibly any Bantu language, would be able to hear the change in language between Nyanja and Soli, this was not guaranteed for any other audiences. The opportunity to utilise the signalling capacity of subtitles thus became an important tool in highlighting the multilingual nature of many of the discourses seen on screen. As there is no standardised option for indicating such changes, the decision to signal at the start of the first subtitle when a language change occurred with the new language in brackets, i.e. (Nyanja), (Soli), (English) or a combination of two, (Nyanja/Soli), was informed from my own experience with working with multilingual discourses in previous

documentary films, and feedback and test audience reaction to these. Audiovisual translation research on subtitling approaches to multilingual films have largely discussed fiction film examples, and noted their use of one of either part subtitling, italics, or utilising different colour subtitles as used for different speakers in hard of hearing subtitles (Bartoll 2006, Bleichenbacher 2008). These options were not seen as viable for this project, as not only did italics only allow for the signalling between two languages, neither option would give an indication of which particular language was being spoken and would only indicate a change. Therefore the additional information that language names in brackets provided assisted with the wider meaning making of the film, and helped to connect the specific languages with the different spaces and characters on screen. This also, I suggest, further contributes to the goal of Appiah's 'thick translation' as discussed earlier.

The code switching between languages, as seen in the classroom and during parent interviews, revealed the constant and normalised multilingualism in the community. Within the classroom, Annie freely greeted the children in the three languages of Nyanja, Soli and English over the course of the filming, despite the need for Soli diminishing as the year progressed and as the children's grasp of Nyanja increased. However, as discussed in chapter two, there were often moments when Annie requested translations of Nyanja phrases into Soli to provide clarity or illicit an action or response from the children. These moments also provided a particular subtitling challenge due to their very broken nature, and use of two or more languages in the one phrase. When watched by a Soli speaking audience, they revealed a significant and commendable attempt at speaking Soli by Annie, but also equally demonstrated the very broken, multilingual nature of her utterances.[64] Conveying this broken phrase, made up of a combination of languages, through translation and subtitling, was a priority and through a use of 'broken' translation and dual language tags, the information surrounding the intent, content and context was given to the audience.

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[64] During village screenings, these moments in the film were met with both laughter and applause from the audience; laughter at the somewhat disastrous resulting combined phrase and applause for Annie in her attempt to speak to the children in Soli.

Images 4.6: Language tags on subtitles

| Speaker | Language | Original | Literal translation | Subtitle |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Annie | English | Nelson, 'How are you?' | | Nelson, 'How are you?' |
| | | why are you late?' | | Why are you late?' |
| Annie | Nyanja | Why wachedwa? | Why are you late? | (Nyanja) 'Why' are you late? |
| Annie | Nyanja | Alvin, bakamba ati chani mu Chisoli ati 'why wachedwa?' | Alvin, what is it that you guys say in Soli for why are you late? | Alvin, how do you say, 'Why are you late?' in Soli? |
| Elias | English/ Soli | Why wachelwe | (English) 'Why' (Soli) you are late? | 'Why' walachelwe |
| Annie | Nyanja | Why wachelwe?' | 'Why' you are late? | (English/Soli) 'Why' are you late? |
| Annie | Soli / Nyanja | Akwena kwisa mailo' ... no bwera mai.. | (Soli) Yesterday as well (Nyanja) you did not come | (Nyanja/Soli) You... did not...<br>come to school... yesterday |
| Annie | English | Why? | Why? | 'Why'? |

The dialogue of a short sequence from second half of the opening classroom is outlined above. The scene provided an important initial introduction to the ongoing motif of tardiness in the class, and the disconnection with the time of the classroom and that of the children and community. It was also the first example of the use of student interpreters by Annie (Alvin in this case), and outside of basic greetings, it

was her first attempt at speaking Soli to the children. In the scene, she was in fact given a very basic Soli phrase by Alvin, which combined the use of the English *'why'*, with the Soli *wachelwe* (you are late). This was a result of her original question to him which used her Town Nyanja structure which utilised the borrowed word of 'why' rather the more formal Nyanja *cifukwa ciani?* The standardised phrase in Soli would have been: *Nichani wachelwe ku chikolo?* (Why are you late?). In the final subtitles, the use of 'why' in inverted commas was to emphasise this use of the English adverb. The choice not to translate and instead transcribe the response from the child was a further attempt to highlight the two languages, and position the audience in Annie's perspective. The translation had already been pre-empted by her question, therefore giving the Soli transcription provided helpful extra linguistic context rather than leaving it blank.

The final phrase also provides a touching example of Annie attempting to speak Soli to the child who is struggling significantly with understanding her Nyanja. Her utterance however was a distinct combination of Soli and Nyanja, and reveals to a native speaker her very basic understanding of Soli and her need to resort to Nyanja to complete the sentence. Her phrase of *Akwena kwisa mailo, no bwera mai, why?* is effectively half in Soli and half in Nyanja, with an English *why* to complete it. This somewhat remarkable combination of languages also provided a significant translation challenge. Early attempts to highlight the language change within the phrase became unreadable, and the resulting use of a combined tag of (Soli/Nyanja) with a segmented subtitle provided the film with a contextual, but readable translation.

These are, of course, a small selection of the challenges that were faced in the translation and subtitling process of the film. Within this intersection of political implications, translation challenges, alongside the semiotic and structural reshaping that hangs over the practice of subtitling, there remains the question of what choice does a practitioner have if dubbing is not an option? Unfortunately, very little. Therefore, the translation and subtitling approaches and decisions we made, which have very much dictated the final film, have become amplified, and the careful

scrutiny and analysis of them presents an opportunity to hopefully help foster the best possible understanding of the project for a foreign audience.

### Chapter summary

The chapter has utilised the theme of *text*, and more specifically the reception and emission of written texts within the project, both in Lwimba and wider Zambia, as well as within my own filmmaking practice. The first half of this chapter has aimed to align the practice of literacy and the production of written texts as observed within the research inquiry to wider linguistic anthropological debates on literacy. It highlighted that the institutional structures of school, curriculum and teaching practices create a dominant literacy of English, which can then be seen to be practiced and reproduced within wider public engagement, publishing and media production in the country. This creation of a dominant literacy can also be understood, I suggest, as being supported by institutional structures entrenched in the autonomous, skill based understanding of literacy.

This position is contrasted with the multilingual literacies as observed in the community, including that of Soli, which, I have suggested, exist in parallel and in defiance of the institutional and public dominance of English. These practices firstly highlight the importance of a plural understanding of literacy as put forward by NLS scholars, and secondly resonate with Street's arguments for an ideological model of the understanding literacy, suggesting that 'literacy not only varies with social context and with cultural norms [...] but that its uses and means are always embedded in relations of power' (2003: 79 ).

I have also suggested that the production of the textual element of inter-lingual subtitles holds a pivotal part of the project, and puts into focus the shared process of translation that both I as a filmmaker and the students and community members rely on for communication. I have argued that the careful understanding and mitigation of the problematic elements of translation and subtitling should be a priority for a director. By engaging with the practice as a filmmaker alongside translators and

subtitlers, and viewing it as a creative part of the filmmaking process that can start early in production, many of these obstacles can be addressed and mitigated. This is, I have suggested, particularly of note within documentary film subtitling, where the relationship between the speaker of the source utterance and final translation is direct, and presented on screen in unison, thus the ethical implications for mistranslation or poor subtitling into any target language are amplified. The politics of the practice also extend, I have suggested, to decisions of when and who is subtitled within a part-subtitling scenario. I have also suggested that subtitling in observational documentary film affords a certain luxury as a translation practice. It avails itself of the audio and visual capturing capacity of the utterance being translated, and permits the possibility of a ‘thick translation’. For all the enforced obstructing mechanisms of the practice, whether linguistic, technical or stylistic, the opportunity to see and hear the utterance as it was spoken and intended while it is translated provides a unique translation context, which can provide important information and extra linguistic understanding for an audience. Finally, I have suggested that the creative and thorough engagement with the subtitling of a film can also provide opportunities to assist in the meaning making process, such as in the case of this project, where the text on screen provided a valuable opportunity to communicate the nature of the multilingualism being captured.

# Summary

Through a combination of 12 months of fieldwork, the production of a creative documentary film and complementary written submission, this project has aimed to illustrate and elucidate the language ideologies which surround primary education in rural Zambia. It has engaged directly with the specific field site of the Soli community of Lwimba, and utilised its complex multilingualism as a research focus, highlighting the experiences of Lwimba Basic School's grade one teacher Annie, and of her class over two school terms. The project has aimed to research and bridge two academic worlds, firstly the linguistic anthropological focus of the research inquiry and secondly the documentary practice based methodology which has resulted in the production of the documentary film *Good Morning, Grade One*. Through this approach, the project has aimed to demonstrate that the practice medium of documentary film, combined with complementary written work, can foster new and unique insights into the language ideologies which exist within a context such as rural Zambian primary education. Importantly, I suggest that the insights the project has gained could not have been similarly achieved had the project been conducted through more traditional written academic means, nor as a standalone documentary film. The unique linguistic and social context of the classroom was one, I suggest, that was able to draw on the capacity of an observation based documentary film approach to garner distinct insight in the language events within it. Furthermore, while clearly other methodologies would have provided very different research, they would have also resulted in, I suggest, less transferable research outcomes, and importantly ones which were less able to be held up to scrutiny or shared with the community involved. The linguistic events presented and elaborated on within the project, including moments of teaching, learning, translation, and multilinguality, were encapsulated within the unique and complex context of the classroom, the community, and wider Zambia. Outside the obvious value of presenting the original utterances as they were made through audiovisual means, the personality and individual circumstances of Annie and the children, as well as the nature and

atmosphere of the classroom, were also fundamental to these events. Their presentation and description through an audiovisual medium has, I suggest, permitted a unique and valuable understanding of this environment. An environment which has revealed an array of complex language ideologies associated with the three languages of Soli, Nyanja and English.

While the film at the heart of the project can and will be viewed alone, this complementary written submission has aimed to provide an important elaboration for a fuller and more detailed understanding of the project. The presentation of the written submission of the project has intended to act as a 'clew', which can be understood as a thread highlighting subjects which both the research inquiry and my practice methodology raise. This has also, I suggest, aimed to tease out the differing types of knowledge which my own practice has generated, alongside the inherent challenges such as making implicit knowledge, and references, explicit, as well as the challenge of the articulation of rigour and the positioning of the project within the academy.

This written submission has been structured over three chapters which have aimed to combine both a written extension to the research inquiry presented in the film, as well as my own reflection on a selection of major elements of my filmmaking process. The themes of the three chapters of *Narrative, Value* and *Text* have acted as conceptual links between these two elements, aiming to highlight the importance of each theme to both the inquiry and methodology, as well as their shared elements.

The first chapter identified the theme of *narrative* as a fundamental concept within the project, both through its importance in relation to the historical-political narratives which underpin the language events and ideologies seen in the project, and through its role as a structuring device within the documentary filmmaking process. The chapter suggested that the historical narratives of the emergence of the nation of Zambia, including the related decisions surrounding language, as well as the more specific narratives linking education and language, form a base to the language practices and ideologies seen today. It identified the influential historical decisions,

including official state language policy, as well as the ideologies surrounding modernity, development, monoculturalism and state building which can be understood to influence them. The chapter then moved to link these observations surrounding the influence of historical events and decisions within the research to the project's internal constructed narrative. The chapter suggested that the shared processes of inclusion and exclusion as well as the representation of real events through narrativisation were important common links. The chapter also detailed my own process of creating the internal narrative within the film at the heart of the project, highlighting the fundamental organisational, structuring, and audience engagement role it plays, as well as its development from the start of production, through to the end of post-production. Finally, the linear, character and time led internal narrative of *Good Morning, Grade One* was outlined. This included detailing the main characters within the project, which also provided a means to illustrate their importance as characters as being seen to stem from the significance of their relationship to the wider themes of the project.

Chapter two utilised the theme of *value* to firstly discuss the attitudes towards each of the three major languages within the project, both in classroom and community contexts. The chapter suggested that the valuations of each of these languages could be understood to provide the basis of the language ideologies at the centre of the research. The project identified a hierarchical multilingual structure which could be seen to emerge through language value within the classroom and wider institutional education structures in Zambia. Within the community, a complex network of economic, socio-cultural and ethnolinguistic identity values were identified for the three main languages of English, Nyanja and Soli. These values, the chapter suggested, could also be understood within the theoretical frame of linguistic capital and the understanding of anthropological conceptions of value. The chapter moved onto outlining the processes of film editing within the project, and suggested that through identifying two distinct phases, the first characterised by processes of evaluation, and the second by systems of value creation, the value bound nature of the decisions which surround the documentary film editing process can be underlined. The chapter suggested that the massive distillation of raw footage within

the project which led to the first assembly stage of the edit formed the first ‘evaluation stage’, and decisions surrounding syntax, structure and representation were pivotal in the second, ‘value creation stage’.

The third and final chapter within the written submission engaged with *text* as a theme and aimed to present, first, the intersection and language ideologies in relation to the reception of written texts through the practice of literacy in the classroom, in the wider community and in Zambia, and second, the project’s production of subtitles and the translation process which surrounds them. The chapter outlined the creation of a dominant literacy of English which was visible in the project, and could be understood to be practiced and reproduced within the classroom, as well as within text based media, advertising, and publishing. The chapter suggested that, while literacy practices within the community, including defiant local language literacies, could be understood as very situated and context bound, the institutional structures and public discourses which supported the dominant English literacy were established within an autonomous understanding of literacy use. The chapter shifted its focus to the production of the text object of subtitles within the project for its second half, however, it aimed to highlight not only the shared engagement with text, but also the shared practice of translation between the classroom and community at the centre of the research inquiry and my own practice methodology. The chapter illustrated the pivotal nature of inter-lingual subtitles in the project and that the practice of subtitle creation within documentary film practice can reveal problematic and challenging aspects. The chapter suggested that documentary film created a unique context for translation and subtitling, where the direct indexical relationship between the speaker of the source utterance and final translated text can be understood to create significant ethical implications for poor subtitling or mistranslations. It also, however, aimed to call attention to the opportunities that film editing and observational filming create for an audiovisual equivalent of ‘think translation’. The chapter extended its discussion to the politics of subtitling, including those surrounding the decisions involved in the part subtitling of a multilingual documentary film. Finally, the chapter highlighted the opportunities which subtitles brought with them to assist in the meaning making process in this

project, including the important extra linguistic information for non-Zambian audiences which was able to be communicated through language tags.

While this project has very much created a snapshot in time, a portrait of a rural Zambian grade one class in 2012, many of the themes and subjects which the project has focused on aim to extend scholarship and discussion well beyond the grade one class, the period of filming and the community or region. While unfortunately many of the challenges for the education system of Zambia, whether associated with the language landscape of the country or other social, economic or political challenges, have been shown to affect education related indexes, there is reason for an increasingly positive and multilingual outlook for the future generations of Zambian students. The recent changes to extend the number of years of local language medium education in primary school exemplify this, and the enthusiasm for the introduction of Zambian language based education, particularly at a governmental and curriculum development level in the country, bodes well for a continued increasing of local language education development. Above all this, however, and as presented in the final scene of the film, the children of grade one classrooms around the country will continue to run home laughing after their final class, harvested fields will continue to be burnt for next year's crops, and teachers such as Annie will return home for their holidays in the cities and towns across the country. All existing within the positive Zambian experience of multilingualism, which exemplifies the unique character of the country and its people, and which will also continue to shape, and be shaped by, the education of its children.

Images 5.1: Steward and Annie after the last class

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**Filmography:**

*African School,* dirs Nicki Stoker, Max Baring, Ed Kellie, Sarah Hamilton. 2005. 4 x 53 mins. UK. BBC and Open University**.**

*Between Joyce and Remembrance*, dir Mark Kaplan. 2004. 68 mins New Vision Production and Ubuntu Film.

*Doon School Chronicles*. dir David MacDougall, 2000. 140 min Australia. Ronin Films.

*Être et Avoir.* dir Nicolas Philibert. 2001. 104 mins France. Les Films d'Ici.

*Good Bye, How Are You?* dir Boris Mitic. Canal +/Arte. 2008, 68 mins, Serbia. Dribbling Pictures.

*High School,* dir Frederick Wiseman 1968. 75 min. USA, Osti Productions.

*Iki dil bir bavul (On The Way To School),* dir Ozgür Dogan, Orhan Eskikoy. 2008. 81 mins. Turkey. Persian Film.

*Le pays des sourds (In The Land of the Deaf)*. dir Nicolas Philibert. 1992. 99 mins. France. Canal+, BBC, CNC. Les Films d'Ici.

*Mwansa the Great,* dir Rungano Nyoni. 2013. 23 mins. UK. Icreatefilms.

*O Amor Natural*, dir Heddy Honigmann, 1996, 78 mins, Netherlands. Pieter van Huystee Film & TV.

*Please Vote for Me*. dir Weijun Chen, 2008.58 mins. South Africa and Denmark. Steps International and ARTE France.

*Solar Eclipse,* dir Martin Marecek, M. 2011. 58 mins. Czech Republic. Hypermarket Film.

*Stealing Africa,* dir Christoffer Gullbrandsen. 2013. 58 mins. Denmark. Guldbrandsen Film and Steps.

*The Boys of Baraka,* dirs Heidi Ewing, Rachel Grady. 2005. 84 mins. USA. Loki Films.

*When China Met Africa,* dirs Mark Francis and Nick Francis. 2010. 90 mins. UK. Speak-it Productions.

*Zambia: Good Copper, Bad Copper,* dirs Alice Odiot and Audrey Gallet. 2011. 53 mins. France. Yami and France Télévisions.

*Zasto ne govorim srpski (na srpskom)*, dir Phil Collins, 2008. 34 mins. UK. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh. Shady Lane Productions.